PORTRAYALS OF POWER:

THE LOCAL IDENTITY OF THREE CYPRIOT

SARCOPHAGI FROM THE FIFTH CENTURY BCE

by

A THESIS

Presented to the Department of Anthropology
and the Robert D. Clark Honors College
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Bachelor of Arts

June 2018

An Abstract of the Thesis of

_____ for the degree of Bachelor of Arts
in the Department of Anthropology to be taken June 2018

Title: Portrayals of Power: the local identity of three Cypriot sarcophagi from the fifth
century BCE

Approved: _____

Dr. ____

Cyprus' location just beneath the Anatolian peninsula has made the island a meeting ground of many of the iconic Mediterranean powers of history, including Greece, Egypt, Assyria, and Persia. There has been a great deal of research on the way Cyprus was influenced by external forces, as well as how these cultural influences were engaged and manipulated on the island. Yet more research is needed with a primary focus on the local identity and use of Cypriot material culture. Therefore, this thesis seeks to reorient the focus of the study of Cypriot antiquities towards their internal context by analyzing the local significance of three Cypriot sarcophagi with relief sculpture from the first half of the fifth century BCE. These three objects are similar in date and form, and they are from three different cities: Amathous, Golgoi, and Palaipafos, providing context for inter-island diversity at a time of extreme political and cultural turmoil in Cyprus. I explore how the context of these sarcophagi's iconography within Cyprus, and the use of sarcophagi as items of funerary ritual, impacted the understanding of these objects in their local communities. The Amathous sarcophagus uses local imagery, both mythological and elite, to create a demonstration of power, the Golgoi sarcophagus includes scenes indicative of cosmopolitan elite status, and finally, the Palaipafos sarcophagus has imagery that arguably relates to Homeric epics, and presents a heroic narrative. Overall, these sarcophagi are all varying local responses to island-wide events that would have impacted their local communities; and these impacts are evident in the iconography used to demonstrate the elite status, heroic qualities, and political power of the deceased.

Acknowledgements

I would like to begin by thanking my thesis committee. First, Dr. Daphne Gallagher, who has provided an incredible amount of support in this process, and put in generous amounts of time helping me construct, write, and edit this thesis, and whose course: 'Anthropology Museum' introduced me to decolonizing methodologies in museum contexts, which critically informed how I approached and understood the sarcophagi when I saw them in person. Secondly, I would like to thank Dr. Kristen Seaman for helping me work with material in the Classics and Mediterranean sphere, which were foreign to me before this project, for her feedback and support throughout the process, and for her guidance while I was in her class: "Art of Ancient Greece," wherein she helped me establish the foundations for this project. And finally, I would like to thank Dr. Joseph Fracchia for challenging me to constantly question my own assumptions and perspectives, and whose research, which we explored in his Honors Colloquium "Bodies and Artefacts," has led to a very beneficial cycle of existential crises that have informed how, and why, I approach my research.

A number of other professors and courses at the University of Oregon have also contributed to and influenced this project. I would like to thank Dr. Christopher Eckerman, who assisted me in finding sources relating to Homer for my investigation of the Palaipafos sarcophagus. I would also like to thank Dr. Kevin Hatfield and Dr. Jennifer O'Neil, who teach the "Northern Paiute History Project" Honors Colloquium through the Robert D. Clark Honors College; in this course we explored decolonizing research methodologies, and explored in detail the importance of local communities in research, which strongly influenced my motivations and the form of my approach in this thesis.

I would like to acknowledge the Robert D. Clark Honors College for awarding me the Extraordinary Expenses Thesis Research Grant, and the UO Anthropology department for awarding me the Undergraduate Anthropology Award for Research and Conference Participation, both of which supported travel costs and enabled me to visit all three sarcophagi. I would also like to thank the staff at the museums of Limassol and especially Kouklia, who were interested in my research and allowed me to photograph

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Preface

The air was somehow both arid and humid, the landscape a yellowish limestone gravel but for some bushes. My mother had thoroughly sun screened my brother, my sister and me, and topped us off with matching little bucket hats. I was twelve years old and in Cyprus, visiting my aunt Beth who lived there with her Cypriot husband, Nikos, and my three cousins. Sufficiently sun-proofed, we drove about the island visiting various sites. It didn't take too long to get to any of them; driving from one end of the island to the other at its widest point only took three hours. We saw Roman mosaics, Greek temples, Egyptian tombs and ancient ruins of all shapes and sizes. Throughout the trip I remember my uncle cracking the joke in his Cypriot-Greek-Irish accent: "Ah yes, Cyprus at one point or another was owned by everyone." And so it did seem; in the museums and through the tours a history was laid out for me, a pattern that I remembered through the years, leading up to me starting this project. It was a narrative in which Cyprus was colonized/conquered/owned by each phase of cultural power in the Mediterranean: Mycenae, Assyrian, Egypt, Persia, 'Greece', and Rome.

With a mind to study some instance of cultural interaction in the ancient world, then, it is not surprising that I found myself investigating Cyprus. Cyprus throughout its entire history of occupation has been a location where different cultures in the Mediterranean met, traded, and on occasion, battled. As I delved into the Cypriot literature, however, I realized that the majority of the focus was on how Cyprus was influenced by the many cultures it was interacting with, and the discussion of the internal workings of Cypriot culture and history had only begun to be addressed in the last decade.

In my thesis, therefore, I wanted to work to better understand the narrative I had learned on my first visit to the island. While I was in Dr. Kristen Seaman's class: "Art of Ancient Greece", she suggested I examine the Golgoi sarcophagus for a term paper. Researching it further, I realized there were two other sarcophagi dating to about the same time that were very similar in form, each covered by four panels of relief sculpture carved to create narrative iconographic scenes. To study the relief sculpture effectively, and especially to understand the scope of these works, it was essential to view them in person. With grant funding generously provided by the Robert D. Clark Honors College, and the University of Oregon's Department of Anthropology, I was able to visit Cyprus to see the Palaipafos sarcophagus in the museum in Kouklia, and to visit the Amathous and Golgoi sarcophagi in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York.

Traveling to Cyprus was especially essential; because my motivations for this project are influenced by decolonizing narratives, I believe it is important to travel to the place I am researching, rather than relying only on secondary accounts. In addition, I believe that it was important for me to travel to local museums and see how they displayed and discussed Cypriot antiquities. Seeing the sarcophagi in person was important because my analysis focuses mostly on the iconography in the relief sculpture; in the case of the Palaipafos sarcophagus this was critical, because the only photos available were small print versions in the original publication, and in the case of the Amathous and Golgoi sarcophagus there were details that I could not sufficiently examine using the Met collection photos. Finally, I wanted to visit the sarcophagi in New York so that I could see if Cypriot antiquities were treated differently in a foreign art museum than they were treated in local museums on the island itself.

Upon seeing the sarcophagi in person, I realized the true monumentality of these works. In the Cypriot museums, I observed a representation of the complexity of the islands past. While simplified for the general public audience, the narrative given by the museums revealed both great pride for their long history, as well as a more contextualized environment and description for their materials. In the Met, however, the Cypriot gallery is placed within the "Greek and Roman" galleries, spatially floating between rooms full of ancient Attic material, and the galleries containing material on the Near East. Cypriot material was placed in an 'in-between' space, without recognition of its individual traditions, and the descriptions attached to the artifacts lacked any substantial context. These differences in the treatment of Cypriot material in the Met and in Cyprus exists, in part, to serve different audiences, but they also emphasized to me the subordination of Cypriot material to the "almost Greek" in popularized contexts. This clarified the importance of increasing the amount of literature on Cypriot material, and treating Cypriot archaeology and history as its own unit, related to, but not a subordinate category of, the Aegean, the Near East, or Rome.

In my research, therefore, I hope to provide a glimpse into the localized significance of these objects, which does not deny the fact that Cyprus was a cosmopolitan region, significantly influenced by the many cultures that it encountered. However, Cypriot history and culture has its own internal developments that would have informed how the local Cypriots understood these objects, and it is this local perspective, of the living people whose hands created and buried these objects, that I hope to elucidate in this research.

Figure 1: Map of Cyprus with sites mentioned in the text. Adapted from Counts (2008:6).
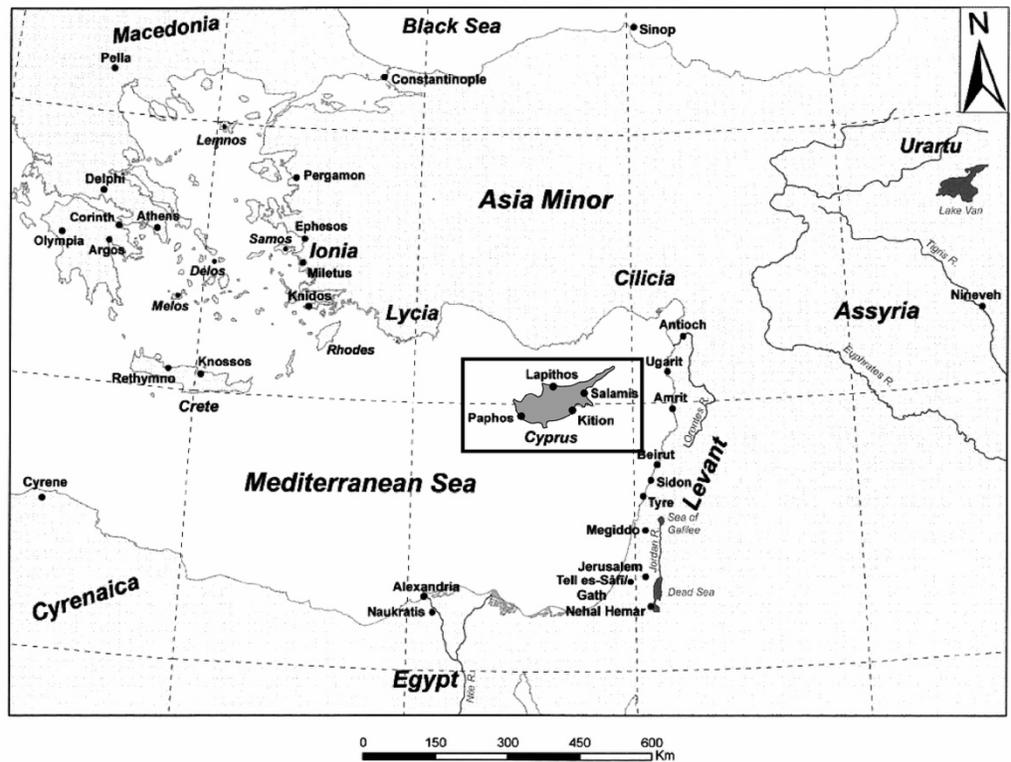
Figure 2: Map of Cyprus' location in the Mediterranean. Adapted from Toumazou et al. (2010: xxi).

Chronology

Early Cypriot I-III	ca. 2400-2000 BCE
Middle Cypriot I-III	ca. 2000-1700 BCE
Late Cypriot I-IIIB	ca. 1700-1050 BCE
(Beginning of Iron Age)	
Cypro-Geometric I-III	ca. 1050-750 BCE
Cypro-Archaic I-II	ca. 750-480 BCE
Cypro-Classical I-II	ca. 480-310 BCE
Ptolemaic/Hellenistic	ca. 310-30 BCE

Figure 3: Chronology referenced in this thesis

I - Introduction

Portrayals of Power

> [Cyprus] has been alternatively stretched and sliced for too long in order to be made to fit different external polity models from East and West and, and not all that surprisingly, this tortuous exercise has failed . . . The time is ripe for the development of alternative approaches that attempt to understand Cyprus 'from within.'
>
> Maria Iacovou (2013a:16)

The Mediterranean island of Cyprus (Figure 1) is well known for its history as a "crossroads of civilization."[1] Its place at the crossroads, however, as noted by Iacovou (2013a:16) above, has caused Cypriot history to be told from the perspective of the traders, empires, conquerors and colonizers who came to Cyprus, rather than the people who were there throughout. Cyprus owes its history of intensive cultural interaction in part to its location. Situated just below the Anatolian Peninsula (see Figure 2), Cyprus was a central point of interregional trade and exchange within the Mediterranean (Counts 2008:5, Iacovou 2013a:22, Janes 2010:127, 2013:127, Karageorghis 1979:9, 1981:8, Tatton-Brown 1988:23). While there has been extensive research on how the island was influenced by the external cultural powers of the Mediterranean, the local context of Cypriot history and material culture has not enjoyed the same attention. However, several scholars have begun to question this narrative, and the literature moving into the new millennium began to investigate the internal developments of Cypriot history (see Figure 3 for the common chronology).

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[1] This is evidenced by the publication of a exhibition volume by the republic of Cyprus in 2010 titled "Cyprus: Crossroads of Civilizations" (Hadjisavvas 2010).

Building on the research into how Cyprus has interacted with and been influenced by external cultures, I will engage and add to the literature that is re-examining Cypriot history and material from a local perspective. Specifically, I am investigating the local context of Cypriot iconography on three sarcophagi from the fifth century BCE. These sarcophagi are from the cities of Amathous, Golgi, and Palaipafos respectively. These three were chosen because they are similar in date and form, and are from three different cities, providing context for inner-island diversity at a time of extreme political and cultural turmoil in Cyprus.

The sarcophagi are incredibly detailed, complex in construction and ornamentation, and it would be difficult to do justice to all three in their entirety within the scope of this thesis. For this reason, the main focus of this research is the iconography of the scenes sculpted in relief found on the sides of all three sarcophagi. The iconography of these sarcophagi is often described as a patchwork of elements that prescribe to external typologies; for that reason, research on the local understanding of these elements is needed to understand these objects as a whole within their communities. I examine the local context of the iconography in terms of visual similarity, but focus more on the use and implications of the creation and use of the imagery in Cyprus and on the sarcophagi. Furthermore, I investigate the context of the iconography on sarcophagi, which, as objects of funerary ritual, might have impacted the understanding of these images in their local communities, and on the island. Overall, this investigation into the significance of the relief sculpture will attempt to demonstrate how these sarcophagi are not just evidence of the power that Cyprus was under, but are an expression of the power of the Cypriots themselves.

The Need for an Internal Focus

Under the control of the Ottoman Empire until 1878, and subsequently under British rule, Cyprus has a history of colonial exploitation. Despite a law created in 1874 preventing the export of antiquities, which continued to be enforced upon British occupation (Pilades 2012:31, Tatton-Brown 1988:4), many had already left the island. The colonial status of Cyprus also affected the manner in which the island has been studied and discussed in relation to its place in the Eastern Mediterranean; previous research has focused on examining how the island was influenced by the surrounding regions.

Cultural materials from Cyprus have often been discussed through problematic ethicizing narratives: materials that show influence from an outside culture are treated as static examples of "Phoenician," "Egyptian," or "Greek"[2] presence on the island, which has been heavily critiqued in the more recent literature (Counts 2008:14, Janes 2013:146, Knapp 2008: 283, 2014:42). Within the last decade scholars have begun to reorient the focus of studies on the island, and criticize how Cypriot history has been categorized into phases of influence, rather than being discussed in relation to its internal complexity (Iacovou 2008a:625, Knapp 2008:625).

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[2] The concept of "Greek" as an identity in the ancient world has been discussed and complicated by several scholars (see Doughtery and Kurke's 2003 volume on the topic); in general, the term is difficult to apply as a homogeneous category for people in the Aegean, as that region contained many disparate cultural groups that may not have perceived themselves to be a single cultural unit (Dougherty and Kurke 2003:1, Hall 2003:30,). However, 'Greek' as an ethnic label is still used in ways that are problematized by many scholars (see discussion in Chapter VI). People from this region are commonly interacting with and influencing Cyprus, and are therefore discussed in this thesis. I will refer to people from this region who have previously been termed 'Greek' instead as 'Greek speaking' or 'from the Aegean,' and in specific cases as 'Attic,' so as to clarify the scope of the peoples involved in the interactions I am discussing. In some cases, for lack of a clearer term 'Greek' will still be used to refer to things from the general corpus of 'Greek mythology,' which will appear in the discussion of Astarte/Aphrodite (Chapter V) and Perseus (Chapter VI).

These narratives focused on influence from outside the island are evident in the earliest study of the sarcophagi, done by foreign scholars who were collecting and removing material from Cyprus to be placed in foreign museums. Luigi Palma di Cesnola was one such figure whose work exemplifies the use of externalizing narratives in relation to the sarcophagi. In his publication, "Cyprus: Its Ancient Cities, Tombs and Temples" (1878), Cesnola discusses the discovery of both the Amathous and Golgoi sarcophagi, and provides a summary analysis of their iconography. Cesnola began his term as the first American Consulate to the island in 1865, and received permissions from the Ottoman Empire to excavate several locations on the island (Hermary and Mertens 2014:13, Karageorghis 2000:3). The Amathous and Golgoi sarcophagi were excavated in the latter half of the 19th century (Hermary and Mertens 2014:13, Karageorghis 2000:3), and his interpretation of them is limited to association with imagery from outside the island. Cesnola's (1878:110-114) discussion of the Golgoi sarcophagus is mostly limited to a comparison of many of the elements to parallels in Attic art. The majority of the discussion of the Amathous sarcophagus, consists of a detailed comparison between the sarcophagi and a Lycian Frieze in the British museum (1878:260-68). Both sarcophagi were part of a collection that Cesnola sold to the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York in 1873 (Hermary and Mertens 2014:20, Karageorghis 2000:7).

His publication is limited not only because of his simplified analysis of the sarcophagi, but also because reliability of any of the provenience or context that can be gathered from his publication is called into question by several of his activities, including the invention of the 'Kourian Treasure.' The 'Kourian Treasure' was, in truth,

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a combination of various Cypriot works from different places and times, which Cesnola claimed had found together in 'subterranean vaults' (Karageorghis 2000:5-6). He also fabricated maps of the measurements and layout of these fictional vaults (Karageorghis 2000:5-6). In addition, he did not hesitate to piece together sculptures with fragments from different works so as to have complete statues (Karageorghis 2000:4). It is difficult, then, to gage the accuracy or worth of any of the contextual information provided in his publication on the finds of the Golgoi and Amathous sarcophagi.

The Palaipafos sarcophagus, however, was excavated much more recently, and remains in a local museum in Kouklia, Cyprus. The tomb within which the sarcophagus was found was excavated in 2007 by Eustathios Raptou, after it was discovered accidentally during construction (Flourentzos 2007:12). The sarcophagus is now on display in a small local museum in Kouklia, the modern town on the site of ancient Palaipafos. Despite the fact that is was found more recently, the Palaipafos sarcophagus does not seem to have received much attention in the literature, likely because it is a relatively recent find, compared to the other two sarcophagi. However, when it is addressed, it is usually only mentioned as containing Homeric imagery, without further discussion of the significance of the imagery in Cyprus (e.g. Satraki 2013:136). Unlike the Golgoi and Amathous sarcophagi, however, the Palaipafos sarcophagus does have more substantial archaeological provenience and associated finds, which helps more reliably discuss the actual physical context of the object.

There does not appear to be any literature that focuses on understanding the sarcophagi in their local context. Whether this is because they have not been examined further, or because the use of this previous narrative in relation to these objects has been

perpetuated in the more recent literature, it remains the case that they have not been fully contextualized within the scope of their local social, political, and cultural history.

Methodology: Framing a Local Approach

The aim of this thesis is to investigate how the iconography might have been understood by the local people on Cyprus who were interacting with the sarcophagi, including why these images were chosen and what they might have been intended to signify. It is impossible to understand their perspective without a thorough investigation of the circumstances within which they lived, and within which they made and used these sarcophagi.

In order to frame these sarcophagi and the iconography in their local context, I examined the circumstances leading up to and during the creation and use of these sarcophagi. In my research I take a diachronic approach, studying not only the iconography but attempting to understand the context within which the sarcophagi were made, including the historical, political, social and cultural events and characteristics that constructed the environment within which the people who made and used the sarcophagi existed. In order to understand this environment, I utilize sources from scholars such as Iacovou (2008, 2013) and Knapp (2008), who have done research on the internal developments in Cypriot political and cultural history, and Janes (2010, 2013), who has done focused studies on burial contexts on the island. Understanding the place of these sarcophagi within the historical developments in Cyprus, as well as within the burial practices on the island, contextualizes why the imagery may have been chosen, and how it was being used.

I studied the iconography itself first through an inspection of its imagery, using photographs and by examining the sarcophagi in person, in order to identify elements, scenes, and motifs. Local contexts for Cypriot iconography have been investigated by scholars such as Counts (2008) who examines the significance of the "Master of the Lion" statuary type. I have taken information in literature such as this that has researched more broad themes or specific elements, and applied them to the iconography on the sarcophagi so as to give them a local context. I have also examined local examples of the images on the sarcophagi, both in their immediate region and on the island in general, and contributed my own interpretation of the imagery related to Cypriot comparanda. In this comparison I examine both the visual similarities of individual elements, and the symbolic significance of elements and motifs that appear on the sarcophagi, focusing also on how these images and motifs are being used in Cyprus, and what they meant in those other Cypriot contexts, so as to interpret what they might have signified on the sarcophagi. In doing so, I hope to add to the literature that is beginning to readdress and re-interpret Cypriot materials with a more localized focus.

Upon researching the Cypriot literature, I realized that a large part of the scholarship on Cyprus is published in French, Swedish, and German. I am unable to read these languages. Therefore, a large body of Cypriot studies in unavailable to me. However, I believe that by following citations and references in the literature published in English, I have been able to achieve a substantial picture of the trends and information in these publications that deal with the topics addressed in this thesis. Most lamentable of the omissions in the English literature, however, is any mention or

summary of Hermary's (1987) publication on sarcophagi in Amathous. This article, published in French, appears to contain a discussion of sarcophagi morphology in Amathous as well as surveying the sarcophagi from other parts of the island. My research focuses mostly on the iconography of the relief sculpture, and because the information provided in the Hermary article is inaccessible to me, I mostly avoid discussion of the actual shape of the body of these sarcophagi; this is however an important topic of discussion in the research of these sarcophagi, and should be considered in other research related to them.

Ethnicity is a concept that has been widely critiqued for its use in Mediterranean contexts (Gruen 2014:424) and in Cyprus (Knapp 2014). Hybridity is an alternate model to ethnicity that has been used in archaeological discourse to describe intercultural contact that results in the incorporation of disparate cultural elements into the archaeological material (Silliman 2015:280), and is a term that has common use in studies of ancient culture in the Mediterranean (e.g. Whitmarsh 2001:219). It is also a model that has been used in Cyprus to move away from ethnic narratives (Counts 2008, Knapp 2014:42). However, following Silliman's (2015) critique of the term in archeological contexts, I will present a critique on the use of hybridity for individual objects of Cypriot material culture; and this critique shapes the theoretical background for my local approach. I argue that hybridity as a model brings the focus of Cypriot material closer to local Cypriot actors by investigating how locals were manipulating foreign materials, but it does not fully examine how local actors actually interpreted individual objects.

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In my approach to these sarcophagi, therefore, I focus instead on contextualizing the iconography on the sarcophagi within the moment of history in which they were created, rather than on the foreign sources of the imagery, or the evolution of the elements themselves within Cypriot iconography. To understand what any image on these sarcophagi signified in their own moment of time, the scope of the circumstances that surround that elements must be addressed. The historical events surrounding the people who interacted with the object, the political circumstances of those who were utilizing it, the mortuary practices and rituals that surrounded its creation and use, the corpus of iconographic material from which it was sourced, the significance of the iconographic material to the people who interacted with it, and finally, what the imagery as a whole was communicating to the local people who saw it, are only a few factors within the paradigm that shaped these sarcophagi, and how we understand them. This is an ambitious list of factors to investigate, and this thesis cannot fully incorporate each of these dimensions for the study of the sarcophagi, but by utilizing and addressing these issues, this thesis will begin to elucidate the actual life and significance of these sarcophagi within their local communities.

II - Historical Context: Setting the Stage

Cyprus: The Island of Copper

Cyprus is in a prime location for trade and interaction with the surrounding cultures in the Mediterranean. However, it was not only its location that made Cyprus a key player in Mediterranean trade, it was also its wealth of an essential and coveted resource: copper (Kassianidou 2013). Abundance of the metallurgical resource has been credited for the economic development in Cyprus, which by consequence of its export, also made Cyprus a center of interaction and trade with many disparate parts of the Mediterranean (Constantinou 2010:25, Iacovou 2008a:629, 2013:21-2, Karageorghis 1970:39, Kassianidou 2012:78, Karageorghis and Tatton Brown 1979:37). The processes of procuring copper as a trade resource would necessitate an organized economic system to manage the mining in the inland regions, the support from agricultural regions, and the export at the coastal trade ports (Iacovou 2013a:21-22). Copper, therefore, became the stimulus for complex social, economic, and political development on the island (Kassianidou 2013:76).

It is not surprising, given this essential resource, that many of the surrounding civilizations would be interested in Cyprus, and this interest was expressed both in trade relations and political relations, or in some cases, conquest. The foundation of Cyprus's economy was procurement of an important resource for trade outside the island (Kassianidou 2013:76). Cypriot economic success, therefore, depended on maintaining external interactions (Iacovou 2013a:21-22). The centuries of external interaction are what give Cyprus its incredibly complex cultural material record, including the three

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sarcophagi at the center of this thesis. At the foundations of its renowned diversity, which created the cultural, economic and political setting for the production of artefacts such as the sarcophagi, was the production and export of copper.

The Bronze Age

How this history of interaction on Cyprus unfolded, spurred on by both the island's strategic location and abundance of copper, is essential to understanding the political climate and cultural context within the local Cypriot communities that created the three sarcophagi. Some of the earliest signs of the refinement of copper date to the Philia/Early Cypriot Period: 2500-2000 BCE (Knapp 2008:112, Webb and Frankel 2001). Throughout the Early Bronze Age, the development of copper as an economic resource became increasingly complex; and this was accompanied by the development of increasingly complex political structures and settlements (Knapp 2008:110-130, 133, Webb and Frankel 2012:52-53).

Moving into the late Bronze Age, many of these settlements became political and economic powers that served as the main trading ports with other Mediterranean cultures (Knapp 2008:144-153, Pilides 2012:56). One of the earliest of these urban sites to rise to prominence was the urban center of Enkomi, where there is evidence for the refinement of copper for export beginning around 1600 BCE (Knapp 2008:144). Enkomi is also the site of the earliest evidence of the local script, Cypro-Minoan (Iacovou 2008a:629). Enkomi has often been seen as the most prominent Bronze Age center, however, it has been argued that while it was the earliest and largest, there was the almost simultaneous development of several other urban sites and centers that would have all been interacting and developing together, and certainly would have been

involved in the production, trade, and export of copper (Keswani 1996:234, Knapp 2008:144). Other such sites originating in the Late Bronze Age include the coastal sites of Kition, Kourion, and Palaipafos, as well as the inland centers including Idalion, and "rural sanctuaries,"[3] including one in the Athienou/Golgoi area (Pilides 2012:56).

This period also saw Mycenaean influence on the island, evidenced by trade goods and the adaptation of Mycenaean elements into the iconography (Iacovou 2008a:629, Knapp 2014:40). However, the lack of any evidence for the construction of Mycenaean palatial complexes or other administrative structures on the island would suggest that while they maintained extensive trade relations, Cyprus was not under Mycenaean political control (Iacovou 2008a:630, Knapp 2008:258).

The "Age of Kingdoms"

The end of the Bronze Age for the Eastern Mediterranean culminated in a period of crisis that occurred throughout the twelfth century BCE (Iacovou 2008a:631, Janes 2010:127). While the source of this crisis is still debated, it is known that during this period the Mycenaean palace system collapsed, and in the Aegean the culture that emerged from this crisis was marked by a radically different cultural system than the Mycenaean civilization that preceded it (Iacovou 2008a:631, Janes 2010:127).

Cyprus was also affected by this crisis, as evidenced by a series of abandoned or destroyed settlements in the archeological record, however, the crisis on the island was brief, and these events were quickly followed by the foundations of the Cypriot regional kingdoms (Iacovou 2002, 84, Janes 2010:128, Satraki 2013:125). In some cases, these

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[3] A "rural sanctuary" appears to be a site that was not the center of administrative control, but hosted an important sanctuary and has evidence of a large associated settlement.

abandonments during the crisis years may have benefitted settlements that remained

occupied, such as Paphos and Kition, which appear to have expanded as a result

(Iacovou 2013a:26), and left power vacuums in which new settlements, such as

Amathous, were founded (Iacovou 2008a, 637). Enkomi also seems to have been

abandoned throughout the eleventh century BCE, possibly in response to the silting of

its harbor which prompted the relocation of its political and economic power to the

nearby site of Salamis, which had a much more suitable harbor (Iacovou 2008a, 635;

Janes 2013:155, Karageorghis 1970:65). In any case, it is evident that the transition

from the Bronze Age into the earliest years of the Cypro-Geometric saw a major shift in

settlement throughout the island.

The period from eighth to fourth centuries BCE has been termed the "Age of

Kingdoms" (Hermary 20:83). Over this period the Cypriot regional kingdoms[4] were

formed, grew to prominence, and were eventually disbanded (Iacovou 2002). This

begins with the dawn of the Iron Age, marked in the Cypriot chronology as the

beginning of the Cypro-Geometric, ca. 1050 BCE (see Figure 3). Unfortunately, the

transition from Late Cypriot to Cypro-Geometric marks a break in the literature, and the

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[4] Iacovou (2013a:36) cautions against the use of the terms 'kingdoms' stating: "the study of state
formation in Cyprus has suffered from our use of the term 'Cypriot kingdoms' or 'city-kingdoms' instead
of city-states, polis-states, or simply polities. The term conjures images of kingship from completely
heterogeneous contexts and encourages scholars to think, consciously or sub consciously, that these
political units were something other than city-states." However, others, such as Fourrier (2013) still
utilize 'kingdoms', especially in relation to their control over larger regional territories beyond the city
limits. For that reason, I still refer to these polities as 'kingdoms,' to reflect the control of the urban
centers over wider parts of their surrounding territory, and to simplify the terminology when referring to
these polities. Iacovou's critique is valid, however, as the term does associate the Cypriot political
structure with a preconceived notion that may not accurately depict their true state. The confinement of
Cypriot political development to external models has been an ongoing problem in the literature; as
Iacovou states, "ahead of us is a long overdue attempt to elicit the local patterns, 'the structure of local
systems prior to and during state formation'" (2013a:36).

early Iron Age in Cyprus is to date understudied (Gordon et. al. 2010:28, Iacovou 2002:73, 2008a:625, 2013:16, Janes 2010: 146, Knapp 2008:279).

All the cities identified as 'kingdoms' in Cypriot inscriptions were founded no later than the eleventh century BCE (Iacovou 2008a:627). Because this formative period of the Cypriot kingdoms occurs over the under-studied Cypro-Geometric, the early stages of the political rise of these kingdoms is swathed in mystery (Hermary 2013:83-84, Iacovou 2002:73, 2008a: 625). There are some lines of evidence that cast a light on the development of the kingdoms as regional powers, such as the building of palatial complexes, which is evidenced first in Amathous around the ninth century BCE[5] (Hermary 2013:88, Satraki 2013:126). However, the most widely accepted evidence for the emergence of kingdom-like states is drawn from a stele, dedicated on Cyprus in 707 BCE by Sargon II, in recognition of the submission of the 'seven kings of Cyprus' to the Assyrian empire (Counts 2008:16, Iacovou 2002:84, 2008:112, Janes 2013:147, Satraki 2013:126). While the number 'seven' might not have been the actual number of Cypriot kings or kingdoms at this time, the stele does establish that by the eighth century BCE distinct political entities, recognized as kingdoms by the Assyrian empire, had already been formed (Counts 2008:16, Iacovou 2002:84, 2008:112, Janes 2013:147, Satraki 2013:126). This 'submission,'[6] negotiated by these Cypriot leaders, afforded relative political autonomy and allowed these Cypriot kingdoms the economic

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[5] For an investigation of Cypriot palatial complexes across the island, see Hermary (2013).
[6] This stele is the only evidence of this submission to the Assyrian empire, and has led to questioning in the scholarship relating to the extent of this submission, which is argued was probably voluntary (Iacovou 2002:83-83, 2012:62, Fourrier 2013:104). There is also no evidence for military intervention from the Assyrians on Cyprus. The submission seems to have taken a mostly economic form, most relevant to trade. Iacovou (2012:83) argues that this agreement could have been responsible for the swift economic development of the coastal trading centers.

connections necessary for them to flourish (Iacovou 2002:84, Karageorghis 2000:77). During the next two hundred years there was an increase in territorial and political consolidation as the inland centers were absorbed by the coastal capitals (Iacovou 2008a:643, Janes 2013:147). These coastal trade centers, previously more reminiscent of city-states, therefore expanded their area of political and territorial control, forming regional kingdoms throughout the island (Iacovou 2008a:643, Janes 2013:147). This expansion provided the resources for these coastal capitals to afford monumental construction, and there is an increase in production of monumental sculpture and architectural works (Iacovou 2008a, 643). The regional centers located in the resource-rich inland regions, therefore, were of pivotal importance to the economic success of the Cypriot kingdoms (Fourier 2013).

Regional Kingdoms: Intra-Island Diversity

Cyprus was most likely divided into regional kingdoms by the end of the eighth century BCE, and most of these kingdoms were centered in coastal capitals that had developed into economic powers within the trade dynamics of the Eastern Mediterranean. Due to shared systems of economic and material production, many aspects of Cypriot material culture are similar across the island (Counts 2008:16, Iacovou 2008a:641, Knapp 2014:42). While stressing the importance of the study of regionalism in Cyprus, Knapp (2008:134) notes that by the end of the Bronze Age many modes of production, ceramic, metallurgical or otherwise, were relatively homogeneous island wide. He states (2008:134) that by 1650 BCE there are island-wide similarities in everything from household goods to mortuary practices (see Chapter III), which was likely brought about by the shared beliefs, political alliances, and economic industries

across the island. However, there are some distinct cultural and social differences between the kingdoms that demonstrate their political and social autonomy and diversity. These difference demonstrate that there is a tangible variation in the cultural practices of each of these kingdoms, which is important to understand so as to fully orient the sarcophagi in their cultural and spatial context.

A particularly convincing line of evidence demonstrating the relative independence of these kingdoms is the diversity in written languages. There were at least three that were commonly used by the Cypro-Archaic period (750-480 BCE): a Phoenician dialect, a Greek dialect, and an unknown, untranslated language that has been termed Eteocypriot, which is likely a form of the Bronze-Age Cypriot language (Aupert 1997:22, Iacovou 2008a:643). They are found in residential, religious and administrative contexts, demonstrating that they were used by local people living on the island (Smith 2012:84) The Phoenician dialect is found almost exclusively in Kition, which is frequently mentioned in the literature as having experienced a Phoenician migration event around 800 BCE (Aupert 1997:24, Carstons 2006:125, Iacovou 2008a:643, 2013:17, Janes 2010:129, 2013:129, Karageorghis 2000:77, Knapp 2014:42, Tatton Brown 1979:63, 1988:29)[7]. However, the use of the Phoenician language for state documents in Kition is not attested until the beginning of the fifth century BCE (Iacovou 2008a:645). This would suggest that the kingdom, while significantly influenced by Phoenician culture when compared to the other Cypriot Kingdoms, was

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[7] Iacovou (2013:17) questions the generally universal assumption in the literature that this migration occurred; it is most strongly evidenced by a single inscription in alphabetic Phoenician found on a ceramic vessel in the Kition temples. Iacovou questions if this inscription, and the more circumstantial increase in Phoenician styles at the time, is enough to establish a migration event.

not 'taken over' by the Phoenician migrants when they arrived. Similarly, the spread of the Greek language across the island is frequently attributed to an Aegean migration event at the end of the Bronze Age (Castons 2006:125, Janes 2010:134, Maier 2004:19). Amathous appears to be the exclusive center of the Eteocypriot syllabary, and it is not until the fourth century BCE that there is the incorporation of the use of alphabetic Greek in the city (Iacovou 2008a:647). In other Cypriot kingdoms, and most pertinent here, in Paphos, the use of Greek prevails, and starting in the seventh century BCE all the recorded names of the political rulers of that kingdom are Greek (Iacovou 2008a:647). The maintenance of these languages through time suggests a relative amount of autonomy in the functions of these separate kingdoms (Iacovou 2008).

While it is likely that the use of language in certain kingdoms might be connected to the lingual groups outside of the island with which those kingdoms interacted, or with whatever language the current dynasty was using, there has sometimes been the problematic assumption that the use of a language—such as Greek—dictates a shared cultural identity with Greek-speaking peoples of the Aegean; and this assumption precludes investigation of how and why a population might adopt and use a language (Iacovou 2008:628-9). However, there are some cases where cultural affiliations, or particular relations between certain kingdoms and certain outside neighbors are evidenced by more than just language, and are, in fact, made explicitly obvious. Salamis, for example, despite being the eastern-most coastal capital of any of the kingdoms, is argued by Iacovou (2008a:635) to have a "staunch Hellenic identity" throughout the Cypro-Archaic and Cypro-Classical periods. Whether they were truly Hellenic or merely had strong political ties to the Aegean, the association between

Salamis and the Aegean polities is evidenced by a foundation legend detailing Aegean ancestors, the royal family possessing Greek names, and political and military allegiance with the Aegean polities throughout the Greco-Persian conflict (Iacovou 2008a:635). The Salaminian King, Evagoras, who ruled in Salamis circa 449 BCE, was a known ally of Athens; there is a statue of him placed during his rule in the Athenian Agora, and he was granted Athenian citizenship (Yon 2012:92).

Sanctuaries and the deities to which they were dedicated to also attest to inter-island diversity. The structure of sanctuaries themselves is generally the same across the island; a characteristic example of this is the sanctuary of Aya Irini, which consisted of a boundary wall enclosing an open courtyard that contained a few small buildings; but the focal point was a central altar around which votive sculpture were placed (Karageorghis 1981:130), and for the most part, sanctuaries across Cyprus follow this model (Averett 2010:133, Gordon et. al. 2010:30, Tatton-Brown 1988:47).

The form of worship at the sanctuaries is also relatively standardized throughout the island, marked by dedications of terracotta, or less frequently limestone, sculpture to the deity being worshiped at that particular sanctuary (Counts 2008:7). However, there is some variation in which gods were favored across the island, which also affects the types of statuary dedications. There is a 'principle' female deity whose worship was common throughout the island (Budin 2004:109). In Paphos itself, this deity is referred to as "Wannassa" the Bronze Age term for "Queen" (Budin 2004:112). She was identified by the Greeks as Aphrodite, who also believed that Paphos was the location of her birth and of her principle sanctuary on the island (Budin 2004:112). In the central plains of the island there is the widespread worship of Golgia, thought to be the "Golgoi

Aphrodite" (Keswani 2012:110). The 'Phoenician migration' to Kition brought with it the Phoenician goddess Astarte, who was worshiped at her sanctuary there, and in a sanctuary at Amathous as well; however, the identity of the Amathous goddess is more duplicitous (Budin 2004, see also discussion in Chapter V). The most common form of terracotta sculptures at these sanctuaries dedicated to the female deities are female figurines (Averett 2010:135). While the 'main goddess,' referred to alternatively as the Paphia, Golgia, Aphrodite or Astarte,[8] had sanctuaries across the island, several other deities appear to be regional favorites. The worship of the "Heracles-Melquart" is found in Kition, also argued to have been brought with the Phoenician migration (Karageorghis 2000:199). However, a form of this Herakles-Melquart, termed by Counts (2008) as the "Master of the Lion" (see chapter VII) was popular throughout the agricultural regions of the Mesaoria plains, and the surrounding area, including Idalion, and Golgoi (Counts 2008:9). Counts (2008) argues that there is "little doubt" that the "Master of the Lion" is a representation of a god; while it cannot be certain that this statue represented a god, or merely a mythical hero or being, its dedication in sanctuaries does seem to have a regional trend. By the archaic period the worship of Greek gods was also being integrated into the island; an example is Apollo, to whom a sanctuary at Idalion was dedicated sometime in the Cypro-Archaic period (Fourrier 2013:106, Keswani 2012:106). In the case of these male deities, the most common form of sculptural dedication takes the shape of warriors, chariots and chariot riders, and of male priests and bull imagery (Averett 2010:135).

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[8] See Budin (2004) for a detailed investigation of the variation in the identity of the main Cypriot Goddess, especially in the identities of Aphrodite and Astarte.

Religious practice, therefore, while generally similar across the island in terms of sanctuary architecture and the form of worship through dedications, into which new gods originating outside the island were integrated (Iacovou 208:649), did vary in regional favoritism of certain deities. Therefore, while scholars have widely recognized a distinctive Cypriot culture that included some shared material industries and cultural practices across the island (Counts 2008:16, Iacovou 2008a:641, Knapp 2014:42), diversities in language, cultural and political affiliations, as well as favored regional deities suggest that these kingdoms were politically autonomous, and that there was a degree of cultural diversity across the island.

Revolt, and the end of the 'Age of Kingdoms'

While the exact date is debated, it is agreed that circa 545 BCE, the Cypriots voluntarily submitted to become vassals of the Persian king (Hermary 2013:84, Iacovou 2002:76, 2008:646, Satraki 2013:123). In 499 BCE, however, several of the Cypriot kingdoms joined the Aegean Greeks during the Ionian Revolt in an effort to oust the Persians from Cyprus. Most of what we know of the Ionian Revolt on Cyprus comes from Herodotus (5.104-116), who provides a description of the event. Herodotus' account, however, is likely incomplete, as he names only three kingdoms in the events, and archaeological evidence suggests that more were likely involved (Iacovou 2002:76). Herodotus (5.104) explains that the Cypriot involvement in the Revolt was spurred on by Onesilos, the King of Salamis, who rallied all of the kingdoms to join him; with the exception of Amathous. The revolt was ultimately unsuccessful, and Cyprus remained under Persian control. Most notable of the events following the failed revolt are the aggressive expansionist efforts of Kition (Iacovou 2002:77-79, 2012:65).

There is ample evidence that following the Ionian Revolt Kition took over the Kingdom of Idalion, circa 460 BCE (Fourier 2013:106, 116, Gordon et al. 2010 3:31, Hermary 2013:90, Hermary and Mertens 2014:19, Iacovou 2002:77-78, 2008:646, 2012:65, Maier 1985:34). The activities of Kition do suggest a degree of unrest and shifting in power relations the island during this time.

Despite Persia's success in re-establishing control over the island, the adaptation of Aegean cultural aspects including political ideologies, styles in the material cultures, and the use of the Greek language, appear to have grown more popular and prevalent across the island over the course of the Cypro-Classical Period (Counts 2010:155-56, Karageorghis 2000:199, 201, Keswani 2012:139, Gordon et al. 2010:31, Maier 1985:38, Satraki 2013:139, Yon 2012:95); even Amathous, the stronghold of written Eteocypriot in Cypriot syllabic script, started to utilize alphabetic Greek (Iacovou 2008a:647). Despite this trajectory, the kingdoms of Cyprus remained tributary states to the Achaemenid Empire until the campaign of Alexander the Great, who made the kingdoms of Cyprus vassals of the Ptolemaic Empire in 333 BCE (Karageorghis 2000:199, Tatton-Brown 1988:16). The Cypriot kingdoms are officially terminated by Ptolemy I at end of fourth century, circa 312 BCE (Hermary 2013:89, Iacovou 2002:74-76, 2008: 639, 2014:162, Michaeldes 2012:68, Satraki 2013:123). After this *strategos,* governor-generals appointed by Alexandria, were instated to govern the island (Michaeldes 2012:68, Tatton-Brown 1988:17), and the Cypriot political system was fully dissolved.

The 'Age of Kingdoms,' therefore, began in the Cypriot Geometric circa the twelfth century BCE, and ended with the reign of the Ptolemaic Empire at dawn of the

third century BCE (Iacovou 2002). The culmination of political tensions leading into the beginning of the fifth century BCE, culminating with the Ionian revolt, and the political reorganization and unrest that followed over the first half of the fourth century BCE are the stage on which these sarcophagi are crafted. The period of c. 500-550 BCE, to which all three sarcophagi have been dated, was rife with political tensions, and most certainly was a period wherein the demonstration of social and political status would have been a necessary activity of those who wanted to gain or maintain power on the island. The historical circumstance surrounding the sarcophagi, contributing to the social and political climates in which the sarcophagi were created, are essential to consider when analyzing why the imagery was chosen for the sarcophagi and what it would have meant to the people who made them. The creators, users, and the deceased existed in this period, and the analysis of the sarcophagi cannot be separated from the circumstances of their creation, or those who made and used them.

III - Mortuary Practices

Identity in Death

Mortuary practices are not only enacted so the living may morn the dead. Funerary rituals are events in which identity and social relationships are also expressed and manipulated; given the new absence in the community, funerals can become events where social roles are re-negotiated, and mortuary objects are the physical evidence of this re-negotiation of identity and community relations (Beck 1995:167, Binford 1971:16-17, Brown 1995:4, Chapmen 2013:53-54, Janes 2010:130, 2013:147, O'Shea 1984:9-10, Parker-Pearson 1999:32-33, Stutz and Tarlow 2013:4-5, Trinkaus 1995:54).

A sarcophagus, then, as an object of mortuary ritual explicitly connected to a single individual, becomes a surface where the identity of this individual and their place in the community may be negotiated by those surviving community members (Parker-Pearson 1999:32). If the sarcophagus was created for anybody, rather than a specific individual, selected 'off the shelf' after an individual has died, that specific individual's identity may not be visible in the structure of that sarcophagus. In this case, the artist was still making that artifact in a socio-cultural context that would inform the imagery, and the sarcophagus would, therefore, still have been impacted by the identity of the local community. If that sarcophagus was created for a single individual, however, the negotiation of individual identity will be evidenced in the form and imagery: "identities symbolized in death are the results of many different forces acting upon the mourners and on the deceased" (Parker-Pearson 1999:33). Understanding these 'many forces' that influence how and why an identity is represented in death a certain way, including the

temporal and spatial context of the creators and users, is essential for understanding the use and interpretation of the object within its local community.

In order to discuss the local context of funerary practices, and the role of sarcophagi in these practices, however, it is important to examine the local context of burial in Cyprus, most especially of the tombs in which sarcophagi are found.

Burial and Ritual in Cyprus

There is a dramatic cultural shift in mortuary ritual at the transition from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age in the twelfth and eleventh centuries BCE, during which several aspects of Cypriot burial changed dramatically (Iacovou 2008:634, Janes 2013:151, Keswani 2012:318, Knapp 2008:369). The loss of archeological context due to the looting of many tombs makes it difficult to understand mortuary practices in the archeological record of Cyprus, however, there have been some detailed studies done on the burial rituals and their purposes throughout the development of the Cypriot Kingdoms (Janes 2010, 2013, Keswani 2012). In Bronze Age Cyprus, the dead seem to have been a meaningful part of the communities to which they belonged, and Keswani (2012:317) argues for forms of ancestor worship or burial cults, as evidenced by the intermural interments and activities surrounding them. Moving into the Late Bronze Age the focus on ancestry cults seems to have been deemphasized, but the intermural burials in close proximity to living spaces continued, suggesting that the dead were still playing a meaningful role in their communities (Keswani 2012:317).

However, the transition from the Late Bronze Age to Iron Age saw a shift in the location and form of burials. Beginning in the Cypro-Geometric burials shifted to extramural areas (Iacovou 2008a, 643, Janes 2013:151, Keswani 2012:318). It has been

suggested that the shift from intermural to extramural may be indicative of the political

climate, and that moving the necropolis to the furthest reaches of a settlement could

have been a way to project community identity, or to establish borders (Janes 2010:135,

2013:151, 158, Keswani 2012:318, 322). It seems an unlikely that it is a coincidence

that this change occurs directly after a time of settlement renegotiation and migrant

influx following the "crisis years," and at the very beginning of the development of

regional kingdoms; and this dramatic shift in mortuary behaviors could be indicative of

competition within the internal hierarchies on the island (Janes 2010:135). This

extramural shift is important because it occurs at the roots of the development of the

regional kingdoms, and is evidence to the use of burial as a way to claim and defend

territory, or to expand the influence of a community beyond its living space (Janes

2013). The extramural burials therefore evidence the beginning of a shift from local

communities to large, territorial polities on the island.

The shift from intermural to extramural burials was accompanied by a shift in

the form and shape of the tombs, and with the Cypro-Geometric came the adaptation of

a new form of mortuary architecture across the island: the 'Mycenaean' chamber tomb

(Carstens 2006:127, 146, Iacovou 2008a:635, Janes 2010:132). The 'chamber tomb'

style was relatively homogenous in use and form in Cyprus, and the use of chamber

tombs on the island predates the transition to the Iron Age and the extramural shift

(Carstons 2006:127, Janes 2010:133,).[9] The 'Mycenaean' angular, rock-cut, rectangular

chambers, with longer sloping *dromos*, however, appeared first in the Cypro-Geometric

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[9] For a detailed study of these different forms, see Carstens (2006), who outlines the different categories
as well as where and when they are most popular on this island.

period at the time of this shift, and became the most popular form of chamber tomb in the Cypro-Archaic though the Classical (Carstens 2006:164, Janes 2013:151). While it has been suggested that the adoption of this new tomb type might be connected to a large influx of immigrants to the island from the recently collapsed Mycenaean empire, others argue that the adoption of this different tomb style, as well as the elaborate goods buried within them, are similar in purpose to the extramural shift: evidence of the desire of a rising elite class at the earliest foundations of the Cypriot regional kingdoms to project their new power, or in the case of settlements that survived the 'crisis,' to demonstrate their established social hierarchy[10] (Janes 2010:131, Satraki 2013:125). In addition, the rather universal adoption of this tomb type at sites across the island would suggest that this was not just a tomb type used only by an immigrant population on the island, or a population with a separate and distinct ethnic identity (Iacovou 2008a:635). This is demonstrated at the tombs at Amathous, for which there is no evidence of ethnically specific tombs; and even though it was a new city, associated strongly with 'Eteocypriot population,' the new settlement used the new 'Mycenaean' chamber tombs style (Janes 2010). The new tomb type, therefore, was used by new settlements without distinct migrant origins such as Amathous, and adopted at that time in cities that predated the crisis and the migrant influx, such as Paphos; thus the new tomb type was part of an island-wide cultural trend that was not ethnically motivated (Iacovou 2008a:635).

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[10] Both Janes (2010) and Iacovou (2008) stress that this is not exclusively representative of a Mycenaean class colonizing Cyprus and rising to power (while some immigrants may well have risen to power in Cypriot communities), but that the Mycenaean form may have been adapted by the local Cypriot elites as an alternative and more elaborate, or exotic form of burial that could be used to demonstrate their status and class power.

The most elaborate form of these tombs are the built chamber tombs, the earliest of which are the built tombs of Salamis. Built chamber tombs were constructed by digging out a large ditch, then the walls and ceiling of the tomb are constructed from stone rubble or slabs, ashlar masonry, and in the most extravagant cases, large limestone blocks (Carstons 2006:130-133).

The Amathous and Golgoi sarcophagi, according to Cesnola (1878), were discovered in chamber tombs. The built chamber tomb that Cesnola claims held the Amathous sarcophagus was also excavated in the 1930s by the Swedish expedition to Cyprus; the tomb consisted of two chambers separated by a narrowed passageway with decorative doorframes (Carstons 2006:137, Gerstad et al 1935:2). The location and form of the Golgoi tomb is unknown aside from Cesnola's reference, and while he discusses ornate finds in the chambers, he does not mention if it was built or not, or provide any description of its layout (Cesnola 1878:110-117). The tomb that the Palaipafos sarcophagus was found in is a rectangular rock cut tomb without built walls (Flourentzos 2007). Therefore, if Cesnola is to be believed, it would seem that the Palaipafos tomb was not as elaborate in construction as the tombs containing the Amathous and Golgoi sarcophagi.

The Use of Mortuary Ritual

To fully contextualize the sarcophagi in their local setting in Cyprus, it is important to understand the local mortuary traditions. One way that mortuary rituals have been used on Cyprus is in the establishment, negotiation, or continuation of political or social power. The shift from intermural to extramural burial areas at the Bronze to Iron Age transition in Cyprus is one such mortuary behavior that could

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inform us of the social and political use of mortuary ritual on the island. These implications of the use of burial are explored by Janes (2013) who uses Amathous and Salamis as case studies for mortuary ritual at the dawn of the 'Age of Kingdoms.' Understanding these applications of mortuary practices demonstrates how funerary behaviors, and objects, could be used in the negotiation of territorial, political, and social power.

Amathous is a particularly interesting example, because unlike the other Cypriot Kingdoms, its origins were in the beginning of the eleventh century BCE (Aupert 1997:19, Budin 2004:117, Iacovou 2008a:635, Janes 2013:154). There was no previous settlement, no complex social structure in place. Building political power there did not involve maintaining connections to an older generation of influential elite (Janes 2013:154). The population of Amathous was culturally diverse by the end of the Cypro-Geometric, however, it does not appear to have been divided strictly along cultural lines in the mortuary record. Multiple groups of different cultural background were buried together in the various necropoleis (Janes 2013:370). The burial architecture and burial assemblage (aside from those few culturally specific objects that varied by background) seems to have remained consistent throughout the city's first millennium of occupation, suggesting a community bond or identity despite differences in cultural practices (Janes 2013, 370). In addition, as a new center of political power, Amathous as a fledgling city had to actively work to establish its borders, and burial appears to have played a role in this process. The acropolis at Amathous was an established administrative center by the Cypro-Archaic, and the necropoleis to the east, west, and north of this center, formed as early as the middle of the Cypro-Geometric would have been an effective way to mark

the borders of its territory (see Chapter V). While it is not entirely clear, due to poor

preservation, how visible certain features were within the necropoleis, certain features

like partially or unfilled *dromoi*, boundary walls, offering pyres, tumuli, stelae or, or

superstructures would have provided a certain degree of visibility and prominence

within the landscape (Janes 2013:151)[11]. The necropoleis to the north and east would

have been visible from the hinterland, and the necropolis to the west would have been

visible to those approaching by sea (Janes 2013:370). In that way, the mortuary

practices at Amathous seemed to have worked to project its power inland, which could

possibly reflect the city's efforts to establish territorial control of the area around it

(Janes 2013:370). These mortuary practices, therefore, could have played a role in the

growth of Amathous from an economic port city to a regional kingdom.

Salamis, unlike Amathous, had strong links with the Bronze Age political and

economic power of Enkomi (Janes 2013:155). The elites who descended from the

groups who competed for power at Enkomi continued this struggle in Salamis, and by

the eleventh century BCE there was already a complex settlement at this new center,

including walls and urban features and a sanctuary (Janes 2013:155). The struggle for

power in Salamis, therefore, took a different course than that at Amathous, and had

different motivations. Salamis, like Amathous, used burial architecture as a way to

establish authority, However, Salamis was only newly the center of established power

in the region, having moved from Enkomi, and the local dynasty would have needed to

reaffirm the continuation of its power. In the Cypro-Geometric III (850-750 BCE)

tensions in the region, driven by competition for resources, reached a climax, evidenced

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[11] For further discussion of the visibility of these features see Janes 2013:151.

by the establishment of a necropolis referred to as the "Royal Burials" (Janes 2013:159). Not only are these tombs monumental in construction[12], but the distance from the city, about 500 meters, would indicate there was a long procession from the city center to the tomb that would have been widely visible to everyone who lived near the city center (Janes 2013:159). An elaborate ritual process upon reaching the burial site is demonstrated by the burial of chariots, including sacrificed horses with complete tack within these tombs; in addition, there is evidence for ritual feasting and drinking at the time of the burials (Janes 2013:59). Altogether the material from the burials suggest a large, drawn out, and very visible ritual that would have engaged a large portion of the community, and no doubt functioned to demonstrate the enduring power of the ruling class of Salamis (Janes 2013:160, Keswani 2012:321-22). The "Royal Burials" at Salamis, therefore, demonstrate the importance of mortuary ritual in the power dynamics of these fledgling states. While extramural burial grounds at Amathous demonstrate an attempt to extend its territory, the burial rituals at Salamis are evidence to a demonstration meant to maintain its political control.

Understanding the use of mortuary ritual at the time of these Kingdoms' formation can also inform the context of the use of sarcophagi, which might have been suiting similar purposes during the political tensions surrounding the Ionian Revolt. The examples of burial locations and material in Amathous and Salamis suggest necropoleis location and elite mortuary ritual was used in Cyprus to establish territorial control, and political and social power. The elaborate sarcophagi discussed in this thesis no doubt

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[12] The Salamis royal tombs are built chamber tombs; the only parallels have been found in Patraki and Ammochostos Bay, however a few built tombs in the Kourian area show some similarities (Carstens 2006:130, 134).

are an extension of this practice, however, the circumstances of the early fourth century BCE presented an entirely different array of political, social, cultural, and economic circumstances. The sarcophagi, and the iconography they display, are no doubt tied to these contemporaneous events. Just as mortuary practices of the Cypro-Geometric period were shaped by the negotiation of power by an elite class, so too are these sarcophagi shaped by the circumstances of their temporal and cultural context. To understand the local context of these sarcophagi, therefore, it is important to remember their role as mortuary artifacts that acted as potential surfaces for the negotiation and affirmation of the political, cultural, and economic power of those who were utilizing them.

While I have found no reference to potential beliefs relating to the afterlife in Cyprus at this time, the Amathous, Golgoi, and Palaipafos sarcophagi are evidence of a large investment in death. There is no physical evidence to support whether or not these sarcophagi were part of a large procession, such as the Salamis burial, or the extent to which they would have been displayed, or for whom this display might have been created. In all cases, however, the burial would have necessitated a relatively large amount of exposure. The resources to mine the limestone for carving, the actual carving and construction of the work, and the labor required to transport the large stone objects to the burial site would have required a great deal of resources and a significant number of people. There is also the construction of each of the tombs, which is itself a labor-

intensive work. Intact, smaller burials with grave goods in Cyprus[13] would suggest that, while the tombs of the sarcophagi were looted, they were originally accompanied by a rich array of burial goods, which would have also needed to be created and attained for burial. It is also likely, given the amount of investment in the creation and procurement of the tomb, sarcophagus, and accompanying goods, that the burial of these objects would have included a ritual to justify the large investment of resources into the burial. While there is little direct evidence for the exact form of the rituals that accompanied the burial of these objects, they most certainly would have had a degree of exposure, and the imagery on the sarcophagi was likely informed by what the deceased, or those preforming this ritual on their behalf, wanted to represent about their identity and status.

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[13] For an example, see the publication of the finds of the Cypro-Geometric Burials in Palaipafos-Skales (Karageorghis 1983) or the series of publications on several tombs from Amathous "La Nécropole D'Amathonte Tombes 113-367" Volumes I-VI, in Éstudies Chypriotes IX. One of the volumes is cited in this thesis (Karageorghis 1987, Hermary 1987).

IV – Theoretical Models: Foreign Origins to Hybrid Horizons

Ethnicity and Hybridity are two models that have and are being used in the study of Cypriot material and objects to understand the identities that informed their creation (Counts 2008, Knapp 2014). These two models are both tied to the history of Cypriot literature that has used 'foreign' or 'local' to define cultural materials on the island, and has also begun to attempt to deconstruct this dichotomy (e.g Iacovou 2013:16, Janes 2010:128, 2013:146, Kearns 2011:148-49, Knapp 2008:283, 2014:42). I will discuss ethnicity and its connection to an older paradigm that focused on 'external narratives,' how hybridity has been a used as a model to challenge that paradigm, and then how my discussion will attempt to build on that progress, moving to a more central focus on local contexts.

Ethnicity and Externalizing Narratives

The necessity of an investigation into the local significance of these sarcophagi is evidenced by the scholarly treatment of these objects. Discussions of them frequently use simplified narratives that focus mostly on the evidence for influence from 'external' sources, i.e., influence from cultures or peoples based in a locality outside of Cyprus (e.g. Flourentzos 2007, Hendrix 2001: 44-47, Karageorghis 2000:201-205, Tatton-Brown 1984). The trend of focusing on influences from outside the island is not limited to these sarcophagi, and in the 20th century the fields of Cypriot archaeology and history were limited to discussions of 'cycles of domination': "the island and its inhabitants became the rock, and Assyrians, Egyptians, Greeks and Persians become successive waves crashing against the rock as the storm of history perseveres" (Counts 2008:15).

One possibly problematic faction of this focus on influences coming from outside of Cyprus is the use of 'ethnicity' as a conceptual approach to identities on Cyprus and Cypriot material culture. As stated by Counts: "The inherent culture-historical approach embedded in many studies of Cypriot material culture has led to the unquestioned (and relatively unchecked) ethnic labeling of iconographic types and styles in Cypriot art" (Counts 2008:18).

The "ethnic labeling," criticized be Counts (2008:18), and similarly by Knapp (2014:42), who terms them as "ethnic attributions," has been recognized as a problem in the study of Cypriot materials by other scholars as well (Iacovou 2013:16, Janes 2010:128, 2013:146, Kearns 2011:148-49, Knapp 2008:283, 2014:42). While Gruen (2014:424) argues that ethnicity is a mid-twentieth century model, and in studies of antiquity is "largely a concocted notion . . . subjective and contrived, a social discourse rather than a historical reality," the observation by these scholars that it has had prevalent use in Cypriot studies, and by Knapp (2014:42) that this use might still be occurring, warrants a discussion of ethnicity and how it has been used in Cyprus, and why this is problematic.

Ethnicity is a nebulous concept, "multi-faceted and loosely defined" (Knapp 2014:35). However, Knapp (2014:35) defines ethnicity as something "expressed most often in the ways individuals feel themselves connected (or the ways others see them to be connected) to discrete social groups or to a specific social milieu" (2014:35). To analyze these ethnic groups using archaeological material is incredibly difficult, especially as these groups could share a material culture, and define themselves as separate ethnic groups by some other, non-material trait (Antonaccio 2003:60,

Dougherty and Kurke 2003:2, Hall 2003:24, Kearns 2011:148-49, Knapp 2014:37-39).

This is further compounded by the fact that while a similarity in artifact style might

imply some degree of shared social or cultural identity, it is difficult to identify defined

ethnic groups; ethnicity is something that is continuously in flux, being constantly

negotiated and actively shaped by the people within that group (Dougherty and Kurke

2003:3, Hall 1997:2-3, Janes 2010:130, Jones 1997:62, McInerney 2014:3-4, Tonkin

1989:16-17).

     While, as Knapp (2014:36) states, "most archaeologists would probably agree

that ethnicity revolves closely around perception, and is less concerned directly with

material culture," ethnicity still finds its way into the discourse, which Knapp (2014:38-

39) problematizes here:

> although archaeologists also often use collective terms such as
> 'Phoenician" or "Etruscan," presumably based at least in part on the
> perceived use of a common language, we cannot assume that the
> speakers of a single language constitute a single ethnic group . . . And we
> certainly cannot assume that the differences in various types of material
> culture, or the "boundaries" of their distribution, mark out distinctive
> ethnolinguistic groups.

Knapp (2014:42) insists that there are still efforts to use material culture to

identify ethnic groups in Cyprus: "Some have tried to demonstrate the presence or even

the dominance of "Aegean," "Phoenician" or "Eteocypriot" ethnic groups on the

island." I would argue that an example of this practice might be the figure of Astarte on

the Amathous sarcophagus being labeled as "Phoenician" (e.g. Hendrix 2001:47). The

problem with this "ethnic labeling," (Counts 2008:18) or "ethnic attribution," (Knapp

2014:42) does not lie in the identification of the influence; Astarte is a Phoenician

goddess, and the form of the depiction may indicate Phoenician influence. The problem

is that the discussion of the objects stops with the identification of this influence, and the local interpretation is not fully explored. The reality of Cypriot material is much more complex and multifaceted than can be expressed in a 'ethnic identification.' As stated by Knapp (2014:42): "many material features of Early Iron Age Cyprus . . . reveal clearly the hybridization of Cypriot, Levantine, and Aegean elements: none can be taken as final proof for a specific ethnic origin."

Following Knapp's argument that the "ethnic attributions" (2014:38) attached to Cypriot material cannot "be taken as final proof for a specific ethnic origin" (2014:42), in my argument surrounding the portrayals of identity in the sarcophagi I will not attempt to identify ethnicity in Cyprus or to interpret 'ethnic influences' on the material. Instead, I will focus on investigating how the imagery on the sarcophagi has been informed by the 'cultural identity,' of their local communities and cultural groups. My interpretation of 'cultural identity' follows Hall's (2003:25) definition of what constitutes a cultural group:

> It is only when certain of these elements [customs and habits] are selected and endowed with symbolic signification in social practice that they become cultural . . . And those to whom this reified semiotic code is intelligible constitute a cultural group or a culture in the pluralistic sense . . . The nature of the elements selected as symbols will determine the kind of cultural group under consideration.

The cultural groups I am considering, therefore, are the local communities within which these sarcophagi were created, and to whom the imagery and practices used within the community would have constituted an 'intelligible' 'semiotic code'. This local area might have been host to a number of smaller cultural groups who might have distinguished themselves as separate from each other, but they all shared that space; they would have collectively been affected by the political, social, and cultural events

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that were occurring in that space, and would have been utilizing and interacting with imagery and materials common to that community. I argue that by understanding the political, social and cultural events, and the local use of materials and imagery in that community and in Cyprus in general, it is possible to begin an interpretation of the local understanding of the sarcophagi.

It has been shown that ethnicity is not a good model to use for Cypriot materials, but ethnicity is not the only model that has been used to try and understand material culture in Cyprus. One response to this ethnic approach has been the use of the model of 'hybridity' as an alternative (Knapp 2014:43).

Hybridity: The Problems of Process and Product

Burke (2009:13), in his volume on the subject, asserts that hybridity can apply to "most domains of culture," and divides the applications of hybridity into three main categories: artefacts, practices and people. The general framework for hybridity is derived from Homi Bhabha (Counts 2008:12, Hall 2003:59, Kerns 2001:149, Silliman 2015:278), who was using it in the contexts of Native Americans who were adopting elements from the colonial population. He defined it as a "third space" in which the "colonized" culture was intentionally mixing elements in a conscious "subversive" way, giving agency to the "hybridizing" culture (Silliman 2015:281). Silliman (2015:280) states that the most common use of hybridity by archeologists is in application to situations where one:

> (1) encounters or has sustained interaction with another group or its
> material culture or some manifestation of difference, whether by force or
> by choice, and (2) adjusts to or incorporates new material, practical,
> genetic, and symbolic elements associated with the encountered group in

experimental, creative, or seemingly imitative ways, again whether in coercive or equitable relations.

Using the term hybridity is argued to be beneficial because there is a shift of emphasis from point of origin to points of contact and what happens to that cultural material at that point of contact (Counts 2008:12), and many scholars working in the Eastern Mediterranean have found hybridity to be a useful concept (e.g. Whitmarsh 2011:219).

The benefit of using hybridity in the context of Cypriot history is emphasized by Knapp (2014:43): "Thinking about migration or colonization in terms of hybridization practices, rather than movements of problematic ethnic groups, enables us to understand better the dynamics involved in the collapse of Late Bronze Age cultures in the Eastern Mediterranean, and the emergence of the Early Iron Age polities in the region." An example of the use of hybridity, in relation to Cypriot material culture specifically, is provided by Counts (2008) who examines hybridity in religious iconography in Cyprus through a study of that he terms "the Master of the Lion"[14] Counts (2008) discusses the creation of the "Master of the Lion" image on Cyprus as hybridization of the Greek Herakles, the Phoenician Melquart, as well as local motivations and significances. He argues that the Cypriots combined these factors in order to produce a "Master of the Animals" type deity who functioned in the agricultural regions as a cultic figure related to control over nature and agricultural success (Counts 2008). In that way, Counts (2008) discusses a process of hybridization, from which emerges a local product with local significance; successfully moving away from narratives that would attribute

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[14] Counts' conclusions about the meaning and significance of the "Master of the Lion" are discussed in Chapter VII in relation to the battle scene on the Palaipafos sarcophagus.

foreign significance to the "Master of the Lion," rather than investigating the local reading of the object.

However, following a critique of hybridity presented by Silliman (2015), I argue that while hybridity as a model has certainly progressed the discussion, is not a perfect solution to the problem of attempting to understand Cypriot material "from within."[15] Silliman's article: "A Requiem of Hybridity" (2015) highlights many of the model's limits as a concept for use in archeological discussion. While the article does not discuss hybridity in Cyprus, many of his critiques highlight why I would argue that hybridity is not an effective model for interpreting individual objects of Cypriot material culture, though, as stated by Knapp (2014:43), the model may be useful for understanding its history. This distinction revolves around a discussion of hybridity as a "process" or a "product."

One of Silliman's primary critiques for hybridity is that the term is too general, a critique that is reflected in relation to Cypriot material by Iacovou (2013:16): "The treatment of the Iron Age [in Cyprus] is largely confined to a critique of ethnic approaches and/or colonization narratives . . . which are substituted by a term that describes but does not interpret: *hybridity*."

Hybridity as a concept applied to material, if only being a description of a cultural amalgamation of elements, would be rather useless in Cyprus; as an island with centuries of interaction with numerous different cultures, nearly every object in Cyprus could then be considered a "hybrid." Silliman (2015:286) argues that if hybridity is

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[15] See quote used in opening of Chapter I: Introduction, from Iacovou 2013a, 16.

used, it should be described as a "social *process* [my emphasis]" of cultural negotiation by "social agents." This seems like a necessary course of action, as the focus on a *process* indicates that the hybridization occurs over time, rather than a label that indicates permanent state. It is an argument for "hybridization practices" that Knapp (2014:43) calls for as an alternative to ethnic migration narrative so as to better understand Cypriot history and the cultural practices and interactions that shaped the island.

However, in relation to physical cultural material and cultural objects, the application of hybridity may be more complicated. If an object is defined as a hybrid *product*, there is the essential question of "when something or someone is no longer hybrid and how long it or they should be compared to a preexisting state" (Silliman 2015:286); is an object that was appropriated by local people and used over long periods of time forever understood as something that had foreign 'origins,' or does it at some point also attain a local identity? As stated by Silliman (2015:286): "Archaeologists tend to have a good sense of when such transitions that they might deem hybridity begin, but not much clarity about when they end." In addition, there is the question of the perception of the local peoples engaging in these transitions; is the person involved in the "hybrid" practices aware of this involvement or, as observed by Pappa (2013:35):

> were those actions already so deeply imbedded in an (already) hybrid cultural context that no such consciousness could have been at play? Is the hybridity of practices or material culture hybrid though the archeologist's eyes or did it appear so to their agents too?

One must ask if many of those things perceived as hybrids are actually so, or if this is this merely a definition applied to objects that are "between our typologies"

(Silliman 2015:291) for the surrounding Aegean, Phoenician, Persian, and Egyptian cultures. I would argue, therefore, that in relation to physical Cypriot material, it would be beneficial to articulate a distinction between hybridization *processes* that inform us, as outside observers, as to how different cultural elements are interacting and being manipulated, and how the single objects that we understand to be *products* of these interactions were actually understood local actors, who may have had an interpretation of those objects that was wholly separate or different from those sources of influence.

Moving beyond Hybridity

The need to move beyond hybridity in Cypriot material when considering individual objects can be articulated though a critique of Counts' (2008) discussion of the "Master of the Lion". While Counts uses hybridity as a process, and explains how and why the Cypriots incorporated elements of external influence into their own cultic figure, I would argue that Counts still defines the "Master of the Lion" as a hybrid product; as observed above by Silliman (2015:286), there is "not much clarity" about when the period of "transition" in the imagery became an image that had acquired a distinctly local significance.

Returning to Iacovou's (2013:16) argument that hybridity "describes but does not interpret," I would argue that while Counts (2008) has described the process of hybridization that produced the visual elements of the "Master of the Lion," and then elaborates on the specifically localized reading of the "Master of the Lion," he does not fully articulate the divide between the recognition that a process of hybridization transpired, and the interpretation of the local object as it was used by everyday Cypriots, after, perhaps long after, this process occurred. Counts (2008:23) states: "the

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significance of recognizing hybridization processes in ancient cultural context lies more in the potential to expose local practice and meanings than in the recognition of the process itself." I would argue, following Silliman's (2015) critique, that hybridity can be used to recognize the "social process" (Silliman 2015:286); however the final form, how one single object is made is used in its local context, should be discussed in relation to those local people in that community at the time it was made, rather than as a hybrid product, which implies influences that the community may or may not have been aware were present. While Counts (2008) investigates and explains the local importance of the "Master of the Lion," he concludes that it "reveals a Cypriot hybrid born from the intercourse of (at least) two hybrid cultures (Greek and Pheonician)" (2008:23). By implying, then, that the 'Master of the Lion' is a permanently hybrid product, the local significance, the interpretation of everyday people making and looking at these individual objects, is left entangled in the web of scholarly labels and foreign associations.

The question of "when is something or someone no longer hybrid" (Silliman 2015:286) appears to be something that needs to be fully articulated if we are to discuss local context. The people using this icon for generations, those engaging in the "local practice and meanings" might not have been aware of a process of hybridization that created that image; even if they were, they might have possessed their own local interpretation that they conceived of as separate. If the goal is to understand the local item as it was understood and used by local peoples at that moment in time, the discussion will likely be more productive if the focus is centered on that local moment

in time and space, rather than the deep history of cultural influences that resulted in an iconographic type.

This may seem like a small distinction, but, in light of the broad critique of the implications of hybridity provided by Silliman (2015), it is one that I argue should be made in order create an approach that examines the local significance and use of Cypriot material culture; to reorient our point of view from an outside, wide-scope view of Cyprus, to an internal, focused perspective. For the sake of an example in relation to the sarcophagi, I propose the hypothetical argument that the appearance of Astarte on the Amathous sarcophagus is a result of Phoenician presence that led to an influx of that kind of imagery, which was then adapted by the Cypriots for their own goddess. This could be interpreted as a hybridization process. However, the discussion stops there— what the creators, the users, or the deceased person entombed in the object believed that figure meant on the sarcophagus in Amathous at the time of its use, or why they might have chosen to use that element on the sarcophagus in the first place, is not fully explored. Hybridity and hybridization, therefore, can only go so far. It is a beneficial to understand broad periods of Cypriot history so as to move away from a focus on "the movements of problematic ethnic groups" (Knapp 2014:43), and an effective way to model the translation of influences, the moments of "transition" (Silliman 2015:286), and even to identify objects that exemplify that influence has occurred, but I would argue, following Silliman's (2015) critique, it is not an effective model for a study that focuses on local creation, use and understanding of individual objects.

In my analysis of the sarcophagi, I work to move beyond the edges of the model of a "hybridization process," and to examine the local context and use of Cypriot

material. I believe that this research is critical because if left undone, Cypriot material becomes trapped on the hybrid horizon; the history that led to its creation, and influenced its style is well understood, but its life within the local community, what it meant to those people who made and interacted with it, needs more scholarly attention.

In my following analysis chapters, I focus on understanding how the sarcophagi, with particular emphasis on the iconography of the relief sculpture, were created and utilized within their local communities in Cyprus. Instead of attaching these objects to the terminal end of a hybridization process, I attempt to move beyond the hybrid horizon line, and to focus instead on the local motivations behind the use of the elements in the iconography, and how these sarcophagi would have been interpreted by the local people interacting with them.

In these analysis chapters, therefore, I will complicate the history of these three sarcophagi by investigating how these monumental works, and the iconography within their relief sculpture, were cultural objects that existed within their local communities at a moment that was part of a larger continuum of internal cultural development and complexity in Cyprus.

V - Analysis: The Amathous Sarcophagus

Figure 4: The Amathous Sarcophagus. Images from the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Introduction: a "rare gem of art"

> The sculpted sarcophagus was in the centre of the inner room, facing the entrance, and lay there in a heap broken to pieces by the vandals who centuries ago had opened this tomb, and being perhaps disappointed in not finding the treasure they sought, wreaked their vengeance on this rare gem of art.
>
> Luigi Palma di Cesnola (1878:259)

The preservation of the polychromy, as well as the monumentality and quality of the relief sculpture, has led the Amathous sarcophagus (see Figure 4) to be considered a particularly exceptional work of sculpture from Cypriot antiquity (Karageorghis 2000:201, Hendrix 2001:43, Hermary and Mertens 2014:358, Flourentzos 2007:15, Satraki 2013:136). Its notoriety is no doubt supported by the common suggestion that this was likely the sarcophagus of a deceased local king (Karageorgis 2000, 201; Satraki 2013, 136; Hermary and Mertens 2014:358). Given these high regards and its potential social significance, it is not surprising that of the three sarcophagi studied in this thesis, the Amathous sarcophagus is the most frequently discussed in the literature surrounding Cypriot history and art.

The Amathous sarcophagus is the largest of the three sarcophagi discussed in this thesis (157.5 x 236.6 x 97.8 cm). The sarcophagus is constructed from hard limestone with high relief sculpture on each of the four sides, featuring two deities central to Amathous and a processual chariot scene (Hermary and Mertens 2014:353-62, Karageorghis 2000:201-204). It has an architectural tented roof, with a sphinx standing at each of the four corners, oriented towards the roof of the lid, looking outward over the short ends (Hermary and Mertens 2014:353, Karageorghis 2001:201). The long sides of the sarcophagi appear to depict a procession, led by two men riding

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horses, followed by four chariots, and ending with three spearmen (Hermary and Mertens 2014:356, Karageorghis 201-202). Carved into the both of the short ends are four identical iterations of a figure, one after the other from left to right; one side depicts what has been commonly called Bes (Hermary and Mertens 2014:357, Karageorghis 2000:202), and the other has been associated with the goddess Astarte (Hermary and Mertens 2014:358, Karageorghis 200:202-203).

Cesnola discovered the Amathous sarcophagus in the beginning of 1875 (Hermary and Mertens 2014:353). In his report, Cesnola discusses the tomb in which the Amathous sarcophagus was found, reportedly in the north necropolis, east of the city's northern aqueduct, just beyond the city's wall (Hendrix 2001:43). He describes the layout of the tomb, which was composed of a central chamber and four attached lateral chambers, and built of large stone blocks (Cesnola 1878:259). According to Cesnola, the sarcophagus was found in this central chamber, which also contained two other undecorated stone sarcophagi, one of marble and one of an unidentified stone (Cesnola 1878:269). It was found in an extremely fragmentary condition; in a letter to a colleague Cesnola claimed that it was found in 792 pieces (Hermary and Mertens 2014:353). The original restoration worked occurred on Cyprus. The entirety of the lid, with the exception of the pediment above the female figures, and the four sphinxes, is a plaster recreation created around 1902 (Hermary and Mertens 2014:356). With that

exception, there does not seem to be any recreated elements placed into the restoration.[16]

There has been debate relating to the dating of the artefact, which seems relatively uncertain to this day. Despite a general consensus reached in 2000 by curators of the Metropolitan Museum of Art: Carlos A. Picón and Joan R. Mertens, in collaboration with V. Karageorghis that the sarcophagus dates to 475 BCE, there is still disagreement. Pavlos Flourentzos in his 2007 publication on the Palaipafos sarcophagus argues that when compared to the Golgoi and Palaipafos sarcophagi, which are in low relief and show, as he terms it, "considerable Greek influence" (2006:16), the Amathous sarcophagus should be dated to circa 500 BCE, before the Persian campaign against the Cypriot Kingdoms during the Ionian revolt. Understanding the iconography in relation to its temporal context is complicated, therefore, by the uncertainty of when it was created. This debate surrounding the date is important because the interpretation of the iconography could vary radically depending on whether or not one believes it was made before or after the Ionian revolt. There are, however, some overarching contextual elements within Amathous that can provide evidence for an investigation into the local context and significance of this object.

Local Context: The Kingdom of Amathous

The majority of the scholarship on the sarcophagus is focused on relating the imagery to external cultures that were influencing the island. In 2007 Andreas Stilianou

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[16] As Hendrix (2000) describes in her essay both the conservation work and study of the polychromy at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the conservation efforts were mostly related to the polychromy, and removing a limestone wash from the original restoration that had affected the pigments (Hendrix 2001:48).

wrote an extremely detailed research report on the sarcophagus, concluding that the iconography "belongs principally" to a Phoenician tradition introduced to Cyprus around the eighth century BCE, at the beginning of the Cypro-Archaic period (referenced in Hermary and Mertens 2014:358). In addition, Victoria Tatton-Brown (formally Wilson) analyzed the elements in extreme detail in her unpublished doctoral thesis, which was then efficiently summarized in an article she published in 1981 (Hermary and Mertens 2014:358).[17] The unpublished thesis (Wilson 1972) seems to focus mostly on the evolution of each element in relation to its 'external origin,' discussing first the element in an earlier context outside of Cyprus, then comparing that typology to the one found on the sarcophagus, followed by a short discussion of other examples in Cyprus.

The trend in the literature available to me reveals that the body of the work has explored influences and cultural interaction on the island. However, research that focuses on fully contextualizing the sarcophagi by analyzing the significance of the object to the people interacting with it is lacking. In order to reconstruct an understanding of this as a local Cypriot artefact, we must examine its political, historical, and cultural context as an object created within the kingdom of Amathous.

There is a complex political and cultural history within Amathous building up to the events of the Ionian Revolt and directly following that can contribute to our understanding of the local context of the sarcophagus's creation and use. The first

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[17] Stilanou's report and Tatton-Brown's published 1981 summary of her work are not published in English. However, from those references available to me, it does seem that the main body of the conclusions draw in these works focus on the external influences that led to these sarcophagi. Reviewing the Tatton-Brown's (formerly Wilson) thesis indicated that there was likely a similar focus in her 1981 summary. However, because the thesis was unpublished I do not discuss her analysis in depth here.

human occupation at the site of Amathous is agreed to date to around 1100 BCE (Aupert 1997:19, Budin 2004:117, Iacovou 2008a:635, Janes 2013:154). Amathous' roots are in the Cypro-Geometric, and it was therefore one Cypriot kingdom that did not pre-date the Iron Age transition. The narrative of Amathousian history following its original occupation is a little more nebulous, and, as has been noted is a trend in the study of Cypriot history, the history of Amathous is often discussed in relative phases of influence.

There is some strong evidence that the material culture of Amathous had been influenced by or imported from surrounding cultures. One such example is a sudden influx of Egyptian iconography and styles into Cyprus during the 7th and sixth centuries BCE, especially in the region of Amathous (Aupert 1997:24, Satraki 2013:127). There is also evidence for direct Phoenician presence in Amathous is the 'Phoenician necropolis', established in the eighth century BCE (Aupert 1997:24, Budin 2004:118). While this would most certainly indicate that Amathous had relations with Phoenicians and was influenced by Phoenician culture, interaction and influence cannot be conflated with ethnicity and identity. In addition, it was not only Phoenicians who were interacting with Amathous; from its earliest foundations Amathous seems to have been a relatively well-connected city with ties to various external cultures, as evidenced by materials from the earliest tombs of Amathous (c. 1050 BCE) which include imported materials form the east, as well as Phoenician and Aegean crafts (Aupert 1997:23). However, Amathousians also had active craft industries, and the majority of the vases found in Amathous were locally made in a local style (Aupert 1997:23). It is difficult to firmly establish disparate cultural identities using material culture, and in this case, the

origin story of the city of Amathous can provide some insight into at least what contemporaneous foreign scholars in believed about the cultural identity of the kingdom.

Theopompus (Phot. *Bibl.* 176) describes the arrival of the Greeks with Agamemnon after the Trojan War on the island. Agamemnon and his followers expelled Kinyras, a mythical Cypriot king, from his seat of power in Paphos, and it was his descendants who established the new city of Amathous (Aupert 1997:21, Budin 2004:117, Franklin 2014:237, Iacovou 2008a:638). While the origin story is most likely fictional, when combined with the observations of another scholar writing in the fourth century BCE, Pseudo-Skylax of Caryanda, who, according to Aupert (1992:21), called Amathousians "natives" to Cyprus, it does suggest that in the fourth century BCE there was an association that Amathous consisted of a native Cypriot population. In addition, throughout its history and up until the end of the fourth century BCE the dominant language in Amathous was Eteocypriot, a yet-untranslated native Cypriot language dating to the Bronze-Age, written in Cypro-Minoan script (Iacovou 2013a:29). While this should not be used to argue that Amathous was a wholly 'native Cypriot' city or kingdom, it does provide evidence to dispute claims that Amathous was ethnically Phoenician, Aegean, or otherwise. All of this evidence together suggests instead that Amathous was a politically autonomous kingdom, host to a variety of cultural practices and influences, domestic and foreign, that were all being manipulated and negotiated on a local level.

Herodotus (5.104) claims that Amathous refused to join the Ionian Revolt, but Amathous was still likely impacted by the events following its failure. Those of political

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importance in Amathous would have been keenly aware of aggressive expansionist efforts of their close neighbor, the kingdoms of Kition, which closely followed the failed revolt (Iacovou 2002:77-79, 2012:65). It is likely that any time within the years before and after the revolt would have been time of extreme political tension and would have been a time when the elites of Amathous might have felt compelled to emphasize or objectify their political and social power.
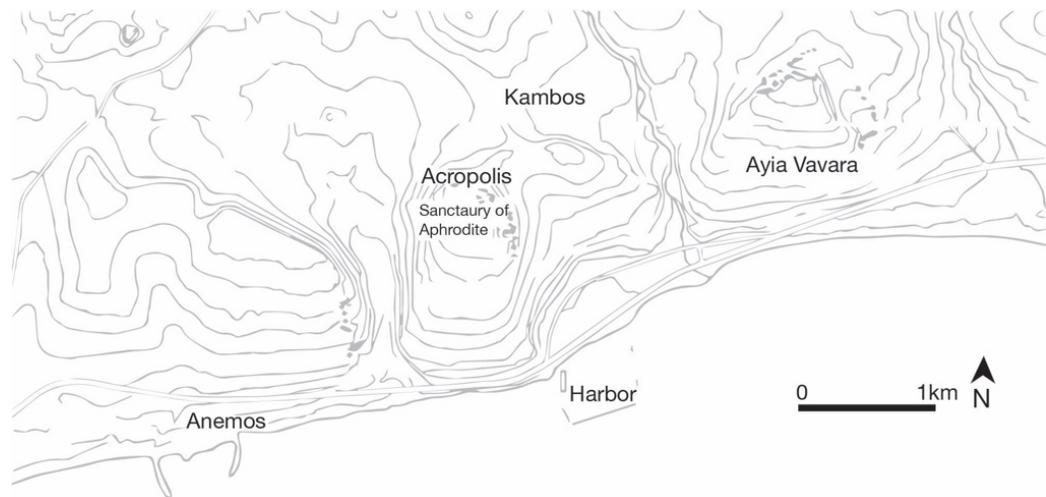
Figure 5: Map of Amathous. Includes the three necropoleis of Amathous: Anemos (W), Kambos (N) and Ayia Vavara (E). Image adapted from Janes 2013:154.

The events surrounding the Ionian revolt can provide context relating to the external pressures working on the kingdom, however, the cultural and social context of mortuary ritual within Amathous must also be discussed in order to contextualize this sarcophagus within its community. First, there is the context of the funeral itself, which would have been essential in informing the purpose of the iconography, and the stage on which this purpose would be enacted. Amathous had three main necropoleis, and the sarcophagus was discovered in the northern necropolis (Janes 2013:154) (see Figure 5).

Because this necropolis is a distance from the city center, the funeral, whether or not it included a large procession of the sarcophagus, would have at least involved the movement of the sarcophagus across some distance, and would have given the object some degree of visibility. Whether the body was brought to the sarcophagus or the sarcophagus itself was part of the funerary procession, the visibility of the sarcophagus would have been amplified by the monumentality of the object itself, which would have taken a number of people and great deal of effort to transport. This, along with its placement in a built tomb that would have also required a great deal of labor and people to create it, suggests that this individual was one who was socially or politically important enough to merit such extensive mortuary treatment, and that the funerary rituals likely had some degree of wider awareness or visibility within the city.

Figure 6: Hathoric capital (R). Height: 122.5cm. Image by James Anastassiades.

Figure 7: A sarcophagus from Amathous (L). Image by author.

Finally, there is the context of sculpture and the creation of sarcophagi as well as other limestone funerary objects in Amathous. There is little published work on the sources of limestone for Cypriot sculpture, and there is little to no scholarship on the

actual process or activities related to quarries or the quarrying of limestone in Cyprus. (Counts 2010:150).[18] However, the presence of several other limestone sculpture of decent size, such as the monumental Hathoric capital (Figure 6), as well as a number of undecorated limestone sarcophagi (Figure 7) from the necropoleis of Amathous (Hermary 1987), demonstrate that, while there has been no research to identify a limestone source, one certainly must have existed for the production of these funerary monuments.[19] As for a sculptural workshop, there does not seem to be any published work on the location or practices of said workshops or styles for the Amathous region.

The monumentality of sculptural work and painted detail, unmatched by any other funerary monument found in the region, has led many to believe that the Amathous sarcophagus could have been for a king, or otherwise royal figure from the city (Hermary and Mertens 2014:358, Karageorgis 2000:201, 2006:223, Satraki 2013, 136). In that case it could have been commissioned or created specifically for this person rather than being a sarcophagus came from a workshop that was regularly creating similar works. In any case, it is unlikely that this sarcophagus was coming from a workshop creating generic decorated sarcophagi that anyone of means might come and buy. Rather, it is safe to assume that this was created with a specific individual in mind, and that the imagery was therefore likely influenced by the identity of this individual.

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[18] This is discussed further in Chapter VI.
[19] See Hermary (1987) for a catalogue and descriptions of sarcophagi found in Amathous, as well as a discussion of the typologies.

Analysis: An Amathousian Iconographic Narrative

I stated in my introduction to this sarcophagus that it is easily the most studied of all three sarcophagi that I discuss in this thesis. In my analysis of this sarcophagus, I will focus mostly on iconographic elements that I think demonstrate a strong connection to the local context.

Cultic Figures: 'Bes' and 'Astarte'

There are several elements and themes in the iconography for which there is enough evidence to discuss the local context of the sarcophagus within Amathous at that time, as well as within the cultural dynamics of Cyprus in general. Two such elements are the portrayal of the cultic figures, 'Bes,' and 'Astarte,' on the opposed short ends of the sarcophagus (Hermary and Mertens 2014:353-57, Karageorghis 200:201-203). In both cases, the cultic figure is represented in four identical iterations, side by side. Both figures were popular in Amathous, and were frequently used in mortuary contexts (Flourentzos 2007:16, Satraki 2013:136).

Figure 8: Detail of Bes Panel. Image from the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Only one of the four Bes figures was able to be fully reconstructed (see Figure 8). However, it is assumed that all the figures were originally identical (Hermary and Mertens 2014:357). The torso of the 'Bes' figures are facing forward, with arms slightly bent and the hands resting on the thighs. The legs are bent, walking to the right. The clothing consists only of a pleated kilt that reaches to the knees, decorated by a belt and a small fringe at the knee. The Bes figure is horned, the hair falls to the shoulders, and a thick curled beard covers the upper chest. The figure has a slight grimace with the tongue projecting. The name 'Bes' comes from the generalized 'dwarf gods' of Egypt, from which the 'Bes' archetype is generally derived.[20]

Images of Bes are found in Amathousian tombs beginning in 900-850 BCE and the cult was prominent in Amathous until the Roman period (Aupert 1997:23, Karageorghis 2000:202, Satraki 2013:136). Because of the find contexts, it is hard to appreciate if it was a 'municipal' religious cult or beliefs of certain Amathousians (Aupert 1997:23), however, the appearance of Bes is frequent and widespread to the extent that it was certainly well known through Amathous and would have been recognized as an important cultic figure to the city, especially in the context of burial[21] (Aupert 1997:23, Flourentzos 2007:16, Wilson 1975:96), which is supported by the Bes figures found in burial contexts. The identity of the cultic figure of 'Bes' is confused, however, with several other elements of religious iconography used in Cyprus at the time. Frequently, figures sometimes referred to as Bes in the literature will be

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[20] A detailed study of Bes in Egypt, Phoenicia and Cyprus, as well as an analysis of their relative influences on each other is explored in Wilson's 1975 article: "The Iconography of Bes with Particular Reference to the Cypriot Evidence".

[21] Bes also appears in funerary contexts in Egypt, although Wilson (1975:80-81) argues that he is likely working as a protector in those contexts and not as a god of the underworld in Egypt.

interpreted as connected to some generalized 'horned deity' important to the island and

often represented with bull imagery (Hendrix 2001, 47), or as a representation instead

of the Near Eastern Humbaba (Hendrix 2001:47, Wilson 1975:97), or strongly

influenced visually by Aegean satyrs, or gorgons (Hermary and Mertens 2014:360,

Karageorghis 2000:202). In her 1975 article on the use of Bes in Cyprus, Victoria

Wilson (1975:100) says:

> The Cypriots learn mostly from the East, but the island's position
> between the East and Greece, and also its close contact with Egypt,
> means that here in particular 'Bes' becomes confused with other heroes
> and demons both Eastern and Greek. The representations in general have
> no deep significance but if Cypriot "Bes" has any function it is simply
> apotropaic.

The idea that Bes may be only apotropaic is also expressed by Karageorghis

(2001:203), who expresses that the use of the 'Astarte' figures were also likely

apotropaic. I will discuss the implications of these statements about the lack of 'deep

significance' and the apotropaic functions of these figures after my discussion of

'Astarte,' and the goddess's role and identity in Amathous.

Figure 9: Detail of Astarte panel. Image from the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

The pose of the female figures on the sarcophagus, commonly identified as Astarte (Hermary and Mertens 2014:358, Karageorghis 200:202-203), resembles one of the more common iconographic depictions, described by Budin (2004:103), of the "Nude Goddess," in which a nude woman stands with legs together, arms holding the breasts (see Figure 9). All four of the female figures on the sarcophagus survived, and are all very nearly identical. The association of the female figures on the sarcophagus with Astarte is complicated by the nebulous evolution and multiple ambiguous identities of the primary Cypriot goddess.[22] It is generally accepted that there was an important temple on the acropolis of Amathous dedicated to a female deity (Janes 2013:154, Karageorghis 2000:203) , and the "Nude Goddess" imagery is the main votary type found on the acropolis (Budin 2004:118). This cult also appears in Theopompus' (Phot. *Bibl.* 176) account of the Amathous origin story, as Kinyras was the founder of the cult of the female deity in Paphos, and after being expelled, he and his followers established the cult of this female deity in Amathous (Budin 2004:117). While there is no evidence of the female goddess cult until the eighth century BCE, three centuries after the founding of Amathous, this would suggest that there was the perception at least by Theopompus that the 'female goddess' of Paphos was the same as that of Amathous.

However, the establishment of the Amathousian cult to this female deity also corresponds to the increase in Phoenician presence in Cyprus and in Amathous. This

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[22] For more on the complex identity of the Cypriot goddess, whether this be the 'Paphia' 'Golgia' 'Aphrodite' or 'Astarte': see Stephanie Budin (2004), who provides a detailed study of the Aphrodite-Astarte syncretism, evaluating the evolution of both Aphrodite and Astarte. She examines how the Phoenician Astarte was brought to and negotiated on Cyprus, and discusses the possible conflation, or combination of the goddess identities in Cyprus and in Amathous, and how she might have been understood or interpreted by the various populations interacting with her on the island.

has led some to suggest that the deity being worshiped was identified as the Phoenician Astarte[23]. In addition, this particular 'Nude Goddess' pose in the statuary has been associated with Phoenician presence on the island (Karageorghis 1987:22). Because archeological evidence supports a diverse community culturally in Amathous, however, it seems safe to assume that it would not have only been Phoenicians worshiping at the primary temple on the Amathousian acropolis. Budin (2004:120) argues that the cult was founded with both strong Cypriot and Phoenician influences, but that the temple to this female deity likely served multiple populations, being perceived of as the temple of Astarte by the Phoenicians, of Paphia by the Cypriots, and of Aphrodite by the Greeks.

I would argue that the primacy of the female deity's place in Amathous is evidenced by the location of her main temple on the Acropolis of Amathous, and the imagery related to the goddess found throughout the acropolis and the necropoleis of Amathous;[24] even if she was associated with variable identities by variable cultural groups, the "Nude Goddess" imagery would have been strongly associated with this female deity by all populations within Amathous. For that reason, it is not at all surprising that the image of the female goddess would appear on the Amathous sarcophagus. Most certainly anyone trying to emphasize their power or status within Amathous would want to include imagery of the primary goddess of the city, who could have been recognized by the whole population, even if there was a variance of cultural identity within the city and the kingdom.

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[23] See Budin 2004:117-119 for discussion of this interpretation and the relation of the Phoenician Astarte to the Cypriot Goddess.
[24] See Karageorghis 1987:21 and associated plates for images of this statuary type found in the Amathous necropolis.

The appearance of supernatural figures in a burial context in general could have easily carried an apotropaic purpose. However, given the prominence of these cultic figures and their imagery throughout the city, it is problematic to assume that they were only apotropaic in function. It has also been proposed that the dual appearance of the male and female deities together, as well as associations within the Eastern Mediterranean pertaining to 'Bes' and 'Astarte,' may indicate that these figures are symbols of vitality, joy, and sexual pleasure, and therefore deemphasize the funerary significance of the sarcophagus' iconography (Hendrix 2001:47, Hermary and Mertens 2014:361). Considering the context of the imagery on the sarcophagus and in Amathous, this interpretation does not appear to fully encompass the possible local interpretations of this object. Not only were these figures common in funerary contexts, discovered on numerous occasions within burials and tombs, but their placement on a sarcophagus, which is innately tied to burial and mortuary ritual, would seem to indicate that these figures most certainly had a funerary purpose. They would have been recognized as important cultic figures, whose images were commonly placed in funerary contexts, by those who created and interacted with the sarcophagus. Given the prominence of these figures in Amathous, it is likely that the inclusion of these figures, apart from any apotropaic functions or associations with those concepts they signified, were also meant to portray a connection between the deceased and two important cultic figures of the city. It is also probable that they would have indicated the social status and possibly power of the deceased, and those who were to inherit the vacant social position left by that person.

Figure 10: Detail of Procession Panels. Image from the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

The long sides of the sarcophagus (see Figure 10), which portray a form chariot

of procession (Hermary and Mertens 2014:353-57, Karageorghis 200:201-203), are also

likely meant to objectify the status or power of the deceased. The procession begins

with two unarmed horsemen in 'conical' caps. This is followed by a two-man chariot, in

which one of the figures carries a parasol. Following that is a three-man chariot, with

one of the three figures turning his head to face out towards the viewer. The procession

continues on the second panel with two more two-man chariots, the last chariot rider

faces out towards the viewer and slightly backwards. Bringing up the end of the

procession are three men on foot, walking forward, armed with spears and shields.

The feature that is the most repeated, and, perhaps, most central to the character

of the procession, is the chariot. Chariots, which appear on all three sarcophagi under

discussion, are important both in actual use and as an iconographic theme in Cyprus

during the Age of Kingdoms. The military use of chariots on Cyprus in the seventh-sixth centuries BCE is argued to be evidenced by the both the representations of military equipment in terracottas, and a passage from Herodotus (5.113) that mentions the use of war chariots in the Ionian Revolt (Crouwel 2002:168). The pervasive presence of chariot terracotta models suggests that there was a symbolic importance of chariots in Cyprus. These terracotta figurines were most commonly dedicated in sanctuaries devoted to male deities including the sanctuaries of Ayia Irini, Meniko and Peyia (Averett 2010:136, Karageorgis 2006:180). The terracotta chariots have a war like character, indicated by the weapons they are holding. The continued use of the war-like chariot in the form of terracotta dedications is interesting given that the use of chariots for that function in Cypriot society seems to have been discontinued, likely by the end of the sixth century BCE (Crouwel 2002:168). Their enduring presence may be evidence to the continuing symbolic importance of the chariot on Cyprus.

Figure 11: Limestone biga. Photo by the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

The use of chariots in Cyprus was not only martial in nature, however, and compelling archaeological evidence of the civil use of chariots as status symbol of elite or royal power can be found in the "Royal Burials" of Salamis dating to the seventh or eighth century BCE (Carstens 2006:131, Crouwel 2002:142).[25] While the wood had rotted away, the metal objects relating to the chariots, as well as an impression of their general form, was found in the tombs, and based off this impression the most common form of the chariot found in the tombs appears to have been the single poled *biga* (two-man chariot) with a partition down the middle (Crouwel 2002:142-43). Representations are not restricted to the two-man form, however, as evidenced by several representations of three man chariots in terracottas dating to the seventh and sixth centuries BCE (Crouwel 2002: 148). There are also artistic representations of civil chariots, as seen in a limestone model of a *biga* from Kourian dating to the first half of the fifth century (see Figure 11). However, the civil representation of chariots does not appear to be as common as their military counterparts. As demonstrated by the Salamis chariots, the actual use of chariots does seem to have been civil in nature; and it has been posed that these chariots were not only buried in the tombs, but were part of a funerary procession leading up to the burial (Karageorghis 2006:180).

Whether civil, or military, the use of chariots seems to have been common in Cyprus. For that reason, it is not entirely surprising that representations of chariots are found on the surface of all three sarcophagi. The burial of actual chariots, the appearance of chariot terracottas in burials, as well as the appearance of civil chariots

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[25] For a more detailed accounting of the chariots found in the "Royal Tombs of Salamis, see Crouwell's chapter on the topic (2002).

on both the Golgoi and Amathous sarcophagus could suggest that chariots had a strong funerary function on Cyprus (Crouwel 2002:169, Hermary and Mertens 2014:367, Karageorghis 2006:223). Their portrayal in the Amathous sarcophagus is telling both in terms of the narrative of the scenes, as well as how the depiction is grounded in a Cypriot chariot style and tradition.

There are many elements of the chariots found in the Salamis burials that are represented in the Amathous sarcophagus (Crowell 2002:163-64, Satraki 2013:136). Crowell (2002:163-64) notes several of the finds from the Salamis burials: spade-shaped blinders in ivory and gold, bronze bases for the arching headpieces, and a pair of bronze bells that has been proposed to have been attached to the front of the horses' harness; and he states that these elements are all similar to the representation on the Amathous sarcophagus (Crowell 2002:163-64). I would argue that these similarities are noteworthy especially when considering the date disparity. The Salamis Tombs date to the seventh or eighth centuries BCE, and therefore precede the Amathous sarcophagus by at least two hundred years. These details in the styles of tack and decoration of the horses therefore might be indicative of a particular visual tradition of ornamentation for horses bearing chariots, or perhaps knowing in some way of these grand burial processions the creators of the Amathous sarcophagus were calling upon an older tradition that was associated with these luxurious burials in Salamis. In any case, these similarities do suggest that this scene on the Amathous sarcophagus represents some form of chariot procession tied to a tradition of this use of ornamental chariots in Cyprus.

Figure 12: Figures in Procession. (L)Final Chariot. (C)Second chariot. (R)Royal figure. Images from the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Perhaps more telling of the local context, however, are the possible interpretations of the figures within these chariot representations.[26] The procession begins with two unarmed horseman, offset so that the second horseman's torso is placed just before the first horseman. Following them is the first chariot in the procession. There are two figures in the chariot. The first is the chariot driver, followed by the passenger, a bearded figure wearing a head-wrap and holding a parasol (see Figure 12). This second figure is most commonly assumed to be the central figure of the sculpture, possibly a depiction of the deceased, and a representation of a king of Amathous (Hermary and Mertens 2014:358, Karageorghis 2000:201, 2006:223; Satraki 2013, 136).

The chariot rider's role as the central figure is supported, in part, by the appearance of the parasol. The reconstruction of the parasol by Cesnola is possibly erroneous, and the parasol might have originally been attached to the chariot box; as is

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[26] A detailed description and summery analysis of all of the figures and features of the sarcophagus is provided in (Hermary and Mertens), so I will focus on those features that I believe are most relevant to the local context and this thesis.

pictured in iconographic representations such as the relief of Assyrian king Ashurbanipal, and a "Cypro-Phoenician" bowl found in Paletrina, Italy (Hermary-Mertens 2014:359). The parasol, as a symbol of Royalty in Near Eastern iconography, has also been used as evidence to suggest that this figure, and by extension, the procession, is royal in character (Hermary and Mertens 2014:359, Karageorghis 2000:201). It is unclear if the parasol had the same royal contexts in Cyprus, but in any case, its presence does single out this chariot rider. Another feature that distinguishes this figure from the rest of the chariot passengers is his head ornamentation, as the rest of the figures are bareheaded. This turban-like head wrap has been identified as a *mitra*, which, according to Herodotus (7.90), is a kind of headpiece worn by the Cypriot kings at the time of the Persian Wars (Hermary and Mertens 2014:359, Satraki 2013:132). Satraki (2013:132, 136) explored representations of kings and kingship in Cyprus, and states that there are little to no certain representations of kings, as none of the possible representations include names or written dedications. However, she does agree with the wide consensus that this sarcophagus was meant for a deceased king of Amathous who is represented by this first chariot passenger, as evidenced by the *mitra*, the parasol and his position in the first chariot of the procession.

The majority of the claims that this figure is royal in character appear to be based on the interpretation of the parasol, the *mitra*, and the premise of the procession itself. However, even if one were to argue that this figure was not royal, there is ample evidence that this figure, who is singled out in the composition, to suggest that he is meant to represent a person of some importance, and the central character in the narrative of the procession.

The procession continues with the second chariot, which is occupied by three figures. The first is the driver, followed by a passenger who looks out towards the viewer, and finally a third figure who looks forward in profile like all the other figures on this panel (see Figure 12). The procession continues on the opposed long side of the sarcophagus. Two more chariots are pictured, each with a driver and a passenger, all looking forward with the exception of the final passenger, whose head is angled just past a forward profile to look slightly backwards, towards the three spearmen who conclude the procession (see Figure 12). The gaze of this final chariot rider is interesting, as there are only two figures who do not look forward, the first passenger of the three-man chariot, and this final passenger at the end of the procession.

The more common interpretations of the procession argue that this scene is representative of a funerary procession (Karageorghis 2006:224). Hermary and Mertens (2014:360), however, disagree, and firmly assert that this procession is in no way funerary, but is instead is a procession demonstrating the power of the local king, and has a "joyful atmosphere." The interpretation of the overall narrative of this procession made by Hermary and Mertens (2014:360) may also provide some context for the gazes of the figures in the second and last chariot. They argue that the order of the procession is meant to portray the hierarchy of the kingdom's elite, in which the procession begins with the ruler, and is followed by his two sons, the first of which is that figure looking out at the viewer, to establish he is next in line for the seat of power, then followed by other nobles or family members, with the very last figure looking back towards the footmen, to connect to a military prowess or tradition. Hermary and Mertens (2014: 360) subdue the military elements, however, arguing that military power is not central

to the narrative because the footmen wearing armor, and the two lead horse men, while possibly wearing helmets, are not armed. The scene, therefore, does not overtly express military power as a theme, but if contextualized in the time that this sarcophagus was created, I believe it is difficult to dismiss these subtle military aspects, or the gaze of the last figure towards the spearmen. In addition, the context of this procession on an object that is innately one of mortuary purpose would make it difficult to claim that this procession is in no way funerary in purpose.

In order to understand this scene, it must be analyzed within its context as a carving on a sarcophagus, which would hold the remains of someone with enough status or wealth that they or their family could commission it, and that they and their family, and the artist who carved the scene, existed in Amathous at a given time in Cypriot culture and history that would impact how this scene was conceptualized, created, and interpreted. Therefore, this might not be a literal depiction of a funerary procession, however, it is a procession led by (what is likely) a representation of the deceased, and utilizing the procession as a theme that was not only common in the Near East as a way to display power, but has also been shown, through the burial of very similar chariots and ornamentation in Salamis, to have a funerary context on Cyprus. In addition, its placement on a funerary object would place the reading and interpretation of the scene by those who were interacting with it at the time of burial into a funerary context.

Conclusions

The interpretation of the procession, as well as the two cultic figures, must not be separated from the object they are carved into, the sarcophagus, which would have served an significant funerary role. The importance of the funerary dimension may be

further iterated through the social context and consequence of mortuary rituals, which work to renegotiate a social space once a member of that community has left it vacant, all the more crucial when political, economic, or social power is involved. And finally, the context of how this vacant space would be renegotiated was informed by the historical and cultural events at the time of its creation.

Near the time this sarcophagus was presumably carved, the island was experiencing political and military conflict, evidenced in the islands participation in the Ionian Revolt (Hdt. 5.104-116). In addition, directly following the Revolt, Kition, one of Amathous' close neighbors, began extensive expansionist campaigns (Iacovou 2002:77-79, 2012:65). Therefore, political tensions in this time would have been high in the city leading up to, during, and after the Ionian Revolt; while having a more assured date for the sarcophagus would be helpful in this analysis, anytime within the fifty years of its generally agreed upon creation date (c. 475 BCE), would have been a time of tense political and social relations in the kingdom. Negotiating and maintaining political power within the duration of this time period would have been crucial to Amathousian elite.

This scene, therefore, if viewed through the lens of the events surrounding the lives of those who commissioned, made, and buried this object, becomes intensely complex and nuanced. While it is difficult to be entirely certain that this was a royal sarcophagus, the scale and quality of the craftsmanship that went into its creation would suggest that is was for a member of an elite class within Amathous, of suitable economic and social status to afford such an object. If it is to be assumed that those of wealth or power would have been present for the funerary rituals involving the

sarcophagus, the message conveyed to them through this imagery would have certainly been one of careful intention by the people renegotiating that vacant social position. The inclusion of the main goddess of the city 'Astarte,' and the cultic figure found commonly in burials 'Bes,' would have visually tied the deceased to these two important local cultic figures. The procession, whether royal or not, would have certainly been representing a display of status and wealth. While it is impossible to be sure of the intention of the chariot scene (celebratory, funerary, martial, ect.), it is clear that it was meant to portray a sense of social and political power through the use of elaborately ornamented chariots, and the subtle glance back to the spearmen could have implied this was a power that would be defended by force.

To the local Amathousian interacting with this object, therefore, this sarcophagus would have evidenced a procession likely associated with enormous wealth and status, possibly one that called to mind a local Cypriot practice of elite chariot processions, and possibly one that was recognized as royal. The local population also would have recognized the two common cultic figures, a female figure associated with the deity who was the primary goddess of their city, and a Bes figure, who was a common iconographic motif in the city, and in burial contexts.

The significance of the imagery when viewed through the context both of the kingdom of Amathous and the historical events surrounding the period in which it was created are therefore crucial in understanding this sarcophagus, and the significance of the relief sculpture that have given the Amathous sarcophagus its reputation as a "rare gem of art."

VI – Analysis: The Golgoi Sarcophagus

Figure 13: The Golgoi Sarcophagus. Images by the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Introduction: The 'Other' Cesnola Sarcophagus

The Golgoi sarcophagus (Figure 13), also discovered by Cesnola, was part of the collection he sold to the Met in 1873 (Hermary and Mertens 2014:20). It has not however, received the same amount of attention as the Amathous sarcophagus. This may be in part because it is not as monumental and it lacks appears to lack any polychromy. A more conspicuous cause of the lack of scholarship on the sarcophagus may also be the lack of access to the site of Golgoi following the Turkish invasion and occupation of the northern part of the island in 1974 (Counts 2010:50, Hermary and Mertens 2014:16).

The Golgoi sarcophagus is crafted from local limestone, carved in very low relief, and is smaller than the Amathous sarcophagus (96.5 × 202 × 73.2 cm). On one of the long sides is a depiction of a banquet scene that is very similar to depictions of symposiums on Attic pottery (Hermary and Mertens 2014: 367, Karageorghis 2000:205). The opposed long side depicts a hunting scene with four spearmen in hoplite armor, and a bowman standing to the side (Hermary and Mertens 2014: 365, Karageorghis 2000:205). One of the short sides depicts a chariot carrying two men, and the on opposed short side is a scene showing Perseus walking away from the recently decapitated Medusa, who pulls Pegasus and Chrysaor from her neck (Hermary and Mertens 2014: 366, Karageorghis 2000:205-206). The sarcophagus is supported by four limestone blocks under each corner. The lid of the sarcophagus is tented, like a roof, with a lion, argued commonly to be distinctively Cypriot in style (e.g. Karageorghis 2000:205), on each corner, facing outwards.
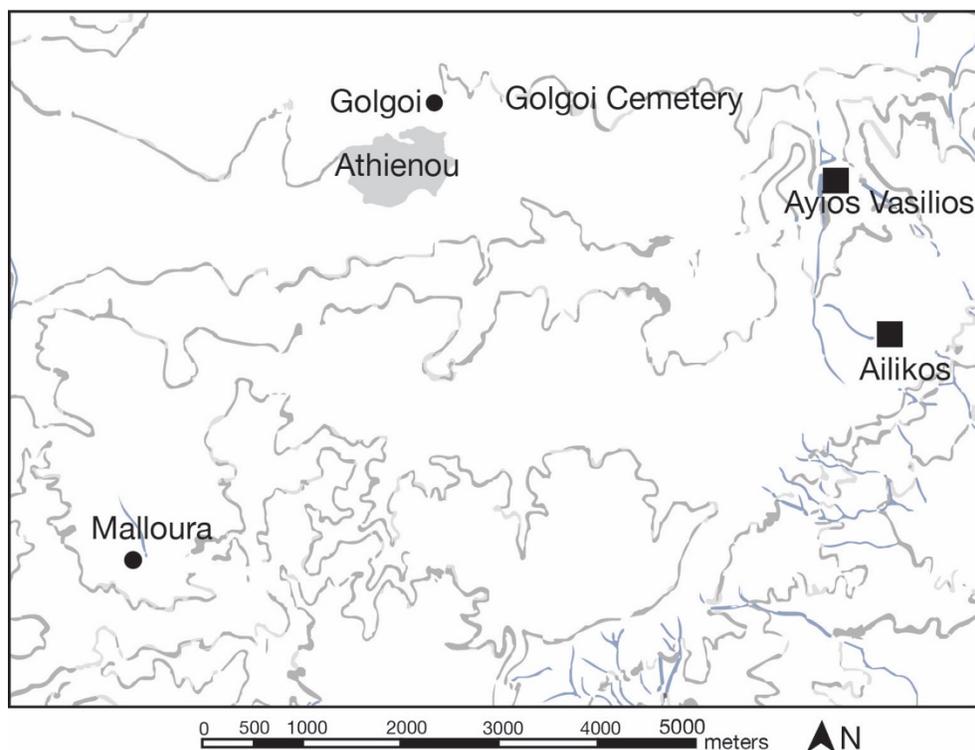
Figure 14: Map of Golgoi Region. Adapted from Counts (2010:152).

If Cesnola is to be believed, the sarcophagus was found in the necropolis of the city of Golgoi. The remains of the ancient city of Golgoi are northeast of the modern town of Athienou (Figure 14). Beginning in the 1870s Cesnola focused his activities on four main areas of the Golgoi region (Counts 2010:49), the city of Golgoi proper, the necropolis of Golgoi, the Golgoi sanctuary, and a possible associated *favissa* (deposit of discarded temple material). According to Cesnola's publication 1878, the Golgoi sarcophagus was discovered during his excavations in 1867, north east of the modern town of Athienou in an area that he identifies as an "ancient burying-ground" (Cesnola 109), which has been identified by Counts (2010) as the "Golgoi Cemetery," east of the original settlement of Golgoi (Figure 14). However, according to Georges Colonna-Ceccaldi, a colleague of Cesnola, it was discovered in a fragmentary condition, presumably caused by tomb robbers who had badly damaged the sarcophagus, the worst

of the damage being to the banquet scene (Hermary and Mertens 2014; 363). Some

repairs were made quickly in Cyprus, and the sarcophagus was broken again on the way

to New York, repaired improperly, then repaired again to its current state. Cracks were

filled, but reportedly there was no reconstruction of any of the relief sculpture (Hermary

and Mertens 2014:363).

There does not appear to be much discussion on the dating of this sarcophagus,

and in general the date given by Tatton-Brown, the second quarter of the fifth century

BCE, is accepted. Tatton-Brown (1984:170) states that this date is "confirmed by the

drapery style and the dependence of the scenes on the long sides of late Archaic Greek

vase painting." The dating of the sarcophagus stylistically to at least the first quarter of

the century BCE could also be supported by the wreaths worn by three of the

banqueters, a style of headdress that became more popular in sculpture in this region by

the early fifth century BCE (Counts 2010:157). In general, the style, which appears to

more closely resemble Attic imagery, would align with the trend at the second quarter

of the fifth century BCE; moving into the Cypro-Classic period a more 'Aegean-

influenced' styles began to be adopted across the island, and in the region of Golgoi

(Counts 2010:133-56, Karageorghis 2000:199, 201, Maier 1985:38).

Creating a Local Context: The Regional Center

It has been widely recognized that this sarcophagus seems heavily influenced by

'Greek' motifs and styles (Hermary and Mertens 2014:363-370, Karageorhis 2000:204,

Tatton-Brown 1984:169). In her article on the sculpture from Golgoi, Tatton-Brown

(1984:196) states that while the sarcophagus "generally relies on Greek inspiration"

there is also "a distinct Cypriot figure" and "other Cypriot elements." This sort of

portrayal however, divides the sarcophagus into what was referencing 'Greek' styles, usually in reference to Attic art, and what was referencing Cypriot styles. This sort of characterization, while useful perhaps in understanding the etymology of the sarcophagus, does not investigate how the sarcophagus would have actually been understood by the creators and viewers of the object.

The full Cypriot context of this imagery, what motivated the artists to include Attic imagery (if it was in fact directly inspired by Attic art), and how they would have interpreted or contextualized that imagery within their own local context, is not fully explored in these narratives. The sarcophagus is a whole object, in which these elements seen as distinctly 'Greek' or 'Cypriot' were actively being manipulated and negotiated and combined, the meaning re-made within the local context, which was then objectified in a Cypriot sarcophagus. In order to contextualize the Golgoi sarcophagus and its imagery within its local setting in Cyprus, I will explore the cultural and historical factors surrounding the creation of this sarcophagus; this will include an exploration of the 'regional centers,' of Golgoi specifically, and of the historical events sounding the date of the sarcophagus, as well as the manner and context of its actual creation.

While the Turkish invasion of Northern Cyprus stopped academic research on the site of Golgoi, the region to the south bordering the ancient city has been extensively studied by those involved in the Athienou Archeological Project[27], which has focused on researching material in the Malloura Valley in an area south of the

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[27] Many of the findings from this project, which began in 1990, have been published in the volume: "Crossroads and Boundaries: the archaeology of past and present in the Malloura Valley, Cyprus," edited by Joseph A. Greene, The American Schools of Oriental Research, Vol. 65, 2010.

modern town (see Figure 13). Much of this has focused on Golgoi's neighboring regional center Malloura, which may serve as a reference for trends in that region, or as a model for a regional center as a settlement type in general.

Regional centers were crucial to the political and economic development and management of the Cypriot regional kingdoms, including 'secondary sites,' inland urban centers, and extra-urban sanctuaries (Fourrier 2013:104). Golgoi was one of these regional centers, and while there is no evidence for it being its own kingdom in the Cypro-Archaic or Classical (Fourrier 2013), the existence of the ornate Golgoi sarcophagus would suggest it was a site of importance.

While the urban centers of the kingdoms, for which the kingdoms are named, are well known, the boundaries of these kingdoms throughout their development is poorly understood (Fourrier 2013:104, Hermary and Mertens 2014:18). However, the dispersal of these secondary urban centers and extra-urban sanctuaries suddenly increases in the Iron Age, suggesting that these sites probably played a role in defining and possibly disputing the boundaries of these kingdoms (Fourrier 2013:105-106). The coastal regions, at times far from the copper sources that sustained their economies or from agricultural land that could sustain their populations, would have depended on the inland regions for their success, and these regional centers often acted as waypoints for the production or movement of essential trade goods (Fourrier 2013:107). The connection of the kingdom's urban centers to the regions of their control is evidenced in the extra-urban sanctuaries though the terracotta dedications, which can often be attributed to specific production centers (Fourrier 2013:108).

Idalion seems to have been the production center for Golgoi and the surrounding region, and in general most of the literature seems to agree that Golgoi was likely a secondary site to Idalion (Counts 2010:160, Fourrier 2013:109-110, Hermary and Mertens 2014:18-19). This is further supported by the proximity of the kingdom center to Golgoi (13km) as well as by the similarity in artistic styles seen in Idalion and Golgoi (Fourrier 2013:109-110).

However, the political circumstances of Golgoi are further complicated in the early fifth century BCE, when Kition, at the time ruled by a Phoenician dynasty, established control over Idalion around 470-60 BCE (Fourier 2013:106, 116, Gordon et al. 2010 3:31, Hermary 2013:90, Hermary and Mertens 2014:19, Iacovou 2002:77-78, 2008:646, 2012:65, Maier 1985:34). It is unclear after this which kingdom had political control over Golgoi; it is usually assumed that either Salamis or Kition assumed control over the region, (Fourrier 2010; 9:130, Hermary and Mertens 2014:19)[28], but whether it was strictly controlled or if the region was relatively autonomous in relatively unknown. It is certain, however, that the events of the early fifth century, including the Ionian revolt (Hdt. 5.104-116), and the expansionist efforts of Kition resulting in their absorption of Idalion, to which Golgoi was a secondary site (Counts 2010:160, Fourrier 2013:109-110, Hermary and Mertens 2014:18-19), would have certainty caused political tension in the entire area. The themes pictured in the relief sculpture on the Golgoi sarcophagus, created during this period, as well as how they are representing the identity of the deceased, were influenced by these events and political tensions, and it is

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[28] Fourier argues that it was more likely Salamis, due to the connection of Salamis and Paphos, and the dedications to the Paphia in the Golgoi sanctuaries, for her full argument see Fourier 2013, 111-113.

likely that the elites of Golgoi might have needed to re-affirm their status in the region. However, to fully consider the motives behind its creation, it is important to examine the creation of the sculpture itself.

There is little published work on the sources of limestone for Cypriot sculpture, but the Athienou region is generally recognized to have important and high quality limestone deposits (Counts 2010:153, Fourrier 2013:112, Hermary and Mertens 2014:16). Despite the recognition that these sources existed, there is little to no scholarship on the actual process or activities related to quarries or the quarrying of limestone in Cyprus. (Counts 2010:150). Counts and his colleague Michael Toumazou interviewed Cypriot quarrymen in 1997 so as to determine some of the limestone sources, and possible ancient quarry sites, in the region (Counts 2010:153). They identified the location of several limestone sources, only two of which were described by the quarrymen as being of high enough quality to create monumental sculpture: Agios Vassos and Ailikos (see Figure 13) (Counts 2010; 11:153).

Perhaps unsurprisingly, given the availability of quality limestone, there is a large number of high quality sculptures created in the Athienou/Golgoi area. Fourrier (2014:112) suggests that the availability of high quality limestone is not enough to explain the large quantity of quality limestone votaries found at sanctuaries, peaking in the fifth and fourth centuries, and argues that it is an affectation of the kingdom that claimed the area leaving mark of their presence. In any case, the stylistic similarity of the sculptural material originating from the Golgoi area indicates a prominent sculptural workshop in the region, that likely existed by the late Cypro-Archaic and flourished in the Cypro-Classical, and that might have produced the Golgoi sarcophagus as well

(Counts 2010:152-56, Hermary and Mertens 2014:353, Tatton-Brown 1984:170).

Several fragmentary sculptural lid pieces without associated sarcophagi, discovered in

the Golgoi necropolis, suggest that the Golgoi sarcophagus might not have been the

only one if its kind created in this period. While the scale of the Amathous sarcophagus

in relation to the other sarcophagi and sculptural material found in Amathous would

suggest that it was a monumental work, specifically commissioned for an individual, the

large quantity of high quality sculpture in Golgoi may suggest that the Golgoi

sarcophagus might not have been exceptional in its context, and that many other

sarcophagi of similar quality could have been made.

This has many ramifications for how identity is being represented on the

sarcophagus, and, therefore, for how this sarcophagus was being used in its local

context and understood by its local community. It is important to consider if the

sarcophagus was for specific person, and commissioned then made by the artists, or

generically created for someone of elite status to buy 'off the shelf,' and purchased after

creation. In any case, the iconography would be catering to elite status, as it is still a

monumental and high quality work of sculpture. Whether or not it was designed to

represent a specific individual's identity, or made for an archetype of a class of people

being catered to by the artists, there is a form of identity being represented on the

sarcophagus.

Analysis: Deconstructing a 'Patchwork' of Iconography

There is a trend in the literature to discuss what is or is not Attic about the

imagery on the sarcophagus, more precisely: what seems to be inspired by Attic

imagery and what seems to be inconsistent with Attic portrayals of the relative themes;

this leads to the sarcophagus being characterized as a patchwork of combined Cypriot

or Attic elements (e.g. Tatton-Brown 1984). The sarcophagus is very clearly influenced

by Attic imagery, which has been explored in numerous sources that reference or

discuss the artifact (Barringer 201:183, Hermany and Mertens 2014, Karageorghis

2000, Tatton Brown:1984). I will focus on analyzing what the imagery on the

sarcophagus, including that of likely Attic inspiration, meant in its local context, in

Golgoi and in Cyprus, and examine the artist's motivation behind using that imagery

and including those 'inconsistencies,' as well as what the implications of what it is

meant to represent in terms of the way the identity of the deceased is being represented.

The Chariot

Figure 15: Detail of Chariot Panel. Photo by Metropolitan Museum of Art.

The Chariot scene is in no way alien to Cypriot iconography. This chariot scene

is on a short side of the sarcophagus, riding away from the hunt scene, and towards the

banquet scene, containing an image of a chariot that is oriented to the right with two

riders, and is being pulled by three horses (Figure 15) (Hermary and Mertens 2014: 366,

Karageorghis 2000:206). The rider holding the reigns is beardless, while the rider

behind him is bearded. The body of the first horse is clearly outlined, while the second and third are only visible by the outline of their raised heads, and a slight indication of a third back leg.

The civil use of chariots was discussed in the procession scene of the Amathous sarcophagus, and the actual use in procession was evidenced with the Salamis burials (see Chapter V). However, this chariot on the Golgoi sarcophagus does not seem nearly so ornate. The horses do not wear the elaborate head pieces, however, it appears as though they are wearing very similar small bells on their chests. I would argue that this scene in general is remarkably similar, in terms of imagery, to a small limestone chariot sculpture dating to the first half of the fifth century (Figure 11). The horses are ornamented in a very similar way in this small sculpture as in the Golgoi relief; rather plain aside from the small bells worn on the front of the chest. The riders display many similarities as well, in which an un-bearded driver hold the reigns, and a bearded passenger has one hand holding the chariot box. This model (Figure 11) is from Kourion (Karageorghis 2000:222), but the similarities in style and date might suggest that this representation of the chariot was part of a relatively standardized portrays of civil chariots in the Cypriot iconography in the late Cypro-Archaic and early Cypro-Classical. While not as ornate as the chariots on the Amathous sarcophagus, this might demonstrate that the civil use of chariots was still an elite activity, and the lack of decoration might be the difference between elite everyday use, and a distinct royal procession.

The bearded passenger in this image is usually assumed to be a representation of the deceased (Hermary and Mertens 2014, Karageorghis 2000). This figure is likely the

most important figure in the scene, being bearded and the passenger. In any case, this scene, as I will argue is true for the rest of the iconographic narrative of the sarcophagus, appears to be a representation of elite status, power, or wealth, given the association with a chariot procession.

The Hunt

Figure 17: Detail of Hunt Panel. Photo from the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

In terms of elements being used together in a single composition, the hunt scene is often described as having the most 'surprising' or seemingly inconsistent traits

(Hermary and Mertens 2014:368). In the scene, five hunters, an archer and four spearmen, pursue a boar and a bull (Hermary and Mertens 2014: 365, Karageorghis 2000:205). The four spearmen are grouped in pairs of two around the bull and the boar respectively. The archer stands to the left of the spearmen, bow drawn. Behind the archer is a horse grazing, between the two pairs of spearmen is a rooster, and to the far right is a doe, with its nose to the ground (see Figure 17). The elements most commonly thought to be out of place are the militaristic armor of the hunters, the subjects of the hunt, and the composition of the scene.

The theme of the hunt, however, is not foreign to mortuary contexts. The placement of a hunt scene in a burial context is a common theme in Eastern Mediterranean burial traditions (Franks 2012, Hermary and Mertens 2014:368). The group hunt has also been represented in mortuary contexts in the Mediterranean, found on sarcophagi from Phoenician Sidon, including the Satrap Sarcophagus and the Lycian sarcophagus, both dating to the fifth or fourth century BCE, and on the Alexander sarcophagus, dating to ca. 310 BCE (Franks 2012:32-34). Franks (2012) discusses the iconographic symbolism of the hunt scene in several contexts in the Mediterranean. She references the connection between the hunt and royalty common in the Near East (2012: 28), the association of the hunt with the training of mythic figures in Greece (2012: 60) and the association of royalty with the mounted hunter in Macedonia (2012:41). In any case, it seems evident that the hunt in general carries a symbolic context of elite status in the Mediterranean, and it is not surprising that it should appear on Cyprus, which was well connected in trade networks with most of the Eastern Mediterranean polities of the time.

Franks (2012:20) comments on how a group hunt might seem strange in a tomb context, as it is meant to honor one person, and the group hunt dilutes the role of any single individual. Franks (2012:20) argues, however that a group hunt should raise important questions like the significance of the group activity and any symbolic meanings this might have for the individual. While I am discussing a different hunt scene, on a sarcophagus and in Cyprus, this raises and important point about what the group hunt might have signified in relation to the portrayal of an individual in Cyprus and Golgoi. The group hunt itself is not foreign to Cypriot depictions, and there are several Cypro-Archaic painted vases depicting group hunts from chariots (Karageorghis 2006:130-133). Hunting scenes in general form a large part of the body of pictorial representations on Cypriot vases beginning in the Geometric, and continue their popularity through the Archaic (Loulloupis 1989:171). However, there are still the questions of why a group hunt was chosen for this sarcophagus, and what does it represent in its Cypriot context? If the sarcophagus was made by a workshop for any person who could afford to purchase it, the goal might simply have been to create imagery that would appeal to a person of elite status, therefore the sculpture might not have had an individual's identity in mind. It could also have been to emphasize the deceased's identity within an elite class, or a community that held status. In any case, it is interesting to note that unlike the long panels of the Amathous sarcophagus, in which one individual was very clearly singled out, this scene does not clearly emphasize any individual.

The common interpretation of the paired, armored hunters in this scene are that they are outfitted as hoplites (Barringer 2001:183, Hermary and Mertens 2014:368,

Tatton-Brown 1984:170), and their pose, symmetrically around the hunted subject, is common in Attic hunt scenes (Barringer 2001:16, Tatton-Brown 1984:170). The final figure, the archer, who stands off to the side is dressed in clothing that more closely resembles Attic hunter depictions (Barringer 2001:60-69). The depiction of the spearman-hunters as hoplites, or at least as wearing militaristic armor, would seem inconsistent with a hunt scene. There have been several postulations as to the reason that this seemingly inconsistent imagery was included. The doe is not out of place in a hunt scene but its peaceful pose seems unusual. This, in addition to the horse grazing without any harnessing, leads Hermary and Mertens (2014:368) to pose that this might be indicative of these scene taking place in a "territory controlled by men." They suggest that this could be a representation of a "nature reserve" which were common in Greece for young men to use as "training grounds" (Hermary and Mertens 2014:368). They argue, therefore, that the association of hunting with training for war might then explain the war dress of the hunters (Hermary and Mertens 2014:368).

There have also been arguments that this scene is more symbolic in nature. The rooster, resting its claw on the left-center spearman's leg is a symbol of virility in Aegean contexts, therefore the rooster's appearance has been interpreted as projecting this this trait onto the hunter, and possibly the deceased (Barringer 2001:183, Hermary and Mertens 2014:368). Hermary and Mertens (2014:368) also emphasize that the rooster, not usually present in a literal hunt, and the bull, which has returned to its "wild state" in order to be the subject of a hunt, would be indicative of the fact this scene is meant to be symbolic rather than literal.

The bull itself is another element that could be seen as a strange inclusion in this scene. The boar is not out of place in an Attic hunt scene, and is second only to deer in its commonality as a subject of the hunt in Attic imagery (Hermary and Mertens 2014:368 Barringer 2001:15). In addition, the boar hunt was likely an actual activity of Cypriots during the Cypro-archaic period (Karageorgis 2006: 131). In scenes in Macedonia, and in the Near East, the lion is another frequent subject of the hunt (Franks 2012). The creators of the sarcophagus included a doe, but did not make it the subject of the hunt, and instead it stands off to the side. Lions are commonly represented in Cypriot art, including the sarcophagus, marked by the four guardian lions on each corner of the lid. The use of the bull as the subject of the hunt, rather than a doe or a lion, was not for lack of knowing these other animals could be objects of a hunt; it was, rather, a conscious decision to make the bull one of the central figures in this scene.

When considered in context the context of the common iconographic themes on Cyprus and Golgoi, and in light of the event surrounding the creation of this sarcophagus, it is possible to postulate some local motivations for the inclusion of seemingly inconsistent elements such as the hoplites and the bull. The inclusion of the militaristic imagery is no doubt influenced in part by the cultural trends and events occurring around the Malloura valley at this time. Primarily, it should be recognized that there is a conscious decision to depict the spearmen as warriors; the archer is depicted in garb more similar to canonical Attic depictions of hunters, therefore the choice to dress the spearmen as hoplites, or at least to give them military character, is intentional. War imagery is very common in this region, and war chariot models, usually accompanied by spearmen, are the most common form of votive terracotta at the

Malloura sanctuary (Averett 2010:136). Averett (2010:143) argues that the body of terracotta votaries at the Malloura sanctuary mostly composed of men and horses in activities of war, such as chariot riding, suggests that there was an emphasis on elite military status in this region. This is not surprising, considering the events of the first half of the fifth century, including the Cypriot Ionian revolt, and Kition's annexation of Idalion (Gordon et al. 2010 3:31 Fourier 2013:106, 116, Hermary and Mertens 2014:19, Maier 1985:34, Hermary 2013:90, Iacovou 2002:77-78, 2008:646, 2012:65). Given the proximity of the Malloura sanctuary to Golgoi, it is likely that the urban center had similar concerns, and in Golgoi there might have been an emphasis on the connection between elite and military status. The inclusion of the hoplite character of the spearmen, therefore, might be indicative of this trend.

The bull also has many iconographic connections to both the regional and overall Cypriot material that may explain why it was included in this scene. Averett (2010:141) suggests, based on the commonality of bull mask and bull masked terracotta figurines, as well as several incised cattle bones found at the Athienou-Malloura, that there might have been a "cultic role" for the bull at Mallora. There are many different bull representations, or iconography such as the horns of the horned god of Enkomi, that have been generally believed among Cypriot archeologists to be representative of a bull cult or deity on Cyprus (Knapp 2008:278-9, with citations). Bull-masked figurines, including a male statue holding a bull mask in his hand from the Golgoi sanctuary, may suggest a similar cultic role for the bull in the city of Golgoi. If this is the case, I would argue that the appearance of the bull in the hunt scene might, again, be a way to demonstrate the power or heroics of the hunters or the deceased over this cultic figure.

Figure 16: Bull Representations. Top: Cattle of Geryon. Bottom: Footstool. Photos by the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

While there is no other evidence to support this cultic association on the Golgoi sarcophagus, the bull as an iconographic theme is common in Cypriot art. The bull masks and bull masked figures are frequent votary objects at sanctuaries across the island (Averett 2010). The bull also seems to have been a common motif in sculpture coming from the Golgoi workshop, evidenced by a footstool (Figure 16) that pictures a bull in a similar position to the bull on the Golgoi sarcophagus, dated to the first half of the fifth century, and a relief of the cattle of Geryon (Figure 16), in which the cattle are remarkably similar in style to the Golgoi bull, and has been dated to the late sixth century (Tatton-Brown 1984:170-71). In addition, the motif of a bull being pursued is evidenced on Cypro-Archaic pottery (Karageorghis 2006:136-37). It is interesting to

note in the pottery examples, however, that the activity seems to focus more on capturing the bull, and the actual hunt of the bull. Given that the bull is a domesticated animal, and, as stated by Hermay and Mertens (2014:368) not therefore consistent with literal representations of wild hunt scenes, it is likely that its placement in the hunt scene is symbolic.

The choice of the bull rather than more commonly portrayed prey in such hunt scenes in the Mediterranean at this time is therefore likely intentional, especially considering the placement of the doe as an element but not a subject of the hunt, and the commonality of lion imagery in the area. The choice to use the bull, then, as a subject of this heroic, or battle-reminiscent hunt, may therefore have some symbolic purpose or intention behind it, possibly attached to the cultic significance of the bull. The inclusion could have also simply been because of the artist's familiarity with the bull or bull imagery in this region, or the commonality of the bull as an iconographic element on the island. It is therefore evident that while this scene then is likely influenced by Attic imagery, it is also drawing on very local themes and popular trends, demonstrating the conscious choices of Cypriot artists creating these objects within their own corpus of iconographic material, which was incorporating and manipulating Attic influences that had come to the island.

While the elements of military imagery and the bull demonstrate some local influence on the character of the scene, there is still the question of individual identity, specifically the identity of the deceased and how it is being characterized in this image. Despite the fact that the group hunt makes it difficult to identify a single central figure in the scene, especially given that none of the figures are bearded, and therefore are

difficult to connect to the bearded chariot driver, there have been efforts to ascertain which of these figures could be a representation of the deceased. Tatton-Brown (1984:170) in her essay on the sarcophagi and sculpture from Golgoi identifies the bowman as the central figure, because he stands apart from the homogenous hoplite spearmen. Others, including Hermary and Mertens (2014:368) and Barringer (2001:183) identify the left-of-center spearman as the central figure, because it is being singled out by the presence of the rooster. However, no matter which hunter is the main figure, the presence of the bull and rooster (again, not figures native to a hunt scene of wild animals) and the hoplite armor (not the usual garb of hunters) demonstrate the symbolic nature of this scene; whether or not one of these hunters is supposed to be a representation of the deceased, there is a general message of military capability and status, and a connection to the hunt as a theme popular in the Eastern Mediterranean as an activity demonstrative of an elite class.

The Banquet

Figure 18: Detail of Banquet Scene. Images from the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

The banquet scene is the panel in which the Attic influence appears to be the most evident (Hermary and Mertens 2014: 367, Karageorghis 2000:205). In this scene, four men recline on couches (Figure 18). Three are accompanied by a woman who sits facing them on the bed, while the third man is alone, and holds out a kylix to the wine pourer, a nude youth who is holding a oenochoe and wine strainer; a female flute player stands between two of the couches, and on the far left stands a krater (Hermary and Mertens 2014: 367, Karageorghis 2000:205).

Overall, the scene seems to be very similar to representations of Attic symposiums, (Hermary and Mertens 2014:367, Karageorghis 2006:210), including the banqueters, the vessels they use, the krater and the wine pourer. It is interesting, however, that a tree is also pictured in this scene, which would seem to place the banquet outside. While Hermary and Mertens (2014:368) state that they would be cautious of arguing that this banquet is representing a funerary banquet, specifically one that would have accompanied the funeral of this individual, it is interesting to note that food remains at the Salamis "Royal Tombs" indicate that the burials there were accompanied by a banquet or feast of some kind (Janes 2013). The inclusion of a banquet outside then, might be argued to demonstrate some sort of implication that this is a funerary banquet beside the tomb, or simply to reference funerary banquets in general.

The motif of the banquet is also seen in Cypriot art and it is therefore unlikely this scene is solely derived from Attic imagery. There is a high frequency of banquet scenes in end of Archaic and the early classical period in Mediterranean art in general,

and in Cyprus the motif is seen appearing at beginning of Cypro-Archaic on the

"Cypro-Phoenician" bowls of the eighth/seventh centuries BC.

Figure 19: Banquet Imagery from Golgoi. (Top) Small sculpture banquet Scene. (Bottom) 'Familial' Banquet Funerary Stele. Image from the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

The theme of the banquet is also seen in small sculpture at end of Archaic (see

Figure 19) (Karageorghis 2006:225). Banquet imagery, or at least imagery including a

figure reclining on a couch, also seems to have been relatively frequent in mortuary

contexts, especially in funerary stelae. A few such stelae were purportedly found in the

Golgoi necropolis (Karageorghis 2006:223). One appears to display a more familial

scene, in which one figure reclines, accompanied by a woman who sits behind him a

child who stands beside him, and another woman who sits on the couch in front of the figure, holding a vessel, possibly for wine (see Figure 19) (Hermary and Mertens 2014:637). Hermary and Mertens (2014:637), argue that the posing of some figures in the scene on the Golgoi sarcophagus resembles this sort of more familial scene, however, the garb of the women on the sarcophagi recalls more the appearance of women in symposia rather than the fully and conservatively clothed women in this steali. Another depicts a single reclining figure, who appears to clutch a small bag, possibly a pouch for currency, in one hand (Karagerghis 2006:224). All are dated to around the fifth or fourth centuries BCE, and purportedly found in the Golgoi necropolis, which would demonstrate that the reclining banqueter could have been a common motif on funerary monuments in Golgoi at this time.

Stylistically, there are a few features of the figures in the banquet scene on the Golgoi sarcophagus that very clearly mark them as referencing and working within a stylistic trend in Golgoi at the time. Primarily there is the portrayal of the lone bearded banqueter. This figure is also the one most usually interpreted as being a depiction of the deceased within this scene (Hermary and Mertens 2014:369, Tatton-Brown 1984:170). The profile of the figure is similar to votary limestone statue dating to about the same time found in the Golgoi sanctuary, including the shape of the beard, and the wreath worn on his head. There are three banqueters on the Golgoi sarcophagus that are wreathed, including the bearded figure. This is consistent with the trend of wreathed heads in statuary that begins in the sixth century BCE and seems to persist through the fifth to fourth centuries BCE (Counts 2010:157-58).

This would appear to demonstrate that while the Golgoi sarcophagus' banquet scene is very reminiscent of Attic imagery, there are several elements that indicate these artists are working from and referencing a body of Cypriot comparanda as well, and that the banquet as a motif, and likely an activity, was present on Cyprus at this time. Given its common use in mortuary monuments, this scene likely had a local reading that was not exclusively understood as the Attic symposion, but likely associated with some local Cypriot practice.

Perseus and Medusa

Figure 20: Detail of Perseus and Medusa Panel. Image from the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

The scene appears to depict Perseus and the recently decapitated Medusa: Perseus carries the head in a wallet slung on a stick over his shoulder, and is walking to the right, away from Medusa, who is pulling Chrysaor and Pegasus from her neck (Figure 20) (Hermary and Mertens 2014: 366, Karageorghis 2000:205-206). Between the two is a seated dog, looking towards Perseus. Tatton-Brown (1984:170) comments on this scene in her essay on sculpture from Golgoi, stating that the wings and long dress of Medusa are common to her portrayals in East Greece, but that the simultaneous

birth of Chrysaor and Pegasus from her neck, while true to the myth is not a common form of the representation in the Aegean.

Figure 21: Statue of Geryon, Perseus scene on shield. Image from the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Images of Perseus do not seem to have been common on the island. However, there is one portrayal that has been identified as a scene depicting Perseus and Medusa that also comes from the Golgoi area (Hermary and Mertens 2014:252). It is found in a relief sculpture on a shield of a standing sculpture of Geryon, dated to the latter half of the sixth century BCE (see Figure 21). Hermary and Mertens (2014:252) state that in this scene there is a representation of Medusa, head still attached, arms raised, facing Perseus, who looks backwards to a figure that has been identified as Athena (Hermary and Mertens 2014:252). While representations of Perseus are not common, these possible representations of it would appear to indicate that this myth, and images relating to it, were not entirely foreign to the Golgoi area.

While there are no other references to Perseus in the Golgoi area, it is possible that the hero was popular in Kourian, where there was worship of a hero named

Perseutas who has been associated with Perseus (Hermary and Mertens 2014:369).

However, Hermary and Mertens (2014:369) state that a connection between the

Kourion Perseutas and the Perseus on this sarcophagus is "risky." This does, however,

demonstrate at least that it was possible that Perseus was known and, perhaps, popular

on Cyprus. It is also important to consider the popularity of the myth around Cyprus;

representations of Perseus are common during the eighth-fifth centuries BCE

throughout the Aegean (LIMC s.v. Perseus); Perseus is also considered an ancestor of

the Persians (LIMC s.v. Perseus), and the Achaemenid kings claimed kinship to him

(Hermary and Mertens 2014:369). Perseus, therefore, is a popular hero, known in the

Aegean and Persia, both of which were areas surrounding and interacting with Cyprus.

If it is assumed that this image is indeed portraying Perseus, and if the context of

the region of Golgoi is considered in relation to the events occurring during the period

this sarcophagus is dated to, then the choice of depicting Perseus could be interpreted as

one of strategic symbolism. If one is to assume that Golgoi was a region caught in the

Greco-Persian conflict, or in Idalion's eventual conquering by the Phoenician dynasty at

Kition (Fourier 2013:106, 116, Gordon et al. 2010 3:31, Hermary 2013:90, Hermary

and Mertens 2014:19, Iacovou 2002:77-78, 2008:646, 2012:65, Maier 1985:34), then it

is possible that members of any of those communities might have been located in or had

political connections or influence in the city. The choice of Perseus, a hero who was

popular in the Aegean (LIMC s.v. Perseus), and considered by the Persians as an

ancestor of their royal line (Hermary and Mertens 2014:369), might have been an effort

by to portray a figure of high status that all parties would recognize, and thereby to

connect the identity of the deceased with that of the well-known hero.

Finally, there is the dog, which is not consistent with the myth, or any representations of the myth (Hermary and Mertens 2014:369). It has been proposed that Perseus is being depicted as a hunter, as he is dressed in the same clothing as common Attic portrayals of hunter garb (Karagoerghis 2000:205), and the dog is therefore included because it is a common element in portrayals of the hunt in the Mediterranean (Barringer 2001:179). This is interesting considering that Perseus is walking towards the hunt scene (Karageorgis 2000:204). However, it seems more likely that the dog functions, as suggested by Hermary and Mertens (2014:369), to personalize the image and connect it to the deceased, or to draw on the possible funerary significance of dogs, as Karageorghis (2000:224) states they are relatively common in mortuary contexts.

While this scene appears to depict Perseus, and is therefore likely not a literal depiction of the deceased, the inclusion of the hero might be intended to symbolically connect the deceased with the mythical figure. The addition of the dog, because it is not consistent with the myth, could be an element that is meant to personalize the image and connect the hero with the deceased. This is possibly evidence to suggest that this sarcophagus was specifically commissioned for one individual, and there was the requested personalized element of this representation of his dog. A limestone statue of a dog in a very similar style was, according to Cesnola, discovered with the sarcophagus (Cesnola 1878:114). If we choose to believe Cesnola's account, this might further support the view that this sarcophagus was commissioned for an individual. In any case, dogs are found in mortuary contexts on Cyprus (Karageorgis 2000:224), and this inconsistency with the myth could demonstrate that the artists were not only copying Attic representations.

Conclusions

The Golgoi sarcophagus, as stated before, has been frequently compared to Attic imagery, and the iconography certainly betrays Attic influence. However, each of these scenes also demonstrates a connection to a Cypriot corpus of material and practices that would have influenced the choice of imagery and how this imagery was interpreted and understood. The level of quality exemplified by the objects produced by the workshop in the area of Golgoi would suggest that these artists were skilled, and highly practiced artisans; it is unlikely that they were simply 'confusing' imagery; instead the iconography found on the sarcophagus is there because of informed choices, made either by the artist or the persons who commissioned it. Once again, it is important to consider these scenes and their imagery in the context of their place on a sarcophagus, a mortuary object, and how the deceased, or those burying them, wanted to represent that individual, or what the artists believed someone of elite status would want represented.

Whether this sarcophagus was created for an individual, or purchased 'off the shelf' as it were, the main goal seems to have been to display elite status. The relief sculpture of the Golgoi sarcophagus does appear to depict what could be seen as rather generic 'elite' scenes or activities on each side. A group hunt scene, which has been shown to have funerary and elite contexts in the Eastern Mediterranean, a banquet scene, which was an elite activity throughout the Mediterranean, a chariot scene, which has been shown to have elite contexts in Cyprus, and finally a scene of a Perseus, who was a hero popular among peoples in the Aegean and Persians. If one is to assume that Golgoi was an area experiencing the ramifications of the Greco-Persian conflict on the island, or of the expansionists efforts of the Phoenician dynasty in Kition, then it is

possible that political figures with stakes in those conflicts, and perhaps of varying cultural identities affiliations, would need to objectify their elite status. In this case, the Golgoi sarcophagus may have been catering to a more metropolitan elite audience, and was attempting to display elite status through scenes that are recognizable as those of one with advanced social status to any of those cultural populations. Considering the imagery of the Golgoi sarcophagus in the context of both local Cypriot imagery and contemporaneous events, therefore, further complicates and informs the history and understanding of the object. It is also interesting to consider the fact that this sarcophagus lacks any polychromy, which is seen in both the Amathous and Palaipafos sarcophagus. This might demonstrate a separate tradition in Golgoi in relation to the ornamentation of sarcophagi, or at least to sculpture and pigmentation in general.

Because the lack of any extensive excavation at Golgoi makes it difficult to understand the full context of this sarcophagus within the city, the local understanding of this sarcophagus is slightly more difficult to interpret than the Amathous sarcophagus. However, findings of the regional study of the Malloura Valley in the Athienou Archeological Project (Toumazou et al. 2010) demonstrates that military imagery was popular in the region of Golgoi, and that it was likely associated with elite status. In addition, representations of banquets and group hunting scenes would suggest that these would not have been foreign to the local viewer, and it is likely that those interacting with the Golgoi sarcophagus would have recognized themes pertaining to elite status, and possibly, given the inclusion of distinctly Attic imagery such as the hoplite armor, would have recognized this sarcophagus as one that was connecting the deceased with a larger Mediterranean ideal of advanced status.

VII – Analysis: The Palaipafos Sarcophagus

Figure 22: The Palaipafos sarcophagus. Image by author.

Introduction: Both Old and New

The Palaipafos sarcophagus was the most recently discovered of the three

sarcophagi discussed in this thesis (Figure 22). It was found in 2006 at the edges of the

modern village of Kouklia, the site of the ancient capital of the kingdom of Paphos

(Flourentzos 2007:11). The tomb was originally discovered when a circular opening

was revealed during the drilling of a well for a nearby villa (Flourentzos 2007:11-12).

The floor of the tomb is about five meters underground and is composed of a large

chamber, measuring 5.0 x 3.5 meters with a smaller chamber, measuring 2.2 x 1.0

meter, branching off of its north side. The height of these chambers was 1.80 meters.

Leading into the tomb is a sloping *dromos* 2.7 meters wide. In the northern wall of the

dromos a small niche was found containing a burial, probably that of a child, but it has

been determined that it is unlikely that this inhumation occurred at the same time as the

sarcophagus (Flourentzos 2007:12). The roof of the tomb was almost completely collapsed, with the exception of the smaller chamber in which the sarcophagus was found. The tomb had been looted in antiquity and the sarcophagus was found open, the lid broken in two, without goods or human remains. In the main chamber several limestone fragments were found suggesting the possible presence of other sarcophagi. Also found in the main chamber, close to the entrance of the smaller chamber, were several amphora fragments and weapons (Flourentzos 2007:14)[29].

The sarcophagus (61 x 67 x 199 cm) is the smallest of the three discussed in this thesis, and appears to draw on scenes from Homeric epics (Flourentzos 2007). On a long side of the sarcophagus there is a battle scene that has several possible identifications (Flourentzos 2007:21-25), and on the other long sides there is a scene that appears to represent Odysseus and his companions escaping the cyclops Polyphemus (Flourentzos 2007:25). The short sides include a representation of a warrior carrying a fallen comrade, and a scene of a fight between a boar and lion (Flourentzos 2007:26-27). It is currently on display in the Palaipafos museum in the Village of Kouklia. Aside from one half of the lid that was not found, but was reconstructed by the Cypriot Department of Antiquities, no reconstructive work was done on the sarcophagus (Flourentzos 2007:14).

The discovery of the Palaipafos sarcophagus in 2006, and then the publication of this find in 2007, demonstrates that the sarcophagus is relatively new to the literature. It is not as frequently discussed as the Amathous and Golgoi sarcophagi, though it is often referenced in the literature discussing the latter two published since its discovery

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[29] See Flourentzos 2007 for the full publication of the tomb and its contents.

(Hermary and Mertens 2014:353-70, Satraki 2013:136). Because the tomb was looted, there was little evidence to support dating. However, there were iron artefacts and weapons, and based on style, if they were buried with the deceased, would date the sarcophagus to after 500BCE (Flourentzos 2007:46). When dated using analysis of the style of the figurines, it was placed at the end of the Cypro-Archaic, circa 480 BCE (Flourentzos 2007:46).

Creating a Local Context: The Kingdom of Paphos

It is frequently noted that the association of Palaipafos with the cult of the Paphian Goddess has led to a focus on the ritual and religious significance of the city and its temple, which has resulted in a paucity of literature on the actual political and social life of the city (Iacovou 2013b:276, 2014:165, Maier and Wartburg 1985: 157). Palaipafos was the capital city of the Kingdom of Paphos until it was relocated to the location of the modern city of Paphos in the fourth century BCE (Iacovou 2013b:2821, 2014:166, Maier 2004:25, Maier and Wartburg 1985:159). It is believed that the relocation occurred because the harbor of the first capital had in some way become unusable or unsuitable (Iacovou 2014:166). After the capital was moved, the site was re-named Palaipafos, and continued to be used as an important site as the central temple to the Paphian Goddess (Iacovou 2014:167, Maier 2004:45).

While the political use of the city is understudied, the political rulers of Paphos are well documented in epigraphical sources throughout Paphos' history. There are inscriptions found in the city that provide a list of kings from the late eighth to early fourth centuries (Iacovou 2014b:276, 2008b:271-72). The names of these kings are Greek; this and related inscriptions indicate that Iron Age Paphos was ruled by Greek

speaking dynasty (Iacovou 2008b:272), though it should be emphasized that use of the Greek language does not necessitate that these rulers or the kingdom were Aegean migrants, or identified themselves with any cultural groups outside of the island. The kings of Cyprus, as evidenced by inscriptions, throughout the history of the kingdom drew their lineage back to the legendary, Cypriot, 'pre-Greek' king Kinyras, who, according to the legend, was the founder and king of Paphos as well as the high priest of the temple of the Paphian goddess (Budin 2004:113, Iacovou 2002:649, 2012a:64, Hermary and Mertens 2014:361, Maier 1989:376-77, Satraki 2013:133). For this reason, the kings of Paphos are believed to have been priest kings, with a large part of their authority tied to the Paphian goddess and her temple (Iacovou 2012a:64-65, 2013b:287, 2014:166, Maier and Wartburg 1985:155, Satraki 2013:134).

The focus on the Paphian goddess in the scholarly investigation of Palaipafos complicates the attempt to construct a picture of the political or cultural climate in the city at in the first half of the fifth century, around the time of the sarcophagus' creation. In addition, archaeological evidence for conflict in Paphos at the time of the Ionian revolt is scarce. The evidence most frequently cited as proof of Paphian involvement in the conflict is the "Persian siege ramp" (e.g. Maier and Wartburg 1985:156, Maier 2004:66-71 Tatton-Brown 1988:67, contra: Iacovou 2013b:283-84). This siege ramp is a deposit of materials against a segment of wall belonging to the large structure built atop the terrace of *Marchello.* This building, along with several other structures located on the topographically elevated points in Palaipafos, is believed to have been built by relative phases of kings (Iacovou 2008b:274). It was originally believed that this wall was part of a larger city wall that encompassed the center of Palaipafos, including the

primary temple, however, the recent survey work of the "Palaepaphos Urban Landscape Project" has demonstrated that it is very unlikely that a fully enclosing city wall existed (Iacovou 2008b:272-73, 2013b:280). However, the section of wall on *Marchello* has been well excavated and researched. The "siege ramp" is composed of more than a thousand architectural and sculptural fragments believed to have been transported from a nearby regional shrine and thrown into a moat adjacent to the wall so that Persian forces could scale the ramparts during the Ionian revolt (Iacovou 2008b:274, Maier and Wartburg 1985:156). It should be noted that Herodotus (5.104-116) makes no mention of Paphos or a king of Paphos in his accounting of the Ionian revolt (Iacovou 2008b:274). His account, however, can by no means be considered complete or all-encompassing of the conflict, so this does not rule out any Paphian involvement in the revolt. Evidence of a violent conflict corresponding with this deposit is a large degree of weaponry and weapon fragments associated with the ramp, including around five hundred arrowheads and javelin points, as well as a complete bronze helmet and fragmentary iron helmet (Maier and Warburg 1985:157).[30] While it is unclear whether this constituted a siege of the city, or of perhaps the palace, and whether this was done by Persians, these weapons indicate that there was a conflict of some magnitude in Paphos in the early fifth century.

The history of the mortuary record in Paphos corresponds with the trend of the island; following the twelfth century BCE "crisis years" there is a shift in the mortuary architecture, including longer more gradually sloping dromos, and the move to extramural, but highly visible cemeteries (Meir and Wartburg 1985:151, Janes

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[30] See Maier and Wartburg 1985 for their full account of how they believed this siege took place.

2010:135, 2013:135, Maier 2004:22), which seemed to encircle the settlement, creating

"an almost complete 'girdle' of burial grounds surrounding the urban space" (Iacovou

2013b: 278).
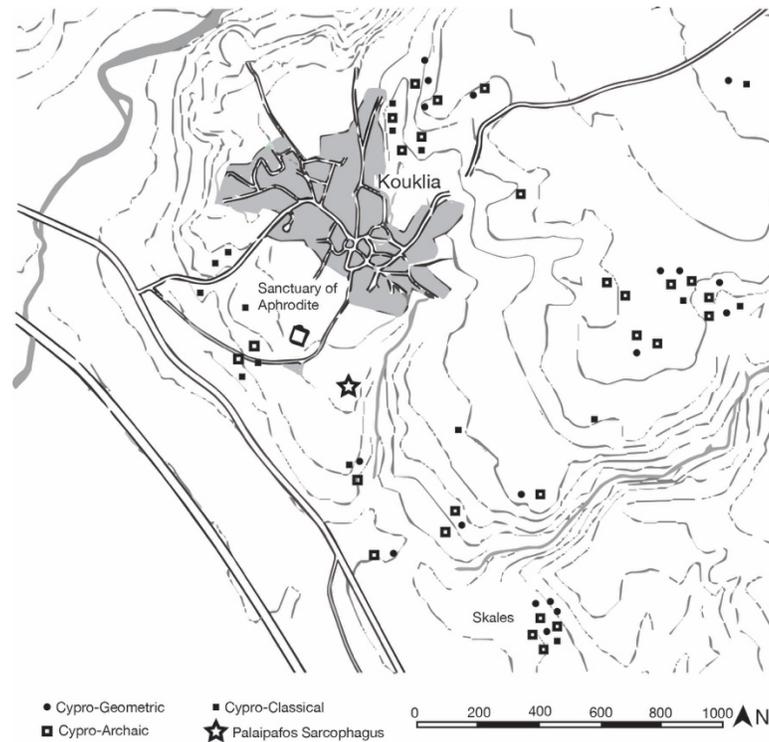
Figure 23: Map of Palaipafos area, and related burials. Adapted from Janes (2013:152)
and Maier and Wartburg (1985:153).

One example of these extramural burial grounds is the early Archaic cemetery of

Paleapaphos-Skales, (see Figure 23) (Janes 2010:135), which was used from the Cypro-

Geometric through the early Cypro-Archaic (Karageorghis 1983)[31].

It is interesting to note, however, that the tomb of the Palaipafos sarcophagus is

not located in these extramural cemeteries, and is actually located very close to the

settlement, only about 200 meters from the terrace where the temple was located (see

Figure 23). The tomb was discovered accidently during construction and I have not

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[31] for a full accounting of the archeological research of the cemetary, see Karageorghis 1983.

found any evidence of further investigation into the area to determine if there are other tombs or a formalized necropolis. The significance of its location then, close to the temple and not in the more distant cemeteries, is interesting, though the lack of any imagery associated with the Paphia on the sarcophagus would make it difficult to assert whether or not there is a meaningful connection between the location of the burial and the temple. In relation to Palaipafos tombs in general, Satraki (2013:138) notes: "Paleapaphos has to date failed to yield a built royal tomb," despite epigraphical evidence for and extended tradition of kingship. It could be argued, then, that the lack of built tombs might suggest that in Palaipafos there were other ways to present status that were emphasized more than burial. It may be that the tradition of burial was not a large stage for the demonstration of power in Paphos as it was in places with extravagant built tombs such as Salamis or Amathous, which further complicates the discussion of the significance of this tomb and its location.

As discussed in relation to the Amathous and Golgoi sarcophagi, limestone sources and workshops are understudied in Cyprus, and there is no available literature on where limestone sculpture in this region was sourced or created, although it is evident that the limestone used for the Palaipafos sarcophagi was of lower quality than that of the Golgoi or Amathous sarcophagi.

Analysis: A Puzzle of Homeric Proportions

Homer and Cyprus

Evidence for the presence of Homeric poems in Cyprus is circumstantial at best. Given the high degree of contact between Cyprus and the Aegean, it would not be

surprising if the poems were recited in some form on this island. However, clear

evidence of these poems being iconographically represented on the island is rare, if not

totally absent. It has been suggested that there is evidence of Greek myths being

represented in Paphian pottery (Karageorghis 1998:38), though these representations

seem to be related to Herakles; and without the characteristic traits of Herakles or

inscriptions in these images on the pottery, the association seems tenuous. The lack of

Homeric imagery has not stopped scholars from asserting that the Homeric stories

would have been well known in Cyprus (e.g. Flourentzos 2007:44, Karageorghis

1998:50). These associations, however, seem to be made in reverse order, assuming that

mention of Cyprus by Homer means Cyprus must have, in turn, known of Homer. In a

book devoted to the topic of Greek myths in Cyprus, Karageorghis (1998: 50) describes:

> The period c. 700 BC in Cyprus is well-known for the diffusion of
> Homeric epic. Kourion . . . was a Greek city whose inhabitants boasted,
> according to Herodotus, that they were decedents of the Argives. Other
> silver bowls found at Kourion bear the name of the owner, no doubts a
> Greek King or noble, engraved in the Greek language but in the Cypriot
> syllabary, these names are Epioros, Dieithemis and Pausandros. In their
> courts, no doubt, epic poetry must have been recited.

There is, however, no evidence found on Cyprus to corroborate Herodotus (5.113), or to

demonstrate that Cypriots ever gave such poems physical representation in sculpture or

pottery. To support a Homeric reading of the sarcophagus, Flourentzos (2007:44)

argues that there is a longstanding history of Homeric verse in Cyprus, and he cites an

inscription on stele found in Kition, inscribed with a "metrical epitaph devoted to the

young teacher Kilikas who taught the Homeric Poems" (Flourentzos 2007:44).

However, he doesn't mention that this inscription, translated in Niclao's (1971)

collection of Cypriot inscribed stones, is dated to the 2nd century CE (Niclao 1971: 31).

The disparity in the dates of this epitaph and the sarcophagus makes it difficult to comment on the popularity of Homer in the fifth century BCE, seven to eight hundred years before the stele was made, and before Kilikas was purportedly teaching Homeric verse.

While there is no direct evidence of Homeric verse being represented in the iconography, there is evidence, both iconographical and linguistic, to support the presence of a poetic or bardic tradition on Cyprus by at least the late Bronze Age. Franklin (2014:214) argues that this is evidenced as early as the eleventh century though representations of the "warrior poets," such as one found on a Kalathos dating to the eleventh century BCE from Palaipafos. Franklin (2014:217) also cites linguistic evidence suggesting that the *Kyrpia*, a sort of prequel to the Iliad, which we now only know in fragments and references, had Cypriot origins. This would suggest a poetic tradition that was interacting with, and influencing the developing tradition of myths in the Aegean (Franklin 2014:228). I would argue that this might also be used as evidence to suggest that the telling of poems and poetic tradition was prevalent in Cyprus. It is only in early sixth century that Homer was popular enough that singers adapted the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*—but likely these adaptations were not entirely canonical at that time (Franklin 2014:233). If Cyprus had its own strong poetic tradition, it is not surprising that, with the relative standardization and proliferation of Homer within and without the Aegean by the sixth century, these poems, in some form, might have been told in Cyprus as well.

Figure 24: Odysseys and Polyphemus Panel. Photo by author.

Perhaps the best evidence that Homeric epics had a presence on Cyprus is the scene on the Palaipafos sarcophagus (see Figure 24) depicting Odysseus and his companions escaping Polyphemus by strapping themselves to the bellies of the Cyclops's rams (*Od.* 9.440-464) (Flourentzos 2007:25). In the relief, four rams form a procession, walking equidistant towards a large male figure, painted orange, who is kneeling and looking towards them with one arm reaching out towards the sheep, and the other bent upwards as if towards his single eye, which is painted red. Each sheep has a man bound under it, strapped to the animal with two red bindings.

Unlike the other panels of the sarcophagus, it is fairly easy to interpret this image as portraying a Homeric scene, since, as noted by Flourentzos (2007:25), the imagery is incredibly similar to the story of Odysseus' escape from Polyphemus in the *Odyssey* (9.440-464). The details of the image appear to reflect the story, the Cyclops' red eye possibly representing that he has been blinded, kneeling down and reaching towards his sheep as they pass by him, while unbeknownst to him, the men escape, strapped to the bellies of the rams. While I would argue it is possible that those making and interacting with this scene did not believe it to be from Homer's *Odyssey,* possibly

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having some other narrative, the imagery is strikingly similar to Homer's description.

Of the panels of the sarcophagus, therefore, this one appears to be the easiest to

associate with depiction of a Homeric scene. I would also argue that the presence of this

image demonstrates that it is likely the *Odyssey*, or at least this story from it, was known

on the island by the fifth century BCE, when the sarcophagus was created. However,

without any Cypriot comparanda it is difficult to ascertain why this scene was chosen,

what its purpose was on the sarcophagus, or if the Cypriots making and interacting with

it understood it to be Homeric imagery. It is therefore difficult to discuss the local

context of Homer and Homeric imagery on Cyprus, or on the sarcophagus. The local

context of the sarcophagus is the focus of this thesis, therefore, my discussion will

mostly focus on those elements that can be analyzed in their local Cypriot context.

The Battle Scene

Figure 25: The Battle Panel. Photo by James Anastassiades.

The battle scene contains several images that are quite common in Cypriot

iconography (see Figure 25). In the scene, a wall stands to the right, and three war

chariots, led by a horseman blowing into a horn, ride to the left, over the bodies of

fallen warriors, towards a kneeling archer (Flourentzos 2007: 21). Behind the archer a

man stands adjacent to a tree with a chariot propped up behind him; the arms of the

chariot lean against the tree above his head. On the other side of the chariot two horses graze (Flourentzos 2007: 21).

Chariots have appeared on both the Amathous and Golgoi sarcophagi, however, on the Palaipafos sarcophagus we see them in a military, rather than civil context. The popularity of war chariot models in the form of terracotta votaries throughout Cyprus has been discussed (see chapter VI), and it would not have been an image type that was unknown by local sculptors.

Figure 26: Detail of Herakles from Battle Panel. Photo by author.

The kneeling archer (Figure 26) contains elements of another prolific figure in Cypriot iconography. The garb of the archer, who is donned in lion skin, is similar to representations of the Cypriot Herakles (Flourentzos 2007:21), who is an incredibly popular figure in sculpture and iconography throughout Cyprus (Counts 2008). His

location at the center of the image, as well as his large size relative to the other figures, indicate he is likely the central figure of this scene.

In the publication on this sarcophagus, Flourentzos (2007) has two main identifications of this scene, and particularly this figure. Flourentzos (2007:21) begins with an assertion that this scene most likely is meant to represent a scene from Book 10 of the *Iliad* in which Odysseus and Diomedes collaborate to attack the Trojan camp (*Il.*10.475-485). He argues that the chariot leaning on the tree is the luxurious chariot described by Homer in this scene as well (2007:21). In this scene, therefore, Flourentzos (2007:21-22) suggests that Diomedes is the man hiding behind the tree trying to steal the horses, and the archer in the center of the scene is Odysseus who is defending Diomedes and attacking the oncoming Thracians, represented by the horseman and the two chariots crews. This is an interesting interpretation of the identities of the relative figures, given that Homer (*Il.*10.475-485) describes Odysseus stealing the horses while Diomedes attacks the Thracians. While not noting this, Flourentzos (2007:24) does identify some other inaccuracies with this representation, stating that it is odd that Diomedes is not portrayed in the heavy armor that is elaborately described by Homer, and is instead in a simple cuirass.

Flourentzos (2007:21) also acknowledges that the portrayal of Odysseus in this image is very similar in iconography to the Cypriot Herakles. Homer describes very clearly how Odysseus was dressed for the attack on the Thracian camp, including a helm, with a tassel; he argues that the tassel "in the shape of a lion skin" attached to the figures lion head cap could be this mentioned tassel. Flourentzos (2007:22) argues that the "confused" mix of the features of Odysseus and Heracles could be due to the

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absence or extreme rarity of a fully armed Odysseus in Cypriot art. He also states that this scene is also reminiscent of Herakles' eighth labor, in which Heracles had to bring the horses of King Diomedes to Mycenae (LIMC s.v. Herakles) or another story in which Hercules is promised horses by the king of Troy if he killed a monster attacking the city; however, this promise was not kept, so Herakles attacked the city so as to take the horses (LIMC s.v. Herakles) (Flourentzos 2007:23). Flourentzos (2007:25) argues that it is unlikely the sculptor was acquainted with written sources of Homer, but had heard about them, and combined elements of this story with elements from the labors of Herakles in order to produce this scene.

Flourentzos' (2007) interpretation does not fully discuss the significance and popularity of Herakles imagery in Cyprus, or that this imagery had its own interpretation and symbolic significance on the island (Counts 2008). In his publication on this image type in Cyprus, Counts (2008:7) asserts that the "Master of the Lion" is a central figure during the Cypro-Archaic, Cypro-Classical, and Hellenistic periods on the island. These representations began to appear in the middle of the sixth century BCE; but from the late sixth century until the end of the fourth century, the representation was relatively static and standardized (Counts 2008:8). This standardized form is most usually a figure advancing with one foot forward, a club raised and attached at the back of the head, a small lion gripped in the other hand at the side of the body. The figure wears a lion's pelt, the head of the lion forming the cap, the forearms tied in a knot over the chest, and a short, belted chiton.

Figure 27: 'Master of the Lion' as Archer (L) from Idalion and (R) from Golgoi.
Images from the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

The 'Master of the Lion' is also commonly represented as an archer in Cyprus (Counts 2008:8), as seen in two examples from the Metropolitan Museum of art, dating to the sixth and fifth century from Idalion and Golgoi, seen standing, and, perhaps most relevant to this sarcophagus, kneeling, with a quiver slung on the side of the figure (see Figure 27).

Counts (2008:8) states that the identity of these 'Herakles' representations in Cyprus is uncertain, as there are no textual dedications to the Greek hero of Herakles; and he argues that the portrayals of the hero both wearing the lion skin and holding the lion at the same time are not consistent with portrayals from the Aegean. Given this inconsistency, Counts (2008:8-10) terms this figure the 'Master of the Lion,' rather than the 'Cypriot Herakles.' Counts (2008) argues that the 'Master of the Lion' was a

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'Master of the Animals' type deity in Cyprus, with symbolic purposes relating more to power over nature, possibly in areas such as agriculture, hunting etc., rather than being directly identified with Heracles or Melquart. This god, therefore, as argued by Counts (2008:19) borrowed from the iconography of Herakles and Melquart, but had its own significance and separate Cypriot identity.

The incorporation of the "Master of the Lion" in this scene could be interpreted in a number of ways. This is likely not, as Flourentzos (2007:22) states, a 'confusion' of imagery the effort involved in the creation of this sarcophagus implies that the images would have been carefully chosen by the artist or the commissioner. It could be that the artist did not mean for the figure to represent Herakles, but was using imagery from a popular male hero to represent the main hero of the battle from whichever story it happens to originate. It could also have been that the artist was intentionally imposing a Cypriot figure onto a story of foreign heroes, giving the scene a form of Cypriot identity and ownership.

The identification of the scene is complicated by the way this figure is represented, however, given the uncertainties, as discussed by Flourentzos (2007 21-25), about whether it is meant to be Homeric, or representing a myth about Herakles. However, I would argue the significance of this figure, in relation to the local contexts, is more primarily attached to the archer's heroic role in the battle scene itself. Whether this is meant to be a representation of a myth about Herakles, or a scene from a Homeric poem, it does demonstrate that the artist was working with and influenced by a local Cypriot corpus of iconographic representations, and used that local imagery to create the central, heroic figure in this scene.

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Figure 28: The Fallen Warrior Panel. Photo by James Anastassiades.

This scene (Figure 28) is as difficult to associate with any specific Homeric scene as the battle scene, if not more so. This panel depicts a helmeted warrior walking to the right towards a cypress tree, with another person draped over his shoulder (Flourentzos 2007:26). Flourentzos (2007:26) suggests that this scene depicts Ajax carrying the fallen Achilles, but aside from the Homeric association created by the narrative of the sarcophagus overall, there is no evidence to support this conclusion. The context of the scene on a sarcophagus may lend itself to a particular reading, as the fallen warrior and the cypress tree might be ways of indicating mourning (Flourentzos 2007:26), specifically: of mourning the deceased, who may be represented symbolically by this fallen warrior. The sarcophagus in general utilizes narratives of combat and war. But if this scene is not meant to represent the deceased as a fallen warrior, it could instead be a symbol of grief within the iconographic theme.

Figure 29: The Boar and Lion Panel. Photo by James Anastassiades.

This final scene on the sarcophagus depicts a boar and a lion facing each other, as if in combat, and each paired with a tree: a cypress behind the lion and a palm tree behind the boar (Figure 29) (Flourentzos 2007:26-27). Flourentzos (2007:26-27) comments on the possible symbolism in this scene, especially given the association of each animal with their given tree: the lion, "king of the beasts" stands before a cypress tree, a symbol of mourning, while the boar, an animal that symbolized courage, is paired with a palm tree, a symbol of glory. This could indicate, as suggested by Flourentzos 2007: 26-27) that this scene is communicating that "bravery and courage can often overcome strength and kingship." This reading is possibly influenced by Flourentzos' (2007) suggestion that this sarcophagus is for a warrior who died during or shortly after the Ionian revolt, which would lend this scene to an interpretation of a symbolic an opposition of the Achaemenid king. This reading, however, relies on Hellenic symbolism for the images in this scene. The lion, in general, has been shown to

have a strong funeral context on Cyprus, commonly seen on funerary stelae and monuments (see referenced catalogue entries in Hermary and Mertens 2014:369). The boar has also been seen in a funeral context on the Golgoi sarcophagus, and the boar hunt appears commonly in Cypriot iconography (see Chapter VI). Whether or not the symbolic associations with these animals were the same in Cyprus as in Greece, it is possible that the symbolic associations of these animals are not seen as conflicting, but working in tandem to represent aspects of the identity of the deceased. In any case, these animals are both common to Cypriot iconography.

It is also important to recognized the symbolic context of this scene in relation to the iconographic narrative of the entire sarcophagus. This panel is the only scene that does not seem to represent some form of story, whereas the others all have clear narratives, even if the Homeric associations are in cases tenuous. It is unlikely that the artists simply ran out of narratives, or Homeric stories, for this panel. The choice of incorporating the facing boar and lion is a conscious one, and this scene likely has important symbolic meaning to those interacting with the sarcophagus, whether this be the artists, the deceased, or those who knew the deceased.

Conclusions

The sarcophagus, in general, seems to be drawing on militaristic and mythological imagery. The scene depicting the four men strapped to the bellies of rams approaching the Cyclops appears to be a representation of the Homeric tale of Odysseus escaping the Cyclops Polyphemus, and given this possible Homeric association, it is usually assumed that the opposed scene is Homeric as well. The battle scene, however, is difficult to identify with any specific story, complicated especially by the inclusion of

the figure who is depicted using imagery common to portrayals of Herakles, or the 'Master of the Lion,' on the island. The scene of the warrior carrying another over his shoulder is equally non-descript, and the boar and the lion are most likely symbolic, and not literally Homeric, in inspiration. Furthermore, it is difficult, given the lack of Homeric imagery on Cyprus at this time, to know the extent to which these heroes and their myths were associated with the Aegean, or with Homer; whether the protagonists and identity of the scene were viewed as foreign, or if the Cypriots who created and interacted with the object felt some sense of personal or local ownership over these heroes and these stories.

The inclusion of the figure represented as Herakles would seem to imply that these stories are being given Cypriot character by the artists, indicating an imposition of a common Cypriot image onto a foreign scene, or demonstrating a story that was already perceived as locally Cypriot or connected to Cyprus. This figure could have been depicted as a generic warrior in armor, like the warrior on the short side of the sarcophagus, but the depiction specifically as Herakles, a popular Cypriot figure, demonstrates an intentional inclusion of a strongly Cypriot element. While it has been suggested (Flourentzos 2007) that this was a confusion of imagery, or lack of other appropriate ways to depict Odysseus or a heroic figure, I argue it is more likely that this was an intentional portrayal of a figure that would have been recognized as local and connected to a Cypriot identity on the island.

Finally, there is the question of the mortuary context, and the identity of the deceased. Without mention of other sarcophagi from the region, either fragmentary, undecorated, or otherwise, especially given the extensive archeological research at sites

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such as Palaipafos-Skales, it appears as though this sarcophagus is rather exceptional. This could, of course be a case of preservation bias, but the rarity is evidence enough to suggest that this sarcophagus was likely created for a specific individual, rather than being purchased after creation. Given the militaristic narrative of most of the imagery, it would seem like a sound conclusion to assume that the deceased was a warrior. While the fact that the wall outside *Marchello* was not part of a city wall (Iacovou 2008b:272-73, 2013b:280), the mound outside of it does suggest a siege, or at least violent conflict of some sort (Maier and Warburg 1985:157) around the time that this sarcophagus was created. Such a conflict could have influenced the inclusion of martial imagery, or led to the death and subsequent entombment of an important warrior in this sarcophagus.

However, I would argue that the inclusion of the boar and lion scene might give this sarcophagus another reading. As discussed above, the inclusion of this scene was likely intentional and not for lack of other militaristic or heroic scenes that could be included. If this scene is to be read allegorically, it is possible that all scenes could be read metaphorically, as symbolic of traits or heroic qualities that were intended to portray the identity of the deceased. Flourentzos (2007:47), in the final sentence of his publication of the sarcophagus hints at this conclusion "The scenes on the sarcophagus probably represent something about the character that is the strength of Hercules, the clever mind of Ulysses, the bravery of the boar, etc." (2007:47). If this interpretation is to be taken one step further, and the inclusion of the symbolic scene is taken into account, then perhaps each panel could be symbolically portraying certain qualities: the strength of the Heroic figure dressed as Herakles, the intelligence of Odysseus' escape, the symbolic characteristics of the boar and the lion, and finally, the tragic death of a

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fallen warrior conveying the grief endemic to a mortuary object. To the local Cypriot looking at this object, therefore, there would have been the recognizable figure of Herakles, symbolizing some form of strength or heroics, and the battle imagery that may have recalled recent military activity in their community. A local Cypriot would also likely gather some local symbolic significance in the scene of the boar and the lion, and, as a person likely viewing this sarcophagus as an object related to an actual recently deceased individual, the tragedy of the fallen warrior likely would have been evident in the grief of those interacting with this object for the burial.

Whether or not these scenes were Homeric, or representative of the possibility that the deceased was a military figure, they were chosen for a reason, and the context of their place on a funerary object, as well as their place in Cypriot iconographic tradition, must be considered in the interpretation of this object. An allegorical reading of these scenes is only one such interpretation; more research needs to be done to understand the political and everyday context of Palaipafos at this time, as well as the context of Homeric and heroic imagery in this region for the local reading of this object to be understood.

VIII – Discussion and Conclusion

Island Unity and Regional Diversity

The analysis chapters have worked to investigate the implications of these sarcophagi in their local contexts with a mostly regional focus. However, when analyzed together as a group, they reveal a trend in the way that status and power was being demonstrated on Cyprus.

First, all three sarcophagi feature militaristic imagery. The Amathous sarcophagus is the most subtle in this respect, with un-armored spearmen marching in a gesture of military strength to back the social power being demonstrated in the chariot procession. The Golgoi sarcophagus appears to use militaristic imagery to glorify the figures in the hunt scene, utilizing the association of military strength in a scene with socially elite implications, and the Palaipafos sarcophagus draws on mythical warrior figures to symbolize strength and cunning. The fact that militaristic imagery features heavily on all three sarcophagi is not surprising given the temporal proximity of the Ionian Revolt, and the ensuing expansionist efforts of Kition (Iacovou 2002:77-78), to the creation of these three sarcophagi. Military strength likely had associations with social and political power (Averett 2010:143), and people of consequence would probably desire to be associated with representations of military strength to objectify their own social or political positions.

The three sarcophagi all feature mythical figures in some capacity. On the Amathous sarcophagus, this seems to be an effort to connect the deceased to two of the most prevalent and popular cultic figures in the city (Flourentzos 2007:16, Satraki

2013:136), at Golgoi the inclusion of the figure that appears to be Perseus demonstrates the possible utilization of a widely popular mythical figure, and in Palaipafos the inclusion of what could be heroes from Homeric epics might be an effort to associate the deceased with the traits of those heroes. In all cases, the presence of the mythical and heroic figure seems to be an essential element within the iconographic narrative. Finally, there is the use of animals as symbolic analogs. On the Golgoi sarcophagus the choice of the bull could possibly have important symbolic importance, and on the Palaipafos sarcophagus there is the metaphorical face-off between the boar and the lion.

Themes notwithstanding, the most striking similarity is in the type of decoration; these sarcophagi, with four panels of narrative relief sculpture, appear to be the only sarcophagi utilizing this form of ornamentation that have been discovered on the island and dated to the 'Age of Kingdoms.' It is interesting, then, to consider that they have all been dated within fifty years of each other. Satraki (2013:137) observes that the creation of monumental sarcophagi appears to become more common in the beginning of the fifth century, and their prevalence continues, as demonstrated by three sarcophagi discovered in Kition dating to the late fifth and fourth centuries.[32] She argues that there is an abandonment of the use of statuary to represent royal figures at this time(2013:137). The statuary tradition appears to be replaced by the creation of elaborate sarcophagi, demonstrating a shift in where and how royal power was being represented (Satraki 2013:137). The entire first half of the fifth century, which encompasses the creation and use of all three sarcophagi, was no doubt one of political

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[32] See Georgiou (2009) for the publication of these three sarcophagi from Kition. One of them, dated to between 475-370 BCE (Georgiou 2009:135) has painted scenes on each four sides, which is a later example of the use of the sides of the sarcophagus for narrative scenes.

instability and conflict. However, if sarcophagi were a new method for the portrayal of political importance, then these three sarcophagi can be indicative of the different ways that people of social or political importance were their positions within their relative spheres of influence.

The appearance of these iconographic sarcophagi in the fifth century BCE, and continuing into the fourth, is evidence of a new method for the display of power across Cyprus, and all three of these sarcophagi communicate the status of the deceased through the associated imagery. However, I argue that each sarcophagus has a unique iconographic paradigm, which could suggest that there was not a standardized practice on Cyprus for imagery used to display status and power. On the Amathous sarcophagus there is a more centralized, and possibly royal focus, and on the Golgoi and Palaipafos sarcophagus there seems to be a more general association with elite and heroic activities or figures. While they share elements, (e.g. chariots and military imagery) that would suggest island-wide trends, possibly driven by the military activity on the island at this time, these distinctions demonstrate, to a degree, the diversity of practices within Cyprus.

The Amathous sarcophagus presents a procession of elaborately decorated horses, a display of extensive wealth and influence, as well as two figures central to the cultic identity of the city (Flourentzos 2007:16, Satraki 2013:136). This combination of influence and divine imagery presents a more centralized focus, and the figure singled out by the parasol would seem to the be focal point of the narrative (Hermary and Mertens 2014:358, Karageorghis 2000:201, 2006:223; Satraki 2013, 136). The procession claims two long sides of the sarcophagus, unlike the other two that seem to

present unrelated, or at least interrupted scenes, this whole procession is a single event

focused around a single figure. The individual's social and political power is central to

the narrative, and the cultic figures on either side stress the individual's association with

local religious icons. This could demonstrate the desire of the Amathousian elite, or of a

royal figure, to emphasize their individual power amide either the increased tensions

with Persia during and after the revolt, or during the encroaching expansions of their

close neighbor of Kition. Cypriots who saw the sarcophagus would likely have

understood that the chariot procession was a grandiose display of wealth, and those

native to Amathous would have recognized the 'Astarte' and 'Bes' figures as popular

deities within the city. The Amathous sarcophagus, therefore, portrays a person whose

identity places that individual above others socially, in a centralized display of power.

The Palaipafos and Golgoi sarcophagi take a very different approach, and it

could be argued that both are displaying themes that attribute a certain kind of character

to the deceased. This is evidenced in the Golgoi sarcophagus, which does not have a

clear central figure in iconographic program as a whole, but instead presents imagery

related to a general class that preformed certain elite activities, associating the deceased

with this class rather than emphasizing their individual status above all others. The

deceased is also being associated with heroic status, evidenced by the inclusion of a

figure that appears to be Perseus, and in the military armor of the hunters. The Golgoi

sarcophagus appears to be catering to a more cosmopolitan elite audience, possibly due

to the cultural tensions in the region because of the Greco-Persian, and Kition-Idalion

conflicts (Iacovou 2002:77-78), which might have driven local elite to represent their

status in a way that could be recognized by a culturally diverse audience. As boar

hunting, banqueting, and the civil use of chariots were activities practiced in Cyprus at this time, local Cypriots would have recognized this sarcophagus as one portraying elite status, and utilizing popular iconographic elements they would have recognized, such as the bull.

The narrative intention of the Palaipafos sarcophagus is more elusive, especially because the lack of Homeric imagery on Cyprus complicates the determination of what such imagery would signify in a Cypriot context. In any case, the imagery is both heroic (evidenced by the scene that is possibly indicating the heroic and clever escape of Odysseus from Polyphemus) and martial (indicated by the use of battle imagery and the symbolic struggle between the boar and the lion). While it is difficult to establish a firm association, it is interesting to note that the "Persian siege ramp" dates to a similar time as the sarcophagus (Maier and Wartburg 1984:157), which might indicate that the military imagery was influenced by actual military conflict in Palaipafos at this time. The Palaipafos sarcophagus, therefore, does not clearly represent an individual as the main figure of the iconographic program, but it does create a narrative of heroics being associated with the deceased that might have been influenced by local events. In any case, a Cypriot viewing the sarcophagus would have recognized the image of Herakles as a prominent cultic figure on the island.

These sarcophagi are in no way a representative sample size, and while they are the only ones conforming to this style of ornamentation found on the island that date to this period, it is certainly possible that there were others, possibly with radically different themes or imagery. However, these three sarcophagi do demonstrate examples of different local iconographic methods for demonstrating and negotiating political and

social power on the island in the first half of the fifth century. In Amathous there is the presentation of an individual's importance within a hierarchy, and the accompaniment of images that relate that person to important cultic figures in Amathous specifically. In Golgoi, there is the presentation of a generalized elite typology of activities, perhaps to associate this figure with an elite status that could be recognized by any of the cultural groups that may have been interacting with Golgoi at the time. Lastly, in Palaipafos there is the presentation of a heroic or militaristic narrative, perhaps to endow the deceased with the qualities symbolically associated with these figures.

While all sarcophagi are evidence of an island-wide trend of using sarcophagi as a newly popular stage for the display of status and power, they all take individual approaches to this display that could evidence a degree of regional diversity in island practices, or at least, that there was not an island-wide homogenous iconographic narrative used to display power and status at this time. And finally, in all cases there is the use of imagery that would have had specific connotations and local significance to the Cypriot communities that created and utilized them. With the Ionian Revolt, the Cypriot kingdoms became involved with the larger political conflicts of the Mediterranean (Iacovou 2002:76), and the political and social organization of the island itself was influenced by these events (Fourier 2013:106, 116, Gordon et al. 2010 3:31, Hermary 2013:90, Hermary and Mertens 2014:19, Iacovou 2002:77-78, 2008:646, 2012:65, Maier 1985:34). These sarcophagi, therefore, exhibit local responses to these tumultuous power relations, and demonstrate that there was diversity within Cyprus in the way that these political and social tensions were being addressed in the demonstration of individual status.

Conclusion: Portrayals and Perspectives

The Amathous, Golgoi, and Palaipafos sarcophagi all exemplify portrayals of power, social, political, or militaristic, and this imagery cannot be separated from its local context; which images are chosen to display this power, and why, is contingent upon the social, political, cultural, and historical environment that surrounded their creation. This thesis has focused on providing a more diachronic view of the iconographic elements and themes of the relief sculpture on the side panels of these sarcophagi, seeking to elucidate how these scenes, and the sarcophagi overall, would have been understood by the Cypriots who commissioned, crafted, and buried these monumental works. However, the iconographic programs are only a small part of these works. More research must be done to further contextualize the creation and use of these objects, their everyday life, rather than their distant 'evolution' and iconographic 'origins,' which has been privileged in the literature that investigates these works.

While there has been extensive research on the origins of influences that were involved in the shaping of the body of Cypriot material culture, and on the process of how these influences were adopted, manipulated or repurposed by the Cypriots (Counts 2008: 18, Knapp 2014:42) the actual lived use of Cypriot object by Cypriot actors, the day to day significance of Cypriot material, is underrepresented in the research. This is not an issue exclusive to archeological materials; the history of the Cypriot kingdoms, especially their internal developments and complexity, is a topic that has only begun to be thoroughly addressed in the last decade (e.g. Counts 2008, Fourrier 2013, Iacovou 2008, 2013a, Janes 2010, 2013, Knapp 2008, Toumazou et al.2010).

Cyprus has a history of being classified as the 'crossroads' of Mediterranean power, a 'third-space,' a place 'between worlds.' However, when researched further, Cyprus is also revealed to be a world of its own. It is critically and inherently connected to the adjacent Mediterranean cultures, but also exists within its own sphere of development, cycles of complexity, and struggles for legitimization and power. These sarcophagi reveal only a glimpse of the representation of local identities, and more research is needed to understand these works and the people on the island who crafted them.

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