

ANTIGONI ZOURNATZI

A LIMESTONE FIGURE WEARING THE ΚΑΝΔΥΣ FROM CYPRUS

Reprinted from the
REPORT OF THE DEPARTMENT OF ANTIQUITIES CYPRUS, 1989
NICOSIA - CYPRUS
1989

A LIMESTONE FIGURE WEARING THE ΚΑΝΔΥΣ FROM CYPRUS*

(PLATES XXX–XXXI)

Antigoni Journatzi

CM1968/V–30/684.

Total height at present: 0.65 m.

Width at the elbows: 0.20m.

Height below the break: 0.47m.

The subject of this communication is a hitherto unpublished limestone statue in the Cyprus Museum.¹ The statue (Pls XXX–XXXI) represents a beardless male clad in a belted, knee-length chiton and, to anticipate the conclusion of the upcoming discussion, trousers. A long coat with full sleeves (Pl. XXXI:1) is flung around his shoulders, like a cloak, and his head is hooded and crowned with a wreath. The figure is standing on a low, irregularly shaped pedestal carved from the same piece of stone as the statue.

The characteristic trousered costume and coat with sleeves (κάνδυς) are complementary elements of the traditional ancient Iranian garb, itself a representative of a wider central Asiatic, nomadic costume tradition.² Trousers and plain or wreathed hoods are familiar to us from numerous other contexts in Cypriot stone sculpture or coroplastic, and I have come across one locally excavated bronze statuette of an individual in the trousered costume.³ The statue from the Cyprus Museum offers the first representation of the coat with sleeves noted so far⁴ in Cypriot statuary and thus also the first observed Cypriot instance of a representation of the complete set of Iranian attire. By introducing a new type to the sculptural iconographic repertory previously attested on the island, this statue opens a new path for the investigation of Cypriot contacts with the Iranian world.

Representations of the Iranian costume span a wide geographical and chronological range. They spread from as far as the Oxus river area in the east⁵ to Siberia in the north⁶ and the eastern Mediterranean territories in the west.⁷ The earliest known references to and representations of this costume in the west coincide with the period of the Achaemenian Empire but

California at Berkeley. Assistance and helpful suggestions by other colleagues are acknowledged in the course of the following pages. Mr P. Avins has contributed helpful editorial comments.

I 'discovered' the statue while doing research on Cyprus for my Ph. D. dissertation. My stay in Cyprus during the academic year 1987–88 was made possible by the award of a travel fellowship by the Regents of the University of California and a dissertation research grant from the American Institute for Iranian Studies.

1. Before its acquisition by the Cyprus Department of Antiquities in 1968, the statue formed a part of the private collection of Mr G. M. Michaelides of Nicosia. Its earlier history remains obscure. According to a report in the local journal *Φιλελεύθερος*, issue of January 15, 1969, all of the pieces of the Michaelides collection had been found on Cyprus. The type of limestone of which the statue has been carved as well as the style of the carving would at least seem to support Cypriot provenience.
2. Xenophon, *Anabasis* i.v.8 is the most complete classical Greek description of the costume of the Persians. Among numerous discussions of this costume see A.S.F. Gow, "Notes on the *Persae* of Aeschylus", *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 48 (1928), 144–51; G. Widengren, "Some remarks on Riding costume and articles of dress among Iranian peoples in Antiquity", *Artica. Studia Ethnographica Upsaliensia* 11(1956), 228–76; G. Thompson, "Iranian dress in the Achaemenid period: Problems concerning the 'kandys' and other garments", *Iran* 3(1965), 121–3; and the most recent overview by P.R.S. Moorey, "The Iranian Contribution to Achaemenid Material Culture", *Iran* 23(1985), 24.
3. (a) Examples in terracotta:
— J.H. and S.H. Young, *Terracotta Figurines from Kourion in Cyprus*, University of Pennsylvania Museum Monographs (1955) for a classification and discussion of the figurines of horsemen in the trousered costume found at Kourion. Hoods similar to the one shown on the statue discussed here are quite common, pp. 200–1, and are occasionally wreathed, for instance, no. 2127 mould 8, p. 99 and pl. 31; for the trousers see p. 211 and n. 1.
— *Treasures of Cyprus*, V. Karageorghis, *An Ethibition of Cypriot Art*, cover photograph, Cat. no. 156δLM 2/158.
— J.L. Myres, *Handbook of the Cesnola Collection of Antiquities from Cyprus* (1974), nos 2299–2301.
(b) Examples in stone sculpture:
— J.L. Myres, *Handbook of the Cesnola Collection of Antiquities from Cyprus* (1974), nos 1231, 1350, and 1846 (Inscription section)δMitford n. 28 below.
(c) A bronze statuette of a man in "Scythian-costume" is said to have been excavated by H. Lang at the Sanctuary of Apollo at Idalion. It was originally in the British Museum, Department of Western Asiatic Antiquities (1872/8–16/95) and has been transferred to the Graeco-Roman Department. O. Masson "Kypriaka VII: Le sanctuaire d'Apollon a Idalion (Fouilles 1868–1869)", *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 92(1968), 394, (h), and fig. 23.
4. Myres (n.3) refers to the cloak worn by the figures in his nos 1231 and 2299–2301 as a cloak "of oriental fashion". It is not clear what is meant by this term.
5. O.M. Dalton, *The Treasure of the Oxus* (1964, 3rd ed.), *passim*.
6. Representations as well as actual remains of this costume tradition come from the burials of the fourth century B.C. at Pazyryk, S.I. Rudenko, *Frozen Tombs of Siberia. The Pazyryk Burials of Iron Age Horsemen*, M.W. Thompson, trans. (1970), 83–91, pls 154, 155 A and 175.
7. Without pretending to be complete, the following list gives an idea of the geographical distribution and iconographic variation of the representations of this costume in the eastern Mediterranean territories:
(a) Asia Minor:
— A purple kandys with fur lining is shown on a wall-painting on the south wall of the Karaburun tomb, in Lycia: M.J. Mellink, "Excavations at sp. Karataş – Semayük and Elmali, Lycia, 1972", *American Journal of Archaeology* 77(1973), 298–9, pl. 45: fig. 7.
— A seated figure, wearing the hood with flaps, and the kandys is shown in the "audience" scene carved on the west side of the

* The writer wishes to acknowledge her debt to the Director of the Department of Antiquities, Dr Vassos Karageorghis, for permission to study and publish the statue. Warm thanks are due to M.C. Louloupis and the staff of the Cyprus Museum for their constant assistance at every stage of my research in the Museum. A. Georghiades and A. Papadopoulos of the Conservation Laboratory separated the fragments of the statue and shared with me their insights on techniques of restoration. The photographs of the statue were taken by X. Michael.

This work has greatly benefited from the advice of Professors John Kinloch Anderson and David Stronach of the University of

the type persists through the era of the Parthians.⁸ To assess the leads offered by the Cyprus Museum statue concerning the contact between Cyprus and Iran we must attempt to place this work in narrower chronological perspective and elucidate the circumstances that promoted the introduction of that type in the art of the island. The results of this inquiry may have wider application within the context of Cypriot art. The author's preliminary research has recovered another instance of the long-sleeved coat on a life-size statue,⁹ now in the J. and M. Ringling Museum of Art (SN 28.1928), which was excavated by Hamilton Lang in Pyla in the late nineteenth century. Therefore, the statue discussed here may not be regarded as the sole representative of its type on the island. Several published statues at present only known to me from frontal photographs may in fact prove to be wearing the long-sleeved coat when it becomes possible to examine their backs. It is hoped that this study will also help to suggest some guidelines for the dating and interpretation of those other examples.

Description

In its present condition, the statue is composed of three fragments, pieced together before it was acquired by the Museum. Here each of the component fragments is discussed separately.

The low, irregularly shaped pedestal and the body of the figure to shoulder level are preserved in one piece (Fragment 1, Pls XXX:1, XXXI:1). The figure is standing, his right leg flexed, right foot a little advanced. The arms, slightly bent at the elbows, rest down by the sides. The right wrist and hand are missing. A coat slung from the figure's shoulders covers his back as far as the ankles although its flaring open ends are raised to mid-calf by the elbows of the figure's bent arms. The two diagonal parallel lines encircling the left upper arm of the figure seem to represent a cord attached to the edge of the cape. A second cord would have existed on the right arm, but the details of the modelling on the right upper arm of the figure are no longer discernible. The two straps attached each on either side of the cape presumably helped, when tied together, to keep the cape in position. The sleeves of the coat, carved in high relief, hang empty at the back. There is no indication of the armholes and the sleeves are not symmetrical: in particular, the left one is narrower and slightly shorter than the right one. The triangular end of the rear flap of the hood is the only other feature differentiated on the surface of the coat (Pl. XXXI:2), the rest of which is roughly chiselled to follow the contours of the body. A hole, 0.02m. in diameter, roughly centered on the spine at the level of the armpits, was drilled in modern times. It received a screw in order that the statue, being of delicate balance, might be secured in its wooden display case while in private hands.

Under the coat the figure wears a short chiton

with sleeves which end at the elbows. The chiton is belted at the waist. On the blouse the modelling is flat, and folds are suggested by parallel, almost vertical incisions. Incisions have also been employed to render the wrinkles of drapery around the left armpit. Shallow fluting marks the pleats around the skirt. Folds and pleats on either side of the belt are not always in line with one another. The belt is a plain horizontal band, ca. 0.02m. wide, carved in flat relief. Seemingly suspended from it, and resting on the right thigh, is a sheathed dagger of very rudimentary form. The top of the unnaturally short hilt of the dagger rests against the lower edge of the belt but the dagger seems to be completely unattached — unless the two oblique lines, traced respectively from either end of the horizontal

chamber of the Payava tomb in Lycia, A.H. Smith, *A Catalogue of Sculpture in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum*, vol. ii (1900), pl. xi.

— The complete costume is shown on a so-called Graeco-Persian stele from the Daskyleion area: Th. Makridy, "Reliefs gréco-perses de la région de Daskylion", *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 37(1913), pl. 8.

— The terracotta figure from Sardis shows the trousers but not the κάνδυς, C.H. Greenewalt, "An Exhibitionist from Sardis", in *Studies Presented to G.M.A. Hanfmann*, D.G. Mitten, J.G. Pedley, J.A. Scott, eds. (1971), pl. 14.

(b) The Levant:

— Royal cemetery of Sidon: O. Hamdy bey and Th. Reinach, *Une nécropole royale à Sidon* (1892). The complete costume is represented on the sarcophagus of the "Statrap", pl. xxii; on the "Alexander" sarcophagus, pls xxvi–xxxi.

(c) Greece:

In Greek art the motif of the figure dressed in Iranian costume became particularly popular in vase painting: H. Schoppa, *Die Darstellung der Perser in der griechischen Kunst bis zum Beginn des Hellenismus* (Diss., Heidelberg 1933); A. Bovon, "La représentation des guerriers Perses et la notion de barbare dans la 1^{re} moitié du v^e siècle", *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 87(1963), 579–602. As a rule Greek representations of the trousered uniform do not show the κάνδυς. On the few occasions where a similar garment is represented it appears to be an element of feminine or children's attire, T. Linders, "The kandys in Greece and Persia", *Opuscula Atheniensi* 15(1984), 107–14. Dr B. Kling has brought to my attention the latter publication.

(d) Garments in this tradition are also represented on gems engraved in the classical Greek and Graeco-Persian styles: All references are conveniently given from J. Boardman, *Greek Gems and Finger Rings* (1972):

— Representations of the trousered costume without the κάνδυς are illustrated in pls 525 (Greek); pls 843, 844, 850, 853, 861:1, 876:1, 884–892, 904, 905, 924–926, and figs 290–293, 294:2, 297 (Graeco-Persian).

— with the κάνδυς pl.532 (Greek); pls 880, 863(?), 864(?) and figs 294:1, 289:3(?) (Graeco-Persian).

8. Representations of this costume in Achaemenian art have been collected and discussed by M. Roaf, "The subject peoples on the base of the statue of Darius", *Cahiers de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Iran* 4(1974), 99–103.

For the wearing of this costume until the Parthian period see Justin xli.2; M.H. Seyrig, "Armes et costumes Iraniens de Palmyre", *Syria* 18(1937), 4–31.

9. Photographs of the statue including a view of the back were kindly shown to me by Dr Pamela Gaber, who is currently preparing the publication of the collection of Cypriot sculpture in the Ringling Museum.

Photographs of the statue published so far show only its frontal view. This is equally true of the original publication photograph in L.P. Di Cesnola, *Descriptive Atlas of the Cesnola Collection of Cypriot Antiquities*, vol. 1:2 (1885), pl. CXXIV, no. 915, and of the subsequent illustrations in S. Besques, "L'Apollon Μαγείριος de Chypre", *Revue Archéologique* 8(1936), 8, fig. 1, and O. Masson "Kyprika II: Recherches sur les antiquités de la région de Pyla", *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 90(1966), 18, fig. 13.

guard (not the sheath!) to the edge of the belt, are meant to represent straps by means of which the dagger was fastened to the belt. The semicircular band, ca. 0.01m. in thickness, carved around the neck may represent, like the belt and the sword which are also rendered in relief, an accessory to the figure's costume, possibly a torque. The two tail-like features which are carved in relief on either side of this semicircular band can be recognized as the ends of the side flaps of a hood similar to the one worn by the figure in the restoration. In his left hand, the figure grasps the rounded end of an object, which is concealed by the coat.

The legs are not set back. They begin instead on the same plain as the skirt of the chiton and are differentiated from it by the deep incisions which mark the hemline. Each leg and its corresponding foot are carved as one piece with continuous chisel strokes, and are set apart only by an upward curving line engraved at the base of the leg. Indications of musculature are altogether absent on the legs and the feet have been roughly blocked out. An apparently columnar element beside the figure's right foot is broken ca. 0.03m. above the top of the pedestal.

Traces of red paint are still visible on the left knee, the inner side of the right foot, the cuff of the left sleeve and the surface of the coat to its right. The edge of the coat directly below the right forearm is scarred. Other abrasions the statue has suffered are minor by comparison, as, for instance, on the elbows, and a net of irregular lines betray its long term contact with roots of plants. Plentiful traces of secondary modelling can also be discerned along the raised semicircular ridge at the neckline as well as along the edges of the ends of the side flaps of the hood (Pl. XXX: 2-4). These traces of reworking are more extensively discussed below.

The second fragment (Fragment 2, Pl. XXXI:4, Pl. XXX:2-4) preserves the hooded head of the figure as well as the neck and adjacent portions of the shoulders. The tips of the shoulders are missing. The hood worn by the figure terminates in three long flaps, one at the back and one on each side of the head, which reach down to below shoulder level. The side flaps are tucked behind the ears. Fragment 2 breaks off above the hem of the headcover and, in the current restoration of the statue, the ends of the lappets are provided by Fragment 1. Seen in profile, the contour of the crown of the hood follows a smooth curve which closes inward and forms a soft point above the forehead. The leaves of the laurel wreath which crowns the figure's head are symmetrically arranged in two groups of five which begin just above the ears and converge at the middle of the forehead. On their surface, only the petiole is indicated in sunken relief. They are not all of equal dimensions but their respective size increases gradually from the front to the sides. A similar pattern of gradually increasing size is also employed in the rendering of the three rows of roughly

blocked out curls of hair which escape from underneath the cap and line the forehead.

Fragment 3 provides the tip of the right shoulder (Pl. XXX:3).

The restoration

In the restoration the complementary parts of those features which were divided by the break appear to coincide with each other precisely in regard to position and height of relief. This is only a first impression, however, and closer examination reveals that the harmonious match of the two fragments has been affected to an indeterminate degree. The outlines of the ends of the side lappets in Fragment 1 coincide with those of their complements on Fragment 2 because they have been trimmed to match (Pl. XXX:4). Starting at a point above the shoulder, the sides of the hood in Fragment 2 have been "taken in" to fit the width of the base of the inverted triangle on Fragment 1 which represent the end portion of the back flap (Pl. XXXI:2). The dense array of file marks on the point of the right shoulder (Pl. XXX:3) indicate that Fragment 3 has also been retouched. Traces of reworking are even more obvious along the surfaces of the breaks. A flat chisel was employed to clear off any irregularities on the respective faces of the breaks of Fragments 1 and 2 (Pl. XXXI:3,4). In this method used to joint the two fragments we may identify the process of *anathyrosis*: Care was taken to ensure a close fit of the two contiguous surfaces only around their edges while their centers have been recessed. In this case, tight jointing was enhanced by a wooden dowel driven through the centers of the two surfaces and secured there by glue. Glue was also applied around the periphery of these surfaces. The exposed side of the left shoulder of Fragment 2 has been hewn flat (Pl. XXX:2) and the severed faces of Fragments 1 and 3 have been shaved perfectly smooth.

Fragments 1,2 and 3 evidently did not fit one another spontaneously. The reworking of their surfaces around the joints otherwise would not have been necessary. The extensive retouching must be the work of the unknown restorer(s) but the exact circumstances that suggested it cannot be resolved. It is conceivable that our statue was assembled from fragments derived from different pieces of sculpture, and that the reworking was meant to mask those fragments' inevitable lack of genuine match with one another. A case for the legitimate restoration of the statue is, however, also defensible. Erosion of the broken face of the soft limestone of either or both of Fragments 1 and 2 could have produced an imperfect match of these fragments. To be able to joint the weathered surfaces, the restorer(s) may have shaved a slice of stone off either or both fragments. In that case, the reworking of the sculptured surface around the breaks on both fragments would have been undertaken in an attempt to compensate for those portions of features that were obliterated

in the jointing process. Since Fragment 3 has been thoroughly reworked on all surfaces, it is not possible to determine whether it originally belonged with the other two fragments.

Facial features are commonly treated with greater care than the rest of the body in Cypriot statuary. The differing degrees of refinement in the carving of Fragments 1 and 2 cannot be used, therefore, as evidence against the legitimacy of the restoration.

Parallels and reconstruction*

The uncertainty as to whether Fragments 1 and 2 originate from the same piece of sculpture does not necessarily compromise our belief that any headdress worn by the figure depicted on Fragments 1 would have in any case to bear a fairly close resemblance to that of the extant Fragments 2. The reworking of the sculptured surface of Fragment 1 along its joint with Fragment 2 is in all probability limited to adjustments in the dimensions of the ends of the flaps, not in the creation of novel or incongruous features. Thus is fairly certain that, in addition to the *κάνδυς* and the short chiton, the figure would have in any case worn a hood similar to that shown in the restoration. Evidence in support of this conclusion is coming not least from the only other representation, which has been attested so far on the island, of an individual wearing the *κάνδυς*. The distinctive long coat with sleeves is also shown on one of the statues excavated by Hamilton Lang at Pyla.¹⁰ The head of that statue is missing. That in that case, too, the *κάνδυς* was worn in combination with a hood with flaps is indicated, as in Fragment 1, by the surviving lower ends of the side flaps. On this second example, moreover, no traces of reworking are discernible, and there can, thus, be no doubt that the flaps, and eventually the hood, are genuine elements of the statue's iconography.

The type of hood with flaps entered the eastern Mediterranean iconography repertory as a result of contact with the Iranian world. Unless the wreath be perceived as an attribute analogous to the diadems shown on some of the satrapal coin portraits, however, the wreathed hood of our statue finds no proper parallels in Iranian representations.¹¹ Wreathed figures are quite popular in Cypriot art, and wreathed hoods are included in the repertory of the Cypriot sculptor and coroplast.¹² It is perhaps safer to view the presence of the wreath on the statue from the Cyprus Museum as the manifestation of a local Cypriot fashion or practice.

In representations of the *κάνδυς* known to us from other contexts, the garment is normally¹³ worn in combination with trousers. Quite often trousers in particular are indicated by folds¹⁴ or, in the case of the painted examples,¹⁵ by decorative geometric patterns. There are also representations, however, in which trousers are indicated by the bulky shape of the trunks of the legs. An example of the latter category of representations can be seen on a pear-shaped pendant carved in the so-called Graeco-Persian style and

coming, like the statue, from Cyprus.¹⁶ Familiarity with those representations, and taking into account the complete absence of musculature on the legs of the statue from the Cyprus Museum compel us to suggest that trousers are represented in this case as well, even though the relatively crude style in which the body of the statue has been executed may not immediately impress the interpretation that the carver has refrained from modelling the legs of the figure in detail in order to indicate that the figure wore trousers. Speculation on the materials of which the garments of the figure in the Cyprus Museum were made seems to be futile since texture and decoration are not indicated. Still, the traces of red paint on the coat and on the left knee of the figure are tantalizing. Might one suggest that the statue represents a person wearing *ἀναξυρίδας ὀσγίνοβαφεῖς, καὶ κἀνδὺν ὀλοπόρφυρον!*¹⁷

Sheathed swords and daggers similar in shape to the one depicted on the statue are also known to us from representations of (presumably) Greek hoplites. In these representations, however, the weapons are suspended from a baldric on the left side, either below the armpit or at waist level.¹⁸ The manner in which the dagger is worn on the statue from the Cyprus Museum, that is to say, suspended against the right thigh from a belt tied around the waist, is characteristic of representations of figures in the trousered uniform, and recalls the *ἐγχειρίδια παρὰ τὸν δεξιὸν μηρὸν παραιωρέυμενα ἐκ τῆς ζώνης*¹⁹ of the Persian soldiers in Xerxes' army in 480 B.C.

In Persepolitan sculpture²⁰ and on other occasions

* The parallels are numerous and here reference is made only to those representations which seem to have a direct bearing on our discussion.

10. See n. 9 above.

11. Illustrations of relevant portraits on satrapal issues can be found in E. Babelon, *Les Perses Achéménides. Les satrapes et les dynastes tributaires de leur Empire. Cypré et Phénicie* (1893), pl. iv, nos 1–5, 15–16. Although Iranians are not shown wearing a wreath in art, the Persian soldiers in Xerxes' expeditionary force are said to have been *ἔστεφανομένοι πάντες*, Herodotus vii.55.2, and a golden wreath was presented by Xerxes as a token of gratitude to the ship captain who gave him safe passage to Asia Minor in 480 B.C., Herodotus, viii.118.4.

12. E.g., in terracotta, Young and Young (n. 3a) p.99 and pl. 31, no. 2127; in stone, E. Gjerstad, *et al. The Swedish Cyprus Expedition: Finds and Results of the Excavations in Cyprus 1927–1931*, vol. iii (1937), pl. LXIII, no. 535, from Vouini.

13. The Greek representations of women wearing the sleeved coat over a long chiton, Linders (n. 7c), seem to be a notable exception.

14. Examples in n.7(b), above.

15. To the Greek vase paintings (n. 7c), and the terracotta from Sardis (n. 7a) cf. the decoration of trousers of archers(?) shown of fragments of glazed brick reliefs from the Achaemenian palace at Susa, R. de Mecquenem, "Contribution à l'étude du palais Achéménide de Suse", *Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique en Iran* xxx (1947), 51, fig. 26 no. 14. There is one instance in which figured decoration is employed: The right trouser leg of a man engraved on a gold plaque from the "Oxus Treasure" which is ornamented with three birds, Dalton (n. 5) no. 70.

16. Boardman (n. 7d), pl. 891.

17. From Xenophon's description of the attire of Cyrus the Great, *Cyropaedia* viii, iii, 13.

18. E.g., the Berlin painter's Achilles, J.D. Beazley, *Attic red-figure vase-painters* (1963, 2d ed.), 206 no. 132. Professor J.K. Anderson has pointed out to me a literary allusion to the use of such a baldric for the suspension of a sword in *Iliad* xi. 29, the arming of Agamemnon.

19. Herodotus vii. 61.1.

20. E.F. Schmidt, *Persepolis I: Structures, Reliefs and Inscriptions*, OIP 68 (1953), pls 120 and 121.

where this type of weapon is shown in detail, daggers suspended on the right thigh from a belt have a T-shaped hilt, and are worn in a scabbard the upper part of which forms a wide lateral extension perforated on the outer edge.²¹ The scabbard is attached to the belt, on the right side, by means of a short cord, which passes through that perforation. A second cord, driven through a loop projecting on the lower end of the scabbard, is tied around the right thigh. The belt from which the scabbard is suspended, furthermore, differs from the one depicted on the statue from Cyprus in that it is a narrow girdle with a knot in the middle from which hang the two long ends. Plain flat bands similar to the one depicted on the statue are in general not to be found in representations of the trousered suit, and its closest parallels come from Cypriot statuary.²² It would seem, indeed, that in the lack of accurate models for the dagger and the belt that went with the trousered suit, the carver of the statue modelled these items on forms with which he was familiar: a dagger of rudimentary shape²³ and a Cypriot type of belt.

The significance of the columnar element beside the right foot of the figure is not readily apparent but we may observe that this element is centered on an axis which would have also passed through the right hand when the right forearm of the figure was intact (Pl. XXX:5). For the interpretation of that feature we may again turn to representations of a similar type as our statue. On a fair number of gems of the Classical period, figures in the trousered costume are occasionally portrayed holding, either on the right or the left hand, a spear which is positioned upright.²⁴ Of these examples, the figure engraved in classical Greek style on a blue chalcedony scaraboid from Kerch,²⁵ now in the Leningrad Museum, provides a very close parallel indeed to the Cyprus Museum statue. The figure is standing, and leaning against a spear, which he holds upright in his left hand. As in the case of the Cyprus Museum, his face is beardless and a pointed hood with long lappets covers his head. He wears a knee-length chiton, belted at the waist and trousers, which in this particular representation are textured by means of horizontal folds. The back of the long coat which is slung around the figure's shoulders is not shown. However, the long, empty sleeve, which protrudes from behind the figure's back and hangs along the right edge of the coat, indicates that this figure as well wears the κἀνδύς.²⁶ On the evidence of these representations, it can be suggested that this columnar element is the lower end of a spear, which the figure originally held in his now missing right hand. Definite evidence is lacking in this case, however, and we may not wish to confine ourselves to a single interpretation. One other possibility comes to mind. The red-figured scene on an oinochoe, now in the Vatican Museum,²⁷ depicts a standing man dressed in the trousered suit and the characteristic hood with lappets. The figure wears a long *himation* (perhaps a Greek vase painter's approach to the κἀνδύς) which leaves only the lower

part of his legs and his right shoulder and arm visible. He is labelled ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ and appropriately holds in his right hand a scepter with a tall slender shaft and a pomegranate-shaped tip.²⁸ In this case, typological parallels and imagination admittedly lend a hand to reconstruction. The supposition, however, that the figure once held in his right hand a tall scepter or a spear which also touched the edge of the coat below the figure's right hand, could help to explain the elongated scar on the edge of the coat between, and in line with, the figure's right arm and the columnar element (Pl. XXX:1). An interpretation of this feature as the lower end of a considerably taller shaft, furthermore, could account for the lack of symmetry between the right and left sides of the lower part of the coat as seen from the back (Pl. XXXI:1). The sculptor of our statue may have carved the lower right side of the coat narrower in order to fashion the shaft of the spear or the scepter which was presumably once held by the figure.

21. This description and a discussion of surviving actual examples of this type of scabbard and of the type(s) of dagger that would be associated with it are given in P.R.S. Moorey, *Cemeteries of the First Millennium B.C. at Deve Hüyük near Carchemish, salvaged by T.E. Lawrence and C.L. Woolley in 1913*, BAR International Series 87 (1980), 57–61.

The Persian dagger is commonly referred to by modern scholars as the ἀκινάκης. The term, probably a loanword from Iranian (Sogdian 'kyn'k', Moorey (n. 2), p. 24) is mentioned in Greek texts (e.g., Herodotus iii. 118, 128; vii. 54; ix. 80). The point needs to be made, however, that the available Greek references do not allow certainty for the association of the ἀκινάκης with any specific type of dagger. Herodotus describes the ἀκινάκης as a ξίφος, and often refers to Persian swords as ξίφη or ἐγχειρίδια (iii. 78.5–79.1, 64.3; vii. 61.1).

22. For example, the "Heracles" figures in Di Cesnola (n. 9), I:1, pls Ixxxvii nos 574–576, 578, 580 and Ixxxviii no. 585.
23. No precise identification with any of the actual examples of Cypriot daggers seems possible. Early examples are discussed in A. Snodgrass, *Early Greek Armour and Weapons from the end of the Bronze Age to 600 B.C.* (1964), 93–113 *passim*. In the few Cypriot representations where swords are depicted, they are as a rule worn on the left side. See, for instance, E. Gjerstad, *et al.*, *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition: Finds and Results of the Excavations in Cyprus 1927–1931*, vol. ii (1935), pls CC, nos 1524+2333+2346, and CCII, no. 2102 from Ayia Irini, and Young and Young (n. 3a) p. 214. Without parallel in Cypriot art is to my knowledge the limestone figure from Kazaphani who holds in his right hand folded over the chest a dagger pointed downwards, V. Karageorghis, "A 'favissa' at Kazaphani", *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus*, 1978, no. 58 p. 166 and pl. 23. A dagger suspended from the belt against the right thigh is shown on the statue from Pyla (n. 9) and, this time worn on the left side, on another statue from the same site, Di Cesnola (n. 9), no. 916.
24. Boardman (n. 7d) pls 525, 532, 876:1(=fig. 289:1), 884 (tip of spear pointed downwards), 890 (trident spear?), 892, and fig. 294:2.
25. Boardman (n. 7d), pl. 532.
26. The roughly square mark on the lower end of the sleeve is consistently shown on Achaemenian, representations of the κἀνδύς. While it seems reasonable to interpret this mark as indicating the hold of the sleeve, it has been suggested by Roaf (n. 8), p. 100, that this feature represents a flap sewn onto the lower end of the sleeve. Roaf points to an actual example of such a sleeve, which is sewn up at its lower edge, and which has been excavated at Pazyryk, Barrow 2, Rudenko (n.6), p. 86 and pl. 155 A.
27. H. 530 from Vulci, A. Furtwängler and K. Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, iii. ser. (1927), taf. 168:1.
28. The scene on a squat *lekythos* excavated at the palace at Vouni in Cyprus, depicts a seated figure (a ruler?) dressed in the trousered costume. The figure holds in his left hand a staff but it is not possible to determine whether the staff belongs to a spear or a scepter, E. Gjerstad, (n. 12), pl. LXXXV, no. 294. Equally uncertain is the identification of the staff held by a similar figure on a

Finally, there is the puzzling rounded object, which the figure holds in his clenched left fist. On a terracotta male statue from Ayia Irini, a similar item has been interpreted as a sword.²⁹ Seen in profile, the object shown on the statue from the Cyprus Museum has an elongated shape, and the swelling at its end could pass for a rough likeness of the pommel of a sword. Another guess at the significance of that object is that we may be dealing with a misunderstood representation of the Egyptian emblematic stave. This interpretation is not entirely satisfactory, either. In Egyptian representations of that emblem of authority, the hand holding the stave rests straight down by the side of the body and the thumb is positioned opposite from the rest of the fingers.³⁰ On the Cypriot representation, the left arm of the figure is slightly bent, and the left wrist is twisted outwards, so that the thumb of the left hand is shown in full view, and is placed across the middle of the end of the object. This difference between the Egyptian representations and our statue could be explained in terms of the different representational conventions employed by their respective sculptors. Or, the bent arm of the figure from Cyprus, and the disposition of the fingers of the left hand could evoke instead a gesture of offering. The gesture is obviously arrested but, in this case, the restrained forward movement of the left hand is justified by the air of arrest which characterizes the statue as a whole. Indeed all movement is restricted within the small area defined by the pedestal.

The character and significance of the presumed offering cannot be deciphered. Still it may be worth suggesting that the side view of the object possibly offers misleading clues as to its actual shape. In this regard we may note that on a great many Cypriot votive statues care has been taken to articulate only the details that affect the frontal impression of those representations. In keeping with this widespread tendency, the sculptor of the statue from the Cyprus Museum may have modelled only the directly visible, that is to say, the front, part of the object held by the figure. The elongated backward extension could then be merely an unarticulated remnant of the block of stone from which the statue was carved. In frontal view, the object strikes us as yet another one of the roughly spherically shaped items, which are held by a number of Cypriot votaries.³¹

Date

The statue has been irrevocably removed from its archaeological context, and if some estimate of its date is desired we must venture on stylistic arguments and iconographic clues. The lack of sufficient modelling on the body precludes an attempt to independently date Fragment 1 on the basis of style. Stylistic dating is possible only in the case of the face. A look at the published corpus of Cypriot sculpture reveals that the closest parallels to the treatment of the hair and the

facial features come from local statuary of the Late Cypro-Achaic period³² but not enough work has been done on the regional styles of Cypriot sculpture to enable us to assign to a specific area the workshop which produced our statue.

Iconographic clues to the date of the statue can be derived both from local Cypriot art and from representations of similarly clad figures from outside the island. The number of Cypriot works which may be relevant to the dating of the statue from the Cyprus Museum is very limited. Of these we may mention in particular the terracotta horseman from the Limassol Museum³³ said to date from the Cypro-Classical I period. The trousered uniform is attested on terracotta figurines from Curium which can be dated with certainty to the period before 400 B.C., and appears to be represented in paint as early as the sixth century.³⁴ The same chronological guidelines apply to figurines from the same corpus which wear the hood with flaps.³⁵ The basic configuration of the statue, that is a figure in the same posture as our statue, standing on a pedestal, wearing a hood, a short chiton, probably also trousers, and a cloak (or is it a *κάνδυς*) are seen on a votive limestone statue from Curium, now in the Metropolitan Museum in New York (Reg. no. 74.51.2339). The plinth of the statue bears a dedicatory inscription in the Cypriot syllabic script characteristic of the Curium area during the fourth century B.C.³⁶ The Curium statue would thus have to have been made by the fourth century at the latest. A systematic chronological study and classification of the Cypriot statuettes of votaries in "oriental costume" is not available but, judging from the style of their carving, they may postdate the preceding examples. In short, the only secure conclusions that can be drawn from the

red-figured *pelike* found at Theangela, now in the Istanbul Museum (7501), Catalogue of the Exhibition, *The Anatolian Civilizations* (Istanbul, May 22–October 30, 1983), vol. II, B. 151.

29. E. Gjerstad *et al.* (n.23) p.721 f., pl. CXCIV, nos 1385 + 1530. In that example, the object is held in the left hand. The now missing object held in the right hand has been interpreted by Gjerstad as possibly a spear. If Gjerstad is correct, then that figure would provide an interesting parallel to the statue discussed here.
30. E.g., B. Bothmer, *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period* (1969), no.10; D. Stronach, "La statue de Darius le Grand découverte à Suse", *Cahiers de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Iran* 4(1974), 64.
31. E.g., Di Cesnola (n.9) vol. I:2, no. 916; Gjerstad (n.12) pls XXXV, nos 30+20 and XLIX, nos 495 and 528; O. Vessberg and A. Westholm, *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition: The Hellenistic and Roman Periods in Cyprus*, vol. iv, part 3 (1956), pl. XI:3–4.
32. Gjerstad (n.25), pls XVI:6, XXII, XXV:4, XXVI:1,2. I would like to thank Drs J.B. Connelly and P. Gaber for agreeing to examine the statue, and for confirming my non-expert view on the date of Fragment 2.
33. *Treasures of Cyprus* (n. 3a).
34. Young and Young (n. 3a), p. 211. The authors connect the introduction of this iconographic type with the establishment of Persian rule on the island.
35. According to Young and Young, (n. 3a), pp. 200–1, examples from Curium of the type of hood with flaps do not date before the end of the sixth century. The mould used for the face of no. 2127, that is, the figurine with the wreathed hood, does not seem to have been used later than the first couple of decades of the second half of the fourth century, p.99 and pl. 31.
36. T.B. Mitford, *The Inscriptions of Kourion* (1971), 54, no. 22. I owe this reference to Dr Pavlos Florentzos.

consideration of the datable local Cypriot representations of figures in the trousered uniform is that none of these examples antedates the late sixth century B.C., and that examples of that type of representations fall within the fifth and the fourth centuries.

As pointed out in the introduction, representations of the trousers and the *κάνδυς* span a wide geographical and chronological range. To bear any particular significance, a chronological argument based on comparisons of the Cyprus Museum statue with representations of similar types from elsewhere must rest on a basic condition: The items to which the statue is compared must be the products of areas with which the island came into contact directly, or must be established as links in an indirect process of transmission.

Direct contact between the island and the Iranian world is known to have been established only during the period of the Achaemenian empire, when Cyprus and its adjacent eastern Mediterranean countries had been brought under Achaemenian rule for approximately two centuries. The existence during the Persian era of permanent Achaemenian administrative centers or garrisons on the island remains a moot question. Cypriots would have nevertheless have had ample opportunity to observe traditional Iranian garb from close quarters either during the course of those Persian military expeditions against Cyprus which are documented in our sources, or on those occasions when the inhabitants of the island were compelled to participate in the campaigns of the Persian rulers against recalcitrant or prospective subjects. The island remained outside the radius of later Parthian penetration to the west.

The indirect transmission of the type represented on the statue from the Cyprus Museum during the Parthian period cannot be ruled out with absolute confidence. At present, however, the circumstances that might have occasioned the influence of the Parthians on Cypriot art entirely escape us. There are numerous considerations, on the other hand, which would tend, when taken collectively, to further tip the scale of the argument in favor of an Achaemenian date for the introduction of the type to the island.

The appearance of the trousered costume in Cypriot art not only coincides with the arrival of the Persians but also forms a part of a wider phenomenon of similar representations³⁷ encompassing eastern Mediterranean territories, such as Greece, Asia Minor and the Levant, with which Cyprus had been traditionally in contact. Although in general a specific iconographic type need not be exclusive to any single geographical area or historical period, it may be significant for dating purposes that to our knowledge the most complete set of iconographic parallels to the statue from Cyprus come from the fifth- and fourth-century artwork of those eastern Mediterranean territories.

In comparing the dagger which is depicted on the statue to Persepolitan models, we noted inaccuracies in the Cypriot work concerning both the shape and the characteristic apparatus — the scabbard and the belt

— of that weapon. The rendering of the dagger is not the statue's sole divergence from Achaemenian models. The hood, for instance, is never worn with the *κάνδυς* in Achaemenian representations. If the interpretation of the apparently columnar element resting on the pedestal of the statue as the lower portion of the shaft of a spear or of the staff of a scepter is correct, it would further underline the differences in iconography between official Achaemenian art and the representation discussed here. In Achaemenian art both spearbearers and the figure of the king, who is the only individual entitled to hold a scepter, are consistently depicted in the long "Persian" robe, while the dagger is never a part of the military equipment of the spearbearers.

The observed iconographic differences between the statue from Cyprus and extant Achaemenian representations do not undermine the association of the type of the figure represented by the statue with the Achaemenian period. In the context of the peaceful celebration of Empire which the Persepolitan tribute processions and audience scenes convey, preference may have been given to representations of the spearbearers and the king in their ceremonial garments. The trousered costume and the hood with lappets would still be worn by those individuals whenever they engaged in activities, such as fighting or hunting, which involve rigorous and sudden movements, and in which the opulent "Persian" robe and the fluted headdress or fillet which accompany it would be extremely impractical. The Persians introduced themselves to the west as warriors and conquerors attired in the trousered uniform,³⁸ and it was their trousered costume which captivated the eastern Mediterranean sculptors', engravers' and vase painters' artistic visions of the Persians. Furthermore, although in Achaemenian reliefs the spear and the dagger appear to form, respectively, parts of two distinct sets of weapons, at least one representation of a mounted warrior in the Iranian costume who is armed with the spear and the dagger is known to us from the repertory of Graeco-Persian gems³⁹ and it seemed perfectly plausible to Herodotus, that the *δορυφόροι* of Oroetes had killed their master with their *ἀκινάκεις*.⁴⁰ The association, in the minds of Herodotus and of the respective carvers of the Graeco-Persian gem and the statue from Cyprus at least, of the dagger and the spear might also be explained by those two weapons' prominent connection with the Persians. The 'ἀκινάκης' became known in the west through the agency of the Persians. The use of the spear was widely spread. During the Achaemenian period, however, that weapon became a symbol of Achaemenian military supremacy and dominion.⁴¹

37. Examples cited in n.7.

38. Herodotus v.49; vii.64.1.

39. Boardman (n. 7d), pl. 864.

40. Herodotus iii.128.

41. The royal figure is depicted holding a spear of Achaemenian coins of Type III. A discussion of the symbolic significance of this type

In the arts of the subject nations, the processing of the Persian sartorial outlook and of Achaemenian statements of imperial ideology could, and in fact did, result in the creation of iconographic types for the representation of the Persians which were different from those represented in official Achaemenian art. An eastern Mediterranean iconographic κοινή of representations of individuals in the trousered costume — in particular in Graeco-Persian and Classical Greek gems — would appear to provide the most familial iconographic context for the particular type represented on the statue from Cyprus. Cyprus' own contribution to the formation of this eastern Mediterranean κοινή is yet to be properly assessed. Yet the terracotta figurines of individuals in the trousered uniform from Curium and from the Limassol Museum, the presumed involvement of Cypriot engravers in the production of Graeco-Persian gems, and, not least, sculptures, as in the case of the statue discussed here, might indicate that, during the Achaemenian period, the island was not merely a passive recipient of iconographic types developed in the artistic traditions of her neighbors.

Interpretation

No arguments constructed upon analogies and inferences, such as those presented here, can ever be considered definitive. Until firm evidence to the contrary becomes available, however, the Achaemenian period, thus, by implication, the political, ideological and artistic climate of that era, and, in particular, developments in the eastern Mediterranean area may serve as the wider background for the interpretation of the figure in the Iranian costume from Cyprus.

Costume and attributes constitute the most eloquent guides to the status of the individual represented on the statue. Depending on our choice between the proposed alternative interpretations of the columnar element which rests by the figure's right foot, we may wish to see the statue as a representation of either a ruler or a warrior. We may consider his costume a statement of his affiliation with the imperial ruling élite.

As a rule the Iranian ethnicity of the individuals depicted in the trousered uniform is not doubted.⁴² The opposite view, that is, that not all of the figures in the trousered costume are meant to represent Iranians, but that some of them might allude to the adoption of the clothing fashions of the ruling class by inhabitants of the subject countries, is still worth pursuing, at least for the sake of argument. According to the literary sources, the possession of the Iranian trousered garb and weapons was not confined to the Persian people and their Iranian relatives. Herodotus⁴³ makes reference to a τῦρα (presumably a hood similar to the one shown on the statue) adorned with gold, a golden ἀκινάκης, and a "Median" suit which were given by Xerxes to the peoples of Acanthus and Abdera in return for their hospitality. Might one interpret Xerxes' typically Indo-European act of reciprocity as having wider implications for the political status of those two cities within the Empire? Could the offering of the Persian attire symbolize the favorable connection between the Persian régime and the recipients of that gift? And could the wearing of that garment by non-Iranian individuals symbolize their distinguished status in the realm of imperial, and perhaps also local, politics?

Appendix

After the article was submitted for publication, I received confirmation that the κᾶνδυς is also shown on the votive limestone statuette from Curium mentioned in page 133 and n. 36. This piece of information was kindly communicated to me in writing by Dr Elizabeth J. Milleker, Assistant Curator in the Department of Greek and Roman Art of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York.

is given in D. Stronach, "Early Achaemenid Coinage: Perspectives from the Homeland", *Festschrift Pierre Amiet, Iranica Antiqua* xxiv (1989), 275. The spear is used as a metaphor for Achaemenian dominion and expansion in DNa 43–45, DNb 40–45, R. G. Kent, *Old Persian, Grammar, Texts, Lexicon* (1953, 2d ed.), 137–40.

42. For instance, Roaf (n. 8), 103.

43. Herodotus vii. 116; viii. 120.



1



2



3



4



5

A LIMESTONE FIGURE WEARING THE KANΔYS FROM CYPRUS



1



2



3



4

A LIMESTONE FIGURE WEARING THE KANDYS FROM CYPRUS