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a study of a cross-cultural, Eastern Mediterranean votive type

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The Egyptianizing Male Limestone Statuary from Cyprus

A study of a cross-cultural
Eastern Mediterranean votive type

Fanni Faegersten

Lund 2003

Cover photograph:
Limestone statuette from Tamassos, Cyprus
(Courtesy of the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, Canada)

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Lund University

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Lund, March 2003
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(From Karageorghis 1974, pl. 241.143)

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(From Karageorghis 1974, pl. 241.258)

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Maps by Bengt Pettersson
Tables by Niklas Gustafson
All drawings by the author

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(Photograph Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Cesnola Collection: Purchased by subscription, 1874–76)

1.2 **Cat. 5**, from Idalion. H. 30.5 cm, AOH. 96 cm.
(© Copyright The British Museum. Photo: Philip Nicholls)

1.3 **Cat. 6**, from Idalion. H. 25 cm, AOH. 75 cm.
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1.4 **Cat. 6**, from Idalion.
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Plate 2
2.1 **Cat. 7**, from Idalion. H. 39 cm, AOH. 235 cm.
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2.2 **Cat. 8**, from Idalion. H. 29 cm, AOH. 157 cm.
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2.3 **Cat. 9**, from Idalion. H. 40 cm, AOH. 215 cm.
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2.4 **Cat. 10**, from Idalion. H. 13 cm, AOH. 25 cm.
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Plate 3
3.1 **Cat. 12**, from Idalion. H. 71 cm, AOH. 212 cm.
(© Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz. Photo: Johannes Laurentius)

3.2 **Cat. 12**, from Idalion.
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3.3 **Cat. 13**, from Idalion. H. 104 cm, AOH. 145 cm.
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3.4 **Cat. 13**, from Idalion.
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Plate 4
4.1 **Cat. 14**, from Idalion. H. 32 cm, AOH. 163 cm.
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4.2 **Cat. 16**, from Lympia. H. 17.5 cm, AOH. 66 cm.
(Courtesy of the Cyprus Museum, Nicosia. Photo: Xenophon Michail)

4.3 **Cat. 16**, from Lympia.
(Courtesy of the Cyprus Museum, Nicosia. Photo: Xenophon Michail)

Plate 5
5.1 **Cat. 15**, from Idalion. H. 18.5 cm, AOH. 71 cm.
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5.2 **Cat. 20**, from Golgoi (Ayios Photios). H. 127 cm, AOH. 178 cm.
(Bequest of John Ringling, Collection of The John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, the State Art Museum of Florida)

5.3 **Cat. 20**, from Golgoi (Ayios Photios).
(Bequest of John Ringling, Collection of The John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, the State Art Museum of Florida)

5.4 **Cat. 20**, from Golgoi (Ayios Photios).
(Bequest of John Ringling, Collection of The John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, the State Art Museum of Florida)

Plate 6
6.1 **Cat. 21**, from Golgoi (Ayios Photios). H. 130 cm, AOH. 177 cm.
(Photograph Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Cesnola Collection: Purchased by subscription, 1874–76)

6.2 **Cat. 22**, from Golgoi (Ayios Photios). H. 84 cm, AOH. 365 cm.
(Bequest of John Ringling, Collection of The John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, the State Art Museum of Florida)

6.3 **Cat. 23**, from Golgoi (Ayios Photios). H. 137 cm, AOH. 190 cm.
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6.4 **Cat. 23**, from Golgoi (Ayios Photios).
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Plate 7
7.1 **Cat. 24**, from Golgoi (Ayios Photios). H. 136.5 cm, AOH. 190 cm.
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7.2 **Cat. 26**, from Golgoi (Ayios Photios). H. 135 cm, AOH. 185 cm.
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7.3 **Cat. 29**, from Golgoi (Ayios Photios). H. 105 cm, AOH. 146 cm.
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7.4 **Cat. 30**, from Golgoi (Ayios Photios). H. 59 cm, AOH. 80 cm.
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Plate 8
8.1 **Cat. 31**, from Golgoi (Ayios Photios). H. 135 cm, AOH. 190 cm.
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8.2 **Cat. 31**, from Golgoi (Ayios Photios).
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8.3 **Cat. 32**, from Golgoi (Ayios Photios). H. 16 cm, AOH. 260 cm.
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8.4 **Cat. 33**, from Golgoi (Ayios Photios). H. 18 cm, AOH. 260 cm.
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Plate 9
9.1 **Cat. 34**, from Golgoi (Ayios Photios). H. 71 cm.
(Photograph Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Cesnola Collection: Purchased by subscription, 1874–76)

9.2 **Cat. 35**, from Golgoi (Ayios Photios). H. 27 cm, AOH. 39 cm.
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9.3 **Cat. 43**, from Tamassos. H. 52.5 cm.
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9.4 **Cat. 44**, from Tamassos. H. 25 cm, AOH. 48 cm.
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Plate 10
10.1 **Cat. 45**, from Kition *Bamboula*. H. 40.5 cm, AOH. 59 cm.
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10.2 **Cat. 46**, from Kition *Bamboula*. H. 25.5 cm, AOH. 49 cm.
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10.3 **Cat. 47**, from Larnaka (?). H. 64 cm, AOH. 240 cm.
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10.4 **Cat. 47**, from Larnaka (?).
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Plate 11
11.1 **Cat. 48**, from Amathus. Back view. H. 34.5 cm, AOH. 150 cm.
(Courtesy of Michali Loulloupis, Nicosia. Photo by the author)

11.2 **Cat. 49**, from Amathus. H. 12.5 cm, AOH. 17 cm.
(Photograph Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Cesnola Collection: Purchased by subscription, 1874–76)

11.3 **Cat. 50**, from Amathus. H. 37 cm, AOH. 71 cm.
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11.4 **Cat. 59**, from Kazafani. H. 40 cm, AOH. 77 cm
(Courtesy of the Cyprus Museum, Nicosia. Photo: Xenophon Michail)

Plate 12
12.1 **Cat. 59**, from Kazafani.
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12.2 **Cat. 60**, of unknown provenance. H. 65 cm, AOH. 220 cm.
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13.1 **Cat. 63**, of unknown provenance. H. 27.5 cm, AOH. 40 cm.
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13.2 **Cat. 63**, of unknown provenance.
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13.3 **Cat. 64**, of unknown provenance. H. 12.5 cm, AOH. 24 cm.
(Courtesy of the Cyprus Museum, Nicosia. Photo: Xenophon Michail)

13.4 **Cat. 64**, of unknown provenance.
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Plate 14
14.1 **Cat. 65**, of unknown provenance. H. 15.5 cm, AOH. 67 cm.
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14.2 **Cat. 65**, of unknown provenance.
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14.3 **Cat. Ph1**, from Amrit. H. 86 cm, AOH. 249 cm.
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14.4 **Cat. Ph4**, from Amrit. H. 82 cm, AOH. 184 cm.
(Inst. Neg. DAI Damascus, 2000–164–21. Photo: Mohammed ar-Roumi)

Plate 15
15.1 **Cat. Ph5**, from Amrit. H. 59 cm, AOH. 224 cm.
(Inst. Neg. DAI Damascus, 2000–159–16. Photo: Mohammed ar-Roumi)

15.2 **Cat. Ph6**, from Amrit. H. 31 cm, AOH. 140 cm.
(Inst. Neg. DAI Damascus, 2000–146–4. Photo: Mohammed ar-Roumi)

15.3 **Cat. Ph6**, from Amrit.
(Inst. Neg. DAI Damascus, 2000–146–5. Photo: Mohammed ar-Roumi)

15.4 **Cat. Ph7**, from Amrit. H. 17 cm, AOH. 55 cm.
(Inst. Neg. DAI Damascus, 2000–155–9. Photo: Mohammed ar-Roumi)

Plate 16
16.1 **Cat. Ph7**, from Amrit. Back view.
(Inst. Neg. DAI Damascus, 2000–155–11. Photo: Mohammed ar-Roumi)

16.2 **Cat. Ph7**, from Amrit.
(Inst. Neg. DAI Damascus, 2000–155–10. Photo: Mohammed ar-Roumi)

16.3 **Cat. Ph8**, from Amrit. H. 43 cm, AOH. 83 cm.
(Inst. Neg. DAI Damascus, 2000–141–1. Photo: Mohammed ar-Roumi)

16.4 **Cat. Ph8**, from Amrit.
(Inst. Neg. DAI Damascus, 2000–141–9. Photo: Mohammed ar-Roumi)

Plate 17
17.1 **Cat. Ph9**, from Amrit. H. 34 cm, AOH. 66 cm.
(Inst. Neg. DAI Damascus, 2000–150–7. Photo: Mohammed ar-Roumi)

17.2 **Cat. Ph9**, from Amrit.
(Inst. Neg. DAI Damascus, 2000–150–10. Photo: Mohammed ar-Roumi)

17.3 **Cat. Ph9**, from Amrit.
(Inst. Neg. DAI Damascus, 2000–150–12. Photo: Mohammed ar-Roumi)

17.4 **Cat. Ph11**, from Amrit. H. 22.5 cm, AOH. 85 cm.
(Inst. Neg. DAI Damascus, 2000–167–8. Photo: Mohammed ar-Roumi)

Plate 18
18.1 **Cat. Ph11**, from Amrit.
(Inst. Neg. DAI Damascus, 2000–167–10. Photo: Mohammed ar-Roumi)

18.2 **Cat. Ph12**, from Amrit. H. 23 cm, AOH. 87 cm.
(Inst. Neg. DAI Damascus, 2000–151–7. Photo: Mohammed ar-Roumi)

18.3 **Cat. Ph12**, from Amrit.
(Inst. Neg. DAI Damascus, 2000–151–9. Photo: Mohammed ar-Roumi)

18.4 **Cat. Ph14**, from Amrit. H. 46 cm, AOH. 87 cm.
(Inst. Neg. DAI Damascus, 2000–146–1. Photo: Mohammed ar-Roumi)

Plate 19
19.1 **Cat. Ph14**, from Amrit.
(Inst. Neg. DAI Damascus, 2000–146–3. Photo: Mohammed ar-Roumi)

19.2 **Cat. Ph15**, from Amrit. H. 34.5 cm, AOH. 67 cm.
(Inst. Neg. DAI Damascus, 2000–167–13. Photo: Mohammed ar-Roumi)

19.3 **Cat. Ph15**, from Amrit.
(Inst. Neg. DAI Damascus, 2000–167–15. Photo: Mohammed ar-Roumi)

19.4 **Cat. Ph17**, from Amrit. H. 8 cm, AOH. 35 cm.
(Inst. Neg. DAI Damascus, 2000–158–13. Photo: Mohammed ar-Roumi)

Plate 20
20.1 **Cat. Ph17**, from Amrit.
(Inst. Neg. DAI Damascus, 2000–158–16. Photo: Mohammed ar-Roumi)

20.2 **Cat. Ph18**, from Amrit. H. 17 cm, AOH. 74 cm.
(Inst. Neg. DAI Damascus, 2000–156–11. Photo: Mohammed ar-Roumi)

20.3 **Cat. Ph18**, from Amrit.
(Inst. Neg. DAI Damascus, 2000–156–12. Photo: Mohammed ar-Roumi)

20.4 **Cat. Ph19**, from Amrit. H. 10 cm, AOH. 19 cm.
(Inst. Neg. DAI Damascus, 2000–163–4. Photo: Mohammed ar-Roumi)

Plate 21
21.1 Ivory plaque from Nimrud. H. 14 cm, W. 6.3 cm. *Cloisonné* inlay. Many traces of red and blue survive. 8th–7th centuries B.C.
(Courtesy of Georgina Herrmann and the British School of Archaeology in Iraq)

21.2 Steatite statuette of Pharaoh Amenhotep III, Eighteenth Dynasty, ca. 1350 B.C. H. 25 cm.
(Courtesy of the Supreme Council of Antiquities, Cairo. Photo: Niklas Gustafson)

21.3 Detail of a wall relief from the third pylon at Karnak, depicting Pharaoh Amenhotep III. Eighteenth Dynasty, ca. 1350 B.C.
(Courtesy of the Supreme Council of Antiquities, Cairo. Photo: Niklas Gustafson)

21.4 Tomb painting from the tomb of prince Amunherkhepchef, son of Ramesses III. The Valley of the Queens, Thebes. Twentieth Dynasty, ca. 1150 B.C.
(Courtesy of the Supreme Council of Antiquities, Cairo. Photo: Niklas Gustafson)

Plates 22–45 drawings to scale

All drawings by the author

1 Introduction

1.1 Background

1.1.1 The Egyptianizing horizon on Cyprus

From the late 8th century B.C. we find an influx in the Cypriote material culture of objects which display Egyptian-type dress elements and ornaments.[1] These early imported goods have come to light in burials of persons belonging to the uppermost level of society and include skillfully carved ivory plaques decorating wooden furniture, and hammered and incised metal objects.[2] The ivories found in the "royal tombs" at Salamis are unique on the island in terms of material, iconography, and quality of execution (*Figs. 14–16*).[3] The large number of decorated bronze and silver objects recovered from these tombs display similar Egyptian-type and Oriental iconography, while stylistically they are not as homogeneous as the group of closely related ivory plaques.[4] The Salamis bronzes and in particular the silver *phiale* recovered from Tomb 2 find equivalents in several parts of the island through the multiple finds of decorated metal bowls with Egyptianizing decoration.[5] Most of these bronze and silver bowls[6] display concentric registers with intricate decoration which is either engraved or worked in the *repoussé* technique, with added engraved contours and details.[7] In date the bowls seem to range from the 8th century B.C., covering the entire 7th century B.C. as well.[8] If the limited group of Salamis ivories were clearly imported from the Levantine area, the place of manufacture of these metal objects is far from established.[9] Common to the ivory plaques and the metal bowls is, as was already noted, the Egyptianizing, but also the Oriental, character of their decoration. The carved, hammered, and incised patterns are elaborate and rich but remain based on a limited amount of

[1] In no way should we forget the rich Late Bronze Age material culture of Cyprus – part of an Eastern Mediterranean *koiné* – where these kinds of materials and the accompanying iconography are already present. Leclant 1972, 81–83, presents an overview. It falls, however, well outside of the limits of this study to attempt to account for the relationship between the material cultures of the Late Bronze Age, the Geometric period, and the Archaic period on Cyprus.

[2] The contexts of these funerary finds indicate perhaps their character as prestigious diplomatic gifts. In contrast to these portable objects stands the (later?) wall decoration in Tomb 80 at Salamis, consisting of painted papyrus stalks where open umbels alternate with closed ones. The person who decorated the tomb, even if a foreigner, must have lived at or visited Salamis: Karageorghis 1974, pls. I, 133–135.

[3] Most ivories were recovered from Tomb 79: Karageorghis 1973b, 87–97; Karageorghis 1974, pls. A–E, 61–71 (with drawings on pls. 241–242). A few objects were found in Tomb 47, however: Karageorghis 1967b, 83, pl. 81. The Salamis ivories have been dated to the last quarter of the 8th century B.C.: Karageorghis 1973b, 121.

[4] Karageorghis 1974, pls. 104–105, 243–279; Karageorghis 1967b, 19–20, pls. 112–113 (silver *phiale* from Tomb 2). Different views on their place of manufacture have been put forward: Karageorghis 1973b, 97, 106, 108, 113–114. The excavator suggested that the silver *phiale* from Tomb 2 was decorated – and redecorated after the initial pattern had faded – on Cyprus: Karageorghis 1967b, 20.

[5] For more on the incised bronze and silver bowls found on Cyprus: Matthäus 1985, 160–178; Hermary 1986b, 184–187. Markoe 1985 treats pieces found both on and outside the island. More than 100 similar bowls are known from the Mediterranean area and of these, around 15 have been unearthed on Cyprus: Hermary 1986b, 185–187 n. 16. As many as eight of the "Cypriote" bowls are said to have come from Kourion, forming part of what L.P. di Cesnola claimed to be "the Kourion treasure". On the dubious circumstances of this discovery and the possibility that the bowls were instead found in large tombs at the site: Masson 1984, 3–10.

[6] One gold bowl and one gold-plated silver bowl are known from the island as well. For the best reproductions: Karageorghis *et al.* 2000, 181, 184, nos. 297, 301.

[7] Hermary 1986b, figs. 128–129, for a front and back view of the same section of the "Amathus bowl".

[8] A. Hermary places the "Amathus bowl" and a bowl from Kourion (N.Y., Inv. no. 74.51.4556) between 660–650 B.C., and another set of bowls (two from Kourion, one from Idalion, and one from Tamassos) slightly later, in the third quarter of the 7th century B.C.: Hermary 1986b, 193. See also Markoe 1985, 149–156; Matthäus 1985, 160.

[9] See above n. 4. Seen against the large number of similar, although perhaps slightly earlier, bowls excavated at Nimrud, the Cypriote bowls have been considered objects imported from the Levantine coast: Strøm 1971, 123. It has been repeatedly suggested, however, that the bowls may have been manufactured and/or decorated on Cyprus, by Phoenician artists: Frankfort 1954, 199; Hermary 1986b, 194 (noting that space was reserved in the decoration of one of the Kourion bowls to contain an inscription reading "[I am] of Akestor, king of Paphos"). Barnett 1977, 161–164, similarly stresses the Phoenician origin of the "Amathus bowl" and shield boss, but notes that it is possible that both objects were decorated in a Phoenician *atélier*, on Cyprus.

iconographical motifs.[10] The themes, all well-known in the Levant since at least the second millennium B.C., include sphinxes or griffins by a "sacred tree"; a kilt-clad man fighting an enemy (or more clearly "Pharaoh" smiting enemies); a kilt-clad man fighting a lion or griffin with sword or spear;[11] and a male figure clad in a lion skin wrestling with or carrying a lion. Alongside the "sacred tree", consisting of "Phoenician cup palmettes", "paradise flowers", and "volute-and-palmette flowers" (see Ch. 2.2.2), more strictly Egyptian-type, vegetal ornaments are repeated in the decoration of the bowls.[12] Related and of contemporary date are a pair of bronze horse blinkers decorated by winged griffins which seem to have been dedicated at the Athena sanctuary on top of the west acropolis at Idalion.[13]

In the late 7th century B.C. we encounter the first preserved indications of the Egyptianizing (and Oriental) iconography being interpreted by Cypriote artists in their preferred local materials. Large-scale, male, terracotta warriors wearing an elaborately decorated dress have been encountered at at least two Cypriote sites.[14] The multiple motifs painted or stamped onto their "cuirasses", including the floral border ornamentation, are among those enumerated above: sphinxes and griffins arranged on either side of a "sacred tree", and the kilt-wearing figure fighting a lion with his sword.[15] At Tamassos a group of well-hewn graves cut into the limestone rock similarly display such ornamentation. Inside the so-called Tomb 5 there are friezes of "sacred trees" decorating the two (stepped) false windows which were cut into the wall above the main entrance and above the entrance to the inner (funerary) chamber, respectively.[16] Similar to the tombs at Salamis the construction of these graves and the grave goods recovered clearly tie them to the upper levels of (late 7th century B.C.) society.[17]

Cypriote Egyptianizing votive objects in the round are encountered from the early 6th century B.C. onwards, unearthed at necropoleis and sanctuaries across the island and executed mainly in local limestone. These objects remain closely tied to the carved and incised iconography encountered in the decorated bronze and silver bowls and ivory plaques of the previous (7th) century. Thus, limestone sphinxes are repeatedly found crowning grave stelai or flanking thrones,[18] and male, kilt-wearing figures are recurrent, some carrying swords.[19] From around the middle of the century we find quite monumental Hathoric stelai and capitals,[20] and from about the same period come the first limestone equivalents to the 7th century B.C. character clad in a lion skin and carrying a lion: the so-called Herakles Melqart

[10] Among the horse equipment recovered from the Salamis "royal" tombs are virtually identical blinkers and front bands rendered in bronze and ivory: Karageorghis 1967b, pls. 81.88–89 (ivory), 80.117 (bronze) from Tomb 47; pls. 14.49, 14.51 (bronze), from Tomb 2.

[11] A decorated ivory hilt of a dagger (?) from Idalion carries a depiction of a male, kilt-wearing figure with double crown who confronts a lion with a sword: Karageorghis 1964a, 359–362, fig. 95; Karageorghis 1964b, 71, 75, fig. 26.38.

[12] Including lotus flowers and papyrus stems. In some cases clusters of papyrus form thickets where activities take place in the Egyptian manner: mother nursing infant ("Isis–Horus"), a hunting scene in the marshes, a cow suckling her calf, and so on: Cesnola 1877, pl. 11 (from Golgoi); Karageorghis *et al.* 2000, 181, nos. 297–298 (from Kourion and of unknown provenance, respectively).

[13] Masson & Sznycer 1972, 108–110, pl. 12. The blinkers, each displaying a winged falcon-headed creature crowned by a sun disk who rests one front paw on a papyrus umbel, are inscribed with Phoenician letters. Possibly the short inscriptions are dedicatory, addressing the goddess Anat, assimilated with Athena. Cf. Lipinski 1986a.

[14] Fragments of at least five life-size or slightly below life-size figures have come to light: Munro & Tubbs 1891, 150–155, pl. 10; Karageorghis & Des Gagniers 1974, 138–140 (XII.a.7, XII.b.13); Karageorghis 1978c, 160, no. 12, 164–165, nos. 51–52, 181, no. 207, 189–191, pls. 45–47 (from Toumba and Kazafani, respectively). A. Hermary notes that several additional, unpublished (Toumba) fragments are kept in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford: Hermary 1991a, 143 n. 47.

[15] Different dates have been suggested for these figures. When publishing the Kazafani material in 1978, V. Karageorghis noted that it ranged over a period of about four centuries, from the middle of the 7th century B.C. onwards, but that the *floruit* of the sanctuary seemed to have been during the second half of the 6th century B.C.: Karageorghis 1978c, 191–192. G. Markoe suggested the latter dating for the painted and stamped terracotta fragments recovered there: Markoe 1988b, 17–18. However, terracotta heads from Toumba belonging together with the multitude of very similar, elaborately painted dress fragments described by the excavator J.A.R. Munro can be dated to the second half of the 7th century B.C.: Hermary 1991a, 143–144 (based on comparisons with material excavated at the Samian Heraion).

[16] The two false windows were thus "facing" each other across the antechamber: Buchholz 1974, figs. 37, 39, 41, 49, 50.b.

[17] A bronze horse blinker with apotropaic, inlaid ivory eye, unearthed nearby, comes very close to objects recovered from the tombs at Salamis. Compare Buchholz 1973, 331–333; Buchholz 1974, 599, fig. 59; with Karageorghis 1967b, 36, nos. 26–27, pls. 47, 127 (Salamis Tomb 3, around 600 B.C.).

[18] An early pair of sphinxes flank a throne where a female figure is seated: Tore 1995, 454 ("…late 7th century B.C."); Seipel 1999, 194–195, no. 93 ("…1. Hälfte 6. Jh. v. Chr."). The sphinxes are wearing aprons, broad decorated collars, and "kerchiefs" with upturned ends, similar to Hathoric curls of hair. A corresponding terracotta object from Ayia Irini, a female figure seated on a sphinx throne, seems to belong to approximately the same early period (see Ch. 3.2.4 "The Kingdom of Lapithos").

[19] **Cat. 30** and **Cat. 35**, both from Golgoi (Ayios Photios).

[20] Hermary 1985, 681. A small Hathoric head (plain, winged, or with arms) is encountered in the 8th–7th century B.C. metal iconography as well: Karageorghis 1973b, 112–113, fig. 28; Karageorghis 1974, 84, pl. 272; Markoe 1985, 67, 177, 255, Cy7.

figure.[21] The monumental, Cypriote, limestone votive capitals with vegetal decoration seem to be large-scale versions of the vegetal panels displayed in bronze and ivory earlier on.[22] In general, thus, the 6th century B.C. Cypriote Egyptianizing limestone objects could be viewed as indigenous (stone) versions of a restricted number of well-known, foreign figural types.

1.1.2 The male, Egyptianizing stone statue in the round

Thus, within this general, Egyptianizing horizon the standing, male, kilt-wearing figure emerges as merely one category among several others. It was displayed at sanctuary sites across the island together with large numbers of other Cypriote, Archaic votive types. Characteristically, the Egyptianizing limestone votives are standing, frontal, male figures, wearing an Egyptian-type kilt with centrally placed cobras, a broad decorated collar, and a tressed wig, a plain headcloth, or the Egyptian double crown. Similar to most other votive types they are encountered in all different sizes ranging from small-scale statuettes to figures of colossal size.[23] Unlike several other votive types, however, they are only encountered in limestone, virtually never in terracotta.[24] It is further uncommon for a Cypriote votive figural type to be encountered in small-scale bronze statuettes as well as in stone, but this is the case with the Egyptianizing group of figures. In date the kilt-wearing limestone figures cover the entire 6th century B.C. This group of stone statues and statuettes is the focus of the present study.[25]

In order to assemble the group for study it was necessary to establish criteria regarding which figures should belong to the group and which not. Basically, I have chosen to include all Cypriote stone statues and statuettes which clearly intend to depict an element of dress which is originally Egyptian. Not surprisingly the crucial phrases "clear intention" and "originally Egyptian" demand explanation and clarification.

To begin with, what could we call typically and originally Egyptian when it comes to statuary? As regards sculptural type we could propose that the characteristic Egyptian male sculptural type was a standing figure made out of hard stone, with the left leg advanced and arms hanging along the sides of the body, and furnished with a back-pillar support. In terms of dress we could set down a kilt of some kind, a broad collar placed around the neck, and a wig-like coiffure; in case of a royal statue, a *nemes* headcloth or one of the Egyptian crowns could be present. The royal dress would be adorned with religious ornaments from the Egyptian repertoire. Finally, the statue would be identified by an accompanying hieroglyphic inscription placed on the statue base or along the vertical back-pillar support.

By no means is this the only representative male type from the diverse and rich, millennia-old Egyptian sculptural tradition. Nor is it the only model likely to have been looked upon by foreign craftsmen when they were getting acquainted with the Egyptian sculptural technique and taste. This type, however, remains *the* point of reference for what is seen as the essence of the Egyptian human representation.

When we turn to the Cypriote material we encounter the same figural type; the standing, frontal, male figure wearing an Egyptian-type kilt. The stance of the figures – left leg slightly advanced, arms hanging by the sides of the body, alternatively one hand clenched on the chest – is shared, however, by the major part of the Archaic votive sculpture from the island and it cannot be declared as an exclusive characteristic of the group under study.[26] The very rare presence of actual back-pillar supports in single examples from the island is not in itself enough to incorporate votive statues into the group presently under study.[27] Here the focus is rather on dress, that is, the more obvious local versions of Egyptian dress that one can find in the Cypriote figures. Thus, the Cypriote statues and statuettes singled out in this study share one or more of the following dress

[21] Senff 1993, 63–64, C.219, pl. 46.a–d, is an early Herakles statuette with tressed hair, from Idalion ("Lang's sanctuary"). On the relationship between the hero depicted in the Idalion and Kourion silver bowls and the limestone figures termed "Herakles Melqart": Hermary 1992, 131–132; Jourdain-Annequin 1993, 81.

[22] It is worth noting that these stelai occasionally display figural decorations, including Hathoric heads, interspersed among their Egyptianizing vegetal ornaments: Cesnola 1885, pl. 22.51, from Golgoi; Brehme *et al.* 2001, 167–168, no. 180, from Idalion.

[23] See the drawings to scale on *Pls. 22–35*.

[24] There is a very limited number of terracotta examples which bear a certain resemblance to the limestone figures: see Addendum 2, Nos. 16, 21, 37, 38, and below Chs. 1.3 and 3.2.

[25] For the bronze statuettes, see Addendum 2. In this study the bronzes will be treated as related to the limestone figures in question (see Ch. 1.3).

[26] It is similarly shared by most other Archaic sculpture from the Mediterranean area. The century-long discussion on the Egyptian influence on early Greek sculpture will be returned to in Ch. 2.3.

[27] An enigmatic pair of stone statuettes furnished with trapezoidal supports along their backs was found at the sanctuary at Ayia Irini, standing among the mass of terracotta sculpture in the precinct: Gjerstad *et al.* 1935, pl. 239.2–6, nos. 1228, 1095. A seemingly unfinished (which is interesting) and decapitated limestone statuette, no. 1063, completes the stone triad found at the rural sanctuary. The non-Greek facial features of the figures and their back-pillar supports convinced E. Gjerstad that they belonged within his so-called Cypro-Egyptian style.

elements: the kilt with a centrally placed "apron", the broad collar (which can be defined as both dress and jewelry), the wig, and/or the double crown of Egypt[28] – with or without a certain set of decorative ornaments. All these items are accounted for in more detail below, in Ch. 2.2.1.

What about the "clear intention" on behalf of a sculptor to render an Egyptian-type dress element? In certain figures several elements of such a dress have been added together with Egyptian-type decorative ornaments, putting the Egyptian reference from the patron (sculptor) beyond doubt. In other figures, however, we find merely a plain, undecorated kilt, or a plain headcloth (possibly the Egyptian kerchief). Can these sculptures be safely incorporated into the group of figures wearing Egyptian-type dress and ornament? As regards the plain, undecorated kilt, in order to be considered, there has to be a reasonable degree of likeness between the plain kilts of the figures that are to be included and the more elaborate kilts encountered in a majority of the Egyptianizing figures, a likeness which makes it clear that the overlapping kilt cloth of Egyptian type was intended, or indeed the centrally placed "apron".[29] A certain number of figures was included where the physical form of the kilt is indicated only by incised lines or by the contour of the lower edge of the kilt, which, if coming down centrally, recalls the centrally placed "apron" of other figures.[30] Clearly, even decorated figures can be difficult to identify sometimes due to their fragmentary state of preservation.[31] Once the Egyptian-type kilt and its details are better understood, however, fragments of quite limited dimensions can be safely identified as once belonging to kilt-wearing, Egyptianizing statues.[32]

Several Cypriote votive statues and statuettes, both male and female, wear a kind of headcloth which in shape comes close to the plain, Egyptian kerchief.[33] It is often referred to as "wig-like hair" or as a "Ionian headcloth" in descriptions found in various publications of Cypriote sculpture. How can we tell whether a true Egyptian item was intended or simply a plain, generic headcover? This is, in fact, a problem which cannot be handled in a fully satisfactory way. As regards more well-preserved statues, no figure has been incorporated into the group under study solely on its wearing a plain headcloth. The material is too ambivalent to allow for this.[34] Actually, a handful of the well-preserved, kilt-wearing figures would not have been possible to identify as such, if only their heads had been recovered.[35] More fragmentary figures wearing a plain headcloth, where only the head is preserved, are of course similarly difficult to identify. In keeping with the possibility that they once belonged to kilt-wearing statuettes, however, they have been assembled into Addendum 1 of the sculptural catalogue (Ch. 7). Included in the study are, of course, the kerchief-wearing heads where part of the broad, decorated collar is preserved.

Do female figures wear the Egyptian-type headcloth or kerchief? Several Cypriote female statues and statuettes are clearly wearing a plain headcloth, often in combination with the characteristic, Cypriote, elaborate ear covers which hide the upper

[28]It has been suggested that a small terracotta figurine from Kazafani is wearing the Egyptian double crown: Maier 1989, 383 n. 15; Cassimatis 1993, 45–46. This is a possibility but by no means can it be assured. Due to these uncertainties the statuette head was not included in this study. For the small head: Karageorghis 1978c, pl. 41.15.

[29]This cannot be ascertained, for example, in a large terracotta statuette from Ayia Irini: Gjerstad *et al.* 1935, 739–740, no. 1767, pls. 205.1, 206.1, 206.5. The figure, which seems to be wearing merely an overlapping cloth without any frontal "apron", was not included in the study.

[30]See, for example, **Cat. 37**–**40**, all from Golgoi (Ayios Photios). It may be noted that added paint, now lost, could have turned these features into clearer examples of the Egyptian-type kilt.

[31]What most probably is a falcon-headed, kilt-wearing (scribal) statuette, closely related to our **Cat. 1**, could not be incorporated into the study due to its abraded and fragmentary state: Hermary 1989a, 292, no. 589 (who does state that the figurine is wearing a "pagne égyptisant"). A figure who is wearing a headgear with frontal brim decorated by a winged cobra with sun disk on its head was not incorporated into the study since it is not clear from the photo that the figure is indeed wearing a version of the Egyptian double crown: de Ridder 1908, pl. 10.29.

[32]See, for example, **Cat. 32** and **Cat. 33**, from Golgoi, which are both particularly fragmentary, preserving merely the uppermost part of the kilt and part of the decorated belt (*Pl. 8.3–4*). Judging, however, by the remains of cobras and/or sash ends which are indicated just beneath their belts, the patterned "apron" of **Cat. 33**, and the contents and care of execution displayed in the relief decorations of the two belts it can be suggested that both once belonged to figures with decorated kilts, and thus, with elaborately decorated collars and – probably – plain kerchiefs (or wigs/pleated hair/crowns). Compare **Cat. 27**, **Cat. 42**, and **Cat. 60** where damage to the kilts have left mere traces (virtually identical to those of **Cat. 32** and **Cat. 33**) of the cobras and/or sash ends below the decorated belt. Already L.P. di Cesnola ascribed **Cat. 33** as coming from a kilt-clad figure, while making no such statement regarding the first fragment: Cesnola 1885, text related to pl. 27.80. There is an irregularity, in that the recessed area visible in **Cat. 32**, probably corresponding to the "apron" of the figure, is seemingly not focused in the center of the belt – if we are to judge by the floral motifs surrounding the main scene with man fighting lion.

[33]For more on this elusive headcover, see Ch. 2.2.1, below.

[34]As an example, a statuette wearing what looks like a tripartite (Egyptian-type) wig but a plain *chiton* and mantle dress was not included in the study: Cesnola 1885, pl. 26.68.

[35]This is true for the kilt-wearing **Cat. 29** and **Cat. 31**, from Golgoi (Ayios Photios), both displaying tressed hair, in the latter case surrounded by a wreath. See also **Cat. 13**, from Idalion, which is uniquely wearing a rosette diadem and not any of the Egyptian-type headcovers.

half of the ear. This headcloth has often been referred to as an Egyptian-type wig.[36] Many figures displaying "wig-like hair" or "Ionian headcloths" are, in fact, female.[37] Since a characteristic feature of the sculptural material documenting Egyptian-type dress and ornament is that it consists exclusively of male figures, one asks oneself if the female votives are missing just because their garb is not as easily identifiable as the dress and jewelry of their male counterparts. Could there be female Cypriote figures wearing headcloths representing the Egyptian kerchief "hidden" in the group of female votives wearing "Ionian headcloths"? I believe that since the male outfit is very characteristic and its distinguishing quality is the richness of details, it would be strange to find alongside it a female equivalent that is as vague and difficult to identify. There are no known examples whatsoever of female sculptures wearing the broad Egyptian collar, nor the cobras, although they are common features in Egyptian female statuary.[38] We must therefore conclude, for the time being, that the "Egyptianizing votive type" in Cypriote statuary is found exclusively in a male context.

I use the term "Egyptianizing" in this study to refer to an element of dress, an ornament, or another typological entity which has its origin within the Egyptian cultural sphere but which in its present form is of a clearly non-Egyptian manufacture. This is one possible definition of the term, of course there are other possibilities. What about an object that copies an Egyptian original, is that in fact Egyptianizing? Or should the term be applied only in cases where one can trace a combination of Egyptian motifs and techniques with local or other non-Egyptian, typological influences?[39] Regarding the statuary which is the object of this study and the questions of "Egyptianizing", one would need to know more about their place of manufacture, their actual introduction into the sanctuaries and workshops of the island, and the craftsmen responsible, in order to designate them in a correct manner. These are, indeed, some of the aims of the present study. There is thus a need to return to this issue in the last chapter of this book (Ch. 6). For now, it can be stated that since the male figures under study are dressed in a way which was made in accordance with (at least originally) Egyptian prototypes, their attire is designated as "Egyptianizing", and hence the sculptures are regarded as examples of the "Egyptianizing votive type". However, in order to be able to state that the Cypriote statues are wholesale "Egyptianizing" would require that they were also made in accordance with Egyptian stylistic principles. This is, in fact, very rarely the case – and the identification of the stylistic criteria is not uncontroversial. E. Gjerstad, basing his division of Cypriote statuary mainly on stylistic grounds, incorporated into his "Cypro-Egyptian style" votive figures which he considered stylistically related to Egyptian statuary. Some – but by no means all – of the statues included in this study would fall within Gjerstad's "Cypro-Egyptian style".[40] The term "Egyptianizing" is often used with reference to both typological criteria (dress) and to stylistic ones (face and body form)[41] – or only the latter.[42] Later on in this book the possible Egyptian influence on the facial and body renderings of Cypriote statuary in general will be returned to (Ch. 2.3). In addition, there will be an analysis of the Cypriote and Egyptian characteristics of the faces and bodies of the kilt-wearing figures singled out for study.[43] However, the male figures included in this study were not singled out because of their Egyptian stylistic traits,[44] but on the grounds of a particular dress and general attire which they are wearing. Thus, throughout the book, whenever the term "Egyptianizing Cypriote sculpture" is used, it basically refers to the dress of that statue and not to any of its stylistic qualities.[45]

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[36] A good example is provided in: de Forest 1928, 82, nos. 323–324, where a male and a female head are both said to be wearing the "Egyptian wig". See also Wilson 1974, 141 ("...hair arranged in an Egyptianising klaft, but while KA 2110 has hers covered by a veil..."); Maier & Karageorghis 1984, 186; Schürmann 1984, 32; Tatton-Brown 1994, 72, pl. 20.c. Cf. Senff 1993, 30 n. 252.

[37] Hermary 1989a, 321–335, especially p. 321.

[38] The cobras would only be encountered on royal attire (see below, in Ch. 2.2.1 "The kilt – the cobra"). We do not find any other elaborate, New Kingdom female (royal) attire in the Cypriote votive material; no tripartite wig with vulture headdress, no diadems adorned with cobras, and no pectorals with Egyptian ornamentation. Cf. Markoe 1990a, 115 n. 20 (earrings and jewelry – as in the elaborate female limestone figures from Arsos). For the vulture headdress of certain Hathoric capitals see below, in Chs. 5.1.3 and 5.2.1.

[39] See the thought-provoking article by C. Lilyquist, regarding the Bronze Age material culture: Lilyquist 1998.

[40] Gjerstad 1948, 103–104. See below, Ch. 1.2.

[41] A. Hermary agrees with Gjerstad that the Cypriote figure which is most clearly Egyptianizing in style is a colossal statue head from Arsos wearing a tripartite wig (?) (our Addendum 1, No. 10): Hermary 1996c, 141; Hermary 2001b, 28–29, pl. 1.3–4 (where the head is convincingly suggested to be that of a female figure). On a statuette head from Kourion wearing a plain headcloth (Young & Young 1955, 173, pl. 70, st 403): Markoe 1988a, 17 ("plain bag wig of Egyptian type"); Hermary 1996c, 140–141 n. 10.

[42] Budde & Nicholls 1964, 5–6; Childs 1988, 127, pl. 40.7; Childs 1994, 109; Tore 1995, 452 (referring to a statuette unearthed at the Samian Heraion).

[43] See Chs. 2.3.1 and 2.3.2, respectively.

[44] Accordingly, a male figure who displays what seems to be an Egyptian-type rendering of his eyes – where a thin, elongated, upper eyelid overlaps the lower one – was not included here: Hermary 1989a, 35, no. 28.

[45] For more on the possibilities and the shortcomings of a study such as the present, see below Ch. 1.3.

It is by no means uncomplicated to analyze a material category – in this case Cypriote limestone statuary – which is so clearly influenced by foreign iconography. The Cypriote Egyptianizing figures deserve to be viewed and analyzed as part of a Cypriote corpus of figures, with attention being paid to the particular prerequisites of the island: its distinct regionality, its workshop traditions, and its local cults and sanctuaries.[46] The Egyptian-type dress and jewelry of the statues display several deviations from the original Egyptian features. By no means should this lead us to view this group of figures as degenerate examples of Egyptian statuary, however. On the contrary, they are representatives of the most flourishing period of Cypriote votive sculptural production. It is important to emphasize that when analyzing the Cypriote Egyptianizing figures we are dealing with a phenomenon which is distinctly Cypriote. Thus, rather than seeing them as inferior, due to numerous misunderstandings of dress and shape, we should view these statues as autonomous elements within their own proper context, in the Cypriote sanctuaries.[47]

1.2 Previous research

Statuary was one of the main foci of interest for the early explorers and excavators on Cyprus during the 19th and early 20th century.[48] Countless Cypriote sanctuary sites were looted and devastated already during the 19th century.[49] Sculptures in Egyptian-type dress attracted much attention and were invariably put in relation to other figures clad in what was termed as Assyrian, Greek, and Anatolian dress in order to confirm the foreign influence which was so obviously a part of the island's development during ancient times. In the case of the Egyptian influence, it was soon enough interpreted in relation to two ancient textual passages, one by Herodotus and the other by Diodorus Siculus, who both report how Pharaoh Amasis of the Twenty-sixth Egyptian Dynasty was the first to subdue Cyprus, and that the Pharaoh dedicated votive gifts in the sanctuaries of the island.[50] The Egyptianizing limestone statues were all ascribed to the period held to be that of Egyptian political domination over the island, following the reign of Amasis which was fixed in time to the years between 569 and 545 B.C.[51] Certain votive figures were even taken for portraits of the Egyptian ruler himself.[52] Parallel to this view was the idea that the Egyptian-type dress signalled Phoenician influence or even manufacture. Not least the French scholars active during the 19th century considered Cypriote archaeology and material culture in general as heavily dependant on that of the Phoenician mainland.[53] Basically, the ideas regarding the origin of the Egyptianizing votive figural type have remained the same until this day, being ascribed to either Egyptian or Phoenician influence. However, several elaborations have been made from the original ideas, and the early chronology based on hypothetical historical sequences (including political domination) has been largely abandoned.

E. Gjerstad's work on the typology and chronology of ancient Cypriote statuary took into account material from several sites on the island and has proven very influential. It remained based, however, on the notion that art closely mirrors contemporary historical events. Gjerstad identified limestone figures with faces displaying Egyptian characteristics and had them constitute his "Cypro-Egyptian style". He identified Egyptian influence as regards the structure of the body and the representation of the dress within virtually all other "styles" as well, but stated that the body form of these figures in general, and their Egyptian-type outfit in particular, was purely fashion at that point and did not affect their style.[54] Gjerstad argued that Egyptian influence could have come via

[46] This is what is attempted in Chs. 2 and 3 of this book.

[47] See the warning issued in: Watrous 1998, 22 n. 17. Why do, in fact, alterations and transformations take place? What was the aim of the foreign (in this case Cypriote) artist? Did he strive to closely reproduce the Egyptian-type dress in terms of the details of dress elements? Or was he merely interested in making references to it? If so, for what purpose? What about his skill as a stone cutter – this would determine the appearance of the end product to quite a degree.

[48] A. Hermary provides an exposé of the study of Cypriote sculpture: Hermary 1990. See references on his p. 7 n. 1 to related historiographic studies by O. Masson and others. For a recent colloquium: Tatton-Brown 2001.

[49] Ulbrich 2001, 93–95, fig. 8.1.

[50] Hdt. 2.182, Diod. Sic. 1.68.6. See below in Ch. 5.1.3, where it is noted from these passages that it is not actually clear that sanctuaries on Cyprus are said to have been bestowed with Egyptian, royal votive gifts, since in the longer and earlier account by Herodotus – on which Diodorus no doubt based his version – only East Greek sanctuary sites are mentioned. On this issue: Gjerstad 1948, 466 n. 2.

[51] G. Colonna-Ceccaldi was among the first to introduce such a classification of the votive statuary from the island: Hermary 1990, 10–11, pl. 3. Cf. the more recent dating of the Pharaoh which places his reign between 570 and 526 B.C. (see the Egyptian chronology at the end of the book).

[52] Stark 1863, 12 (regarding **Cat. 12**); Myres 1914, 135, 226; Pryce 1931, 16 (both regarding **Cat. 21**).

[53] For recent studies treating these early scholars and/or the general views on Cypriote art: Hermary 1990, 9, 12; Cassimatis 1993, 43; Ulbrich 2001, 94. The German scholar L. Ross assumed **Cat. 12** to be Phoenician: Hermary 1990, 9 n. 24.

[54] Gjerstad 1948, 102–104, 358–359, 468–469. **Cat. 20**, **Cat. 21**, **Cat. 23**, and **Cat. 26** (from Golgoi) were all placed within his "Second Proto-Cypriote style", **Cat. 7** and **Cat. 29** within the "Neo-Cypriote style", and **Cat. 30** and **Cat. 34** in the "Archaic Cypro-Greek style".

the mixed workshops at Naukratis, and further acknowledged the possibility that such influence could have reached Cyprus via mainland Phoenicia, particularly regarding the figures within the "Neo-Cypriote style".[55] The link to an Egyptian political overlordship was maintained, however, and the "Cypro-Egyptian style" – and most other figures wearing Egyptian-type outfit – were dated to 569–545 B.C.[56]

As mentioned above, the close connection between alleged historical events and changes in sculptural styles has since been questioned, as have the firm chronological attributions of these sculptural styles (including the "Cypro-Egyptian" one) to certain, very limited, periods of time.[57] As regards the Egyptianizing figural type this has led to a less fixed chronology and the acknowledgement that votive statues in Egyptian-type dress were manufactured during the entire 6th century B.C.[58] In a general manner, an increase in Egyptian influence during the third quarter of the 6th century B.C., due to intensified contact with – or even submission to – Egypt, has frequently been postulated, however.[59] A combination of influence has been suggested, including both Egyptianizing input transferred via Phoenician luxury goods during the late 8th century B.C. and direct Egyptian impulses reaching the island mainly from the Delta city of Naukratis during the first quarter of the 6th century B.C.[60] Both of the two possible sources of influence have come into focus on their own as well. That itinerant Cypriote craftsmen became acquainted with contemporary Egyptian sculptural forms and techniques in workshops at Naukratis where East Greek, Egyptian, and Cypriote stone carvers were equally active has been well argumented for.[61] In a similarly convincing manner quite close typological parallels have been pointed out between – admittedly earlier – Phoenician Egyptianizing material and the outfit of the male, Cypriote limestone figures.[62]

Only a very limited number of studies have dealt with the Egyptianizing votive figures in a more focused manner.[63] In her dissertation from 1975 B. Lewe approached the entire corpus of Cypriote Archaic votive sculpture. A large part of her work is devoted to discussing the relation of Cypriote statuary to that of Assyrian, Late Hittite, Phoenician, and Egyptian art. Within the sections on Phoenician and Egyptian influence, she discusses the Cypriote Egyptianizing figures at some length.[64] Despite a quite limited amount of pages she manages a remarkably in-depth and accurate analysis of the group, and she is the first and only one to thoroughly discuss related – that is, Egyptianizing male statuary – material found outside the island, mainly in sanctuaries on the Phoenician mainland.

The related Phoenician material was returned to shortly in a study by G. Markoe from 1990, an article entirely devoted to the Egyptianizing male votive statuary from Cyprus.[65] Markoe discusses the origin of the sculptural type and reaches important results, including one that indicates that the dress worn by the figures has no relation to contemporary Egyptian costume but rather mirrors an elaborate Egyptianizing outfit encountered in Phoenician minor arts (8th century B.C.) and statuary (6th–4th centuries B.C.). This leads him to postulate that the Cypriote votive figures with Egyptian-type outfit were ordered and dedicated by Phoenicians resident in the island, as a kind of ethnic manifesto (see below). Following C. Vermeule he shuns the chronological limits of an alleged Egyptian political domination and dates the entire group to the last quarter of the 6th and the first quarter of the 5th century B.C., when – during Persian overlordship – the Phoenician population on the island would have been favored.[66]

Within the limits of a conference article L. Wriedt Sørensen treats what can be considered the six basic types of male statuary encountered in the Cypriote

[55] Gjerstad 1948, 470 (Naukratis), 356–358, 468. In this he anticipated later suggestions, see below.

[56] Gjerstad 1948, 466–468, 471–472.

[57] Vermeule 1974; Watkin 1987, 162–163; Reyes 1994, 3–4.

[58] Lewe 1975, 45, 74–83, especially p. 77; Gaber-Saletan 1986, 57–62. Cf. Markoe 1990a, 112, 118 (who places the entire group between 525–475 B.C.).

[59] Masson 1971b, 30; *LÄ* 6 (1986), 1452–1455 s.v. Zypern und Ägypten (W. Helck); Parayre 1990, 216.

[60] Caubet & Pic 1982, 246; Hermary 1989a, 49. In both works there are references to a possible Egyptian political domination in order to explain the introduction of limestone Hathoric capitals and the Egyptian double crown in Cypriote statuary. See, however: Hermary 2001b, 29.

[61] Davis 1979, 17; Kyrieleis 1996, 73–78; Fourrier 2001, 46; Höckmann 2001, viii.

[62] Freyer-Schauenburg 1974, 157 n. 276; Lewe 1975, 54–74, especially p. 60 (where, in n. 295, the decidedly earlier date of the Phoenician, Egyptianizing minor arts is emphasized); Falsone 1989, especially p. 163; Markoe 1990a, 116–120; Nunn 2000, 21 (stating that a large stone statuette recovered at Tyre, **Cat. Ph31**, was the actual model for all consecutive Egyptianizing statuary).

[63] For short overviews over the study of the votive group, see: Karageorghis 1993, 86; Tore 1995, 455; Hermary 2001b, 28–29. Studies concerned with Cypriote-style material found outside the island have involved Egyptianizing statuary as well, found both on and outside Cyprus. See, for example: Stucky 1993, on Sidon; Lembke 2001b, on Amrit; Nunn 2000, in general.

[64] Lewe 1975, 57–61, 75–78.

[65] Markoe 1990a.

[66] For the article by Vermeule, see above n. 57.

Archaic sanctuaries, including the male figure dressed in an Egyptian-type kilt.[67] She emphasizes the idea that the Cypriote votives depict dedicants rather than divine beings, and that large-size statues were exhibited as social markers in the sanctuaries of the island. However, she uses a falcon-headed, kilt-wearing statuette (**Cat. 1**) to argue – against Markoe – that the figural type was connected to cult rather than used to display ethnic affiliations (see below).

The most recent study dealing with the Egyptianizing figural type is similarly a conference article in which A. Hermary sets out to examine the relationship between the Egyptianizing votives and the workshops at Naukratis.[68] This study is the most complete at hand, referring to most well-known – and several less well-known – examples of the type. A certain number of influences transferred from Naukratis are identified, but it is similarly maintained that an Egyptianizing iconography was already present on the island before the onset of these impulses, an iconography derived from the Phoenician mainland.[69] The final words of the article take up the related, Egyptianizing statuary material encountered in sanctuaries along the Phoenician coast.

With few exceptions the studies referred to above have been concerned with the origin of the Egyptianizing votive figural type, and less initiative has been dedicated to discussing the actual reasons for the appearance of the style in the Cypriote sanctuaries, and in what social or religious sphere these iconographical transferences occurred. In accordance with a possible increase in direct Egyptian influence during the second and third quarters of the 6th century B.C. (due to intensified contact with – or even submission to – Egypt), a general explanation has been that Cypriotes wished to dedicate statuary dressed like the leading power of the time.[70] Others have focused on parts of the Egyptian-type outfit, like the royal double crown, postulating that the statues and statuettes wearing such headgear depict Cypriote dynasts, and that the crown was a symbol of sacral kingship on Cyprus.[71] A strong connection has been suggested between the Cypriote kings and the general Egyptianizing iconography attested on the island, an iconography thus used to establish and diffuse the royal ideology.[72] That the importation of Egyptian religion and cult practices were brought up as reasons for the diffusion of the type was noted above.[73] Also referred to above was the way the Eyptianizing figural type has been interpreted as the end result of an ethnic manifesto, being the deliberate choice and expression of a Phoenician constituent within the Archaic Cypriote society.[74] Finally, the Egyptian-type trappings have been ascribed to pure fashion, a superficial, outer form used to express local Cypriote cult practices and ideas, a form which accordingly could change (from Egyptian-type to more strongly Greek-type) without affecting the actual religious content.[75]

1.3 Aims and general outline of the study

The present book offers an in-depth study of the male, Cypriote Egyptianizing limestone figures. My aim has been to try to view this figural type not as an isolated phenomenon but to relate it to the archaeological contexts where it was found, to other kinds of statuary material from these same contexts, and further, to other Egyptianizing votive material encountered on the island.[76] In addition, an effort has been made to go outside the island as well, incorporating Egyptianizing material found in the Eastern Mediterranean area with a focus on the strongly related material – statuary and other – from the Phoenician mainland. The Phoenician material, previously more or less inaccessible,[77] has recently become available for study, a fact which has enabled

[67] Wriedt Sørensen 1994, 80–82. Female statues are briefly treated as well. There is a great need for more of this kind of comprehensive study of the entire corpus of Cypriote votive statuary. See a remark by A.T. Reyes: Reyes 1994, 36.

[68] Hermary 2001b.

[69] A similar combination of impulses was suggested already in an earlier work by the author, see above n. 60. For the Naukratite influences: Hermary 2001b, 30, 32–33 (Hathoric capitals, arms hanging along the sides in statuary, the rendering of a moustache without a beard, etc.); on Phoenician influences, see pp. 34–35 (regarding the Cypriote sphinx).

[70] See, for example: Senff 1993, 51; Brönner 1994, 51–52.

[71] Maier 1989, 376–377, 380, on the Paphian "priest kings". The question has arisen of how we are to interpret the double crowns found outside Paphos: Cassimatis 1993, 45.

[72] T. Petit postulates this for the Amathusian kings: Petit 1995. See also Collombier 1995.

[73] Wriedt Sørensen 1994, 82. See also, on the possible introduction of Egyptian cult on the island: Loulloupis 1979, 431–433; Nick 2001, 60–61.

[74] Markoe 1990a, preceded in Markoe 1987, 125. See also Vermeule 1974, 287, on the general, Cypriote votive type as an ethnic or social marker; Gaber-Saletan 1986, 62.

[75] Caubet 1986, 166–167.

[76] I wish to thank P. Gaber who – early on in my work – encouraged a more comprehensive approach to this or to any other group of sculpture from the island. See also the request by H. Cassimatis: Cassimatis 1993, 43, 47.

[77] See below, in Ch. 4.3. B. Lewe described the limitations she met in 1972 regarding the Amrit material (in today's Syria): Lewe 1975, 63 n. 312.

the comparison between Cypriote and Phoenician statuary in the present work.[78] The chronological limits of the study coincide with the Archaic period, that is, 700–475 B.C.[79] Stone objects are the main focus of interest, while the single terracotta equivalents and the limited group of Egyptianizing bronze statuettes from the island will be dealt with only sparingly, and in comparison with the stone figures.[80]

The Egyptianizing group of figures was chosen for study because of the apparent foreign influences witnessed in its attire. This figural type could be seen in the sanctuaries of the island for over 100 years, and it enables the study of the mechanisms behind iconographical transferences within a religious sphere. Where did the iconography originate, why were these votive figures dedicated by the Cypriote worshippers, and how were they conceived within the Cypriote sanctuary? The aim is to approach the ancient setting within which these statues were once ordered, made, and dedicated.[81]

Like most other earlier studies involving this group of figures, the present one is concerned with the origin of the votive figural type. Here, however, the broader, contextual approach described above implies trying to shed light not only on the origin of the type in terms of possible models but also on the first occurrences of the Egyptianizing figure on the island, that is, the beginning of its Cypriote production. In order to gain information about these early stages, a detailed typological study of dress and ornaments will be presented, aiming at establishing the relationship to possible, external models in Egypt and in Phoenicia. The internal relations to the other votive figural types from the Cypro-Archaic sanctuary sites are also established through similar analyses. Studying both the internal and external impulses which led to the introduction of the votive type carries with it the possibility to approach the actual significance of the figures within the Cypriote context and their role in the cultic sphere, questions which are the most important ones to pose, but which also prove to be the most complicated to answer. If the impulses for this iconography can be traced, then it is possible to compare how it was treated on Cyprus, to what extent the Cypriote limestone figures saw changes in form in comparison to the original material and its setting, and to what extent there were changes in (social or religious) content.

In the Cypriote sanctuaries a whole range of votive figural types were dedicated and exposed side by side, images chosen to record and perpetuate the prayers of the worshipper. In order to *try* to grasp the ancient, Cypriote spiritual reality one would need to take into account all available votive material, both statuary and other, manufactured from all different kinds of materials, and view all this against the architectural remains, the general layout, and the additional archaeological information of the sacred area itself.[82] However, within the limits of one single study choices have to be made, often leading to the separate treatment of different votive material categories, for example either terracotta or limestone statuary.[83] There have been studies dealing with the whole corpus of limestone votive figures from the island, where stylistic analysis has been carried out.[84] Others have dealt with all stone statuary recovered at a given sanctuary site, or belonging to one particular collection.[85] In addition, certain studies have focused on merely one votive figural type chosen from the multitude of dedicated find categories.[86] The present study, dealing with the Cypriote Egyptianizing limestone figures, belongs to this last category. The unifying factor of the Cypriote group chosen for study is basically its Egyptian-type outfit (see above, in Ch. 1.1.2). The figures are typologically related but stylistically they are distinctly heterogeneous. Apart from the standing, frontal, male figural type, the group includes single figures representing related types as well, such as the warrior, the animal-carrying

[78] Once again I warmly thank those who allowed me access to the available statuary: F. Husseini, S. Hakimian, and L. Badre (Beirut), M. Khaddour, K.S. Freyberger, and K. Lembke (Damascus).

[79] A limited number of statues and statuettes included in the study have been dated by other scholars to periods outside these chronological limits. The dates of **Cat. 34** and **Cat. 50** will be briefly returned to below, in Ch. 2.5. Similarly, the dating of the statues excavated at the Phoenician sites Kharayeb and Umm el-Amed will be discussed in Ch. 4.4.2. Because of the uncertainties regarding their dating, none of these votive figures has been used in the concluding discussions. A statue head from Golgoi wearing a double crown (?) was left out from the study since its date of manufacture seems to be after 475 B.C.: Hermary 1989b, 180, fig. 22.1–2; Brönner 1994, 52, pl. 16.b.

[80] The bronze figurines are all listed in Addendum 2, at the end of the catalogue chapter (Ch. 7), together with three faience statuettes and a kilt-wearing, male figurine, or rather amulet, of serpentinite. On statuettes versus amulets, see below.

[81] The reader is provided with a very limited account of the political reality of the time, regarding both Cyprus and Phoenicia.

[82] A collaborative study carried out much in this manner is: Buitron-Oliver 1996. For a fascinating reconstruction of the typical course of events at the Kourion sanctuary, see pp. ix–xx.

[83] On the actual need for separate treatment of limestone and terracotta sculpture: Gaber-Saletan 1986, 3.

[84] Brönner 1990; Mylonas 1998.

[85] Gaber-Saletan 1986, involving a stylistic analysis of the limestone statuary from Idalion; Senff 1993, on all available votive material from this same site, where the statuary is arranged according to types; Hermary 1989a, a treatment of all Cypriote limestone statuary within the Louvre collection, arranged according to types.

[86] See, for example, Beer 1993.

figure, and the falcon-headed figure.[87] Common to all these is the Egyptian-type kilt. There might, however, be a difficulty in focusing on dress, or on "antiquaria", as B. Lewe puts it.[88] Does such a choice mirror something which existed also within an ancient reality, or is it merely a modern construct?[89] In grouping by figural type this study follows the direction of the majority of recent studies on Cypriote statuary.[90] In these the Egyptianizing group of male figures is recognized as one of several. It is important to add that the archaeological contexts in fact imply its separate treatment by the ancient Cypriotes as well (see Ch. 3.3.3, below).

The character of the ancient sculptural material itself determined the methods and perspectives chosen when studying it. Within the Cypriote but particularly the Phoenician group of figures, the fragmentary state of much of the statuary is striking. A large part of the available sculptures have no heads and quite a few examples are merely fragments of the outfit of human figures.[91] Thus, apart from the discussion on facial and body form in Ch. 2.3 no traditional stylistic analysis is carried out, no attempt made at identifying workshops responsible for individual figures or stylistic relationships within the group. Further, many of the statues and statuettes are part of museum collections acquired during the 19th or early 20th century, where there is no information whatsoever to be gained on provenance or find context. The amount of inscriptional evidence which can be connected to this statuary is very limited.[92] To make the most of this material, there was a need for supplementary analytical methods in addition to the ordinary ones. Typological, and a certain amount of stylistic, analysis was carried out. In addition, however, the Egyptianizing figures and fragments were analyzed according to the degree of intensity and particular character of the Egyptian-type dress elements and ornaments.[93] The choice to carry out an iconographical study meant that all available material could be taken into consideration.[94]

This is also the reason why I have tried *not* to keep strictly within the bounds of the Egyptianizing male votive figural type but also to include other votive material, foremost Egyptianizing but also non-Egyptianizing, in the discussions. I also enlarge my perspective to include the wider sanctuary contexts (especially in Ch. 5). It is my hope that the results and suggestions reached not only are valid for this limited group of figures, but also that they may help in shedding light on Cypriote votive material and religious life during the 7th and 6th centuries B.C.

The following general layout of the present study has been chosen in order to fulfill the above aims. First the Cypriote figures are analyzed in an effort to identify Egyptian and non-Egyptian components within their dress and their face and body forms (Ch. 2). The dress of the figures is compared to the original Egyptian one, since the thorough understanding of the components of this costume and jewelry is a necessary tool for further analysis. After the single components of the figures have been identified, the entire votive group is approached and analyzed according to the particular character and the intensity of the Egyptianizing dress elements and ornaments of the figures. The chapter ends with a limited discussion on the actual dating of the individual statues and statuettes.

The next chapter involves the association of the votive figures with the sanctuary sites where they were unearthed (Ch. 3). Attention is paid to other votive material from the same contexts, and the relationship to other Egyptianizing votive material from the island is treated as well.

Chapter 4 deals with related stone statuary material encountered outside Cyprus. The primary focus here is on the strongly related material from the sanctuaries along the Phoenician coast. These stone statues and statuettes are presented in an in-text catalogue (Ch. 4.2), and they are treated along similar lines as their Cypriote counterparts, involving the identification of Egyptian and non-Egyptian components and an analysis thereof. Like the Cypriote figures the Phoenician votives are viewed in relation to the archaeological contexts where they were unearthed, to sculptural material found in connection, and to other Egyptianizing votive material excavated in the area. At the end of the chapter there is a discussion on the different categories of Phoenician Egyptianizing figures, their relationship to the Cypriote votives, and the actual

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87 See below, in Ch. 2.1.1.

88 Lewe 1975, 6, who indeed states, "Im Verlauf der Forschung hat sich gezeigt, daß rein typologische Untersuchungen und Beachtung antiquarischer Details nicht ausreichen…; intensive Stilkritik mußte und muß als wesentliches Element hinzutreten."

89 Could it not be a danger inherent in the manner in which these influences are brought together and viewed as expressions of one and the same phenomenon? We encounter Egyptian or Egyptianizing influences on the island for more than 200 years (see Ch. 1.1.1); was this cultural integration always done with the same intention, and with the same inherent message?

90 Senff 1993, 50–53; Wriedt Sørensen 1994, 80–82; Hermary 1989a, 49–52. See also Lewe 1975, 57; Hermary 1996a, 569.

91 See, for example, **Cat. 5**, **Cat. 6**, **Cat. 12**, **Cat. 32**, and **Cat. 33**, as well as **Cat. Ph1**–**7**, **Cat. Ph11**, and **Cat. Ph12**.

92 One inscription from within the Cypriote group (Ch. 2.1), two from the Phoenician horizon (Ch. 4.3.1).

93 See Ch. 2.4 "The composite whole", including Ch. 2.4.2 "The Cypriote transformations of Egyptian dress and ornament".

94 It also meant that close scrutiny of the statuary, its dress, and its ornamental details had to be undertaken, particularly regarding the Cypriote votive figures in Ch. 2.

place of manufacture of the votive figures found in Phoenicia.

The next chapter contains basically the synthesis of the evidence gathered so far (Ch. 5). There is a discussion on the origin and transference of the iconography encountered in this votive figural type, and after that the actual religious significance in the Cypriote figures is discussed, as is their role within the Cypriote sanctuaries.

The study ends with a short chapter where the results and suggestions reached are presented (Ch. 6). After that the catalogue of Cypriote limestone figures is presented, followed by two Addenda containing figures and figurines which were not included in the main group under study.[95] At the very end of the book the reader will find drawings to scale of all the Cypriote and Phoenician stone figures, arranged according to site as in the two catalogues (*Pls. 22–45*).[96]

Finally, a few notes to the reader regarding the practicalities of the following texts. Throughout the book the Cypriote statues and statuettes are designated as **Cat. 1–71**, the Phoenician figures as **Cat. Ph1–38**. There is often reference to life-size statues. By "life-size" I mean statues of between 140 and 170 centimeters in original height; figures of between 180 and 200 centimeters are considered as "slightly over life-size", whereas those exceeding 200 centimeters are held to be "colossal". Figures between 110–130 centimeters are referred to as "slightly below life-size", and everything below 110 centimeters in original height is designated as a "statuette" ("large statuette" if between 110 and 90 centimeters, "small" if less than 50 centimeters in height). Since so many figures are of a more or less fragmentary state, an effort has been made to take the approximate original height (AOH) of each statue and statuette into consideration. This approximate measurement is given in the catalogue in relation to each figure and fragment, and it is well mirrored in the drawings to scale at the very end of the book. Throughout the book it is the stone statuary material which is in focus. When bronze, faience, and other materials are treated, I only include statuettes more than five centimeters in height. Figurines below that (made of faience and – in one case – of serpentinite) are considered as amulets and are generally left out of this study.[97]

[95] Addendum 1 contains the known male statue and statuette heads which seem to be wearing the plain, Egyptian-type headcloth or kerchief, and which accordingly may originally have been part of Egyptianizing votives. As noted above, Addendum 2 contains Egyptianizing statuettes made of materials other than stone.

[96] It was, in a certain way, an aim in itself to present the Egyptianizing statues and statuettes in this way, which helps and encourages comparison between the two groups of figures, makes them more easily available, and further facilitates the appreciation of the relation between them, in particular as regards iconography and size. See further below, in Ch. 7.1.1.

[97] The serpentinite amulet, carved as it is from a piece of stone and thus technically related to the much larger limestone figures, was included in Addendum 2 as No. 23.

2 Sculptural analysis: the single forms and the composite whole. Chronology

2.1 Introduction

Included here are 71 Cypriote stone statues and statuettes made from the soft, local limestone and executed in all possible sizes, ranging from the small-scale to the colossal.[1] Fifty-nine of the figures have a reported provenance, as many as 41 even a closer archaeological find context. All figures except one were excavated at sanctuary sites across the island, the single exception being said to have been found in a tomb. It has not been possible to couple any of the Egyptianizing statues with any actual statue bases. The only available inscriptional evidence which can be safely connected to one of the figures is the Cypro-syllabic inscription found on the lower left arm of **Cat. 24**, from the western site at Golgoi (Ayios Photios). It reads "Tamigorau" (the genitive form of the name Tamigoras, thus "[I am] of Tamigoras").[2]

The general state of preservation of the figures is quite good. Twenty-six examples have the head and a large part of the body preserved. Most of these were broken off at the knee height. Only three figures display preserved feet.[3]

2.1.1 The figural type

The Cypriote limestone figures singled out for study are all standing, frontal, male figures. They stand with the left leg advanced and have both arms hanging along the sides of the body, or alternatively one arm bent with the clenched hand placed on the chest. The figures have been carved in the round, but their backs are generally quite roughly hewn.[4] They are all wearing the Egyptian-type kilt.

Related to this basic figural type are certain other types, identified through their deviating pose, equipment, and/or partial corporeal form. Each of these is encountered in merely one or two instances. A first related type is the male figure wearing a helmet who carries a sword sheath with sword slung over one shoulder, with one hand resting on the handle of the short weapon (see below).[5] A second one is represented by a figure who is carrying arrows in a quiver and a bow, both placed along the figure's back, thus another warrior – or perhaps hunter – outfit.[6] A third type consists of figures carrying a large animal under the bent, left arm,[7] and we note the single occurrence of a figurine carrying what looks like a piece of cloth hanging over the extended left arm while grasping a small round object in the bent right one.[8] The last related type to be identified displays a male, kilt-wearing figure wearing a falcon mask having both arms bent and probably, originally, holding a writing tablet and a *stylus* (see below).[9]

As regards dress these figures are generally wearing the Egyptian-type kilt, either plain or striped, often rendered with several additional Egyptian-type dress

[1] The smallest statuette included in the study originally measured around 17 cm (**Cat. 49**), while the largest figure stood almost 3 m 70 cm tall (**Cat. 22**). See the drawings to scale at the end of the book (*Pls. 22–35*).

[2] The person responsible for this inscription may have confused the vowels of the Greek name "Timagoras": Masson 1983, 283, no. 263, fig. 81. See further below, in Ch. 5.2.2.

[3] **Cat. 11**, **Cat. 34**, and **Cat. 43**. When preserved, the legs and feet are always bare. It is not clear if the feet of **Cat. 34**, with traces of sandals, are modern reconstructions.

[4] None of the figures displays the Egyptian-type back-pillar support. In one single instance, **Cat. 24**, the uppermost part of a cone-shaped support is preserved on the lower back side of the left thigh of the figure, a support which was most probably originally attached to the plinth of the statue.

[5] **Cat. 30** and **Cat. 35**, both from Golgoi. While the latter figure is wearing a proper helmet with nose protection and cheek pieces, the former has a slightly transformed version, possible to interpret as a mix between a Cypriote helmet and the Egyptian double crown (see Ch. 2.4.2).

[6] **Cat. 37** (Golgoi).

[7] **Cat. 39**, **Cat. 45**, and **Cat. 62** (Golgoi, Kition, and of unknown provenance).

[8] **Cat. 64** (of unknown provenance).

[9] **Cat. 1** (from the Karpasia peninsula). It was noted in Ch. 1.1.2 n. 31, above, that a limestone statuette in the Louvre is most probably part of this type as well. It could not be incorporated into this study, however, due to its much abraded state of preservation. On this related type, see also Ch. 5.2.1.

details and ornamental motifs.[10] The kilt is held up by a broad belt sometimes equipped with a central belt buckle and sometimes enriched by a figural, vegetal, or geometric decoration. The belt is generally placed on the hips of the figures, only occasionally around the figures' waists. Further, the broad collar placed around the necks of the figures, often rendered in low relief with added stylized, floral decoration arranged in concentric registers is characteristic.[11] Some figures have a naked upper torso, sometimes with nipples and navel indicated in the stone, others are wearing a skin-tight, short-sleeved garment.[12] This garment is either left undecorated or furnished with a floral or linear decoration rendered by incision or in low relief – or merely by paint. Only rarely are musculature and anatomical details visible in more than just a very schematized manner.[13] Certain of the figures have thumbs which are distinctly over-sized. Quite a few of the figures seem to be holding small, elongated staves in their hands, of which only the round edge is visible. Several statues are wearing spiral armrings around the upper parts of both arms, and similarly, a certain number of statues are equipped with the characteristic double spiral earrings.

Often the figures under study are wearing what seems to be a plain headcloth, entirely covering the hair. Others are wearing what looks like a tressed wig, where the tresses – all emanating from a point on the crown of the head – are each held together by thin, horizontal bands. Occasionally, the figures are wearing a version of the Egyptian (royal) double crown. Within the material there is one statue which is wearing the characteristic broad, Cypriote diadem decorated by rosettes (**Cat. 13**), while two figures carry a wreath around the hair (**Cat. 31** and **Cat. 45**).

The hair, beard, and occasional moustache of the figures are either rendered as plain or made up of small, snail-like curls.[14] Recurring is the plain mass of hair which hangs down beneath some kind of headgear, and – along the forehead – the border of hair or row of stylized curls. The facial features of the figures are generally rendered with care, but similar to the rest of the body, they are characterized by quite a degree of schematization as well.[15]

As with most other votive statuary from the island, the Egyptianizing figures preserve rich traces of color, added not only to their dress but to the naked skin and hair, as well as to certain anatomical details such as nipples, navel, lips, or the irises of the eyes.[16] The colors encountered are red and black. Sometimes it is evident that color was used as a background to make ornamental and other details of the dress appear more clearly.[17] In certain figures paint has been added in an alternate manner to certain features of the broad collar, the belt, or the kilt in a jewel-like and elaborate manner.[18]

Returning shortly to the related types identified above, we noted how **Cat. 35** is the only example within the group wearing the characteristic outfit of the foot soldier, including helmet with nose protection and cheek pieces, scabbard, and sword. **Cat. 30** mirrors at least the last two features, and in **Cat. 37** we find the hunter or warrior outfit including the quiver full of arrows. The warrior type is well known, in fact characteristic, for Cypriote Archaic votive statuary of the 7th and 6th centuries B.C.[19] This is similarly true for the related votive type carrying a votive animal or a votive gift before the god.

In contrast, **Cat. 1** is unique both within the group of kilt-wearing figures and within the general group of votive statuary from the island. It displays the characteristic Egyptian-type dress including the kilt with broad belt, sash ends, and double cobras – its head, however, is not human but that of a falcon. Set directly on the shoulders is the head of the bird of prey with the strong beak, rounded eyes with overlapping upper eye lid, and a version of the

[10] The lateral sash ends and the frontally hanging cobras are often part of the outfit, rendered in low relief or merely in paint (**Cat. 10**). For more on these – and other – details of dress, see below, Ch. 2.2.1.

[11] There are examples where the broad collar is merely rendered by incision (**Cat. 52**) or by added paint (**Cat. 10**, **Cat. 29**, and **Cat. 63**).

[12] In **Cat. 24**, the figure's nipples are uniquely rendered despite the presence of a vertically striped, short-sleeved garment.

[13] The knee-caps of the figures, rendered by incision or carved in low relief, are generally schematized into a rough almond shape.

[14] The moustache is, in fact, quite rarely rendered. It can be rendered in low relief, by incision, or (as in **Cat. 7**) merely painted.

[15] While it is true that certain figures display tear ducts, and two even the characteristic double, vertical lines of the upper lip (**Cat. 7** and **Cat. 29**), most are fixed in the Archaic smile and have schematized ("feathered") patterns on eyebrows and even moustache.

[16] **Cat. 49** is particular in that it displays, among other things, red color on the naked body surface.

[17] This is true, for example, of the "aprons" of **Cat. 1** and **Cat. 29**, where the cobras are set against a red background, and, similarly, for the lowermost floral frieze found on the "apron" of **Cat. 21**, where lilies and buds are contrasted against the red-painted background. See also *Fig. 5* which shows that there is a red background for the kidney-shaped fruits in the broad collar of this same statue.

[18] For more on this practice, referred to within this study as the addition of "color as pattern", see below, in Ch. 2.2.1.

[19] For three terracotta warriors in exactly this pose, see: Karageorghis 1993, 90–91, figs. 63–65. For a large-scale example, consider pl. 9.1–3 (cat. no. 34, p. 17). For a mention of the general rendering of single weapons or helmets as *pars pro toto* in Cypriote warrior statuary: Lewe 1975, 15.

Egyptian-type, tripartite wig with rounded, frontal "flaps" hanging down on the shoulders (*Pl. 1.1*).[20] In addition, while the right arm is bent and the hand placed on the chest of the figure, the rectangular area visible right above the belt – which is probably not the remains of the left arm – seems instead to be part of a rectangular tablet.[21] It is possible that the figure was holding a writing tablet with its left hand and a *stylus* in its right.[22] The unique, falcon-headed figure with scribal equipment is one with strong Egyptian connotations. In general, however, the human figure with animal head is well-known in Cypriote art, going back to the Bronze Age period.[23] From certain examples it seems clear that what is depicted are priests or other cultic personnel wearing an animal mask.[24] This may thus be true also for our **Cat. 1**.

In an Egyptian context, in Egyptian statuary in the round, the (seated) scribal figure is a characteristic Old Kingdom type,[25] while the animal-headed figure is the conventional manner of depicting the various theriomorphic gods of the land of the Nile. The intimate association between the divinity and his or her sacred animal was based on the affection, respect, and fear for an animal world with which ancient man lived in close contact. In Egyptian art the human body with the head of an animal should be considered as an ideogram for the thought that the god can appear in the guise of this particular animal.[26] The falcon-headed figure was thus a depiction of the god Horus, the son of Osiris and Isis. In addition, there are several occasions within Egyptian art where it is clear that priests are wearing the mask of jackal-headed Anubis. However, to my knowledge there are no Egyptian depictions of Horus – or a priest with a Horus mask – as a scribe.

2.2 Dress, ornament, and equipment

2.2.1 Egyptian features

In the following, the aim is to identify and understand the dress of the Cypriote figures under study. In order to do so, there is a need to get acquainted with related Egyptian material: when it was introduced, who wore it, and what parts actually made up the dress? It is believed that by scrutinizing the Cypriote dress material – determining which details have been correctly rendered and which have been misunderstood, what is always present on the Cypriote figures and which is missing – much new information can be gained. It may be one way to get closer to understanding how, both technically and ideologically speaking, this attire became known, and relevant, to the craftsmen working in the Cypriote limestone for a Cypriote sanctuary audience.

We commence by looking at the kilt, followed by the collar, the wig, the double crown, and finally certain Egyptian pieces of equipment echoed in the Cypriote figures: the spiral armrings and the characteristic "emblematic staves". Under each heading, relevant Egyptian material is presented and explained, paralleled by an account of what is found in the Cypriote material. It should be noted that only those Egyptian items are presented which have a direct relation to what is found in the Cypriote material.[27] For exhaustive accounts of the Egyptian dress through three millennia, the literature referred to in the footnotes can be recommended. The three headings "The kilt", "The broad collar", and "The white and the red crown of Egypt" each end with a short presentation of the Egyptian ornaments which are found adorning the kilts, collars, and crowns of the Cypriote figures. The ornaments are in their turn arranged according to type, whether figural, vegetal, or geometric. Since the Cypro-Egyptian ornaments are sometimes of a mixed character, the order of presentation is reversed here, starting out with the Cypriote pieces of evidence, only to be followed by a very limited account of the parallel and related features in Egyptian art which are known to me.[28]

[20] This depiction comes very close to Egyptian counterparts: Vandier 1958, pl. 156.6 (New Kingdom statue); Aldred *et al.* 1980, 115, fig. 101 (painted wooden stele, 7th century B.C.).

[21] The placing of the left arm all across the upper part of the body, at such a low point, is not encountered in (Cypriote) statuary in the round. Remains along the left-hand side of the figure's body indicate that the left arm was attached to it. However, the shape of the remains right above the belt of the figure is square, a shape more fitting for a writing tablet. A. Hermary expresses himself more cautiously regarding this possible presence of a (writing) tablet: Hermary 1981, 17.

[22] See, again, the very similar figure referred to above in n. 9.

[23] Karageorghis 1971b; Hermary 1989a, 290–292 (other, very similar, falcon-headed figures); Nys 1995. For more on a stele featuring the Egyptian ibis-headed god Thoth, unearthed at Golgoi, see below Ch. 5.2.1.

[24] Well-known is, for example, the male figure from Golgoi, lifting a bull's mask from his face with both hands: Hermary 1989a, 291, no. 588. A. Hermary rightly points out that the fact that hair is rendered on the back side of a falcon-headed statuette makes it probable that what is depicted is a male priest wearing a mask: p. 290, no. 586.

[25] For Archaizing statuary in Late Period Egypt, including the seated scribal type, see below in Ch. 2.3.1.

[26] Bleeker 1973, 23–24, 30–34 (on Hathor, the cow goddess).

[27] There is one exception. Wherever necessary a short text has been appended to each section containing information on a few Egyptian features or pieces of garment which are not encountered in the Cypriote figures. They have been included because they are found instead in the Phoenician material treated later on in the book, in Chs. 4 and 5.

[28] Once again I thank L. Troy from the Department of Egyptology at the University of Uppsala for reading the present text in order to rid it of its most obvious shortcomings. The

The Egyptian material used is mainly stone sculpture in the round. However, in certain matters the presentation has been greatly aided by including not only stone relief and wall paintings,[29] but also actual excavated objects.[30] Related material has been collected from all periods of Egyptian art, with an emphasis on three periods in particular. The Imperial New Kingdom age is an important epoch to consider,[31] since the quality and style of the art production of the period was unsurpassed in Egyptian history and served as a model for virtually all consecutive periods and their artisans.[32] The following Third Intermediate Period is also particularly important,[33] when great Egyptian influence was bestowed upon the art centers of the Levantine area, where characteristics of this artistic period could have been perpetuated and in time transmitted to Cyprus. Further, the art encountered in the late Twenty-sixth and early Twenty-seventh Dynasties in Egypt has obviously been taken into account, a material which is contemporary with the actual Cypro-Archaic sculptural production.[34]

The kilt

In Egyptian art from the Old Kingdom through to the end of the Late Period, the standard male dress is the kilt, a wrap-around garment which covers part or all of the lower half of the body. The Egyptian kilt was worn mainly as the only garment, leaving the upper part of the body bare. Only occasionally do we find it combined with a corselet or other dress element.

During the Old Kingdom the differences between the official statues of the divine Pharaoh and the statues of ordinary people (vizirs, scribes, and noblemen) are more clearly defined visually than in later times. Already by the time of Pharaoh Mykerinos (Fourth Dynasty, ca. 2500 B.C.), we find a royal iconography that will persist all the way through Egyptian history: the king is dressed in a short kilt of a type that came to be called a *shenti*,[35] held up by a broad belt, and he is wearing the *nemes* headdress.[36] The royal *shenti* consists of a centrally placed apron, its sides often concave and its lower edge cut off straight, placed behind a rectangular or trapezoidal piece of cloth which is wrapped around the hips, overlapping in the front over the apron and kept in place by a belt (*Fig. 1*). The apron and the kilt cloth were two separate pieces of fabric, rendered as either pleated or plain.[37] The *shenti* never comes down below the knees.[38]

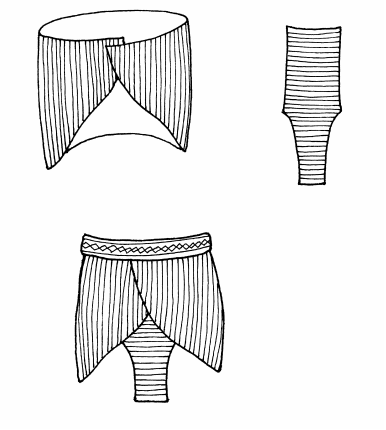


Fig. 1. The Egyptian shenti*: a vertically pleated kilt cloth and a horizontally pleated (textile) apron.*

At the same time the ordinary male dress consists of a piece of rectangular kilt or loin cloth which is wrapped one or several times around the waist. The end of the cloth is simply tucked beneath its upper edge, at the front, its small rectangular tip being

responsibility for all remaining errors and *lacunae* is, of course, entirely mine.

[29]It is to be noted that H.G. Evers advises caution regarding the use of relief depictions to establish Egyptian dress history: Evers 1929, 4–5.

[30]Here the unique finds from the tomb of Pharaoh Tutankhamun play a particularly important role regarding both archaeological and archaeo-botanical remains.

[31]Dynasties Eighteen to Twenty, ca. 1550–1069 B.C.

[32]I am mainly referring to the Eighteenth Dynasty – and in particular the Thutmoside era. Already in the Twentieth Dynasty the Ramesside kings turned to the preceding period for models and inspiration: Aldred 1980b, 126.

[33]Dynasties Twenty-one to Twenty-five, ca. 1069–664 B.C.

[34]The so-called Late Period includes Dynasties Twenty-six to Thirty-one, ca. 664–332 B.C. Within this period, the focus is on the Twenty-sixth Saïte (664–525 B.C.) and the Twenty-seventh Persian (525–404 B.C.) Dynasties. See the Egyptian chronology at the end of the book.

[35]The English version of the transcription of the Egyptian word is used here. In French publications we meet the dress as *chendjit*, *shendyt*, or *chento*, in Italian sometimes as *scento*.

[36]Aldred 1980a, 73–74, fig. 35. The false ceremonial beard and the "emblematic staves" held in each hand are already present in this early statue, made out of greywacke (the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Inv. no. 11.1738).

[37]Vogelsang-Eastwood 1992, 11–13; Vogelsang-Eastwood 1993, 32. Frequently the apron is depicted as horizontally pleated while the kilt cloth has vertical pleats. The fabric most often in use seems to have been linen.

[38]This is true in general of Old Kingdom kilts. It is from the Sixth Dynasty onwards, and particularly during the Middle Kingdom, that we encounter longer types of kilts: *LÄ* 5 (1984), 743–745 s.v. Schurz (E. Staehelin), p. 744. During the New Kingdom period the royal *shenti* kilt is often complemented by a thin, so-called bag tunic, a transparent dress covering back and arms, open in front below the belt and reaching to the ankles. This piece of garment is briefly returned to at the end of this section.

visible above the hem.[39] At the end of the period, probably only through royal permission, a limited number of sculptures of noblemen are attested wearing the *shenti* kilt.[40]

Already in the Old Kingdom we find, albeit few, occurrences of an item which came to be further developed during the New Kingdom period. It is an object which hangs centrally from the belt, supplementing the traditional length of kilt cloth wrapped around the hips. The earliest type, no doubt originally part of the royal gala dress,[41] consisted of four or more strings of colored beads ending in tasseled-shaped pearls, reaching to the lowermost border of the kilt cloth.[42] Another version of the device seems to have been trapezoidal in shape and rendered either by tightly strung beads or in metal.[43] This pendant or bead or metal apron, may have served the same purpose as the textile apron in covering the frontal gap created by the kilt cloth being fastened to the belt,[44] the difference being that the concave, textile apron was placed *underneath* the overlapping kilt cloth, with only its lower part visible, while the trapezoidal bead or metal apron was placed over the kilt, fully visible (*Fig. 2*). Another aspect of the beaded apron was that of a ceremonial device within male Egyptian dress, protecting the genital area (in the apotropaic sense of the word).[45] No such actual items are preserved from this early period. See below, however, for a description of the unique sets of belts and aprons which were found in the tomb of Pharaoh Tutankhamun. "Beaded apron" is the correct term for this trapezoidal, bead or metal protective device.[46] However, for the sake of clarity I have chosen to use the modern French term "*devanteau*"[47] throughout the book, in order to make the distinction between the concave textile apron of the *shenti*, and the trapezoidal bead or metal apron of the royal New Kingdom-type kilt, more easy to follow. This difference in terminology will become of particular value when discussing the transformed Cypriote (and Phoenician) versions of the Egyptian kilt, below.[48]

During the Middle Kingdom the trapezoidal apron, or *devanteau*, is frequently found depicted on top of the Pharaonic kilt.[49] In several instances it is divided by thin horizontal bands, creating several rectangular areas which seemingly are decorated with vertical, tube-shaped beads.[50] On each side of the *devanteau* we now find hanging cobras, or *uraei*, the thin bodies of the two reptiles actually constituting the lateral borders of the device.[51] Just above the lower edge of the *devanteau*, between the cobras, we often find decorative hanging drops (*Fig. 2*).[52] It is not

[39]Staehelin 1966, 6, fig. 3, pl. 14.21. E. Staehelin notes that the use of a belt was indicative of a royal or a nobleman's dress (p. 11).

[40]Vandier 1958, 108. The desire to portray oneself in Pharaonic costume and equipment was of course dictated by the wish to share in the superhuman powers of the king, of rebirth and of eternal life: Staehelin 1966, 267–270; *LÄ* 6 (1986), 726–737 s.v. Tracht (E. Staehelin), p. 726.

[41]As in the case of the *shenti* kilt, the use of a beaded apron seems to have passed from royal to private statuary: Carter 1916, 169; Staehelin 1966, 30–31, 267–270.

[42]Jéquier 1921, 104–105, fig. 285 (referred to as "besa" in Egyptian texts, meaning "that which protects"); Yoyotte 1968, 33, a painted wooden statue from Saqqara, Fifth Dynasty; Aldred 1980a, 105, fig. 65, a kneeling limestone statue of the funerary priest Ka-emked; Vandier 1958, pls. 35.1, 43.1. See also a depiction on the well-known Narmer palette. It should be noted that the very useful work by G. Jéquier is a treatment of the relief depictions on a group of Middle Kingdom sarcophagi, and thus concerns idealized depictions.

[43]Jéquier 1921, 106, figs. 288–289. E. Staehelin notes that early depictions of the device are painted yellow, as for gold or metal in general: Staehelin 1966, 30 n. 6.

[44]Vandier 1958, 411.

[45]Jéquier 1921, 21–23 (a protective device, referred to as "bahit" on certain Middle Kingdom sarcophagi). In several instances the ancient Egyptian dress reveals its ancestry, which is most probably the traditional northeast African dress. W. Helck suggested a prehistoric grass kilt as the predecessor for the Eyptian beaded apron: Helck 1954, 967–968.

[46]Vogelsang-Eastwood 1993, 33, 39; L. Troy, personal communication, 2002.

[47]The term, which was introduced by J. Vandier (Vandier 1958, *passim*), reflects well the way this type of device was hanging over (or "in front of") the kilt, fully visible. The elaborate New Kingdom metal version is occasionally termed "sporran": see, for example Bryan 1997, *passim*. I thank C. Lilyquist for this piece of information.

[48]See, in particular, Ch. 2.4.2, where the Cypriote transformations of the Egyptian-type kilt are treated.

[49]Staehelin 1989, fig. 1, a fragmentary statue of Nofrusobek (Twelfth Dynasty). In this very unusual depiction the Queen/Pharaoh is wearing the *nemes* headcloth, and metal belt and *devanteau* over her tight-fitting, female dress.

[50]This could be a translation into stone of a bead work *devanteau*, where rows of vertically placed cylindrical beads were kept in place by horizontal spacer bars, see below in "The kilt – the geometric patterns". Another possibility is suggested by the metal *devanteau* found in the grave of Tutankhamun, where gold plaques with inlaid glass in horizontal compartments had been knit together. It may well be that this technique was present already in the Middle Kingdom and came to be imitated in stone by sculptors from then on. Ultimately, the pattern seems related to the age-old Egyptian ideom depicting reed: three or four long (horizontal) straws bound together at regular intervals by three (vertical) ones: Petrie 1920, 103–105.

[51]Priese 1991, 47, no. 29, a diorite statue of Pharaoh Amenemhet III (Twelfth Dynasty). Surprisingly, Johnson 1990, 26, fig. 34, reproduces a drawing of a royal kilt with *devanteau* and lateral *uraei*, said to belong to a depiction of Pharaoh Pepi II of the Sixth Dynasty. If the depiction is correct, then this is a unique Old Kingdom example of the device.

[52]Vandier 1958, pl. 63.3; Leclant 1979, pls. 141 (Amenhotep II), 148 (Amenhotep III), 154 (Akhenaton). We find these drops on the extant bead and metal *devanteaux* of Pharaoh Tutankhamun as well.

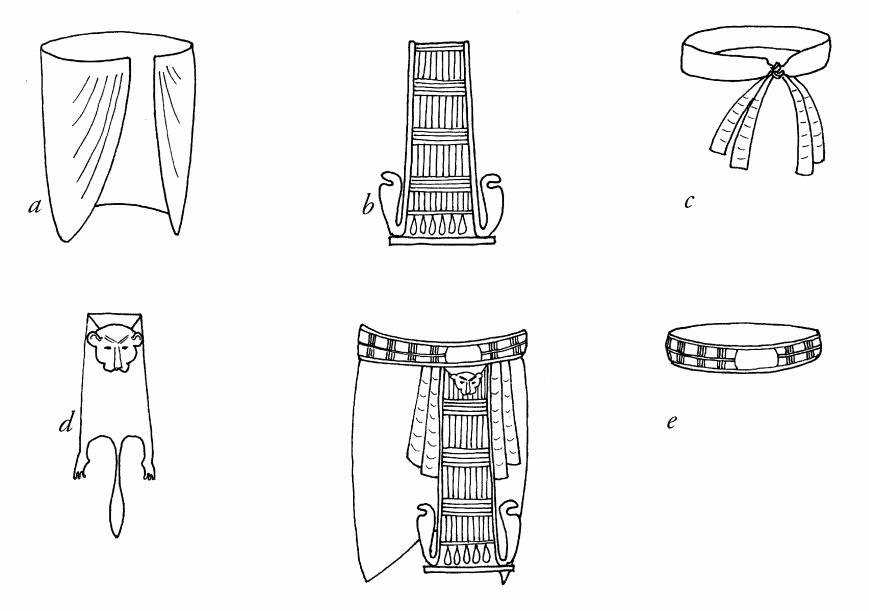


Fig. 2. The Egyptian New Kingdom-type kilt: a) the pleated kilt cloth, b) a metal devanteau *with lateral* uraei*, c) a textile sash, d) a small (fake?) panther skin, e) an incised metal belt.*

improbable that these terminating drops, or rather drop-shaped beads, once worked as tiny weights meant to stabilize the vertically hanging bead or metal pendant.[53]

The *shenti* and the *nemes* headdress prevail as the traditional Pharaonic outfit. However, from the Eleventh Dynasty onwards the *shenti* ceases to be a royal iconographic privilege and enters into the representations of mortal men on a larger scale.[54] The use of the *devanteau* with lateral *uraei*, on the other hand, remains a strictly royal (and divine) privilege throughout.

It is well known that the reign of Pharaoh Amenhotep III, in the New Kingdom Eighteenth Dynasty, witnessed a high point as regards innovations in Egyptian art in general, including sculpture. The elaborate *devanteau* becomes an appreciated – indeed almost obligatory – item of royal iconography and so it remains throughout the rest of the New Kingdom period. Its development during Amenhotep III is merely repeated and only slightly added to by the Ramesside kings.[55] Parallel to this evolution, though, is always the occurrence of Pharaoh clad in the traditional *shenti*, often combined with the *nemes* headdress. It is clear from relief depictions that both types of kilts were used interchangeably by the king on various occasions, whether ceremonial or other.[56]

On an acephalous steatite statuette of King Amenhotep III (*Pl. 21.2*), now in the Cairo Museum, we can note new additions to the royal *devanteau*:[57] the first is the feline head, either panther or leopard, which adorns the top of the device in low relief.[58] The animal head is most probably part of a small cub's skin, the rest of which is concealed beneath the broad Pharaonic belt and *devanteau*.[59] The bodies of

[53]See below in "The broad collar" for a similar explanation proposed for the presence of the outer row of drop-shaped beads on broad Egyptian collars.

[54]Vandier 1958, 249.

[55]Jéquier 1921, 106, fig. 290. It should be noted that the elaborate *devanteau* – brightly colored and with a small panther head placed at its top – is found in representations earlier than the reign of Pharaoh Amenhotep III: Priese 1991, 149, no. 89, a detail from a wall painting from the tomb of In-her-cha, depicting Amenhotep I wearing a transparent bag tunic, elaborate fringed sashes, broad metal belt, ceremonial animal tail, and a decorated *devanteau* with lateral *uraei* and a small panther head at the top. Similar depictions are found in the Tomb of Userhat (scribe of Amenhotep II) in the Valley of the Kings. See also the following note.

[56]Mysliwiec 1985, pl. 15.1–2: parallel ritual scenes from Karnak of Tuthmosis III and Ptah, where the king is wearing the pleated kilt with *devanteau* and *uraei* at one place, and the *shenti* kilt at another; pl. 10.2–3 for a similar example regarding Queen Hatshepsut. E. Staehelin notes the seeming lack of strict rules as regards at what ritual or other occasion a certain (royal) dress element or other feature was used: *LÄ* 4 (1982), 613–618 s.v. Ornat (E. Staehelin), p. 615.

[57]The *devanteau* itself is divided into four thin, vertical compartments with rounded lower ends. Parallel to the bead-and-spacer decoration described above, this is a very common design – often further adorned by a stylized wing-feather or other pattern. For this latter pattern, see *Fig. 3.d* and *Pl. 21.4* (on both metal *devanteau* and belt) – and below, in "The kilt – the geometric patterns".

[58]A very similar steatite statuette of the king is presented in: Bryan 1997, 77, fig. 2.a (Durham 496).

[59]See below for more on this panther skin and its frontally placed head, in "The kilt – the apotropaic head".

the *uraei*, delimiting the vertical edges of the device, now have the characteristic sun disks on their heads. In addition, this is a very clear rendering of the ends of the textile sashes which are to accompany the royal *devanteau* in virtually all similar future depictions, whether in two or three dimensions. From beneath the broad belt of the statuette, on each side of the *devanteau*, hang two sets of sashes: two long, thin strings, and two broad, horizontally striped sashes, coming down to about half the length of the *devanteau*. The outer borders of the broader bands are somewhat wavy, echoing the thin textile material from which they were made. The Cairo statuette helps us discern the individual sashes, something which is virtually impossible in the standardized renderings which are the rule in Egyptian art.[60] What we see are the ends of beautifully decorated textile sashes which were tied around the royal waist in order to keep the kilt and other clothing in place (*Fig. 2.c*).[61] Over these soft, woven sashes a broad plain or decorated metal belt was placed.[62] The inner sash ends, hanging down closest to the *devanteau*, are always the longer and the consecutive one(s)[63] shorter in a tapering manner.[64] Beautifully decorated textile sashes were indeed a part of the female royal dress as well. Single examples of longer sashes were added to the male royal equipment of *devanteau*, belt, and shorter sashes, often tied into a large loop right beneath the metal belt, on the side of the kilt (*Pl. 21.4*). Sometimes the sashes look like they were horizontally striped[65] and even slightly wavy from the light texture of the material itself.[66]

The textile material found in the tomb of Pharaoh Tutankhamun included several sashes, some of which have been reconstructed.[67] In the royal wardrobe we find plain sashes and tapestry-woven sashes, both fringed at their ends.[68] Further, there is the so-called Amarna sash,[69] which has a broader central part – enveloping the waist or hips of the wearer – and long ends that are divided into two fringed streamers on each side.[70] When tied around the waist, the streamers of the "Amarna sash" hang down on each side from two central knots, the four ends being fringed (*Fig. 2.c*). This is thus what we actually find depicted in statuary, painting, and relief work: textile streamers hanging down on each side of bead or metal *devanteaux*.[71]

The elaboration of the royal *devanteau* during the time of Amenhotep III also included the number of *uraei* attached to it. The original pair of cobras are soon supplemented by two more reptiles,[72] and indeed even four or six additional ones.[73]

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[60]The beautiful image of Pharaoh Tutankhamun and his young queen, depicted on the back of a golden throne found in the king's grave, presents the king dressed in a longer pleated kilt typical of the Amarna period to which he wears an elaborate belt and *devanteau*. On each side of the device are the three characteristic sash ends of decreasing length, and they all, ends and *devanteau* together, seem to constitute an inseparable whole. The same standardization can be witnessed in a depiction of the king on a pectoral found in the grave: Leclant 1979, 210, 224, figs. 203, 218; Aldred 1971, 220, pl. 100.

[61]Well-preserved, colorful wall paintings are excellent when in need of determining certain details of the dress. In our *Pl. 21.4*, the alternate coloring of each sash end and its fringes in blue and red comes out fairly well in the black-and-white photo. For additional depictions in art where the individual sashes are clearly visible: Schulz & Seidel 1998, 190 (a relief depiction of Amenhotep III in his war chariot), p. 218 (a wall painting depicting Seti I seated before a sacrificial table); Wilkinson 1992, 42, fig. 5 (a double depiction of Ramesses X).

[62]The generally so standardized rendering of the sash ends has led to misinterpretations of their function. J. Vandier simply called them "...des rubans, apprêtés ou cousus", that is, "bands": Vandier 1958, 327. M.G. Houston viewed them as made out of leather: Houston 1964, 31, 100.

[63]There are occasional depictions where only one sash end is found on each side of the *devanteau*: Robins 1997, 26, fig. 18 (a relief depiction of Pharaoh Thutmosis IV, from Karnak). However, the standard number of such ends are indeed three on each side.

[64]These sashes have been (mis)understood as parts of a folded piece of cloth: Myres 1914, 135, "...the majority (of the Egyptian kilts) have their two sides drawn apart, in several pleats or side-folds..."; Mitford & Iliffe 1951, 61; Watson 1987, 32, fig. 51 (reconstruction drawing).

[65]Priese 1991, 149, no. 89 (the wall painting referred to above, depicting Pharaoh Amenhotep I). For a similar depiction in stone: Vandier 1958, pl. 133.1.

[66]Priese 1991, 141, no. 85 (a wall painting from the tomb of Seti I); Amenhotep III's sashes in *Pl. 21.2*. Both the curving textile material and the colored, horizontal stripes are found in the long sashes tied around the waist of Queen Nefertari in certain of her tomb depictions: Aldred 1971, 136, pl. 127.

[67]The reconstructions were carried out by the so-called Leiden-Borås Project, resulting in the 1999 exhibition and publication called "Tutankhamun's Wardrobe". I thank the leaders of the Dutch-Swedish project, G. Vogelsang-Eastwood and C. Rinaldo, for their kind help and suggestions.

[68]Vogelsang-Eastwood 1999, 58–62, especially p. 59. These sashes were between 6.5 and 7 cm wide.

[69]This is the only Egyptian belt type known to me that carries a figural decoration. In the case of one of Tutankhamun's "Amarna sashes", its broad central panel (placed at the wearer's back) is decorated with the royal falcon with protectively outstretched wings: Vogelsang-Eastwood 1999, 40, fig. 3.7.

[70]Vogelsang-Eastwood 1999, 18, 59–62.

[71]Vogelsang-Eastwood 1999, 103, fig. 6.9, is an excellent reconstruction drawing.

[72]See, for example, a statue of Amenhotep III found in the cache buried in the Luxor Temple; the king has four thin cobras hanging down on either side of the *devanteau*, two facing right, the other two left. In the middle of the central device, between the two pairs, the royal cartouche is placed in order to balance the composition. All four cobras have sun disks on their heads: Roberts 1995, 24, fig. 29.

[73]Good examples are provided among the reliefs found on the inner wall of the (third) pylon of Amenhotep III, at the temple of Amun, Karnak. At one spot, the king is depicted with a *devanteau* which displays six hanging cobras, five facing left, the sixth alone facing right. Another depiction found in connection shows the

Characteristic for these New Kingdom *devanteaux* is the manner of rendering each reptile in profile. With the advent of the Ramesside period comes the depiction of a row of several (virtually) frontal, rearing *uraei*, placed along the lowermost border of the device (*Pl. 21.4*).

Apart from the thin, woven, textile sashes discussed above, the royal Middle and New Kingdom Egyptian depictions display broad, metal belts worn by gods, sovereigns, and ordinary men alike. These belts were either left undecorated or adorned with geometric designs, applied as inlay or chased in relief.[74] The Egyptian belts are generally broad and placed around the hips, thus running just underneath the belly of the wearer. During the New Kingdom period the belts develop and become broader at the back and narrower at the front, something which merely accentuates the character of the Egyptian belt as resting or indeed hanging on the hips of the figure.[75] Regarding the decoration of the belts from the Old Kingdom through to the Late Period, there are a mere handful of geometric designs which are most frequently found:[76] a) a row of diamonds; b) a wave pattern, consisting of a central row of tiny diamonds with running zig-zag lines above and below it; c) a broad band interrupted at regular intervals by three or more thin, vertical bands – when the band is horizontally striped, it is called the "block-border pattern"; and d) a stylized wing-feather pattern, consisting of three or more parallel rows of horizontal bands decorated by lying single or double chevrons at intervals (*Fig. 3*).[77]

Ever since the Old Kingdom period the king's belt has a cartouche placed centrally on it, in a horizontal position, giving some of the king's names and titles.[78]

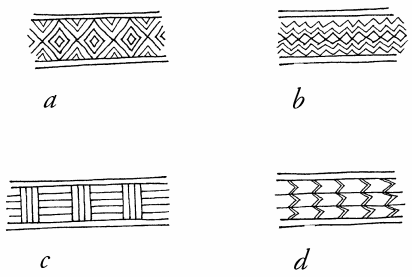


Fig. 3. Egyptian belt designs: a) a row of diamonds, b) the wave pattern, c) the block-border pattern, d) the stylized wing-feather pattern.

The spreading of this phenomenon to others than Pharaoh himself can be witnessed in an extant bead belt from the Middle Kingdom, clasped by means of a rectangular gilded wooden buckle showing the (female) owner's name in blue pigment.[79]

Important and indeed unique finds of belts and *devanteaux* were discovered in the tomb of Pharaoh Tutankhamun; in fact, they are the only extant examples of their kind which have come down to us.[80] Two sets of belts and *devanteaux* were found among the layers of bandaging enveloping the king's body.[81] The innermost belt, made of sheet gold, had a *devanteau* attached to it which consisted of glass and faience beads threaded on strings which had decayed, leaving a set of beads which allowed a reconstruction of the pattern.[82] Closer to the surface was a second golden belt from which a metal

royal *devanteau* adorned by eight cobras, four facing left, four right (*Pl. 21.3*).

[74]It is interesting to note that a Sixth Dynasty princely bead girdle has a geometric decoration which is later repeated incised into metal belts. The girdle consists of beads of five different colors creating a beautiful pattern (pattern "a", below): Wilkinson 1971, 44–46, fig. 31. See also the Twelfth Dynasty bead belt of Seneb-tisi (a vizir's daughter), returned to below, which has a similar pattern: Aldred 1971, 178, pl. 9. It is possible that early bead girdles imitated original ones which were made of rows of reeds or other organic materials, and that these geometric patterns were later, again, copied into metal.

[75]Again, this is a development which is initiated around the time of Pharaoh Amenhotep III: Evers 1929, 36, §239.

[76]Evers 1929, 34–37, especially §227.

[77]We noted above that – apart from decorating belts – the stylized wing-feather pattern is not uncommon on Egyptian New Kingdom *devanteaux*: *Pl. 21.4*; Vandier 1958, pls. 119.4–6, 133.1, 133.3; Leclant 1979, 268, fig. 281. See also below, "The kilt – the geometric patterns".

[78]Priese 1991, 47, no. 29, a statue of Amenemhat III (Twelfth Dynasty): the king wears a belt with a central cartouche, inscribed with his throne name. It seems as if such centrally placed cartouches on the broad belts of figures were indeed belt buckles. On the golden belts of Pharaoh Tutankhamun, however, described below, the king's cartouche is found chased into the belts just beside the clasping devices.

[79]Aldred 1971, 178, pl. 9. This Twelfth Dynasty belt, owned by Seneb-tisi and found at Lisht, is holding together a "kilt" of beaded strings, and has the characteristic ceremonial animal's tail hanging from it. Wilkinson 1971, 78–79, states that bead girdles with ceremonial tails on princesses are by no means uncommon during this period. See also Andrews 1990, 140–143.

[80]Certain equipment in the grave, in particular metal objects, were made for tomb use only. There can be no doubt, however, that these objects closely resemble items worn and used in the royal day-to-day life: Carter 1927, 133–134.

[81]A third belt is merely mentioned by H. Carter, a thin, segmented girdle of closely strung cylindrical and diskoid beads in gold and faience: Carter 1927, 134.

[82]Carter 1927, 133: "...an apron composed of some twenty strings of different faience and glass beads, connected at intervals by gold spacers or connectors." The beaded apron or *devanteau* depicted in Vogelsang-Eastwood 1999, 50–51, fig. 4.3 ("Carter 269c(3)[i]") (10 x 32 cm) does not fit entirely with Carter's description, and is reported to have been found in one of the boxes (Box 269) in the antechamber of the tomb, not on the king's body. Further, its beads had been sewn onto a linen ground, and not threaded on strings. G. Vogelsang-Eastwood confirms the presence of a second bead *devanteau*, giving a total of three *devanteaux* found in the tomb: G. Vogelsang-Eastwood, personal communication, 2000.

devanteau was suspended.[83] It consists of seven gold plaques of increasing width furnished with vertical inlays of lapis lazuli that were placed one above the other in a vertical row and threaded together by way of lateral bead borders.[84] There are no traces at the top of the item of any device to fasten it onto the belt. On both golden belts, however, decorated by chased geometric patterns, we find a row of holes along the lower edges of the front, both in and on each side of the centrally placed royal cartouche.[85] These may be the suspension holes used to attach the *devanteaux* by means of tiny hooks or other devices.[86] As noted above, the second type of *devanteau* with its rectangular metal compartments with vertical inlays may be what we find depicted on stone sculpture from the Middle Kingdom onwards.[87] Note that both of Tutankhamun's *devanteaux* lack the lateral *uraei* which are so often found bordering these royal devices in depictions, including contemporary images of Tutankhamun himself.[88] It may also be noted that the patterns chased into the two golden royal belts is the traditional Egyptian wave pattern (b), followed by the broad band interrupted at regular intervals by several thin, vertical bands (c).

The evidence regarding Third Intermediate Period sculpture is meagre, in part due to the limited possibilities of preservation in the Delta[89] where the ruling Dynasties of the period resided.[90] Most examples known to us are re-used statues originally depicting Ramesses II and other kings of the late New Kingdom period,[91] where only a few contemporary additions were made.[92] The evidence we have concerning the appearance of the male kilt during this period is instead found mainly in stone relief depictions. As in the New Kingdom the kings of the period seem to have been clad alternatively in the elaborate kilt with *devanteau*, *uraei*, and hanging sash ends, and the more plain *shenti* kilt. Gods are often depicted in plain, wrap-around kilts.[93] Characteristic for the period is a constant eye to the past,[94] and the result is the occurrence of archaisms in the royal dress.[95] In certain cases the relief depictions of the royal kilt are simplified,[96] and a few peculiar shapes are displayed.[97]

The revival of Egyptian sculpture during the late Third Intermediate Period and the first part of the

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[83]Carter 1927, 130–135.

[84]Carter 1927, 134–135, pl. 83.B; Vogelsang-Eastwood 1999, 98–99, fig. 6.6 ("Carter 256j").

[85]Carter 1927, pl. 34.A, 34.C; Vogelsang-Eastwood 1999, 98, fig. 6.4 (a close-up photograph).

[86]This is the way these items were reconstructed in the exhibition presented by the Leiden-Borås Project ("Tutankhamun's Wardrobe") inaugurated in Borås, Sweden, in 1999. Wilkinson 1971, 135, discusses this issue.

[87]See above, n. 50.

[88]Vogelsang-Eastwood 1999, 51, fig. 4.5. Cf. p. 60, fig. 4.17, where a frieze of rearing *uraei* is placed at the bottom end of the *devanteau*, in a manner typical for the later Ramesside period.

[89]Virtually no materials but the hard stones have survived: Aldred 1980b, 121.

[90]The production of large-scale statuary apparently changed radically with the political changes taking place in Egypt in the aftermaths of the New Kingdom period. The production of Pharaonic statuary is fairly insignificant, and in the private sphere one turns from the production of tomb statues – meant to help sharing in the Pharaonic powers of rebirth – to votive statues for the dedication in temples to local deities: Aldred 1980b, 121.

[91]As, for example, the colossal triad statue of Ramesses II, Re-Harakthy, and Ptah displayed in connection to the gate of the Amun temple at Tanis built by Shoshenq III (Twenty-second Dynasty). Ramesses II is shown wearing the royal kilt with *devanteau* with small panther head and the lower horizontal row of frontal *uraei* with sun disks: Montet 1960, 32–34, fig. 8, pl. 18; Robins 1997, 207, fig. 249, with text in connection (statue originally from the Nineteenth Dynasty re-used by Shoshenq II of the Twenty-second Dynasty).

[92]Not only statuary was re-used but also columns, obelisks, and other architectural features. This was especially convenient at an ancient site like Bubastis, where cult had been performed and buildings erected since the earliest periods: Arnold 1999, 36; Habachi 1957, 70, mentions the appropriation by Osorkon II of papyrus bud columns erected by Ramesses II. At Tanis Psusennes I re-used – among other things – spoils from Middle Kingdom buildings: Arnold 1999, 31.

[93]For a Twenty-first Dynasty stele depicting Horus: Robins 1997, 208, fig. 251; Leclant 1987, 79, depicting Shoshenq I smiting foreign peoples wearing the *shenti*, while Amun-Re, depicted in connection, is wearing the plain wrap-around kilt – from the Bubastite Portal of the Amun Temple at Karnak.

[94]Aldred 1980b, 126–127, fig. 109, regarding a bronze statuette of Pashaso, son of a Libyan dignitary (Twenty-third Dynasty). With its pose, *shenti* kilt, and short wig, the statuette is said to seek to imitate Old Kingdom wooden statuary.

[95]Montet 1951, pl. 76, the anthropoid granite sarcophagus of Pharaoh Psusennes I (Twenty-first Dynasty), which displays the king with a broad belt, from which 14 beaded strings hang down in the front – much as in the Old Kingdom tradition of beaded "*devanteaux*".

[96]Whether due to the state of preservation of the monument or not, some of the reliefs from the Sed festival gate of Osorkon II at Bubastis display simplified versions of the royal kilt with *devanteau*: Naville 1892, pl. 3.13, where the king's kilt merely has two thin, vertical lines running from the belt to the lower edge of the kilt, marking the outline of the *devanteau*; Fazzini 1988, pl. 7, a relief depiction from Karnak of Osorkon I being crowned by Amun-Re and Mut, where the royal kilt is plain except for a trapezoidal, undecorated *devanteau* with lateral *uraei*. It must be noted, however, that further decoration – including the missing sash ends – could have been added in paint. The same is true for a depiction from the tomb of Osorkon II, at Tanis: Montet 1947, pl. 26.

[97]For a depiction of Pharaoh Osorkon II (?) in front of the goddess Bast, where the king's kilt displays six sash ends hanging down centrally, rearing cobras with sun disks being attached to the longest, innermost pair: Naville 1891, pl. 40.F. This, too, was part of the decoration of the Sed festival gate at Bubastis. See also a curiously shaped *shenti* kilt from the same monument: Naville 1892, pl. 26.6. A relief depiction from the Twenty-first Dynasty shows Herihor with kilt, *devanteau*, and sash ends, of which the central one on each side is – uncharacteristically – the longest: Goff 1979, 84, fig. 155.

Late Period (the Twenty-fifth to the Twenty-seventh Dynasties) is well known.[98] The period saw a renewal of old formulas in art, architecture, and Egyptian language, especially those of the Old Kingdom.[99] For the male kilt this means a general step back towards the more simple kinds:[100] the wrap-around kilt with level lower edge and the *shenti*.[101] Of King Taharqa (Twenty-fifth (Kushite) Dynasty) both relief depictions and statuary are preserved. It seems characteristic that the kilt rendered in sculpture is the plain *shenti* kilt,[102] while the more elaborate one with *devanteau* and *uraei* is quite often encountered on the King in relief depictions.[103] There are actually no known depictions in sculpture in the round of the royal *devanteau* with *uraei* and lateral sash ends.[104] Note, however, that we basically lack any preserved statuary renderings of the kings of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty.[105] The *shenti* abounds, however, in private sculpture of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty,[106] as do other kinds of plain kilt types of varying length.[107]

This section on the Egyptian male kilt ends with a brief notice about a few features which are not paralleled in the Cypriote material but to which we will return later in this book, in connection with material found outside the island. First a ceremonial device which always accompanied the royal kilt with *devanteau* and *uraei*: a bull's tail, made of beads or metal sections, not seldom in alternating colors (*Pl. 21.4*).[108] The "tail" was attached to a point at the back of the broad metal belt which – as we saw above – was a recurrent part of the royal equipment.[109] The ceremonial tail is encountered already in Predynastic depictions[110] and continues to be a characteristic element of royal costume throughout Egyptian history. Secondly, there is a need to refer to the so-called bag tunic which is introduced during the New Kingdom period, and which is generally worn over the ordinary kilt and *devanteau*.[111] The bag tunic was a transparent robe reaching to the ankles, covering back and arms while being open in front below the belt.[112] Thanks to both its transparency and the fact that it was open in the front, the kilt with *devanteau* beneath it was fully visible – at least in depictions.[113]

The Cypriote version

Turning to the kilts of the stone statues and statuettes of Cyprus it can be noted that all the Cypriote figures wear a combination of kilt cloth wrapped around the hips, and a centrally placed apron of some kind.[114] It is quite rare, though, that the vertical ends of the cloth overlap in the front covering the upper part of the apron, a characteristic of the Egyptian *shenti* kilt. In fact, there are only two examples in limestone that rely on this standard Egyptian type of dress in this respect.[115] Instead, a majority of the limestone figures have a kilt cloth which is only partially overlapping

98 Bothmer 1960, xxxiii.

99 Aldred *et al.* 1980, 140–146; Robins 1997, 210–213; Arnold 1999, 44. Middle Kingdom formulas were revived as well: Aldred 1980b, 132. See further below, in Ch. 2.3.

100 The relief decoration from the tomb of Mentuemhat, fourth prophet of Amun (Twenty-fifth to Twenty-sixth Dynasties), includes a display of the deceased in priestly attire, in front of Anubis. From the beautifully decorated belt hangs a *devanteau* of what seems to be an Old Kingdom type, consisting of strung beads: Russmann 1994, 10–11, fig. 10.

101 *LÄ* 6 (1986), 726–737 s.v. Tracht (E. Staehelin), p. 732.

102 Leclant 1965, 330–331 n. 3, pls. 64–65, two acephalous statues, both from Karnak. J. Leclant notes that the king is wearing the (Archaizing) *shenti* in sacrificial scenes in particular.

103 Leclant 1965, pls. 22.B, §12, 69, 72.C, where the Pharaoh wears the *devanteau* with *uraei*, but no sash ends. The appearance of the kilt on pl. 69, upper depiction, has a foreign ring to it. The same is true of another kilt with *devanteau* and *uraei* rendered on the king in a wall relief from his Temple T at Kawa: Fazzini 1988, pl. 10.1.

104 E.R. Russmann mentions one small exception, a Twenty-fifth Dynasty bronze statuette displaying a long kilt with *devanteau*, including cobras: Russmann 1974, 25 n. 4.

105 Excellent portrait heads are preserved of Pharaohs Apries and Amasis, for example, wearing *nemes* headdresses. It is probable, however, that the kilts originally displayed in these statues, when complete, was the plain *shenti* kilt. Note the connection between *shenti* and *nemes* headcloth referred to earlier in this section. For a relief depiction of one of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty kings: Aldred 1980b, 282, fig. 276, showing Psammetichus III on a chapel wall at Karnak, where the king is wearing a kilt with *devanteau* and cobras.

106 Robins 1997, 227, fig. 271, a statue of a Twenty-sixth Dynasty official; Leclant 1961, pl. 1, for the well-known granite statue of Mentuemhat (Twenty-fifth to Twenty-sixth Dynasties); Habachi 1957, pl. 26, a statue of "Hurkhu", found at Bubastis.

107 Bothmer 1960, pl. 23, no. 27, statue of Djed-khonsu-iuf-ankh, prophet of Amun (ca. 660–650 B.C.), pl. 37, no. 40, statue of Nes-Ptah (ca. 630–600 B.C.).

108 For an "actual" tail of this kind, see the gold and lapis lazuli one found in the tomb of Tutankhamun: Vogelsang-Eastwood 1999, 98, fig. 6.5.

109 This point of attachment is clearly visible in the golden belts found in the tomb of Tutankhamun: Carter 1927, pl. 34.B.

110 Aldred 1980a, fig. 6: the tail of King Narmer, as depicted on his palette.

111 Occasionally, what we see depicted is a long kilt placed over the ordinary short one, combined with a separate shirt with wide arms: *LÄ* 4 (1982), 613–618 s.v. Ornat (E. Staehelin), p. 614.

112 Vogelsang-Eastwood 1992, 48–49.

113 Priese 1991, 149, no. 89: again, the wall painting depicting Amenhotep I in gala dress. For an example in stone: Vandier 1958, pl. 133.3 (Ramesses III).

114 Forty-eight Cypriote limestone kilts are taken into account here.

115 **Cat. 16** (statuette) and **Cat. 21** (life-size), from Lympia and Golgoi, respectively. Note that although **Cat. 21** has an "apron" with concave sides – in this further resembling the Egyptian *shenti* – both figures display "sash ends" and cannot therefore be said to be wearing a true version of the common dress (see below, in Ch. 2.4.2).

the "apron", covering only its sides and thus leaving large part of the centrally placed device exposed.

There is further only one Cypriote limestone figure that can be said to be wearing a proper Egyptian kilt with *devanteau*.[116] In front of the pleated kilt cloth of our **Cat. 3** hangs a separate, geometrically decorated device which has thin, lateral, rearing cobras marking its vertical borders. On each side of the *devanteau* of the figure hang three sash ends. This is thus a close replica of the royal New Kingdom-type dress, the privilege of royal and/or divine statuary, and virtually not encountered in Egyptian statuary since the end of that period.[117]

The rest of the Cypriote kilts represent a mixture of these two categories. The general Cypriote kilt, in fact, displays a kilt cloth which merely overlaps the vertical sides of the "apron". The exposed central device is often richly decorated and when so, always with a pair of thin, vertically hanging cobras. On each side of this decorated device, partly overlapping the sides of the kilt cloth, are three "sash ends", the innermost one being the longest, the other two consecutively shorter.[118] In this type of kilt we thus find a combination of the plain textile *shenti* apron with concave sides, and the decorated metal *devanteau* with hanging *uraei*, with the ends of elaborate sashes hanging down on each side of it. These transformed Cypriote dress forms deserve to be dealt with in more detail, and are treated below, in Ch. 2.4.2.

The Cypriote kilt cloth worn together with this kind of "apron" is generally left plain. There are several examples, however, where thin, vertical or diagonal pleats cover the cloth, resembling the structure of the standard Egyptian kilt cloth.[119] Note that even if the "apron" is rendered plastically on most of the Cypriote figures, there are examples where it is merely indicated through the contour of the lower edge of the kilt cloth. The "apron" is not present in these figures: however, it is suggested by the lower outline of the kilt which descends centrally.[120]

A majority of the Cypriote figures display the sash ends so characteristic of the Egyptian royal New Kingdom dress, placed on each side of the Cypriote "apron", or – in some cases – on each side of the centrally hanging cobras.[121] The sashes vary greatly in length, in relation to the kilt itself; while some extend to only about a fourth of the length of the kilt,[122] others come down to almost its full length.[123] In all examples but four are we dealing with three "sash ends" on either side of the "apron", corresponding to the standard number of such ends on New Kingdom royal kilts.[124]

In the Egyptian section, above, we came across a long, woven sash which was tied into a loop just underneath the metal belt of the king, its long end hanging down along the side of the kilt (*Pl. 21.4*). There is one single instance among the Cypriote figures, **Cat. 5**, found at Idalion, where this shape seems to be mirrored (*Pl. 1.2*).[125] The end of the Cypriote loop is not as elongated as in the Egyptian examples, but merely equals the figure's "sash ends" in length. Already in 1931, F.N. Pryce referred to this loop as the tail of one of the centrally placed cobras, coiling from beneath the flap-like ends, a fanciful but tempting thought.[126] I suggest that this form in the Idalion example is an interpretation of an Egyptian royal sash.[127]

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[116] **Cat. 3**, found west of Salamis (life-size). Our **Cat. 29** (from Golgoi) is closely related, and **Cat. 52**, **Cat. 53**, and **Cat. 57** (from Palaepaphos) are also similar in the rendering of the centrally placed device with lateral *uraei*.

[117] A handful of Cypriote bronze figurines display certain elements that are found in the limestone figures, like the kilt with "apron" and "sash ends". These figures, which can thus be connected with the Egyptianizing traits present in the limestone material, seem to suggest that there was a true connection between the two material groups. The Cypriote Egyptianizing bronze figurines are listed in Addendum 2 (Ch. 7).

[118] This corresponds well with the shape and arrangement of Egyptian royal sash ends.

[119] **Cat. 21** is again a beautiful example, since the edges of its kilt cloth overlap, and the pleats of the cloth are diagonally arranged, indicating the fall of the textile. See also **Cat. 3** (west of Salamis), **Cat. 5** and **Cat. 15** (Idalion), **Cat. 23**, **Cat. 25**, and **Cat. 30** (Golgoi), **Cat. 52**, **Cat. 53**, **Cat. 56**, and **Cat. 57** (Palaepaphos), **Cat. 59** (Kazafani), and **Cat. 62** (of unknown provenance).

[120] See **Cat. 25**, **Cat. 37**, **Cat. 40**, and **Cat. 41**, all from the Golgoi area.

[121] Thirty of the 48 limestone kilts under study have these flap-like devices; of these, the "sash ends" of **Cat. 10** (Idalion) and **Cat. 49** (Amathus) are merely rendered in paint. There is practically no elaborate Cypriote kilt without them; the 18 kilts which remain are all very plain and not likely to be decorated at all (except, perhaps, our **Cat. 20**, **Cat. 23**, and **Cat. 50**, where the two former kilts are very abraded, and **Cat. 23** indeed seems to display remains of sash ends on the right-hand side of the kilt. This is hypothetical, however).

[122] **Cat. 62** (of unknown provenance).

[123] **Cat. 52** and **Cat. 53**, both from Palaepaphos.

[124] **Cat. 29** has four "sash ends" on each side of its "*devanteau*". **Cat. 22** also displays four "ends" – with uncharacteristically rounded lower edges – on either side of the two reptiles which hang down closely together in the middle of the "apron". **Cat. 21** and **Cat. 34** merely have two ends on each side of the "apron" and cobras, respectively. All four figures referred to were found in the Golgoi area.

[125] On **Cat. 27** (Golgoi), a statue I have studied only through the reproduction in Cesnola 1885, pl. 5.7, there seems to be a similar loop on the right-hand side of the kilt. It is not placed right beneath the belt, however, but rather seems to overlap the lateral "sash ends" a bit further down. This is by no means a safe identification.

[126] Pryce 1931, 20, C 16.

[127] For more on this matter, see Chs. 2.4.2 and 5.1.3.

The thin, vertically hanging cobras are repeated in close to all decorated Cypriote kilts.[128] They are rarely rendered as the lateral borders of a "*devanteau*", however, but are rather found *on* the exposed "aprons" of the figures, being part of their decoration.[129] The cobras always come in pairs and they often hang down body to body centrally along the decorated device.[130] About half of the available pairs have solar disks placed on their heads.

There are two further Egyptian characteristics connected to the royal *devanteau* which seem to be encountered in the Cypriote material. The first is the horizontal row of pendant drops, probably functioning as tiny weights to keep the Egyptian bead or metal device perpendicular. In our **Cat. 6**, **Cat. 15** (?), and **Cat. 59**, from Idalion and Kazafani, respectively, we find such rows of drops, placed along the lower edges of the "aprons" (*Pls. 1.3, 5.1 & 11.4*).[131] In addition, the panther head encountered at the top of the elaborate version of the Egyptian royal *devanteau* is indeed echoed, if not exactly reproduced, in a few Cypriote figures. In **Cat. 12**, **Cat. 15**, **Cat. 30**, **Cat. 31**, and **Cat. 50**,[132] fierce heads share the placing and the apotropaic character of the Egyptian feline heads (*Fig. 11*), and it is probably possible to establish a relationship between these Egyptian and Cypriote features.[133] Since these apotropaic heads are treated as decorative ornaments in the Cypriote figures, they will be further dealt with below (in "The kilt – the apotropaic head"). They are far from being panther heads, however. Therefore, their appearance and identification will be taken up in the non-Egyptian section further below, in Ch. 2.2.2, where related parallels from the Cypriote sphere – not regarding their placement but rather their appearance – will be presented.

The broad belts of the Cypriote figures display certain similarities to belts found in Egyptian art. First of all, the Cypriote belt is most frequently placed around the hips of the figure, in this recalling the Egyptian scheme.[134] Secondly, in most Cypriote belts both horizontal edges are marked with an incised line, in this similar to Egyptian metal belts which have horizontal incisions along their upper and lower edges marking the limits for the geometric decoration. The raised and rounded, ridge-like edges of certain Cypriote belts, however, are not encountered in the Egyptian material.[135] On the broad Cypriote belts, it is not uncommon to find a centrally placed belt buckle, recalling the buckle – shaped and inscribed as a cartouche[136] – in royal Egyptian depictions.[137] As in the Egyptian sculptural material the Cypriote belts (and "*devanteaux*") are either rendered as plain or with geometric decoration.[138] The corresponding geometric designs, the block-border pattern and the stylized wing-feather pattern, are both returned to below in "The kilt – the geometric patterns".

The ornaments

This section treats the ornaments, that is, the motifs and designs which decorate the dress (here the kilts and the belts) of the Cypriote figures, rendered by incision, paint, or in low relief. There will be a short look at the Cypriote cobras, the apotropaic heads, and certain figural, vegetal, and geometric ornaments. This section ends with the characteristic alternate application of paint, referred to here as "color as pattern". In each case, the description of what is encountered in the Cypriote material is followed by a very limited account of what similar features are known from Egyptian art.[139]

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[128] Twenty-eight of 48 kilts are decorated with these Cypriote versions of the Egyptian royal *uraei*. The remaining 20 kilts are all undecorated – apart from **Cat. 16** (Lympia), and the very abraded **Cat. 23** and **Cat. 27** (Golgoi).

[129] See below, Ch. 2.4.2.

[130] As in **Cat. 1** (the Karpasia), **Cat. 6**, **Cat. 12**, and **Cat. 15** (Idalion), **Cat. 21**, **Cat. 22**, and **Cat. 26** (Golgoi), and **Cat. 59** (Kazafani).

[131] Our **Cat. 12** (Idalion) displays a horizontal row of lotus flowers along this lower edge instead (*Pl. 3.1*). As we will see in Ch. 2.4.2, this rendering is closely related to the row of drops found in the other figures – and therefore, ultimately connected with the Egyptian royal, drop-shaped weights.

[132] These figures were found at Idalion, Golgoi, and Amathus, respectively.

[133] This has already been suggested by A. Hermary and G. Markoe: Hermary 1981, 22 n. 60; Markoe 1990, 114. In fact, the suggestion is encountered as early as in: Stark 1863, 8.

[134] Some Cypriote figures have the belt hanging lower than others, such as **Cat. 5** (Idalion), **Cat. 21** (Golgoi), and **Cat. 60** (of unknown provenance). There are no traces, however, of the Egyptian New Kingdom trait of broadening the back of the belt while narrowing the frontal part.

[135] Perhaps these rounded ridges might reflect other influence, see Ch. 2.2.2.

[136] Note that the royal Egyptian cartouche is a drawn-out *shen* ring, protecting the name (-s) of the king. The *shen* was originally probably a knot with two ends bound together. In its elongated and standardized form, the cartouche is thus an oval ring connected to a small vertical bar at one end. In the Cypriote belt buckles, the vertical cartouche bar is not paralleled. It is not always rendered in the Egyptian material either, however: in the two golden belts of King Tutankhamun one cartouche displays this vertical bar, the other not: Carter 1927, pl. 34.C. For the *shen* ring and cartouche: Müller-Winkler 1987, 441–442.

[137] See **Cat. 24** from Golgoi, **Cat. 43** and **Cat. 44** from Tamassos, **Cat. 47** from Larnaka, and **Cat. 59** from Kazafani (where the central part of the buckle is slightly concave). The belt of **Cat. 47**, with both belt buckle and block-border pattern, clearly reflects an Egyptian counterpart.

[138] A handful of the Cypriote belts display figural scenes as their decoration. These scenes are treated further below in Ch. 2.2.2.

[139] The complexity of Egyptian religious iconography cannot be emphasized enough. The belief systems which lay behind the symbolism encountered in Egyptian art were highly elaborate, and they changed and evolved over time – not least following the

The cobra

It was noted above that the number and placing of the Cypriote cobras are standardized; in their elongated version they always come in pairs, and they are found hanging along the sides of – but more often centrally placed upon – the "aprons" of the limestone figures. Common to all the Cypriote cobras is that they are rearing with expanded hoods; they are ready to strike.[140] The standard rendering of the head and upper body is in profile. A certain carving technique was used to render several of the creatures, where the elongated body – hanging down vertically and curving outwards, away from the center of the kilt – ends in a rounded shape just underneath the head. Then the hood and the actual head of the cobra were carved separately, giving a fairly accurate impression of the serpent's body, or rather its ventral scales, contrasting against the expanded hood.[141] The cobras basically seem to be hanging from the belts of the Cypriote figures except in some cases where they actually issue from the chin of an apotropaic head, placed just underneath the belt itself.[142] In length some cobras extend all the way down to the lower border of the "apron",[143] while in other renderings there is – below them – an area which is decorated by a relief depiction and/or drops.[144] The Cypriote cobra generally has a sun disk on its head. Unlike what is the case in Egyptian iconography the cobras adorning the Cypriote kilts are occasionally winged.[145]

In several instances the actual depiction of the Cypriote cobra is carried out with great care. The shape of the head, the eyes, and the mouth of the creature are carried out in a naturalistic manner.[146] In other instances, naturally, crude renderings with lack of detail are to be found.[147]

Occasionally, the pair of vertically hanging cobras is accompanied by another set of snakes. These additional reptiles are also found hanging from the belts of the Cypriote figures, as well as from the chin of an apotropaic head.[148] They come in pairs and their appearances are characteristic: their thin bodies hang down vertically, at a certain point forming a perfect loop, before the heads rise. While the hooded cobras come down to almost the entire length of the "apron", these accompanying reptiles are restricted to the upper part of the device. Although these snakes are alert, too, their heads being raised as if ready to strike, they differ from the creatures treated so far in that they have no hoods. Were these hood-less snakes intended to be cobras, or were they deliberately separated from this reptile category by their hood-less appearance? It could be argued that the lack of a hood was due to the general standardization of the bodies of these creatures. Indeed, there are examples where less care was invested in the snakes placed on the kilt, resulting in a viper-like creature who was, hypothetically, intended as a cobra, even though it is rendered as hood-less.[149] However, two points argue against this explanation: first, the fact that sculptures which were executed with great care, and carry four snakes, still have the separation in hooded versus hood-less snakes.[150] Secondly, the fact that there are simply no examples of four hooded snakes within the same depiction strongly suggests that the accompanying snakes were indeed intended to be iconographically set apart from the Cypriote (hooded) cobras. In one single instance are the coiling snakes without hoods found alone – without their hooded counterparts – decorating the "apron" of a statuette from Tamassos, **Cat. 44** (*Pl. 9.4*).

In Egyptian sculpture the two cobras depicted in profile on the (royal) kilt are characteristic of the middle of the New Kingdom period, in contrast to the frieze of several, frontal, rearing creatures – unknown in the Cypriote material – which is mainly encountered in Ramesside art. The thin cobras placed

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geographical shift of religious and secular power taking place through the centuries. Unfortunately limitations of space have prevented me here from doing justice to these complexities.

[140] Rearing but hood-less cobras are found in certain figures: see, for example, **Cat. 44** (Tamassos) and **Cat. 59** (Kazafani).

[141] For well-preserved examples, see **Cat. 5**, **Cat. 6** (Idalion), **Cat. 22** (Golgoi), and **Cat. 61** (of unknown provenance). **Cat. 52**, from Palaepaphos, has cobras which display the same technique, a rendering which – interestingly enough – is not mirrored in the closely related **Cat. 53**, from the same site.

[142] **Cat. 12** and **Cat. 15** (Idalion), **Cat. 30** and **Cat. 31** (Golgoi), and **Cat. 50** (Amathus). In **Cat. 31** and **Cat. 50**, the bodies of the cobras are crossing just beneath the apotropaic head.

[143] **Cat. 3** (west of Salamis), **Cat. 13** (Idalion), **Cat. 20**, **Cat. 26**, **Cat. 29**, and **Cat. 30** (Golgoi), **Cat. 52**, **Cat. 53**, and **Cat. 57** (Palaepaphos), and **Cat. 62** (of unknown provenance).

[144] **Cat. 1** (registers without relief decoration), **Cat. 6** (drops), **Cat. 12** (vegetal ornaments), **Cat. 15** (much abraded), **Cat. 21** (vegetal ornaments), **Cat. 22** (a Hathoric head), **Cat. 31** (much abraded), **Cat. 34** (much abraded), **Cat. 50** (animal fight), and **Cat. 59** (vegetal ornaments and drops).

[145] See below, Ch. 2.4.2.

[146] See, in particular, **Cat. 21**, **Cat. 22**, **Cat. 26** (Golgoi), and **Cat. 53** (Palaepaphos). The head of the Egyptian cobra (*Naja haje*) is, indeed, similarly characterized by a tiny bulge right on the top, and the front of its head is straight or truncated: Johnson 1990, 12, fig. 2. See also Hermary 1985, 685 n. 92.

[147] Schematically rendered cobras are found in **Cat. 13** and **Cat. 15** (Idalion), **Cat. 34** (Golgoi), **Cat. 49** (Amathus), **Cat. 59** (Kazafani), and **Cat. 62** (of unknown provenance). The cobras found on figures **Cat. 30** (Golgoi) and **Cat. 50** (Amathus) are a far cry from being naturalistic, and the winged relatives on **Cat. 5** and **Cat. 12** (Idalion) display snouts which give them a dolphin-like appearance.

[148] **Cat. 12** (Idalion).

[149] **Cat. 15** (Idalion) and **Cat. 34** (Golgoi).

[150] See **Cat. 12** (Idalion), **Cat. 26**, and the particular **Cat. 30** (Golgoi).

along the sides of the *devanteaux* on Egyptian statuary imitated metal creatures which flanked an original bead or metal device.[151] These were depictions of Wadjet, the rearing cobra goddess of Lower Egypt, so frequently paired with Nekhbet, goddess of Upper Egypt, both protective deities in emblematic form.[152] This reference to the Two Lands was naturally vouchsafed Pharaoh alone, and thus, the venomous creatures were firmly associated with the royal sphere, acting as protective guardians of kingship.[153]

The apotropaic head

Five Cypriote limestone figures display a grinning, fierce head placed beneath the belt, thus decorating the "aprons" of their kilts (*Fig. 11*).[154] In each of these examples the characteristic cobras do not hang from the belts of the figures, but from the chins of these grinning heads, instead. Together, the fierce-looking face and the rearing reptiles constitute quite a strong apotropaic attribute. It was noted above that this placement of an apotropaic head right beneath the belt of a figure mirrors an Egyptian practice, where small-scale panther heads were depicted in this very place, on (royal) New Kingdom metal *devanteaux*. The non-Egyptian character of these Cypriote grinning faces – coming rather closer to certain Bes- or Medusa renderings – makes it necessary to deal with them in more detail below, in Ch. 2.2.2. Here, a few features need to be pointed out which tie the Cypriote heads to the Egyptian leonine counterparts. First, the placing of the ears, quite high up on the sides of the head, and of the eyes – obliquely set and fierce-looking – correspond well with Egyptian, small-scale panther renderings.[155] Secondly, the cusp over the forehead, which is leonine in character as well.[156] A certain connection between these heads and vertically hanging cobras can be established within both the Cypriote and the Egyptian sphere. Unique to the Cypriote material is the way the apotropaic head was substituted by another Egyptian-type emblem, the "Eye of Horus", in one Cypriote occurrence (*Pl. 9.4*).[157]

It is interesting that a statue unearthed at Golgoi is wearing what looks like a pleated, kilt-like dress and a short-sleeved garment, over which is draped a panther skin.[158] The head of the creature hangs down frontally and ends up in the center of the "kilt". The leonine cusp over the forehead is there, as are the obliquely set eyes – much like in the five grinning heads just referred to, in particular that found on **Cat. 30**.[159]

In Egypt, a royal predilection for the spotted skin of the leopard or panther goes back to earliest times.[160] Most characteristically, throughout Egyptian art history, it is worn by the Sem priests when conducting rites for the dead or offerings in royal ceremonies such as the Sed festival.[161] The draping of the animal's skin generally allows the head of the creature to be placed in a frontal, central position, covering the central top of the kilt.[162] Whether or not there is a connection between this placing within the priestly outfit and the small feline head found at the top of royal New Kingdom *devanteaux* is not known (*Pl. 21.4*). In several two-dimensional, royal renderings, however, it is clear that what is depicted is the placing of a small (fake?) animal's skin in front of

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151 This was similarly the case regarding the cobras placed frontally on the royal headgear, which from the New Kingdom onwards imitated metal cobras, rather than living creatures: Evers 1929, 22, 24, §135, §154. See below in "The white and the red crown of Egypt", n. 396.

152 *LÄ* 6 (1986), 906–911 s.v. Uto (H.-W. Fischer-Elfert), p. 906–907. While Nekhbet was often depicted as a vulture, New Kingdom representations show both the Two Ladies as cobras, wearing the crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt: Troy 1986, 123; Johnson 1990, 5. They are both attributes of kingship.

153 Troy 1986, 119. There was, however, a certain spread of the *uraeus* snake into the private sphere, in objects and amulets: *LÄ* 6 (1986), 864–868 s.v. Uräus (K. Martin), p. 866.

154 **Cat. 12** and **Cat. 15** from Idalion, **Cat. 30** and **Cat. 31** from Golgoi, and **Cat. 50** from Amathus.

155 It is worth noting that in **Cat. 31**, the head on the "apron" of the figure is mirrored by a small, winged head depicted on the belt, and thus in almost direct connection to its grinning counterpart (see Ch. 2.4.2). The small-scale, abraded head on the belt seems to have hair and beard, and the placing of its tiny ears – high on the sides of the head – corresponds very well with that of the other apotropaic heads referred to here.

156 Wilson 1975b, 95.

157 In **Cat. 44**, from Tamassos. **Cat. 30**, from Golgoi, has the apotropaic head depicted a bit lower on its "apron", and in its place, slightly beneath the belt of the figure, there is similarly a Cypriote version of the Egyptian "Eye of Horus", or the *wedjet* eye (see below).

158 Cesnola 1885, pl. 58.401 (the John and Mable Ringling Museum, Sarasota, Inv. no. SN 28.1914). Note should be made of the fact that the head may not belong to the statue.

159 The creature has no ears indicated. The carving of the face of the small lion or panther seems not to have been finished (?).

160 The sacredness of the animal was probably – at least in part – due to the star-like pattern of its spotted skin and the ensuing heavenly connection: Wilkinson 1992, 43. It seems that in the Egyptian religious domain, "panther" ("mafdet") is the generic term used regardless of whether a spotted or plain skin of either cheetah, leopard, panther, or lion(-ess) is being referred to: Staehelin 1966, 36 n. 1; *LÄ* 3 (1980), 1006–1007 s.v. Leopard (L. Störk), p. 1006; *LÄ* 4 (1982), 664–665 s.v. Panther (W. Westendorf), p. 664.

161 Staehelin 1966, 64; *LÄ* 3 (1980), 1006–1007 s.v. Leopard (L. Störk), p. 1006. Already during the Third Dynasty we find it in depictions of private men: Staehelin 1966, 75–76.

162 Vandier 1958, pl. 158.2; Scamuzzi 1964, pl. 36 (New Kingdom examples); Montet 1947, pls. 24, 31, 32, 38 (Third Intermediate Period ones).

the royal kilt,[163] with the tiny head placed apotropaically beneath the belt (*Pl. 21.3*).[164] It seems that the rest of the skin was mostly hidden beneath the other trappings of the kilt, so as to reveal only the tiny head of the creature (*Fig. 2*).[165] After the New Kingdom period, few if any apotropaic panther heads are known in statuary.[166]

In the Cypriote, Bes-like renderings briefly described above, all five heads were placed in a similar position on the "*devanteaux*" of the limestone figures, and all shared somehow in the feline character so typical of Bes images. It should perhaps be emphasized that this correspondence between Bes image and lion is obvious in Egyptian art as well.[167] The Bes image is never encountered on royal Egyptian *devanteaux*, however.

The figural ornaments

In the section on "apotropaic heads", above, **Cat. 31** – a life-size statue from Golgoi – was treated. It was established that what looks like a winged sun disk on the belt of the figure – a characteristic emblem of Egyptian art – is instead a small, winged, Gorgon-like face.[168] Thus, the ornament cannot be included here. A clearly Egyptian-type figural ornament is encountered on **Cat. 22**, however, another statue from that very site. At the bottom end of the "apron" of the figure, set right beneath the rearing cobras, there is a head of the Egyptian goddess Hathor, rendered in low relief (*Pl. 6.2*). The goddess is depicted with a full face with rounded cheeks, small, circular eyes, and with characteristic cow ears. The wig with curling ends is characteristically held in place by thin bands at five different spots. The head is placed on a broad (undecorated) collar, or *aegid*.[169] On a statuette from Tamassos, **Cat. 44**, another characteristically Egyptian-type emblem is encountered. Placed right beneath the belt – at the spot where a panther head, or an apotropaic head, would have been found – is the eye with eyebrow which, in an Egyptian context, is often referred to as the *wedjet* eye (*Pl. 9.4*). Beneath the eye are what looks like two small, obliquely set wings. Similar in both placing and rendering are the eye and eyebrow encountered on **Cat. 30** (from Golgoi). In this case the "wings" beneath the eye are not depicted, and the placing of the ornament is slightly further down on the "apron" of the figure (*Pl. 7.4*). It can be added that below this rendering – still on **Cat. 30** – on the heads of the two winged cobras are what seem to be depictions not of the sun disks so characteristic on the heads of these creatures, but of the disk and crescent motif instead, known from Egyptian art.[170]

On a fragment depicting part of a belt once belonging to a kilt-wearing figure (**Cat. 33**, from Golgoi), there is a rendering with three human-headed, feline creatures. The crouching feline body, the long tail and the large wing – emanating from the back of each creature – allow the identification as sphinxes beyond any doubt (*Pl. 8.4*). The non-Egyptian character of these bearded and helmet-wearing creatures makes it necessary to return to them below, however, in Ch. 2.2.2.

Similarly depicted on the broad belt of a Cypriote Egyptianizing figure, on **Cat. 60** (of unknown provenance), is a four-winged scarab beetle (*Pl. 12.2*). It was set within an animal frieze, of which a goat and a lion are preserved.[171] With its patterned body and feathered wings it comes quite close to Egyptian counterparts. This is the only limestone rendering of the creature known to me from the island.

Forms that came to be associated with the goddess Hathor, one of the supreme Egyptian divinities, are iconographically attested since the First Dynasty. Like every character of the Egyptian pantheon Hathor acquired a complex mythology with time. One of her characteristic associations was with the papyrus marshes in the Delta from which she

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[163] Judging from the size of the available renderings we need to postulate either an actual animal's skin – most probably then that of a feline cub – or an artificial one, rendered in textile or other material, and with a small wooden (or other) head attached. For such a textile "skin" from the tomb of Pharaoh Tutankhamun: Vogelsang-Eastwood 1999, 104–108, figs. 6.13–15.

[164] *LÄ* 4 (1982), 613–618 s.v. Ornat (E. Staehelin), p. 615 n. 38. For examples other than *Pl. 21.3*, see a wall relief on the northwestern wall of the small Horus chapel, in the temple of Seti I at Abydos; a wall painting in the tomb of Tausert and Setnakht (Nineteenth to Twentieth Dynasties).

[165] In *Pl. 21.4*, a Ramesside tomb painting, the panther head is so small that it may be taken for the depiction of a small (metal) amulet instead. This suggestion has been made before: *LÄ* 3 (1980), 128–137 s.v. Ikonographie (M.-T. Derchain-Urtel), p. 136.

[166] The single occurrence known to me is a fragmentary bronze statuette of Pharaoh Pedubast I (Twenty-third Dynasty): Aldred 1980b, 125, fig. 107. Interestingly, E. Gubel suggests that this is a lioness head, rendered because the Egyptian artisan had been inspired by contemporary Phoenician ivory work: E. Gubel, personal communication, 2001.

[167] Romano 1980, 45–46, stresses the features shared by the characteristic New Kingdom Bes image and the male lion: shape and placing of ears, forehead groove, facial folds (produced on lions when snarling), short beard (the lion's ruff), ventral mane, ribs, and tail.

[168] See Ch. 2.4.2.

[169] For this depiction in relation to similar ones from Cyprus: Hermary 1985, where this particular head is referred to on p. 676.

[170] The crescent is placed closest to the heads of the creatures with the disk placed inside. These (miniature) renderings are some of the very few examples encountered on Cyprus. For a limestone votive capital from Idalion, featuring such a disk and crescent: Seipel 1999, 208–210, no. 103.

[171] For a more detailed treatment of the entire animal frieze: Faegersten forthcoming a.

emerged in the guise of the sacred cow. As goddess of love, dance, and music, she was worshipped at numerous sacred sites throughout Egypt.[172] There were several different manifestations of the goddess.[173] One of the more usual ones was that found in the monumental, double-sided, stone column capitals,[174] or in small-scale objects such as the characteristic bronze *sistra*: a full-face view of the goddess, depicted with cow ears and horns, wearing a large wig with curling lower ends, held together by thin bands at intervals, and connected to a broad collar – much like in the Cypriote depiction briefly described above.[175]

The set of belief systems behind the apotropaic emblem referred to as the "Eye of Horus", or "*wedjet*", in ancient Egyptian texts was also complex. Connected to the cyclic phases of the moon, the eye was repeatedly damaged and again restored, and thus connected with regenerative powers.[176] The actual emblem consists of a human eye and eyebrow beneath which are found first a vertical shape mirroring a characteristic pattern found on the cheek of the falcon, and a thin, obliquely set line ending in a spiral, of unknown identification.[177] These elusive details were apparently reinterpreted in the Cypriote **Cat. 44**, above, into wings – while completely left out in the related depiction on **Cat. 30**. The "Eye of Horus" was very popular in Egyptian art as a protective emblem or amulet.

Similarly connected to the dis- and re-appearance of the full moon, the disk and crescent was another powerful emblem with regenerative powers. It is found crowning divine heads – not least the moon gods – and often in amuletic form.[178]

The image of the human-headed lion, the sphinx, in Egypt was closely associated with Pharaoh himself and with royal power. Characteristic are depictions where the portrait head of Pharaoh, wearing the *nemes* headcloth and a ceremonial beard, was placed on the body of the powerful animal.[179] In contrast to so many of the sphinx images found (and manufactured) outside Egypt the Egyptian sphinxes are exclusively male, and they are never depicted as winged.

The scarab beetle, finally, is yet another ageold, Egyptian symbol. From the New Kingdom onwards it is encountered with wings attached.[180] In a general sense this two-winged scarab (Khepre) is the emblem of the rising of the reborn sun, a symbol of resurrection, so central in Egyptian religion.[181] Unlike what is usually the case in Egyptian depictions, however, the Cypriote bug on **Cat. 60**, referred to above, has four wings (of which two are preserved).[182]

Even if these emblems and ornaments, encountered on the Cypriote figures, all have Egyptian counterparts, it needs to be emphasized that the placing of them – on the kilts and belts of male figures – is never encountered in Egyptian royal or private art.

The vegetal ornaments

A handful of the Cypriote kilts and belts display floral or vegetal ornaments. On the "apron" of our **Cat. 59**, from Kazafani, two horizontal borders terminate the device (*Pl. 11.4*). The lowermost one displays five drops or flower petals reflecting the tiny weights placed at the lower end of Egyptian *devanteaux*, as was pointed out above.[183] The upper border contains three lilies and three buds linked with curving loops. Similarly, on **Cat. 21**, from Golgoi, the lowermost border of the "apron" consists of a very fragmentary frieze of a virtually identical kind: remains of two lilies and one bud are preserved. The same placement but a slightly different motif is encountered in **Cat. 12** (from Idalion). Here the "apron" is terminated by a horizontal row of three lotus flowers with their characteristic three-part, pointed sepals between which the flower petals are rendered (*Pl. 3.1*).[184] It is argued elsewhere that there could be an interrelatedness between the flower petal-shaped weights of Egyptian *devanteaux* and the friezes of flowers found in these few Cypriote figures (see Ch. 2.4.2).[185] Here, however, the focus is on the fact that the flowers themselves are characteristically

172 *LÄ* 2 (1977), 1024–1033 s.v. Hathor (F. Daumas).

173 Bleeker 1973, 22–24, 29–38, 102–105.

174 Four-sided capitals occur as well: Derchain 1972; *LÄ* 2 (1977), 1039–1041 s.v. Hathor-Kapitell (G. Haewy).

175 For slightly more on Hathor and the *menit* necklace, see below in "The broad collar".

176 Wilkinson 1992, 43.

177 *LÄ* 6 (1986), 824–826 s.v. Udjatauge (C. Müller-Winkler).

178 *LÄ* 4 (1982), 192–196 s.v. Mond (W. Helck); Müller-Winkler 1987, 300.

179 Saleh & Sourouzian 1986, no. 134, a sphinx of Tuthmosis III.

180 Lilyquist 1993, 48.

181 *LÄ* 1 (1975), 934–940 s.v. Chepre (J.C. Assmann); Goff 1979, 211–217. On the origin of, and the actual reasons for, the veneration of the scarab beetle: Wilkinson 1992, 113; Ward 1994, 186–188.

182 In an analysis of the iconography of the "Amathus bowl", A. Hermary suggested that while the two-winged scarab is of Egyptian origin, beetles with four wings indicate the spread and transfiguration of the type: Hermary 1986b, 188. Indeed, the four-winged scarab abounds in metal and ivory work of Phoenician or Levantine manufacture from the first half of the first millennium B.C. See further below, in Ch. 5.1.3.

183 This is similarly found on **Cat. 6**, from Idalion (two drops or petals) and – perhaps – on the much abraded **Cat. 15**, found at the same site.

184 For more on this lotus frieze, see below, in Ch. 2.4.2.

185 This was suggested already by Markoe 1990, 114 n. 17.

Egyptian ones: the lily and the lotus. In addition, the presence of what seems to be a drooping lotus flower on a characteristically long, thin stalk is noted in **Cat. 15**, found at Idalion. The upper tip of the flower's stalk emanates from the apotropaic face at the top of the "apron" – as do the two elongated cobras further decorating the device. The flower itself is resting, upside down, on the horizontal frieze which terminates the "apron" (*Pl. 5.1*).[186]

On the decorated "apron" of **Cat. 22**, from Golgoi, there are two volute-and-palmette flowers placed beneath the heads of the rearing cobras (*Pl. 6.2*). Each palmette characteristically grows from two broad, curving volutes. In addition, the petalled rosette – frequently encountered on the Cypriote figures – is found decorating the broad belt of **Cat. 27** (also from Golgoi). Finally, there is what seems to be an Egyptian vegetal ornament on the "apron" of the very fragmentary **Cat. 33** (Golgoi). From what is preserved it seems as if three incised triangles, each with its base placed upwards, towards the belt of the figure, are set parallely one inside the other, creating a herringbone-like pattern (*Pl. 8.4*). At the point where the right side of the outer triangle meets the belt, a second set of three incised triangles are begun. Judging by the size of the fragment and the width of the triangles, these two triangular sets may have been enough to constitute the upper part of the decoration of the "apron". Again from what is preserved, there seem to be traces of a third similar set of triangles placed between and underneath the other two. The two upper triangular sets thus seem to overlap the central one. The actual triangular pattern comes close to the standardized pattern found on papyrus – and other – leaves in Egyptian art.

Together with the papyrus, the lotus and the lily are in fact the most well-known of the Egyptian floral or vegetal ornaments (*Fig. 4.a–c*). Sometimes confused, they are indeed separate symbols, each with a decorative value or a mythological character of its own.[187] The sacredness of the blue lotus flower is linked to its strong, pleasant scent, and the way it re-emerges every morning out of the water, opening its chalice to the sunlight.[188] As a symbol of rebirth the lotus is repeated in tomb paintings, reliefs, and papyri from the earliest periods onwards.[189] In contrast to the lotus the botanical identity of the emblematic lily has not been established.[190] In depictions it consists of two large, volute-like petals emerging from a flower bud (calyx) of striped sepals. In the center, from between the volutes, grows a red spike with rounded top (*Fig. 4.b*). As the emblematic plant of Upper Egypt it figures frequently in symbolic depictions of the unification of the Two Lands, together with the papyrus of the northern Delta marshes.[191]

From the New Kingdom onwards composite floral arrangements are frequently encountered in Egyptian art. Complex vegetal forms are created, often as variations on the lily theme: several inner petals create a palmette-like ornament, and from underneath the volute-like outer petals small – but characteristic – drops emerge (*Fig. 4.d*).[192] In addition, certain of these floral ornaments are linked together with curving loops (*Fig. 4.e*). Behind several of these new and decorative creations there may be foreign influence, reaching Egypt mainly from the Levant.[193] Because of this possibility some of these vegetal forms are returned to below, in Ch. 2.2.2.[194]

The rosette is a very common decorative element in Egyptian art, encountered from earliest times but particularly during the Amarna period. It is not clear whether the shape recalls a particular flower or whether it is a more generic, standardized form.[195] It

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186 This ornament, too, will be further (briefly) treated in Ch. 2.4.2, below.

187 For a confusion of lotus and lily – and a discussion thereof: Petrie 1920, 63–66; Darby *et al.* 1977, 621–633. The amalgamation of lily and papyrus is found occasionally in Egyptian art, but becomes an appreciated form in Phoenician iconography: see Ch. 2.2.2.

188 *LÄ* 3 (1980), 1091–1096 s.v. Lotos (E. Brunner-Traut), p. 1092. Cf. Petrie 1920, 106–107. The blue lotus (*Nymphaea coerulea Sav.*) has four or five thin, green, outer sepals within which numerous delicate, blue petals with pointed ends are set: Täckholm 1974, 144, no. 27, pl. 39.B.

189 Rundle Clark 1991, 239, pl. 10, for a detail from the Papyrus of Ani showing the soul of the deceased rising from the Primeval Lotus. Garlands including petals of the blue and white lotus were placed around the mummy in order to facilitate rebirth: Täckholm 1976, 127–134 (garlands placed around the mummy of Ramesses II, along with single lotus flowers).

190 Germer 1985, 230–231; Müller-Winkler 1987, 286 (noting that the term "lily" was introduced only through the similarity in form to the much later European heraldic lily or "fleur de lys"); Arnold 1997, 20.

191 The two plants are tied together in the characteristic "sema-tawy" sign. For a variation on this theme: Mysliwiec 1985, pl. 48.1, a wall relief from the tomb of Kheruef, depicting (a vase showing) Pharaoh Amenhotep III holding and reaching for papyrus and lily plants.

192 Petrie 1920, 68–74; Montet 1937, 79–80, figs. 98–100; Müller-Winkler 1987, 288; Arnold 1997, 20: "Elements that droop from the underside of the petals remain unexplained."

193 Klebs 1934, 40; Barnett 1935, 200, who describes the lotus and bud, or lotus and palmette band, as a Phoenician invention; Montet 1937, 66, fig. 85 (Near Eastern use (?) of lily and lotus), p. 81 (on the possible foreign impetus for the "palmette"), pp. 180–182 (on the possibility that Near Eastern artists borrowed Egyptian forms, elaborated upon them, and exported the new forms back to Egypt); Lilyquist 1988, 20–21.

194 This regards the so-called paradise flower, the "Phoenician cup palmette", as well as the volute-and-palmette flower.

195 Petrie 1920, 58–60 (daisy); Müller-Winkler 1987, 288–289; Lilyquist 1988, 18–19.

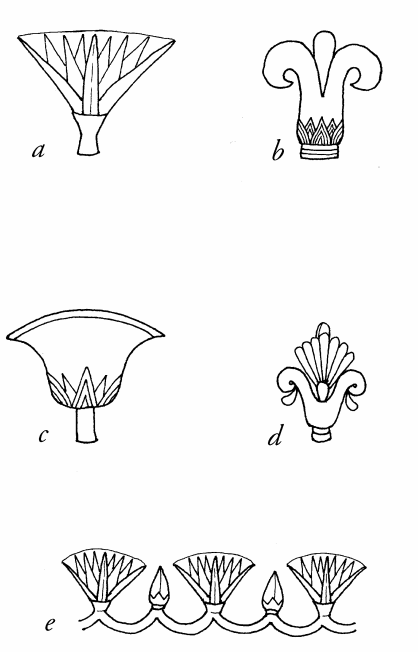


Fig. 4. Egyptian floral ornaments: a) the blue lotus, b) the lily, c) the papyrus, d) the composite lily, e) lotus flowers and buds linked with curving loops.

occurs frequently on jewelry, glazed brick, and in other two-dimensional depictions. It is virtually unknown, however, on stone sculpture.[196]

In general, it is worth emphasizing that I know of no cases in the Egyptian repertoire where floral or vegetal ornaments have been applied to the royal *devanteau*, nor to the belts of figures as they are in the Cypriote counterparts.

The geometric patterns

On certain of the Cypriote figures the belts or the kilts are decorated with geometric patterns which seem to be of Egyptian origin. On the belt of **Cat. 12**, from Idalion, there is a bead-like pattern with a row of three rectangles placed on top of each other (*Pl. 3.1*–2). These horizontal rectangles have convex and concave ends, respectively, allowing each rectangle to fit nicely into its neighbour. It could be that this is an imitation of the Egyptian stylized wing-feather pattern, so prevalent in Egyptian New Kingdom belts and *devanteaux* (*Fig. 3.d*). If indeed there is a Cypriote dependence on this pattern, then the "chevrons" of the Cypriote rendering have rounded, not pointed, ends. A very similar design is encountered on the "*devanteau*" of **Cat. 3**, unearthed west of Salamis. Here rows of six vertical rectangles are placed on top of each other, where some of them, at least, display the same rounded ends as the equivalents on **Cat. 12**.[197] The belt of this figure was left undecorated, however. In **Cat. 29**, on the other hand, from Golgoi, both belt and "*devanteau*" have this very pattern, a combination which does come close to the Egyptian custom.

In two statues, from Golgoi and Larnaka, respectively (*Pls. 6.1 & 10.3*), the broad belt is decorated with the Egyptian-type block-border pattern (*Fig. 3.c*). In **Cat. 47** (Larnaka) a row of three rectangles placed on top of each other are interspersed at regular intervals by three thin, vertical ones. In **Cat. 21** four parallel, horizontal rectangles are delineated by one single vertical rectangle (*Fig. 5*). These renderings come very close to Egyptian counterparts. It could actually be suggested that remains of this very pattern are encountered on the "*devanteaux*" of three additional Cypriote statuettes. **Cat. 5** (Idalion), **Cat. 34** (Golgoi), and **Cat. 61** (of unknown provenance) all have the two frontal cobras set slightly apart but yet connected by means of three or more horizontal bands (*Pls. 1.2, 9.1, & 12.4*). It is clear, at least in the last-mentioned figure, that this is a reflection of the horizontal bands (or spacer beads) of the Egyptian-type *devanteau*, which kept the vertical counterparts, situated inbetween, in place.[198]

In fact, a typical Egyptian-type pattern found along the edges of the kilts of two of the Cypriote figures could be said to be related also to the Egyptian-type block-border pattern just referred to. In **Cat. 61** the lowermost border of the kilt displays a pattern of plain rectangles bordered by two thin, vertical bars. This is clearly a version of the characteristic Egyptian interplay of horizontal and vertical shapes. In **Cat. 6**, from Idalion, a similar border pattern was carved into the border of the kilt along the lower edge of both kilt cloth and "apron" (*Pl. 1.3–4*). The interplay of a horizontal rectangle and two squares comes very close, in fact, to the pattern encountered in an identical position on the former figure.[199]

When treating the standard patterns of Egyptian belts, above, certain basic designs were introduced (*Fig. 3.a–d)*. Behind all these patterns, often found in inlaid metal but sometimes in bead work, there were no doubt original objects made of organic materials.

[196] A few first millennium B.C. examples are attested in bronze: Aldred 1980b, 120, fig. 105 (a Twenty-second Dynasty statuette of Karomama); Aldred 1971, pl. 146, a Late Period miniature collar once belonging to a statuette; Aldred *et al.* 1980, 193, fig. 179. Fragmentary stone sphinxes from the Hathor temple at Dendera display broad collars with rosettes in one of their registers. These are Ptolemaic-period creatures, however. The broad collar of the goddess is similarly decorated: Aldred *et al.* 1980, 100, fig. 84.

[197] I have studied this statue only through the published photograph.

[198] These figures and their "*devanteaux*" will be further treated below, in Ch. 2.4.2.

[199] It is not impossible that the incised lines on the broad collar and the belt of **Cat. 59** (Kazafani), along with the painted edges of the kilt and the small, painted, vertical lines on the belt of **Cat. 49** (Amathus) could all similarly echo this pattern.

Thus, most probably the Egyptian bead- and metal belts and *devanteaux* imitated patterns and objects created through weaving, pleating, and wicker work.[200] The arrangement of horizontal beads kept in place by vertical beads, or spacer bars, would result in a belt with the characteristic block-border pattern. And vice versa, in the vertically strung bead *devanteau*, vertical beads would be kept in place by horizontal spacer bars (*Fig. 2.b*). This pattern was then imitated in metal with inlays of colorful glass or other materials imitating the rows of vertical beads – as we saw above, in the kilt section.[201]

The stylized wing-feather pattern was one of several Egyptian patterns based on the appearance of the different birds' wings. Whereas standardized breast feathers resulted in a scale pattern, the standardization of the wing feathers of falcons, vultures, or other birds gave a pattern of parallel bands with single or double chevrons placed at intervals (*Fig. 3.d*).[202] It was noted above that in the New Kingdom period this pattern is often applied to both the royal belt and *devanteau* (*Pl. 21.4*). When rendered in metal, the different compartments, or each "feather", were inlaid with differently colored glass, creating a very decorative effect. The rounded points of the chevrons, or "feathers" – possibly encountered in the Cypriote material presented above – are not altogether unknown within the Egyptian sphere.[203]

"Color as pattern"

Most of the Archaic Cypriote limestone statuary was entirely or partly covered by paint.[204] Red and black pigment was most frequently used, but occasionally, blue, green, and yellow were applied.[205] In case of a coarser stone quality the stone surface would be covered by a thin layer of lime wash before actual color was added.[206] Apart from a general variation in preservation, which is of course due to factors such as the circumstances of deposition of each object, it is worth noting that color pigments on one and the same figure had varying degrees of permanency, leaving only some of the ancient colors visible to the naked eye today.[207]

Rich remains of color are thus encountered on the Egyptianizing votive figures as well, sometimes to enhance details in the stone, sometimes to render details of the dress which were not carved in low relief.[208] Besides this general application of color, however, there are certain examples within the group where color was applied in an alternating manner, as if the sculptor or painter wished to achieve a particularly opulent effect. This happens with features of which there are several, like the lateral sash ends of the kilt, or the individual ornaments of the broad collars of the figures. In both **Cat. 1** and **Cat. 29**, from the Karpasia and Golgoi, respectively, the middle sash end on each side of the "apron" was painted red. Whether or not the surrounding sashes were left unpainted or colored in a manner not preserved, there was a certain play with color in these pieces.[209] This is similarly found in **Cat. 44**, from Tamassos, where only the innermost sash end on each side preserves rich traces of (red) color.[210] On **Cat. 29** there are traces of red paint on the "beads" or "stylized wing-feather pattern" of the belt and *devanteau*. There is no clear trace of any alternate

[200] Petrie 1920, 12–16, 44–47. See above, nn. 45 and 50.

[201] See above, n. 50.

[202] Petrie 1920, 50–55, figs. 90 (breast-feather pattern), 91 (wing-feather pattern).

[203] G. Vogelsang-Eastwood terms an Egyptian pattern very similar to the Cypriote one "lines of honeycomb forms": Vogelsang-Eastwood 1993, 30, fig. 2.17 (where it decorates the short loin cloth worn by Pharaoh Amenhotep II, as depicted in the tomb of Ken-Amun). For an example from Egyptian statuary: Hölbl 1978, pl. 3.a–c, an Egyptian bronze statuette of a priest, unearthed at Ephesos.

[204] There is, as of yet, no comprehensive study dealing with the polychromy of Cypriote plastic art. For good drawings and photographs displaying the beautiful coloring of certain objects, see for example: Yon 1974, pls. 37–40; Hermary 1989a, 2–8 (including cover photograph). On the polychromy of Cypriote coroplastic art: Yon 1991b, 243–245.

[205] Hermary 1981, 10; Hermary 1985, 658, 662; Kourou *et al.* 2002, 2. Is this view merely dependent on the different preservation of colors? See below.

[206] Hermary 1981, 10; Hermary 1985, 658; Schvoerer *et al.* 1985, 702.

[207] Schvoerer *et al.* 1985, 702, where it is noted that red pigment is permanent, blue is ephemeral; Yon 1991b, 244–245; Kyrieleis 1996, 25.

[208] In both **Cat. 1** and **Cat. 29** (from the Karpasia and Golgoi, respectively) the lower area of the "apron" behind the two cobras was colored red in order to enhance the creatures, which were seemingly left unpainted. They may have been painted with another pigment which has since vanished, however. A similar application of color is visible in **Cat. 21** (from Golgoi) where red was added like a background to the lowermost frieze of lilies and buds. For details of dress simply painted on, see above n. 121.

[209] In fact, the incised guide lines visible on the sash ends of **Cat. 29**, made by the sculptor, speak *for* the original presence of (covering) paint on all these devices. Exactly the same coloring – red paint applied to the middle sash end on each side of the "apron" – is encountered on a life-size, Egyptianizing statue unearthed at Phoenician Sidon (**Cat. Ph22**). For more on this figure see below, in Ch. 4.3.

[210] Chances are, thus, that the additional sash ends displayed other colors, giving a pleasant effect. It is, of course, possible that they were left unpainted. In **Cat. 10**, from Idalion, where dress details are rendered only by color and not in low relief, two sash ends are painted red on each side of the "apron", with a plain area of similar width left inbetween. Whether this represents two red sash ends (on each side) or three sash ends of alternate coloring is not possible to tell.

application of this paint, however.[211] In addition, along the two vertical kilt borders of **Cat. 49**, from Amathus, there are rectangular compartments filled with red paint alternating with square ones which were seemingly left plain. The thin outline of this pattern was done in black.[212]

The most striking example of this alternate application of color is found in **Cat. 21**, unearthed at Golgoi. Apart from rich traces of alternate coloring on the figure's broad collar (see below), the belt of the figure, displaying a characteristic pattern which comes close to the Egyptian block-border pattern, has every other horizontal bar colored red (*Fig. 5*). Whether the alternating features in this figure, seemingly left unpainted, were once covered with an ephemeral pigment – blue, for example – is not possible to tell. There is, however, in this figure a clear desire to use "color as pattern".

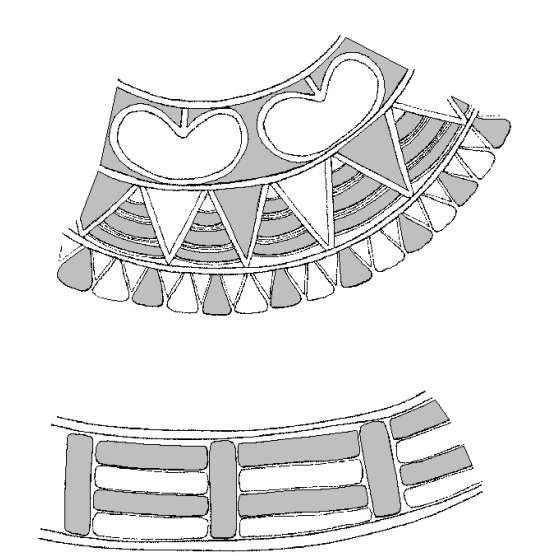


Fig 5. Details of the belt and floral collar of ***Cat. 21****, from Golgoi. The gray areas indicate red paint.*

This decorative application of paint is not unique to the male Egyptianizing figures on Cyprus. It has been encountered in limestone sphinxes as well as in large-scale Hathoric capitals, among other things.[213]

In New Kingdom Egypt, color schemes introduced during the Middle Kingdom were elaborated upon. There were rules guarding the application of color in art, whether applied in wall paintings, to statuary, or by means of colored stones or glass inlaid in metal or wooden objects. The rhythm of coloring was based on the presence of main and supporting colors where red, yellow, green, and blue were the basic former ones, black and white the latter.[214] In ornamentation different polychrome rhythms were applied, where a standard one was red-blue-green-blue-red.[215] This alternating coloring was particularly suitable for painted details or for inlay work in the elaborate royal dress of the period and for the patterns applied there, such as the block-border pattern or the stylized wing- and breast-feather patterns.[216] A good example in question is the royal (metal) belt and *devanteau* which are repeatedly rendered with the painted, or rather inlaid, stylized wing-feather pattern, where each "feather" received different coloring, in fact imitating the multi-faceted coloring of certain actual birds' wings (*Pl. 21.4*).[217] Similar fixed schemes were used for the royal, inlaid metal cobras, where the hood of the creature consisted of three distinct compartments colored blue, red, and green, and where the ventral scales of the reptile's body, placed centrally, were alternating red-blue-green-blue-red, in accordance with the standard scheme referred to above.[218] It must be kept in mind that the Egyptian artists and craftsmen obeyed rules of color symbolism.[219] To

[211] On the Sidonian limestone figure (**Cat. Ph22**), however, referred to in n. 209, red paint is preserved on every second horizontal row of elongated "beads" on the *devanteau*. This does remind us of the Egyptian manner of applying color as pattern on this device, a manner which is outlined briefly below.

[212] What comes to mind is the pattern of alternating rectangles and squares found along the lower kilt borders of **Cat. 6**, from Idalion, and **Cat. 61**, of unknown provenance: see above, "The kilt – the geometric patterns".

[213] For more on this matter, see below in Ch. 5.1.3. The application of red and black paint to the tasseled border of a mantle, in a terracotta figure from Toumba (Salamis), may or may not be related to what is being discussed here: Munro & Tubbs 1891, pl. 9. It is interesting to note that the same (?) coroplastic workshop produced the large-scale terracotta warriors displaying painted, Egyptianizing decoration. For slightly more on these figures, see below, in Ch. 5.2.2.

[214] *LÄ* 2 (1977), 117–128 s.v. Farben (E. Brunner-Traut), p. 118.

[215] Evers 1929, 5–7.

[216] Daressy 1902, 162, no. 24627, pl. 35 (a vulture carved from sycamore wood, covered with gesso and – in opulent paint – the stylized breast-feather pattern); Robins 1997, 137, fig. 155, a wall painting from the tomb of Anen, at Thebes, showing King Amenhotep III and Queen Tiy seated in a kiosk. Note the patterns on the supporting columns and on the footstool of the queen (the stylized wing-feather pattern).

[217] Jéquier 1921, 19, refers to a multi-colored kilt called "zeb" or "dema", that is, "wing", recalling the multi-colored wings of certain birds. In *Pl. 21.4*, the black-and-white print does not show the coloring of the *devanteau* and belt, the characteristic red-blue-green-blue-red. The ceremonial animal's tail is in alternately blue and gold. For additional painted depictions of royal *devanteaux* with similar coloring: Robins 1997, 137, 168, figs. 155, 197 (depictions of Pharaohs Amenhotep III and Seti I).

[218] Evers 1929, 24–25, §156–157; Leclant 1979, 227, fig. 221 (color photograph of cobra from the tomb of Tutankhamun); Robins 1997, 137, fig. 155 (the cobras found on the throne of Queen Tiy and along the lower border of the *devanteau* of Pharaoh Amenhotep III).

[219] *LÄ* 2 (1977), 117–128 s.v. Farben (E. Brunner-Traut), pp. 122–125; Eschweiler 1994, 248–254; Wilkinson 1994, 104–113.

what extent this symbolism was consistent is a matter for discussion.[220]

It has been suggested that opulent patterning and coloring whether in textiles, wall paintings, or metal work were not characteristic of Egyptian Middle Kingdom art, but were rather introduced from abroad during the New Kingdom period.[221] In wall paintings of the Eighteenth to Twentieth Dynasties in fact, the dress of foreign peoples are elaborate, with much color and pattern.[222] Among the textile finds in the tomb of Pharaoh Tutankhamun there was a certain amount of foreign items of dress, some of which seem to have been imported from abroad, others manufactured in Egypt.[223] We noted above, in "The kilt – the vegetal ornaments", that several new, vegetal forms were introduced into Egypt – probably from the Levant – at this very period of time. Perhaps it is no coincidence that several elaborate plant depictions are provided with similar rich coloring, with colors arranged in an alternating manner.[224]

Statuary in the round of the Late Period does not preserve any indications of the addition of such opulent coloring.

The broad collar

The Egyptian broad collar or *usekh*[225] was both garment and adornment, a piece of costume jewelry for personal use which in ceremonial or funerary contexts took on an amuletic form of protection for the wearer. Two semi-circular terminals or end pieces held the strings on which cylindrical beads were arranged. The beads were either tightly strung vertically in several rows,[226] or arranged horizontally in zones kept in place by vertical spacer bars of gilded bone, ivory, or wood.[227] The lowermost row of the collar frequently consisted of drop-shaped beads – probably reflecting flower petals – whose function originally may have been to act as tiny weights, keeping the collar in place.[228] This row of petals or drops is the standard border element on unadorned, broad collars from the Old Kingdom onwards and it continues to be such throughout Egyptian history.[229] The beads themselves were made of faience, pottery, beautifully colored stone, glass, or – in more elaborate examples – gold and silver. The collar terminals had strings attached which were used to tie the collar at the back of the neck. The heavy collar required a counterpoise to hold it in place, hanging from these terminals on to the back of the wearer. This weight, or *mankhet*, is rarely rendered in sculpture but we sometimes find it depicted in relief work and amulets.[230]

A funerary version of the broad collar was the falcon collar, where the semi-circular end pieces were replaced by two falcon heads – possibly to be identified with Horus – turned away from each other. We find this type of collar placed apotropaically on the chest of the deceased and also painted on the lids of sarcophagi.[231]

In the Old Kingdom we find the broad collar painted on sculpture of nobles and higher officials,[232] worn mostly by men but sometimes by their wives as well.[233] There are extant examples found in excavations from both the Old and the Middle

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220 B.L. Goff notes much inconsistency within the symbolic use of color during the Twenty-first Dynasty: Goff 1979, 151.

221 Kitchen 1986, 40–41 (discussing alternate inlay in the Nimrud ivories); Lilyquist 1999, 214–218, pl. 7.b.

222 Robins 1997, 137, fig. 155, for a row of captured and tied enemies placed below the kiosk, as well as depictions on the throne and footstool of the king.

223 Vogelsang-Eastwood 1999, 80–91. The "Syrian tunic", embroidered with the king's name, was probably made outside Egypt and sent as a gift to the young king.

224 Teeter 1999, 96, a painted, limestone, composite floral column from Medinet Habu (Ramesses III) with, among other things, the lily with yellow calyx, blue volute-shaped petals, and red central spike. From underneath the blue leaves hang three drop shapes colored red, blue, and red; Lilyquist 1999, pl. 7.b, a textile from the tomb of Pharaoh Tuthmosis IV displaying several colorful patterns, among which lilies with blue volute-shaped petals and red central spike.

225 This is the English transcription of the Egyptian word for "broad" or "the broad one".

226 An excellent photo showing this is found in Andrews 1990, 66–67.

227 Aldred 1971, 127. This technique created a pattern which was highly appreciated by the Egyptian artists: the block-border pattern. We encountered it on Egyptian belts and *devanteaux*, above.

228 A similar explanation was proposed for the drops at the base of the Egyptian *devanteaux*, above. The fact that in general, we find drops on collars for every-day use, but not on the ceremonial collars produced only for a funerary context, may strengthen the possibility that the outer row of drops had indeed a practical purpose to fill.

229 Aldred 1971, pls. 19–20 (Old Kingdom), pls. 7–8 (Middle Kingdom), pl. 146, a rare example of a Late Period miniature collar of inlaid gold. As regards Aldred's pl. 19, the collar of Impy (Sixth Dynasty), C. Andrews notes that the outer row of pendants are stylized beetles: Andrews 1990, 119–120, fig. 100.

230 Borchardt 1911, 50, no. 56, a Fifth Dynasty statue with the *mankhet* painted on the back, and p. 103, no. 139, a similar depiction on a wooden female statuette from the same early period.

231 Aldred 1971, pls. 7, 65, the second example coming from the tomb of one of the wives of Tuthmosis III. The falcon collar is current from the Middle Kingdom onwards: Evers 1929, 29, §193.

232 Sometimes the area of the collar is raised in slight relief: Evers 1929, 30, §196; Staehelin 1966, 113–116.

233 Vandier 1958, 112, pl. 10. For an example of a painted rendering of the horizontal-vertical arrangement of the beads mentioned above, see pl. 29.2. See also Aldred 1971, pl. 18, showing the well-known statue of Nofret, from Meydum.

Kingdom.[234] A slight evolution of form takes place in that the Old Kingdom examples are almost circular, and quite broad, while the collars of the Middle Kingdom are generally more shallow and U-shaped.[235]

During the Middle Kingdom we find the first instance where Pharaoh is wearing the broad collar, in a sphinx statue of Amenemhet II (Twelfth Dynasty).[236] It is not until the New Kingdom period, though, that the collar becomes part of the standard equipment for gods, royals, and nobles alike, for men and for women, in its more elaborate form.[237] The New Kingdom elaboration, as we shall see, consists of adding more registers to the collars, thus making them larger.[238] During the Amarna period collars are introduced which entirely cover the shoulders of the wearer.[239] Further, the elaboration involves a new and rich repertoire of vegetal ornaments adorning the *usekh*, reflecting collars made from actual plants, flowers, and fruits.

Again, the tomb of Tutankhamun forms an important archaeological context necessary to examine.[240] On the chest of the dead king were 12 different collars, kept in place by various layers of bandaging.[241] Apart from sheet gold examples, featuring the vulture (the goddess Nekhbet), the falcon (Horus), and the cobra (Wadjet) with protectively outstretched wings,[242] there was one bead work falcon collar resting closest to the body, made up of minute beads of alternating gold and blue glass.[243] An astonishing find was the floral collar[244] consisting of actual leaves, flower petals, fruits, berries, and glass beads that had been knit onto a circular sheet of papyrus and placed around the neck of the king, on top of the third (innermost, gold) coffin.[245] Earlier, in 1908, three almost intact floral collars of the same type were found in a cache in the Valley of the Kings.[246] It is believed that they were part of the debris from a funerary banquet celebrating Pharaoh Tutankhamun, where they were worn by the guests and then ceremonially buried.[247] It is this elaborate type of collar, introduced during the Eighteenth Dynasty,[248] which seems to be instantly imitated in more enduring materials, such as bead and *cloisonné* work. The manufacture of faience and glass beads reached a high point during the period,[249] and the leaves, berries, and fruits of the original collars were imitated in mold-made, polychrome faience.[250] Eight collars of this imitative, floral style were found in wooden boxes in the antechamber of Tutankhamun's grave.[251] It is important to emphasize that the elaborate floral collar is only rarely encountered on sculpture in the round, while

234 Aldred 1971, pls. 19–20, the first being a Sixth Dynasty example, the other datable to the early Middle Kingdom.

235 Aldred 1971, pls. 7–8; Evers 1929, 33, §218.

236 Vandier 1958, 180 n. 4; Evers 1929, 101, pl. 48, §659, p. 31, §209. H.G. Evers mentions a sculpture of King Mykerinos wearing a (painted) collar, p. 31, §207, and refers to it as: "…das einzige sichere Beispiel aus dem Alten Reich." No reference is given, however. Indeed, there is at least one depiction of Mykerinos with the collar: Abubakr 1937, pl. 2. A. Wilkinson notes that one of the earliest depictions of a broad collar is found in a relief from Heliopolis depicting King Djoser (Third Dynasty): Wilkinson 1971, 31.

237 The elaboration of dress, jewelry, and headdress during the first half of the New Kingdom period was mentioned in connection to the *devanteau*, above, and is indeed a general tendency involving the broad collar as well.

238 We find relief depictions of collars displaying several – six, eight, or more – separate registers of vegetal ornaments.

239 Vandier 1958, 349, pl. 111.1.

240 Tutankhamun's personal jewelry – placed in the antechamber of the tomb – had been stolen by looters, to a great extent, while his funerary amulets and jewelry could be recovered: Aldred 1971, 10. There is a great difference between the quality and the quantity of things deposited in a grave, as compared to what would have been worn during a person's life time. The collars that were part of the grave equipment were made of sheet gold, that is, they are very thin and thus not suited for daily wear, but were made for symbolic use in the funeral, only: Carter 1927, pls. 79–81. The quality of workmanship displayed in these collars is, of course, excellent.

241 See the diagram depicted in Wilkinson 1971, 111, fig. 50.

242 Eight sheet gold collars of this kind were found, alongside three more elaborate ones made out of inlaid gold plaques, fashioned in the *cloisonné* technique: Carter 1927, pls. 79–81.

243 A further collar consisting of plain, dark blue faience beads was placed over the abdomen of the king: Carter 1927, 130.

244 This was not the only example of flowers once fresh that were found in the grave. Beside funerary bouquets in the antechamber there were garlands and wreaths placed on the mummy, and on the statues and statuettes of the king himself and of certain gods: Carter & Mace 1923, 124; Carter 1927, 72, 190–191, pl. 21; Germer 1989, 9–12.

245 Carter 1927, 191–192, pl. 36. This collar is well echoed in what is worn by the young Pharaoh in depictions on his small golden shrine: Eaton-Krauß & Graefe 1985, pls. 17, 19, pp. 19–20 especially n. 97.

246 Edwards 1976, 17–18, pl. 6. There were originally more collars, at least half a dozen. Three of them are well-preserved, however; indeed, almost intact. Two of the collars are more U-shaped, one almost circular. All three have concentric rows of olive leaves, cornflowers, berries of woody nightshade, and blue faience disk beads.

247 Edwards 1976, 17.

248 Evers 1929, 32, §213.

249 Aldred 1971, 36, 125.

250 Aldred 1971, 231. The molds had the shapes of cornflowers, mandrake or persea fruits, dates, lotus petals, poppy petals, willow leaves, and other natural forms. Wilson 1986, figs. 48–50, provides instructive drawings of some mold-made shapes and their arrangements.

251 Carter & Mace 1923, 114, 172–173, pl. 39; Aldred 1971, fig. 125 (color photograph).

virtually always being depicted in wall paintings and reliefs of the period.[252]

The *menit* necklace with counterpoise is a type of collar which is firmly associated with the goddess Hathor.[253] Consisting of beads, it was not only worn but also used as a sistrum-like, cultic instrument.[254] There are recurrent depictions of Pharaoh receiving the *menit* from the goddess, and Hathor, in her different guises, is frequently shown wearing a broad collar of this kind.[255]

As we saw above in the kilt chapter, the period following the close of the New Kingdom era is characterized by a limited amount of finds, particularly in terms of sculpture. Our evidence concerning the appearance of the broad collar during the Third Intermediate Period comes mainly from stone relief depictions. There we encounter a plain type of broad collar being worn by royalty and gods alike.[256] In such plain depictions of the collar, at Bubastis, it is clear that each collar consists of two or three (undecorated) bead registers, and an outer row of petal-shaped beads.[257]

The Theban tradition of elaborate tomb painting, offering so much evidence during the New Kingdom, is not continued in this period, but the decoration is transferred to coffins and funerary papyri.[258] These elaborately painted inner and outer mummiform coffins have the broad collar painted on the chest of the deceased.[259] It is the floral New Kingdom collar which is repeated, hanging down in multiple strands and consisting of a large array of floral motifs.[260] Quite often the collars have falcon-headed terminals, and are thus depicting the funerary falcon collar.[261] With few changes the manufacture of this kind of painted wooden coffin continues down well into the Twenty-sixth Dynasty – with broad, floral collars painted upon them.[262] Speaking again of the Twenty-first Dynasty period it is interesting to note a difference between depiction and reality. In contrast to the elaborate floral collars painted on the coffins of common people is the fact that there are no known examples where an actual *usekh* collar has been found together with a deceased.[263] The few stone statuary depictions we know from this and the following dynasties generally lack this feature as well.[264] It is worth noting, however, that there are several examples of inlaid bronze statuettes where a broad floral collar of the New Kingdom type is encountered, occasionally displaying sets of new ornaments or constellations thereof.[265]

We noted above that the revival of Egyptian sculpture during the late Third Intermediate Period and the first part of the Late Period saw a renewal of old formulas in art, especially those of the Old Kingdom. Just as in the case of the kilt this meant the continued rendering of plain versions of the broad collar, or indeed no collar at all, in Egyptian sculpture.[266] A particularity is found in Kushite period reliefs, where King Taharqa is depicted with a broad collar decorated by a falcon, its wings spread,

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252 Statues in the round are rather depicted wearing a plain broad collar – seemingly merely consisting of tube-shaped beads – with a bottom row of hanging drops. For an exception: Vandier 1958, pl. 106.4 (Amenhotep III).

253 Wilkinson 1971, 68–69, fig. 42; Aldred 1971, figs. 114–115.

254 *LÄ* 4 (1982), 52–53 s.v. Menit (E. Staehelin).

255 See, for example, the beautiful wall painting from the tomb of Pharaoh Seti I, showing the king being granted a *menit* necklace by Hathor: Roberts 1995, book cover. Note that the king is wearing a broad collar with seven mandrake or persea fruits attached.

256 For Twenty-first Dynasty examples: Goff 1979, figs. 77, 155, depicting Herihor and gods.

257 Naville 1891, pls. 36.A, 36.L, 40.E–F, all depictions from the Sed festival gate of Osorkon II.

258 Thus, from the Twenty-first Dynasty onwards elaborately decorated coffins are placed in plain, underground caches: Goff 1979, 90–91; Robins 1997, 200.

259 One or two wooden coffins held a cartonnage case, all three containers being mummiform. From the 7th century B.C. onwards, the cartonnage cases are replaced by a new type of inner wooden coffin, with rectangular pedestal and back-pillar support. On these, too, we find painted, elaborate, floral collars: Robins 1997, 219–221, fig. 264.

260 The lotus is often found in the lowermost row in Twenty-first Dynasty collars: Goff 1979, 93, figs. 4, 6, 9–10; Andrews 1984, 44–45, figs. 47, 49 (the second example being the Twenty-second Dynasty coffin of the Libyan Pasenhor); Robins 1997, 200–201, fig. 241.

261 Goff 1979, 93, figs. 4, 6.

262 Robins 1997, 221, fig. 264, the painted inner coffin of Irthoreru.

263 Goff 1979, 104–105. Deceased persons buried during this period have instead strings of tiny amulets placed around their necks. The royal tombs of the period contained the traditional "*shebiu*" collars of diskoid beads, along with other plain bead collars: Wilkinson 1971, 173–175; Aldred *et al.* 1980, 280, fig. 267, for a gold and lapis lazuli collar of Psusennes I, consisting of seven concentric rows of diskoid beads; Andrews 1990, 47, fig. 35, for another one of these collars, made of a double row of lapis lazuli ball beads.

264 Aldred 1980b, 130, fig. 112 (statue of the vizir Hor, Twenty-second Dynasty), p. 128, fig. 110 (a kneeling statue of Osorkon III, Twenty-third Dynasty).

265 Aldred 1980b, 120, 127, figs. 105, 108, for the well-known statuette depicting the god's wife of Amun, Karomama (Twenty-second Dynasty, grand-daughter of Osorkon I); Aldred *et al.* 1980, 282, fig. 275, the lady Takushit wearing a broad collar with large, central, winged scarab (Twenty-fourth Dynasty). The collar of Karomama is of the Amarna type, completely covering the shoulders. Both collars are inlaid with gold, silver, and electrum.

266 Aldred 1980b, 146–148, text in connection to fig. 131, a kneeling statue of Nekhtorheb, dignitary of Psammetichus II (Twenty-sixth Dynasty). In the statue, Nekhtorheb is wearing a plain *shenti* kilt and has no jewelry whatsoever.

placed centrally on the device.[267] An extant sheet gold collar, belonging to a Kushite queen, has a *repoussé* decoration in the shape of a winged scarab, thus echoing the placing of a winged creature in the king's (relief) collar.[268] Other extant collars from the period are generally of the plain, tubular bead version.[269] In the Twenty-sixth Dynasty few collars, if any, are found in statuary. We noted above, however, while discussing the kilt, that only a very limited number of intact pieces of royal sculpture are known from the period. In a statue featuring Pharaoh Apries as a sphinx there is a plain collar with a bottom row of drops hanging around the royal, leonine neck.[270] For the rest, our evidence is rather that of a complete lack of jewelry – and of broad collars – in Twenty-sixth Dynasty sculpture.[271]

In contrast to this general lack of jewelry stands the decoration found on Late Period anthropoid stone sarcophagi, the production of which flourished during this particular period.[272] Common to these high-quality stone coffins are the rendering of the face of the deceased, the tripartite wig, the ceremonial beard,[273] the vertical columns of inscription – and the elaborate, broad, floral collar.[274] Several examples display broad collars of a more plain type, consisting of rows of tube-shaped beads, often with the falcon-headed ends which are, by now, ageold characteristics of a funerary collar.[275] Others wear a floral collar containing different vegetal forms and with a bottom row of pendant drop shapes.[276] The collars depicted were most probably faience examples, composed of strings of mold-made beads imitating leaves and flowers, as described above.[277] The stylized garlands so typical of floral collars, described in detail below, are often repeated.[278] These collars, too, generally display falcon-headed end pieces.

The association between the goddess Hathor and the *menit* necklace possibly explains the way the goddess is depicted in general, wearing a broad, floral collar.[279] This association is perhaps even more accentuated during the Ptolemaic Period, when the collar is the main symbol of the cow-headed deity.[280]

The Cypriote version

Several of the Cypriote limestone figures wear elaborate broad collars.[281] The collars are found on figures with naked upper parts of the body, but also overlying the short-sleeved garments found on many of the statues and statuettes.[282] The size of each piece may have played a role in whether the collar came to be rendered in low relief in the stone, or was merely

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267 Leclant 1965, 329–330, pls. 23, 26, §12; Berges & Tuna 2001, 144–145, fig. 8, where the Pharaoh depicted is said to be Shebitku. Compare the winged scarab depicted in the bronze statuette of Takushit, referred to in n. 265.

268 Andrews 1990, 122–123, fig. 104; Wilkinson 1971, 189–190, notes that the scarab is non-Egyptian in style. The collar of the queen has such a small diameter, however, that it was most probably worn high on the neck like a choker: Andrews 1990, 122–123, fig. 104.

269 Wilkinson 1971, 189.

270 Aldred *et al.* 1980, 285, fig. 286.

271 Bothmer 1960, 114–116, stating that basically, from the end of the Third Intermediate Period until the end of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, no jewelry was ever worn in sculpture. The exception is a princely statue (the Cairo Museum, C.G. 42204), displaying the (plain) broad collar.

272 From between the Twentieth and the beginning of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, no stone anthropoid sarcophagi are known, but merely wooden examples, referred to earlier: Buhl 1959, 17.

273 The Osiride ceremonial beard is encountered on representations of women as well: Buhl 1959, 154.

274 In this respect the stone sarcophagi continue the decorative tradition from the wooden coffins of the Twenty-first Dynasty onwards.

275 Robins 1997, 223, fig. 267, a black basalt sarcophagus lid of Sasobek, vizir during Psammetichus I (Twenty-sixth Dynasty). The broad falcon collar consists of several plain, concentric registers.

276 Buhl 1959, figs. 4, 7 (with stylized garlands, hanging lilies, and a floral motif called the "paradise flower", treated below in Ch. 2.2.2). Multiple registers of floral decoration are found in these collars. Often encountered are alternate hanging (lotus and lily) flowers and buds, see pp. 153–160.

277 Buhl 1959, 154. As noted above, however, no such actual collars have come down to us from the period in question – indeed not since the end of the New Kingdom. A convention, thus, conserved in relief renderings through time? It is very interesting to note that other features depicted on these sarcophagi – like the winged goddess Nut, the scarab, or the shrine-shaped pectorals – have been discovered in metal replicas sewn onto the linen wrappings of the mummies in question, or placed on their chests: pp. 160–161.

278 See below, in "The broad collar – the vegetal ornaments". M.-L. Buhl refers to this row of stylized leaves as "double leaf ornaments".

279 See, for example, a column in high relief shaped like a *djed* pillar, now in the Cairo Museum (Inv. no. ?): the capital consists, characteristically, of the naophor Hathoric head with a broad, floral collar around the neck of the goddess. The collar features mandrake or persea fruits, lotus flowers, and standardized leaves. The date of the column is, unfortunately, unknown to me.

280 Sphinxes in the courtyard of the Dendera temple all wear the broad, floral collar with standardized leaves, rosettes, and outer drop shapes.

281 There are 25 Cypriote collars treated in this study: 19 are rendered in low relief in the stone, one by incision, and the remaining five collars were merely painted. There are examples of Egyptianizing bronze statuettes, found at Idalion, which display broad collars around their necks, some with stylized (mostly zig-zag) decoration: see Addendum 2, Nos. 2, 4, 5, and 9.

282 **Cat. 30** (Golgoi), **Cat. 49** (Amathus), **Cat. 52** (Palaepaphos) are examples of collar-wearing figures which display nipples or navel, indicating a naked upper torso. **Cat. 23**, **Cat. 27**, **Cat. 29**, and **Cat. 39** on the other hand – all from Golgoi – wear short-sleeved garments underneath their collars.

incised or painted.[283] One of the Cypriote figures, **Cat. 48**, from Amathus, wears a collar which is as beautifully carved on the back side of the figure as on the front, a unique feature in the Cypriote material and actually also according to Egyptian standards. Judging from this single occurrence we note that there are no end pieces and no counterpoise in the Cypriote material, but the collar is rendered as a continuous whole around the neck of the figure. A majority of the figures have collars consisting of two decorated registers followed by a bottom row of hanging drops,[284] but there are examples with three ornamented registers.[285] The lower drops are faithfully repeated in close to all Cypriote instances.[286]

If the standard Cypriote number of decorated registers are two, not counting the bottom row of drops, the standard ornaments filling them are of a floral and vegetal kind, much as in the elaborate, Egyptian New Kingdom-type collar (see below). Stylized vegetal forms are in fact encountered in all but two of the collars rendered in low relief. In **Cat. 49**, from Amathus, the collar seems to consist of a double row of rounded pearls or beads, while in **Cat. 59**, unearthed at Kazafani, two of the registers of the collar are decorated by incised double, vertical lines. Three of the four figures with painted collars merely have the plain outline of the collar indicated.[287] In **Cat. 29**, however, from Golgoi, the painted collar clearly consists of three registers, where the two closest to the neck seem to contain rounded (vegetal?) objects.

The ornaments

The vegetal ornaments

Characteristic for the Cypriote broad relief collars are – apart from the lowermost, hanging drop shapes – the hanging triangles and the kidney-shaped fruits (*Fig. 5*). A combination of triangles and fruits are found in eight of the 12 well-preserved Cypriote collars with a stylized floral or vegetal decoration.[288] Triangles are encountered in all examples but one (**Cat. 23**). In several depictions the large, hanging triangles overlie slightly curving cables or string patterns, ranging from one single string up to three (*Fig. 5*). Like the triangles, the Cypriote kidney-shaped fruit takes up the whole height of the collar register, in this closely echoing its Egyptian counterpart (see below). There are two instances, however, where an attachment between the upper part of the fruit and the thin band bordering the register can be seen (*Fig. 5*).[289] This may be an imitation of a naturalistic rendering of the fruit with its chalice still in place and part of the plant stem connected to it. Or the Cypriote renderings could be the result of the imitation in stone of mold-made, fruit-shaped beads suspended from the uppermost of the two thin bands that border their frieze.[290]

Similar to what was encountered on the kilts of certain of the Cypriote figures, there is one example of a broad decorated collar displaying the lily and bud linked with curving loops (**Cat. 19**, from Potamia). In one additional collar, lilies and buds are arranged in an alternating manner, although not linked together (*Fig. 6*).[291] Another Egyptian-type trait clearly visible in this last-mentioned figure is the arrangement of the flowers, where the smaller bud fits harmoniously beneath the curves of two larger flowers.[292] This is also found in the collar of **Cat. 47**, from Larnaka.[293]

There can be no doubt that the Cypriote decorated collars were made in imitation of the Egyptian New

[283] Generally, smaller statuettes have collars of a more simple kind, while the larger figures have thoroughly carved registers in low relief in the stone. However, this is definitely a case of no rule without exceptions; **Cat. 44**, from Tamassos, was originally only about 50 cm high, and displays a well-carved collar. Vice versa, two life-size, high-quality pieces (**Cat. 52**, from Palaepaphos, and **Cat. 29**, from Golgoi) display collars which are merely incised in the stone, for the one, and painted, for the other. Note that with the outline of the collar incised, **Cat. 52** may have had details of the collar rendered in paint.

[284] This is true for nine out of the 19 collars rendered in low relief: **Cat. 18** and **Cat. 19** (Potamia), **Cat. 20**, **Cat. 21**, **Cat. 26**, and **Cat. 30** (Golgoi), **Cat. 44** (Tamassos), **Cat. 48** (Amathus), and **Cat. 60** (of unknown provenance). The five additional collars are – as mentioned above – incised or painted, and thus display neither registers nor drop shapes.

[285] **Cat. 14** (Idalion), **Cat. 27** (Golgoi), and **Cat. 47** (Larnaka).

[286] **Cat. 23** is the only example where a decorated collar rendered in low relief lacks the characteristic drops. The collar of **Cat. 44**, decorated with mandrake or persea fruits and triangles, is terminated by a plain register painted red.

[287] In **Cat. 10**, however, from Idalion, the "collar" consists of several (red) T-shaped areas, each with a drop beneath.

[288] In fact, in seven of the collars they are even arranged in the same manner, with kidney-shaped fruits placed closest to the neck of the figure, followed by hanging triangles, and then the bottom row of hanging drops. Note that there is a certain geographical spread of this standardized arrangement over the island: **Cat. 14** (Idalion), **Cat. 21**, **Cat. 26**, and **Cat. 27** (Golgoi), **Cat. 47** (Larnaka), and **Cat. 48** (Amathus).

[289] **Cat. 21**, from Golgoi, and **Cat. 48**, found at Amathus.

[290] For more on the actual transmission of the Egyptianizing dress and its details to Cyprus, see Ch. 5.1.3.

[291] **Cat. 8**, from Idalion.

[292] Petrie 1920, 64.

[293] Here, however, the ornaments linked in this harmonious manner are so-called paradise flowers, an ornament which will be returned to below, in Ch. 2.2.2.

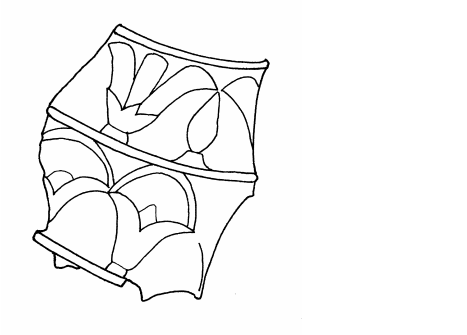


Fig. 6. The preserved part of the floral collar of ***Cat. 8****, from Idalion. Lilies and buds in the upper register, paradise flowers in the lower.*

Kingdom floral type.[294] To begin with, the Cypriote register with triangular shapes overlying thin, slightly curving, horizontal strings comes very close to what we find in Egyptian depictions.[295] This is a stylized rendering of a particular type of garland, tied together with leaves and petals, at first, and then sewn onto the collar backing (*Fig. 7.a–b*).[296] Several well-preserved Egyptian garlands have come down to us, encountered on mummies of commoners and royalty alike.[297] Making such a garland was a complicated and time-consuming task, since the leaves were bond together in an intricate manner: leaves of various kinds were folded around a strip of papyrus pith,[298] and fastened by means of thinner strips of papyrus.[299] One of the thin strips was placed over, the other under, alternate leaves.[300] The folded leaves now served as pockets into which other – more colorful – petals and flowers could be inserted.[301] In general, petals of the blue lotus were attached, as well as colorful flowers of various kinds.[302] In their stylized form, found on statues and in wall paintings and reliefs, these garlands came to be rendered very much like the Cypriote examples, with (thin) hanging triangles overlying one or two slightly curving, thin, horizontal bands (*Fig. 7.b*).[303]

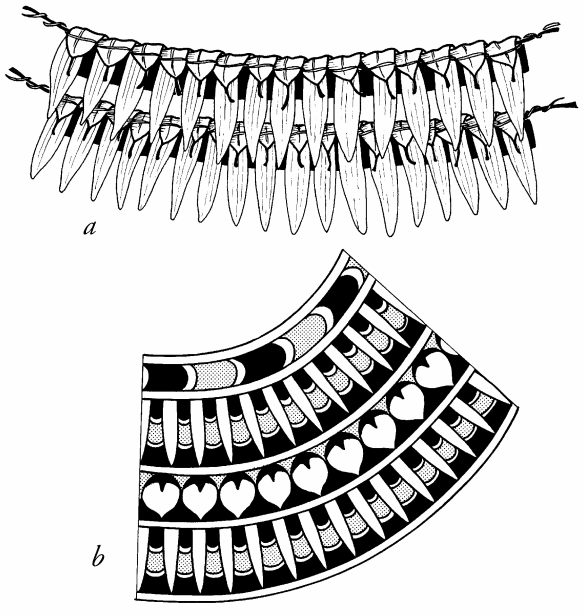


Fig. 7. The Egyptian New Kingdom floral collar: a) a garland consisting of olive leaves folded around strips of papyrus pith, with blue lotus petals inserted into the created pockets, b) the floral collar as depicted in art, with two garlands framing a row of persea fruits.

Another recurrent feature in the Cypriote collars which can be identified through comparisons with the Egyptian New Kingdom counterparts is the mimusops (called "persea" by the Greeks) or mandrake fruit. In the Cypriote material the fruit is always rendered without its chalice, while its most common form in Egyptian depictions and amulets is with the green or blue leaves left attached.[304] This is a

294For an excellent color depiction of a New Kingdom floral collar: Desroches-Noblecourt 1976, 165–167, no. 35, pl. 35 (painted wood).

295Of course, the Cypriote triangular "leaf" is much broader than the general, stylized petal which it echoes.

296The Egyptian collar backing, as we saw above – in the extant floral collars from the time of Tutankhamun – consisted of a sheet of papyrus cut in circular or semi-circular shape.

297Germer 1988, 3–14; Germer 1989, 2. Well-known are, for example, the garlands found appended on the statuette of the architect Khà, standing in his tomb at Thebes, and those found on the mummy of Ramesses II: Täckholm 1976, 116–117 (Khà), pp. 130–134 (the garlands of the great Pharaoh). It is worth noting that Ramesses' garlands were placed there during the Twenty-first Dynasty reburial of his mummy, at Deir el-Bahari. The garlands – preserved, examined, and drawn by the German botanist G. Schweinfurth – are reproduced in Wilson 1986, fig. 46 – and shown in this book as *Fig. 7.a*.

298In general, leaves of the persea (*Mimusops schimperi Hochst.*), olive (*Olea europaea L.*), and willow trees (*Salix subserrata Willd.*) were used: Germer 1988, 3.

299Instead of papyrus pith, strings of date palm leaves could be used as binding material: Germer 1988, 3.

300An excellent photo showing this technique of binding is found in Hepper 1990, 17, displaying part of a garland found in Tutankhamun's tomb, with olive leaves folded over the papyrus strip, cornflowers (*Centaurea depressa*) inserted into the pockets created.

301In *Fig. 7.a*, blue lotus petals are found inserted into the folded olive leaves.

302This is well illustrated in two small garlands found on Tutankhamun's mummy: the first one consists of olive leaves and cornflowers, the second of olive leaves, blue lotus petals, and cornflowers. The tiny collars were placed around the cobra and vulture attached to the first and second gilded, wooden sarcophagi: Germer 1989, 4–7, pls. 1–2.

303Corzo 1994, 154, no. 26, a leaf garland on a limestone stele found in the tomb of Nefertari (Nineteenth Dynasty); Leclant 1979, 173, fig. 159, the famous painted limestone bust of Nefertiti (Eighteenth Dynasty).

304There are Egyptian examples of the persea or mandrake fruits without chalices too. In the tomb of Ramesses IX (Twentieth Dynasty), depictions show the king with collar fruits *with* chalices, while there is a depiction of a mummy with collar fruits

yellow fruit, round in shape but with the lower end slightly pointed, attached to a green chalice consisting of four leaves, of which only three are visible (*Fig. 7.b*).[305] The fruit is very often encountered in Egyptian art during the New Kingdom period, not only as part of floral collars but in a variety of other contexts as well.[306] Its botanical identity is, however, disputed: both the fruit of the mimusops tree[307] and that of the mandrake plant have been suggested.[308] Neither of these was native to ancient Egypt, but imported and cultivated.[309] I follow R. Germer and others and refer to the fruit in the following as the persea fruit.[310] It has been suggested that the fruits of the persea tree – ripening when the Nile was flooded – were connected to the cyclic regenerative powers of the great river.[311]

Recalling again the Cypriote material presented above, we noted that the bottom row of drop shapes is virtually always present. In the Egyptian material the plain bead collar was always equipped with this lower row of drops. The equivalent in the elaborate, floral New Kingdom collars was the lowermost row of lancet-shaped, blue lotus petals, in faience examples strung on thin cords with tiny beads acting as spacer elements. The resulting beaded bands, onto which various floral elements were arranged, seem to be what is repeated in the Cypriote collars.[312]

Regarding the lily and bud linked with curving loops in the Cypriote material, counterparts are found in Egyptian art and jewelry in general – although basically not in Egyptian collars themselves.[313] There are a few Ptolemaic examples of this ornament in the Egyptian collar material: none, however, from earlier objects.[314]

The geometric patterns

Thus, it seems clear that what could appear to be geometric patterns in the Cypriote collars, like the hanging triangles, are rather stylized floral designs. Perhaps this is also true for the ornaments encountered in the collar of **Cat. 20**, from Golgoi. It could be stated, however, that the continuous band of three horizontal rectangles placed on top of each other, displayed in the middle register, could rather be a version of the Egyptian stylized wing-feather pattern, seemingly encountered on the belts (and one "*devanteau*") of three other large-scale Cypriote statues (**Cat. 3**, **Cat. 12**, and **Cat. 29**). Similarly, the double, vertical incisions visible on two of the thin registers of the collar of **Cat. 59**, from Kazafani, could be a distant version of the Egyptian block-border pattern (much like the border pattern found on the kilts of **Cat. 49** and **Cat. 6**). See the section

without these leaves. See also the cover illustration of Schoske *et al.* 1992, where the decoration of a wooden cosmetic container displays such fruits without chalices. Note that the mummy of Tutankhamun was wearing an actual floral collar with sewn-on fruits of this kind – all 11 lacking chalices. Connecting this fact to what we know from the Ramesside tomb paintings just referred to, one could ask if there was any symbolic difference between the fruit in these two various states: did the fruit which had lost its chalice have more of a funerary connotation?

305 This is the standard rendering in Egyptian art of flowers, plants, and fruits with four outer sepals or chalice leaves. Obvious parallels in this respect are the lotus flower and the papyrus: *Fig. 4.a* and *c)*.

306 For inlaid gold jewelry from the reign of Tuthmosis III, and a tomb painting from the time of Amenhotep II: Lilyquist 1988, 40–41, 60. C. Müller-Winkler notes that the (persea) amulet was developed during the Amarna period, produced in mold-made faience: Müller-Winkler 1987, 275–276. It continued in use well into the Ramesside period. The persea or mandrake fruit is depicted as part of funerary "Stabsträuße", it grows near ponds, is picked by young girls, carried forward in front of the deceased (as in the tomb of Userhat), and held, and sniffed at, by participants at banquets – to name but a few different but conventional renderings. It is even encountered on top the *atef* crown of Osiris, as in wall paintings from the tomb of Nefertari.

307 The persea tree (*Mimusops schimperi Hochst.*) grows to around 20 meters in height. The fruit, which is green but turns to yellow when ripe, has a sweet smell and a similarly pleasant taste. It is around three cm in length: Germer 1985, 148–149; Germer 1988, figs. 23, 50; Friis *et al.* 1986, 203, fig. 1 (*M. laurifolia* = *M. schimperi*).

308 The leaves of the mandragora plant (*Mandragora officinarum L.*) rest on the ground, each about 30–40 cm long. Its flowers sit on stalks which dry when the fruits grow, thus leaving the ripe fruits lying amidst the green leaves, like eggs in a bird's nest. Unlike the mimusops, the mandrake fruits have a slightly unpleasant smell and taste and are mildly narcotic – this being, perhaps, the cause for its alleged aphrodisiac properties. The root of the mandrake is outright poisonous: Germer 1985, 169–171.

309 Friis *et al.* 1986, 204; Germer 1985, 148, regarding the mimusops; Schoske *et al.* 1992, 61, on the possible origin of the mandragora in Palestine.

310 Actual remains of the persea fruit and leaves are frequently encountered in Egyptian tombs – while the mandrake fruit has never been found: Germer 1988, 12–14; Hepper 1990, 15; Schoske *et al.* 1992, 61. Cf. Bosse-Griffiths 1983, 66–67.

311 Derchain 1975, 84–86; Wilkinson 1998, 43.

312 The general Cypriote collar has raised ridges bordering each register of decoration. These could, possibly, be echoing the beaded strings referred to, which were needed in order to keep each faience floral element in its place: Schoske *et al.* 1992, 226, no. 153; Andrews 1990, 123, fig. 105 (faience collars); Wilson 1986, figs. 48–49 (drawings thereof).

313 The ornament was treated above, in "The kilt – the vegetal ornaments".

314 Buhl 1959, 157–158, 201, fig. 45 (E, b 20), a stone anthropoid sarcophagus from Qaw el-Kebir, with broad, floral collar featuring the lotus and bud chain, fig. 100 (an inlaid metal collar fragment featuring lilies and buds, cf. Buhl's "lotuses", p. 158). The lily and bud without curving (connecting) loops are quite frequently found in Late Period Egyptian stone sarcophagus collars: pp. 153–160. On pp. 158–159 Buhl notes that the linked, floral chain (whether containing lotus or lily and bud, whether hanging or upright) occurs in Eighteenth Dynasty art, but that there is a gap in time, a period during which the motif is not in use. It is taken up again in the Late Period, in its New Kingdom shape, only to be encountered in Ptolemaic times in connection to new, more stylized floral forms.

on the kilt and its geometric patterns, above, for both kinds of geometric patterns.

"Color as pattern"

In the section dealing with "The kilt" above, a particular way of applying color in an alternating manner, encountered (or, rather, preserved) in a handful of the Cypriote Egyptianizing figures, was mentioned. As regards the broad collar of the Cypriote figures one statue – **Cat. 21**, from Golgoi – displays a striking example of such alternate coloring. In the collar of the figure every second hanging triangle was painted red, as was, in the bottom row of drop shapes, every second drop (*Fig. 5*). Taken together with the remains of paint encountered on its belt, the statue does present a clear desire to use "color as pattern". As was noted above, there is no absolute certainty, but it is probable that the alternating features in this figure, seemingly left unpainted, were once covered with an ephemeral pigment – such as blue, for example.[315]

For the Egyptian evidence of alternate application of paint or color, see above "The kilt – "color as pattern"".

Headcovers, hair styles, and wigs

The headcovers depicted in Egyptian art range from plain headcloths providing shelter from sun and dust to ceremonial crowns and diadems. From this broad repertoire only a limited range can be found within Cypriote Archaic sculpture. In this section we are dealing with these few different versions encountered in Cypriote art, with the exceptions of the Egyptian crowns, which deserve a section of their own.[316]

Old Kingdom sculpture provides quite clear differences within the male sphere; while Pharaoh is depicted wearing the royal *nemes* headcloth, mortal scribes and officials have different kinds of coiffures, including the most simple category thereof, the clean-shaven head.[317] Not much is known about the origins of the royal *nemes* or the materials from which it was made, but it is clear that it remained the standard equipment of the Pharaohs of Egypt throughout Egyptian history – often in combination with the royal kilt, the *shenti*.[318] The plain or striped *nemes* is characterized by the two broad flaps resting on the shoulders and breast of the wearer, and the way its fabric (linen or other) was collected at the back in a kind of pigtail (*Fig. 8.a*). Another (modern) name for the *nemes* headcloth is "*klafi*".[319] Together with the other Egyptian royal headcovers it carried royal insignia frontally on the brim.[320] Unlike devices like the royal *shenti*, which was gradually taken up in the sculpture of private persons, the *nemes* remained a royal privilege throughout.[321] From the time of Pharaoh Amenhotep III the striped *nemes* headcloth is sometimes combined with the royal double crown.[322]

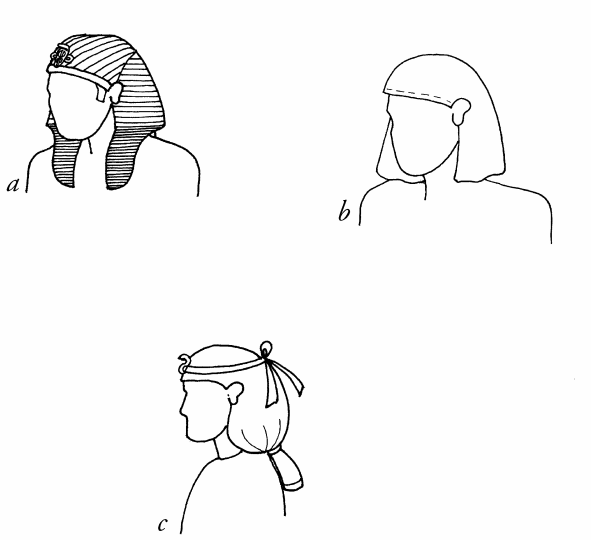


Fig. 8. Egyptian headcovers: a) the striped nemes *headcloth, b) the plain kerchief, c) the* khat *headdress.*

The coiffures found on private male sculpture are of different types: common is the short and rounded hairstyle with regular, rectangular compartments meant to depict curly hair.[323] This hairstyle disappears during the Middle Kingdom[324] but is reintroduced in the statuary of Tuthmosis IV – its

315 In an Egyptianizing statue from Sidon, **Cat. Ph22**, the lilies of the collar have a central, red spike. If the piece was colored in the Egyptian manner then the two petals of each flower would have been painted blue. It is possible that this was the case. See Ch. 4.3.3 n. 127.

316 I use the term "Cypriote art" since the characteristic *nemes* headcloth is worn by certain Cypriote sphinxes (never with the frontal *uraeus*, however) but not by male (Egyptianizing) votive sculpture from the island. The *nemes* is further encountered in connection to the Phoenician material, in Chs. 4 and 5 (where the frontal *uraeus* is, in fact, also present).

317 This is otherwise a characteristic of Egyptian priests, shaven as they were for the sake of purity before the god: Te Velde 1995, 1733.

318 For more on the *nemes* headcloth: Evers 1929, 7–16, §30–94.

319 Jéquier 1921, 9: Egyptian texts give the name "*nemes*", while "*klafi*" is a term introduced by the early Egyptologists, using a coptic word.

320 Most probably the textile cloth was attached to a (golden) temple band onto which the cobra (Wadjet) and/or the vulture (Nekhbet) were attached. See below for the two golden temple bands of Pharaoh Tutankhamun. For double *uraei*, see further below, for the Kushite period (Twenty-fifth Dynasty).

321 Levin 1964, 25 n. 87.

322 Bryan 1997, fig. 1, a glazed steatite statuette of the king.

323 Vandier 1958, 102.

324 Vandier 1958, 251.

first occurrence in royal statuary – and becomes increasingly popular in late New Kingdom Ramesside sculpture.[325] Another common hairdo is the one that extends down to the shoulders of the figure, with the parallel strands of hair either following the contour of the face or – more commonly – radiating from a point on the crown of the head. Female statuary shares this hairstyle: there are several examples of Old Kingdom couples with practically the same hairdo. If the differences between royal and private persons' headcovers even out in the following periods,[326] the distinction between what is male and female in this respect becomes sharper with time. The tripartite coiffure – introduced already in Old Kingdom representations in female but also in male statuary – becomes a standard female hairdo in later periods.[327]

In connection to this short survey of hair styles we must note that it is clear from a large number of depictions that we are actually dealing with wigs partly covering the real hair or protecting the clean-shaven head.[328] Most probably, the wig was worn on official occasions and was not an item of day-to-day life. In the New Kingdom period wigs of male and particularly female figures take on an elaborateness typical for the period. Depictions of the plain wig presents problems, however, in that we cannot be sure whether it is in fact a wig being portrayed, with the possibility of indicating strands of hair with paint, or whether we are dealing with a plain headcloth covering the person's wig or hair. The plain headcloth, or kerchief,[329] was a protective item of everyday life in the hot and dry Egyptian climate (*Fig. 8.b*). It was surely a convenient piece of cloth for everyone, not only the common people. In sculpture, however, it is indicated only on the heads of mortals. Indeed, the rich tomb of Pharaoh Tutankhamun provided several linen kerchiefs which were part of the young king's outfit.[330] The kerchief is basically a square piece of cloth with rounded lower corners, which has a sewn-on band along its upper rim from which extend two pieces of string; the band was placed across the forehead and the strings tied at the back.[331] An elaboration of the plain kerchief, intended for royalty only,[332] was the *khat* headdress, a baggy device held together at the back in a kind of pigtail, much like the *nemes* – although lacking the two frontal flaps and shown as plain (*Fig. 8.c*).[333] The mummy of Tutankhamun was wearing a linen *khat*[334] with attached royal insignia made out of sheet gold.[335] Although parts of the fabric had decomposed, small parts of it – including its pigtail – were recovered.[336] Tucked into the cloth of the *khat* were linen pads, intended to help keep the shape of the headdress. We may well hypothesize a similar filling in the case of *nemes* headcloths. There was a gold temple band surrounding the king's head, with minute holes along its upper end to which the frontal brim of the linen *khat* was stitched.[337] This kind of band, made out of a variety of materials, may have bordered *nemes* headcloths as well as plain kerchiefs.[338] Tutankhamun's temple band dips down somewhat just in front of both ears, in this echoing real male sideburns.[339] In fact, the contours of these so-called tabs are frequently rendered in Egyptian statuary, coming down just in front of the ears of male figures. On a few early examples it is obviously the hair or rather sideburn itself which is pictured, while in general, we shall probably imagine the border of a temple band in its place.[340]

Third Intermediate Period sculptural depictions are few, but show Pharaoh wearing the characteristic royal headdresses: striped *nemes* headcloth and plain *khat*.[341] Tradition is also maintained in relief carvings

325 Vandier 1958, 409.

326 We saw this happen in the case of the kilt as well.

327 Eaton-Krauß 1984, 27, §31.

328 Wolf 1954, pl. 27; Vandier 1958, pl. 10.1–5 (the beautiful painted limestone sculptures of Rehotep and Nofret from Meydum, ca. 2630 B.C.); Hayes 1990, fig. 64.

329 I have chosen to follow, among others, G. Vogelsang-Eastwood in using this term for the plain Egyptian headcloth: Vogelsang-Eastwood 1993, 171–178. It is sometimes referred to as a plain bag wig. That the term *klaft* is not applicable was noted in n. 319.

330 Vogelsang-Eastwood 1993, 171–174, pls. 2, 43–44.

331 Vogelsang-Eastwood 1993, pl. 44.

332 Apart from the king it is only the two goddesses Isis and Nephtys who are depicted in this headgear: Eaton-Krauß 1977, 27 n. 42, 29–30.

333 Winlock 1916, 239–241, figs. 2–5, suggested that the striped *nemes* was a development of the *khat* headdress; Jéquier 1921, 6–8; *LÄ* 3 (1980), 693–694 s.v. Kopftuch (C. Müller): here, the *khat* is referred to as "Königshaube".

334 Note that it has not been fully clarified whether remains found in the innermost sarcophagus came from a *khat* or a *nemes* headdress: Russmann 1997, 266–267.

335 Carter 1927, pl. 76.D.

336 Carter 1927, 112–113, pl. 76.C.

337 Carter 1927, 112–113, pl. 77.A. For more on the Egyptian temple band: Evers 1929, 17, §95–101.

338 Note that the word "kerchief" is also used to designate the rectangular piece of cloth which was turned (or tied) into either a *khat* or a *nemes* headcloth: Winlock 1916, 240; Eaton-Krauß 1977, 22.

339 Carter 1927, pl. 31.

340 Vandier 1958, pl. 5.6–7, a calcite head of Pharaoh Mykerinos (Fourth Dynasty) wearing the *nemes* headcloth with a row of stylized curls of hair underneath its brim, which are connected to – and carved in the same way as – the sideburns; Josephson 1988, 232–233, on hair tabs and royal re-use in a Twenty-sixth Dynasty context.

341 Aldred 1980b, 281, fig. 271, a granite head of King Osorkon II (Twenty-second Dynasty) with *nemes*, p. 128, fig. 110, a kneeling Osorkon III wearing the *khat* (Twenty-third Dynasty).

of the period.[342] Twenty-fifth Dynasty sculpture sees the combination of the *nemes* with double crown and other elements – as so many other features of this period – as an echo from the past.[343] Similarly, Eighteenth Dynasty wigs are occasionally exhibited, in combination with the plain Old Kingdom kilt and body form.[344] Despite the general lack of royal sculpture during this and the following Late Period it has been noted that the Twenty-sixth Dynasty sees a marked preference for the use of the striped *nemes*.[345] In private statuary the plain kerchief is the rule,[346] reintroduced in sculpture in the round at the beginning of this dynasty.[347] It is worth noting that anthropoid sarcophagi of the period consequently display the tripartite wig, plain or striated, for the male deceased (cf. above).[348]

The Cypriote versions

The Egyptian-type headcover most frequently encountered in the Cypriote figures is the plain headcloth or kerchief.[349] It terminates just above the shoulders of the figures, often at a sharp, horizontal angle. The shape of the cloth differs slightly, especially in the width at the height of the figures' ears. A handful of the Cypriote plain headcloths display ridges or shallow incisions of unknown purpose.[350] It can be stated that what comes down beneath certain double crowns, or other Cypriote headgear, is a mass of hair and not an indication of a plain, Egyptian-type headdress.[351]

In addition, there are three Cypriote figures wearing the tressed, Egyptian-type wig, where the tresses radiate from a point on the crown of the head.[352] The plaits are characteristically held together by thin, horizontal bands placed at intervals.[353]

In a handful of cases the Cypriote Egyptian-type kerchief or wig dips down somewhat in front of the ears, not unlike actual Egyptian sideburns or the imitation thereof, the squarish tips of temple bands. In the Cypriote figures there are no squarish shapes depicted, but rather rounded versions.[354]

No examples of the Egyptian *nemes* headcloth are known from the male, Cypriote repertoire.

The white and the red crown of Egypt

Already in the images of the astonishing palette of Narmer – dated to around 3000 B.C. – we find as a main theme the unity of the two parts of the land of the Nile. The southern districts of Upper Egypt and the marshy Delta area of Lower Egypt are each symbolized by a crown in these depictions, worn by Narmer himself on each side of the palette.[355] Already at this early stage the appearance of the white and the red crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt is fixed, both as regards their actual shape and their connection with royal iconography. For the following three thousand years, these crowns would be the legitimate

[342]Montet 1947, pls. 26, 31, 35, for depictions from the tomb of Osorkon II featuring the king wearing the *nemes* – occasionally with diadem.

[343]Russmann 1974, 34, figs. 2–4: *nemes* headcloths combined with large sun disk or double crown. Headdresses of the period sport the characteristic double *uraei*: pp. 35–43.

[344]Aldred 1980b, 140–141, fig. 123, the well-known statue of Mentuemhat (Twenty-fifth to Twenty-sixth Dynasty) from the Karnak cache.

[345]Leahy 1992, 230–231 n. 49: "...the most common Saite royal headgear"; Aldred 1980b, 145, fig. 127, p. 285, fig. 287. It is worth noting that the identifications of several of the royal heads of the period are disputed.

[346]Bothmer 1960, pls. 42–45, nos. 45–49 (600–589 B.C.), 54–58, nos. 57–61 (525–490 B.C.). Angular tabs (sideburns) in front of the ears are found in most of these figures, for example in nos. 48, 57–60. For a curious sideburn: pl. 65, no. 67, a portrait head from around 450 B.C.

[347]Bothmer 1960, 34–35, pl. 27, no. 29; Aldred 1980b, 146. B.V. Bothmer refers to the plain headcloth as a "bag wig", p. 34, C. Aldred (in translation) uses the same term ("…la perruque en bourse"). See also, for the Cypriote horizon: Markoe 1988a, 17 ("…plain bag wig of Egyptian type").

[348]Buhl 1959, figs. 3–7. In her article on the *khat* headdress M. Eaton-Krauß avoids those found on anthropoid sarcophagi, since they depict the glorified dead, and represent images which followed other rules than depictions of living people: Eaton-Krauß 1977, 30 n. 59. Perhaps the sarcophagus headgear and other outfit should be treated separately.

[349]Of the 39 figures with heads preserved, 16 are wearing the plain headcloth. Additional Egyptianizing figures wearing kerchiefs are probably found among those listed in Addendum 1, which includes pieces where only the head is preserved.

[350]**Cat. 9** from Idalion (a slightly raised area running vertically between the ears) and **Cat. 43** from Tamassos (a vertical incision in line with the ear, and a handful of horizontal striations on the back part of the cloth, as if to indicate stripes, or hair). See also Addendum 1, No. 1, where double, horizontal lines just in front of the ears seem to indicate a temple band (?).

[351]See, for example, **Cat. 13** (rosette diadem, from Idalion), **Cat. 35** (helmet, from Golgoi), and **Cat. 52** (double crown, from Palaepaphos). This is indicated in **Cat. 2**, from Aloda, and **Cat. 66**, of unknown provenance, where the bag-like entities beneath the double crowns are covered with spiral curls and a lozenge-shaped pattern, respectively, clearly indicating hair. For more on this Cypriote mass of hair, see Chs. 2.3.2 nn. 698–699, and 2.4.2.

[352]**Cat. 7** from Idalion, **Cat. 49** from Amathus, and **Cat. 51** from Kourion. **Cat. 3**, from west of Salamis, has only a few tresses of hair preserved. Probably, it originally had a Greek-type coiffure, however (similar to **Cat. 29** and **Cat. 31**, from Golgoi), and not the Egyptian-type wig.

[353]This could be a Cypriote version of the standardized pattern of rectangular compartments which – in Egyptian sculpture – indicates curly hair.

[354]See **Cat. 26** (Golgoi), **Cat. 43** (Tamassos), **Cat. 61** (of unknown provenance), and the wig of **Cat. 7** (Idalion). A few heads included in Addendum 1 display this feature even more clearly: Nos. 1, 2, 4 (from Idalion), and 10 (from Arsos).

[355]Aldred 1980a, 35, figs. 6–7.

symbols of royal and divine rule over the entire country, over Upper and Lower Egypt.

While the white crown is high and cylindrical in shape, terminating in a knob, the red crown consists of three distinct parts: a truncated, conical base, a high but thin back part, and – protruding from where these two parts meet – a thin object curled upwards and inwards at its end (*Fig. 9.a–b*). In the Old Kingdom we find the crowns depicted mostly in relief work, and rarely in statuary. An ever-present problem was, of course, to stabilize this kind of high headgear when sculpting in the round.[356] The thin object protruding from the red crown was impossible to carve in stone, but a metal replica may have been added. In the early representations the crowns come down over the neck of the royal figures, and their edges tightly encircle the ear in order to keep the elevated headgear in place. From the Middle Kingdom and especially in the New Kingdom period, it seems as if a temple band – much like that found holding the *nemes* and *khat* headdresses in place – is attached to the crowns as well.[357] We are at a loss regarding the materials used in the Egyptian crowns,[358] not least due to the fact that no such item has ever been found in archaeological excavation.[359]

The unification of Upper and Lower Egypt is expressed in a tangible manner by the creation of the double crown, putting the white crown inside the red and thus combining the two (*Fig. 9.c*).[360] The double crown is pictured already in the First Dynasty and is found parallel with its forerunners in relief depictions.[361] In New Kingdom imagery the double crown is found as the counterpart of the white crown, thus often replacing the red crown of Lower Egypt.[362] From the Nineteenth Dynasty onwards the single

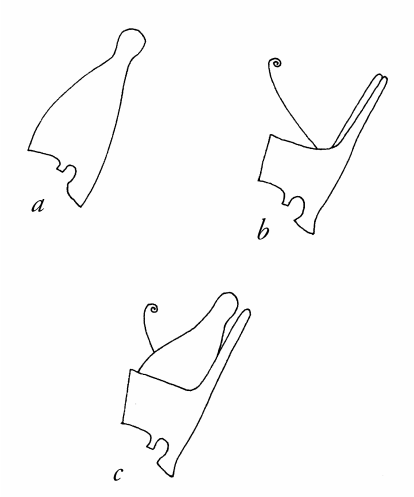


Fig. 9. The royal Egyptian crowns: a) the white crown of Upper Egypt, b) the red crown of Lower Egypt, c) the double crown.

crowns are virtually replaced by this amalgamated version.[363]

From the time of Pharao Amenhotep III we find the double crown worn on top of the *nemes* or the *khat* headdress.[364] This changes the appearance of the crown, turning it from a magnificent headgear into more of a royal hat.[365] The truncated, conical base of the red crown is now often higher, towering on the head, while the white crown is proportionately lower and more squat.[366]

Just like the *nemes* and the *khat*, the Egyptian crowns have the *uraeus* apotropaically placed in the center of the temple band, alternatively at the base.[367] The apotropaic cobra is an attribute which is not present on the crowns of Old Kingdom statuary and relief work, but introduced only in the Middle Kingdom. In the New Kingdom it is virtually always there.[368]

The Egyptian crown symbolizing the union between Upper and Lower Egypt is reserved for Pharaoh alone and for gods and goddesses in ancient Egyptian art.[369]

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356 The crowns needed either to be engaged into a wall behind the figures, or connected in their entirety to the back-pillar support of the sculpture: Evers 1929, 18–19, §107–110.

357 Evers 1929, 20–21, §123–128; Vandier 1958, pl. 100.2–3.

358 A.M. Abubakr proposes leather or felt as possible materials for the crowns: Abubakr 1937, 26, 28 (the white crown), 48 (the red crown). Leather or felt with a cover of precious metal foil has also been suggested: Schoske *et al.* 1992, 149 n. 72. A high-quality relief depiction of King Mentuhotep II, from Dendera (Eleventh Dynasty), reveals to us that there were seemingly different materials in the two components of the king's double crown: Robins 1997, 89, fig. 88.

359 Not even in the well-equipped tomb of Tutankhamun: Vogelsang-Eastwood 1999, 104.

360 The transcription of the Egyptian word for this double crown is "shmtj", in Greek "pshent".

361 Evers 1929, 18, §107. Note that the earliest preserved example in plastic art comes from as late as the time of Pharaoh Sesostris I, in the Twelfth Dynasty: Evers 1929, 20, §121.

362 *LÄ* 3 (1980), 811–816 s.v. Kronen (C. Strauss), p. 813.

363 This is said without regard for particular occasions, like the Sed festival, where the red crown was essential. See below, regarding the relief depictions on the Sed festival gate of Osorkon II at Bubastis (Twenty-second Dynasty).

364 Evers 1929, 11, §51, p. 20, §122; Vandier 1958, 326. The colossal statues of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties practically all wear this combination: Evers 1929, 16, §94.

365 Vandier 1958, pls. 106.5, 108.4, 119.1.

366 Placed on top of another headdress as it is, it follows that this later crown does not have a temple band attached to it, as had its predecessors.

367 Vandier 1958, pl. 106.5, as compared to pl. 100.5.

368 Evers 1929, 21–22, §133.

369 The double crown occurs sometimes in burial contexts, when the deceased was identified with Osiris. In these depictions it is

Crowns rendered on sculpture in the round are unknown from the Third Intermediate Period, in keeping with the general lack of royal depictions. In reliefs and wall paintings, however, all known types of crowns are found on the heads of kings.[370]

In the late Third Intermediate Period and the Late Period we witness the usual return to the canon of the Old Kingdom period, reintroducing the plain crown without temple band and sometimes even without the apotropaic *uraeus*.[371] We seldom encounter any crowns in plastic art, however.[372] When we do, it is nearly always a rendering of a miniature Osiris wearing his *atef* crown (see below), standing or sitting in front of a person.[373] A few Kushite renderings are known as well: not only the white crown itself[374] but the combination of *nemes* headcloth and double crown which was originally introduced around the reign of Amenhotep III.[375] Relief depictions of King Taharqa feature both the white and the red crown, each characteristically equipped by double, frontal *uraei*.[376]

Not present in the Cypriote material but referred to later in this book is the so-called blue crown (*khepresh*). Made perhaps of colored leather with small faience disks sewn onto it, it was introduced during the early New Kingdom period and worn only by Pharaoh himself.[377] A military connection of the crown has often been suggested, but it should perhaps rather be seen as a symbol of coronation, frequently used to display dynastic legitimacy.[378] On the front of the crown a *uraeus* is placed, its thin, elongated body turned into a large, characteristic loop. Often from the back of the blue crown are two textile streamers hanging down onto the royal back.[379] It should be noted that this crown saw a revival in the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, that is, contemporary with the production of the Cypriote Egyptianizing votives.[380] Another crown, unknown on Cyprus in limestone but encountered in one single occasion in terracotta, is the *atef* crown of Osiris. This is basically the white crown of Upper Egypt combined with large ostrich feathers, one on each side.[381] The crown is itself the symbol of Osiris. Placed on the head of the most powerful god of the pantheon the *atef* crown is never found in depictions of mortal men but may be carried by Pharaoh in his guise as Osiris' representative on earth, or as King of Upper Egypt.[382]

Finally, the vulture headdress encountered in certain depictions of Egyptian goddesses and queens is in need of brief mention here, since it will be returned to later in the book, in relation to certain Cypriote depictions of "Hathor". The headdress, consisting of a vulture with splayed wings, its head placed frontally – similar to the rearing *uraeus* – is depicted mostly on the heads of the goddesses Nekhbet and Mut. In anthropomorphic renderings of the cobra goddess Wadjet, the vulture head is exchanged for the rearing *uraeus*.[383]

The Cypriote versions

In the Cypriote limestone material there are no examples of the white or the red crown of Egypt found separately.[384] There are, however, clear depictions of the combination of the two, of the

worn by the supreme god, however, and not by the mortal person. *LÄ* 3 (1980), 811–816 s.v. Kronen (C. Strauss), p. 811.

370 Naville 1892, pls. 3.13, 17.10, 26.3, 26.6 (double, blue, white, and red crowns, all worn by Osorkon II in various depictions from his Sed festival gate at Bubastis). Fig. 1, on p. 3, shows the placing of the white, red, and double crowns on the monument. For the Sed festival, the red crown of Lower Egypt had particular importance, even if the duality of kingship expressed by the double crown was essential as well.

371 Late Period apotropaic *uraei* are always encountered, however, on Pharaoh's *nemes* headcloth: Aldred 1980b, 133, fig. 114 (Shabako, double *uraei*, so characteristic of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty kings), p. 145, fig. 127 (Amasis, Twenty-sixth Dynasty).

372 Except several examples of the so-called blue crown, see below.

373 Bothmer 1960, pls. 35, no. 38.A, 41, no. 44, 44, no. 48. This enables the high crown to get the support needed.

374 Russmann 1974, fig. 10.

375 Russmann 1974, fig. 4.

376 Leclant 1965, pls. 41, §17, 69, §31; Russmann 1974, 27. Compare the double *uraei* found on *nemes* headcloths of the period.

377 Leahy 1992, 231.

378 Davies 1982, 75–76; Leahy 1992, 225–226.

379 Eaton-Krauß & Graefe 1985, pls. 14, 16–18 (renderings from the small, golden shrine of Pharaoh Tutankhamun). In some depictions his young wife Ankhesenamun is wearing the cap crown, the original form of the blue crown: Davies 1982, 71, 75.

380 Leahy 1992, 230–231, discusses this often held view; Aldred 1980b, 143–144, figs. 125 (Psammetichus I?), 126 (Apries?).

381 Originally, the crown seems to have consisted of rushes tied together. In time, this rush crown came to be identified with the white crown of Upper Egypt: Abubakr 1937, 7–13. In several New Kingdom wall paintings, the separate, vertical parts of the crown (the "bundles of rushes") are done with different colors, giving quite an opulent effect.

382 See, for example, a wall relief from the Bubastite portal of the Amun temple at Karnak, where Osorkon I is given the *atef* crown by Amun-Re and Mut (his divine parents): Fazzini 1988, 31, pl. 7; *LÄ* 2 (1977), 142–145 s.v. Federn und Federkrone (I. Grumach-Shirun), p. 143.

383 *LÄ* 2 (1977), 515 s.v. Geierhaube (E. Brunner-Traut); Troy 1986, 117–119.

384 A relief depiction found at Amathus, where the thin object protruding from the red crown is clearly visible, seemingly depicts a double crown: Hermary 1981, 67, pl. 13.71. A handful of bronze figurines, all from Idalion, are wearing tall "white crowns" with rounded knob: Addendum 2, Nos. 7, 8, and 10. In one case, No. 31 (of unknown provenance), there is even a frontal *uraeus* attached.

Egyptian double crown. **Cat. 21**, from Golgoi, displays a concave "white crown" placed inside a low, "red" counterpart. On the "white crown" are the remains of a frontal cobra (*Pl. 6.1*).[385] The well-preserved **Cat. 58**, from Palaepaphos, has a squat but characteristically convex "white crown" ending in a flat knob, set inside a "red crown". A rearing (winged) *uraeus* with sun disk on its head is placed on the brim of the latter, just as on Egyptian counterparts. A matching crown is found on **Cat. 66**, of unknown provenance. The convex "white crown" similarly ends in a flat knob, and on the brim of the "red crown" there are the remains of a winged creature or object, most probably a cobra. In addition, plain double crowns of similar appearance are found on **Cat. 52**, from Palaepaphos, and on **Cat. 67–71**, all of unknown provenance.[386] There are no examples among the nine listed which display the crown placed on top an Egyptian-type headdress, in the Egyptian manner.[387]

Three additional figures display what looks somewhat like double crowns.[388] **Cat. 2**, from Aloda, has a squat, convex "white crown" with a broken-off knob, just like the examples referred to above. The "red crown" tightly surrounds the "white" counterpart, however, in an unprecedented manner. The fact that the back part of the "red crown" rises up behind the (damaged) knob of the inner crown does suggest, however, that this headgear was made in imitation of the Egyptian double crown. As regards **Cat. 20** and **Cat. 30**, both from Golgoi, the case is not as clear (*Pls. 5.2 & 7.4*). Just like **Cat. 2** they both have a "white crown" with knob which is tightly encircled by the inner outline of the "red" counterpart. The two figures lack the raised back part of the "red crown", however; the knob of each "crown" is merely flanked by two stylized flowers.[389] These rather helmet-like crowns, which both display vegetal and geometric ornamentation, will be taken up again in Ch. 2.4.2.

There are no examples within the Cypriote limestone material of the feathered *atef* crown of Osiris. One small terracotta figurine, unearthed in a tomb at Amathus, does display such a crown, however, and so do – probably – two bronze statuettes from the Ayia Irini sanctuary.[390]

The ornaments

The cobra

The serpent placed frontally on the brim of the "red crown" of **Cat. 58** is the characteristic frontal, rearing *uraeus* with a sun disk on its head. The lower, bent part of the cobra's body protrudes characteristically from the crown, while the upper, broader part – the expanded hood – curves back next to it. The head of the creature, however, is unusually broad from the front.[391] The outstretched, beautifully feathered wings of the reptile extend along the entire brim of the crown – a particularity which is never encountered in Egyptian art.[392]

On **Cat. 66** the same area of the crown is taken up by a winged feature, whether a cobra or a sun disk cannot be discerned from the abraded stone.[393]

Common to all Cypriote cobras, including the two presented here, are that they are rearing with expanded hoods – they are ready to strike.

Just like the cobras placed on Egyptian kilts the rearing *uraeus* placed frontally on the royal crowns was, in itself, an emblem of Pharaonic power. Viewed as a miniature version of the powerful creatures which carried and protected the sun on its journey, the poison- or fire-spitting *uraeus* was the foremost apotropaic symbol.[394] As tamed and placed on his

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385 This placing of the protective serpent is unknown from Egypt itself. So is the coloring of the "white crown" of this figure, displaying traces of red paint.

386 A late 5th century B.C. head from Golgoi, possibly wearing a version of the double crown, was left out of the present study due to its late date: Hermary 1989b, 180, fig. 22.1–2. It is interesting to note, however, that the phenomenon continues into this late period. B. Lewe refers to two statues wearing double crowns which are unknown to me, "Famagusta EMA 499" and "Cyprus Museum 1955/IV–21/1": Lewe 1975, 76.

387 See above n. 365. In fact, one single instance is known from the island where the double crown is found placed on top of a *nemes* headcloth – as in royal Egyptian depictions of New Kingdom date: on the two limestone sphinxes unearthed at Tamassos in 1997. For more on these creatures, see Chs. 3.2.2 and 5.1.3, below.

388 In addition, there are two Cypriote bronze figurines wearing the double crown: Addendum 2, No. 22, from Amathus, and No. 33, of unknown provenance. The latter piece is remarkably close in appearance to **Cat. 52** from Palaepaphos, something which was noted already by Lewe 1975, 76 n. 403.

389 In fact, B. Lewe did not consider **Cat. 30** to be wearing an Egyptian-type double crown: Lewe 1975, 76 n. 402. She made no mention of the closely related **Cat. 20**, however. Both figures are included in an article by M. Brönner on Cypriote figures wearing double crowns: Brönner 1994, 50–51.

390 See Addendum 2, No. 21, the upper part of a terracotta figurine wearing a tall *atef* crown with centrally placed *uraeus* with sun disk; and Nos. 26–27, where the highly stylized figurines have "crowns" with uncharacteristically flat knob.

391 A. Hermary discusses Cypriote "*uraei*" encountered on Hathoric capitals, some of which deviate from this characteristic shape: Hermary 1985, 685, comparing figs. 15 and 29–30.

392 This was noted already by Maier 1989, 383. For more on this and other transformations of the Egyptian-type dress and ornaments, see Ch. 2.4.2, below.

393 F.G. Maier suggests that it is a sun disk: Maier 1989, 383 n. 20.

394 *LÄ* 3 (1980), 48–51 s.v. Horusauge (W. Westendorf), p. 49; *LÄ* 6 (1986), 864–868 s.v. Uräus (K. Martin).

brow the viper was a potent testimony of Pharaoh's might. The rearing cobra was placed on all royal or divine crowns or headgear, and not confined to any in particular.[395] During the Old Kingdom the creature rendered in statuary was modelled on the living cobra, while from the New Kingdom period onwards it was rather the emblematic metal (jewelry) version carried by Pharaoh which was imitated into stone.[396]

The vegetal ornaments

The only Cypriote crowns to display vegetal ornamentation are found on the two Golgoi figures, **Cat. 20** and **Cat. 30**, wearing virtually identical versions of a headgear which seems related to the Egyptian double crown. On each side of the knob, in both examples, there is a lily modeled almost in the round in the stone (*Pls. 5.2 & 7.4*); there are also the characteristic volute-shaped leaves of the flower with an inner "spike" growing from them. On the front of both crowns, in the center of the inner "white crown", there is a large rosette carved in low relief. The so-called paradise flowers linked with curving loops, found along the border of the "red crown" of **Cat. 30** (*Fig. 10)*, is a peculiarity; while the curving loops are encountered from the New Kingdom period onwards in Egypt, the "paradise flower" is not of Egyptian origin, and accordingly, it is treated below, in Ch. 2.2.2.

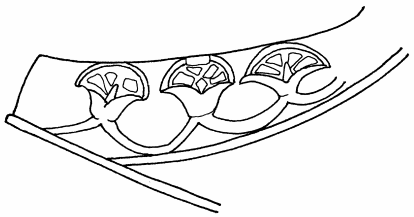


Fig. 10. The decorated brim of the "red crown" of ***Cat. 30****, from Golgoi, featuring Cypriote versions of the paradise flower linked with curving loops.*

For slightly more on the lily, the rosette, and the floral ornaments linked with curving loops in Egyptian art, see the text in connection to "The kilt – the vegetal ornaments".

The geometric patterns

If **Cat. 30** has a floral chain along the border of the "red crown", **Cat. 20** displays a plain zig-zag pattern in its place. From the Cypriote broad collars we know that a zig-zag pattern may well be a depiction of standardized leaves.[397] The triangles remain plain, incised geometric patterns, however.

The "white crown" of **Cat. 58** is covered with large scales, a scale pattern where the rounded ends are placed upwards.[398]

It was noted already in the section on the Egyptian kilt, above, that the stylization of the breast-feathers of falcons, vultures, or other birds resulted in an Egyptian scale pattern. A version of this may be what is encountered on the "white crown" of **Cat. 58**, turned upside-down. It is worth emphasizing that no such combination is known from Egyptian art.

The spiral armrings

A large group of the Cypriote Egyptianizing figures are wearing armrings placed around the upper part of both arms.[399] These are evidently spiral armrings with one or two circlets, open at each end. In one single case there is a plain, solid armring placed around the upper left arm (**Cat. 52**, from Palaepaphos). In no less than three figures the double armrings are decorated in the front by a large, petalled rosette.[400]

By no means are these spiral armrings unique to the male Egyptianizing limestone figures from the island. In fact, examples are so abundant in both limestone and terracotta that these rings are rather a characteristic of Archaic Cypriote statuary.

In Egyptian statuary and other depictions from the earliest periods onwards there are recurrent renderings of both men and women wearing armrings. Only from the Middle Kingdom is Pharaoh equipped with this kind of jewelry, but more regularly so from the New Kingdom period.[401] In depictions mainly spanning a period covering the reigns of Pharaohs Amenhotep II and Amenhotep III, the king is depicted with pairs of broad armrings on the upper parts of his arms (*Pl. 21.2*).[402]

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395 Evers 1929, 21, §130.

396 Evers 1929, 22, 24, §135, §154. This is encountered also in the Late Period: Aldred 1980b, 143, Psammetichus II (ca. 590 B.C.) with blue crown and "metal" cobra.

397 And indeed, the placing of a floral chain on this very spot in the neighboring figure – and the lilies on each side of the knob – do favor the possibility that such elements were intended on **Cat. 20**.

398 F.G. Maier proposes that there is a similar scale pattern on the crown of one of the life-size Golgoi figures, **Cat. 21**: Maier 1989, 383 n. 19. He finds parallels in the circle decoration found on Egyptian blue crowns. There are no traces on figure **Cat. 21** of any scale pattern, however.

399 Eleven figures of the 35 with upper arms preserved: **Cat. 3** (west of Salamis), **Cat. 19** (Potamia), **Cat. 20**, **Cat. 26**, **Cat. 27**, **Cat. 29**–**31** (Golgoi), **Cat. 50** (Amathus), **Cat. 52** (Palaepaphos), and **Cat. 62** (of unknown provenance).

400 **Cat. 20** and **Cat. 27**, from Golgoi, and **Cat. 62**, of unknown provenance.

401 Evers 1929, 38, §256.

402 Aldred 1971, 158.

The combination of a double armring and the (Egyptian) petalled rosette – encountered on Cyprus – is altogether unknown within the Egyptian sphere.

The "emblematic staves"

A limited group among the Egyptianizing figures has a circular, slightly convex object in the clenched hand.[403] Often it is encountered in the hand placed at the side of the body, but in at least three examples it is found in the hand placed on the chest of the figures as well.[404] That this small, short, cylindrical object held in the clenched hand was not merely an accidental shape appearing when depicting the rounded area created between the curving fingers of the fist is indicated through examples like **Cat. 12** (from Idalion), where the oval area between the fingers has been hollowed out to quite a depth (*Pl. 3.1*).

This circular object is by no means reserved only for the male Egyptianizing figures in the Cypriote material. Examples within other votive types are found both in limestone and in terracotta.[405]

Already from the Fourth Dynasty onwards a circular object appears with slightly convex ends in the hands of royal, as well as private, Egyptian stone and wooden statuary. This is not a scepter but rather a short stave or other cylindrical object, corresponding in length to the width of the hand. The identity of this elusive shape has been much discussed, where suggestions have ranged from mere negative space, foreshortened versions of royal scepters and staves, to pieces of folded cloth.[406] The plain, circular object should not be confused with the royal handkerchief, nor with the Pharaonic *mekes* (a container for documents) displayed in the hand of the king when depicted during the Sed festival.[407] The most thorough study of this plain and bewildering object identifies it as a folded length of linen with rolled-in ends – regarding its actual purpose or meaning, however, not much is said.[408]

2.2.2 Non-Egyptian features

In the section above there was an attempt to identify the Egyptian features which were found in the Cypriote figures, as far as dress and ornaments are concerned. In the analytical process of identifying the various components of the whole, we turn now to the non-Egyptian features of the figures, that is, features which are not paralleled in contemporary – or earlier – Egyptian art and material culture. The point of reference for the Egyptian material is not only sculpture in the round, but other categories of material as well.

The non-Egyptian features of the dress of the Cypriote figures, including its decoration, as well as certain non-Egyptian details of the figures' outfit will be listed below. In the cases where parallels from within the corpus of Cypriote limestone and terracotta sculpture are readily available, these will be pointed out in connection with each feature or figure.

The dress and headgear

About half of the Egyptianizing, kilt-wearing, Cypriote, stone figures have naked upper torsos – a situation which could be said to be the standard Egyptian one. The rest of the group wears a short-sleeved upper garment along with the Egyptian-type kilt.[409] In a handful of these figures, where kilt and upper garment are differently decorated, it may be deduced that they were indeed understood and rendered as two separate pieces of clothing.[410] In these depictions it seems as if a tight-fitting shirt covering the upper part of the body, ending below the waist, was tucked into the kilt and underneath the belt. However, in a majority of the figures wearing a short-sleeved garment, both the upper

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[403] **Cat. 6** (Idalion), **Cat. 16** (Lympia), **Cat. 24**, **Cat. 35**, **Cat. 36** (Golgoi), **Cat. 43** (Tamassos), **Cat. 49** (Amathus), and **Cat. 61** (of unknown provenance).

[404] In **Cat. 24**, the rounded object is encountered in both hands and is even visible at the back of each hand, **Cat. 36** has only one hand preserved, placed on the chest, holding a round object. For **Cat. 49**: Hermary 1981, 16 (a figure I myself was only able to study behind glass).

[405] Senff 1993, 30 n. 251, pl. 8.a–c (limestone, from Idalion); Karageorghis 1993, fig. 25 (terracotta, from Ayia Irini). For an example in faience: Karageorghis forthcoming, pl. 24.4844 (from Kition). A particular case is a terracotta statuette from Toumba (Salamis) which is holding a rosette in its clenched hand: Karageorghis 1993, pl. 23.5.

[406] Bothmer 1950, 15–16; Fischer 1975.

[407] For the handkerchief: Bothmer 1950, fig. 3 (Mykerinos); Wilkinson 1992, 82, fig. 3 (Pharaoh Chefren); Russmann 1994, 6, fig. 3, where it is encountered in private sculpture, here Mentuemhat (Twenty-fifth to Twenty-sixth Dynasty). On the *mekes*: Bothmer 1950, 15–16, fig. 5; Fischer 1975, 20–21; Desroches-Noblecourt 1976, 225–227; Gubel 1983, 29.

[408] Fischer 1975, 14–21.

[409] See figures **Cat. 1** (from the Karpasia), **Cat. 3** (from west of Salamis), **Cat. 11**–**13** (Idalion), **Cat. 17** (Louroukina), **Cat. 23**–**25**, **Cat. 27** (?), **Cat. 29**, **Cat. 31**, **Cat. 34**–**41** (Golgoi), **Cat. 43** (Tamassos), and **Cat. 50** (Amathus) – that is, 22 out of the 44 figures with upper body preserved. On the difficulties of identifying **Cat. 1** as naked or wearing a garment (based on the thin, horizontal lines placed right below the shoulders): Hermary 1981, 17. According to Senff 1993, 53 n. 426, **Cat. 26** from Golgoi and **Cat. 52** from Palaepaphos wear short-sleeved garments. This does not seem to be the case.

[410] See **Cat. 3** – plain upper garment and pleated kilt; **Cat. 12** – upper garment with central, vertical, vegetal band; **Cat. 23**, **Cat. 24** – with vertical stripes; **Cat. 25** – with painted, vertical band; **Cat. 34** – with vertical and horizontal, vegetal bands; **Cat. 50** – with incised, vertical band.

garment and the kilt cloth have been left plain.[411] It is further worth noting that most figures with elaborately decorated and/or pleated kilts are depicted with the upper parts of their bodies naked.[412] This could be a mere coincidence or, again, short-sleeved garments could have been painted on some of these figures. But considering the preserved, Egyptianizing, stone statue material, it could be stated that there are two main types of combinations: plain kilt-cloth with plain upper garment versus decorated kilt cloth with no upper garment.

When studying the relationship of the Egyptianizing figures with short-sleeved garments to Cypriote statuary in general, this may be something to keep in mind.[413] For there is a large group of local – non-Egyptianizing – sculptural material, carried out in both limestone and terracotta, displaying a dress which consists of an ankle- or knee-length *chiton*-like garment tied around the waist with a belt.[414] Common to several of these figures are the hanging, concentric grooves which are created beneath the belt, centrally on the dress. Most probably the grooves indicated that the sides of the garment are pulled up under the belt. The two sidefolds thus created are generally depicted as hanging over the belt, at the sides of the figure – as a result, merely the center of the belt is visible and the hem of the garment dips down in the middle.[415] A limestone statuette found at Kazafani, not considered here as part of the Egyptianizing group, constitutes one version within this category of figures.[416] In this statuette a short-sleeved, *chiton*-like garment is tied in the middle with a broad belt. The knee-length garment has hanging, semi-circular grooves beneath the plain belt, and the lower border of the dress – with its central part descending further than at the sides – seems to indicate that the garment was pulled up under the belt.[417] But no extra textile is visible above the belt, hanging over it at the sides, as is usually the case. Here, in fact, we have a figure with a plain "kilt", with grooves, its central part descending further than the rest – and a plain, short-sleeved garment covering the upper part of the body. The figure is seemingly clad in one single unit of dress, tied around the waist by a belt.

In those cases where the Egyptianizing group of kilt-wearing figures has naked upper torsos, there can be no doubt that the sculptors viewed the kilt as a separate piece of dress. The rest of the group wears short-sleeved garments on the upper parts of their bodies. Since a clear relationship between plain kilt and plain upper garment, and decorated kilt and naked upper torso could be established the following question must be posed: is it possible that in some of the Egyptianizing figures within the first of these two categories (plain kilt, plain "shirt") the sculptor was not depicting two separate articles of clothing at all, but rather, reverted back to an established, Cypriote scheme of rendering one single, knee-length garment tied together at the waist by a belt. Consider, for example, our Egyptianizing figures **Cat. 13**, **Cat. 31**, **Cat. 41**, and **Cat. 43**, where the cobras and sash ends – if at all depicted – hang from the belt as rather separate elements, not convincingly being part of an actual, physical dress (*Pls. 3.3, 8.1 & 9.3*).

A second category of Cypriote votive figures who virtually always wear a short-sleeved garment are the figures wearing the peculiar "Cypriote belt" and rosette diadem. For more on these figures and their decorated dress, see below. Short-sleeved garments are similarly found on so-called Herakles Melqart figures.[418] In several instances it is evident from the rendering of these statues and statuettes that they were conceived as wearing a single, *chiton*-like garment, sometimes vertically striped, reaching to just above the knees.[419] The lion skin of the hero was placed on top of this decorated garment, which was then belted, seemingly to keep both garment and lion skin in place. The similarities between the outfit of the Herakles Melqart figures and the kilts of the

411 We find this in 13 out of 22 figures. Some of these kilts have added details constituting the characteristic sash ends and cobras, but the kilt cloth itself has been left plain, without pleats. It must be kept in mind, however, that these figures could have had beautiful painted decoration on either their upper garments or their kilts.

412 See **Cat. 5**, **Cat. 10** (Idalion), **Cat. 20**, **Cat. 21**, **Cat. 26**, **Cat. 30** (Golgoi), **Cat. 44** (Tamassos), **Cat. 49** (Amathus), **Cat. 52** (Palaepaphos), **Cat. 59** (Kazafani), and **Cat. 60–62** (of unknown provenance).

413 Already in a colossal terracotta figure from Tamassos we find the characteristically Cypriote, thin, concave lines marking the borders of the short sleeves: Masson 1964, pl. 10; Hermary 1989a, 46, no. 57 (a statuette wearing a "Cypriote belt" and rosette diadem). The latter piece is interesting in that it seems to display a navel and an inverted V-shape marking the lower boundary of the thorax – that is, despite its "short sleeves", the figure has anatomical details indicating a naked upper torso. See below, Ch. 2.3.2 nn. 653–654.

414 Suffice it to refer to a handful of figures within this vast group: Gjerstad *et al.* 1935, pls. 190, 209.1, 212.4–5 (Ayia Irini); Karageorghis 1978c, 178, pl. 31.168 + 180 (Kazafani); Karageorghis 1993, fig. 25 (Ayia Irini) – all figures of terracotta.

415 Törnkvist 1972, 18–21; Lewe 1975, 14–15. For a Cypriote-style figure from Naukratis: Pryce 1928, 190–191, pl. 41 (B.451, the "Naukratis hunter").

416 Karageorghis 1978c, 159, pl. 25.5. Cf. G. Markoe who includes the statuette among those wearing Egyptian-type dress: Markoe 1990, 111 n. 1.

417 Note that the lower border of the dress descends in the middle in a similar way at the back of the figure.

418 Pryce 1931, 86–87, fig. 140, C.216, C.217 (Idalion); Gjerstad *et al.* 1937, pls. 23.3, 34.2, 36.1–2 (Kition *Bamboula*); Buchholz & Untiedt 1996, pl. 56.c (Tamassos).

419 A Herakles in the British Museum, Inv. no. 1885.10–10.2/1917.9–3.1, is wearing a chequered "*chiton*".

Egyptianizing figures will be returned to briefly elsewhere (see Ch. 3.3.2). Suffice it to point out this obvious, Cypriote parallel of short-sleeved, *chiton*-like garments reaching to the knees, belted in the middle.

There is a need to return to the belts of the Cypriote Egyptianizing figures. Displaying, as they do, raised outer ridges framing a broad, plain area, they could be said to echo the standard Egyptian belt as depicted in art. While dealing with the belts above, however, in Ch. 2.2.1 "The kilt", it was clear that the pronounced relief of the outer ridges of the Cypriote belts deviates from what is encountered in Egyptian counterparts. These exaggerated ridges are found instead on the standard, East Greek type of belt. On Ionian bronze belts, holes were punched along both edges, allowing for the attachment of a backing material which was rolled over the edges and sewn in place, resulting in raised and rounded belt edges in depictions.[420] Here it can only be repeated that it cannot be determined whether or not an Egyptian belt type provided all the impetus for the belts found on the Cypriote Egyptianizing figures.

Most Egyptianizing figures have kilts with plain borders. It occurs, however, that the borders of the kilts are decorated, either provided with a border design or rendered as if crinkled. Our **Cat. 22**, found at Golgoi, is particular in this respect, displaying as it does a combination of both (*Pl. 6.2*). The kilt of the torso has an incised meander pattern placed vertically along its borders, while the very edges of the kilt cloth are rendered through small semi-circles placed one above the other – seemingly depicting a thin textile material with a crinkled or frilled border. Almost as much attention was paid to the rendering of the kilt by the sculptor behind **Cat. 21**, also from Golgoi. The diagonal pleating of the kilt follows the body beautifully, and the hem of the garment is bordered with individual "beads", rectangular with rounded corners, in a row. Similar renderings are found in two other figures, **Cat. 15** and **Cat. 20**, from Idalion and Golgoi, respectively. The "beaded hem" of **Cat. 15** comes close to that of **Cat. 21** in that it consists of rectangular "beads". In **Cat. 20**, however, we find "beads" which are larger than those of **Cat. 21**, and in shape they rather come close to corn kernels, their flat ends being connected to the kilt.[421] Further, there is a thin, raised ridge separating the rounded "beads" from the kilt cloth itself. In addition, quite a few Cypriote figures have kilt borders which are rendered with a thin, plain band.[422]

A close parallel is found along the vertical edges of the "kilt" of a colossal Herakles figure unearthed at Golgoi.[423] Here, as well, a thin, raised ridge separates the "beads" and the "kilt cloth". Further, on one of the short sides of the so-called "Amathus sarcophagus", the relief decoration depicts four kilt-wearing, Bes-like figures moving to the right. Their kilts are vertically pleated and there is a horizontal row of beads or fringes placed along the hem on each of them hanging from a thin, raised ridge.[424] Certain male, Cypriote, mantle-wearing figures have the hem of their mantle decorated with similar fringes or tassels.[425] Some of these examples have an appearance which comes quite close to the beaded hem of the Egyptianizing figures.[426]

It is worth drawing attention to a seemingly insignificant but recurring detail in the Cypriote Egyptianizing dress. Around certain vegetal ornaments (see below) and certain details of dress, there is a characteristic raised, narrow outline.[427] This is rendered in low relief in the stone in all instances known.[428] In **Cat. 5** and **Cat. 12**, both from Idalion, such outlines are found framing the sash ends of the figures (*Pls. 1.2 & 3.1*).

For these Cypriote, decorated kilt- and dress borders, no Egyptian parallels are known.

Turning to the headgear of the Egyptianizing figures we notice that a non-Egyptian feature is the wreath tied around the heads of our **Cat. 31**, from Golgoi, and **Cat. 45**, from Kition. The wreath seemingly consists of leaves (laurel?) rather than flowers. Among the Cypriote Egyptianizing figures these two wreaths are the only available examples, but on other types of Cypriote votaries they are commonly found.[429] There

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[420] Boardman 1961–1962, 179–180. The belt type is not only encountered in Cypriote stone statuary; for an Egyptianizing bronze figurine from Idalion wearing a similar belt, see Addendum 2, No. 2.

[421] For a similar rendering of "corn kernels" along the borders of a kilt, see the colossal, Cypriote-style torso found at Amrit, our **Cat. Ph1** (see below, in Ch. 4.3.3).

[422] **Cat. 1** (the Karpasia), **Cat. 5**, **Cat. 12** (Idalion), **Cat. 30** (Golgoi), **Cat. 44** (Tamassos), and **Cat. 57** (Palaepaphos). Particular are **Cat. 16** (Lympia) and **Cat. 49** (Amathus), which display broad bands with double outline (in the latter case merely rendered with paint).

[423] Karageorghis *et al.* 2000, 123–125, no. 190.

[424] Karageorghis *et al.* 2000, 201–204, no. 330 (especially p. 202).

[425] Myres 1914, 143, no. 1004; Senff 1993, pl. 51.e. For small-scale examples in terracotta: Karageorghis 1978c, pl. 28.38, 111, 134, 181.

[426] Karageorghis *et al.* 2000, 110, no. 173.

[427] This term was first used by I.J. Winter regarding Phoenician-style ivories: Winter 1981, 114.

[428] It is merely indicated with paint, however, in the triangles found in one of the registers of an "apron" of a very fragmentary sphinx (?) from Palaepaphos: Maier 1974a, fig. 4. See below, in Ch. 5.1.3 n. 199.

[429] **Cat. 3** (from west of Salamis) has tressed hair, similar to **Cat. 31**. Since a large part of the head of this figure is missing, there

are good parallels for both a combination of long, plaited hair and wreath, and short hair – as in the Golgoi and Kition figures.[430]

On **Cat. 13** we find a band or diadem placed around the head, decorated with three large rosettes, one placed frontally and two on the sides.[431] This is the only known statue which has a combination of Egyptianizing kilt and this kind of characteristic Cypriote diadem. Once again we have to turn to votive figures wearing "Cypriote belts" for parallels: the characteristic outfit of this homogeneous group of male figures includes "Cypriote belts", a plain or decorated short-sleeved garment, and a rosette band or diadem placed around the head.[432]

Another type of headgear encountered on the Egyptianizing figures is what seems to be an amalgamation of double crown and knobbed helmet with upturned cheek pieces. More is said in Ch. 2.4.2 on this Cypriote version of the double crown. Here we shall merely mention the presence of such non-Egyptian headgear as that of **Cat. 20** and **Cat. 30**, both being peculiar, helmet-like versions. The polos-like hat of **Cat. 11** deserves to be mentioned here as well.[433]

The details of the outfits

Non-Egyptian, and indeed very Cypriote, are the spiral earrings which we encounter in some of the Egyptianizing figures under study.[434] Apart from being witnessed on several different types of Archaic Cypriote votives[435] the spiral metal earring is a recurrent find in archaeological excavation on the island.[436]

The same is basically true for the spiral armrings worn by several of the Egyptianizing figures around the upper part of the arm;[437] there are countless types of Cypriote votives which are provided with this ring[438] and several different versions thereof have been recovered through excavation.[439] The inclusion of the armrings of the Cypriote figures in this short survey of non-Egyptian features may seem inconsistent, since they were already dealt with above, in connection to the originally Egyptian features (Ch. 2.2.1).[440] I believe that the Cypriote armrings merit attention here as well, however, not least because of the widespread parallels within the local votive material of the island.[441] It could be stated that the extant metal spiral arm- and earrings tie the apparel of the votives closer to reality, at least in terms of their jewelry. In three figures, our **Cat. 20**, **Cat. 27**, and **Cat. 62**, double armrings are depicted which display a centrally placed rosette. Parallels for this decorative addition are lacking from the island.[442]

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could, hypothetically, have been a wreath crowning it. For other examples: Hermary 1989a, 112, nos. 219–443.

[430]Senff 1993, 36, pl. 17.l–n (long hair); Hermary 1989a, 135, nos. 262–263, p. 137, no. 267, beginning of 5th century B.C. (short hair).

[431]The "hair" of **Cat. 13** is plain, something which is true for a majority of the related figures. It could seem that the figure is wearing a polos-like headdress. However, through comparisons with figures where the hair is indicated by parallel grooves and/or curls, we know that rosette bands or diadems are depicted: Hermary 1989a, 48, no. 60.

[432]For examples in limestone: Karageorghis 1978c, 159, pl. 22.9 (Kazafani); Maier 1989, fig. 40.4 (KA 614, Palaepaphos). In terracotta: Karageorghis 1978c, 161–163, pl. 36.25 (almost life-size), 35, 42 (Kazafani). The "belts" themselves are often similarly decorated by rosettes.

[433]This last headgear is partly damaged and difficult to attribute to any given type.

[434]See **Cat. 20**, **Cat. 23**, **Cat. 30**, **Cat. 36–38** (Golgoi), **Cat. 52** (Palaepaphos), and **Cat. 61** (of unknown provenance).

[435]Myres 1940–1945a, pl. 31, where the two Egyptianizing figures (**Cat. 21** and **Cat. 24**) lack spiral earrings, while all other six figures wear them; Ergüleç 1972, 17, pl. 17.2a–2b (figure wearing a "Cypriote belt"). For terracotta examples: Gjerstad *et al.* 1935, pl. 42.1 (Ayia Irini); Schmidt 1968, pl. 32, T 670, a Cypriote-style terracotta figure found on Samos (late 7th century B.C.); Karageorghis 1993, 92, pl. 32.1, 3, 5 (Kazafani). From Ayia Irini comes a figure wearing an actual bronze spiral earring in each ear: Karageorghis *et al.* 1977, 42, pl. 30.2 (color plate 7).

[436]Cesnola 1903, pl. 17.1–24; Myres 1914, 376–377, nos. 3062–3092, and p. 142 (regarding figure no. 1003); Karageorghis 1970b, pl. 153.4, 6, 11; Karageorghis 1970c, 114–115; Brown 1983; Karageorghis *et al.* 2000, 239, nos. 387–389 (gold). Compare a terracotta figure from Toumba where the earrings are painted yellow, as if indicating gold (?): Munro & Tubbs 1891, pl. 9.

[437]See **Cat. 52** (single, closed armring); **Cat. 26**, **Cat. 30**, **Cat. 31**, **Cat. 38** (single, open armring overlapping in the front); **Cat. 3** (?), **Cat. 50** (double closed); **Cat. 20**, **Cat. 27**, **Cat. 62** (double, closed by rosette); **Cat. 19**, **Cat. 29** (double, open armring, its ends overlapping frontally above and below the others, respectively).

[438]Cesnola 1885, pl. 58.401 ("kilt" with panther skin); Senff 1993, pl. 51.e (mantle-wearing figure); Hermary 1989a, 292, no. 589 (falcon-headed figure); Ergüleç 1972, 17–18, pl. 18.1, C 18, pl. 23, C 20 ("Cypriote belt" wearers). For terracotta examples: Gjerstad *et al.* 1935, pl. 209.3, no. 1724; Karageorghis 1993, fig. 25 (both from Ayia Irini).

[439]Cesnola 1903, pls. 1.1–3, 2.4; Pierides 1971, pl. 23.3, 6 (a single, open armring where the ends are made up by snakes' heads); Karageorghis *et al.* 2000, 236–237, nos. 375–381 (gold and silver rings).

[440]It was noticed that double armrings are indeed a characteristic accessory on Egyptian sculpture, from at least the New Kingdom onwards.

[441]The open, spiral ring is not rendered in Egyptian art, to my knowledge. On Cyprus it is encountered recurrently – even as anklets around the ankles of votive figures: Karageorghis 1993, fig. 81. For two Idalion bronze figurines with such rings, see Addendum 2, Nos. 2–3. Markoe 1990a, 119, suggested that the armring and the Egyptianizing outfit in general is indicative of a Phoenician population on the island.

[442]Note, however, that a similar double armring with large, central rosette is found on a Cypriote-style statue unearthed at Sidon, our **Cat. Ph22** (see below, in Ch. 4.3.3). A peculiarity of this armring is, however, that the four ends coming closest to the rosette consist of small, feline heads viewed from above.

Finally, the broad collar of **Cat. 30** displays a feature which is not encountered elsewhere: the border between the upper register of the collar and the neck of the figure is raised in rounded relief. This pronounced edge is unparalleled in Egyptian imagery and, in fact, also among the other Cypriote Egyptianizing figures.[443]

The ornaments

In this section the motifs placed upon the kilts, collars, and headgear of the Egyptianizing figures will be dealt with, motifs for which no direct Egyptian antecedents have been possible to trace. The motifs have been grouped according to affiliation: figural, vegetal, or geometric.

The figural ornaments

In five of the Cypriote Egyptianizing figures we find the rendering of a head, carved in low relief right underneath the belt on the uppermost part of the "apron" (*Fig. 11*).[444] In Ch. 2.2.1, above, we noted how this placement most probably reflected what was originally an Egyptian royal or priestly outfit where a small panther or leopard skin was a part, and where the head of the animal was arranged apotropaically over the genital area (*Fig. 2*). The placing of a feline head beneath the belt is an age-old, Egyptian, royal custom. In the Cypriote figures we do not encounter panther or leopard heads, however. In this respect these heads could be considered as truly non-Egyptian elements, and therefore deserve to be discussed here. The heads will be treated in detail below and as we shall see, certain heads have come farther away from the Egyptian, original, leonine character than others.

In most Cypriote kilts the frontal cobras hang down from the lower edge of the belt. In all five statues and statuettes with heads carved underneath the belt the cobras emanate instead from these heads – or rather from their chins.[445] In two of these cases, in **Cat. 31** and **Cat. 50**, the hanging cobras are crossing. It is worth noting that this very particular interplay between the snakes is only encountered in these two figures within the Cypriote Egyptianizing group.[446]

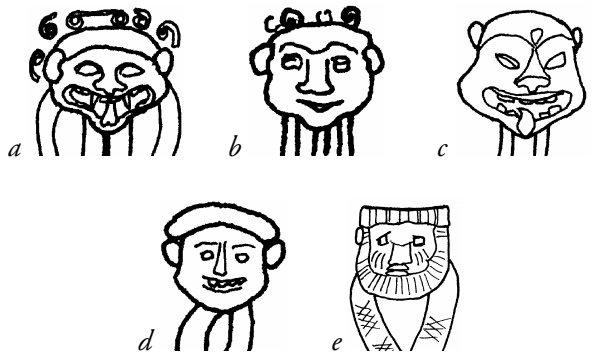


Fig. 11. Apotropaic heads placed at the top of five Cypriote kilts: a) ***Cat. 12****, b)* ***Cat. 15****, c)* ***Cat. 30****, d)* ***Cat. 31****, e)* ***Cat. 50****.*

The face carved on the kilt of **Cat. 50** is full and rounded. The hair – divided by vertical incisions – is placed like a horizontal band directly connected to the lower edge of the belt. The figure has a full beard decorated by vertical grooves, which follows the entire contour of the face, being connected to the hair of the figure on both sides of the face. Round, incised eyes, a broad nose, and thick, straight lips give the face its character. On each cheek three vertical incisions radiate from the eye. The rendering of vertically incised hair and beard in one,[447] and the parallel grooves on the cheeks[448] are both characteristics of the mixed iconography of Bes on Cyprus.[449] For early parallels – found on the island – for the lines on the cheeks, see the ivory Bes heads unearthed in Tomb 79 at Salamis.[450] In a majority of the known later renderings, however, the dwarf god is depicted with an outstretched tongue – a trait which is not shared by the head on **Cat. 50**.

A fierce grin and an outstretched tongue is found, however, on the head carved on the kilt of **Cat. 30**. This head deviates from the others in its placement,

[443]Unless we should imagine a deliberate translation of the New Kingdom bead- or gold collar, fitting tightly around royal Egyptian necks during the New Kingdom, as in *Pl. 21.2*. This, however, would hardly be arguable. In fact, the closely related **Cat. 20** displays a similarly broad, if not rounded, inner border.

[444]See **Cat. 12** and **Cat. 15**, from Idalion, **Cat. 30** and **Cat. 31**, from Golgoi, and **Cat. 50**, from Amathus.

[445]Wilson 1975b, 99–100, sees here a reminiscence of the Egyptian and Phoenician snake-breathing "Bes".

[446]Interestingly, crossing reptiles are witnessed in one single instance within the Phoenician, Cypriote-style material, and there, too, the cobras hang from the chin of a small head placed underneath the belt of the figure: see our **Cat. Ph1**, found at Amrit (see Ch. 4.3.5).

[447]Karageorghis *et al.* 2000, 177, no. 289 (terracotta Bes lamp-and-statuette), p. 223, no. 354 (limestone Bes statuette). See also Gjerstad 1948, 165, fig. 35.48 (a Bes gold pendant). V. Wilson traced the origin of the lion mane found in certain Bes images: Wilson 1975b, 77, 84.

[448]Karageorghis *et al.* 2000, 177, no. 289 (again, the terracotta Bes).

[449]Wilson 1975b, 95, on the mane-like, leonine hair of certain Bes images, pp. 87, 90 on the lines on the cheeks of Bes on the Karatepe reliefs, and on terracotta statuettes from Amrit. On the possible parallel with the Humbaba figure: pp. 87, 94–95; *LIMC* 3 (1986), 108–112 s.v. Bes (Cypri et in Phoenicia) (A. Hermary).

[450]Karageorghis 1974, pls. 66, 70.219. The heads have been reconstructed as part of the decoration of the headboard of the so-called Bed A; *LIMC* 3 (1986), 108–112 s.v. Bes (Cypri et in Phoenicia) (A. Hermary), pp. 89, 111, nos. 32–33, where the most well-preserved of the Bes ivory heads is juxtaposed to the Bes limestone head from Palaeokastro, with similarly grooved cheeks, beard, and cusp.

being carved almost centrally on the "apron".[451] Thin, coiling cobras emanate from its chin, however, confirming its connection to the other faces under study here. The head is bald, ears protrude relatively high up on the sides of the head, and from beneath small, rounded cheeks the lower part of the face broadens to allow for the wide grin, the baring of teeth, and the outstretched tongue.[452] Thin lips are indicated, as is a broad and flat nose of which mainly the lower part is indicated. The eyes are set obliquely towards each other, giving the creature quite a fierce appearance. Above them a characteristic area is created on the forehead of the figure through the presence of concave arches coming in from just below the ears, meeting in a prong between the eyes.[453] This cusp is in fact found on several of the Cypriote Bes figures: it was connected by V. Wilson to the Cypriote Archaic renderings of lion heads.[454] Several pieces of local material confirm this leonine connection[455] and underline the mixed character of the iconography of Bes in Cyprus (and in Phoenicia).[456]

A wide-open mouth and extended tongue are further found on the head placed beneath the belt of **Cat. 12**. The face is broad and the chin is marked, reflecting the shape of the mouth. The mouth itself is marked by a double line and in the upper jaw teeth – including two sharp fangs – can be seen. The extended tongue has a narrow base and a broader, rounded tip with a small dent in the middle. The lower part of the nose is broad and fits well in the concavity of the upper lip. Eyes are incised, eyebrows faintly rendered in low relief. Between the rounded ears a broad, plain horizontal area follows the outline of the head, looking like a rendering of hair. Above and around it, however, seven curls are carved into the stone, resembling the snake hair so characteristic of the Greek gorgon. The fangs visible in the mouth further indicate that this type of female demon may have served as a source of inspiration for this figure.

Parallel renderings of miniature size are found within contemporary Cypriote material, although no example displays an identical set of elements as does this "gorgon" head. On a cubical stamp seal found at Kourion, a grinning figure shares the general shape of the face, the placing of the rounded ears, the plain, horizontal area between them following the outline of the head, and even the shape of the tongue.[457] On the same seal two grinning, Bes-like figures have extended tongues with dents in the middle.[458] Further miniature renderings of gorgons' heads are found in metal, but no truly close parallel has as yet been found.[459] A late gorgon head is carved into a grave façade at Pyla, but again it is without coiling snake hair and fangs.[460] It is in a clay votive shield from Salamis that we encounter a true "Medusa" head with coiling snakes instead of hair.[461] The shield is also of a slightly later date, though.[462] In the center of it we find a figure with rounded face, where the tongue extends from a wide-open mouth. Between the ears is – similarly – an area following the outline of the head, but here is again the (leonine) cusp we encountered above, on the forehead of Bes figures. From the cheeks and up all around the head, coiling snakes with open mouths are set in pairs. On the crown of the head two of the winding cobras face each other. Further, the votive shield "Medusa" head has striped (feathered?) wings, or a peculiar double beard, placed beneath her chin.

Inspiration from the Greek gorgon can in fact be traced in the fourth head found placed beneath the belt of a Cypriote kilt-wearing figure (*Fig. 11*). Our **Cat. 15**, from Idalion, displays this head, which is unfortunately rather abraded. It shares the shape of the face, the placing of the ears, and the curls above the head which resemble coiling snakes with the gorgon-like head of **Cat. 12**. The faded contours of the face allow us to identify an open mouth, a broad

[451] A plain, Cypriote version of the Egyptian *wedjet* or "Eye of Horus" is rendered a bit below the belt, while the second ornament encountered is the grinning face. Compare **Cat. 44** from Tamassos.

[452] Could the shape of the face possibly have something to do with the tapering area available for the carving of this figure? The vertical edges of the kilt fall to the sides, gradually widening the area available for decoration on the "apron".

[453] There is a small, rounded, unidentified element incised into the tip of this point.

[454] Wilson 1975b, 95. For examples of such cusps, see, again, lamp stand and limestone Bes in New York, beside two other, well-known examples: Karageorghis 1960, 257, fig. 25 (terracotta mold from Kythrea – photo of imprint); Yon 1986, 134, fig. 5.b (limestone Bes figurine holding snakes, the Louvre, Inv. no. AM 1701).

[455] See the statue of a male figure (the Ringling Museum, Sarasota, Inv. no. SN 28.1914): Cesnola 1885, pl. 58.401 (above n. 158). The carving of the face of the small lion seems not to have been finished but the cusp on its forehead and the two almond-shaped, obliquely set eyes are there – much like in the head on **Cat. 30**.

[456] The cusp on the forehead is a general characteristic within Bes iconography also outside Cyprus: *LIMC* 3 (1986), 98–108 s.v. Bes (T. Tam Tinh) – for later examples.

[457] Arwe 1981, fig. 9.1–2; Gubel 1987, 197, fig. 1.5.

[458] Gubel 1987, 197, figs. 1.3, 1.6.

[459] Gjerstad *et al.* 1935, pls. 64.22, 153.2 (a bronze mirror found in tomb 58 at Marion, with a gorgon head between mirror and handle); Gjerstad 1948, 165, fig. 35.47 (a gold pendant "Medusa" head).

[460] Masson 1966, 9–11 (475–400 B.C.); Karageorghis 1998a, 103, no. 59.

[461] Karageorghis 1978b, 19, pl. 10, T.117, no. 1 (17 cm in diameter). The decorated votive shield was found in Tomb 117 together with a few other finds.

[462] Karageorghis 1978b, 19, suggests a Cypro-Classical I date for the tomb (ca. 475–400 B.C.).

and flat nose, rounded cheeks, and the slight outline of a cusp on the forehead – here merely in the form of a wavy line dipping down in the middle.[463]

The fifth and last head is found on the "apron" of **Cat. 31**, excavated at Golgoi. In type it differs greatly from what we have seen so far, looking rather like a smiling, human figure.[464] We may note, however, that the placement of the ears is similar to that of the former figures and that there is, in fact, a plain, curving area running between them which probably indicates hair. The face of the figure is relatively thin, eyes and eyebrows incised, the nose is broad and the smiling mouth is placed close to it, indicated by an incised, curving line, with faint renderings of teeth. This is most probably a standardization of the grin witnessed most pronouncedly in the small heads on **Cat. 12** and **Cat. 30**.

Thus, the five heads placed on the uppermost part of the "aprons" of these figures exhibit certain elements borrowed from the Egyptian dwarf god Bes and from the female Greek gorgon, respectively. Both these characters share an apotropaic function in their original setting, and this is probably why they have been combined here.[465] It is a curious detail that both Bes and "Medusa" are connected with snakes in their general representations, as well as in this Egyptianizing context, where all five composite figures have cobras hanging from their chins.[466] It is interesting to consider a depiction found on one of the three shields of a limestone figure of Geryon, unearthed at Golgoi.[467] On the left shield the three figures depicted can most probably be identified as Athena, with long dress, helmet, shield, and spear; Perseus, with sword and shield; and "Medusa", close to a *Knielauf* position, with obliquely set eyes, broad, flat nose, and a demonic grin – where teeth are showing – from which the tongue extends. From the shoulders and from the head of the female demon, three large snakes wind upwards, the upper halves of their bodies unfortunately missing due to a break in the stone.[468] In this depiction we are presented with what we know was conceived by the Cypriote sculptor as a Medusa figure, in the setting of the Greek myth in which she partook. It is interesting to note that the general similarities with the heads found on the Egyptianizing figures are there.

In the case that it has been possible to identify Cypriote relatives of Bes in the heads on the "aprons" of some of the figures under study, we may note that although Bes is indeed an Egyptian dwarf god his placing on the kilt is unparalleled in Egypt itself. Similarly, the placing of a Greek-type gorgon head on the garments of votive figures is unparalleled on Cyprus.[469] It is, again, the apotropaic function which connects the two figures – ultimately even to the Egyptian panther or leopard head.[470]

Turning our attention to the figural decorations found on the belts of some of the Egyptianizing figures we find ourselves with, again, five representations to consider.[471] Indeed, the entire notion of placing a figural decoration on a votive figure's belt is non-Egyptian: that is, it is unparalleled in the Egyptian record available to us. Starting out with **Cat. 31** and **Cat. 30**, which were recently treated above in relation to the faces placed on their "aprons", we can establish that these two statues have quite enigmatic representations on their belts – in marked contrast to what we find in the other three decorated belts in focus here. **Cat. 31** displays what seems to be a winged sun disk set within the raised outer ridges of its broad belt. As such it would belong within the Egyptian section above, in Ch. 2.2.1, where Egyptian figural ornaments encountered on the Cypriote Egyptianizing figures were treated. When studying the piece closely, however, it can be established that there are very faint traces of facial features within the "disk", and small ears on the sides of it. It seems instead to be a small male head, framed entirely by hair and beard. We saw above how mane-

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463 Compare Karageorghis *et al.* 2000, 177, no. 289 (terracotta Bes), p. 223, no. 354 (limestone Bes). See also the limestone statuette in the Louvre, referred to above: Yon 1986, 134, fig. 5.b.

464 Cesnola noted that a tongue was sticking out from the figure's mouth: Cesnola 1885, text in connection with pl. 7.9. This is not (no longer?) visible on the figure.

465 Wilson 1975b, 94: "The Cypriotes were familiar with Greek demons, particularly gorgons and satyrs. "Bes", gorgons, and satyrs are all independent creations, and although they may borrow attributes from one another, it is not true to say that one is derived from another. The confusions and borrowings generally happen at a stage after they are established, and to some extent may be the result of their common apotropaic function." Cf. Helck 1987.

466 Wilson 1975b, 86–88 (Bes as master of animals, in general, and as holding snakes, in particular). The fact that Medusa's hair was made up of snakes is well attested in Greek myth and art: *LIMC* 4 (1986), 285–287 s.v. Gorgo, Gorgones (S.-C. Dahlinger), p. 286; *LIMC* 4 (1986), 289–330 s.v. Gorgoneia (I. Krauskopf), pp. 316–317, nos. 5 (painted terracotta antefix from Phokis, ca. 550–525 B.C.), 67.b (similar rendering from the late 6th/early 5th centuries B.C.).

467 Karageorghis *et al.* 2000, 128–129, no. 193. See also Tatton-Brown 1984, 173.

468 For parallel, Bronze Age renderings of Bes with snakes coiling up from the shoulders, and similar depictions of gorgons in Archaic Greek art: Wilson 1975b, 86 n. 88, fig. 2.1.

469 Note, however, that Bes head amulets are encountered on the dress of Cypriote "temple boys", of the 5th and 4th centuries B.C.: *LIMC* 3 (1986), 108–112 s.v. Bes (Cypri et in Phoenicia) (A. Hermary), p. 111; Beer 1993, 21–25.

470 The Egyptian-type panther head is not altogether unknown on the island: Matthäus 1985, pl. 73.552 (metal vessel).

471 See our **Cat. 30**–**33**, from Golgoi, and **Cat. 60**, of unknown provenance.

like hair and beard characterizes depictions of the god Bes in Cypriote iconography. I do not claim that what we see on the belt of **Cat. 31** is a winged depiction of Bes. What there is for us to see is clear, however: the outline of a small face with a few human facial features such as ears and faint outlines of eyes and mouth preserved in the stone.[472]

Moving instead to **Cat. 30** which was also dealt with above in the Bes-gorgon section, it may be admitted at once that it is not possible to make sense out of what is depicted within the framed area of its belt. What can be discerned is a centrally placed round disk or object,[473] on each side of which are placed two similar, although not identical, X-shaped patterns. With a great stretch of imagination we could propose that the figure on the left-hand side depicts a winged sphinx, seen from the side in a seated position.[474] But proposing something similar for the shape on the right is impossible.

We arrive then at three very well carved scenes found on the belts of **Cat. 32**, **Cat. 33**, and **Cat. 60**. The two first scenes, found at Golgoi, belong to very fragmentary pieces of statuary.[475] The belt of **Cat. 32** displays a central scene which is flanked by two floral ornaments of which only one is completely preserved (*Pl. 8.3*). The intact ornament is a so-called paradise flower (see below), set on quite a thick stem. In height it fits nicely into the area available between the raised outer ridges of the belt. The same is true for the central figural scene which features a striding man opposing a lion standing with all four paws resting on the ground. With the left hand the man grasps the creature's front leg, while the right pushes a dagger or a sword into its chest. To fit the composition the outstretched left arm is unrealistically prolonged. The bearded figure wears a headcover and something which seems tied around the neck and hanging down on the back, recalling the lion skin of Herakles.[476] The body of the opposing lion is schematically – although vividly – rendered, with a lack of correspondence between the different parts of the body. Its legs, particularly the front ones, have awkward positions, with the paws as merely rounded lumps. The tail is curved but hangs low behind the animal. Surprisingly, individual teeth can be seen in the open jaws, and the ferocious eye adds to the impression of aggressiveness. There are Cypriote parallels for both the motif itself and for its style. Man and lion in combat is an ageold Near Eastern formula which became an appreciated motif in Cypriote iconography from at least the Bronze Age period.[477] In contemporary Archaic material culture, it is found in a wide variety of materials.[478] The scene as decoration on the belt of a votive figure is unparalleled, however. The closest typological parallels come from the decoration found incised on some of the so-called Cypro-Phoenician metal bowls. A silver bowl unearthed at Idalion displays two concentric registers where the outermost one features male figures, lions, and winged griffins in various kinds of interaction.[479] Depicted are two lion slayers, both grabbing the animal's paw while pushing the sword into its chest. There are further six different depictions of a bearded male figure, draped in a lion skin, who wrestles with or carries lions.[480] Even if the typological parallels are there, the "Herakles" figure and lion on the belt of **Cat. 32** are rendered in a different and more mannered style than what we find in the decidedly earlier metal bowls. To find close stylistic parallels we need to turn to contemporary limestone material. A fragmentary statuette of Geryon, found at Golgoi, displays a rich figural decoration in low relief.[481] Not only do we encounter three decorated shields held by the six-legged figure, where the Athena/Perseus/Medusa scene was referred to above, but his knee-length tunic has another relief decoration which is of interest here. Depicted are two male, striding figures wearing belts and short, kilt-like garments, who are posed back to back in the center of

[472]The closest parallel I have encountered for this small face is a winged gorgon head incised into an Etruscan bronze mirror handle: *LIMC* 4 (1988), 330–345 s.v. Gorgones (in Etruria) (I. Krauskopf), pp. 334–335, no. 52.

[473]F.G. Maier suggested that what we see in the belt of this figure is the depiction of a solar disk: Maier 1989, 386 n. 29.

[474]The uppermost, slightly rounded ends of the X-shape would then constitute the head and the tip of the wing of the sphinx, respectively.

[475]Despite their fragmentary state the beautiful and detailed carving on the belts of these figures – and the geometric decoration seen on the "apron" of one of them, treated in the section dealing with the kilt, above – indicates to us that these belts originally belonged to quite elaborately equipped, kilt-wearing figures: see above Ch. 1.1.2 n. 32.

[476]Cesnola identified the scene as depicting Herakles fighting the Nemean lion: Cesnola 1885, text in connection with pl. 27.90; Myres 1914, 236, no. 1371.

[477]Tatton-Brown 1979, 50–51, no. 134, for a Late Bronze Age ivory mirror handle from Palaepaphos. For a short treatment of the lion slayer motif, from a Cypriote point of view: Markoe 1988b. See also Freyer-Schauenburg 1966, 64.

[478]Munro & Tubbs 1891, pl. 10 (painted terracotta "cuirass"); Karageorghis 1964a, 369, fig. 95 (the ivory hilt of a dagger (?) from Idalion); Karageorghis *et al.* 2000, 182–183, no. 299 (a gilded silver bowl from Kourion), pp. 128–129, no. 193 (a limestone statuette of Geryon, from Golgoi, with relief decoration).

[479]Markoe 1985, 170–171, 244, Cy2.

[480]A. Hermary considers the figure as the Cypriote Bes: *LIMC* 3 (1986), 108–112 s.v. Bes (Cypri et in Phoenicia) (A. Hermary), p. 110, no. 14. For more on the iconographical connection between Cypriote Bes and Herakles: pp. 111–112; Hermary 1992, 131–132. For a close-up of one of the figures with lion: Jourdain-Annequin 1993, pl. 11.

[481]Karageorghis *et al.* 2000, 128–129, no. 193. See also Tatton-Brown 1984, 173.

the scene, each facing an attacking lion standing on its hind legs. Each man grabs the paw of the lion with one hand while holding a sharp sword in the other. The similarity to the combat scene of **Cat. 32** lies mainly in the striding position of the men, their mode of attacking the beasts, and the fact that one of each of their arms is awkwardly elongated in order to fit the composition. The lions are stylistically related – but not close – to the lion of **Cat. 32**.[482]

The second belt with figural decoration from within the Egyptianizing group is found on the similarly fragmentary **Cat. 33**. Within the raised outer ridges of the belt we find a frieze of crouching, winged sphinxes facing right (*Pl. 8.4*). Two of the sphinxes are well-preserved, the third (placed furthest to the right) is fragmentary. Both well-preserved creatures are bearded and wear conical headdresses,[483] each with a bun of hair coming below it down the neck. The almond-shaped wings of all three creatures were left undecorated.[484] On the second and, especially, third – less well-preserved – creature, long, slightly curving tails are visible. Parallels for this scene are altogether lacking in the Cypriote limestone material. The crouching, winged sphinx, of much larger size and sculpted in the round, is regularly found as a grave monument in Archaic Cyprus.[485] And the features of the left, more well-preserved figure – pointed beard, conical headgear with hair hanging in the neck – are well-known in Cypriote statuary in general.[486] To find a similar rendering of a frieze of crouching winged sphinxes, however, we have to turn again to the iconography witnessed in the 8th and 7th century B.C. metal bowls from the island. The so-called "Amathus bowl", a silver *patera* decorated in the *repoussé* technique, displays a central rosette around which three concentric registers of decoration are arranged.[487] The innermost one features crouching, winged sphinxes of which only two are completely preserved.[488] The "Amathus bowl" sphinxes each have two wings where the feathers are characteristically, and beautifully, outlined. They wear broad collars around their necks and seem to be wearing striped headcovers which are crowned by disks and *uraei*. Stylistically the two friezes are rather remote from the limestone belt rendering, but the crouching creatures on the metal bowl remain – to my knowledge – the only real parallel.

Similarly, in the belt of **Cat. 60**, we are dealing with a frieze of figures of which only three of its participants are preserved (*Pl. 12.2*).[489] A goat, a lion, and a four-winged scarab are set neatly within the raised outer ridges of the belt; paws and hooves rest softly on the lower border while the tip of the scarab's wing touches the upper one. The disparate scale between the scarab beetle and the two animals did not seem to bother the artist.[490] The position of the legs indicates that the goat is moving forward at a good pace. Its horns are curved back parallel to the line of the neck and the ear, its neck is broad and strong. It has a small beard and a stubby tail. The lion leans forward slightly, its tail raised alertly and its jaws open. Its neck is massive, in contrast to its slender body, where the contour from the chest over stomach and groin down to the tip of the right hind paw is virtually one single, beautifully curved line. The four-winged scarab is only partially preserved: of the right pair of wings and its right front foot, only a fraction can be seen. The body is characteristically tripartite, consisting of a main body, a slightly triangular area to which the front feet are attached, and the head. There is a raised, vertical division along the body, meeting a horizontal dividing line at the bottom.[491] The two preserved wings are feathered.

Any parallels for this parading triad are simply not known from the island.[492] It is only when we view the creatures separately that some possible parallels can be

[482]It can be noted that both **Cat. 32** and the Geryon figure were found at the same (eastern) site at Ayios Photios, Golgoi (see below, in Ch. 3.2.2).

[483]The most well-preserved figure, depicted on the extreme left, is wearing a conical headgear which could in fact be interpreted as a double crown.

[484]Myres did not identify any wing on the third, less well-preserved creature and suggested that it is a crouching lion: Myres 1914, 235–236, no. 1370. Cesnola made a similar distinction between the creatures: Cesnola 1885, text in connection with pl. 27.80.

[485]Cesnola 1885, pl. 17.24, crouching (acephalous) sphinxes with almond-shaped wings, from Golgoi; Karageorghis 1976a, 870, fig. 61; Karageorghis 1987, 666, fig. 6. If the headgear depicted would be a double crown, then a limestone *cippus* with lion and sphinx from Golgoi comes to mind: Karageorghis *et al.* 2000, 136–137, no. 206.

[486]General parallels from votive sculpture are plentiful, but I refer again to the sphinx with double crown from Golgoi mentioned in the above footnote.

[487]Markoe 1985, 172–174, 248, Cy4 (drawing); Hermary 1986b, figs. 127–131 (photograph).

[488]A third and fourth creature are only partially preserved.

[489]The fragmentary torso **Cat. 60** has been treated separately: see Faegersten forthcoming a.

[490]The same is basically true for the scene on **Cat. 32**, where the vegetal ornament on its stem equals "Herakles" in height. Unless, of course, it was – as Cesnola believed – conceived as the stylized rendering of a tree: Cesnola 1885, text in connection with pl. 27.90.

[491]While the vertical line mirrors the two sections of the scarab's body, its *elytrae* or protective shields, the horizontal partition is unattested in standard scarab iconography: Ward 1994, 194.

[492]Parallels from outside the island for the animal frieze in general, and for the goat and lion in particular, are given in Faegersten forthcoming a. It is Late Protocorinthian pottery which is being referred to.

suggested. Interestingly, just as in the case of the two former belt fragments, the closest parallels for the animals depicted in this third belt come from the iconography encountered in Cypro-Phoenician metal bowls. Again, the "Amathus bowl" serves as a point of reference. In the innermost register of this silver bowl, we find a scene of worship where two kneeling figures pay homage to a four-winged scarab beetle, all set on individual, low pedestals.[493] The *repoussé* scarab is strikingly similar to its limestone counterpart: the proportions of the creatures are nearly identical, as are the shape and placing of the feathered wings.[494] The slight differences in the division of the main body, in addition to the fact that the scarab on the silver bowl grasps two disks with the front and hind pair of feet, respectively,[495] does not alter the fact that the two creatures are typologically very close.

The lion on the belt of **Cat. 60** is not characteristically Cypriote in style – and even if it shares the curving tail, the open jaws, and – to a lesser degree – the pronounced neck area with the lion depicted on **Cat. 32**, the two felines are far from stylistically close. It is perhaps in one of the lions of the above-mentioned silver bowl from Idalion that we encounter its closest parallel. The outermost register of this bowl, as mentioned above, features several lions involved in fights, or being carried. Four of these, rising on their hind paws to fight the Bes-like figures and the sword-wielding men mentioned above, are all similar in style. They share the massive neck and slender body, the marked shoulder line, and the curve and tip of the tail with the lion on the belt of **Cat. 60**.[496] It is of interest to mention a fragmentary bronze belt (?) found at Kourion decorated in the *repoussé* technique.[497] Here we might have an actual bronze example of the kind of belt we find depicted on **Cat. 32**, **Cat. 33**, and **Cat. 60**. The (fragmentary) Kourion belt is decorated with fighting animals, where two lions seem to be attacking a winged griffin against a background of stylized palm trees (?). We recognize the broad necks of the lions and the characteristically feathered wing of the griffin from the limestone belts. But the head of the left lion is rendered frontally, and in general, it is not possible to tie the overall style of this bronze to the reliefs on the limestone belts presented above.

For the goat on the belt of **Cat. 60**, no similar parallels can be established.[498] The winged sphinxes and the four-winged scarab have one thing in common: they are all original Egyptian creations which are encountered here in a non-Egyptian form, and in settings which are never found in Egyptian art.

At the very bottom of the Cypriote Egyptianizing "aprons", we sometimes find rectangular areas containing decoration.[499] The friezes containing drop shapes, lilies, and lotus flowers were already dealt with above, in Ch. 2.2.1.[500] In this non-Egyptian section we deal with the single figural decoration which is found in this position on a kilt. It is on **Cat. 50**, from Amathus, that we find an almost square, decorated area at the very bottom of the "apron" (*Pl. 11.3*). Depicted are two animals carved in low relief. A stag (?) is lying down, facing left, the long front leg bent underneath the body. On its back, turned the same way but with the face rendered frontally, is a lion, squatting and sinking its teeth into the neck of the herbivor. The rounded line of the mane of a male lion is barely visible in the stone. Behind the head of the stag there is what looks like either a large ear or a horn protruding horizontally, and in the limited area in front of the creature's neck something is indicated in the stone.[501] Both animals have thin tails hanging down behind them. As so often there is a whole corpus of general parallels for the motif of fighting animals from the island, but not really any close ones at hand.[502] The closest we come is a rendering in low

493 A parallel rendering is found in one of the Praeneste bowls, where kneeling figures pay homage to human-headed, four-winged scarabs placed in reed boats: Markoe 1985, 188–191, 274, E1.

494 For the close parallels of both these creatures to four-winged scarabs depicted in Phoenician 8th and 7th century B.C. ivory plaques, see Ch. 5.1.3.

495 This, of course, corresponds better to original Egyptian depictions of the two-winged Khepre, carrying the rising, reborn sun – a potent Egyptian symbol of resurrection: *LÄ* 1 (1975), 934–940 s.v. Chepre (J.C. Assmann), p. 935.

496 For a good photograph featuring one of the lions fighting a Bes-like figure, see – again: Jourdain-Annequin 1993, pl. 11.

497 Browne 1981, 139, figs. 8.1–2; Oliver 1996, 157–158, no. 90, pl. 62.

498 Parading animals set in friezes are found, however, in the metal bowls: Karageorghis *et al.* 2000, 180–183, nos. 297, 299, two Kourion silver bowls (of which one was mentioned above) where – in the innermost registers – bulls and horses are walking.

499 See **Cat. 1** (two empty, rectangular areas – where decoration may have been rendered in paint), from the Karpasia, **Cat. 6** (two drop shapes), **Cat. 12** (three and a half lotus flowers), **Cat. 15** (motif abraded), from Idalion, **Cat. 21** (a frieze of lilies and buds), **Cat. 23** (motif abraded), **Cat. 31** (motif abraded), **Cat. 34** (the area is abraded, but thin, coiling shapes are still visible), from Golgoi, **Cat. 50** (an almost square area containing fighting animals), from Amathus, and **Cat. 59** (two parallel, rectangular areas, one with lilies and buds, the other featuring five drop shapes), from Kazafani.

500 It was noted in this earlier chapter that in Egyptian statuary a row of petals or drop shapes was usually placed at the bottom edge of Egyptian New Kingdom *devanteaux* (*Fig. 2*).

501 It might be the right leg of the stag or deer, indicating that it had just fallen to the ground, or was trying to get up from there, avoiding the attack of the lion.

502 Barnett 1977, 162, fig. 1 (bulls and lions fighting on the bronze shield boss from Amathus); Tatton-Brown 1984, 172; Buchholz 2000, 231, fig. 4.g (a Bronze Age rendering on a gold plaque, of bull fighting lion).

relief on a limestone votive footstool, from Golgoi, where a lion is attacking a bull, flanked by two large rosette flowers.[503] Although the bull is turned the other way – still half-standing, its head rendered frontally – there are close parallels in its bent front leg, the front paw of the lion, the frontal rendering of its head, and its way of digging its teeth into the back of this herbivor. It is important to note that it has been argued that the animal motif carved on **Cat. 50** can rather be connected to an iconography witnessed much later, in the 5th or even 4th century B.C. – a fact that has been used to give the statuette a similarly late date.[504]

The vegetal ornaments

There are instances where the short-sleeved garments worn by the Cypriote Egyptianizing figures have decoration in relief in the stone. In two figures there are incised, vertical stripes covering the garments.[505] There are also more elaborate carvings witnessed in **Cat. 12** and **Cat. 34**, from Idalion and Golgoi, respectively. The short-sleeved garment of **Cat. 34** has a particularly rich ornamentation (*Pl. 9.1*).[506] A band of lilies and buds linked with curving loops – set within thin, raised ridges – run along practically all edges of the garment: horizontally just above the belt of the figure, horizontally across the chest, running vertically in a central position along the upper part of the body, from the band placed just above the belt, overlapping the one set across the chest, and reaching the band which surrounds the neck of the figure.[507] Further, a similar flower border follows the outline of both shoulders down to the edges of the short sleeves.[508] This criss-cross pattern of bands is accompanied by an enigmatic, incised design set right above the horizontal flower band placed across the chest of the figure.[509]

This would have been an entirely unique piece among the Egyptianizing figures were it not for the parallel feature found in our fragmentary **Cat. 12**, from Idalion (*Pl. 3.1*).[510] In this carefully worked torso a broad, vertical band with vegetal motifs is placed centrally along the upper garment, reaching from the belt up to the point where the upper part of the body was broken off. We can thus not tell if **Cat. 12** had a similarly rich array of decorative bands as does **Cat. 34**. As in **Cat. 34**, however, the vertical band is framed by thin, raised ridges, its decoration consisting of a section of superimposed "Phoenician cup palmettes", or rather stylized branches of the palm tree (*Fig. 12*).[511]

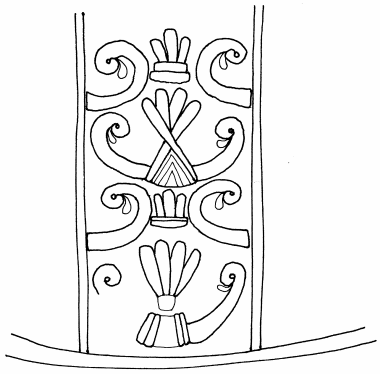


Fig. 12. Part of the vertical floral border carved in low relief along the center of the upper garment of ***Cat. 12****, from Idalion. The pattern consists of superimposed, stylized sacred trees or "Phoenician cup palmettes".*

Close parallels can be found among material from outside the Egyptianizing group. Four internally related statues are particularly informative. All display

503 Karageorghis *et al.* 2000, 207, no. 333.

504 Hermary 1981, 22–23, referring to Phoenician coin depictions from Kition. See also Hadjicosti 1997, 56, fig. 19, an ivory plaque with similar motif – and, perhaps, of similar date?

505 See **Cat. 23** and **Cat. 24**, both from Golgoi. For parallels found on figures wearing "Cypriote belts": Myres 1897, 168, fig. 5.13 (painted, on a small statuette from Kamelarga, Kition); Mitford & Iliffe 1951, 60, no. 3, pl. 9.a, KA 25 (from Palaepaphos).

506 J.L. Myres saw a parallel for the flower bands in the Cypriote terracotta figures wearing "cuirasses": Myres 1914, 200. Close parallels for this decorated dress can in fact be found in Archaic Greek vase painting: Amyx 1988, 91, pl. 42.1a–1b (Corinthian *alabastron* of "the Luxus Group"), p. 160, pl. 62.1a–1b (*alabastron* of the "Erlenmeyer Painter", from Kameiros). In addition to the decorated bands we find two ends of the dress hanging over the belt, at the sides of the figures – just like we saw in Cypriote statuary, above.

507 The single parallel known to me for the flower band placed horizontally just above the belt of a figure is a statue found at Sidon: **Cat. Ph22** (see Ch. 4.3.3). Here lilies alternate with so-called paradise flowers, similarly linked with curving loops.

508 Parallels for the placing of such a decorative pattern along the sides of the shoulders can be found in both local limestone and terracotta: **Cat. 37**, from Golgoi; the Cyprus Museum, Nicosia, Inv. no. B.21 (limestone); Gjerstad *et al.* 1935, pl. 207.1–2 (terracotta). In these occasions it is not a question of a flower motif, however, but merely parallel, vertical stripes.

509 There are several – six or seven – thin, incised, concentric lines reaching in width across the entire chest of the figure. These semi-circular lines are overlapped by the central, vertical lily-and-bud band. The idea behind this incised, linear design is quite unclear, and so is its relation to the surrounding and overlapping flower bands.

510 **Cat. 25**, from Golgoi, has a painted, vertical band placed centrally along its upper garment. On **Cat. 50**, from Amathus, two vertical, incised lines running down the center of the short-sleeved upper garment could originally have marked the outer limits of a painted area: Hermary 1981, 22 n. 59. Compare a Herakles statuette in New York: Myres 1914, 174, no. 1093.

511 Note that the section visible to us in the vertical band – containing intact palmettes set beneath two palmette halves – indicate a larger pattern where palmettes are set beside and above each other in rows. For a brief discussion on this particular motif, see further below.

short-sleeved garments and so-called "Cypriote belts".[512] A figure of unknown provenance, today in the Archaeological Museum of Istanbul, is wearing a tight-fitting, short-sleeved garment decorated with an overall pattern of thin, wavy, parallel, vertical lines.[513] Centrally along the vertical axis of the upper part of the figure's body runs a band very similar to that of our **Cat. 12**, framed by thin, raised ridges and depicting superimposed "cup palmettes".[514] A second statuette from the same collection displays a "Cypriote belt" with rosettes beautifully rendered in low relief.[515] In the center of its short-sleeved garment is a painted, vertical band. On a darker background large rosettes rendered in lighter paint are placed one on top of the other. Finally, two statuettes found at Golgoi (Athienou *Malloura*) – again wearing the characteristic "belts" – constitute our third and fourth parallel. In the first instance the upper part of the body seems to be covered by a similar, thin, tight-fitting garment with pleats running obliquely across it – not unlike what we saw in the first example.[516] A vertical band with raised outer ridges runs along the center of the figure, displaying a pattern of inverted chevrons. In the second instance a figure in the Louvre has its short-sleeved garment decorated with an incised, vertical floral motif.[517] We may add a fifth figure found at Golgoi and belonging to the same "Cypriote belt"-wearing type which has a plain, incised decoration in the same position on its upper garment.[518] In this way the relief decoration found in elaborate versions on two of the Egyptianizing figures finds quite close parallels within another local, Cypriote male votive type.[519]

When looking closer into the floral world of the Cypriote Egyptianizing iconography, things tend to get more complex. Already during the Cypriote Middle Bronze Age – and later, in the Late Bronze Age period – we find a common, international, Eastern Mediterranean heritage of floral and vegetal motifs which may have seen their forms develop within Middle Assyrian, Kassite-Babylonian, and Middle Kingdom Egyptian art.[520] It was noted above that Egyptian art and iconography most probably received large amounts of input from the Levantine area during the New Kingdom period.[521] Basically we are dealing with ageold motifs, more or less laden with symbolic meaning and with the everlasting property of their decorativeness. This is to say that the aim here is not to trace the ultimate origins of each and every floral motif encountered incised or carved in the Cypriote Egyptianizing figures. There will be an attempt to identify and describe the motifs encountered which are not specifically Egyptian – accepting, of course, that some of them may have had a distant, Egyptian original past. Short references will be given to material from Cyprus, to votive material and to other categories of finds where these motifs are similarly present. In doing so we get a first view of each motif on Cyprus itself. It is rather later, in Ch. 5.1.3, that we return to those motifs (virtually all of them) which are encountered in contemporary, related art found outside the island. What follows is thus an account of the non-Egyptian, floral and vegetal motifs found on the attire of the Cypriote Egyptianizing figures.

A floral ornament which seems to have been widely appreciated by sculptors and patrons alike in Archaic Cyprus was the rosette (*Fig. 13.a*). This marguerite-like flower[522] with its central, circular pistil and the surrounding oblong petals which are slightly rounded on the ends – seen strictly from above – is quite common in local Cypriote sculpture of the period. This is in fact one of the complex motifs mentioned above: with a general spread to all Eastern Mediterranean art centers, it merits attention both as an Egyptian and as a non-Egyptian motif.[523]

As was briefly mentioned above, the rosette seems to be frequently encountered on two groups of Cypriote votive figures: the Egyptianizing ones and

[512] See, on this group in general: Hermary 1989a, 44.

[513] Ergüleç 1972, 17, pl. 18.1, C 18. I have not been able to study this piece myself. There seems to be floral bands running along the sides of the shoulders as well, and maybe even one encircling the neck of the figure – much like in our **Cat. 34**. This is difficult to discern from the black-and-white photo, however. (The head does not belong to the body: p. 17).

[514] In this case it seems to be entire cup palmettes set one on top of the other – that is, no half palmettes are incorporated into this pattern.

[515] Ergüleç 1972, 18, pl. 23, C 20.

[516] Counts 1998, 151–152, no. 13.

[517] Hermary 1989a, 44–45, no. 54. The author describes the vertical decoration as consisting of "fleurs de lotus superposées (?)".

[518] Karageorghis *et al.* 2000, 106–107, no. 169, with 14 short, vertical incised lines placed centrally, right above the belt. Further, there are three feather-like incisions placed one on top of the other in a central, vertical position on the upper garment.

[519] Another parallel is found in the painted decoration found on a Cypriote-style statuette from Naukratis, now in the University College, London: Kyrieleis 1996, pl. 40. I have not been able to study this piece myself, and therefore thank G. Nick, who generously provided information on its rich, painted decoration. Of interest here is the fact that centrally along the upper garment there seems to be a painted, vertical band of rosettes (?) – and right above the belt, there is a horizontal row of short, vertical lines.

[520] Individually these motifs can of course – in many cases – be traced back to earlier periods.

[521] See above in Ch. 2.2.1 "The kilt – the vegetal ornaments".

[522] Hadjioannou 1970, 311, identifies the rosette shape found in the Salamis material as a yarrow or milfoil (*achillea santolina*) flower – in modern times connected to the Greek Easter rituals.

[523] Hermary 1985, 683 (regarding rosettes on Cypriote Hathoric capitals). See above, Ch. 2.2.1 "The kilt – the vegetal ornaments".

the group of figures characterized by a dress consisting of a "Cypriote belt", a short-sleeved garment, and with a band or diadem placed around their heads. In the case of the Egyptianizing figures we find the rosette as a decorative detail on armrings of the double, closed type, worn on the upper part of the left arm on three of the figures.[524] Two of these have additional rosettes on their garments. The first, **Cat. 27**, wears a broad belt which has a decoration in low relief made up of similar rosettes.[525] The second one, **Cat. 20**, has a large rosette placed as a central decoration on its helmet-like double crown. This exact placement of the floral ornament is found on the "double crown" of the closely related **Cat. 30**.[526] One may note that of the four statues and statuettes mentioned so far, three were found at Golgoi, while the provenance of the fourth is unknown. The fact that the last example from the Egyptianizing group is the Idalion figure **Cat. 13** – a figure uniquely wearing a kilt with cobras along with a rosette diadem tied around its head – is quite revealing in that it forms a bridge over to the second, main, rosette-carrying Cypriote group, the wearers of "Cypriote belts" (*Pl. 3.3–4*). As was lined out above, these figures are characterized instead by their sets of rosettes placed on their shorts or "belts", as well as on their broad diadems.[527] The placing of the rosettes on the diadem of our **Cat. 13**, one central and two on the sides, is often paralleled in the related group of figures.[528] We find it decorating the elaborate superstructure of Hathoric capitals from the island where, in fact, the same rendering of Hathor and rosettes are echoed in Bichrome pottery.[529] The rosette flower is further found on female statuary decorating the headbands, the earrings, or a particular category of (late) elaborate crowns with figural relief decoration.[530]

Beside statuary the decorative and compliant rosette is depicted in close to all other types of Cypriote objects and kinds of media: in stone relief, painted on terracotta statuary or pottery, and in metal bowls and jewelry.[531]

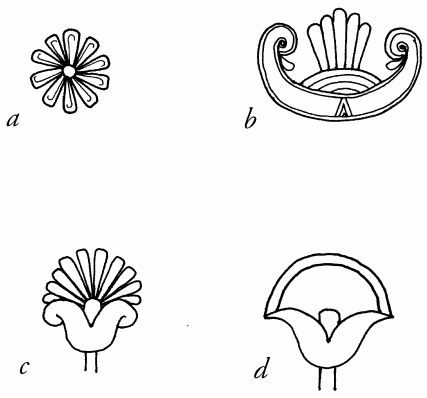


Fig. 13. Floral ornaments encountered on the Cypriote Egyptianizing figures: a) the rosette, b) the stylized sacred tree or "Phoenician cup palmette", c) the volute-and-palmette flower, d) the paradise flower.

Another motif encountered in the Egyptianizing figures which is not specifically Egyptian is a vegetal ornament often termed the "Phoenician cup palmette" (*Fig. 13.b*).[532] We find it only on one single stone figure, our **Cat. 12**, where it decorates the vertical central band on the short-sleeved upper garment of the figure (*Fig. 3.1*). As was mentioned above, this band is only partially preserved, broken off as it is just below the level of the chest of the figure. Its decoration consists of superimposed, stylized volute plants, of which only one is well preserved (*Fig. 12*).[533] Between the plants, repeated twice, are what seem to be two ends of similar plants meeting, that is two halves of the same plant with another small, floral motif inbetween.[534] It seems

524 **Cat. 20**, **Cat. 27** (Golgoi), and **Cat. 62** (of unknown provenance).

525 Of these flowers only one can be seen in the single published depiction of the piece: Cesnola 1885, pl. 5.7. L.P. di Cesnola mentions the rosette-decorated belt in his accompanying text.

526 These large rosettes have eight and nine petals, respectively, placed around the central, circular pistil.

527 It was noted that one of the figures wearing a "Cypriote belt" has a vertical row of painted rosettes placed centrally along the upper garment: Ergüleç 1972, pl. 23, C 20. See further above n. 515.

528 Gjerstad *et al.* 1937, pl. 206.1–3; Ergüleç 1972, pl. 17.2a–2b, C 17; Hermary 1989a, 45, no. 55; Senff 1993, pl. 60.d. Of course this placement is not a rule – a head from Palaepaphos has seven rosettes filling the entire band or diadem: Maier 1989, fig. 40.4 (KA 614); Senff 1993, pls. 32.a–c, 60.c, e.

529 Hermary 1985, 683–685; Hermary 2000, 146–148, pl. 83, no. 969 (from Amathus). For a depiction on a Bichrome V vase fragment: Caubet *et al.* 1992, 92, no. 99.

530 Gjerstad *et al.* 1937, pls. 50–53 (the Vouni *kore*); 12.1–2, 17.4–5 (Kition), 57 (the Vouni Hathoric capital), 191.4–5, 192.3–4, 193.1–2 (Arsos). For a rosette placed at the end of an actual spiral silver earring: Karageorghis 1970a, fig. 30.

531 Karageorghis *et al.* 2000, 206–207, nos. 332, 333 (limestone votive footstools); Karageorghis & Des Gagniers 1974, 131, 138, pls. XII.a.7, XII.b.13 (terracotta statuary); Gjerstad 1948, figs. 31.4, 14b, 50.3a–3b (Bichrome IV Ware); Hermary 1986b, figs. 127–131; Matthäus 1985, pl. 30.408 (silver bowls); Karageorghis *et al.* 2000, 236, no. 376 (golden bracelets).

532 Frankfort 1954, 196 ("Cypriot palmette"); Bisi 1971, 20, Barnett 1977, 164, Wagner 1980, 84 ("Schalenpalmette"); Shefton 1989, 98 ("Phoenician cup palmette").

533 The appearance of these plants, or "cup palmettes", is slightly different from that commonly found. Note the "baseball bats" forming the centrally placed palmette in the well-preserved motif.

534 These "branches" thus protrude from the raised ridges framing the band. They curve upwards and coil inwards, and each characteristically displays a small, hanging drop shape from

clear that the subject matter depicted in the vertical band of **Cat. 12** reflects the cut-out, vertical section of a larger motif consisting of several parallel, vertical rows of superimposed volute plants or Phoenician cup palmettes. This cut-out pattern is paralleled in several instances in material from the Phoenician mainland.[535]

There is one example of a votive figure wearing a "Cypriote belt" – a statue which was referred to above – which seems to share not only in the placing of a vertical, decorated band along the short-sleeved upper garment but also in the actual floral motif displayed there.[536] The ornaments filling the vertical band of the related figure are typologically different from those found in **Cat. 12**[537] and the arrangement is not exactly the same.[538] But sets of volute branches curve upwards and inwards in a similar way, with small, drop-shaped leaves protruding from their innermost curves.

Just like the rosette the Phoenician cup palmette is recurrent in virtually all other Cypriote Archaic material categories, including votive limestone statuary and objects, tomb wall reliefs, pottery, metal bowls, and jewelry.[539] Close parallels for this motif are encountered in fact on the late 8th century B.C., high-quality wood and ivory furniture from Tomb 79 at Salamis.[540] The "cup palmette" is encountered in several arrangements on the ivory plaques, by themselves or arranged as part of elaborate, stylized "sacred trees" (*Fig. 14*).[541] As parts of a "sacred tree" the cup palmettes are placed on top of – or "growing from" – stems ending in volutes. On these volute stems, and at the center of each cup palmette, there is a geometric – or rather stylized vegetal – pattern consisting of several inverted chevrons.[542] Characteristic drop-shaped leaves grow from the innermost coil of each cup palmette. This is, then, what is imitated in the central, vertical band of **Cat. 12**, from Idalion.[543] Additional vegetal forms have been added to the stylized ivory tree, consisting of pliant stems appearing from the innermost coils of all volutes crowned by lilies and papyrus flowers.[544] From the very base of the "tree", two short stems protrude, each ending in a flower consisting of two volutes and a palmette.[545]

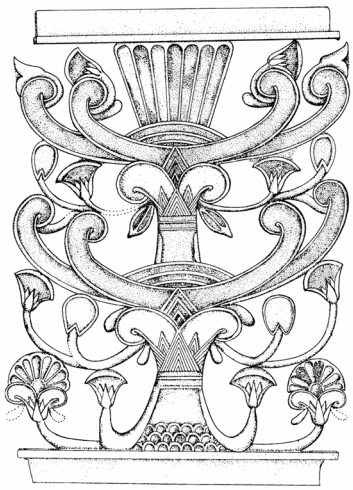


Fig. 14. A stylized sacred tree. À jour *ivory plaque decorating the arm rest of Throne Γ from Tomb 79 at Salamis, Cyprus. Late 8th century B.C.*

With this we reach two additional, non-Egyptian, vegetal motifs which are also found decorating the dress and outfit of the Cypriote Egyptianizing figures: the "volute-and-palmette flower" and the so-called

within each coil (compare the Egyptian composite lily in *Fig. 4.d*).

535Gubel 1985, 189–191, with references. See also below, in Ch. 5.1.3.

536Ergüleç 1972, 17, pl. 18.1, C 18.

537In the Istanbul figure the individual plants are less wide than in **Cat. 12**, the top of the volute branches actually touching in at least one of the five preserved examples. There is something set inside the area created between the two branches, but nothing similar to the triangle-and-palmette encountered in the Idalion figure.

538In the Istanbul figure the five volute plants are placed one on top of the other, and there are no signs of an area inbetween, marked by two halves of the same motif, as in **Cat. 12**. At one spot only is there what seems to be a horizontal area separating the individual plants, and this space is taken up by what seems to be six short, vertical, leaf-like forms. I regret that I have not been able to study the piece under discussion here.

539Masson & Hermary 1993, pl. 3 ("Priest with a dove", from Golgoi); Seipel 1999, 207–208, no. 102 (votive altar); Maier *et al.* 1969, 388, fig. 1 (KA 6, KA 728) (niche stelai); Masson 1964, 224, fig. 12 (Tamassos tomb 2); Karageorghis 1990, pl. 22 (painted pottery); Matthäus 1985, pls. 36.428, 39.431 (silver bowls). In the two last examples, the "cup palmettes" are part of stylized "sacred trees". For jewelry: Ohnefalsch-Richter 1893, pl. 159, fig. 5 (gold band); Karageorghis 1964a, fig. 96 (necklace with pendants).

540See above, in Ch. 1.1.1. Despite the fact that these ivory plaques were most probably imported from the Phoenician mainland and thus were not locally made on Cyprus, they deserve to be treated here since they were, indeed, part of the material culture of the island in this early period.

541Cup palmettes are also set on high volute stems within the friezes of crouching *Heh* figures and antithetic, youthful sphinxes: Karageorghis 1974, pl. 242.147–318. These plaques have been reconstructed as decorating the headboard of a wooden bed (see Ch. 1.1.1 n. 3): Karageorghis 1973b, 92–94.

542Compare the pattern found on the "apron" of fragmentary **Cat. 33**, from Golgoi (*Pl. 8.4*).

543As we can see, what is termed a "cup palmette" is merely one part of a tree-like structure taken out of its context – basically the crown of a stylized tree.

544For the shape of the (Egyptian) lily and papyrus, see *Fig. 4.b–c*.

545A characteristic of this stylized, vegetal form is its absolute assymetry, displaying identical sets of components on each side if divided vertically, along its central, median line.

paradise flower (*Fig. 13.c–d*). Just like the Phoenician cup palmette, both flowers can be found as parts of Phoenician and Cypriote "stylized trees". They are encountered individually on a few of the Egyptianizing figures under study. Starting out with what has been termed the paradise flower ornament we can see it decorating the "helmet" of **Cat. 30** (*Fig. 10*), framing the central figural scene on the belt of the fragmentary **Cat. 32** (*Pl. 8.3*), and decorating the broad collars of **Cat. 8** (*Fig. 6*), **Cat. 23**, **Cat. 27**, and **Cat. 47** (*Pl. 10.3*).[546] Common to all these depictions is a flower motif consisting of two thin, curved leaves with pointed ends emanating horizontally from a common central point. In this central depression, where the two leaves are connected, there is generally a small, rounded device over which a convex line is drawn, connecting the outermost points of the two leaves.[547] In his analysis of the history of this particular motif on Cyprus, B.B. Shefton suggested that it is an amalgamation of the Egyptian lily and papyrus flower, and he introduced the term "paradise flower".[548] This term is followed in the present study.[549] In two of the Egyptianizing examples, **Cat. 30** and **Cat. 47**, the paradise flowers are set beside each other in a row, linked with curving loops. Two further examples display the flowers as simply standing or hanging beside each other.[550] The fifth example, found on the belt of **Cat. 32**, is particular in that it displays two paradise flowers flanking a figural scene. Of the two flowers only one is preserved in its entirety. It stands alone crowning a short and quite broad stem which looks rather like a tree trunk.[551] In height the trunk and "flower" equal the standing figure in the scene and indeed, this is a setting which is very different from the other known Cypriote examples.[552]

The paradise flowers which are placed along the U-shaped border of the helmet-like double crown of **Cat. 30** are thus arranged in a more traditional manner, linked as they are with curving loops (*Fig. 10*).[553] Individually, however, they are rendered in quite a unique way. In total there are eight flowers attached to the stem. While the two flowers decorating the front of the helmet are conventionally rendered as described above,[554] the sets of three flowers on each side are different. Each flower is divided into three or four compartments – apart from the small, slightly pointed vegetal device placed in the central depression created between the two horizontal leaves. Rendered with such compartments, each paradise flower rather looks like half a slice of lemon.

Paradise flowers linked with curving loops are further present in the broad collar of **Cat. 47**. It is in the innermost register, closest to the neck, that we find this garland of flowers. Unique for this rendering is the fact that large and small paradise flowers alternate, where smaller versions of the flowers fit nicely into the spaces created between the larger ones.[555] The three consecutive registers of the collar of **Cat. 47** are decorated with triangles, persea fruits, and hanging drops. There is a close, general parallel, then, in the collar of **Cat. 27** where the same set of ornaments make up the decoration. We find the paradise flowers in the third register of the collar, followed only by the outer row of hanging drops. The flowers are set within the raised ridges of the collar and there are thus no curving loops connecting them.[556]

Finally, in the broad collar of **Cat. 8**, paradise flowers are found in one register while lilies and buds are found in the register above, placed closest to the neck of the figure (*Fig. 6*). Each paradise flower is set on a tiny base – just like the neighboring lilies and buds.

Before considering related Cypriote material where this particular flower motif is encountered, let us turn

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546 **Cat. 8** is from Idalion, **Cat. 23**, **Cat. 27**, **Cat. 30**, and **Cat. 32** from Golgoi, while **Cat. 47** was said to have been found at Larnaka.

547 The small, central vegetal element is thin and pointed in the examples found on **Cat. 27** and **Cat. 30**.

548 Shefton 1989, 97–98: "...we have here a specifically Phoenician creation, which has taken over elements from the Egyptian 'lily', with its central bud and pair of curving side leaves, topping it with the rounded dome segment suggested perhaps by the papyrus." It could be added that if a deliberate, Egyptian amalgamation had been made between the lily of Upper Egypt and the papyrus of Lower Egypt, then we would have encountered the motif as an emblematic plant laden with much symbolic meaning in Egyptian art. Since this is not the case, it favors an interpretation of the creation of the motif taking place *outside* Egypt. For the motif in Late Period Egyptian material culture, see above n. 276.

549 For others adopting Shefton's term: Gubel 2000b, 198; Grallert 2001, commentary by F. Bubenheimer on p. 192.

550 Thus, the flowers of **Cat. 8** and **Cat. 27** are not linked together but are merely set within two of the raised ridges of the broad collars which they decorate.

551 In his first description of the scene, L.P. di Cesnola did interpret the device as a tree – and the fragmentary corresponding flower as part of a bow and arrow belonging to Herakles: Cesnola 1885, text in connection with pl. 27.90.

552 Parallels are found, however, in the decorated registers of metal bowls and other objects unearthed on the island: Barnett 1977, 162, fig. 1 (a bronze shield boss from Amathus, where lion and bull fight between volute-and-palmette flowers set on stems); Hermary & Masson 1990, 198, fig. 15 (detail of a Kourion silver bowl with paradise flowers similarly set on stems).

553 See above, in Ch. 2.2.1 "The kilt – the vegetal ornaments".

554 The area available for the rendering of the two frontal flowers is quite restricted in height, and the shape of these flowers consequently squat and oblong in a horizontal manner.

555 See, again, Ch. 2.2.1 "The kilt – the vegetal ornaments".

556 Together with **Cat. 23**, but in contrast to the other renderings referred to here, the paradise flowers of **Cat. 27** are depicted as hanging, their chalices opening downwards.

briefly to the second ornament mentioned above, the "volute-and-palmette" (*Fig. 13.c*). We find it in one single instance as an individual ornament on an Egyptianizing figure – as part of the decoration on the "apron" of **Cat. 22** (*Pl. 6.2*). We saw above how this "apron" features centrally hanging cobras beneath which there is a Hathoric head carved into the stone. On both sides of the Hathoric head we find a short and broad stem ending in two volutes, coiling out- and downwards. In the central depression created between the two there is indeed a tiny paradise flower; two leaves, a rounded, vegetal segment, and a dome rising above connecting the outermost points of the leaves. From the top of this flower, in its turn, nine oblong, rounded leaves emanate, creating the actual "palmette".[557] It can be stated that the paradise flower and the volute-and-palmette flower are closely related forms. Both share the two horizontal vegetal "leaves" between which is placed a small, vegetal element. In the general paradise flower, the crowning, dome-shaped arch is left plain, while in the volute-and-palmette it consists of several leaves.[558] A virtual intermediary was witnessed in the paradise flowers on the "helmet" of **Cat. 30** where the chalices of the actual paradise flowers were indeed divided into compartments.

The two possibly associated ornaments are repeatedly encountered in contemporary Cypriote material, in all kinds of media: in limestone Hathoric capitals, painted terracotta statuary, and metal objects.[559] A limestone votive capital from Idalion presents a particularly good example of the way in which the two floral motifs were interrelated and combined by the Archaic craftsmen.[560] The capital incorporates not only paradise and volute-and-palmette flowers, but also the Phoenician cup palmette treated above.[561] From the center of the cup palmette, several flowers grow on high, straight stalks. Five paradise flowers are set centrally with some buds inbetween, and flanking this group, on each side, are two flowers consisting of volute-and-palmettes. This combination of vegetal forms is not only found on other Cypriote votive capitals, but is also seen in painted pottery and in decorated metal bowls as well.[562] When returning to the Salamis ivory plaques from Tomb 79, we encounter the two floral motifs placed on sinuous, intertwined stalks (*Fig. 15*), and similarly combined in the plaque featuring a striding, winged sphinx, where the growth of various vegetal forms prevents the creation of empty space (*Fig. 16*). In the first example small flowers are harmoniously set within the spaces created between larger ones, a characteristic which was similarly encountered in the Cypriote Egyptianizing material, referred to above (in the collar of **Cat. 47**).[563]

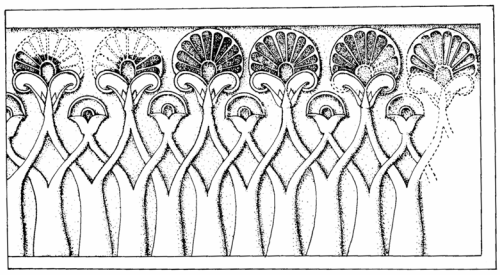


Fig. 15. Large volute-and-palmette flowers and small paradise flowers on intertwined stalks. Ivory plaque from Tomb 79 at Salamis. Late 8th century B.C.

Last in this non-Egyptian, vegetal section, the focus will briefly touch upon a handful of unidentified ornaments found on some of the broad collars of the Cypriote figures. The collar of **Cat. 20**, from Golgoi, is rather schematically rendered. In the innermost register, closest to the neck, large u-shaped objects with a rounded, central part are set beside each other, separated by slightly drop-shaped, vertical bars (*Pl. 5.2*). These shapes are unparalleled in the Cypriote votive material in general and within the

557For a parallel feature to this combination of floral forms, see a silver *oinochoe* found in a tomb at Pontecagnano, where the point of attachment for the handle is turned into a "volute-and-palmette flower" – consisting of two volutes inbetween which is set a paradise flower from which nine additional paradise flowers on tall, straight stalks protrude: Shefton 1989, 97, fig. 1.a–b; Strøm 1971, 127–129, fig. 78 (from Cerveteri). In a related example the point of attachment is a "plain" volute-and-palmette flower: Rathje 1979, 158, fig. 4.1.

558For another example of the interchangeability of the two forms: Maier 1974a, fig. 4 (KA 1994) (sphinx's apron (?) from Palaepaphos), where large lilies and small paradise flowers are linked with curving loops – as are large lotus flowers and small volute-and-palmette flowers. For an actual Egyptian parallel of the relation of the two forms, see a granite Hathoric capital from the temple of Osorkon II at Bubastis: Habachi 1957, pls. 18–19 (one flanking side depicting a paradise flower, the other a volute-and-palmette flower).

559Caubet & Pic 1982, 242, fig. 4.a (Hathoric capital from Kition *Bamboula*); Cesnola 1885, pl. 10.12 (female limestone votive holding paradise flower); Karageorghis 1993, 33, pl. 21.3 (painted terracotta "cuirass" from Kazafani); Karageorghis 1974, pls. 268.244, 320.13 (bronze horse frontlets, Salamis).

560Seipel 1999, 209, no. 103.

561This is by no means a unique combination. On the contrary, more complex Cypriote Egyptianizing vegetal motifs regularly consist of the cup palmette, the volute-and-palmette, and the paradise flower, among other elements.

562Bossert 1951, 9, no. 23; Brehme *et al.* 2001, 167–168, no. 180 (votive capitals); Shefton 1989, figs. 5.a–b (silver bowl), 8.b (Amathus-style amphora). See, again, the amphora in the Princeton Art Museum decorated by two sphinxes and a stylized tree, referred to above in n. 539.

563An additional, similarly well-planned rendering is found in an ivory panel decorating the back of Salamis throne Γ, where large lilies and small volute-and-palmette flowers are linked with curving loops: Karageorghis 1974, pl. 33.

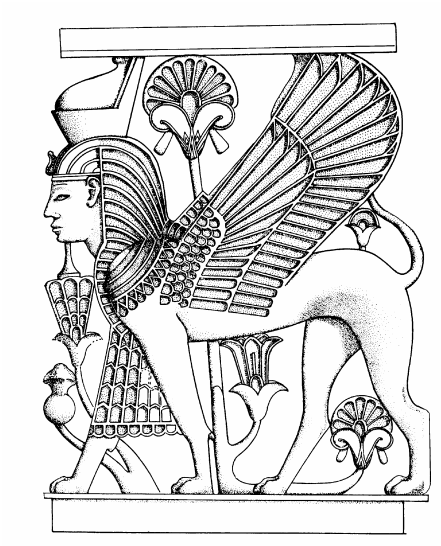


Fig. 16. Winged sphinx with nemes *headcloth.* À jour *ivory plaque decorating the second arm rest of Throne Γ from Tomb 79 at Salamis. Late 8th century B.C.*

Egyptianizing group in particular.[564] The related **Cat. 30**, also from Golgoi, similarly displays an enigmatic rendering in the central register of its collar (*Pl. 7.4*).

It is, in fact, a characteristic of the Cypriote broad, decorated collars that their bottom registers contain not only hanging drop shapes, but set between them, small triangular areas as well, carved (or left) in low relief.[565] That these triangular shapes were more than just an accidental result of the carving of the drop shapes is visible in certain figures, like in **Cat. 21**, from Golgoi (*Fig. 5*).

Similar to the sash ends of the Idalion pieces **Cat. 5** and **Cat. 12**, referred to above, certain Cypriote floral and vegetal ornaments display a characteristic raised, narrow outline framing them. The paradise flowers of **Cat. 8** and **Cat. 32**, the triangles and persea fruits of **Cat. 21** (*Fig. 5*), and the persea fruits of **Cat. 60** all display this raised contour. This is something which is repeatedly encountered in other floral and vegetal ornaments within Archaic Cypriote material culture.[566]

The geometric patterns

A meander pattern which is found incised in a vertical position along the borders of the kilt of the colossal **Cat. 22**, found at Golgoi, was referred to above. The meander is a plain one, arranged within the space marked by two parallel, incised vertical lines (*Pl. 6.2*). There are only very few parallels within the Cypriote votive material – and in these examples, the placing of the pattern is different.[567]

The same figure, **Cat. 22**, displays an "apron" with several interesting features. The style of the cobras and the placement of the Hathoric head has been noted above, and the placing of the "sash ends" will be returned to elsewhere.[568] Here it remains to be said that on either side of the Hathoric head there is an incised, linear pattern resulting in three superimposed, horizontal rows of vertical rectangles.[569] On top of the uppermost row, on each side, is an incised triangular area – looking slightly like a flower pot with wider opening than foot – on which the volute-and-palmette motif is placed.

It was noted above, in the section dealing with "The kilt", that **Cat. 3**, from west of Salamis, is depicted with an object which comes very close to an Egyptian bead- or metal *devanteau* with lateral cobras. Its incised linear pattern results in 15 horizontal sets of six vertical rectangles, placed one on top of the other – thus creating a pattern which possibly (originally) mirrors beads, or the Egyptian, stylized wing-feather pattern. In contrast to **Cat. 29**, which has a similar decoration on the central object, there is a particular arrangement on **Cat. 3**. Every second set of six standing rectangles consists of longer beads. When viewing the device from its lower panel – running underneath the bodies of the cobras – and upwards, we find a set of six, short, standing "beads" followed by a set of six longer ones, again to be followed by shorter "beads", and so on.[570] This detailed rendering could have been ascribed to chance were it not for the parallel arrangement found in a

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564 These shapes can not be identified as stylized persea fruits. The only feature they do resemble is the border ornament found along the kilt of the same figure: that is, the collar ornaments could possibly be viewed as an enlargement of the corn-kernel-shaped elements bordering the kilt cloth. For an accidental (?) parallel found in the broad, decorated collar belonging to an ivory sphinx from Nimrud: Herrmann 1992, pl. 49 (no. 243, ND 7588).

565 **Cat. 14** (Idalion), **Cat. 18**, **Cat. 19** (Potamia), **Cat. 20**, **Cat. 21**, **Cat. 26**, **Cat. 27**, **Cat. 30** (Golgoi), and **Cat. 48** (Amathus).

566 Seipel 1999, 208–210, no. 103 (votive capital where volutes, cup palmettes, and paradise flowers all have raised, narrow outlines); Hermary 2000, pl. 88.973 (fragmentary cup palmette); Karageorghis *et al.* 2000, 201–204, no. 330 (the vegetal ornaments of the "Amathus sarcophagus"). For more on this characteristic, see below in Ch. 5.1.3.

567 Karageorghis 1993, pl. 26.3, a terracotta figure from Idalion (?) who is wearing a helmet with upturned cheek pieces, along the borders of which is placed a double meander pattern. See also a (late) sphinx *thymiaterion* from Golgoi: Karageorghis 1988, 90, pl. 28.4. For the pattern in pottery: Karageorghis 1970b, 49–51, pl. 102.28 (a *skyphos* from Tomb 23 at Salamis, ca. 750–600 B.C.).

568 See Ch. 2.4.2.

569 Is there any possibility that this placing of vertical rectangles on an Egyptianizing "apron" is a faint echo of the bead pattern (the "stylized wing-feather pattern") of the "*devanteaux*" of figures such as **Cat. 3** and **Cat. 29**?

570 The rhythm is partly broken in the upper half of the "*devanteau*" (actually, an abraded area of the stone makes it difficult to distinguish), but the fact remains: shorter beads are juxtaposed with longer ones here.

related, Cypriote-style figure, unearthed at Sidon.[571] Nothing similar is known from the Egyptian sphere.

The incised zig-zag pattern found along the edge of the helmet-like double crown worn by **Cat. 20** may be a stylized, vegetal pattern. It is true, however, that the placing of this plain, universal design on a "double crown" defies parallels in both related Cypriote and Egyptian material.

Finally, we need to point again to the parallel, incised semi-circles placed on the decorated upper garment of **Cat. 34**. It was seen above how this pattern is placed above a horizontal flower band and how it is overlapped vertically by a second, identical band. I cannot present any reason, nor any parallels, for the placing of such an incised pattern on the garment of a Cypriote figure.

2.3 Face and body

After having dealt exclusively with the dress, equipment, and ornaments of the Egyptianizing statues and statuettes, we turn now to an analysis of the stylistic properties of the figures. Of concern here are the faces and the body form of the figures. The method is still that of dividing the statues and statuettes under study into components. Just as in the preceding chapter, the aim is first to identify Egyptian traits within the material, and then Cypriote characteristics.

Under the first sub-division we will deal with the characteristics of face and body form for which there are Egyptian parallels, that is, characteristics which are more or less clearly documented within the tradition of Egyptian statuary in the round, being regularly employed there. Under the second sub-division we will instead deal with non-Egyptian characteristics for which there are parallels within the local, Cypriote sculptural tradition.

It follows that there is a great need to be clear and explicit about what differentiates the one sculptural tradition from the other. It is also of great importance to make use of accurate comparative material. In the Cypriote case I basically take into account contemporary limestone and terracotta material found on the island itself. However, since Cypriote crafts were increasingly influenced by East Greek art from the late 7th century B.C. onwards, occasional parallels from the Ionian mainland and the islands will be included as well.[572]

Selecting accurate Egyptian reference material is complicated, although from a different point of view. In Ch. 2.2.1, above, when dealing with "antiquaria" such as the dress, ornaments, and equipment of the Egyptianizing figures, it became necessary to include not only art of the New Kingdom period but also the Third Intermediate Period, as well as material from the late Twenty-sixth and early Twenty-seventh Dynasties in Egypt, the last being objects contemporary with the actual Cypro-Archaic sculptural production.[573] In connection with this it was outlined how details of dress in general and single motifs in particular can exist for long periods of time. Within this section we have left the realia or "antiquaria" of the figures and are dealing with questions of style, instead.[574] How far back in time do we need to go when examining possible Egyptian *stylistic* parallels for large-scale Eastern Mediterranean sculpture of the 6th century B.C.? Would it suffice to limit our frame of reference to contemporary material, that is, to material from the late Twenty-sixth and early Twenty-seventh Dynasties? The answer to this is most probably "no". We know that what is characteristic of this late period in Egyptian art production is a strong Archaizing tendency.[575] It is not only the periodic admiration for and imitation of New Kingdom artistic formulas,[576] nor merely a question of the general phenomenon of re-using earlier statuary, which – throughout Egyptian history – was a general means of acquiring sculpture when setting out to enrich, for example, a newly built temple precinct.[577] Twenty-sixth Dynasty archaism involved the deliberate "copying" of mainly Old and

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[571] See our **Cat. Ph22** (Ch. 4.3.3). In the Sidonian figure the differences in height between the sets of "beads" are more marked and the pattern starts out with longer "beads" at the base of the object.

[572] For discussions on the chronology and implications of this East Greek influence: Wriedt Sørensen 1978; Hermary 1991. See, in addition, Ch. 4.1.1 on the Cypriote-style statuary encountered outside the island.

[573] See above nn. 31–34.

[574] For the importance of dealing separately with "antiquaria" (that is, dress and ornaments) and style: Lewe 1975, 40 n. 167. See also above, Ch. 1.3 n. 88.

[575] For a survey of the research into the archaism of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, and of various attempts at interpretation: Der Manuelian 1994, xxxv–xlii.

[576] The Nubian kings of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty reintroduced New Kingdom sculptural formulas, a choice which is actually continued and developed by the Saïte kings: Der Manuelian 1994, 1–3 (with references).

[577] This pattern of replacing the inscribed name of a statue with one's own and retouching it slightly was employed by rulers and dignitaries throughout Egyptian history. There is a particularly rich record from the Third Intermediate and later periods, though: Aldred 1980b, 123, 126, on the re-use of Middle Kingdom statuary by Twenty-first and Twenty-second Dynasty kings at Tanis, p. 132 how Psammetichus II (595–589 B.C.), after his Nubian campaign, took a statue of the Twenty-fifth Kushite dynast Shabako – who in his turn, in this particular statue, relied heavily on a Middle Kingdom model. Psammetichus II had the characteristic Twenty-fifth Dynasty double *uraeus*, originally placed on the brim of the *nemes*, recarved into a single one. See above, Ch. 2.2.1 "Headcovers, hair styles, and wigs".

New Kingdom formulas, both regarding relief work and sculpture in the round, and even secular texts.[578] The Saïte tombs in the Theban Asasif, for example, seem to have been under influence from the nearby New Kingdom necropolis.[579] The most well-known tomb, that of Mentuemhat, prince of Thebes (ca. 650 B.C.), is unique in that it displays relief carvings with motifs which were deliberately borrowed from two previous periods, that of the Old and the New Kingdom.[580] It is important to keep this Archaizing tradition in mind when dealing with the possible adoption of Egyptian Twenty-sixth Dynasty art in foreign centers of art production. Our frame of reference for the Egyptian material must involve earlier styles as well, to which Egyptian craftsmen themselves kept returning for inspiration. Apart from this there are certain general Late Period traits when it comes to pose and style which can be used in juxtaposition to the Cypriote figures. I will return to these below.

It may be postulated that when dealing with stylistic parallels in the rendering of face and body, a certain size is required, both in the object which was imitated and in the resulting "copy" itself. Several of the Cypriote Egyptianizing figures are life-size, or almost so. If indeed stylistic parallels can be traceable, we have to look for reference material large enough to express various characteristic traits. Thus, comparative material of miniature size is not considered here. It is important to stress the differences between tracing style, as opposed to tracing pieces of "antiquaria": while characteristics of style call for certain dimensions in the artefacts concerned, pieces of antiquaria – such as elements of dress or single, adorning motifs – are easier to document in objects of quite modest sizes.

Thus, the point of departure here is that if direct Egyptian, or Egyptian-type, stylistic influences reached the minds and production of the Cypriote craftsmen, it was through contemporary art,[581] and contemporary fellow craftsmen, expressed in relatively large pieces of sculpture.

578 Der Manuelian 1994, 24–51, for Saïte "copies" of texts and scenes together. See further chapter 2 in his book, which contains an evaluation of the relationship of Saïte texts and writing systems to that of earlier periods, with conclusions on pp. 388–391.

579 Der Manuelian 1994, 18–24, for examples of Saïte imitations of New Kingdom painted reliefs. See also pp. 55 and 388, for the issue of the possible use of pattern books, or of direct "copying". See also Russmann 1983.

580 Leclant 1961; Russmann 1994, 13–14, 18–19.

581 Even if this art contained traits from earlier periods.

2.3.1 Egyptian features

Starting out in the general, overall appearance of the figures, it can be stated that the pose of the Cypriote figures is a characteristically Egyptian one. Standing as they do with the left leg advanced and both arms parallel along the sides of the body, alternatively one hand clenched on the chest, they echo the standard stance found through three millennia in Egyptian male, standing statuary. It is well known that this striding, frontal pose is found in nearly all free-standing, Iron Age sculpture found outside Egypt,[582] including the earliest examples of large-scale, Greek statuary.[583] Whether Cypriote sculptors borrowed the stance directly from Egyptian statuary or indirectly from an intermediary tradition cannot be determined with any certainty.

The advanced left leg is a hallmark of Egyptian statuary and indeed necessary for the proper "reading" of the human image, in an art often dictated by the ruling principles of the hieroglyphic writing system. It is worth noting that 7th century B.C. terracotta sculpture from Cyprus does not display this characteristic, nor does stone sculpture from the latter half of the same century.[584] The stance seems to be adopted on Cyprus – in both stone and terracotta – in the early 6th century B.C.,[585] thus somewhat later than its introduction in early, large-scale Cycladic

582 On the stance: Gubel 1991, 135, who traces it in Phoenician, Ammonite, and Cypriote statuary material; Senff 1993, 25 n. 204, considers the position of the arms a praying gesture and recalls its presence in the terracotta group from Meniko, Cyprus, where two male figures with rosette diadems lead between them a bull for sacrifice (pl. 64.a).

583 Opinions vary on whether this was a deliberate borrowing from Egyptian sculpture or not: Davis 1981, 67, follows Guralnick 1978 and sees a Greek adoption of Egyptian stance and proportional system; Ridgway 1977, 17–19, 29–34, for more on the opinions of the possible influence of Egyptian sculpture on early Greek, large-scale statuary. On p. 31 Ridgway suggests that the technique of carving large blocks of stone and the application of a proportional system, both crucial for the production of the early Cycladic and Samian *kouroi* of colossal size, were most probably introduced from Egypt. For a more recent, and excellent, treatment: Kyrieleis 1996, 108–127.

584 Gjerstad *et al.* 1935, pls. 217, 219, male figures found at Ayia Irini; Gjerstad *et al.* 1937, pls. 202–203, molded female statuettes. In the early Cypriote-style material found at the Heraion of Samos, no striding poses are found, neither in stone nor in terracotta: Schmidt 1968. The single exceptions are a naked stone "lion tamer" of *kouros* type, pl. 102 (C 211), and, in fact, a torso of a kilt-wearing figure (plain kilt, incised knee-caps, "Ionian" belt with raised ridges placed in the waist), pl. 103 (C 96); Senff 1993, pls. 3.a–d, 8.a–c, depicts late 7th-century B.C. stone votives standing with feet together. Compare with pl. 4.g–i where one foot is slightly advanced (ca. 575–550 B.C.).

585 Gjerstad *et al.* 1935, *passim*; Senff 1993, 27, points out that naked, Cypriote-style *kouroi* datable to the late 7th century B.C. are rendered in this striding stance – referring to statuette C 225 from the Samian Heraion.

and East Greek *kouroi*.[586] When it comes to the placing of the arms, their general position in Egyptian standing statuary is, in fact, along the sides of the body. This is especially true for the earlier periods, as well as for Archaizing, Late Period art.[587] During the New Kingdom the revitalized royal iconography included the placing of one or both hands on the chest, in which the king held the royal scepter and *flagellum*. In statuary depicting queens and princesses, the hand placed on the chest often held a lotus flower. Thus, one arm bent with hand placed on the chest, the other arm resting along the side of the body is a royal gesture, mainly tied to New Kingdom-period iconography.[588] Of the Egyptianizing limestone figures under study, a certain number have both arms hanging straight down[589] while a majority have one hand clenched on the chest.[590]

In contrast to this widely spread stance, none of the characteristic poses of contemporary – that is, late Twenty-sixth and early Twenty-seventh Dynasty – sculpture is displayed within the group of Cypriote figures under study. Neither the seated statues, the kneeling figures – with or without a *naos* with the god Osiris standing inside[591] – nor the so-called block statues have been found within the Egyptianizing group,[592] and indeed, they are absent from the Cypriote votive material in general.[593]

What further needs to be emphasized is the fact that nearly all Twenty-sixth and Twenty-seventh Dynasty statues and statuettes, executed in different types of Egyptian sculptural poses were equipped with the characteristic back-pillar support.[594] The rectangular support rises behind the figures, both standing and sitting, being connected to their backs up to more or less shoulder height. There are no known examples from the Cypriote Egyptianizing group of this characteristic Egyptian feature.[595] Note that the only remote parallel is the support which is found along the back side of the left leg of **Cat. 24**, from Golgoi – a support which comes up to just above knee level.[596]

During the Twenty-sixth Dynasty the Egyptian sculptors adopted a new canon of proportions for rendering the human body, in both relief and sculpture in the round.[597] Comparative studies between Twenty-sixth Dynasty Egyptian and early Greek sculpture have been carried out, and have in fact suggested a relationship between these two groups of material.[598] No similar comparative studies have been carried out on Cypriote Archaic sculpture.

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586 The earliest known Greek examples of male, striding figures in stone, found at Naxos, Delos, and Thera, are datable to the third quarter of the 7th century B.C.: Ridgway 1977, 46; Stewart 1990, 108–109. B.S. Ridgway further stresses the posture as an indication of the movement of a walking human figure (pp. 26–29).

587 In Twenty-sixth and early Twenty-seventh Dynasty sculpture we very rarely find depictions of male figures with one hand clenched on the chest. In the contemporary Cypriote material in general, however, this stance is the rule. This was noted already by A. Hermary in connection to his publication of the Amathus figurine **Cat. 49**: Hermary 1981, 16 (especially nn. 8–11).

588 Vandier 1958, 322–323.

589 **Cat. 3** (west of Salamis), **Cat. 10** (Idalion), **Cat. 29**, **Cat. 31**, **Cat. 37**, **Cat. 40** (Golgoi), and **Cat. 65** (of unknown provenance). It must be noted that of the fragmentary figures from Palaepaphos with the upper part of the body preserved none displays remains of a clenched hand. It could thus be that **Cat. 52**, **Cat. 54**, and **Cat. 55** were all standing with arms hanging along the sides of the body as well. This cannot be ascertained, however.

590 Twenty-seven figures (out of the 42 more well-preserved ones) display one arm bent with the clenched hand placed on the chest: 17 have the right arm bent, ten figures the left arm.

591 The Egyptian (-izing?) material found at Phoenician Byblos which displays *naophor* – as well as other characteristic Egyptian – figures has been dated to a much earlier period: Dunand 1939a, no. 7048; see below, Ch. 4.4.2 "Byblos". Single kneeling figures are found in faience amulets excavated on Cyprus: Clerc *et al.* 1976, pl. 20.1–4. For similar figurines found on Rhodes: Webb 1978, pls. 12.370, 12.386, 13.414.

592 The block statue depicts a man sitting on the ground, the arms crossed on the knees, which are drawn up to shoulder level. It is the most common type of position within Late Period sculpture, but not encountered elsewhere in the ancient world: Bothmer 1960, xxxvi. For the origins of both the kneeling and the sitting pose: Aldred 1980b, 121, 146–147.

593 An assymetric, sitting position is found in the relatively late group of Cypriote figures termed "temple boys" (late 5th–early 4th centuries B.C.) – generally, these figures sit down, one leg drawn up with the other leg folded under so that the sole of the foot appears. This, indeed, is a characteristic pose of Egyptian statuary of the Twenty-fifth and early Twenty-sixth Dynasties: Bothmer 1960, xxxvi; Aldred 1980b, 130, on its Old Kingdom origin. C. Beer acknowledges Egyptian antecedents for the pose of these Cypriote boy statuettes: Beer 1993, 9.

594 A small part of the known Late Period material lacks this characteristic. It is mainly royal kneeling sculpture, early examples of block statues, or statues of the Archaizing "scribe statue" type which are lacking supports: Bothmer 1960, xxxvi–xxxvii.

595 The only exception is a set of three limestone statuettes excavated at Ayia Irini, see above Ch. 1.1.2 n. 27. I further wish to mention an unpublished limestone statuette kept in the Cyprus Museum, Nicosia (Inv. no. B.118), a male figure preserved from the waist down, perhaps wearing a "Cypriote belt", which indeed displays a pillar along the back (H. 34 cm).

596 Parallels for this feature can be found in Cypriote board-shaped figures which did require such a support: Senff 1993, pls. 3.h–j, 4.a–i (mantle-wearing figures with conical caps, ca. 600–550 B.C.).

597 Ridgway 1977, 30, provides a summary of the phenomenon.

598 The studies were carried out by E. Guralnick, see above n. 583. However, A. Stewart notes that it is merely the so-called New York *kouros* which can be said to have been produced according to these principles – and merely in the vertical dimension: Stewart 1990, 108–109, fig. 55.

It can be stated, however, that the heterogeneous Cypriote votive tradition does not allow any such relationship to be proposed.

Missing from the Cypriote material is similarly a characteristic which is clearly visible in Egyptian Late Period sculpture. Already in the Third Intermediate Period, in Twenty-second Dynasty bronze statuary, a shift takes place in the Egyptian workshops as regards the convention of modeling the male body. Egyptian sculptors turn away from the convention of rendering the male torso with a marked, vertical median line (bipartition) towards a form that presents the different parts of the torso (chest, rib cage, and abdominal region) as almost separate entities (tripartition).[599] This feature is soon encountered in stone statuary and the change between these two modes of modeling a torso is a characteristic of statuary from the following centuries.[600] During the time of Pharaoh Psammetichus II (ca. 595–589 B.C.), but most pronouncedly during the reign of Pharaoh Amasis (ca. 570–526 B.C.), tripartition is adopted again as *the* way of modeling the male torso.[601] As will be shown below in the following section, the Cypriote Egyptianizing bodies are characterized rather by the schematization of the body, and the resulting lack of indication of musculature and anatomical detail. It is therefore not possible to trace any such tendencies in the bodies of the Cypriote figures under study, or such influence reaching the sculptors of the island. However, **Cat. 5**, from Idalion, seems to diverge from the schematized Cypriote scheme with its indication of abdominal muscles and navel above the belt (*Pl. 1.2*). Unfortunately, the very fragmentary state of the piece makes further reliable assertions impossible. Preserved is a median line running from the navel to the edge of the belt, and on each side of it are similar vertical grooves marking the lateral borders of the abdominal muscles.[602] When comparing the rendering of muscles on this Cypriote piece with, for example, the statue of Mentuemhat from Karnak,[603] there is a certain similarity in the modeling of the lower abdominal muscles.[604] We can only regret the fragmentary state of this figure which finds few, if any, close parallels in contemporary Cypriote sculpture as regards the rendering of its musculature. The upper body of **Cat. 52** from Palaepaphos similarly diverges from the general Cypriote lack of anatomical detail as the stone indicates not only breast muscles but also a somewhat soft, central area of the stomach, in the center of which the navel is indicated. **Cat. 61**, of unknown provenance, constitutes a further Cypriote anomaly in that it has chest muscles and nipples well outlined (*Pl. 12.4*). The modeling is schematized, however, and far from the contemporary, Egyptian style. Neither bi- nor tripartition can be identified in these, or in any other Cypriote, figures.[605]

What we do find in the Egyptianizing figures from Cyprus is a clear and strong Egyptian tendency when it comes to the placing of the broad belt which holds up the kilt. A large majority of the Cypriote kilt-wearers have a belt which is placed way below the waist,[606] in some figures indeed hanging on the hips.[607] The Egyptian parallel for this tendency is well known, indeed characteristic. It is witnessed from earliest times but becomes even more emphasized in the New Kingdom period, continuing all the way down into the latest Dynasties.[608] It stands in marked contrast to statues and statuettes of Greek manufacture, the earliest generations of which are characterized by having a broad belt placed tightly around the waist.[609] It is worth noting that the general Egyptian, standing, kilt-wearing figure has a slender waist below which the belt is placed around the broader hips.[610] In the Cypriote figures the slender waist is virtually always lacking.[611]

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[599] Bothmer 1960, xxxv; Aldred 1980b, 123–125, fig. 106, for a Twenty-second Dynasty bronze statuette of Amun displaying one of the earliest occurrences of this rendering (ca. 900 B.C.).

[600] Aldred 1980b, 125.

[601] Bothmer 1960, xxxv; Levin 1964, 19–20.

[602] There even seem to be traces of horizontal grooves running from the navel in each direction, reaching these lateral muscle borders.

[603] Aldred 1980b, 141, fig. 123; Leclant 1961, pl. 1 (ca. 660 B.C.). See also a seated statue of Nekhtorheb (ca. 590 B.C.): Aldred 1980b, 149, fig. 131.

[604] In addition, quite close parallels for the modeling of the fragmentary Cypriote torso can be found in late 6th century B.C. Greek sculpture: Richter 1960, 18, 139, fig. 492 (*kouros* of Aristodikos), p. 146, fig. 550 (*kouros* from Syracuse). Both figures are part of Richter's "Ptoon 20 group", dated to between 520–485 B.C. (p. 130–131). A. Stewart similarly dates Aristodikos' *kouros* to ca. 500–490 B.C.: Stewart 1990, fig. 218.

[605] With the possible exception of the now fragmentary **Cat. 5**.

[606] See our **Cat. 3** (west of Salamis), **Cat. 5**, **Cat. 12**, and **Cat. 13**, (Idalion), **Cat. 20**, **Cat. 21**, **Cat. 23**, **Cat. 24**, **Cat. 26**, **Cat. 27**, **Cat. 30**, **Cat. 34**, and **Cat. 35** (Golgoi), **Cat. 42** (Arsos), **Cat. 44** (Tamassos), **Cat. 47** (Larnaka), **Cat. 52** (Palaepaphos), and **Cat. 60** (of unknown provenance). The few exceptions will be treated below, in Ch. 2.3.2.

[607] In particular **Cat. 5**, **Cat. 12**, **Cat. 21**, and **Cat. 60**.

[608] See above in Ch. 2.2.1 "The kilt". Late examples are found in: Aldred 1980b, 157, figs. 138–139, two statues of Pharaoh Nectanebo I of the Thirtieth Dynasty (ca. 370 B.C.).

[609] Boardman 1991, figs. 5, 46 (male bronze figures from Olympia, 750 and 650 B.C., respectively), 28 (the "Auxerre Goddess", ca. 640–630 B.C.), 54 (ivory youth from Samos, late 7th century B.C.), 58–59 (two *kouroi* from Delos, ca. 600 B.C.).

[610] Returning to the Twenty-second Dynasty bronze statuette featuring the god Amun, we can state that apart from displaying an early tripartition this figure is faithfully based upon New Kingdom statuary models, on the celebrated style of the time of Pharaoh Thutmosis III. This includes elegant proportions, broad

Further connecting Cypriote statuary in general with the Egyptian sculptural tradition is the desire to produce and to dedicate statues of over life-size. **Cat. 22**, from Golgoi, is the only truly colossal, Egyptianizing figure from the island, originally measuring around 360 centimeters in height. **Cat. 7**, **Cat. 9**, and **Cat. 12** from Idalion, **Cat. 17** from Louroukina, **Cat. 18** from Potamia, **Cat. 24**, **Cat. 32**, and **Cat. 33** from Golgoi, **Cat. 47** from Larnaka, **Cat. 53** from Palaepaphos, and **Cat. 60** of unknown provenance, all measured between 190 and 260 centimeters in (approximate) original height.[612] In his treatment of the origin for the colossal Greek statue H. Kyrieleis rightly emphasizes that Egyptian colossal statuary is not known from contemporary, Twenty-sixth Dynasty Egypt, but that Greek sculptors were inspired by earlier, royal, colossal works of art.[613] It is interesting that Greek and Cypriote large-scale statuary seemingly makes their appearances at about the same period of time.[614]

Broad shoulders and slender waist is the ideal form in Egyptian statuary during both New Kingdom and later times.[615] Pronounced and rounded shoulder areas are also a characteristic of the Egyptianizing group. In the Cypriote figures, however – which in general are characterized by body schematization – the pronounced shoulder areas seem to be a local characteristic, decidedly different from the general broad shoulders encountered in (Late Period) Egyptian statuary.[616] As such it will be treated below, in "Non-Egyptian/Cypriote features". It is important to note the exception made up by **Cat. 49**, a statuette from Amathus. In this figurine broad shoulders contrast with a slender waist, right below which the belt has been placed (*Pl. 11.2*).[617] The upper part of the body of **Cat. 30**, from Golgoi, has a peculiar shape (*Pl. 7.4*). The markedly concave outline of its waist seems to end in a soft belly resting on the broad belt. Similar in appearance is **Cat. 10**, from Idalion (*Pl. 2.4*). I do not believe, however, that these renderings of broad shoulders and a slender waist are influenced by Egyptian plastic art.[618]

A feature which could be said to create a link between Cypriote and Egyptian sculptural style is the large size of the thumbs of certain of the Cypriote figures. Seemingly an insignificant detail, the pronounced size, regarding both length and thickness, is bewildering – but in fact paralleled within the general, Cypriote votive tradition.[619] The large thumb, often set in contrast to a diminutive hand, is found in a large number of the Egyptianizing figures.[620] It could be stated that the placing of the thumb – on top of or in front of the hand, as resting clenched on the chest or along the side of the body, respectively – could, in itself, imply an illusion of greater size. It cannot be put down to chance, however, that in certain figures the size of the thumb is comparatively colossal.[621] The Egyptian parallel is indeed there.[622] As so often the over-sized thumb as a feature is found already in earliest times, and can be traced throughout the entire tradition of Egyptian

shoulders, a slender waist, and – of course – belt resting on hips: Aldred 1980b, 123–124, fig. 106.

611 See below, however, in Ch. 2.3.2, regarding **Cat. 10** and **Cat. 30** (from Idalion and Golgoi). The waists of **Cat. 6** (Idalion), **Cat. 16** (Lympia), **Cat. 43** (Tamassos), **Cat. 49** (Amathus), and **Cat. 64** (of unknown provenance), where belts are atypically placed, are treated below as well.

612 **Cat. 7** (ca. 235 cm), **Cat. 9** (ca. 215 cm), **Cat. 12** (ca. 212 cm), **Cat. 17** (ca. 190 cm), **Cat. 18** (ca. 198 cm), **Cat. 24** (ca. 190 cm), **Cat. 32** and **Cat. 33** (both ca. 260 cm), **Cat. 47** (ca. 240 cm), **Cat. 53** (ca. 195 cm), and **Cat. 60** (ca. 210 cm). See the drawings to scale on *Pls. 22–35*.

613 Kyrieleis 1996, 118 n. 540. See below Ch. 5.1.3.

614 Wriedt Sørensen 1992, 257–258 (in Greece in marble, on Cyprus in terracotta).

615 Aldred 1980b, 140, describes broad shoulders as typical of Twelfth Dynasty royal statuary imitating Fourth Dynasty, Old Kingdom depictions, only to be revived in the statuary of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty Nubian kings.

616 Cf. Kyrieleis 1996, 77. Compare, for example, the outline and shoulder of the Mentuemhat statue referred to above (Leclant 1961, pl. 1), where shoulder, biceps, and lower arm each have a separate, rounded profile, with, for example, **Cat. 44** (from Tamassos), where shoulder and upper and lower arm are basically rendered without anatomical division (*Pl. 9.4*).

617 A. Hermary identifies the Egyptian broad shoulders and slender waist, but otherwise stresses the Cypriote character of the figurine: Hermary 1981, 16–17. E. Gjerstad placed **Cat. 49** within his "Cypro-Egyptian" style. He pointed towards the figure's ovoid face, the narrow, rounded chin, and the rather small, delicately shaped lips without smile, as examples of a Cypriote imitation of Egyptian style: Gjerstad 1948, 103–104. There was no mention of the body.

618 **Cat. 30** is very Cypriote and non-Egyptian in style (note, among other things – and in comparison to Egyptian sculpture – the absence of a broad chest). Both figures will be returned to below, in Ch. 2.3.2.

619 For an early, Cypriote terracotta figure of colossal size with unproportionately large thumb: Masson 1964, pl. 10 (from Tamassos); Senff 1993, pl. 51.d (early Cypriote-style limestone statuette unearthed at Lindos).

620 See **Cat. 6** (although damaged), **Cat. 11**, **Cat. 13** (Idalion), **Cat. 17** (Louroukina), **Cat. 19** (Potamia), **Cat. 23**, **Cat. 24**, **Cat. 36**, **Cat. 41** (Golgoi), **Cat. 43** (Tamassos), **Cat. 47** (Larnaka – although damaged), **Cat. 49** (Amathus), **Cat. 59** (Kazafani), and **Cat. 63**, **Cat. 65** (of unknown provenance).

621 See **Cat. 6**, **Cat. 17**, **Cat. 19**, **Cat. 23**, and **Cat. 24**.

622 And not only the Egyptian parallel. Again, early East Greek material provides parallels. See, for example, the over-sized thumbs of the ivory youth found at the Samian Heraion, or the damaged counterparts of the so-called New York *kouros*. Good photos are provided by: Stewart 1990, figs. 24–25; Richter 1960, 41–42, figs. 25–26. For a general spread in Levantine art of this odd feature, in both reliefs and sculpture in the round: Röllig 1997, pl. 2 (an Urartian bronze belt with incised figural decoration); Warmenbol 1985, 167, fig. 3 (a male, kilt-wearing torso found at Sfiré, Syria).

artistic production in the round.[623] The reason for this exaggerated rendering is far from clear, but can possibly be put in relation to the general tendency to oversize limbs during certain periods of Egyptian art.

Similarly witnessed from earliest times in Egyptian sculpture is the characteristic rendering of a strong, almost cylindrical lower leg and ankle, ending in a compact foot.[624] Most probably being a result of the initial technical limitations inherent in the carving of stone, this characteristic was repeated in later, Archaizing art when the technique no longer required this natural strengthening. Viewed as a stylistic trait the exaggeration of the male ankle and foot is witnessed in two Cypriote limestone figures, **Cat. 11** and **Cat. 43**, from Idalion and Tamassos, respectively (*Pl. 9.3*).[625] This would hardly have been worth mentioning were it not for the fact that due to the fragmentary state of the Cypriote Egyptianizing stone figures,[626] these two statuettes are the only ones which have lower legs, ankles, and feet preserved.[627] It should of course be pointed out that – similarly to the original Egyptian feature – the pronounced ankles and feet of the Tamassos and Idalion figures could be due to technical circumstances rather than being a deliberately borrowed feature.[628]

There is a general parallel phenomenon within Egyptian and Cypriote sculpture of the period which deserves to be highlighted. Comparatively few female statues or statuettes were manufactured, or at least displayed in the Egyptian sanctuaries during this period.[629] This is not characteristic for Cypriote votive manufacture in general, which witnesses rather an even gender division. It is a fact, however, that the Egyptianizing style in Cypriote statuary – characterized by Egyptian dress, headgear, broad *usekh* collar, and ornaments – is found uniquely in male figures.[630]

Turning to the possible presence of Egyptian stylistic traits in the faces of the Cypriote figures, we may start by describing a few of the features characteristic of late Twenty-sixth and early Twenty-seventh Dynasty facial renderings in Egypt. Probably in deliberate contrast to the realistic portraits of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty Kushite kings,[631] the rulers of the subsequent Dynasty chose in general an idealistic style for their own representations.[632] In private statuary, however, both realism and idealism can be found within portraiture.[633] On certain occasions ageing can be observed in different portraits of a single person.[634] Generally, faces of the period express a serenity which is manifest by calm facial features and a slight smile.[635]

The Egyptian rendering of the human eye remains, as ever, that of a raised contour where the upper eyelid overlaps the lower one and is drawn out towards the side of the face.[636] The typical eyebrow is

[623] Robins 1997, 93, fig. 93, a painted limestone statue of Pharaoh Mentuhotep II from Deir el-Bahari; Vandier 1958, pl. 130.6, a New Kingdom example; Robins 1997, 200, fig. 241, an elaborately painted wooden coffin of the Twenty-first Dynasty where the hands of the deceased have been modeled in high relief.

[624] For a well-known, Middle Kingdom rendering: Aldred 1980a, 109, 111, fig. 68, the seated statue of Pharaoh Mentuhotep II from Deir el-Bahari (ca. 2030 B.C.).

[625] **Cat. 11**, from Idalion, is a highly schematized figure, however, and a general foreshortening of the entire body may rather be the reason behind it.

[626] A majority have been broken off just beneath the stabilizing kilt area, where the legs begin.

[627] Thus, in theory, more figures could share this trait. The legs of **Cat. 34** (Golgoi) have (probably) been reconstructed and are not included here. **Cat. 61** (of unknown provenance) has both legs preserved to the ankles – and shows no trace of undue emphasis.

[628] **Cat. 43** is in fact free-standing, as opposed to the squat statuette **Cat. 11** which is engaged at the back (up to the level of the lower border of the kilt) with a rounded, unidentified block of stone.

[629] Bothmer 1960, xxxvii: "The reason for this strange ban against temple sculptures of women is not known. ... It almost seems as if the Egyptians, on account of increasingly frequent contacts with foreign nations, had come to deem inappropriate the presence of a female sculpture in a temple."

[630] The same is basically true for the Cypriote-style votive material excavated in sanctuaries outside the island.

[631] Aldred 1980b, 132 (in French translation): "... un réalism pénétrant... ."

[632] Aldred 1980b, 142–144.

[633] Aldred 1980b, 146. Bothmer differentiates between "schematic realism" and "true portraiture", where the later category is only to be found in Twenty-seventh Dynasty (Persian) renderings.

[634] Mentuemhat, mentioned above, was a prominent person in late Twenty-fifth Dynasty Thebes (around 660 B.C.). The differences of age in two of his portraits are evident – and possibly a deliberate borrowing of a late Middle Kingdom scheme: Aldred 1980b, 140–142, figs. 123–124.

[635] Bothmer 1960, pls. 50, no. 53 (a portrait of Pharaoh Amasis, ca. 570–550 B.C.), 53, no. 56 (head of Pa-debehu, ca. 550–525 B.C.), 54–55, no. 57 (torso of Iahmes-sa-neith, ca. 525–500 B.C.); Aldred 1980b, 130, 144, 146. B.V. Bothmer states that the statue of "Bes the courtier" is the earliest, well-dated instance of the expression often called the "Archaic smile" when encountered in Greek sculpture: Bothmer 1960, 35, pl. 27, no. 29 (664–610 B.C.).

[636] For a clear picture: Bothmer 1960, pl. 52, no. 55 (head of a goddess, from ca. 530 B.C.). Slightly less elongated examples of upper eyelids are presented in certain royal portraits: Aldred 1980b, 143–145, figs. 125 (a schist head of Pharaoh Psammetichus II, ca. 590 B.C.), 126 (a schist head of Pharaoh Apries, ca. 580 B.C.), 127 (a head made of similar material depicting Pharaoh Amasis, ca. 550 B.C.). See, however, a private statue (of Hor, prophet of Montu) from ca. 650 B.C., where the style in general and that of the facial features in particular draws heavily on the art of Amenhotep III – including elongated upper eyelids with parallel eyebrows closing in towards the sides of the face: Aldred 1980b, 138–139, fig. 121.

broad and parallels the line of the upper eyelid, closing in towards it at the facial sides.[637]

The faces of the Cypriote figures display certain parallel traits. There is no trace of any realism or portraiture in the Egyptianizing faces. However, the serenity and the slight so-called Archaic smile is a prominent feature of the Cypriote faces concerned. It is interesting to note that in only one Egyptianizing figure, the Horus-like, falcon-headed **Cat. 1** from the Karpasia, do we find the Egyptian (?) elongated upper eyelid overlapping the lower one. Here, though, the raised contour making up the upper eyelid of the "falcon man" reaches outside of the lower lid on both sides, and not only towards the side of his "face".[638] This is a peculiar rendering with few known parallels.[639]

It can be stated that in the above, no salient stylistic parallels or transmissions can be established between the Egyptian Saïte and the Cypriote Egyptianizing sculptural material. The few visible parallels are rather confusing: the three main features which the Cypriote figures share with contemporary Egyptian ones are shared likewise by other contemporary, sculptural material, most notably that of Greek manufacture; the stance of the Cypriote figures, their over-sized thumbs, and their Archaic smile have parallels not only in Egyptian but also in East Greek art.[640] Further, Greek and Cypriote statuary share occasional colossal size with earlier, not contemporary, Egyptian statuary. The low placing of the belt on the hips of the figures is something which connects only contemporary Egyptian and Cypriote statuary, while not being encountered in the (East) Greek world.

2.3.2 Non-Egyptian/Cypriote features

The faces and bodies of the Cypriote Egyptianizing figures will now be considered from a local, indigenous point of view. The material used for comparisons is contemporary and slightly earlier terracotta and limestone statuary from the island.[641]

From the late 7th century B.C. onwards Cypriote votive art was increasingly influenced from abroad. In the following we will often reiterate the complexity caused by the combination of a strong indigenous tradition and the growing influence from, above all, the East Greek area.[642]

Characteristic for Cypriote votive sculpture in general is the schematized rendering of the body. The earliest Cypriote stone statuary most probably imitated terracotta prototypes which were either manufactured in molds or made partly on the wheel, partly by modeling.[643] Thanks to a general inclination to repeat old formulas in votive art, the Cypriote body schematization might well have been a heritage.[644] Thus, stone figures belonging to the late 7th and early 6th centuries B.C. are characterized by flat, almost board-shaped bodies and by strict frontality.[645] The board shape is accentuated by the flat and unworked back which is further so characteristic of Cypriote statuary.[646] However, it is probably through increased contact with East Greek art that from the second quarter of the 6th century B.C., the Cypriote human figures gradually acquire more volume, a rounded chest, more musculature rendered on limbs, and the solid feeling of the body, visible underneath the dress of the figures. It seems to be the corporeality of East Greek art, ultimately influenced by Egyptian art,[647] which is taken up in the Cypriote workshops. Despite these influences the standard Cypriote figure has an upper part of the body which is rendered as quite flat, with a general

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637 This is a characteristic from the time of Pharaoh Apries (ca. 589–570 B.C.), and it remains fashionable throughout the reign of Pharaoh Amasis: Bothmer 1960, 67.

638 It was noted above, in Ch. 1.1, that this is most probably a rendering of a man (priest?) wearing an animal mask.

639 Hermary 1989a, 290, no. 587, a falcon-headed figure of unknown provenance with – in fact – exactly the same rendering, and p. 35, no. 28, a male head with the upper eyelid drawn out to the side (not overlapping on both sides, however, in the manner of the two former examples). A. Hermary identifies this as an Egyptianizing trait (p. 35). See above, in Ch. 1.1.2 n. 44.

640 Davis 1981, 63: "A small number of Egyptian Saïte portraits truly do seem to smile; a large number exhibit an up-turned mouth. Yet in gravity and sombreness, many Late Period portraits contrast sharply with the youthful joyousness of the smiling Greek *kouroi*."

641 Dating the figures under study will be attempted below, in Ch. 2.5. Occasionally, Greek statuary will serve as parallels as well.

642 For more on this influence, see below in Ch. 4.1.

643 Hermary 1991, 139–142, 146; Cassimatis 1993, 39; Senff 1993, 22. The earliest stone figures have been dated to around 650 B.C.: Hermary 1989a, 23, no. 1 (Golgoi); Senff 1993, 28, pl. 5.a–c (Idalion). Some of the well-dated, Cypriote-style terracottas from the Heraion at Samos provide early parallels: Schmidt 1968, pls. 16 (T 2062), 30 (T 1690).

644 In fact, throughout the Cypriote votive tradition a similarity between stone and clay figures remains a characteristic. Cf. above Ch. 1.3 n. 83.

645 Senff 1993, 21–23, pls. 3.a–d, 8.a–c (ca. 650–600 B.C.), 4.a–i (ca. 575–550 B.C.). These early stone figures stand with both feet placed together and have not yet adopted a striding pose. None of the Egyptianizing figures shares this early feature. Terracotta figures manufactured on the wheel acquired a cylindrical shape, of course.

646 Senff 1993, 22–23, presents a good review of the different explanations regarding the flatness of the Cypriote sculptural backs.

647 See above, in "Egyptian features", for slightly more on the relationship between Egyptian and early (East) Greek sculpture – and below in Ch. 4.1.1 for Cypriote-style material unearthed outside the island.

lack of indication of musculature and anatomical detail.[648]

The Egyptianizing figures adhere to this standard mode of execution of Cypriote figures in stone. With their flat, unworked backs and general lack of indication of musculature they fit well into the local stone production. Even if the backs of the Egyptianizing figures are flat and rough (*Pls. 5.4 & 8.2*), several figures do have the outline of buttocks rendered in the stone,[649] and some even have details of dress rendered on the backs.[650]

As mentioned above, a number of the figures have bodies which are quite board-shaped.[651] About half of this group are figures rendered plain, without any detailed versions of dress or ornament, where it could be suggested that an overall neglect has resulted in the flat and schematized rendering of the bodies.[652] However, four of the board-shaped figures – our **Cat. 20**, **Cat. 23**, **Cat. 47**, and **Cat. 59** – are wearing quite elaborate dress and/or headgear, a fact which does not allow a similar explanation for their schematized body shape. **Cat. 20** and **Cat. 23**, both from Golgoi, display a similar flatness. Viewed from the front they have broad, rounded shoulders, comparatively thin and slender torsos, and only slightly rounded sides of the kilt, indicating the thighs underneath (*Pls. 5.2 & 6.3*). When viewed from the side the flatness of the figures is evident (*Pls. 5.3 & 6.4)*. Both chests are flat and while the back of **Cat. 23** has a slight convex curve marking the buttocks, **Cat. 20** lacks any such indication. **Cat. 23** has a vertically striped, short-sleeved garment covering the upper part of the body, while the nakedness of the upper body of **Cat. 20** is marked by quite an unusual, simplified rendering marking the lower boundary of the thorax. It is an incised linear pattern consisting of a large, inverted V-shape.[653] Parallels for this trait are few in the Cypriote corpus, but they do occur.[654]

Our **Cat. 59**, a richly decorated statuette from Kazafani, displays a similar flatness in shape in a profile view (*Pls. 11.4 & 12.1*). The figure has a broad shoulder area, plain torso, and an outline of the kilt which is quite rounded. Seen from the side **Cat. 59** differs somewhat from the above figures with its slightly concave back. In general, however, the flatness of the figure is striking – and very typically Cypriote. A similar flatness is witnessed in **Cat. 47**, said to be from Larnaka (*Pl. 10.3–4*). The shoulder area of this figure is very pronounced and the contours of the shoulders are rounded. This, in combination with the fact that shoulders and chest are almost totally flat when viewed from the side, gives the torso a very particular – and indeed board-shaped – appearance.[655]

The four Egyptianizing figures mentioned above fit very well into the scheme of the general flatness of early Cypriote votive bodies. A majority of the Egyptianizing figures are more full-bodied, however, most probably a sign of the increased influence from East Greek statuary, referred to above.[656]

Breast muscles are often the only parts of the body which have been actually modeled into the stone.[657]

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[648]The absence of features such as clavicles, median line, and thorax is characteristic of Cypriote sculpture.

[649]Ten of the 71 limestone figures under study have entirely flat and roughly carved backs, while another ten are flat but have the outline of the buttocks indicated. Note that the 13 heads included in the group cannot be evaluated here and that the appearance of the backs of eight figures are unknown to me, while 11 figures have damaged backs. Sometimes the sharp cuts of the chisel are visible in the stone: see, for example, **Cat. 1**, where the groove between right arm and back was attained by oblique strokes towards a central, median line, carried out with a flat, thin, and sharp tool.

[650]Seventeen pieces: **Cat. 6** (lower border of "apron", not kilt), **Cat. 10** (belt), **Cat. 16** (lower border of kilt), **Cat. 20** (belt, armring), **Cat. 24** (belt, lower border of kilt), **Cat. 30** (left armring, part of shoulder band, lower border of kilt on left thigh), **Cat. 35** (belt, double band, scabbard), **Cat. 36** (belt), **Cat. 37** (quiver), **Cat. 39** (belt, vertical lines), **Cat. 42** (belt), **Cat. 48** (collar), **Cat. 49** (belt – and red paint on body, as well as sunken spinal cord), **Cat. 52** (belt, vertical lines of the kilt), **Cat. 54** (belt), **Cat. 55** (belt, vertical lines of the kilt), and **Cat. 64** (belt, painted red – and spinal cord).

[651]**Cat. 17** (Louroukina), **Cat. 20**, **Cat. 23**, **Cat. 41** (?) (Golgoi), **Cat. 45** (Kition), **Cat. 47** (Larnaka), **Cat. 59** (Kazafani), and **Cat. 65** (of unknown provenance).

[652]**Cat. 17**, **Cat. 41**, **Cat. 45**, and **Cat. 65**.

[653]This "thorax line" is assymetrically placed on the abdomen of the figure, resulting in a longer left extension of the V-shape (seen from the viewer). Note that **Cat. 26**, also from Golgoi, has very faint traces of a similar rendering.

[654]Apart from **Cat. 26**, a Herakles Melqart statuette from Golgoi displays a similar – although slightly more modeled and less incised – inverted, V-shaped boundary: Senff 1993, pl. 62.d. See also one of the Cypriote-style *kouroi* found at Naukratis: Jenkins 2001, figs. 3–4, and a late 7th-century, Cypriote-style "lion tamer" carved in limestone, unearthed at the Heraion of Samos: Schmidt 1968, pl. 100, C 158. See also above, Ch. 2.2.2 n. 413. It is worth noting that the schematized body renderings found on early Greek *kouroi* often include a similar linear thorax boundary: Richter 1960, 41–45, figs. 25 (the New York *kouros*), 33, 40 (two Sounion *kouroi*).

[655]The beautifully decorated torso looks rather like a violin in shape. I have not had the chance to study this piece myself.

[656]See particularly **Cat. 5** (Idalion), **Cat. 16** (Lympia), **Cat. 21**, **Cat. 26**, **Cat. 29**, **Cat. 35** (Golgoi), **Cat. 46** (Kition), **Cat. 49** (Amathus), and **Cat. 52** (Palaepaphos). The remaining 28 figures can be found somewhere inbetween the flat and the voluminous (heads and fragments of too limited size are not included in these numbers). It is worth emphasizing that the degree of schematization in the rendering of the body can be regarded as a chronological indicator only when taken together with other datable features in a figure. See further below in Ch. 2.5, where tentative datings are suggested for the figures under study.

[657]See especially **Cat. 13** (Idalion), **Cat. 21**, **Cat. 25**, **Cat. 26** (Golgoi), **Cat. 49** (Amathus), **Cat. 60**, and **Cat. 61** (of unknown provenance), but also (more faint modeling) **Cat. 19**

But even this characteristic feature is lacking in some of the statues and statuettes. It is not only in figures who are wearing a tight-fitting garment on the upper part of the body where the modeling of the breast muscles has been neglected,[658] but also in figures which were clearly depicted with a naked upper body.[659] As was noted above, our fragmentary **Cat. 5**, found at Idalion, is the only real exception which does not adhere at all to this Cypriote schematization of the upper part of the body.

The necks of some of the Cypriote Egyptianizing sculptures are, however, schematized. In a few cases the neck is not modeled but rather shaped like a cone, with sharp, horizontal lines drawn between neck and face and neck and shoulders.[660] This rendering is most markedly seen in four figures found at Golgoi, our **Cat. 20**, **Cat. 21**, **Cat. 23**, and **Cat. 29**, and one from Idalion, **Cat. 13**. The necks of these figures are thus rounded in section and markedly broader at the base than at the meeting of neck and head. They are far from organically integrated into the rendering of the body. There are parallels for this neck shape in certain other Cypriote votive figures, as well, in both stone and terracotta.[661]

The pronounced and rounded shoulders mentioned above in connection with the schematization of some of the Egyptianizing figures are in fact a characteristic of the group under study.[662] In some statues the relation between width of shoulders and limited width of neck is highly exaggerated.[663] The width of the shoulders is further accentuated by the often thin and plain torsos of these figures.[664] In several instances a lack of modeling between shoulder and chest emphasizes the roundedness of the shoulders even more.[665] It is interesting to note that early parallels for this accentuation of the shoulders in comparison to the body is witnessed in Cypriote-style limestone statuettes found at the Samian Heraion.[666] Early examples of flat, pronounced shoulder areas are also found in Cypriote terracotta sculpture.[667]

In connection with the Egyptian evidence, above, we commented on the unusual presence of broad shoulders and slender waists in **Cat. 10** and **Cat. 30**, from Idalion and Golgoi, respectively. A closer look at figurine **Cat. 10** suggests, however, that the slender waist is a mere result of the technique employed by the sculptor to free the hanging arms from the body: the marked waistline was probably only a secondary result (*Pl. 2.4*).[668] The same seems to be true for **Cat. 30**, where the usual schematized Cypriote body has acquired a very particular, concave shape through the removal of material to free the figure's arms (*Pl. 7.4*). In fact, I believe it is possible to trace this plain, even simplistic, rendering in several of the other figures under study. In the life-size **Cat. 23**, from Golgoi, stone was removed from the uppermost part of the body, creating the armpits of the figure (*Pl. 6.3*). The result was that the uppermost part of the torso is thinner than its lower part, below the bent arm. **Cat. 20**, from the same site, displays a similar, neglected upper part of the body, the shape of which is due to the carving of the arms (*Pl. 5.2*). Here, as well, the uppermost part of the torso is decidedly thinner than its lower part,

(Potamia), **Cat. 24** , **Cat. 29**, **Cat. 31** (Golgoi), **Cat. 42** (Arsos), **Cat. 44** (Tamassos), **Cat. 46** (Kition), **Cat. 47** (Larnaka), **Cat. 52** (Palaepaphos), **Cat. 59** (Kazafani), and **Cat. 62** (of unknown provenance).

[658]See, for example, **Cat. 23**, **Cat. 27**, **Cat. 36**, and **Cat. 43**. It is not uncommon for a figure to have breast muscles visible through the short-sleeved garment. There is only one example, however, where a figure is wearing a tight-fitting garment through which the nipples are visible: **Cat. 24** (Golgoi). For this combination of dressed and undressed, among the Cypriote-style statuettes found at Naukratis: Jenkins 2001, 168–169; and at Samos: Schmidt 1968, pl. 98, C 228 (a naked "lion tamer" with navel indicated – and traces of a "short sleeve" on the preserved left arm). See above, Ch. 2.2.2 n. 409.

[659]**Cat. 20** (V-shaped thorax boundary) and **Cat. 30** (navel), both from Golgoi.

[660]See **Cat. 13** (from Idalion), **Cat. 20**, **Cat. 21**, **Cat. 23**, **Cat. 29**, **Cat. 31** (?) (from Golgoi), **Cat. 42** (?) (from Arsos), and **Cat. 49** (?) (from Amathus). H. Kyrieleis saw an Egyptian characteristic in the line between neck and breast, taken over from contemporary Egyptian statuary by East Greek or Cypriote sculptors working at Naukratis: Kyrieleis 1996, 78.

[661]See Addendum 1, Nos. 4 and 11 (from Idalion and Arsos, respectively). For terracotta examples: Gjerstad *et al.* 1935, pls. 205.1, 206.1, 206.5, no. 1767 (Ayia Irini); Karageorghis 1977, 24, pl. 7.5 (Meniko).

[662]See, in particular, **Cat. 3** (west of Salamis), **Cat. 18**, **Cat. 19** (Potamia), **Cat. 20**, **Cat. 23**, **Cat. 24**, **Cat. 27**, **Cat. 30** (Golgoi), **Cat. 42** (Arsos), **Cat. 44** (Tamassos), **Cat. 47** (Larnaka), and **Cat. 60** (of unknown provenance).

[663]**Cat. 24** has a shoulder width of 63 cm, while its neck is merely 14 cm wide. This 22% ratio should be compared with the approximate, normal 35%.

[664]As an example, our **Cat. 18** from Potamia has shoulders which are 47 cm wide, while the lower chest or rib cage measures a mere 25 cm – that is, the torso is only about 50% of the shoulder width. The approximate normal human ratio would be around 70%.

[665]See, for example, **Cat. 24**, **Cat. 30** (Golgoi), **Cat. 44** (Tamassos), **Cat. 47** (Larnaka), and **Cat. 59** (Kazafani).

[666]Schmidt 1968, 60 (on this phenomenon), pls. 98–99 (C 92), 100 (C 213), late 7th century B.C. H. Kyrieleis suggests that the broad shoulders were an Egyptian characteristic as well, taken over from contemporary Egyptian statuary by East Greek or Cypriote sculptors working at Naukratis: Kyrieleis 1996, 77.

[667]Gjerstad *et al.* 1935, pls. 194.3, nos. 2437 + 1196, 217.1–3, nos. 1016 + 2505, 232.2, no. 1096 (Ayia Irini). No. 1767 is particular in that the upper part of the body is quite voluminous when viewed from the side; Masson 1964, pl. 10 (Tamassos); Karageorghis 1977b, 24, pl. 7.3 (Meniko).

[668]On the right-hand side of the figure, by its waist, there are several rough traces of what seems to have been a hastily (and even clumsily) achieved removal of material – in order to free the arm.

when, of course, the opposite is the anatomical norm. It could thus be suggested that the modeling of the arms of some of the more schematized of the Cypriote figures was made at the expense of body volume. The emphasized shoulders would become even more accentuated through this technique. The pronounced shoulder area of Cypriote statuary – whether or not originally an adaptation of a foreign scheme – could thus be said to possess a distinct regionality.

In the section treating "Egyptian features", above, it was further noticed how a majority of the Egyptianizing figures share with Egyptian statuary the low placing of the broad belt. In our **Cat. 6** (Idalion), **Cat. 16** (Lympia), **Cat. 43** (Tamassos), **Cat. 49** (Amathus), and **Cat. 64** (of unknown provenance), however, this is not the case. In these five figures the belt is instead placed tightly around the (slender) waist.[669] Accordingly, in all five statuettes the kilts end higher up on the thigh, revealing more of the upper part of the legs of the figures.[670] We recognize the slender waists and rounded, muscular thighs of these figures in early Cypriote-style limestone material found at the Heraion of Samos.[671] In general, however, the whole notion of a slender waist is in itself quite non-Cypriote,[672] while the higher placing of a belt is, in fact, something which is commonly found.[673] It is rather the Egyptianizing figures with the belt placed very low, hanging on their hips, which are quite unusual for the island's material.[674] It was noted above how the placing of a tight belt around the waist is a characteristic of early Greek statuary,[675] and it is not impossible that, again, a certain foreign, East Greek influence is displayed in this handful of Egyptianizing figures.[676]

Very few of the Cypriote figures under study have their legs preserved.[677] There is a certain schematization in the modeling of the lower legs common to these few figures. **Cat. 11** and **Cat. 43** were mentioned in the "Egyptian" section, above, because of their broad and straight lower legs and ankles. **Cat. 43**, from Tamassos, further has its shin bones rendered as sharp, vertical edges running down from the knee-caps. Similar indications of edges or "bones" are found in **Cat. 61**. In this figure the so-called peroneal muscles are indicated by single, curving lines on the inside of the lower legs.[678] The central edge indicating the shin bone is quite commonly found in terracotta sculpture from the island, while the marked renderings of the peroneal muscles are more unusual.[679]

The knee-caps of the Egyptianizing figures follow the standard Cypriote rendering of this detail. Basically, a horizontal, oval shape – or sometimes a straight, horizontal line with a slightly V-shaped line set underneath – is incised or slightly modeled into the legs of the figures.[680] This schematized rendering is paralleled in other votive figures from the island as well.[681] The knee-caps of our **Cat. 61** are incised almond shapes and around each of them is a modeled outline of similar shape. **Cat. 5** and **Cat. 6**, both from Idalion, have knee-caps which are modeled rather than incised.[682] This, too, finds parallels in other categories of votive types.[683] Quite uncommon are the muscular renderings found above the knee-caps of the two Idalion figures, however. In **Cat. 5** the *vastus medialis* muscle bulges above the knee-

669 R. Senff uses this fact as a chronological indicator, dating our **Cat. 6** to the late 7th/early 6th century B.C.: Senff 1993, 53.

670 In fact, the shape and relation of kilt and thighs in the fragmentary **Cat. 16** resemble a lot what is seen in the well-preserved **Cat. 43**.

671 Schmidt 1968, pls. 98 (C 228), 101 (C 212), 102 (C 211), 104 (C 225); Senff 1993, 53 n. 429, highlights these examples, too.

672 See the explanation proposed, just above, for the "slender waists" of **Cat. 10** and **Cat. 30**. Consider, again, the terracotta figure no. 1767 from Ayia Irini which is wearing a short, kilt-like dress held by a belt tied around the slender waist (see above, Ch. 1.1.2 n. 29).

673 Gjerstad *et al.* 1935, *passim*.

674 See, in particular, **Cat. 5**, **Cat. 12** (Idalion), **Cat. 21** (Golgoi), and **Cat. 60** (of unknown provenance).

675 Ridgway 1977, 54–58 ("The function of the belt").

676 Keeping in mind, of course, the distinct difference between the nakedness of the Greek, belt-wearing *kouroi*, and the dress – that is, the kilt – worn by the Cypriote belted figures. See, in addition, a fragmentary, kilt-wearing figure found at the Heraion of Samos where the belt is similarly placed around the waist, holding up a short kilt with apron: Schmidt 1968, pl. 103 (C 96) – a figure which is returned to in Ch. 4.1.1, below.

677 **Cat. 11** (Idalion), **Cat. 43** (Tamassos), and **Cat. 61** (of unknown provenance). The legs of **Cat. 34** (Golgoi) are (possibly) merely restored.

678 Compare Addendum 2, No. 16, a fragmentary, colossal terracotta statue from Tamassos. For a parallel in early Greek statuary: Richter 1960, 42, figs. 25–27 (the New York *kouros*).

679 Karageorghis 1993, 28–31, figs. 15, 18, no. 67. This (second) colossal terracotta figure from Tamassos is clearly wearing greaves on the lower parts of its legs; Ridgway 1977, 36–37, treats the possible influence of the appearance of armor on the muscular renderings of early Greek sculpture.

680 Such knee-caps are found on **Cat. 6**, **Cat. 10**, **Cat. 12** (Idalion), **Cat. 17** (Louroukina), **Cat. 24**, **Cat. 29**, **Cat. 30**, **Cat. 36** (Golgoi), **Cat. 59** (Kazafani), **Cat. 61** and **Cat. 65** (of unknown provenance). Note the close similarity of the knee-caps rendered on a well-preserved figure unearthed at Sidon, **Cat. Ph22** – and also on **Cat. Ph9**, found at Amrit (see Ch. 4.3.4). The large half-circle of **Cat. 41** comes close to the knee-cap of a torso unearthed at Samos: Schmidt 1968, pl. 103 (C 96).

681 Buchholz & Untiedt 1996, fig. 68.d (a figure from Tamassos wearing a "Cypriote belt" and conical cap).

682 On the left leg of **Cat. 30** there are traces of what seems to be a similarly modeled knee-cap.

683 Karageorghis *et al.* 2000, 123–125, no. 190, the colossal Herakles Melqart figure from Golgoi.

cap,[684] and **Cat. 6** displays a similar rendering, although the bulge is not as accentuated. In the center of the left thigh of **Cat. 6** there is further a vertical groove indicating the boundary between the two frontal thigh muscles.[685] The fragmentary thighs of **Cat. 16** seem to have displayed pronounced muscles as well. Modelings like these are rarely found in Cypriote statuary.

The general Cypriote votive arm hangs perpendicular to the side of the body. It is rather cylindrical and plain, tapering in thickness only towards the wrist.[686] In more well-modeled votive figures, alternatively in somewhat later examples, the perpendicular arms are slightly bent and – even though most figures lack any modeling between the shoulder and upper part of the arm – the biceps muscles are often indicated.[687] The same is true for the Egyptianizing statues and statuettes. While certain of the figures have plain and cylindrical arms,[688] others have (perpendicular) arms which are slightly bent and which have some indication of musculature.[689] In particular are our **Cat. 13** (Idalion), **Cat. 21**, **Cat. 23**, and **Cat. 24** (Golgoi), where the perpendicular arm is voluminous and has the biceps indicated, while the upper part of the second, bent, arm is comparatively thin, and lacks such anatomical modeling. Could this fact be related to what was suggested above regarding the carving technique employed to free the arms from the body? In the case of the bent arms, it was necessary to remove more material in order to free them, and this might have been made at the cost of the thickness – and maybe the modeling – of the arm itself.[690] It seems as if the Cypriote sculptor did not plan sufficiently ahead when outlining his figures; in certain cases arms have been modeled at the expense of body volume.

In the more well-modeled Cypriote examples it is possible to trace a less well-understood rendering of the hanging arm, which is in fact known also from early Greek sculpture.[691] The forearm is rendered in a supine (frontal) position while the hand, which would have had the palm directed forward, is instead turned towards the body. This gives the forearm a flat appearance and causes an unnatural transition between forearm and wrist.

In a handful of the Egyptianizing figures the elbow is indicated by incision or even by modeling.[692] While **Cat. 23** displays a (rounded) V-shaped outline of the muscles of the forearm, **Cat. 24** rather has a U-shaped border marking the lower outline of the biceps muscle. In keeping with the rest of its rather schematized musculature **Cat. 61** has a U-shaped ridge in the crook of its right arm. **Cat. 26** and **Cat. 44** rather have softly indicated versions of this anatomical border. Close parallels for **Cat. 61** are lacking, but general Cypriote parallels for these kinds of indications do occur.[693]

Cypriote votive sculpture shares the position of the arms, hanging parallel along the sides of the body, alternatively with one arm bent with a clenched hand placed on the chest with most of the Iron Age statuary from the Eastern Mediterranean area.[694] The arms hanging along the sides of the bodies of Cypriote limestone figures virtually always end in clenched hands.[695] The appearance of this clenched, Cypriote hand is in fact characteristic, displaying from a frontal view a triangular, often diminutive, hand with the frontal thumb not seldom rendered as comparatively larger than the other fingers.[696] The

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[684] **Cat. 5** is unique within the Egyptianizing group with its muscular renderings of both abdomen (treated above) and legs.

[685] A general parallel for the slender hips and beautifully marked thigh muscles of **Cat. 6** is found in a Cypriote-style torso found at Sidon: Ganzmann *et al.* 1987, 83, pl. 25.2. Note that this rendering of the body comes quite close to that found in early, large-scale Greek sculpture: Richter 1960, 42–44, figs. 33–35 (one of the Sounion *kouroi*).

[686] Hermary 1989a, 324–325, nos. 639–641 (from Idalion); Senff 1993, pls. 4.a–i, 9.a–k, 12.a–j.

[687] Senff 1993, pls. 51.e–f (mantle-wearing figures), 33.a–d (a naked "*kouros*" figure, where, in fact, there is an accentuation between shoulder and upper arm). See also Hermary 1989a, 43, no. 53 (a Cypriote-style figure unearthed at Tartus), p. 263, no. 535.

[688] See, for example, **Cat. 20**, **Cat. 25**, and **Cat. 30**, from Golgoi, and **Cat. 59**, from Kazafani.

[689] **Cat. 3** (west of Salamis), **Cat. 13** (Idalion), **Cat. 21**, **Cat. 26**, **Cat. 29**, **Cat. 31**, **Cat. 35** (Golgoi), and **Cat. 52** (Palaepaphos).

[690] It is true that the hanging arms of these figures are all more or less detached from the bodies, with **Cat. 13** as the only exception. There seems to be a relationship, however, between the amount of material removed and the lack of modeling of the arm in each case.

[691] Richter 1960, 20, describes the initial inability, in early Greek sculpture, to render the human arm in a correct manner.

[692] **Cat. 3** (?) (west of Salamis), **Cat. 23**, **Cat. 24**, **Cat. 26** (Golgoi), **Cat. 44** (Tamassos), and **Cat. 61** (of unknown provenance).

[693] Karageorghis 1978c, pl. 25.5, a limestone figure from Kazafani with Y-shaped incision in the crook of each arm; Karageorghis 1993, pl. 25, a terracotta figure from Ayia Irini with U-shape; Senff 1993, pl. 51.e (limestone).

[694] See above in "Egyptian features".

[695] Open hands are quite commonly found in terracotta sculpture, however: Gjerstad *et al.* 1935, pls. 190.1–2, nos. 2106 + 2103, 193.1–3, no. 1746, 194.3, nos. 2437 + 1196. Compare the hands of, for example: Schmidt 1968, pls. 71 (T 600), 72 (T 32), 75 (T 609) – all Cypriote-style, Samian examples in terracotta – with the limestone figures on pls. 102 (C 211), 104 (C 225), 111 (C 249).

[696] Senff 1993, pl. 8.a–c (ca. 650–600 B.C.) (a figure which holds a round object in its small, triangular hand – see **Cat. 16** and **Cat. 61** for close parallels), pl. 9.a–k, 10.f–h (ca. 550–525 B.C.); Gjerstad *et al.* 1935, pl. 221.1, nos. 2428 + 2464, a terracotta example from Ayia Irini. It was noted in "Egyptian features", above, that the over-sized thumb is an Egyptian trait,

Egyptianizing figures display this small, triangular hand and also – as was outlined above – in certain cases the over-sized thumb.[697]

Finally, we can note a patterning in two of the Egyptianizing figures which is found on other types of Cypriote votives as well. The hair of **Cat. 66**, a head of unknown provenance, hanging down in the neck from underneath the double crown, has a modeled pattern consisting of lozenge shapes. A very similar pattern is used on the bodies of the cobras hanging frontally on the kilts of **Cat. 34** and **Cat. 50**, from Golgoi and Amathus, respectively. The pattern is found already livening up the hair of a Cypriote-style figure excavated at the Heraion of Samos,[698] and it is known also from the island itself.[699]

Turning then to the Cypriote characteristics of the faces of the Egyptianizing figures, it may initially be emphasized that a very distinct feature is the bearded face, encountered in several of the Egyptianizing figures and in fact a hallmark of Cypriote Archaic limestone and terracotta statuary.[700] Interestingly, beards are virtually lacking within the Egyptian sculptural tradition[701] and also in early Greek statuary,[702] and the well-trimmed beards of the Cypriote votives stand out as a very distinct, local feature. It is perhaps indicative that a majority of the early, Cypriote-style, limestone figures found at the Heraion of Samos are beardless, some of them belonging to the "non-Cypriote" naked *kouros* type.[703]

Eighteen of the Egyptianizing figures have a beard.[704] There are of course several different ways of rendering this male attribute. While most figures have a beard in low relief on their cheeks, others have theirs merely indicated through an incised pattern.[705] Some bearded figures have a moustache which is similarly rendered in low relief, while others seemingly lack an accompanying moustache.[706] In connection with this it is important to point out our **Cat. 7**, from Idalion, which has a beard consisting of beautifully arranged curls while the moustache is merely indicated by black paint.[707] Several of the bearded Egyptianizing figures share the same shape of the beard, a very similar outline.[708] The beard is narrow by the ears, widening further down and forming a beautiful curve, only to narrow towards the chin of the figure.[709] This curving outline of the beard is found not only in other Cypriote votive types,[710] but also in late Archaic Greek sculpture,[711]

originally, but that it is similarly encountered in early Greek sculpture.

[697]**Cat. 6**, **Cat. 11**–**13** (Idalion), **Cat. 16** (Lympia), **Cat. 20** (damaged), **Cat. 23**, **Cat. 25**, **Cat. 29**, **Cat. 30**, **Cat. 35**, **Cat. 41** (Golgoi), **Cat. 43** (Tamassos), **Cat. 53** (Palaepaphos), **Cat. 61**, **Cat. 63**, **Cat. 65** (of unknown provenance). For the over-sized thumbs, see above n. 620.

[698]Schmidt 1968, pl. 107 (C 115); Senff 1993, 29, uses this pattern as one of his dating variables. When talking of figure C 72 (pl. 7.a–c), he states: "Die flimmernde Bart- und Haarritzung in länglichen Segmenten schließt ihn an C 71 und weitere Werke aus dem zweiten Jahrhundertviertel an" (referring to the 6th century B.C.).

[699]Hermary 1989a, 39, no. 35, including cover photograph (the pattern is found on the *himation*); Senff 1993, pl. 7.a–c (indicating the beard of the figure); Nunn 2000, 19. A very similar pattern is found on late 5th–early 4th century B.C. "temple boys": Beer 1994, 6, pls. 106–107, 160–161.

[700]Senff 1993, 27–28, states that the number of bearded Cypriote figures is equal to that of beardless ones during both the early and late Archaic period.

[701]The Egyptian, plaited, ceremonial beard, found throughout Egyptian history protruding either straight or curving from the tip of the chin of royal and aristocratic statues, as well as from Osiride sarcophagi, is a different matter. For a short note on this ceremonial device: Evers 1929, 29, §190–192.

[702]Not a single beard is encountered in the entire Richter 1960. On the possibility of painted facial hair: Jenkins 2001, 169.

[703]Schmidt 1968, pls. 98 (C 228), 102 (C 211), 105 (C 243). Cf. pl. 98 (C 92), however, which has both beard and moustache. Note that the Cypriote-style, Samian terracotta material provides a completely different picture. Already the earliest terracottas are bearded: Schmidt 1968, pls. 14 (T 235, T386, T 1900), 16 (T 2062), 30 (T 1690) – all of which are dated to around the middle of the 7th century B.C.

[704]**Cat. 2** (Aloda), **Cat. 7**–**9** (Idalion), **Cat. 20**, **Cat. 21**, **Cat. 23**, **Cat. 24**, **Cat. 26**–**28**, **Cat. 31** (Golgoi), **Cat. 42** (Arsos), **Cat. 58** (Palaepaphos), **Cat. 66**, and **Cat. 69**–**71** (of unknown provenance) – of the 39 figures with heads preserved. It is interesting to note that the two Golgoi figures **Cat. 20** and **Cat. 30**, otherwise so closely related, do not share (**Cat. 30**) the beard carved in low relief.

[705]**Cat. 8**, from Idalion, where the beard is indicated by rows of continuous zig-zag lines. The incised area on the cheeks and chin is not marked by any outline.

[706]For moustaches rendered in low relief: **Cat. 2** (Aloda), **Cat. 9** (Idalion), where the beard is curly, the moustache plain, **Cat. 58** (Palaepaphos), **Cat. 69** and **Cat. 70** (of unknown provenance). For bearded figures lacking a moustache: **Cat. 8** (Idalion) has no corresponding zig-zag lines on its upper lip. See, in addition, **Cat. 20**, **Cat. 21**, **Cat. 23**, **Cat. 26**–**28**, **Cat. 31** (Golgoi), **Cat. 42** (Arsos), **Cat. 66**, and **Cat. 71** (of unknown provenance).

[707]On the occurrence of painted moustaches in Cypriote-style material found outside the island: Jenkins 2001, 168–170, figs. 6–7 (Naukratis), 8 (Samos). These figures are beardless, however. Cypriote terracotta figures often have painted beards *and* moustaches: Gjerstad *et al.* 1935, pls. 41.2, 193.4 (Ayia Irini).

[708]**Cat. 9** (Idalion), **Cat. 20**, **Cat. 24**, **Cat. 26**–**28**, **Cat. 31** (Golgoi). Our **Cat. 7**, from Idalion, has more or less this rendering on the right-hand side of the face, but not really on the left: Senff 1993, pl. 34.g–i, provides good photos.

[709]In **Cat. 2** and **Cat. 21**, which display curly beards, the curving contour is more or less still there, while in the elaborate beard of **Cat. 58** it is no longer present.

[710]Hermary 1989a, 291, no. 588 (priest lifting bull mask), p. 25, no. 5 (colossal figure wearing conical cap, from Pyla, ca. 600 B.C.), p. 33, nos. 23–24 (from Golgoi, ca. 600–550 B.C.), p. 52, no. 68 (from Athienou *Malloura*, ca. 590–580 B.C.); Senff 1993,

as well as in single statues and statuettes found in the southern Levant.[712] In **Cat. 7**, from Idalion, there is further a thin, raised ridge between beard and cheeks. This plain border is encountered in other kinds of Cypriote terracotta and limestone votives as well.[713]

There is another characteristic encountered in the Egyptianizing figures which is most probably connected with a general schematization of Cypriote statuary. When viewed from the side, **Cat. 30** and **Cat. 37**, from Golgoi, and **Cat. 52**, from Palaepaphos, display a pronounced depth of the head where the ear is placed unproportionately far back on the side of it.[714] This unanatomical placing of the ears is not found on Egyptian statuary, occasionally, however, in early Greek sculpture.[715] It is encountered in both other terracotta and limestone votive figures from the island.[716] Perhaps the rendering of an unproportionately large nose in certain Egyptianizing figures can be mentioned here as well, a rendering which is sometimes encountered in terracotta figures from the island.[717]

Cypriote votive figures wearing headgear generally have hair indicated on their foreheads, coming down from underneath the border of a cap or helmet.[718] Virtually always hair hangs down the neck of the figures. It comes as no surprise, then, that similar indications of hair are found on figures wearing versions of the Egyptian double crown.[719] In an Egyptian context, hair could never be visible beneath a royal crown in this manner.[720] **Cat. 20**, from Golgoi, wears an odd amalgamation of helmet and double crown. Right underneath the crown, on the forehead, there is a row of ten small, pearl-like locks of hair.[721] This detail, together with the contour of the beard of the figure, relates it to several early votive figures wearing other kinds of headgear.[722] Our **Cat. 21** and **Cat. 58**, from Golgoi and Palaepaphos respectively, share snail curls of hair underneath their double crowns, curls which probably indicate a later date for these figures. Curls of hair are further found at the nape of the neck in these examples.[723] Occasionally, the hair on the forehead is stylized, seen as a straight, slightly raised border. When it comes to renderings beneath double crowns, hair indicated by such an edge is found in **Cat. 30** and **Cat. 52**, from – again – Golgoi and Palaepaphos, respectively.[724] There is a further parallel from within the Egyptianizing group itself, and of course, in other groups of votive figures occurrences are plentiful.[725]

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pl. 60.d–e (figures wearing rosette diadems); Karageorghis *et al.* 2000, 120, no. 185 (figure wearing wreath), 123–125, no. 190 (the colossal Herakles figure from Golgoi). For examples in terracotta: Masson 1964, pl. 10 (Tamassos); Karageorghis 1993, pl. 22.6 (head from Kazafani).

[711]Ridgway 1977, fig. 12 (a bronze head from the Athenian Acropolis); Stewart 1990, figs. 70–75 (from the early pedimental sculpture from the Athenian Acropolis, "Bluebeard" and "Zeus", both ca. 575–550 B.C.), figs. 125, 127, 131 (the "Rampin head", ca. 550 B.C., and the Athenian boxer relief, ca. 540 B.C.).

[712]For an Ammonite limestone figure wearing a version of the Egyptian *atef* crown: *Königsweg* 1987, 136, no. 133. The head was found outside Amman, Jordan, and belongs to a group of Ammonite sculpture which has been most thoroughly treated in: Abou Assaf 1980. See also below, Ch. 4.1.1.

[713]Schmidt 1968, pl. 30 (T 1690), 67 (T 419 + 1732 + 1852), two Cypriote-style terracotta figures from Samos, dated to about 650 B.C.; Hermary 1989a, 466, no. 969 (a limestone figure with bird body and human head, playing the syrinx); Hermary 1991a, pls. 38–39 (again terracotta); Karageorghis 1993, pls. 22.1–4 (Kazafani), 23.4 (Patriki).

[714]In **Cat. 30** both ears are further placed very low on the head; at the height of the mouth rather than at the height of the eyes of the figure.

[715]See for example the New York *kouros* and two Sounion *kouroi*: Richter 1960, figs. 30–31, 34, 37–38.

[716]For terracotta: Karageorghis 1993, pls. 11.5 (Idalion), 12.1 (Ayia Irini), 23.4 (Patriki), 25.5 (Toumba, Salamis). For stone: Pryce 1928, 183–184, pl. 39, B.438, 184–185, fig. 221, B.439 (from Naukratis).

[717]**Cat. 24** and **Cat. 61**. For terracotta parallels: Hermary 1991a, pls. 37.c–d, 38.b–e. See also Senff 1993, 51 n. 416.

[718]Similarly, most Herakles Melqart figures have rows of locks of hair placed underneath the upper jaw of the lion, resting on the head: Karageorghis *et al.* 2000, 123–125, no. 190 (from Golgoi). The same goes for some of the figures wearing "Cypriote belts" and rosette diadems: Senff 1993, pl. 60.c. Note the tiny, stylized rendering of hair curls on the forehead of one of the terracotta figures from Ayia Irini: Gjerstad *et al.* 1935, pls. 190.1–2, 192.1, no. 2106 + 2103.

[719]**Cat. 2** (Aloda), **Cat. 20**, **Cat. 21**, **Cat. 30** (Golgoi), **Cat. 52**, **Cat. 58** (Palaepaphos), and **Cat. 66–71** (of unknown provenance).

[720]In Ch. 2.2.1, above, we saw that the Egyptian royal crowns were worn either directly on the (clean-shaven?) head or on top of a *nemes* headcloth. It is only very late in Egyptian history, during the Roman period, that we find occurrences of the very non-Egyptian rendering of curly hair underneath a royal headgear – but then a *nemes* headcloth, not a crown: Bothmer 1960, pl. 96, no. 103.

[721]The common, Cypriote, baggy mass of hair hangs down the neck. That this is another Cypriote characteristic is clear from it being encountered in local terracotta as well. See, for example: Gjerstad *et al.* 1935, pl. 41.2 (Ayia Irini).

[722]Masson 1964, pl. 10 (again, the colossal terracotta figure from Tamassos); Hermary 1989a, 25, no. 5 (a colossal limestone head from Pyla, ca. 600 B.C.); Karageorghis *et al.* 2000, 108, no. 171 (colossal limestone head from Golgoi from the early 6th century B.C.).

[723]In **Cat. 66–71** curls of hair are rendered underneath the crowns, but the locks are not of the spiral type as found in **Cat. 21** and **Cat. 58**.

[724]**Cat. 2** (from Aloda) shows clearly how only limited carving could turn this straight border into a row of semi-circular curls of hair. For good photos: Markoe 1987, pl. 42.2–3.

[725]See **Cat. 13**, from Idalion, which displays such a hair border beneath its rosette diadem; Senff 1993, pl. 6.j–l (figure wearing a conical cap), 60.d (two wearers of rosette diadems), 62.d (Herakles Melqart); Karageorghis *et al.* 2000, 136–137, no. 206 (a sphinx from Golgoi). For an example from the Ayia Irini terracottas: Gjerstad *et al.* 1935, pls. 205.2, 206.2, 206.3, 206.6, nos. 1044 + 2495, with a combination of straight hair border and curly beard.

The snail curls in the beards and hair of the Egyptianizing figures mentioned above are never encountered in Egyptian sculpture. Such curls are found, however, in Greek statuary from the earliest period onwards.[726] The same is true for the tressed hair displayed in **Cat. 3**, **Cat. 29**, and **Cat. 31**, from (west of) Salamis and Golgoi, respectively. Our **Cat. 31** displays a Greek-style head with its spiral curls of hair and vertical tresses, where wavy strands of hair are seemingly kept in place by thin, horizontal bands, crowned by a laurel (?) wreath.[727] **Cat. 29** displays a wig-like coiffure with horizontal ridges placed on the crown of the head[728] and vertical, plait-like strands of hair on both sides of the head. It is not possible to say whether the very fragmentary head and hair of **Cat. 3** displayed any of these exact renderings, since what is preserved is merely the lower part of three tresses (?) behind the figure's right shoulder. Cypriote parallels for such tressed hair are commonly found.[729] Note that the wig-like hair found in **Cat. 7**, **Cat. 49**, and **Cat. 51** (from Idalion, Amathus, and Kourion, respectively) are rather Cypriote versions of the Egyptian wig, where compartments in the hair are imitations of stylized hair curls.[730]

Some of the Egyptianizing figures display a characteristically Cypriote decoration of their eyebrows. It is a linear pattern where sets of parallel lines are set obliquely against each other.[731] E. Gjerstad termed them "feathered, ridged eyebrows" and considered them, when found on limestone sculpture, as an influence from terracotta plastic.[732] It is true that such decorated brows are found in early Cypriote terracotta material and in stone as well.[733] **Cat. 24** has both eyebrows and moustache decorated with this oblique design.[734] This characteristic pattern is even found decorating the hair and beards of Cypriote figures.[735]

2.4 The composite whole

When analyzing the Cypriote Egyptianizing figures under study in the previous sections, we noted how they are made up of various components regarding dress and body form. In addition to the Egyptian dress and ornamental elements which have made them the focus of this study, they also have Cypriote facial and body elements and certain local Cypriote components of dress. In Chs. 2.2 and 2.3 the focus was on the single components of the statues and statuettes. It is time now to look at the figures in their entirety in order to gain a broader view of the group as a whole.

2.4.1 The main formal components of the figures and the character of their combinations (Table 1)

Starting out with the Egyptian components of the limestone figures under study, it was noted how the main figural type is a characteristically Egyptian one: the standing, frontal, striding male figure. One related type was identified in the falcon-headed figure holding what most probably is scribal equipment. The dress of the statues and statuettes is pronouncedly Egyptian in type: the pleated kilt with centrally placed double cobras and lateral sash ends, and the broad, decorated collar. On the figures' heads we encounter the Egyptian double crown, the tressed wig where the tresses radiate from a point on the crown of the head, and the plain kerchief. Recurrent Egyptian-type ornaments are the persea fruits, the standardized, triangular leaves, and the drop shapes encountered on a majority of the preserved broad,

[726] Richter 1960, 42–44, figs. 33–39, one of the Sounion *kouroi*, where large (shell-like) spiral curls are placed along the forehead.

[727] A. Hermary notes the interesting combination of Egyptian costume and Greek coiffure in this Golgoi figure: Hermary 1989a, 52, text in connection with no. 68.

[728] The frontal ridge is decorated by thin, incised, vertical lines tightly set.

[729] In Ch. 2.1.1, above, a figure from Idalion was referred to who displays close parallels for both the tresses and wreath of **Cat. 31**: Senff 1993, pl. 17.l–n. See also Hermary 1989a, 48, no. 60, a limestone figure from Arsos wearing a rosette diadem, dated to ca. 550–525 B.C.

[730] See Ch. 2.2.1. It is not far, however, between the vertical strands of hair kept together by thin bands, in **Cat. 7** and **Cat. 51**, on the one hand, and **Cat. 31** on the other – where the two former can be said to display a typically Egyptian wig and the latter has a Greek-style coiffure.

[731] See **Cat. 2** (Aloda), **Cat. 20**, **Cat. 24** (Golgoi), **Cat. 58** (Palaepaphos), and **Cat. 61** (of unknown provenance). Our **Cat. 52**, from Palaepaphos, has eyebrows which are feathered in the true sense of the word, or rather decorated with a herring-bone pattern.

[732] Gjerstad 1948, 100. On p. 359 Gjerstad notes that similarly decorated eyebrows are found already in Sumerian art, that they are typically Syrian, and are further occasionally encountered on Etruscan bronzes.

[733] Gjerstad *et al.* 1935, pls. 218.1–2, 219.1, no. 1049, 219.2, nos. 1052 + 2442; Schmidt 1968, pls. 30 (T 1690, ca. 650 B.C.), 67 (T 419 + 1732 + 1852), 77 (T 1906 + 2798), 78 (T 602), both dated to the early 6th century B.C. (Cypriote-style terracotta material from the Samian Heraion); Karageorghis 1993, pl. 22.1–5 (Kazafani); Karageorghis *et al.* 2000, 123–125, no. 190 (limestone Herakles). For a Bronze Age terracotta mask from Enkomi with this pattern on its eyebrows: Courtois 1982, fig. 1.

[734] For a similar combination in a terracotta figure: Karageorghis 1993, pl. 22.1, a head from Kazafani. In fact, even the shape of the moustaches of these two figures are quite similar.

[735] Karageorghis 1993, pl. 19.2, a terracotta statuette head from Tamassos; Hermary 1991a, pls. 38.c, a side view showing the decorated hair of the same figure, 38.d–e, another terracotta figure from Tamassos with "feathered" decoration on both eyebrows and hair.

decorated collars of the figures.[736] In addition, lotus flowers are found and lilies linked with curving loops. A handful of characteristic, Egyptian, geometric patterns are found decorating the kilts of the figures, such as the block-border pattern and the stylized wing-feather pattern. The alternate application of paint visible in certain votives is based on Egyptian standards for the rhythm of color.

Not only the stance but the pose of the figures under study is characteristically Egyptian: several have one arm bent and the clenched hand placed on the chest. With their large size, they adhere to (early) Egyptian ideas and preferences regarding colossal statuary. The belt placed around the hips of the figures, the over-sized thumbs, and the so-called Archaic smile are further Egyptian traits of the figures under study. In addition, the "emblematic staves" held in the hands of some statues and the double armrings on their upper arms both find counterparts in Egyptian statuary and art.

The Egyptian components enumerated above constitute clear royal, New Kingdom references. It is mainly during this Late Bronze Age period that Pharaoh, and certain gods, are depicted wearing the royal *devanteau* with lateral cobras and colorful sash ends.[737] Similarly, the broad collar bound together by fruits, beads, and various leaves is a characteristic of this period, and only very rarely encountered in Late Period art. The application of alternate color in order to highlight details of dress is limited mainly to this earlier period as well. The royal (or divine) reference is confirmed by the double crown, symbolizing the unification of the Two Lands, and by the colossal size of certain figures, a trait which was restricted to statues of Pharaoh himself, and of (other) gods. In contrast to this stands the plain headcloth or kerchief, which – throughout Egyptian art production – characterizes depictions of ordinary men.[738] It could be added that apotropaic motifs are recurrent in the figures under study, including both the rearing double cobras who are ready to strike, and the Cypriote variations on the Egyptian-type panther head, a head which was placed right beneath the belt of Pharaoh, on his kilt, most probably in order to avert evil. The rearing cobra found centrally on certain double crowns and the *wedjet* eye placed on the kilt of two of the figures had – it seems – a similar apotropaic character.

The Cypriote components of the figures consist, initially, of a handful of related figural types, each one represented with only a few examples, such as the hunter or the warrior with appropriate trappings (helmet, sword, and bow and arrows), the man carrying a large votive animal, and the single occurrence of a male figure carrying a (-n unidentified) votive gift. Apart from this the main indigenous components are encountered in the face and bodies of the figures. Only few components concern their dress and headgear, like the tight-fitting, short-sleeved garment, the beaded hems on kilts, the belt with raised, outer ridges, and the single wreath and rosette diadem. Certain dress ornaments have a Cypriote or at least non-Egyptian character, such as the continuous frieze of animals and figures, combat scenes between man and beast, and the small, winged, bearded face. In addition, as noted above, the panther head from the Egyptian royal dress correspond to the Cypriote figures in the form of Bes- or gorgon-like renderings placed at the very same spot on the kilt as the small, Egyptian-type, feline head. The meander pattern and the characteristic raised, narrow outline around certain details of dress and ornaments are further encountered in Cypriote material culture in general – but are unknown from Egypt.

When focusing on the body form of the figures and their facial features, a large amount of Cypriote traits are encountered. Apart from the occasional belt placed around the waist of figures, most of these regard the schematization of the body form. The board-shaped bodies of some of the figures, which display a general lack of indication of musculature, and their flat and mainly uncarved backs are examples of this. So are the broad and rounded shoulder areas where the lack of anatomical division between shoulder, chest, and upper arms emphasizes the schematization even more. In quite a few figures the arms have been freed from the waist at the expense of body volume, and there are figures where the boundary between chest and thorax is indicated by an incised, (inverted) V-shaped line. Other standardized body forms are the cone-shaped neck, the border between neck and (naked) chest, and the almond-shaped knee-caps of the figures. As regards the faces of the figures, the beards and moustaches are decidedly Cypriote. This holds true also for the spiral hair curls of several of the statues and statuettes and the characteristic "feathered" eyebrows (and moustache). When turning to the details of the figures' outfits, Cypriote components are found in the recurrent spiral earrings and also the spiral armrings – which, despite their being a possible echo

[736] The Cypriote broad collars not only share this same basic set of ornaments but a majority actually display the same individual order of arrangement (persea fruits–triangles–hanging drops).

[737] The stylized wing-feather pattern is further a characteristic design of royal belts and *devanteaux* during the New Kingdom period.

[738] It was noted above, in Ch. 2.2.1, that the case is not as clear with the *shenti* kilt and the "emblematic staves", both of which seem to have passed from being royal privileges to inclusion in depictions of mortal men.

of double Egyptian armrings are, in fact, a characteristic of contemporary statuary from the island itself.

These Cypriote components tie the figures closely to the general Cypriote votive sphere, within which votive statues and statuettes were dedicated to the divinity inside his or her sanctuary. The fact that the Egyptianizing group is virtually encountered only in local limestone, never in terracotta, and quite often more or less life-size, possibly tie them to an elevated sphere of society. It was shown above (Ch. 2.2.2) that the Cypriote spiral ear- and armrings are known not only through depictions on statuary in the round but also through archaeological excavation, where real metal spiral pieces have come to light. Since the divine or semi-divine statuary from the island lacks these features, it could be tentatively suggested that the presence of such spiral rings tie these figures – and other Cypriote votive figures wearing them – to a realistic sphere.[739] That the general Cypriote votive statue was a depiction of a dedicator of flesh and blood has long been suggested – even if additional possibilities have by no means been possible to exclude.[740]

It is interesting to compare these Egyptian and Cypriote components with contemporary material from each area. In the Egyptian case the general figural type is encountered in contemporary (Twenty-sixth and early Twenty-seventh Dynasty) sculpture. However, the kilt with cobras, sash ends, and panther head, and the broad collar with vegetal ornaments are not. Similarly, the double crown is rarely found in the preserved statuary in the round from this same period. The carving of over life-size figures is a characteristic of the New Kingdom period, and hardly encountered in Twenty-sixth and Twenty-seventh Dynasty Egypt. The plain kerchief, on the other hand, is recurrent in Late Period sculpture, as are the belts hanging on the hips of figures, and the "Archaic smile". The items of dress and headgear, most of which are virtually unknown from contemporary Egyptian material culture, are further characterized by the way they deviate from the original, Egyptian elements. In the Cypriote Egyptianizing figures we encounter new shapes and combinations of original Egyptian dress elements and features, new forms that are unknown to Egypt itself. Thus, there is, on the one hand, a transformation and rearrangement of the different components of dress and on the other, the creation of virtual clusters of decorative motifs, which sometimes result in new appearances of the originally Egyptian ornaments, and often in new constellations (and placings) thereof. As an example, take the new, Cypriote dress detail which consists of a band of decoration placed at the lowermost part of the "apron" displaying a figural scene or a vegetal border,[741] and also certain Egyptian (-izing) motifs encountered in new forms, set within standard, but more often completely new, placements on the dress of the figures: the four-winged scarab, the bearded, winged sphinx wearing helmet, the Phoenician cup palmette, the paradise flower, and the volute-and-palmette flower.

As regards the Cypriote components it was repeatedly shown in Ch. 2.2.2 how well they correspond with contemporary, indigenous terracotta and limestone votive statuary from the island. The related figural type of a warrior carrying helmet and sword, or bow and arrows, is a characteristic Cypriote votive type encountered from the middle of the 7th century B.C. onwards. The male or female dedicant carrying a votive animal or a votive gift before the god is similarly a standard type within Archaic votive art from the island. The Egyptianizing statues share the characteristic, indigenous dress elements referred to above with the wearers of "Cypriote belts", the mantle-wearing figures, the Herakles Melqart figures, and virtually all other votive types.[742] Not only dress – and, to a certain extent, ornamentation – is shared but also the schematized rendering of the body previously described, the facial characteristics, and details such as the spiral arm- and earrings. These close correspondences clearly suggest that the same (Cypriote) sculptors produced all these various types of votive figures. The Egyptianizing statues and statuettes share yet another general development which is witnessed in 6th century B.C. sculpture from the island with other votive figures: an increase in corporeality, most probably following increased influence from the East Greek area and the sculptural tradition there, taking the general Cypriote votive figure from a high degree of schematization to a larger degree of naturalism.

General parallels for the figures abound in terracotta and limestone statuary. In addition, close parallels for the (Egyptianizing) ornamentation on their kilts, belts, and headgear are found in (slightly

739 To my knowledge, no such rings are encountered on Herakles Melqart, Baal Hammon, Bes, or Geryon figures – and not on early depictions of Hathor, either. There are late examples of the goddess wearing rosette earrings, however: Hermary 2000, pl. 83.969 (the large-scale AM 805 from Amathus).

740 For more on this issue, and on the identity (or actual connotations) of the Egyptianizing figures, see below, in Chs. 5.2.2 and 5.2.3.

741 Below, in Ch. 2.4.2, it will be suggested that this band of decoration is closely related to the horizontal row of drop shapes placed at the bottom end of Egyptian *devanteaux*.

742 The short-sleeved garment (sometimes decorated), the belt with raised outer ridges, the beaded hem, and the single wreath and rosette diadem.

	EGYPTIAN	NON-EGYPTIAN/CYPRIOTE
MATERIAL		Local limestone
FIGURAL TYPE	Standing, frontal male: Colossal figure Male figures only Falcon-headed, with scribal equipment (?) One arm hanging, one arm bent, hand placed on chest	Standing, frontal male: Warrior (with helmet and sword) Hunter (with bow and arrows) Man with votive animal Man with votive gift
DRESS	Kilt (*shenti*, New Kingdom-type) Sash ends Cobras Drop shapes Broad, decorated collar Belt buckle	Short-sleeved garment (plain or decorated) Dressed, but naked (nipples indicated, despite dress) Belt with raised, outer ridges Beaded hem on kilts
	Transformed Egyptian dress detail:	Decorated frieze at the bottom of the "apron"
	Double crown with *uraeus* Tressed ("curly") wig Kerchief	Wreath Rosette diadem
ORNAMENTS Figural Vegetal Geometric	Panther head Hathoric head *Wedjet* eye Scarab beetle Lotus flower Lily (linked with curving loops) Persea fruit/triangles/drops Alternating large and small elements Papyrus leaf Stylized wing-feather pattern Stylized breast-feather pattern Block-border pattern "Color as pattern"	Apotropaic head ("Bes/gorgon") Animal frieze Sphinx frieze Man fighting beast Beast fighting beast Winged, bearded face Rosette (?) Meander pattern Raised, narrow outline around each segment
	Transformed Egyptian ornaments:	Four-winged scarab Sphinx with wings, helmet, beard Phoenician cup palmette Paradise flower Volute-and-palmette flower
FACE AND BODY FORM Body   <

earlier) decorated metal bowls unearthed on the island, of uncertain manufacture.[743] Imported Phoenician ivory plaques also provide certain parallel examples.

The result is thus a group of figures which constitute a Cypro-Egyptian mix, where Egyptian dress and ornaments are placed on Cypriote figural types displaying characteristically Cypriote face and body form. In virtually all the figures, however, the Egyptian dress and ornamental components have been transformed: further, not only is their appearance different, but sometimes even their placement. Despite these transformations and despite their general Cypriote character, the Egyptian visual impact of most figures is striking. This may have to do with the fact that, despite a certain transformation, the major Egyptian components are often repeated, and found in approximately the same positions on the figures. This is true for the sash ends, for example, which are almost never left out. They are most often rendered in the standard (correct) number with three on each side of the kilt, and in a majority of depictions they display the same basic shape and relation to each other.[744] This is similarly true for the cobras, which are always rendered in pairs, always on the "aprons" of figures, and most often with very thin and elongated bodies hanging down centrally from the broad belt. These creatures, too, are virtually never left out of depictions of elaborate clothing. The three vegetal ornaments encountered in a majority of the Cypriote broad collars are yet another example of close correspondences encountered within a generally transformed and much altered type. The Cypriote equivalents of the persea fruits, the hanging triangles, and the drop shapes are repeated in a remarkably consistent manner, not only being present in most collars but also arranged in virtually the same order in each case.[745] Had these dress elements and ornaments been transformed and rearranged on the figures in a haphazard manner, then the general effect or impact might have been markedly blurred.

The strong Egyptian impact of the figures may also be a characteristic of Cypriote votive statuary; it could be stated that the general group of Cypriote votives are standard figures in standard pose, to which different sets of dress and headgear have been added. From what was seen above, in Ch. 2.2.2, it was clear that the same general Cypriote limestone figure, wearing spiral earrings and having spiral armrings on both upper arms, could either be wearing a "Cypriote belt", a decorated upper garment, and rosette diadem; or an Egyptian-type kilt with broad, decorated collar and decorated upper garment; or an Egyptian-type kilt and rosette diadem (**Cat. 13**). An ankle-length mantle and conical cap could be depicted instead, or a votive animal, a music instrument, or a votive gift placed in the hands of the figure. In other words, the actual dress and accessories of the Cypriote votive figure were important markers, giving the standard figure its identity and character – and with these trappings and elements of dress undoubtedly followed certain connotations, specific for the island. It is one of the aims of this study to investigate the connotations for the votive figure wearing Egyptian-type dress, headgear, and ornaments (see Chs. 5.1 and 5.2).

Despite a strong, general Egyptian character as regards their attire, the figures under study display varying degrees of intensity[746] of Egyptian impact. While certain figures display a whole set of characteristic dress elements and ornaments, with a very strong Egyptian impact, others are merely rendered with a plain, undecorated kilt. Similarly, certain statues are dressed in a way which corresponds more closely to the original Egyptian counterpart, whereas others have a very transformed outfit. Both the above variables create differences in the degree of intensity of the Egyptian impact of the figures, differences which can be placed on a sliding scale from very strong to very weak impact. It needs to be pointed out that this sliding scale is not an end result in itself but constitutes one important part of the analytical work carried out on the group. These varying degrees of intensity will be used throughout the book to relate the Cypriote Egyptianizing figures to each other but also – and this is important – to related (Egyptian and Egyptianizing) material unearthed outside the island. It is thus one of the analytical tools used in the present study.

Separating the figures with many and few Egyptian dress elements and ornaments proves comparatively uncomplicated. In contrast to examples like **Cat. 21**, **Cat. 26**, and **Cat. 30**, all with the complete set of Egyptian-type dress and all displaying kilts with much added Egyptian-type decoration, are **Cat. 36**, **Cat. 38**, and **Cat. 40**, which have only the plain kilt and kerchief (?) – all six figures originating from the same site, from ancient Golgoi. In fact, even very fragmentary statues can be incorporated in this approximate division. **Cat. 7**, for example, from Idalion, is merely the preserved head of a figure with an Egyptian-type wig. However, since it displays a tiny part of the broad collar, where an even smaller part of the raised, narrow outline of an ornament is

[743] Both Phoenician and Cypriote manufacture has been suggested for these pieces: see Ch. 1.1.1, above.

[744] See above, Ch. 2.2.1 "The kilt".

[745] See above, Ch. 2.2.1 "The broad collar".

[746] I thank I.J. Winter for introducing this expression to me.

visible, it can be suggested that the head was once part of a kilt-wearing, much decorated figure. This can be postulated since it is clear from the preserved material that the broad, decorated collar is always rendered together with a decorated kilt. Thus, this figure, too, would end up on the far end of the sliding scale together with other "strong" figures.

One difficult factor is, admittedly, the addition of details of dress and ornamentation with (ephemeral) paint – additions which, even if abraded today, could once have meant that the statue or statuette gave a stronger Egyptian impact. Even in high-quality pieces like **Cat. 29**, from Golgoi, and **Cat. 52**, from Palaepaphos, where the kilts of the figures are outlined with care and skill, the broad collars were either painted in the one case, or had one incised line marking its outer border, in the other.[747] Two statuettes, **Cat. 10** and **Cat. 63** – from Idalion, and of unknown provenance, respectively – which at first glance are wearing only the plain kilt show additional, Egyptian-type details of dress in red paint which increase their Egyptian impact. Despite this difficulty the varying degrees of intensity – regarding the actual number of Egyptian-type dress elements and ornaments – are mirrored in the catalogue containing all known Cypriote Egyptianizing figures (Ch. 7); the statues and statuettes are first divided according to find site and then to find context, that is, to a specific sanctuary or *favissa*.[748] When more than one figure was unearthed within a certain context, however, the statues are arranged according to degree of intensity, on a sliding scale, where the "stronger" figures are placed first followed by the "weaker" ones.

In contrast to the actual number of Egyptian-type elements in figures, the different transformations of the dress and ornamentation require a certain amount of analysis in order to reveal where, on the sliding scale, each statue finds its place. Therefore, the transformations and the resulting varying degrees of intensity are treated in more detail, below.

2.4.2 The Cypriote transformations of Egyptian dress and ornament

The Egyptian-type attire of the Cypriote statues displays several deviations from the original Egyptian forms.[749] In the following section the focus is on these Cypriote transformations. As mentioned above it is suggested here that when identifying the transformations of the Egyptian dress and ornaments, that is, the various Cypriote interpretations and variations of them, we acquire a comparative tool which is very useful for relating these statues and statuettes to each other, and to comparable material from outside the island.[750] This, in its turn, will allow the raising of hypotheses regarding the origin of the votive type and its significance or connotations within the sanctuaries of the island (see Ch. 5).

Common to the altered Cypriote forms to be discussed here is the fact that there is a fixed Egyptian feature which they echo but that they diverge from this model in form or in placement.[751] In the following we will examine the changes taking place regarding these elements, both when relating the Cypriote to the Egyptian material and when considering changes occurring within the Cypriote Egyptianizing tradition itself. It is not feasible, or even worth while, perhaps, to take every element and feature into account. Instead, there will be a focus on the main examples of transformations witnessed in the Egyptianizing figures, deviations which concern the kilt, the double crown, and certain ornaments. The changes regard, first and foremost, the form and placement of certain elements of these aspects, but also the clusters of ornaments and new combinations thereof, which seem to testify to a Cypriote taste for the decorative. From these examples we may be able to produce a picture of how certain Cypriote alterations in form were created, even tracing internal relationships between them, and we may thus – in some cases – reach an understanding of how details of the dress and single ornaments developed within the Cypriote workshops.

The kilt, its details and its decoration

In the following virtually all Cypriote limestone kilts known will be included and evaluated.[752] The reason

[747] It is more than probable that the area within the incised line on **Cat. 52** was covered with paint as well.

[748] This, in its turn, reflects the pattern of find spots traced and outlined in Ch. 3.2.

[749] See above, end of Ch. 1.1.2.

[750] A similar kind of analysis was attempted by R. Stucky in connection to Orientalizing material in Cyprus, Greece, and Etruria: Stucky 1982, 208: "Nach Intensität oder Treue der Anlehnung an östliche Vorbilder lassen sich westliche Werke orientalisierenden Stils in drei Hauptgruppen scheiden." See also A. Hermary on the Cypriote Egyptianizing material: Hermary 2001, 28: "...'égyptisante',… mais cette notion a nécessairement une valeur plus faible quand ces caractères sont peu nombreux, et son sens est vraiment très limité lorsqu'un élément se trouve isolé: encore faudrait-il distinguer, dans ce cas, entre les signes égyptisants forts, comme le pagne à devanteau, ceux qui sont banalisés, comme la 'perruque' lisse, et ceux qui sont nettement ambigus, comme les bracelets de biceps ou les traits du visage."

[751] Cypriote transformations of Egyptian-type features or elements are by no means limited to the sphere of limestone statuary but occur in virtually all other categories of Archaic material from the island. For an example from Bichrome IV pottery: Karageorghis & Des Gagniers 1974, 118, X.3 (winged sun disk with four "cobras" (?) attached).

[752] In Ch. 2.2.1 n. 114, above, it was noted that there are 48 more well-preserved kilts in the material. Here another five very

for this is simply that every single one displays features more or less diverging from the appearance of the Egyptian kilts known. The Cypriote kilts under study can actually all be termed hybrid creations, containing a mix of features which we recognize from the plain Egyptian *shenti* as well as from the more elaborate, royal New Kingdom-type kilt with *devanteau*. It may be appropriate to use these Egyptian kilts as points of reference but, at the same time, a word of warning should be issued. Thanks to numerous depictions in two and three dimensions, painted as well as carved, and owing to a certain amount of original textile material, we are quite well acquainted with the Egyptian male kilt. In contrast, the Cypriote, Egyptian-type kilts have only been encountered in sculpture in the round. There are no relief depictions, no further material to help us understand the dress worn by these figures. We do know that Egyptians dressed up in kilts. We have no way of knowing if Archaic Cypriotes ever did. Again, I feel it is important to stress the differences in background for these two materials before going into detailed analysis.

It is evident that the elaborate New Kingdom kilt is echoed – in some way or the other – in virtually all Cypriote kilts. Therefore I have chosen to begin with those kilts which come closest in shape and form to this particular garment (14 pieces). Then follows a very limited group of kilts (merely three) for which the Egyptian *shenti* has served as the main object of influence, although the impact of the New Kingdom kilt is marked by certain details. At the end, a much decorated group of kilts (15 pieces) will be presented, kilts which – just like the garments from the two former groups – are characterized by a mix of features borrowed from both types of Egyptian kilts, although here the features are combined in a consistent manner. The kilts not accounted for are either very fragmentary or plain and undecorated and thus less easy to attribute to any given group. They will be returned to briefly, however, in the below analysis.

The Egyptian kilts – a short recollection

In Ch. 2.2.1 above, the separate elements of the Egyptian kilt were studied. Generally speaking there was the *shenti* – a plain or pleated kilt cloth wrapped around the hips, overlapping and covering the upper part of a separate textile apron with concave sides[753] – and the New Kingdom pleated kilt with a frontally hanging *devanteau*, an object which in most cases was provided with laterally hanging cobras (*Figs. 1 & 2*). A fundamental difference between the apron belonging to the *shenti* and the *devanteau* hanging in front of a kilt was that of material; while the apron was an integrated part of the *shenti* kilt and thus made of (linen) cloth, the *devanteau* was a bead or metal device suspended from a (metal) belt by means of tiny hooks. This material difference is worth keeping in mind when studying the Cypro-Egyptian material. The original Egyptian *shenti* was quite a simple – although highly prestigious – type of kilt, while the royal New Kingdom kilt with *devanteau* was subjected to the general elaboration of dress taking place during that period of time, with various complementary devices added to it. The most frequent addition were the beautiful textile sashes which were tied around the waist of the kilt-wearer, and whose ends were depicted in a – soon enough – standardized manner hanging down on each side of the *devanteau*. Occasionally, the end of a much longer sash would be loosely tied into a knot just underneath the belt holding up the kilt. Sometimes, a tiny feline head was depicted on the upper part of the *devanteau*, just underneath the belt.

Reflections of the royal, Egyptian, New Kingdom-type kilt with devanteau

When looking for a Cypriote Egyptian-type kilt which closely echoes the elaborate New Kingdom kilt and *devanteau*, we find ourselves with one example from the island's material. The life-size **Cat. 3**, found west of Salamis, has a broad belt holding up a finely pleated kilt cloth. In front of the kilt hangs a rectangular object with rows of bead-like, vertical rectangles, its lateral borders defined by thin, hanging cobras. At the very base of this Cypriote *devanteau* a lower, horizontal panel runs underneath the reptiles, connecting them and adding to the impression of a separate (metal) device which indeed has been added to the dress, hanging from the belt. On each side of the *devanteau* hang three plain sash ends. If we choose to go into detail, it may be noted that the general Egyptian *devanteau* known to us from depictions and archaeological contexts is trapezoidal, its lower end being the broader. But apart from this slight deviation in shape, **Cat. 3** is wearing a properly rendered New Kingdom-type kilt with *devanteau*.

Closely related is **Cat. 29**, unearthed at Golgoi (Ayios Photios), wearing a plain kilt cloth held up by a decorated belt (*Pl. 7.3*).[754] In front of the kilt hangs a similar rectangular device, with bead-like pattern and all, its lateral sides defined by elongated cobras. On each side of the *devanteau* hang four sash ends.

fragmentary kilts are included as well, the outline of which can be at least hypothetically reconstructed.

753 Only the lowermost, concave part of the textile apron is visible in the Egyptian *shenti*; this is important to keep in mind when examining the Cypriote kilts.

754 Interestingly, the two figures, **Cat. 3** and **Cat. 29**, seem to have had similar coiffures – see the fragmentary tresses on the shoulders of the Salamis figure. Tresses are rare within the Cypriote Egyptianizing group; only one further figure, **Cat. 31** (also from Golgoi), shares this hairdo.

There is, however, one detail which differentiates the kilt of **Cat. 29** from that of **Cat. 3**. The bottom outline of the kilt of the Golgoi figure, **Cat. 29**, does not echo a frontally hanging *devanteau*, but in fact is that of a kilt with (concave, textile) apron instead. On each side of the cobras are vertical ridges marking off the whole central area – with "*devanteau*", cobras and all – as part of a centrally pendant apron. In contrast to the *devanteau* of **Cat. 3**, the one on **Cat. 29** has not been understood as a device of its own, hanging from the belt, its borders delineated by the slender cobras, but rather as representing an – admittedly subtle – hybrid form of what was originally a textile apron and a bead or metal *devanteau*.

This same combination is found in **Cat. 62**. Although this is a rendering of a kilt which is generally less well understood, we recognize the centrally placed "*devanteau*", its lateral sides bordered by (very) elongated cobras framed by short, standardized sash ends. On each side of the cobras' upturned heads, however, there are – very similar to **Cat. 29** – vertical ridges indicating that we are dealing with an "apron" coming down frontally, and not just a properly rendered *devanteau*.[755]

We turn then to three related figures, our **Cat. 5**, **Cat. 34**, and **Cat. 61** (*Pls. 1.2, 9.1 & 12.4*). These statuettes are quite dissimilar at first glance, but there is a prominent feature common to all three of them: the transformed version of the Egyptian royal *devanteau* which they carry. Basically, the *devanteaux* of **Cat. 3** and **Cat. 29**, presented above, imitate the Egyptian device where rows of thin, vertical beads were kept in place by horizontal spacer bars – or the inlaid metal version thereof.[756] In the two figures the Cypriote sculptor emphasized the rows of vertical beads. Characteristic of **Cat. 5**, **Cat. 34**, and **Cat. 61** is, instead, the accentuation of the horizontal spacer bars. **Cat. 5**, from Idalion, has particularly clearcut details of dress. Sturdy cobras hang down from the belt at a certain distance from each other, curving away from one another in the characteristic rearing position. Between the bodies of the cobras, connecting them at intervals, are three broad, horizontal bands. Most probably the bands echo the horizontal spacer bars found on Egyptian *devanteaux*: here, as well, rectangular areas are created between these horizontal bars. The bottom end of the kilt is not consistent with a *devanteau*, however, but instead has a plain, bordered area descending centrally. In this Cypriote figure, as in many others, there is a lack of correspondence between the rendering of the upper and the lower part of the kilt:[757] while the upper part reflects a *devanteau* with horizontal spacer bars, bordered by cobras, the lower end is basically that of a kilt with apron.

Turning to **Cat. 61**, of unknown provenance, we find a kilt cloth bordered by a typical Egyptian pattern, in front of which hangs a slightly trapezoidal *devanteau*. The lower end of the device is the broader, coming quite close here to the original Egyptian shape. On both sides of the *devanteau* are three standardized sash ends, and two winged cobras hang down centrally along the device. Were it not for the central placing of the cobras the figure's kilt would be quite a well-understood replica of the royal, Egyptian dress. But there is one further deviating detail: between the bodies of the reptiles we find five thin, horizontal bands, beneath of which there is a final plain, incised line between the hoods of the cobras, indicating to us that the sculptor had the Egyptian *devanteau* in mind. Here, too, the parallel horizontal bands most probably reflect the spacer bars of the Egyptian *devanteau*. In this case we end up with a *devanteau* (the cobras and the horizontal bands between them) placed on a *devanteau* (the trapezoidal device hanging in front of the plain kilt cloth).

Finally, let us regard **Cat. 34**, a more or less intact statuette found at Golgoi (Ayios Photios). This is a highly interesting piece in many respects, anomalous as it is when compared to the rest of the group under study. Here the concern is merely the kilt of the figure and we note that – just like in the cases of **Cat. 5** and **Cat. 61** – the hanging cobras have a linear pattern between them. Basically, square, rectangular, even triangular areas are created by means of the horizontal lines which connect the cobras, or – to be precise – the two vertical, snake-like bands on each side of which the cobras hang down. Thus, despite the strong deviation in form I believe this to be our third available example echoing the horizontal space bars of the Egyptian *devanteau*. Indeed, the general idea – thin, vertical snakes with horizontal decoration inbetween, bordered by standardized sash ends – is decidedly Egyptian.

The three statuettes presented here in general and the appearance of the kilt of **Cat. 61** in particular allows us perhaps to make an hypothesis regarding the placing of the cobras on the Cypro-Egyptian kilts. We know by now that on Egyptian *devanteaux* the cobras define the sides of the device. In the Cypriote figures this placement is very rarely employed.[758] The

[755] A further deviation of this piece is the fact that the pleated kilt cloth overlaps the "apron" ridges, further testifying to the confusion made on behalf of the sculptor.

[756] See Ch. 2.2.1 above, where an actual find of an inlaid version was presented, coming from the grave of Pharaoh Tutankhamun.

[757] See above, regarding **Cat. 29** and **Cat. 62**, as well as below, where it is similarly identified in **Cat. 35** (Golgoi) and **Cat. 52**, **Cat. 53**, **Cat. 56**, **Cat. 57** (Palaepaphos).

[758] We find it only in the examples with more or less correctly rendered *devanteaux* referred to above, our **Cat. 3** and **Cat. 29**,

cobras are found rather in the center of the "*devanteaux*", not infrequently hanging down very close to each other.[759] The cobras of **Cat. 61** are connected by horizontal bands just like in the normal *devanteau*, but the creatures are treated not as the outer parts of a dress component but rather as ornaments decorating the "*devanteau*" of the figure. It may be that this is a key to understanding why a majority of the Cypriote sculptors depicted the cobras close together; in these figures the notion of the original horizontal spacer bars had been left out or indeed forgotten, and what remained were cobras who belonged together and were therefore placed centrally – often body to body – on the kilt.

Two more sets of kilts remain to be taken into account here when discussing the echoing of the Egyptian New Kingdom kilt with *devanteau* within the Cypriote material. The first set contains five figures. A warrior statuette found at Golgoi, our **Cat. 35**, is similar to **Cat. 5** above in that sturdy cobras hang down centrally at a certain distance from each other – there appears to be a central *devanteau* hanging down from the belt (*Pl. 9.2*). The lower part of the figure's kilt where the cobra heads are characteristically raised does not reflect this, however. Similar to what we saw in **Cat. 29** and **Cat. 62** vertical ridges on each side of the cobras indicate that we are dealing with an "apron" descending frontally, and not only with a properly rendered *devanteau*. The next four figures in fact share this characteristic, this broken correspondence between the upper and the lower part of the kilt. These statues were unearthed at Palaepaphos, on the island's west coast. I am referring to **Cat. 52**, **Cat. 53**, **Cat. 56**, and **Cat. 57**, all excavated from the Persian siege ramp together with other debris from a nearby late 6th century B.C. sanctuary. The kilts of these figures are strikingly similar: in fact, the correspondences both in details and in form of the dress suggest a common hand behind them.[760] The four kilts echo the Egyptian New Kingdom-type dress in that they are finely pleated and have centrally hanging cobras with three long, standardized sash ends on each side. The cobras and sash ends are not alone in recalling the Egyptian *devanteau* in these figures, though. Looking closer at **Cat. 53** – the kilt of which is better preserved – we note that the cobras are hanging down at a certain distance from each other, the area between them being left plain. At the bottom end of the kilt where the reptiles turn away from one another in the characteristic, rearing position, they are connected by a single, incised line – seemingly marking off the lower end of a separate device, a "*devanteau*".[761] The lower outline of the kilt itself, on the other hand, indicates a broad apron coming down centrally, reaching quite far beneath the lower border of the actual kilt cloth. Thus, just like in **Cat. 29**, **Cat. 35**, and **Cat. 62**, above, there are vertical ridges on either side of the cobras constituting the borders of the "apron", clearly opposing the view of a *devanteau* hanging down from above. In the pleated kilt of **Cat. 62**, the area of the "apron" on the sides of and just above the cobras were left plain. In the torsos from Palaepaphos (**Cat. 53**, as well as **Cat. 52**, **Cat. 56**, **Cat. 57**) this area is pleated, like the rest of the kilt cloth. Indeed, if it were not for the lowermost outline of the kilt we would have the impression of a separate, oblong (actually trapezoidal) device – seemingly the imitation of an Egyptian bead or metal *devanteau* – hanging down from the belt in this figure. Once again, however, the correspondence between the upper and the lower part of the kilt is broken. If, indeed, we were to view the central part of the kilt of **Cat. 53** as an apron, as the lower outline of the kilt suggests, then the pleats of the cloth covering this central part are totally out of place. The kilts of the other three figures display exactly the same features and the reasoning can be extended to include these pieces as well. It is true, however, that the cobras hanging at a distance from each other in all four figures – and the presence of the sash ends – do imply a relation with the Egyptian *devanteau* where the horizontal spacer bars have been left out (see above).

Turning, finally, to the last set of figures, we find the *devanteau* as a device hanging in front of or on top of the kilt cloth. The statuette **Cat. 10** from Idalion is similar to **Cat. 3**, above, in that it closely echoes the Egyptian dress: a rectangular *devanteau* hangs in front of the kilt cloth, with painted sash ends on each side of it (*Pl. 2.4*).[762] The kilt of **Cat. 43**, from Tamassos, displays a triangular, frontal "*devanteau*" where the bottom end of the device delimits the base of the triangle – in this way similar, if not identical, to Egyptian, trapezoidal *devanteaux*

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and, of course, in the presently treated figures **Cat. 5** and **Cat. 34**.

[759] **Cat. 1** (the Karpasia), **Cat. 6**, **Cat. 12** (Idalion), **Cat. 20**–**22**, **Cat. 24**, **Cat. 26** (Golgoi), **Cat. 49** (Amathus), **Cat. 59** (Kazafani) all have their cobras placed tightly together, body to body, on the central part of the "*devanteau*". The cobras of **Cat. 30** are basically placed this way too, but there the cobras have been further misunderstood (see below).

[760] See further below. Note, however, that the technique used for carving the cobras was a different one in **Cat. 52** and **Cat. 53**: see Ch. 2.2.1 n. 141.

[761] For comparison, see the single incised line at the bottom end of the "*devanteau*" of **Cat. 61**, and also the termination of the device as witnessed in **Cat. 3** and **Cat. 29**.

[762] There are traces of color on the *devanteau* too, rather like tiny drops placed along its edges. For the best photograph, where at least the painted sash ends are visible: Senff 1993, pl. 36.g–j.

(*Pl. 9.3*).[763] Our **Cat. 50**, from Amathus, has a trapezoidal "*devanteau*" in front of its plain kilt cloth, although here, the broader end is attached to the belt of the figure (*Pl. 11.3*).[764]

Reflections of the Egyptian shenti

The plain Egyptian *shenti* with apron is definitely echoed in the Cypriote material. It is never rendered in its plain Egyptian form, however, but is always accompanied by additional details of dress and ornamentation borrowed from the more elaborate type of kilt described above.[765] Indeed, in two limestone figures we do find a kilt cloth overlapping the upper part of an apron in the manner of an Egyptian *shenti*. **Cat. 16**, found at Lympia, has a geometrically decorated apron, the upper part of which is completely covered by the wrap-around kilt cloth (*Pl. 4.2*). On each of the kilt sides, however, hang the standardized sash ends which originally belonged together with a *devanteau*. Thus, in this same figure we find the cloth and apron characteristic of a *shenti* combined with the sash ends which never would accompany that kind of dress in an Egyptian context, but belonged rather to the more elaborate New Kingdom-type kilt outfit.

In the high-quality **Cat. 21**, from Golgoi (Ayios Photios), the vertical edges of a diagonally pleated kilt cloth overlap and cover the upper part of an apron with concave sides, the finest correspondence in the Cypriote material to an Egyptian *shenti* (*Pl. 6.1*). But the apron is not the plain *shenti* apron one could await: apart from displaying centrally hanging cobras – where the creatures indicate that we are dealing with an Egyptian *devanteau*, although they have abandoned their lateral positions – the "apron" is decorated by four "sash ends", two on each side of the centrally placed reptiles. We remember from the Egyptian kilt that the ends of elaborate sashes come down on each side of the *devanteau*, covering part of the kilt cloth. Here they are merely added as decoration to a device which in itself is a hybrid form: a combined apron-*devanteau*. The placing of centrally hanging cobras and sash ends on an "apron" with concave sides is found in one other instance in the Cypriote material, in **Cat. 22** (*Pl. 6.2*) unearthed at Golgoi, just like the related **Cat. 21**. Since the placing of the sash ends is quite well understood in the rest of the Cypriote figures,[766] it is interesting to find the only examples of this kind of characteristic deviation on two large-size figures found at the same site.

A statuette from Idalion, **Cat. 11**, represents a striding male figure. The rounded, fragmentary base connected to the figure's feet and the polos-like headdress – the top of which is broken off – make a definition of its original setting problematic. The figure is wearing a plain kilt cloth wrapped around the hips, barely overlapping, and from underneath the cloth a trapezoidal apron hangs down, its upper end being the broader, its lower end cut off straight.[767] In a general manner this outfit comes close to the plain, Egyptian *shenti*.

*The combined "apron-*devanteau*"*

From what has been presented above it is clear that in all cases except one,[768] the 17 limestone kilts referred to so far contain a mixing of elements collected from both major types of Egyptian kilts: the royal New Kingdom kilt as well as the *shenti*. In fact, this combination of the two distinct dress types can be said to be a hallmark of the entire corpus of Cypriote limestone kilts. This holds true for the third group of kilt-clad figures as well, to be treated below.

The dress shared by this group of 15 figures has the following characteristics: a plain or pleated kilt cloth is wrapped around the figure's hips. It is not overlapping in the front, covering the upper part of the centrally placed apron: its ends are rather tucked under the belt quite far apart, leaving the "apron" partly or almost fully visible. In the richly decorated pieces this exposed area displays the two hanging cobras (always) alongside a handful of other motifs (varying). The laterally hanging, standardized sash ends are almost never missing, flanking the hybrid apron-*devanteau*. Similar to what we found in some of the previously presented figures, the form and the placement of the central area of these kilts are those of a textile apron.[769] Its decoration, on the other

[763]There are no traces of sash ends or cobras in this figure, however. They could, of course, have been added in paint.

[764]Both the resulting, tapering, lower end of the "*devanteau*" of this last figure and the decoration of this centrally placed device connect it to the third group of kilts which will be presented below ("The combined 'apron-*devanteau*'"). For a bronze statuette from Idalion displaying what seems to be an Egyptian-type kilt with trapezoidal "*devanteau*" and two sash ends on the right-hand side, see Addendum 2, No. 9. No. 12, from the same site, displays what seems to be a broad, plain "*devanteau*" hanging in front, its lower end slightly rounded. A third bronze statuette from Idalion – seemingly wearing a pleated kilt cloth, a frontally hanging "*devanteau*", and sash ends (Addendum 2, No. 11) – has been given a post-Archaic date, however: Reyes 1992, 248.

[765]In materials other than stone the plain Egyptian *shenti* can be found, however: see Addendum 2, Nos. 8, 36 (bronze), 17 (faience). No. 23 is a stone (serpentinite) amulet.

[766]See above in Ch. 2.2.1 "The kilt".

[767]The apron of the figure is painted red.

[768]**Cat. 3**, from west of Salamis, is basically wearing a correctly rendered New Kingdom-type kilt with *devanteau*.

[769]Even if there are examples of rectangular "aprons" in the group (see **Cat. 6**, **Cat. 12**, **Cat. 15**, Idalion, **Cat. 26**, Golgoi, **Cat. 44**, Tamassos, **Cat. 49**, Amathus, **Cat. 59**, Kazafani), the tapering/trapezoidal (**Cat. 1**, the Karpasia, **Cat. 24**, **Cat. 30**, **Cat. 31**, Golgoi) or indeed concave (**Cat. 22**, **Cat. 23**, Golgoi) shape of the rest of the devices indicate that they were – at least in

hand, is inspired by that of an Egyptian bead or metal *devanteau*, the laterally hanging sash ends adding to this interpretation. In short, it is an opened-up *shenti* with a *devanteau*-like apron. Using the, by now, well-known **Cat. 21** as a point of reference it is as if the kilt cloth of this figure was loosened and slightly drawn apart, exposing the decorated "apron" underneath. It is true that the following group of figures is very closely connected to the three kilts presented above under the heading "Reflections of the Egyptian *shenti*".

On a statuette from Amathus, **Cat. 49**, the ends of the kilt cloth actually meet – although they do not overlap – frontally on the figure, covering a large part of the upper half of the rectangular "apron" (*Pl. 11.2*). Centrally along the apron area two cobras hang down, body to body. The kilt of **Cat. 1**, the falcon-headed figure from the Karpasia peninsula, has a similar appearance where a large part of the upper half of the rectangular "apron" is covered by the sides of the kilt cloth (*Pl. 1.1*). The decoration of the central area is limited to centrally hanging cobras and two parallel, horizontal, framed areas at its bottom end. Sash ends are added in low relief on the sides of the kilt. Related is the kilt of **Cat. 26**, a life-size statue from Golgoi (Ayios Photios). Here, similarly, a large part of the upper half of a rectangular apron-*devanteau* is covered by the sides of the kilt cloth (*Pl. 7.2*).[770] The centrally hanging cobras are accompanied by two thin, coiling relatives.

In contrast, in a handful of figures, the kilt cloth is drawn further to the sides exposing a large part of the "apron" which accordingly carries several decorative elements. In **Cat. 30**, a statuette from Golgoi (Ayios Photios), the exposed "apron" is decorated with a Cypriote version of the *wedjet* or "Eye of Horus",[771] an apotropaic head from which hang two coiling snakes, followed by two winged cobras at the bottom end of the "apron" (*Pl. 7.4*). The torso **Cat. 12**, found at the neighboring site of Idalion, is closely related in both the exposure of the "apron" and in the decoration thereof: a grinning, apotropaic face has two coiling snakes hanging from it, and two winged cobras share the bottom end of the area with a horizontal relief featuring blue lotus flowers (*Pl. 3.1*). Exposing a richly decorated "apron" is found in a similar manner in **Cat. 44**, from Tamassos, as well as in **Cat. 22**, from Golgoi (Ayios Photios) (*Pls. 9.4 & 6.2*). In **Cat. 15**, from Idalion, the centrally placed hybrid apron-*devanteau* is completely uncovered, the beaded hems of the kilt cloth tucked underneath the belt just beside it, on both sides (*Pl. 5.1*).[772]

Two further figures, **Cat. 6** and **Cat. 59**, are of interest to mention in relation to the mixed kilt with exposed apron under discussion, although they differ slightly in appearance from the rest of the group. **Cat. 59**, from Kazafani, seemingly has an apron-*devanteau* hanging centrally with a pleated kilt cloth coming down on each side of it (*Pl. 11.4*). Centrally placed on this middle area are two cobras, placed body to body.[773] On each side of the cobras, consequently covering both the upper part of the apron-*devanteau* and the upper sides of the kilt, are three standardized sash ends: the cobras and sash ends are almost treated as an entity here. The reptiles and the sashes cover most of the apron-*devanteau*, at the same time comprising its decoration, while actually they appear to be added in a different plane in comparison to the dress features underneath.[774] The same is true for **Cat. 6**, from Idalion. Here, the lower border of the kilt and apron-*devanteau* are well marked – as if being an entity – by a typical Egyptian pattern (*Pl. 1.3*). From the belt two cobras hang down, body to body, and framing them are three sash ends on each side. Here too, cobras and sashes seem to have been added in a different plane, although they still function as the decoration of the centrally placed device.[775]

Several of the remaining abraded or plain kilts, not yet accounted for in this section, can be connected to this last category. So, for instance, the "aprons" of **Cat. 23** and **Cat. 27**, and also the very fragmentary **Cat. 32** and **Cat. 33** (all from Golgoi) which are very weathered but most probably originally had cobras and other characteristics of the New Kingdom-type *devanteau*.[776] Similarly, several of the plain, Cypriote

this respect – created as imitations of the Egyptian textile apron with concave sides.

[770] See also **Cat. 20** and **Cat. 24**, from the same site.

[771] See above, Ch. 2.2.1 "The kilt".

[772] The beaded hems of the kilt cloth on each side of the apron-*devanteau* indicate that we are not witnessing a kilt cloth with a *devanteau* hanging in front of it, but rather a kilt cloth which has drifted further away from the center of the figure towards the sides, leaving a fully exposed – and accordingly richly decorated – apron-*devanteau*.

[773] These creatures are unique in one interesting manner: in contrast to other apron-*devanteaux* with cobras the impression is that these reptiles have been added to the device, hanging down as separate entities from the belt – together with the standardized sash ends. In fact, they overlap the horizontal bands constituting the upper border of the two registers of floral decoration placed at the bottom end of the apron-*devanteau*.

[774] Note, however, that this effect may simply be due to the carving technique used by the sculptor, working in two planes in the stone, and may not reflect a deliberate wish to render the cobras and sash ends as separate devices added to the apron-*devanteau*.

[775] The left-hand side cobra slightly overlaps the Egyptian pattern. If not simply accidental, this gives the impression that the creatures were indeed added separately to the dress.

[776] In **Cat. 27** the two sets of tiny, vertical indications of sash ends – found just underneath the belt – are placed at a certain

kilts with exposed "aprons" may have had decoration (cobras and other Egyptian-type ornaments) and sash ends added in (fugitive) paint.[777]

A particular case is presented by **Cat. 13** and **Cat. 31**, from Idalion and Golgoi, respectively (*Pls. 3.3 & 8.1*). The Golgoi figure, **Cat. 31**, wears a garment where the lines marking the vertical borders of the kilt cloth were left out, leaving only the laterally hanging sash ends to mark where they once ran. The exposed "apron" is decorated by a version of the apotropaic head, from which hang two playfully crossing cobras. The lowermost outline of the kilt is that of a tapering "apron" coming down from underneath the kilt cloth. Faint remains of a horizontal relief are found at the base of the centrally placed "apron", beneath the cobras. Similarly, **Cat. 13** lacks indications of the vertical borders of the kilt cloth. Instead, centrally hanging cobras are placed at a certain distance from each other. On the better preserved left-hand side of the kilt, three sash ends are found closely following the body of one of the cobras. Probably in both figures, we may draw imaginative lines from the belts, running between cobra bodies and sashes down through to the tip of the kilt cloth. This would give both kilts a very similar appearance to **Cat. 1** and **Cat. 26**, for example, described above.[778]

The decoration of the kilts

When considering the cobra placed on the kilt it was noted above that originally, in its Egyptian context, the creature was an integral part of the bead or metal *devanteau* hanging in front of the royal New Kingdom kilt. On the Cypriote figures under study the treatment of the rearing reptiles is quite often of a different kind. It was clear, not least when studying the "*devanteau*" of **Cat. 61**, that the cobras were sometimes treated by the Cypriote artists not as permanent elements of a specific object, the *devanteau*, but rather as free, decorative elements to be placed and used at will.

The Cypriote cobras are found echoing the placement of the Egyptian metal counterparts, hanging laterally along the borders of "*devanteaux*" in only very few cases. **Cat. 3** and **Cat. 29** provided such examples, while **Cat. 5**, **Cat. 34**, and **Cat. 61** showed the same basic understanding.[779] With **Cat. 61** as a possible key piece, however, it is noted how – in a majority of the Cypriote figures – the cobras have abandoned their lateral positions and are found hanging down in the middle of the "*devanteau*", often body to body. Once the Cypriote cobras have reached this central position they can come to life, even interact. The cobras of **Cat. 12** and **Cat. 30**,[780] for example, are vividly rendered with wide-open mouths and extended tongues. The creatures on **Cat. 6** and **Cat. 59**, as was seen above, have come out of the surface of the kilt, overlapping some of the decoration of the apron-*devanteaux* to which they belong. In two figures, **Cat. 31** and **Cat. 50**, the freedom of the cobras is further highlighted by the way their bodies cross in a playful manner, far from the metal counterparts placed as vertical decoration on Egyptian *devanteaux*. In a handful of figures the cobras placed on the kilts are winged. The position of the wings vary, some echoing the Egyptian scheme being protectively outstretched (**Cat. 5**, **Cat. 12**, **Cat. 30**), while others are placed merely hanging from the bodies of the cobras (**Cat. 50**, **Cat. 61**). There are both plain and feathered versions of these two kinds of wings. The winged cobra goddess is frequently depicted in Egyptian art, but is never found decorating kilts. Thus, this is possibly another Cypriote transformation of the kilt, its dress details, and its decoration, a combination of features which results in increased decorativeness.

In addition, pairs of hoodless snakes hang down the Cypriote kilts occasionally, either alone or accompanying hooded relatives.[781] Their bodies are always coiled in perfect loops, allowing them to rear as if ready to strike, just like the hooded cobras. Our **Cat. 12**, **Cat. 26**, and **Cat. 30**, from Idalion and Golgoi, respectively, display both types of reptiles (*Pls. 3.1, 7.2 & 7.4*). The high-quality piece **Cat. 26** has centered, hanging, hooded cobras with sun disks

distance from each other, most probably reflecting the presence of an exposed "apron". Compare the tiny, vertical indications of the very fragmentary **Cat. 32** and **Cat. 33**, and the decorated apron of the last-mentioned figure. See also **Cat. 42**, from Arsos, and **Cat. 60**, of unknown provenance.

777 See **Cat. 17** (Louroukina), **Cat. 36–41** (Golgoi), **Cat. 45**, **Cat. 46** (Kition), **Cat. 63–65** (of unknown provenance). The kilts of **Cat. 45** and **Cat. 64** in fact come close to the rendering of the Egyptian-type *shenti* with apron.

778 The kilt of **Cat. 25** (Golgoi) was not treated above. The vertically pleated kilt lacks any indication of the different parts of which a kilt is assembled. It is merely from the lower outline of the garment that we recognize a centrally pendant, rounded feature coming down further than the rest of the kilt: that is, an "apron". A combination of the *shenti* and the New Kingdom kilt with *devanteau* and sash ends is further encountered in two bronze statuettes from Idalion. Addendum 2, No. 3 has a kilt cloth where the two ends do not overlap, but they both cover the upper part of the frontally hanging apron. On each sides of the kilt two sash ends hang down. Addendum 2, No. 6 displays an exposed apron with six sash ends covering the sides of the kilt cloth. Possibly, No. 5 displays a similarly exposed apron.

779 See also the only known terracotta figure from the island displaying the two frontally hanging serpents, Addendum 2, No. 16 (from Tamassos), where the upturned heads have tiny beards. Bearded cobras are not encountered on any of the limestone votive figures under study. See, however: Cesnola 1885, pl. 27.76–77.

780 From Golgoi (Ayios Photios) and Idalion, respectively.

781 See above Ch. 2.2.1. **Cat. 44** from Tamassos is, in fact, the only example where hoodless, coiling snakes occur alone, without hooded counterparts.

on their heads, coming down the entire length of the apron-*devanteau*. The thin, coiling snakes, on the other hand, make use of the space available above the larger reptiles. The same is true for **Cat. 12** and **Cat. 30**, where the hooded cobras are winged and truly apotropaic, with their before-mentioned wide-open mouths and extended tongues. The placement of the thin, coiling snakes is similar to that of **Cat. 26**, although here the snakes are not connected to the belt of the figures but hang down, instead, from the chins of apotropaic heads. The hooded cobras of **Cat. 30** are much transformed, rendered as turtle-like hybrid creatures at the very bottom end of the "apron", with no trace of their elongated bodies. Be it as it may behind the reason for this transformation of the winged cobras,[782] the coiling snakes above the turtle-like creatures have adopted the role of hanging reptiles in this particular piece. **Cat. 26** invites us to take this image a bit further, its longer, hooded cobras being so much an integrated part of the Cypriote Egyptianizing "apron" that the coiling, thinner relatives above seem to be playing the role of the actual cobras, which the Cypriote sculptors seemed to feel should be a part of every proper, Egyptian-type kilt.[783] To make a point one could argue that the original (hooded) cobras in this statue delineate, or signal, the *devanteau*, which in its turn is decorated by – cobras.

It was established above how the small, Egyptian panther head was turned into an apotropaic head in the Cypriote figures, displaying the same placing but markedly different form when compared to the Egyptian (royal) counterparts. On the kilt of **Cat. 44**, a *wedjet* eye is placed in exactly the same spot, even set within the same arrangement with cobras hanging down below (*Pl. 9.4*). This seems to indicate, again, a Cypriote will to elaborate on decoration, and it shows that the Cypriote artist had a certain repertoire of Egyptian-type ornaments from which to chose, ornaments which he knew would be appropriate for a figure of the present type.[784] Thus, similar to the cobras, these feline heads represent yet another Egyptian element of dress which was transformed into a mere decorative ornament in the Cypriote figures.

At the bottom ends of the Cypriote kilts another interesting feature is found: the border which carries either a vegetal or a figural decoration.[785] In Ch. 2.2.1, above, it was noted that the addition of a horizontal row of hanging drops in this very placement on certain of the Cypriote figures closely echoes the hanging drop-shaped beads which terminate the Egyptian *devanteau*.[786] Such drop shapes are encountered on the apron-*devanteaux* of **Cat. 6**, **Cat. 15** (?), and **Cat. 59**, from Idalion and Kazafani, respectively (*Pls. 1.3, 5.1 & 11.4*). **Cat. 59** displays two framed, horizontal areas, placed right on top of each other. The upper one contains alternating lilies and buds linked with curving loops,[787] while the bottom area contains five hanging drops or petals. This particular drop pattern is repeated in the reliefs of **Cat. 6** and **Cat. 15**, both from Idalion, although the latter piece is very abraded. It is interesting to confront the drop or petal relief of **Cat. 6** with the horizontal frieze of blue lotus flowers decorating **Cat. 12**, found at the same site (*Pl. 3.1*). The sculptor behind the high-quality piece **Cat. 12** misjudged the area available for the flowers and put three and a half lotus flowers into the horizontal zone. If we consider the area between the V-shaped flowers, we notice that it is, consequently, triangular. When studying closer the drop relief of **Cat. 6**, again, we discover that the area is not arranged to hold a row of drops, but actually to display only two, placed centrally on the device. The surface is designed rather for the three V-shaped areas created on either sides of, and between, the drops. This may seem to be insignificant detail, but the fact is that a relationship between the horizontal reliefs of **Cat. 6** and **Cat. 12** can be argued. Whether the decoration of **Cat. 6** is a misunderstood version of a set of flowers similar to that found in **Cat. 12**, or, vice versa, whether the lotus flowers of this second figure constitute an elaboration made out of the triangular spaces created between drops or petals usually placed in such a position, cannot be stated. A tentative relationship can, however. The abraded relief of **Cat. 15** with its

[782]Did the sculptor behind **Cat. 30** deliberately leave out the bodies of the central cobras in order to avoid any limitations when planning the decoration of the upper part of the "apron"? This suggestion is in keeping with the hypothesis presented below where it is suggested that one can trace a gradual wish to gain larger areas to decorate upon the Cypriote Egyptianizing figures.

[783]See above Ch. 2.2.1 n. 140.

[784]The fact that this "Eye of Horus" has wings beneath it instead of the characteristic Egyptian falcon feature and spiral shape, represents, in itself, another Cypriote transformation of Egyptian form.

[785]Ch. 2.2.1 "The kilt". As many as ten of the Cypriote Egyptianizing figures have such reliefs, or traces thereof. In the case of **Cat. 23**, **Cat. 31**, and **Cat. 34** (all from Golgoi), the reliefs are so abraded that it is impossible to distinguish what they once contained, in terms of decoration.

[786]The Egyptian textile apron with concave sides, belonging to the *shenti* kilt, was of course wholly undecorated – except for occasional horizontal pleats in the cloth. It can provide no parallels in this matter.

[787]The same motif seemingly decorated the now very fragmentary relief at the bottom end of the apron-*devanteau* of our **Cat. 21** (*Pl. 6.1*).

vague triangular areas indicated in the stone suggests that it, too, is connected to this interplay of V-shaped flowers and drops. That this elaboration of the horizontal, decorated area encouraged the placing of lilies and buds in a similar position on two of the Cypriote kilts (**Cat. 21** and **Cat. 59**) can only be tentatively suggested. Similarly, this may – hypothetically – have enabled the placing of an animal frieze in this exact position (see **Cat. 50**, from Amathus).

Particular for the Cypriote Egyptianizing figures as compared to Egyptian statuary is the *placing* of certain dress elements and ornaments on their belts and kilts. We saw above how the cobras, and sometimes even the sash ends, end up centrally on the "aprons" of figures, something which is never encountered in an Egyptian context. In addition, the Hathoric head placed on the "apron" of **Cat. 22**, and the crouching sphinxes and the winged scarab found on the belts of **Cat. 33** and **Cat. 60**, are all examples of motifs which share an Egyptian ancestry but their placement – on the kilts and belts of male figures – is entirely unknown from Egyptian royal and private art.

When considering the Cypriote figures and kilts presented above and their decoration, a general reflection can be made. Following the above analysis there are certain examples within the Cypriote material of the Egyptian New Kingdom-type kilt with beaded belt and *devanteau* and lateral cobras and sash ends. More common, however, is a transformed kilt where the apron of the plain *shenti* kilt has been equipped with details of dress (cobras and sash ends) from the first-mentioned, more elaborate kilt version. This hybrid form was described above as an opened-up *shenti* "apron" carrying much decoration, a decoration which always includes the double cobras and where these creatures come to life once they are free from their original, characteristic, fixed, lateral positions hanging along the sides of a bead or metal device. It is interesting to contrast **Cat. 1**, **Cat. 26**, and **Cat. 49**, where a limited part of the "apron" is uncovered, with the almost fully exposed and richly decorated "aprons" of **Cat. 12**, **Cat. 15**, **Cat. 22**, **Cat. 30**, and **Cat. 44**. Is it possible that what is reflected here is a gradual exposure of the central "apron" following a wish to gain a larger area to decorate? Hypothetically, this would have been monitored by the Cypriote sculptors and/or their patrons, wishing to add more decoration of a kind apparently favored at the time. That these differences in the exposure and decoration of the above-mentioned "aprons" is an indication of a Cypriote taste for decorativeness is cautiously suggested here.

The double crown and its decoration

Despite the facts that the Cypriote crowns are squat in comparison with the Egyptian counterparts and that the figures wearing them have hair coming down beneath them in a manner rarely encountered in the original Egyptian setting,[788] there can be no doubt that the royal, Egyptian double crown – the combination of the white and the red crown of Upper and Lower Egypt – is mirrored in the Cypriote limestone material. Of particular interest here are three crowns (?) which were referred to above, in Ch. 2.2.1. Two of the Cypriote Egyptianizing figures, **Cat. 20** and **Cat. 30** from Golgoi, are wearing a headgear which deviates from the rest of the Cypriote double crowns both in shape and in decoration (*Pls. 5.2 & 7.4*). Starting out with the shape we note that in **Cat. 30** the "red crown" has expanded and partly engulfed the "white" one, leaving only a limited part of the latter visible. Its uppermost part, tightly embracing the knob of the "white crown", has evolved into two lilies. This headgear does not seem to consist of two separate crowns placed together – the characteristic of a double crown – but rather of one single unit. The same is true for the closely related **Cat. 20**. Furthermore, seen from the side the Golgoi crowns are rounded, the knob being placed centrally on the head (*Pl. 5.3*). This is not true for the rest of the Cypriote double crowns which generally display a broad base when viewed from the side, slanting upwards towards the knob which is placed at the back of the head.[789] The two Golgoi crowns are thus more helmet-like than any of the other, the rounded (decorated) edge of the "red crown" giving the appearance of a helmet or cap with two upturned cheek pieces fastened onto it.[790] In **Cat. 2**, a limestone head unearthed at Aloda, we may see a link between the two helmet-like crowns and the rest of the Cypriote material of double crowns. Like the two Golgoi crowns the "red crown" of the Aloda head has a rounded and tight-fitting appearance. Here it is obvious, however, that the sculptor wanted to render the Egyptian double crown in stone. Thus, it seems that in the Cypriote limestone material we encounter single examples of crowns which form a fusion of the Egyptian double crown and the Cypriote cap or helmet with upturned cheek pieces.

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[788] See above, in Ch. 2.3.2.

[789] Compare *Pl. 5.3*, which shows a side view of **Cat. 20**, with Markoe 1987, pl. 42.2 (**Cat. 2**), or Brönner 1994, pls. 13.c–d (**Cat. 66**), 15.c (**Cat. 21**).

[790] The large group of votive figures wearing a cap or helmet with upturned cheek pieces is characteristic of Cypriote sculpture: Wriedt Sørensen 1994, 80. R. Senff refers to the conical headgear as a "zyprische Mütze": Senff 1993, 26–29.

Unparalleled in the Egyptian material is further the decoration that can be found on some of the Cypriote double crowns. Along the borders of the "red crown" of the above-mentioned **Cat. 20** and **Cat. 30**, we find a zig-zag pattern as well as a band of paradise flowers linked with curving loops (*Fig. 10*). Both crowns, related as they seem, share the rosette in relief on the center of the "white crown" beside the two plastically rendered, stylized lilies flanking the knob. The "white crown" of **Cat. 58** (from Palaepaphos) is covered by a scale pattern, resembling the Egyptian breast-feather pattern. In comparison to the Egyptian design the scales on the Cypriote crown are turned upside-down, however. The winged cobra placed frontally on the brim of **Cat. 58** (and **Cat. 66**?) shares the fact with the above elements of decoration that it is an originally Egyptian feature which has been arranged and placed in a manner unprecedented in Egyptian art. In this way the decoration of the Cypriote crowns mirrors that of the Egyptian kilts, where several examples were presented (above) of similar Cypriote transformations as regards form and placement of Egyptian dress elements and ornaments.

Concluding remarks

In the previous section it was stated that the Cypriote Egyptianizing figures can be placed on a sliding scale based on the degree of intensity of their Egyptian impact, ranging from certain figures with several Egyptian-type dress elements and ornaments, thus at one end of the scale, to others with only a plain, undecorated kilt, at the opposite end. The transformations of the Egyptian-type dress presented above similarly result in varying degrees of intensity of the Egyptian impact of the figures, in this case in relation to how close the figures' outfit and ornamentation come to the original dress features and ornaments. It is clear that Cypriote sculptors were acquainted with the royal, Egyptian New Kingdom-type kilt with beaded belt and *devanteau* and with lateral cobras and sash ends. This is evident from statues like **Cat. 3** and **Cat. 29**, which can thus be placed at the far end of the scale, with strong Egyptian impact. It is also clear that the sculptors of the island were familiar with the plain, Egyptian *shenti* kilt with partly covered, concave apron, since this particular form is mirrored – in some way or the other – in quite a few figures. From these two basic, Egyptian kilt forms the Cypriote sculptors created a hybrid kilt, a version characteristic for the island with exposed and elaborately decorated "apron". In terms of closeness to the Egyptian original feature these kilts display a weaker Egyptian impact. On the other hand, the exposure of the "apron" and the freeing of the double cobras apparently provided the Cypriote craftsmen with more area for additional decoration, and since this decoration was quite often of an Egyptian or at least Egyptianizing character, the end result was not seldom figures with an increased Egyptian impact. The new, Cypriote, hybrid kilt with much added decoration can in fact be placed among the main typological components of the figures, components which were identified and briefly discussed in the previous section.

It is interesting to note that **Cat. 12** and **Cat. 30**, from Idalion and Golgoi, respectively, which are quite far apart in terms of style, have virtually the same decoration on the hybrid apron-*devanteau*, and the same transformations thereof, both with apotropaic head, winged double cobras, and additional coiling reptiles.[791] The apotropaic head is most probably a reflection of the panther head placed on the royal Egyptian New Kingdom-type kilt. However, in the Cypriote figures this head is not encountered on the few examples of kilts which come closest to the elaborate, royal New Kingdom-type dress (**Cat. 3** and **Cat. 29**, for example) but only on the hybrid Cypriote version, the kilt with exposed apron.[792] It is also of interest that an entire group of figures, unearthed at Palaepaphos, share not only the finely pleated kilt cloth, the belt with raised ridges, and the rendering of *devanteaux*, cobras, and sash ends, but also the same – slightly transformed – shape and outline of the kilt dress.[793] No additional patterns which could link individual statues and statuettes to a certain workshop or group of sculptors have been identified here. To pursue such an analysis even further could be seen as a possible area for further research.

Regarding the Egyptian-type crowns of the Cypriote figures, it is clear that the sculptors of the island were familiar with the royal, Egyptian double crown. Similar to the case of the kilt we find two examples of a hybrid crown which seems to mix the Egyptian crown and a typical, Cypriote headgear. If

791 Such similarities need to be connected to the question on how these iconographical impulses were transferred to the island. Do we witness here the copying of a decorative scheme from a pattern book, a scheme which was interpreted slightly differently by two different sculptors? For more on these issues see Ch. 5.1.3.

792 Does this mirror the confusion on behalf of a sculptor who was creating a transformed kilt, who wanted to include the decorative head and other ornamentation but did not find enough space in the original form? Was it this way that the increased will and need to gain more space to decorate was created? And was this the way the Cypriote hybrid kilt was developed? In common for **Cat. 3** and **Cat. 29** are instead the beaded pattern of the belt and (in one case) the *devanteau*, a patterning which does come quite close to Egyptian counterparts.

793 Our **Cat. 52** and **Cat. 53**, along with **Cat. 56** and **Cat. 57**, all display the same – misunderstood – lower outline of the kilt: see above "Reflections of the royal, Egyptian, New Kingdom…", where **Cat. 52** and **Cat. 53** were described in more detail.

this is in fact the case, then we have yet another example of the transformations which seemingly took place within the Cypriote workshops, deviations from the original (Egyptian) form which resulted in hybrid forms and an increased decorativeness within this particular group of figures.[794] There are examples where a characteristic motif was put in the appropriate place, such as the persea fruits, the hanging triangles, and the drop shapes of the broad collars of the figures. At times the placement of a certain motif corresponds well to Egyptian counterparts, but the motif itself is altered, as in the case of the apotropaic head placed right beneath the belt of certain Cypriote figures. In yet other instances a characteristic and well-known Egyptian motif is found in an odd place, such as the Hathoric head on the apron of a kilt, or crouching sphinxes decorating the broad belt of a figure.

If these transformations are characteristic for the Cypriote Egyptianizing figures, and thus seem to have been created within the island's workshops, it is of importance to note that certain motifs seem to have been transformed elsewhere, before reaching the island. Vegetal ornaments such as the Phoenician cup palmette, the paradise flower, and the volute-and-palmette are known on Cyprus already from the late 8th century B.C. where they are encountered on imported Phoenician ivory and metal work. The same is true for the four-winged scarab beetle where the two additional wings of the creature – as compared to the single set of wings which characterize the creature in Egyptian art – were not part of an elaboration taking place on the island, but where the motif seems to have reached the island in this (already) transformed form.[795] In one case it was possible to identify a Cypriote transformation of an already transformed motif: the Phoenician cup palmettes decorating the vertical border of the upper garment of **Cat. 12** from Idalion were seen to deviate quite markedly from the original Phoenician (Egyptianizing) counterpart.[796]

2.5 On the chronology of the group

There is a certain amount of archaeological evidence which can be of help when attempting to provide absolute dates for Archaic Cypriote statuary.[797] On the island itself the siege ramp at Palaepaphos is unique in providing a *terminus ante quem* of 498/497 B.C. The Palaepaphos context has been used to attribute certain pieces of statuary to the very last decades of the 6th century B.C., including Egyptianizing figures like **Cat. 52** and **Cat. 58**.[798] Even if a date around 500 B.C. cannot be contradicted in the case of **Cat. 58** (on **Cat. 52**, see below), it must be kept in mind that there is sculptural material from the same context which comes close, both typologically and stylistically speaking, to Cypriote-style Naukratite material dated to before 560 B.C.[799] Thus, the sanctuary outside the city walls of Old Paphos contained material datable to different periods of the 6th century when it was ransacked by the Persian army in 498 B.C.[800] No other find context yielding Egyptianizing statues and statuettes have provided absolute dates. Outside of the island the excavations at the Heraion of Samos have provided comparatively well-dated, Cypriote-style terracotta and limestone material from the 7th and early 6th centuries B.C., material which can be used for comparisons.

In general, however, there is virtually no such thing as a secure chronological attribution for any material from the island. The main reason for this is that the art of the period is not characterized by a continuous evolution of form and naturalistic rendering of the human body, as in Greek Archaic and Classical art. Instead, Archaic Cypriote statuary displays a combination of more or less sensitive borrowings from foreign art traditions coupled with an almost Archaizing tendency to be true to earlier, indigenous sculptural formulas and techniques.[801] What can be

794 The other transformations identified above were the hybrid kilt with exposed apron; the panther head turned into an apotropaic head; the cobras that come to life; the lower frieze of decoration where drop shapes were turned into lotus flowers, lilies and buds, and perhaps even figural scenes; and the general, curious placing of Egyptian-type dress elements and ornaments.

795 The few known depictions of winged scarabs from the early Archaic period all display four wings. See, for example, the bronze *repoussé* creatures referred to in Ch. 1.1.1. The only exception are certain (Egyptian?) scarab seals found at Kition: Clerc *et al.* 1976, Kit. 1918, Kit. 3365.

796 See above Ch. 2.2.2.

797 Senff 1993, 85–86.

798 Maier & Karageorghis 1984, 187; Hermary 1985, 694; Markoe 1990a, 112 (due to the crispness in detail of **Cat. 52**, arguing that it cannot have been displayed for long); Senff 1993, 85; Tatton-Brown 1994, 72; Hermary 2001b, 29.

799 Wilson 1975a, 448, figs. 17–18, a male figure with a short-sleeved garment and plaited hair hanging down on his shoulders, and a "lion tamer" dressed in a mantle. The excavators note statues with more board-shaped bodies beside the finds of more full-bodied male statuary, votives which consequently ought to be of an earlier date: see below in Ch. 3.2.3 "Palaepaphos".

800 See below in Ch. 3.2.3 "Palaepaphos". This amassment of material from different periods of the sanctuary's history is noted for "Lang's sanctuary" at Idalion as well, in Ch. 3.2.2.

801 On the conservatism of Cypriote Archaic statuary, and on problems of dating: Budde & Nicholls 1964, 8; Connelly 1988, 47; Connelly 1989, 216; Senff 1993, 19–21. Already J.A.R. Munro noted that "…the primitive is not per consequence old.": Munro & Tubbs 1890, 90.

attained are relative dates for the local votive statuary, based on stylistic criteria. It was noted above, in Ch. 2.3, that of the foreign art schools it was primarily (East) Greek workshops which provided input for the Cypriote craftsmen during the 6th century B.C. Considering what was just stated, however, it is by no means possible to date the Cypriote terracotta and limestone figures in accordance with Greek counterparts.

In a general manner, however, the gradual increase in corporeality of the Cypriote votive figures and a decrease of stylization, whether regarding facial and body form – including hair and beard – or the rendering of dress, is associable with increased influence from Greek plastic art of the 6th century B.C. and can therefore vouchsafe rough-and-round datings in correspondence with the Greek stylistic development. Thus, statues characterized by anatomical features placed as separate entities beside each other without much plastic coherence can be ascribed to the early part of the century.[802] A characteristic example of an early 6th century B.C. figure is one with a board-shaped body and feet set tightly together, where the arms are placed along the sides of the body without being freed from it, and where there is little if any anatomical differentiation between chest and arms.[803] Large, superficially set eyes and eyebrows are characteristic, as is the ornamentality encountered both in the shape and decoration of facial hair, including the small, bead-like locks of hair, the characteristic outline of the beard, and the "feathered" patterning of eyebrows and moustaches.[804] In contrast, statues displaying a higher degree of naturalism, where face and body are more convincingly part of an anatomical whole, can be placed late in the century. Musculature is often rendered, there are divisions between different parts of the body, and the body is increasingly visible through the dress worn. Almond-shaped eyes of East Greek inspiration and large snail curls in hair and beard are characteristic.[805] These are very general criteria, however, and at the same time there are always countless examples of "Archaizing" statuary and of pieces rendered with less skill which are thus closer in style to earlier figures.

With this in mind, the above general criteria have been followed when placing the statues under study in the early, middle, or late 6th century B.C. Belonging to an earlier phase, datable to the first decades of the 6th century B.C., are most probably examples like **Cat. 20**, **Cat. 23**, **Cat. 24**, and **Cat. 30**, all from Golgoi.[806] The stylization of face and body form and features and the ornamentality visible in bead-like locks of hair and in the patterning of facial hair support such an early dating. A similarly schematized body form is encountered in **Cat. 17**, from Louroukina, **Cat. 41**, from Athienou *Malloura*, **Cat. 42**, from Arsos, and **Cat. 47**, from Larnaka.[807] With its plain body form where the arms are not freed from the body, and its large, half-moon-shaped eyes, **Cat. 43** (from Tamassos) most probably belongs to the early part of the century as well. The belt holding up the kilt of this figure is placed around its slender waist. That this can be an early stylistic trait has been pointed out by R. Senff, who dates both **Cat. 43** and **Cat. 6**, from Idalion – of similar appearance, to the first decades of the 6th century B.C.[808] The tightly set belt and the stylized thigh muscles of this latter figure are mirrored in **Cat. 16**, from Lympia, which most probably shares in the early dating. Other figures attributed to this period are **Cat. 1** (the Karpasia), **Cat. 9** (Idalion), **Cat. 49** (Amathus), and **Cat. 61** (of unknown provenance).[809]

Datable to the middle of the 6th century B.C. is most probably a group of figures which shares with the former figures the large, rounded shoulders and certain other stylized body forms, but which display an increased softness in the anatomical renderings and a certain indication of musculature. This is true for **Cat. 26**, **Cat. 27**, and **Cat. 35**, all three from Golgoi. **Cat. 3** (west of Salamis), **Cat. 12** (Idalion), **Cat. 44** (Tamassos), **Cat. 46** (Kition), and **Cat. 60** (of unknown provenance) display similar traits.[810] The facial features of **Cat. 7** and **Cat. 8**, both from

802 Lewe 1975, 34–38.

803 Senff 1993, 26–27, pls. 3–4, 8.

804 The feathered eyebrows are characteristic for early 6th century B.C. figures. It is a typical case of the Cypriote Archaizing tendency when we encounter this very patterning on **Cat. 58** from Palaepaphos, a figural head dated to around 500 B.C.: Maier & Karageorghis 1984, 187.

805 Markoe 1987, 121 n. 14; Senff 1993, 29. Regarding the snail curls it can be noted that statue heads from Idalion (**Cat. 9** and Addendum 1, No. 1), dated to around 600 B.C., display beards with curls rendered in low relief: Senff 1993, 51–52.

806 A date in the early 6th century B.C. is confirmed for **Cat. 23** in: Hermary 1989a, 52. For **Cat. 20** and **Cat. 30**, see: Hermary 2001b, 29 n. 23. B. Lewe placed **Cat. 24** rather around the middle of the century, however: Lewe 1975, 58 (560–520 B.C.).

807 A. Hermary dates **Cat. 41** to the first half of the 6th century B.C.: Hermary 1989a, 52. He further attributes **Cat. 42** to the first generation of the Egyptianizing figures, that is, to around 600 B.C.: Hermary 2001b, 31. B. Lewe similarly saw this figure as the earliest of the group, but her date for it is rather around 550 B.C.: Lewe 1975, 58.

808 Senff 1993, 50 n. 404 (**Cat. 43**), p. 53 (**Cat. 6**).

809 Hermary 1981, 16 (**Cat. 49**), 18 (**Cat. 1**); Hermary 1989a, 50 (**Cat. 61**); Senff 1993, 52 (**Cat. 9**); Hermary 2001b, 30 (**Cat. 49** and **Cat. 61**). It is worth noting that in contrast to most early 6th century B.C. sculpture, which are characterized by flat and roughly worked back sides, **Cat. 24** and **Cat. 49** share the way the buttocks and even the thighs have been well modeled.

810 B. Lewe dates **Cat. 3** to late in the century, however: Lewe 1975, 58.

Idalion, similarly call for a date around 550 B.C., as do the faces of **Cat. 11**, **Cat. 13** (Idalion), **Cat. 28**, **Cat. 36** (Golgoi), **Cat. 51** (Kourion), and **Cat. 63** (of unknown provenance).[811] The case is less clear regarding the following figures but it is possible that they too belong to this same period: **Cat. 5**, **Cat. 10** (Idalion), **Cat. 25**, **Cat. 37**, **Cat. 38**, **Cat. 40** (Golgoi), **Cat. 59** (Kazafani), and **Cat. 62** (of unknown provenance).[812] Judging from the facial features and the body of the most well-preserved (**Cat. 52**) of the six strongly related figures and torsos from Palaepaphos, **Cat. 52–57**, they all belong around the middle rather than at the very end of the 6th century B.C.[813]

Among the latest figures within the Egyptianizing group, datable to the decades around 500 B.C., we may firmly place **Cat. 58**, the so-called Priest King from Palaepaphos. With the naturalistic outline and large snail curls of its beard, and its almond-shaped eyes, it was most probably made only shortly before the Persian siege in 498 B.C. (see above). The high-relief snail curls of the beards and hair of **Cat. 2** and **Cat. 21** (from Aloda and Golgoi, respectively) may place these figures, too, at the end of the century.[814] **Cat. 29**, from Golgoi, has been dated to the last quarter of the 6th century B.C., and this date can similarly be advocated for **Cat. 31** and **Cat. 39**, from the same site, and perhaps **Cat. 64**, of unknown provenance.[815] With its facial rendering, its short hair and its wreath, **Cat. 45** may be datable to around or perhaps even after 500 B.C. This is strengthened when considering the dating of the additional material encountered in the same *favissa* at Kition, which included a large group of Herakles Melqart figures of early 5th century B.C. date.[816] A large group of male heads wearing the double crown, all of unknown provenance, seem to belong to around 500 B.C. as well (**Cat. 66–71**), one figure perhaps rather belonging within the first decades of the 5th century B.C. (**Cat. 71**). Two additional figures which are decidedly late in date are **Cat. 34** (Golgoi) and **Cat. 50** (Amathus). A post-Archaic date has been suggested for both figures, but at least regarding **Cat. 50** this can be questioned.[817] Perhaps it is possible to place **Cat. 50** at around 500 B.C., and **Cat. 34** at the first decades of the 5th century B.C.?

If these approximate dates of the Egyptianizing figures are valid, then it is clear that no examples from within the group can be safely ascribed to the period before 600 B.C.[818] It is rather from around that very date that the votive type is encountered in limestone in the sanctuaries of the island.[819] When comparing the earliest group of figures with the latest one it is interesting to note that figural types such as the warrior with sword and the falcon-headed figure are encountered already in the first half of the century (**Cat. 1**, **Cat. 30**), while the animal-carrying figure is encountered only later (**Cat. 62**, but especially **Cat. 39** and **Cat. 45**). The pose of the early figures is virtually always that of one arm bent with the clenched hand placed on the chest, while the later figures for the most have both arms hanging parallel to the body.[820] With few exceptions the double spiral earrings and the feathered pattern of eyebrows and moustache are limited to the first half of the 6th century B.C.[821] The round objects held within

811 On the dating of **Cat. 7** and **Cat. 8**: Senff 1993, 52 (550–525 B.C.); Hermary 1996c, 141 n. 14 (dating **Cat. 8** to 560–540 B.C.).

812 R. Senff dates **Cat. 5**, **Cat. 10**, and **Cat. 11** to around 550 B.C.: Senff 1993, 53. The abdominal musculature of **Cat. 5** is quite unprecedented in Cypriote Archaic statuary, something which complicates the dating of the high-quality piece.

813 Cf. Markoe 1990a, 112; Hermary 2001b, 29 n. 23. G. Markoe infers the crispness of detail which is visible in **Cat. 52** as a criterium for dating the piece close in time to the Persian attack in 498 B.C. That Cypriote statuary was often displayed under some kind of shelter or roof is clear from several other sites, where early figures display a remarkable crispness of detail: see Ch. 3.2. I have expressed doubts elsewhere (Ch. 7) regarding whether or not the head of **Cat. 52** belongs to the body, a fact which would of course affect its present date. **Cat. 52** does display well-carved buttocks and thigh muscles, but that this is no definite dating criterium for the late 6th century B.C. is shown by **Cat. 24** and **Cat. 49**: see above n. 809.

814 On a late date for **Cat. 21**: Hermary 2001b, 29.

815 B. Lewe dates **Cat. 29** to between 540 and 450 B.C.: Lewe 1975, 58.

816 See below Ch. 3.2.2 "Kition". Can the similarities in body form of fragmentary **Cat. 65** allow for a similar (late) chronological attribution?

817 Lewe 1975, 58 (on **Cat. 34**); Beer 1993, 24 (on **Cat. 50**). A. Hermary has made a good case for dating **Cat. 50** to the 5th, perhaps even the 4th century B.C.: Hermary 1981, 23. However, since this statuette displays so many of the traits characteristic for the Archaic Egyptianizing figures (decorated upper garment, spiral armrings, apotropaic head, double, crossing cobras – compare **Cat. 31** and **Cat. Ph1**) and since the face is not preserved, I suggest that an attribution to the Late Archaic period remains possible.

818 It is true that none of the figures displays the feet placed tightly together, a characteristic for 7th century B.C. terracotta and limestone statuary from the island, but all share the (more or less) advanced left leg.

819 In Ch. 3.3.1, below, we will briefly return to the geographical distribution of the earliest and the latest pieces within the group.

820 This has already been pointed out in: Senff 1993, 53; Hermary 2001b, 32 (seeing in the bent arm, a Phoenician attitude, in the hanging arms, a Greek, as in the naked *kouros* figure).

821 We saw above how **Cat. 58**, manufactured around 500 B.C., displays this exact pattern on its eyebrows. **Cat. 52** and **Cat. 2**, from the middle and late 6th century B.C., respectively, have eyebrows with a related, herring-bone-like pattern.

clenched hands, the "emblematic staves", are encountered among the earliest statues and statuettes only.[822] It is noticeable that Egyptian double crowns are encountered virtually only on figures made at the end of the century,[823] the only exceptions being **Cat. 20** and **Cat. 30**, which both stand out because of the transformed, helmet-like version of the crown that they are wearing. The plain headcloth or kerchief is encountered already in the earliest figures and it continues down through the middle of the century, but it is not found within the latest group of statues and statuettes. The wreath of leaves, on the other hand, is met in only two instances around the heads of comparatively late figures (**Cat. 31** and **Cat. 45**). Regarding the dress of the figures it is to be noted that the Egyptian New Kingdom-type kilt with cobras and sash ends is mirrored already in the first generation of figures. These early examples display several transformations of the dress, such as the centrally placed cobras (**Cat. 1**, **Cat. 6**, **Cat. 20**, **Cat. 61**), the "*shenti*" with sash ends (**Cat. 16**), and even the apotropaic head with additional double cobras attached (**Cat. 30**). The broad, decorated collar with persea fruits, triangles, and hanging drops occur (**Cat. 47**), but more common is the figure without any collar rendered in low relief, or wearing a collar of a different or very transformed type (**Cat. 20**, **Cat. 24**, **Cat. 30**, **Cat. 49**). As noted above the transformation of the double crown occurs far earlier (in **Cat. 20** and **Cat. 30**) than any of the later specimens which all come closer to the original, Egyptian-type headdress. In the previous section on the transformations of the attire of the Egyptianizing figures, a certain relationship between the Cypriote kilts were suggested. Both the plain, Egyptian *shenti* with apron and the New Kingdom-type kilt with *devanteau* were identified within the Cypriote material which was characterized by the mix of these two types, creating a hybrid kilt with exposed and often much decorated "apron". Against this background it is interesting that the transformed dress forms are encountered already around 600 B.C., in the very earliest specimens of the Cypriote Egyptianizing limestone figures. If the statues and statuettes wearing dress closer to the Egyptian counterparts, like **Cat. 3**, **Cat. 5**, and **Cat. 29** (for the New Kingdom-type kilt) and **Cat. 11**, **Cat. 16**, and **Cat. 21** (for the *shenti*) were datable to the early part of the century, then a gradual transformation of the Cypriote kilt type over time could have been suggested. But this is by no means the case; as was noted above earlier figures display very transformed dress forms, while the figures with less transformed elements of dress are found equally as often at the end of the 6th century B.C.: this could be due either to the fact that the Egyptian-type kilt could have been transferred to the island in an already transformed form or, if these transformations of dress prove unique to the island, that such transformations of Egyptian-type dress could have occurred in (perishable?) materials other than limestone, perhaps already before 600 B.C., in the workshops of the island. For more on these issues, that is, on the actual transference of the Egyptian-type iconography to the island, see below in Ch. 5.

822 See **Cat. 6**, **Cat. 16**, **Cat. 24**, **Cat. 43**, and **Cat. 61**. R. Senff in fact uses the "staves" as an early dating criterium (7th to early 6th century B.C.): Senff 1993, 53.

823 Again, this has been noted before by A. Hermary: Hermary 1989a, 49; Hermary 2001b, 31.

3 Find places and archaeological information

In the following chapter, the aim is to view the Egyptianizing group of figures against the archaeological reality on Cyprus. Principally, the known archaeological find contexts of the figures will be discussed, enabling us not only to determine where on the island the members of the group have been found, and where not, but also to relate the Egyptianizing figures to additional material – both sculptural and other – from the same contexts.

In a general manner, the focus lies naturally on the sanctuaries of the island; virtually all figures under study were found at sanctuary sites, with the exception of one (**Cat. 49**), which was excavated in a tomb context.[1] To be able to appreciate the large amount of Archaic cultic sites on the island and their great variation in size and in character, we need to consider the regional diversity of Cyprus. Despite the first impression of Cyprus as an area with geographical and cultural unity, it is – and was – strictly regionally defined.[2] Textual evidence suggests that there were between seven and 12 local kingdoms on the island during the Archaic period,[3] each kingdom controlling a certain territory from a central city or capital.[4] Thus, it seems as if Salamis, Chytroi, Idalion, Tamassos, Kition, Amathus, Kourion, Paphos, Marion, Soloi, Lapithos, and Keryneia were all, at some point, centers of Cypriote dynasts or elite families (*Fig. 17*). It is possible that also Golgoi and Karpasia reached the status of city kingdom at some point.[5] An emphasis lay on the coastal cities, but the rich copper ores of the inland Troodos mountain area must have played a vital role for the growth and importance of city kingdoms like Tamassos and Idalion.[6] Each city held a major urban sanctuary, situated within the city walls. Evidence suggests that this main temple was dedicated to the Great Goddess of Cyprus, often referred to as Kypria, Aphrodite, or Astarte in the three languages used for religious dedications on the island.[7] Generally, one or several secondary sanctuaries were situated within the ancient city, dedicated to other gods, male and female. In addition, there were large numbers of both larger and smaller cult places located outside the cities – but still within their territories – either in close connection to the city itself, further away on the roads to other urban centers, or in remote areas, sometimes perhaps marking the boundary to another city kingdom.[8] Depending on the available information on architectural remains, inscriptional evidence, and number, types, and quality of the votive material recovered at each site, it is sometimes possible to identify the character of these extra-urban sanctuaries – apart from just classifying them as "rural". In general, "sub-urban" designates a sanctuary which is situated right outside the city walls, within one kilometer from the urban center. Additional cult places, encountered within a five-kilometer radius from the ancient city, are termed peri-urban. Within each territory there were, of course, large numbers of local sanctuaries tied to smaller settlements or villages, and others which served as places of worship for smaller cities – in this

[1] Our **Cat. 49**, a small, painted, limestone statuette, was said to have been found in a grave at Amathus: Cesnola 1885, text in connection with pl. 34.215. It will be noted below, however, that some of L.P. di Cesnola's geographical attributions are problematic.

[2] Collombier 1991, 25, divides the island into 12 different natural regions, according to geographical and topographical criteria.

[3] On the origins of the Cypriote city kingdoms: Steel 1993. See also Given 1991.

[4] The well-known stele of Sargon II, inscribed and erected at Kition in 707 B.C., gives the names of seven kings of Cyprus who had been subjugated by the Assyrian ruler. The clay prism of Esarhaddon, dated to 673/672 B.C., gives additional names of city kingdoms and their rulers: Reyes 1994, 160, table 2. Later ancient texts on this issue are plentiful – for overviews: Buitron-Oliver & Herscher 1997; Collombier 1991, 27–30.

[5] Perhaps during the first half of the 5th century B.C.: Ulbrich forthcoming. Once again I thank A. Ulbrich for generously sharing parts of her unpublished dissertation text. The evidence collected in her work suggests a total of between 12 and 15 city kingdoms on the island during the Archaic and Classical periods.

[6] Buchholz & Untiedt 1996, 47, 53–57 (on Tamassos).

[7] Hermary 2001a, 11. Dedications in the Cypro-syllabic script, in Greek, and in Phoenician are plentiful on the island. There are several examples where an inscription is made in Greek, but written in the Cypriote syllabary (a so-called digraph, see below).

[8] In her work on the Cypriote sanctuaries, A. Ulbrich uses the topographical-functional classification established by I. Edlund and F. de Polignac: Ulbrich forthcoming. See also Collombier 1999; Hermary 2001a, 11–12.

way, perhaps combining two or more functions.[9] A common denominator for all these cultic installations placed outside the walls of ancient cities is "extra-urban" sanctuaries.

In the enumeration of sanctuaries and/or votive sculptural finds below, the ancient regionality is followed as closely as possible. The island has been divided into four large areas, a northeastern, southeastern, southwestern, and northwestern part, and within these areas, into city kingdoms, and then actual sites. Starting in the northeastern part of Cyprus, find sites and votive objects are referred to and described. Included are both find sites which have yielded Egyptianizing limestone statuary, and those which have not.[10] Three particular sanctuaries, rich in finds of Egyptianizing statuary, offer find situations on which we have more information, and they will, accordingly, be treated in more detail: a secondary urban sanctuary at Idalion ("Lang's sanctuary"); an extra-urban sanctuary outside Golgoi (near Ayios Photios); and the sub-urban sanctuary situated right outside the city walls of Old Paphos, Palaepaphos.

The 12 limestone statues (out of a total of 71) which lack a reported provenance will not be discussed in this chapter. Mention will instead be made of a group of fragmentary figures, heads wearing the plain kerchief, which were not possible to incorporate into the group under study, due to uncertainties in their attribution (see Ch. 1.1.2). The figures are presented at the end of the Catalogue (Ch. 7), in Addendum 1, and those with a reported provenance will be referred to in connection to each site. The same goes for the Egyptianizing bronze, faience, and terracotta figures and figurines listed in Addendum 2, which will similarly be referred to in connection to the Archaic cult places where they were unearthed.

In a former chapter, Ch. 2.4, the typological and stylistic analysis of the Egyptianizing group of figures resulted in a division into approximate groups, on a sliding scale, according to various degrees of intensity of Egyptian impact displayed in the figures. The criteria were, on the one hand, the actual number of Egyptianizing features displayed in each individual figure, and on the other, the degree of their closeness, in terms of dress details and ornamentation to the original Egyptian models.[11] In the evaluation of the patterns of distribution, presented below (Ch. 3.3), a section will deal with the relation of these two criteria to the pattern of distribution of the material.[12] Note will also be made of where the few colossal Egyptianizing figures have been found – and whether or not there are any discernible patterns regarding the other sculptural and votive material unearthed together with the Egyptianizing figures. In agreement with the rest of this study, the focus is mainly on the iconography of the figures and of the related material, and less if any attention is given to regional stylistic characteristics which are possibly discernible in facial features, body renderings, etc.[13] A more substantial analysis, including these criteria, should be seen as a possible prospect for further research.

There are bound to be *lacunae* in a survey such as this one, which aims at completeness. I hope, however, that it will deliver adequate information on the distribution of the Egyptianizing figures on the island. Before going into the single archaeological find contexts, however, there will be an overview of the find sites of the island which have yielded Egyptianizing sculpture.

3.1 The sites: an overview (*Fig. 17 & Table 2*)

Finds of actual structures in cultic contexts are very rare on Cyprus. What we encounter in the archaeological record is often merely the *indication* of a sanctuary or cult place, through finds of votive objects, sculpture or other material, found scattered or placed in *favissae*. In this manner, extra-urban sanctuaries connected to the Kingdom of Salamis are indicated through votive statuary finds made northeast, west, and south of the ancient city. **Cat. 1** was most probably unearthed somewhere on the Karpasia peninsula, while **Cat. 2–4** were found at Aloda, Krina, and the rich find site called Toumba, respectively. Within the Kingdom of Idalion, sculptural finds in general and finds of Egyptianizing statuary in particular are plentiful. A secondary urban sanctuary, situated on the hillside of the eastern acropolis of ancient Idalion, was indicated not only

[9] A sanctuary found within the territory of a city kingdom, with a connection to the capital city but situated near another small urban center, could perhaps best be termed an "urban local sanctuary": Ulbrich forthcoming.

[10] It must be noted, however, that I have not aimed at giving a full, updated picture of the Archaic sanctuaries of Cyprus, several of which are minor sites known merely through unpublished survey material. The list presented in *Table 2* should be complemented by the full range of find sites which has been assembled in: Ulbrich forthcoming. At none of these additional sites, however, have Egyptianizing statues or statuettes been found.

[11] It was emphasized above that these divisions are not final results in themselves, but rather (possibly) useful tools when relating the figures to other Egyptianizing material on and outside the island.

[12] Thus: where were those figures recovered which display a stronger degree of intensity of Egyptian impact? And where not? Where were the ones with a weaker impact encountered?

[13] Gaber-Saletan 1986; Connelly 1988, especially pp. 6–7; Brönner 1990; Tatton-Brown 1984 (relief work).

through rich statuary finds but also through actual architectural remains at the time of excavation. The *temenos* area seems to have been open, surrounded by a wall. A total of seven Egyptianizing figures were found within the sacred precinct, at least some in its innermost (older?) part, standing on a raised platform. Southeast of Idalion, on the roads to Kition and Golgoi, respectively, we encounter two find sites which have yielded one example each of Egyptianizing limestone figures: Lympia (**Cat. 16**) and Louroukina (**Cat. 17**). Northeast of Idalion, at Potamia, situated on the ancient road to Golgoi, a deposit of Archic votive finds included two fragmentary Egyptianizing figures, **Cat. 18** and **Cat. 19**. Still within the territory of the Kingdom of Idalion lay the ancient city of Golgoi. An extra-urban site was discovered close to the church of Ayios Photios – in fact, two sites. The first, western location yielded rich finds of life-size and colossal limestone statuary, among others six Egyptianizing figures. The eastern site, found 200–300 meters from the first find spot, displayed not only the rectangular foundation of an ancient temple but also an astonishing amount of statuary and other votive finds, including as many as 15 male Egyptianizing figures. From another extra-urban sanctuary of Gogloi, discovered at modern Athienou *Malloura*, comes, in addition, the find of **Cat. 41**. At Arsos, only a few kilometers distant from ancient Golgoi, our **Cat. 42** was unearthed. The city kingdom of Tamassos had a large peri-urban sanctuary at Pera-Phrangissa within its area of influence. There, **Cat. 43** and **Cat. 44** were found. At coastal Kition, another capital city, a secondary urban sanctuary at *Bamboula* – indicated through a *bothros* – held a large amount of statuettes, including **Cat. 45** and **Cat. 46**. Of our **Cat. 47**, it is merely known that it was found "at Larnaka". From Pyla, 11 kilometers northeast of Kition and within the territory of the ancient city kingdom, comes the report of 19th-century finds of Egyptianizing statues carrying votive animals. No additional information is available regarding these and the other finds from the site, however. Further west, at the influential city of Amathus, only few large-scale sculptures have been unearthed. One of these is the Egyptianizing **Cat. 48**, recovered from structures within the lower city of Amathus, from the so-called agora. **Cat. 49** and **Cat. 50** are also said to have come from Amathus, the former figure belonging to a tomb context. From the Kingdom of Kourion there are equally limited amounts of large-scale statuary. At the peri-urban sanctuary of Apollo Hylates only the fragmentary, small-scale **Cat. 51** was found. In contrast, a sub-urban sanctuary at Palaepaphos, situated just outside the ancient city walls, yielded the remains of at least seven life-size, Egyptianizing statues. They were found together with large amounts of Archaic limestone debris, used as filling material in a siege ramp which was most probably constructed against the city wall in 498 B.C. by the Persian army. Finally, a *favissa* found outside the modern village of Kazafani, within the territory of the Kingdom of Keryneia, yielded an Egyptianizing statuette, **Cat. 59** – the single find of its type from the northwestern part of the island.

3.2 The find places

3.2.1 The northeastern part of the island

The Kingdom of Salamis

The first Egyptianizing limestone figure to be attributed to this region was excavated in the 19th century, and its exact find spot unfortunately remains unsure. Thus, **Cat. 1**, a falcon-headed statuette, was reproduced by its excavator in an 1877 volume together with material unearthed at the Apollo Hylates sanctuary at Kourion.[14] Only a few years later the excavator, Luigi Palma di Cesnola, noted "the ruins of a temple at Amathus" as its provenance.[15] However, according to an unpublished letter written by Cesnola back in 1874, the statuette may have been unearthed on the Karpasia peninsula.[16] If this attribution is correct, the figure is one of very few limestone votive objects recovered in this remote part of the island.[17]

In the local or (possibly) border sanctuary at Lefkoniko, situated about 17 kilometers northwest of Salamis,[18] votive offerings of Archaic, Classical, and Graeco-Roman date seem to have been collected and stacked in the innermost room of the sanctuary.[19] Within the collection of Archaic male stone statues

[14] Cesnola 1877, 344.

[15] Cesnola 1885, text relating to pl. 24.58; Hermary 1981, 17–18, fig. 3. See also p. 9, where it is noted that Cesnola dug several trenches on the summit of the Amathus acropolis – thus turning it into a possibility that **Cat. 1** was found up there in, or in the vicinity of, the major temple of the city.

[16] Hermary 1985, 698 n. 168; Karageorghis *et al.* 2000, 113, no. 178. The museum card at the Metropolitan Museum of Art notes this as the figure's provenance: V. Karageorghis, personal communication, 2001.

[17] Cesnola did attribute other finds to this area: Cesnola 1885, pl. 82.540; Karageorghis *et al.* 2000, 120, no. 185.

[18] Ulbrich: SA 12. The sanctuary site, situated about one and a half kilometers south of the modern village of Lefkoniko, was excavated in 1913 and published a few decades later, by J.L. Myres: Myres 1940–1945b, 54–68.

[19] Thus, a rearrangement or cleaning taking place in late Roman times. For a plan of the sanctuary, see Myres 1940–1945b, 57, fig. 1, where the small chamber containing the deposit of sculptures is marked with "A".

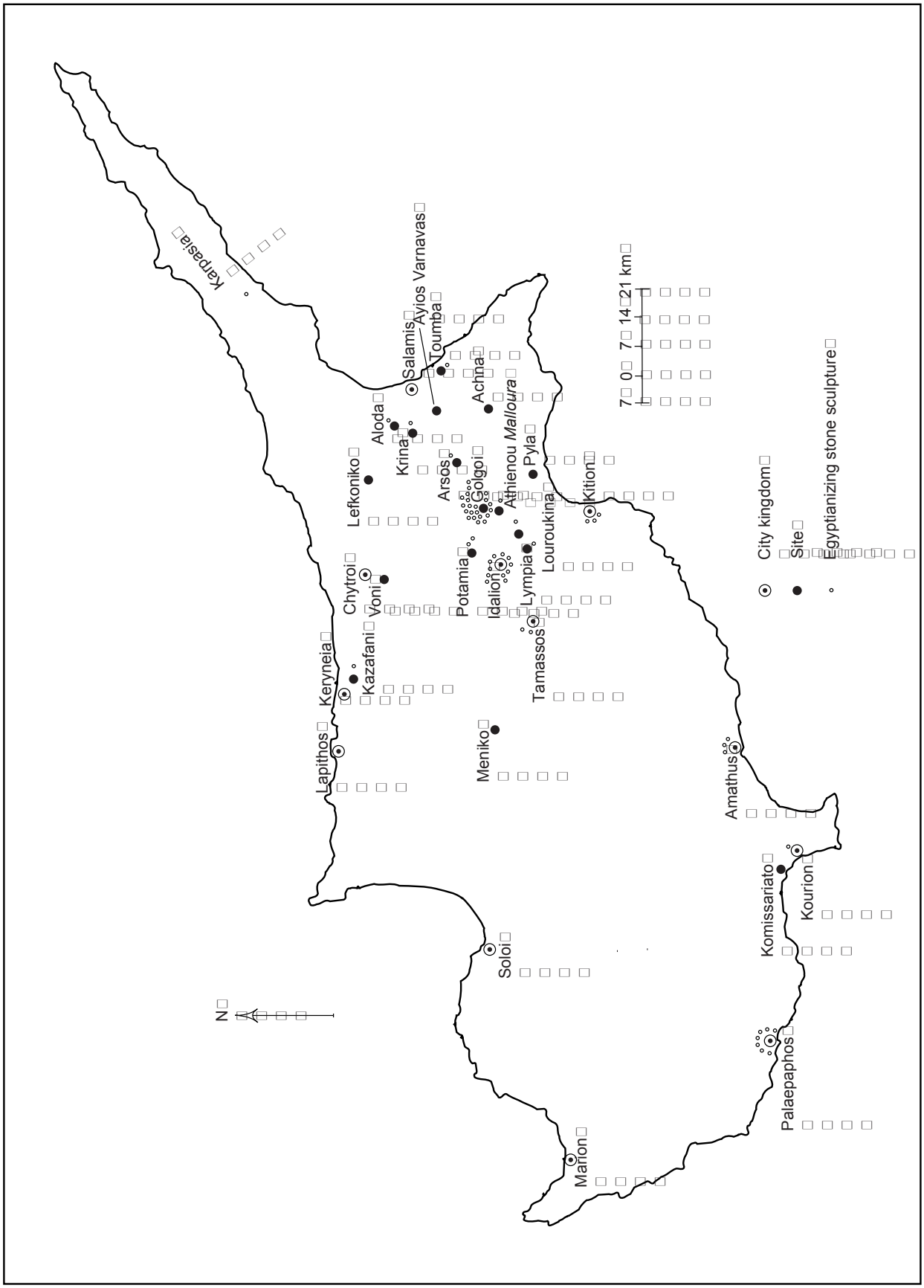


Fig. 17. Map of Cyprus.

Northeastern part	Kingdom of Salamis	The Karpasia peninsula	extra-urban	**Cat. 1**
		Lefkoniko	local (border?)	
		Aloda	extra-urban (?)	**Cat. 2**
		Krina	peri-urban	**Cat. 3**
		Ayios Varnavas	peri-urban	
		Toumba	sub-urban	**Cat. 4**
	Kingdom of Chytroi	Voni	peri-urban	
Southeastern part	Kingdom of Idalion	Idalion (western acropolis)	urban (major)	
		Idalion Lang's sanctuary	urban (secondary)	**Cat. 5** **Cat. 8** **Cat. 11** **Cat. 6** **Cat. 9** **Cat. 7** **Cat. 10**
		"Idalion"		**Cat. 12** **Cat. 14** **Cat. 13** **Cat. 15**
		Lympia	peri-urban	**Cat. 16**
		Louroukina	peri-urban	**Cat. 17**
		Potamia	peri-urban	**Cat. 18** **Cat. 19**
		Golgoi (Ayios Photios) western site	extra-urban	**Cat. 20** **Cat. 22** **Cat. 24** **Cat. 21** **Cat. 23** **Cat. 25**
		Golgoi (Ayios Photos) eastern site	extra-urban	**Cat. 26** **Cat. 31** **Cat. 36** **Cat. 27** **Cat. 32** **Cat. 37** **Cat. 28** **Cat. 33** **Cat. 38** **Cat. 29** **Cat. 34** **Cat. 39** **Cat. 30** **Cat. 35** **Cat. 40**
		Athienou Malloura	extra-urban	**Cat. 41**
		Arsos	extra-urban	**Cat. 42**
	Kingdom of Tamassos	Tamassos (Chomazoudia)	urban (major)	
		Tamassos (Pediaios)	sub-urban	
		Tamassos (Pera-Phangissa)	peri-urban	**Cat. 43** **Cat. 44**
		Meniko	local	
	Kingdom of Kition	Kition (Kathari)	urban (major)	
		Kition (Bamboula)	urban (secondary)	**Cat. 45** **Cat. 46**
		"Kition"		**Cat. 47**
		Pyla (Stavros)	local	"Egyptianizing figures carrying votive animals"
		Achna	extra-urban	
Southwestern part	Kingdom of Amathus	Amathus (acropolis)	urban (major)	
		"Amathus"		**Cat. 48** **Cat. 49** **Cat. 50**
	Kingdom of Kourion	Kourion (Apollo Hylates)	peri-urban	**Cat. 51**
		Kourion (Komissariato)	extra-urban	
	Kingdom of Palaepaphos	Palaepaphos	urban (major)	
		Palaepaphos (Marcello hill)	sub-urban	**Cat. 52** **Cat. 55** **Cat. 58** **Cat. 53** **Cat. 56** **Cat. 54** **Cat. 57**
Northwestern part	Kingdom of Marion	Marion (Peristeries)	urban	
		Marion (Maratheri)	sub-urban	
	Kingdom of Soloi	Kakopetria	local	
		Limniti	peri-urban	
	Kingdom of Lapithos	Lapithos	peri-urban	
		Ayia Irini	peri-urban	
	Kingdom of Keryneia	Kazafani	peri-urban	**Cat. 59**
Unknown provenance				**Cat. 60** **Cat. 64** **Cat. 68** **Cat. 61** **Cat. 65** **Cat. 69** **Cat. 62** **Cat. 66** **Cat. 70** **Cat. 63** **Cat. 67** **Cat. 71**

Table 2. Distribution of Egyptianizing limestone sculpture on Cyprus.

and statuettes, no Egyptianizing limestone figures were found,[20] but a tall, kilt-wearing, bronze statuette was unearthed, placed in the southwest corner of the room.[21] It was found together with male limestone figures draped in ankle-length dress and wearing conical caps, which are carrying animals or playing flutes; figures wearing a plain version of the "Cypriote belt"; seated so-called Baal Hammon figurines; and several Herakles Melqart statuettes.[22]

In the area west of Salamis, the presence of extra-urban sanctuaries are marked by occasional finds of limestone votive figures. Our **Cat. 2**, a life-size statue head wearing a double crown, is merely said to have been recovered at Aloda.[23] Similarly, of the well-preserved, life-size **Cat. 3**, it is merely known that it was unearthed at Krina, a place situated between the villages of Limnia and Stylloi. Several other fragmentary statues and statuettes are said to have come from that same site, both male and female ones.[24]

A Late Archaic *bothros* was excavated south of the church of Ayios Varnavas, within the territory of ancient Salamis, indicating the presence of a peri-urban sanctuary.[25] One hundred thirty-two female figures and figurines were recovered and nine male ones, none of which wearing an Egyptian-type outfit.[26]

The site of Toumba, situated about two kilometers south of Salamis, was the place for a sub- or peri-urban sanctuary possibly controlling the road from the south to the city.[27] From the late 19th-century excavations come reports of the find of a statuette described thus: "...the middle part of a small figure wearing the *shenti* ornamented in front with *uraei*."[28] The statuette was not reproduced, but the above description is considered sufficient to allow it to be incorporated into the catalogue (Ch. 7), as **Cat. 4**.[29] It was found together with important, although very fragmentary, Archaic material. Conspicuous are the remains of a large number of painted terracotta figures, ranging in size from small statuettes to the colossal.[30] It is interesting to note that several of these figures display garments with painted designs consisting of panels with scale pattern interspersed by running floral ornaments.[31] The excavations at Toumba yielded virtually only male figures, apart from horses and other animal terracotta figurines.[32] Figures wearing a cap or helmet with upturned or hanging cheek pieces are recurrent in both terracotta and limestone.[33] The same is true for figures carrying animals before the god. Further finds are a naked stone "lion tamer",[34] a bronze *uraeus*, and a large group of faience figurines.[35] In the midst of the material, a coin of Ptolemaic date was found! It should perhaps be noted that many of the terracottas belong to early types, of the late 7th/early 6th century B.C., datable – in approximate terms – through comparison with similar material found at the Heraion at Samos.[36] The parallels drawn by the Toumba excavator, J.A.R. Munro, to the Phrangissa sanctuary outside ancient Tamassos (see below) do

[20] A small base supporting (the remains of) a sphinx (?), of unknown date, displays flower buds and so-called Phoenician cup palmettes placed on top of small Hathoric heads: Myres 1940–1945b, 68, no. 593, pl. 20.593.

[21] Addendum 2, No. 1.

[22] Myres 1940–1945b, pls. 11–14, 17. One may ask if a very well-preserved head, said to have come from Lefkoniko, was found at the same rural site: Markoe 1987, 119–120, pl. 40.1–3.

[23] Markoe 1987, 124–125, pl. 42.2–3.

[24] Ulbrich SA 9. These figures and figurines were excavated between 1933 and 1940, and some of them are kept in the Cyprus Museum, Nicosia. Together with **Cat. 3**, they indicate the presence of a peri-urban sanctuary at the site: Karageorghis 1961, 287.

[25] Yon 1974. Ulbrich SA 4.

[26] Yon 1974, 13.

[27] Ulbrich forthcoming (SA 5a). For a plan of the Salamis area, including the Toumba hill: Munro & Tubbs 1891, pl. 5.

[28] Munro & Tubbs 1891, 161.

[29] This is the only figure included in the catalogue of which no reproduction has ever – to my knowledge – been published. A. Hermary notes that the Toumba material was spread between the museums in Nicosia, London, Oxford, and Cambridge: Hermary 1991a, 143. It is thus possible that the piece is still kept in one of these collections.

[30] The excavator, J.A.R. Munro, estimated that some figures originally would have reached 15 feet in height, that is, over four and a half meters: Munro & Tubbs 1891, 147. For a painted figure of medium size, see pl. 9 (color drawing).

[31] One large terracotta figure has its garment elaborately rendered in paint, featuring winged sphinxes, and a man fighting a lion with a sword: Munro & Tubbs 1891, 150–155, pl. 10 (color drawing).

[32] Munro & Tubbs 1891, 146, note that the main trench, from which the absolute majority of the finds came, yielded almost only male figures, while a limited find spot southwest of the Toumba hill contained basically only female statuettes. See also pp. 158–159.

[33] Munro & Tubbs 1891, fig. 10; Budde & Nicholls 1964, 8–9, nos. 23–24, pls. 4.23, 5.24; Hermary 1991a, pls. 39.a, 39.d, 40.b.

[34] Budde & Nicholls 1964, 6, no. 17, pl. 3.17, places the figure under the heading "Limestone statuettes in a mixed style from Naukratis, etc.", and not among "Cypriote limestone statuettes". The reasons given for this are: the non-Cypriote character of the general figural type (the naked *kouros*); its similarity to material from Kameiros on Rhodes; and the fact that the treatment of the body has been completely Hellenized (p. 6 nn. 3–4). Munro identified parallels with Naukratite material right away: Munro & Tubbs 1891, 161.

[35] Munro & Tubbs 1891, 164–166.

[36] Hermary 1991a, 144, pls. 39.a–b, 39.d, 40.a–b.

not seem exaggerated when one considers what was unearthed at the site.[37]

The Kingdom of Chytroi

The sanctuary at Voni, excavated by Max Ohnefalsch-Richter in 1883, yielded large amounts of predominantly male limestone sculpture, together with inscriptions dedicated to the god Apollo.[38] Large part of the figures can be attributed to the Hellenistic period, however.[39] No Egyptianizing figures can be identified among the few (Late) Archaic pieces recovered which have been published, or referred to in publications.[40] The site was most probably that of a peri-urban sanctuary of ancient Chytroi.[41]

3.2.2 The southeastern part of the island

The Kingdom of Idalion

The Archaic city of Idalion (modern Dali) lay on and around two acropoleis, today called Ambelleri and Mouti tou Arvili.[42] A sanctuary excavated by the Swedish Cyprus Expedition on the west acropolis, identified by inscriptions as dedicated (at least in its later periods) to the goddess Athena, rendered no sculptural finds.[43] This seems to have been the main urban sanctuary, dedicated to a female goddess. Two additional, secondary urban sanctuaries were perched on top of the eastern of the two hills.[44] The higher one, the smaller of the two, was excavated by M. Ohnefalsch-Richter in 1885.[45] The second one, built into the hillside of the acropolis, was discovered by the British Consul on Cyprus, Robert Hamilton Lang, back in 1868. Judging by the gender of the majority of the votive figures in each sanctuary, it has been suggested that the smaller, upper sanctuary was dedicated to a female goddess, while the larger *temenos*, "Lang's sanctuary", was dedicated to a male god.[46] The material from the smaller, female, sanctuary was mostly of limited dimensions, and – when compared to that of the larger *temenos* – of inferior quality.[47] No statues or statuettes of the Egyptianizing type were found there. At Lang's sanctuary, however, a large number of Egyptianizing limestone and bronze figures were recovered.[48]

R.H. Lang excavated for two summers, in 1868 and 1869.[49] During the first campaign, large numbers of sculptures were recovered, while the 1869 season yielded fewer sculptures but a certain number of statue bases with Phoenician, Cypriote, and Greek inscriptions.[50] In 1870, the votive figures were transported to the British Museum, London.[51] Lang described his most important findings, and published a plan over the sanctuary area.[52] Additional information was given by two men who both seem to have visited the site during or just after its excavation, R.S. Poole and G. Colonna-Ceccaldi.[53] All available information regarding the sanctuary and its limestone material has recently been collected and analyzed by R. Senff, whose account I rely on in part in the following.[54]

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[37] Munro stated that he had looked at some of the Phrangissa material in Nicosia: Munro & Tubbs 1891, 151. For the parallels: pp. 147–148, 151.

[38] Ohnefalsch-Richter 1893, 4–5, pl. 5.1–2.

[39] Connelly 1988, 45–47.

[40] Ohnefalsch-Richter 1893, pls. 41.4–6, 42.3, 42.5, 42.8a, 215.1–2 (?); Myres & Ohnefalsch-Richter 1899, 141–148. On p. 148, under "Miscellaneous", there is a reference to a "Fragment of colossal statue of Egyptian style (fragment of left arm with two amulets) cut down into a base with square sockets". We can only guess at the appearance of the object thus described.

[41] Ulbrich CHY 5.

[42] Gaber & Dever 1996, 87–89, fig. 2 (plan of the area).

[43] Gjerstad *et al.* 1935, 460–461; Masson 1961, 235–245, nos. 217–218 (two inscriptions of the 5th and 4th centuries B.C.). Ulbrich ID 1.

[44] These two sanctuaries were most probably sub-urban until the end of the 6th century B.C., when the city wall was enlarged and incorporated the eastern hill and its sanctuaries: Ulbrich forthcoming.

[45] Ohnefalsch-Richter 1893, 6–7, pls. 3, 7, 16, 56–57; Hermary 1998b. Ulbrich ID 3.

[46] Gaber & Dever 1996, 89, 108–110; Hermary 1998b, *passim*.

[47] Hermary 1998b, 101–103, regarding the terracotta and limestone material, respectively.

[48] Our limestone figures **Cat. 5–11** were unearthed. In addition, a group of 12 Egyptianizing bronze figurines (Addendum 2, Nos. 2–13) were all excavated within this *temenos* area. See also three limestone heads included in Addendum 1, Nos. 1–3, which were found at the same site but could not be safely included in this study, due to uncertainties in their attribution (see above, Ch. 1.1.2).

[49] Lang presented his results before the Royal Society of Literature, London, in 1871. The narrative was published in 1878: Lang 1878. This sanctuary is Ulbrich ID 4.

[50] Masson 1968, 387–388.

[51] They were catalogued and given their inventory numbers on August 16, 1872 and March 20, 1873, respectively, resulting in related inventory numbers for these Idalion figures, all beginning with 1872.8–16 and 1873.3–20, respectively. Exceptions are the figures which were first taken to the Department of Western Asiatic Antiquities, and only transferred to the Greek and Roman Department in July of 1917 (Inv. nos. 1917.7–1 ...).

[52] He failed, however, to mark the exact location of the *temenos*. It was not rediscovered until 1987 by the University of New Hampshire Expedition to Idalion, led by P. Gaber: Gaber 1992, 176–178; Gaber & Dever 1996, 99–100.

[53] Poole was sent out from the British Museum to learn more about the finds and their value, in view of a possible acquisition, and Georges Colonna-Ceccaldi came to report on the new finds for the *Révue Archéologique*.

[54] Senff 1993.

Lang found a northern *temenos* entrance, marked by four steps.[55] In the open area entered upon was a low wall, on which were placed two stone basins, each containing several broken-off statuette heads.[56] The open area was limited at its southern (upper) end by a large number of statue bases, arranged close together in three roughly parallel rows.[57] Apparently, colossal and small figures were intermixed. In the foremost row stood a base of greater dimensions, which probably held the well-preserved colossal figure excavated beside it.[58] Turning eastwards, one came upon a second part of the *temenos*, arranged along a slightly different axis than the former north-south-oriented area.[59] Lang called this part the "chief chamber" of the sanctuary, and noted that it had a pavement of well-cut stone slabs, and a monumental altar. It was full of scattered statuary, particularly of pieces of colossal size.[60] Along the southwestern end of this second open area was a raised part of the sanctuary, accessed by two steps. Flanking these steps were two statue bases, large enough to hold colossal sculpture.[61] Above the steps was what seemed to be the innermost part of the sanctuary. Lang identified it as the oldest part of the *temenos* area, basing this on the presence of a collection of crude terracotta figurines deposited at the innermost end.[62] Senff believes, too, that this part was the nucleus of the sanctuary, out from which it gradually grew.[63] Several statue bases were found on this raised platform. Lang's limited account does not contain any information about which particular statue he believed to have belonged to which statue base. When considering additional information from R.S. Poole, however,[64] it becomes clear that some of the Egyptianizing figures stood up here.[65] Referred to in terms of text and illustrations in Lang's narrative are two colossal heads with kerchief and (fragmentary) broad collar, our **Cat. 9** and **Cat. 7**, and the smaller, elaborately decorated torso **Cat. 5**.[66] What Poole actually writes is, "The largest specimens (of the Egyptian style) found by Mr. Lang were dug up in what he holds to be probably the oldest part of the temple."[67] Senff suggests that this implies that the Egyptian-style sculptures were found together, separated from those of Cypriote and Greek character. If so, then the other Egyptianizing figures known to us from the site were found in the oldest part of the *temenos* as well. They include **Cat. 8**, a head with kerchief and broad collar, and **Cat. 6**, an elaborately decorated torso, both of which are distinctly Egyptianizing. It is not clear whether the small, painted **Cat. 10** and the "weak" **Cat. 11** were recognized as Egyptian-type, at the time.[68] The practice of separating different types of votives by dress or hairstyle is reported from other Cypriote sanctuary sites as well.[69] Among these are Golgoi (Ayios Photios), a site to which we will return below.

R. Senff proposes that the statues found in the first open area, displayed in three rows along its southern end, were of a later date.[70] The rows of sculpture with

[55]These steps were crucial in the rediscovery of the ancient *temenos* site: Gaber & Dever 1996, 99–100.

[56]Lang 1878, 35–36. Senff suggests that the rim of one of the basins was decorated with a small Hathoric head in relief, which was recovered at the site: Senff 1993, 80, pl. 50.a–b.

[57]Senff 1993, pl. 1.a–b, follows Ohnefalsch-Richter in juxtaposing Lang's plan with that of G. Colonna-Ceccaldi. See also Senff's pl. 2.a–b, a comprehensible reconstruction of the sanctuary – with votive figures and all.

[58]Senff 1993, pl. 18.a–g, the upper part of the body of a bearded male figure wearing a *chiton* and mantle, and a wreath around his head. This figure was fortuitously found by Dali men in early 1868, and was thus the find which attracted Lang's attention to the site: Lang 1878, 36; Masson 1968, 386–387, fig. 8.

[59]This second, older (?) part of the sanctuary was oriented on a southwest–northeast axis.

[60]Lang 1878, 37.

[61]Lang 1878, 38. Senff finds a parallel for the particularity of steps leading up to the inner part of a Cypriote shrine flanked by sculpture, in the Meniko sanctuary: Senff 1993, 7 n. 56. See, for Meniko: Karageorghis 1977b, 18–20, fig. 3, where steps are leading up to Rooms A and C, each with a sacred "enclosure" in connection.

[62]Lang 1878, 35, 38–39. See also Poole's commentary, on p. 61. Through comparisons with material from the Heraion at Samos, Senff dates the terracottas to between 720 and 660/650 B.C.: Senff 1993, 6 n. 48.

[63]Senff 1993, 5–7. He bases this on the differences in orientation of the two parts of the sanctuary; the stylistic characteristics of the votives found in the two parts; and the fact that the innermost part of the sanctuary stood on a raised platform, a practice for which there are Near Eastern parallels.

[64]See Poole's commentary in Lang 1878, 57–58.

[65]Senff 1993, 13. It is worth noting that since Lang dated the Egyptian-type votives to the 10th century B.C., it is possible that finds of these figures, too, made him consider this part of the sanctuary as the oldest: Lang 1878, 43–44, 47, no. 2 (our **Cat. 9**).

[66]Lang 1878, 47, pl. 2; Poole's commentary, p. 58.

[67]Poole's commentary, p. 57.

[68]Remembering Poole's words "The largest specimens...", however, one could further ask whether it is possible that Poole could be referring merely to the colossal **Cat. 9** and **Cat. 7**, and the life-size **Cat. 8**, while indicating that **Cat. 5** and **Cat. 6**, of smaller dimensions, were found elsewhere in the sanctuary.

[69]Senff 1993, 17, notes that just as Egyptian-style statues were (possibly) separated from Greek-style ones in Lang's sanctuary, so were Cypriote-style figures found separated from Greek-style ones at the "Apollo" sanctuary at Pyla (this, too, a 19th-century excavation, see below). At Ayia Irini, several of the terracotta figures seem to have been arranged thematically and by size: Gjerstad *et al.* 1935, 808–809, figs. 277–293. At the main sanctuary at the palace of Vouni, limestone and terracotta votives were displayed separately: Gjerstad *et al.* 1937, 277–280, figs. 150–155, plans 24–25. I thank S. Nordin Fischer for this last reference. See further below, Ch. 3.3.

[70]The colossal, mantle-wearing figure referred to above, standing in the front row, is dated to the first half of the 5th century B.C.: Senff 1993, 11, pl. 18.a–g.

the youngest examples standing in the front row suggest that new votive statues were erected in front of older ones, with no regard for the fact that they were covering the earlier ones.[71] Sanctuaries were indeed cleaned, and votive figures deposited in *favissae*, but possibly only figurines of limited size.[72] Larger figures would have continued to be exhibited, subsequently causing a need to enlarge the sacred area.[73] Thus, in the oldest part of the *temenos*, the Egyptianizing figures would have been on display for quite some time when the sanctuary was destroyed or abandoned, in the late Hellenistic period.[74] One of the Egyptianizing figural heads, **Cat. 9**, exhibits irregularities which could be interpreted as traces of recarving.[75] As a possible explanation, Senff has suggested that the limestone head preserves traces of the retouching made by an ancient sculptor who wanted to improve a much weathered statue surface. The need to retouche the soft stone would have arisen from a (hypothetical) long-term exposure to the elements.[76]

Twelve Egyptianizing bronze figurines were unearthed within the sanctuary, but of their find spots, not much is known.[77] Lang himself noted their close correspondence to the limestone figures, "both in subject and treatment".[78]

Subsequent finds at the site have led later excavators to propose a slightly different appearance for the hillside sanctuary. It has been suggested that the *temenos* area was much larger than that identified by R.H. Lang, being an open sanctuary, which in time was surrounded by a *peribolos* wall and equipped with built terraces.[79] Finds of great numbers of perforated sherds has led to the suggestion of the cult place as a sacred grove, much like that identified at Kourion, where votive objects were hung from trees.[80]

We saw above that seven of the limestone figures under study could be attributed to the Idalion hillside sanctuary.[81] Already in 1845, the German archaeologist Ludwig Ross had undertaken excavations at Dali, and a certain number of limestone statues and statuettes was sent to the Berlin Museum.[82] Among those pieces was the elaborately decorated torso **Cat. 12**. It is thus a possibility that it, too, was found at or around what later came to be referred to as "Lang's sanctuary".[83] More difficult is the case with **Cat. 13** and **Cat. 14**, both said to be from Idalion, and both kept at the Berlin Museum. Statue **Cat. 13**, the only known example of a figure wearing a combination of rosette diadem and Egyptian-type kilt, seems to have been excavated in 1868 and acquired in 1869 by L.P. di Cesnola.[84] The fragmentary **Cat. 14** is also part of the Berlin Cesnola collection, and might have been purchased on this same occasion. We cannot know, however, whether these figures were once displayed at "Lang's sanctuary", or whether they came from any of the sites scattered around Idalion itself.[85] A much weathered torso, **Cat. 15**, is also said to have come from Dali, but – just as in the case of the other three figures, above – it is in no way certain that it was once displayed in the sanctuary to the male god at Idalion.[86] Finally, a life-size head wearing a kerchief could possibly be attributed to Idalion, and even to "Lang's sanctuary", as well.[87]

Who was the god or gods worshipped at the hillside sanctuary? During his second season of excavations,

[71] Senff 1993, 13, 16–17.

[72] Senff 1993, 17.

[73] Senff suggests an organical growth of the hillside sanctuary at Idalion: Senff 1993, 5–7. J.L. Myres noted a similar evolution for the Archaic sanctuary at Lefkoniko: Myres 1940–1945b, 59.

[74] Senff 1993, 83–84.

[75] Indeed, what remains of the beard seems to be the original surface of the face, while the upper part of the face and particularly the area beneath the ears is sunk – as if retouched.

[76] Senff 1993, 52, pl. 34.d–f. Senff suggests that the beard of this figure originally was similarly shaped as that of the closely related pl. 34.a–c (our Addendum 1, No. 1). Note, however, that other figures display a crispness of details and much preserved color, facts which rather indicate that they would have been standing under some kind of roof or protection. For similar comments made by L.P. di Cesnola and J.L. Myres regarding the Golgoi and Lefkoniko materials, respectively, see below, n. 130.

[77] Addendum 2, Nos. 2–13. Lang noted in passing finds of tiny feet in bronze which were still attached to marble slabs, but made no mention of the exact find spots: Lang 1878, 42. Senff remarks that bronze statues and statuettes and gold objects are referred to in the 4th–3rd century B.C. Phoenician inscriptions which were found in the courtyard of the oldest part of the sanctuary, thus offering a much different sight than the older stone statues made: Senff 1993, 15.

[78] Lang 1878, 49. R. Senff has stressed rather their separate character and origin in terms of inspiration and workshops: Hermary 2001b, commentary by R. Senff on pp. 36–37.

[79] Gaber & Dever 1996, 105–108, fig. 24 (reconstruction drawing).

[80] Gaber & Dever 1996, 105.

[81] **Cat. 5–11**.

[82] Masson & Hermary 1988, 3–4, with a list of objects presented on pp. 5–7. The sculptures were sent to the then *Königlichen Museen*, Berlin.

[83] Senff 1993, 1 n. 2.

[84] Hermary 1990, 20, text in connection to pl. 2.

[85] Theoretically, they could come from Ohnefalsch-Richter's sanctuary, perched on top of the mound, although this seems improbable due to the size, material, and quality of execution of the two pieces.

[86] On the contrary, Senff does not include **Cat. 15** (the British Museum, Inv. no. 1884.12–10.307) in his account of the limestone material found at the sanctuary, stating at the beginning of his study that he merely includes those which can be safely attributed: Senff 1993, 4. A. Reyes notes that the torso came from the excavations of M. Ohnefalsch-Richter at Idalion: Reyes 1994, text in connection with pl. 9.

[87] Addendum 1, No. 4; Senff 1993, 4 n. 24.

Lang found as many as 11 statue bases at the site, carrying inscriptions mainly in Phoenician but also in the Cypriote syllabary, and in Greek.[88] The most important inscription proved to be a bilingual one, giving the same dedicatory text in Phoenician and in the Cypriote syllabary.[89] Lang himself foresaw that this find would lead to the decipherment of the Cypriote script.[90] The inscribed bases were all found in the second open area of the sanctuary, in its oldest part, set up in close vicinity to the monumental altar.[91] In date, however, they range between 390–250 B.C., thus belonging to a later period, when Idalion had been annexed by Kition.[92] Accordingly, some of the dedicatory texts note the "King of Kition and Idalion" as dedicator of the deposited votive gifts. The Phoenician inscriptions – which are in the majority – refer to Reshef-Mikal, the Greek ones to Apollo Amyklaios. In the bilingual inscription, referred to above, it is clear that "Apollo Amyklaios" is the Hellenized form of the Phoenician god. In recent literature, the sanctuary is thus referred to as the sanctuary of Apollo Amyklaios or Apollo-Reshef.[93] Recently, Adon/Adonis has been suggested.[94] O. Masson noted that as in other Cypriote sanctuaries, several gods were probably worshipped at the hillside Idalion *temenos*. He warned that it could be pure chance that most excavated inscriptions mention only Reshef-Mikal/Apollo Amyklaios.[95]

Among the rich votive material excavated by R.H. Lang was thus a large number of limestone, bronze, and terracotta figures and figurines, and a limited number of statue bases. While the limestone and bronze figures are well known and published,[96] the terracotta figurines which were sent to London – about 60 pieces – have mostly been left unpublished.[97] When considering what types of votive material were found in the sanctuary, alongside the Egyptianizing pieces, the terracotta figures are thus not properly considered. When it comes to limestone, however, it is perhaps convenient to follow Senff's typological and thematical groupings. Of the male figures that predominate in the sanctuary, several wear a *chiton*, or *chiton* and mantle, with or without the Cypriote conical cap, or turban-like headdress. Male figures wearing rosette diadems are represented,[98] as are certain votive groups such as chariot groups and horse riders. Quite a large number of so-called Herakles Melqart statuettes were found in the sanctuary.[99] In addition, a certain number of naked *kouroi* were unearthed,[100] a group of figures which is quite uncharacteristic for the island.

In contrast to the limestone figures, the majority of the bronze figurines excavated at the site wore Egyptian-type dress.[101]

Within a distance of only a few kilometers from Idalion, a group of peri-urban sanctuaries have been identified due to finds of large-scale votive statuary. Our **Cat. 16** is said to have been found at Lympia, just southeast of modern Dali, a site situated on the road from Idalion to Kition. Similarly, **Cat. 17** was said to have been unearthed at nearby Louroukina, a sanctuary site possibly set on the ancient road to Golgoi.[102] Northeast of Dali, along the same ancient road, lies the modern village of Potamia, site of a rich find spot named by locals "Ellines".[103] The site has yielded large-scale Archaic limestone statuary of a quality which makes it necessary to view this as a peri-urban sanctuary of particular importance. Our fragmentary (although life-size) figures **Cat. 18** and **Cat. 19**, both merely pieces of broad, elaborate collars, have been unearthed there.[104] A majority of the other finds from the site are, similarly, male figures made of limestone, including examples wearing a *chiton* and mantle, and conical cap; "Cypriote belt" and/or rosette diadem; horse-rider

[88] Senff 1993, 87–88, gives the 11 inscriptions in full. One of the dedicatory texts, however, giving the names "Arsinoeio" and "Andrasi" in Greek, is found on a limestone capital, not a statue base.

[89] Donner & Röllig 1964, 56, no. 39. The inscription, dated to 389 B.C., contains the identical text in Phoenician and in Greek – the latter text written in the Cypriote syllabary, however (a so-called digraph).

[90] Lang 1878, 51.

[91] Lang 1878, 37, 50–51.

[92] Masson 1961, 238 (taking place around 470 B.C.); Senff 1993, 15, 87–88.

[93] Gaber 1992; Hermary 2001a, 12.

[94] Gaber & Dever 1996, 108–111.

[95] Masson 1968, 402. A. Hermary similarly suggests the worship of a female deity at the sanctuary in addition to Apollo: Hermary 1985, 676 n. 32.

[96] As was noted above, Senff 1993 includes all limestone figures safely attributable to the sanctuary. For the bronze figurines: Reyes 1992.

[97] Masson 1968, 392–393, figs. 12–14; Hermary 1991a, 141–142; Senff 1993, 4.

[98] Senff 1993, pls. 31–32.

[99] Senff 1993, 63–66, pls. 45–48.

[100] Senff 1993, 48–50, pl. 33.a–l.

[101] Reyes 1992, pls. 15–18: among the figures reproduced, only two Idalion figurines out of 15 wear what is not clearly an Egyptian-type outfit.

[102] Ulbrich forthcoming.

[103] Karageorghis 1979, 290, figs. 1–2 (plans of the area); Buchholz & Untiedt 1996, fig. 60.

[104] Site "Ellines" was excavated by P. Dikaios in 1933. In a preliminary report, cited in part by V. Karageorghis, the excavator states that several of the Archaic statues and statuettes were incorporated into architectural (sanctuary) structures of Hellenistic or Roman date: Karageorghis 1979, 289.

figurines; and one fragmentary Herakles Melqart statuette.[105]

Still within the territory of the Kingdom of Idalion lay the ancient city of Golgoi, situated not far north of the modern village of Athienou. It is far from uncomplicated to reconstruct the archaeological activities which took place in this area during the middle and late 19th century A.D. A key figure in the archaeological history of the region is the then American Consul on Cyprus, General Luigi Palma di Cesnola. For several years, Cesnola supervised excavations in the territory east, northeast, and southeast of Athienou – including one or possibly two sanctuary sites. We owe the complex archaeological picture to the lack of systematic excavation and proper field notes.

Before Cesnola, however, a French mission led by Melchior de Vogüé was excavating around Athienou. After initial, preliminary investigations in the village itself, where certain reused antiquities could simply be gathered,[106] actual excavations were undertaken in 1862, and again during the summer of 1865.[107] The mission identified and emptied several deposits of sculpture. One of these was situated southwest of the village, in a location called Athienou *Malloura*,[108] another northeast of Athienou, where the remains of the ancient city of Golgoi had recently been identified.[109] Field work was further undertaken at a place situated three kilometers southeast of the modern village, near the church of Ayios Photios. Most of the material excavated, statues and statuettes as well as other categories of objects, was sent to the Louvre Museum.[110]

In March of 1870, men from Athienou discovered a well-preserved colossal statue head in the fields not far from the church of Ayios Photios. According to Cesnola's own account, the men were sent out by him to make investigations in an area he had deemed promising.[111] Cesnola arrived at the site, and together with his workers he excavated a limited amount of sculptures and other objects, most mutilated but of considerable artistic quality. All objects were transported to the American Consulate in Larnaka, where they were inspected by R.H. Lang and others. When no further finds were made at this first location, Cesnola took part of his work force and moved eastwards, some 200–300 meters, to excavate in a spot not far from where de Vogüé had dug almost a decade earlier. In this second (east) location, Cesnola came upon what he later called "the temple at Golgoi". No doubt, this was a *temenos* site, and remarkable finds were made of statues and statuettes *in situ*.[112] In a first preliminary report, published in 1871, Cesnola stated that he had discovered the temple of Aphrodite at Golgoi, treating the finds he had made as if coming from one and the same site. R.H. Lang and the everpresent G. Colonna-Ceccaldi reacted to this. Both men had visited the excavations, and Lang had (as mentioned) even inspected the first group of material kept at the American Consulate. Their accounts, and Lang's subsequent theory that Cesnola had come upon two sanctuaries instead of one, were presented by Colonna-Ceccaldi in his usual journal, *Révue Archéologique*.[113] Years went by before Cesnola reacted to the criticism. In his volume from 1877 on the cities, tombs, and temples of Cyprus, however, he gave a revised account of his findings, recounting indeed how he excavated at two different sites at Ayios Photios. The following description is based entirely on Cesnola's own account in that particular volume. Apart from the discrepancies in comparison to his first preliminary report, it must be kept in mind that it was compiled years after the actual events at Golgoi.

Cesnola vividly describes how he arrived and took command over the situation that prevailed at the newly discovered site close to Ayios Photios.[114] The discovery of the beautiful colossal head had caused most of the villagers of Athienou to gather in a frantic

[105] Karageorghis 1979, pls. 35–46. The three peri-urban sanctuaries referred to here are Ulbrich ID 18 (Lympia), ID 17 (Louroukina), and ID 16 (Potamia).

[106] Masson 1971a, 308–309, 316, figs. 2–3, notes that stelai, capitals, and statuette heads were collected. Masson reproduces two of the stelai, one with vegetal capital, the other with crouching lions, and states that this material most probably originally came from the ancient necropolis situated northeast of the village.

[107] Masson 1971a, 307–308.

[108] The mission's architect, Edmond Duthoit, excavated a Cypro-Archaic/Roman sanctuary in the western part of the site. In this area, the Athienou Archaeological Project, led by M. Toumazou, has been excavating since 1990, uncovering the largest rural sanctuary site on the island (see below): Toumazou *et al.* 1998, 166–167, 172–173.

[109] Masson 1961, 275–276; Masson 1971a, 305–307. A certain A. Sakellarios suggested the identification in 1855, and this has since been accepted.

[110] Unfortunately, no detailed inventories remain from this early occasion, and today it is not possible to tell these Golgoi pieces apart from the other Cypriote antiquities which came into the collections just after this point: Masson 1971a, 308–310. Is it at all possible that our **Cat. 61**, of unknown provenance and part of the Louvre collections, could be part of de Vogüé's excavation material from Athienou *Malloura*, or from Ayios Photios?

[111] Cesnola 1877, 118. O. Masson has noted that this is a romanticized version of what happened: in a somewhat later account, R.H. Lang recalls how the remarkable find was made by village men, and that both Consuls had the chance to intervene. Cesnola, however, arrived first at the site: Masson 1961, 276 n. 3.

[112] This sanctuary is Ulbrich GO2.

[113] For a clear account of this complicated line of events, see Masson 1961, 276–281, where all necessary references are given.

[114] Cesnola 1877, 117–124.

hunt for ancient treasures. This, of course, added to the confusion of the General's excavation account; on this first find spot he and his men were not alone in unearthing antiquities, initially, at least. When in control of the situation, Cesnola dug for a period of about two weeks, recovering the available material. Thirty-two statues of various sizes were found, along with 26 statue bases.[115] In his descriptions of the principal objects that were found, Cesnola mentions – apart from the colossal head initially encountered – the so-called Priest with a dove, a well-preserved colossal Herakles statue, and a base originally belonging to that statue (?) with a relief depiction of the hero himself and the cattle of Geryon.[116] The statement that figures wearing the Egyptian *pshent*, or double crown, were found, taken together with the fact that our **Cat. 20** and **Cat. 21** are reproduced in connection to the text, makes it possible to assume that they, too, were found at this first (western) site.[117] Cesnola and his team discovered no architectural remains except a low, semi-circular stone structure, of no more than about 150 centimeters in diameter. As a commentary on Lang's and Colonna-Ceccaldi's suggestions concerning the presence of a temple at this first site as well, Cesnola adds that he returned to the site in 1873 in order to make additional soundings, but found no structures whatsoever.[118] After emptying the first site, Cesnola decided – as noted above – to dig about 200–300 meters away, on the other side of a hill.[119] It was on this hill and slightly below that de Vogüé had excavated, and found a certain amount of statuary, in 1862. In the field below the hill, at the depth of about two meters, Cesnola and his men came upon a low stone wall, probably originally holding a mudbrick structure. The workmen followed the wall, uncovering it, until a rectangular structure, about nine meters wide and 18 meters long, was made visible. In the northern and eastern walls, two openings were found, and outside each of these, a large, round stone vessel was placed.[120] The southwestern corner of the structure was damaged, most probably by the diggings of the French mission.[121] Cesnola arranged his men in a line along the eighteen-meter-long eastern wall, and had them excavate into the temple, moving in a westerly direction. They immediately came upon a row of no less than 72 tightly arranged statue bases of all various sizes placed all along the wall. It seemed as if they were still in their original position. In the earth beneath them, no more than half a meter away, was a row of sculptures, most of which seemed to have fallen down from their bases, lying face down. Colossal and smaller figures lay side by side, and on top of each other. It seemed as if the mudbrick walls of the structure had collapsed on top of the figures, for they were all stuck in a hard-packed layer of mud and straw. It took 11 days for Cesnola's work force of 110 men to unearth this astonishing collection of limestone sculptures, which turned out to be 228 in number.[122] We learn that around 200 of these were statuettes, measuring 60 centimeters or less in height, while the remaining figures were life-size or colossal. Cesnola notes, "I particularly remarked the grouping of the statues; those with conical head dresses were found side by side, while those showing a strong Egyptian tendency were grouped together."[123] And again, somewhat later in his account, "I was struck with the order which was evident in the original arrangement of the sculptures in this temple, the statues, as I have before remarked, being ranged according to the art or nationality they represented – the Egyptian by themselves, the Assyrian in like manner, and the Greek and Roman near the western wall, the tablets with bas reliefs and inscriptions by themselves, and the different votive offerings classed according to their nature, and probably placed before their appropriate divinities."[124] It seems as if, just like in Idalion, the Egyptianizing figures were displayed together in the sanctuary. From Cesnola's illustrations, we learn that our **Cat. 28** – a life-size head with kerchief and part of the broad collar preserved – was found along the eastern wall,[125] as was our life-size figure **Cat. 29**.[126] Further finds

[115] Cesnola 1877, 130.

[116] These and most of the other objects recovered at the site are today in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

[117] Cesnola 1877, 129–131. Depicted are further a statue with conical cap and panther skin draped over the shoulders (the Ringling Museum, Sarasota, Inv. no. SN 28.1914), and a male figure wearing a conical cap and an ankle-length garment.

[118] Cesnola 1877, 128.

[119] The hill has been identified by O. Masson as that of "Teratsovounos": Masson 1971a, 306–307. In his fig. 1, Masson provides a good map of the Athienou region, where the locations of the hill and the subsequently excavated "temple" are indicated.

[120] Cesnola 1877, 144–145.

[121] Cesnola 1877, 139, reproduces a plan of the "temple". See also p. 151.

[122] Cesnola 1877, 146.

[123] Cesnola 1877, 142.

[124] Cesnola 1877, 159–160.

[125] The head is depicted on p. 141 together with seven other figural heads. In the drawing, the collar fragment below the neck is not rendered. Cf. the early photo of this figure reproduced in Marangou 2000, 42, from which the drawing was possibly made.

[126] The figure is reproduced on p. 145. It is indeed problematic that the Egyptianizing statue is placed beside a drawing of a second sculpture from the site, with very similar hairstyle, but with a short-sleeved garment partly covered by a mantle, and two branches in the right hand – and beneath both figures, the text reads "Two statues in Egyptian style". It seems here that when noting "a strong Egyptian tendency" in certain figures, Cesnola was not only referring to dress, but perhaps to other criteria as

reproduced are a well-preserved colossal male figure with conical cap and ankle-length dress, male figures with laurel wreaths, and a certain number of female statuette heads.[127] Although most of the statues were broken, Cesnola noted the well-preserved surfaces on many of them, the crispness of detail and the amount of color preserved.[128] Cesnola's men continued with the excavations, and unearthed additional statuary standing along the north and south walls of the sanctuary.[129] They further came upon three parallel rows of stone bases, 15 altogether, which might have held wooden columns supporting a roof structure.[130] At the very center of the sanctuary, a thick layer of ashes was encountered with large pieces of carbonized wood in it, together with an alabaster vase and two small terracotta horse riders. Just before reaching the western wall, Cesnola's men came upon a last row of sculptures and bases, thus confirming that statues and statuettes were tightly packed along all four walls of the sanctuary.[131] The sculptures standing here, Cesnola noted, showed a marked Greek character. From the depictions in his 1877 volume, we can identify several of these,[132] but also our **Cat. 30**, a warrior statuette in Egyptian-type dress. Further finds of interest from the western wall are a small female figure standing on a platform supported by male figures with Egyptian-type kerchiefs,[133] and a triple figure of Geryon,[134] where the lower part of the figure's multiple body and the three shields are preserved.[135] In addition, a group of anatomical votive plaques were excavated all in one spot[136] along with other material such as oil lamps shaped like small shrines bearing much trace of being used.[137]

The excavations at Ayios Photios were thus terminated, and Cesnola had all objects transported to the American Consulate at Larnaka. Representatives of different museums and collections soon gathered to estimate the value and cost of the vast group of objects, and Cesnola was ready to sell. In June the same year a Johannes Doell came from the Hermitage Museum at St. Petersburg.[138] He catalogued 7919 objects, including 750 limestone sculptures (230 statues and 531 heads), and duly published a report of what he had seen.[139] The report turned out to be of great value, since Doell saw the objects fresh from the excavation, before any attempts were made to reconstruct heads, bodies, and limbs to create complete figures.[140]

Cesnola managed to depart from Cyprus with the huge amount of antiquities he had dug from all over the island. At this point the Golgoi objects, with the majority coming from the second ("temple") site, were mixed with objects excavated from graves and all other possible contexts, from sites all over the island. Certain pieces from the collection were displayed in London in 1872, and in connection to

well. This could, indeed – at least to a certain degree – affect our understanding of Cesnola's statements on the groupings of the figures within the sanctuary, cited above.

127 Cesnola 1877, 141–144.

128 Cesnola 1877, 146.

129 Cesnola mentions one well-preserved male figure, which – unlike most others – had not been decapitated when falling down from its base. It was dressed in a *chiton* and mantle, crowned by a wreath, and holding a dove and a small incense box: pp. 149–150.

130 It is worth noting that one of the bases had remains of two statues on it – standing back to back, heels touching – and thus cannot have helped in supporting a roof: Cesnola 1877, 149–150. On p. 160, Cesnola adds that the sanctuary seems to have been roofed, judging by the state of preservation of the surfaces of the sculpture, but that on the other hand, only two column capitals were found, in contrast to the 14 column bases which were unearthed. J.L. Myres notes in connection to the well-preserved votive material from Lefkoniko, that those figures, too, must have been standing under some kind of protecting roof: Myres 1940–1945b, 59.

131 On this Cypriote manner of arranging votive figures and gifts: Connelly 1989, especially p. 215.

132 See pp. 151–161: a well-preserved male figure with *chiton* and mantle, and wreath, holding a *patera* and an incense box; female statuettes, one half-naked with draped garment; a female figure ("muse") holding a lyre; a kneeling warrior with dagger and quiver full of arrows; and wreathed male, mantle-wearing figures of a late style carrying votive objects.

133 Cesnola 1877, 157. Only the heads of the male figures are preserved, however.

134 This figure and the relief decoration found on it were treated above, in Ch. 2.2.2.

135 In connection to Cesnola's view on what is Egyptian and what not, we can note that he says of the short skirt of Geryon that it contains "...a design of two Egyptians fighting with two lions". In this case, his identification can be based only on the broad belts and knee-length kilts worn by the two figures – that is, on the basis of dress: Cesnola 1877, 156.

136 Cesnola 1877, 157–158. Compare with the group of similar plaques acquired by the antiquities dealer Zénon Malis, of Larnaka, said to have been found around Athienou in 1896: Masson 1971a, 320–321, 331–333. These plaques are all inscribed, dedicated to "Theos Hypsistos".

137 Two footstools were found as well, both bearing relief decoration: Cesnola 1877, 159. One of these, depicting a lion fighting a bull, was referred to above, in Ch. 2.2.2. V. Tatton-Brown notes, however, that the exact provenance within the Golgoi area of these two stools cannot be ascertained: Tatton-Brown 1984, 172. Indeed, in Cesnola 1885, text relating to pl. 85.560, the footstool is said to have been found "in the ruins of the city (Golgoi)". For more on these matters of insecurity regarding Cesnola's accounts, see below.

138 Cesnola 1877, 170.

139 Connelly 1988, 77, tells of the visit of the Russian archaeologist, whose report – published in the *Mémoires de l'Académie Imperiale des Sciences de St. Petersbourg* – I have not had the chance to study.

140 J.B. Connelly further notes how the sculptures were assembled and subsequently restored in New York by means of a lime plaster which – when dried – turned out to be almost indistinguishable from Cypriote limestone: Connelly 1988, 77.

this, some figures and objects were sold to private collectors and various museums.[141] The bulk of the Cesnola antiquities was acquired, however, by the Metropolitan Museum in New York, in 1874.[142] As the first director of that museum, Cesnola set out to publish a descriptive atlas of his now famous collection. Limestone sculpture is treated in the first large volume, published in 1885. Just as in his 1877 account, Cesnola tells of two excavated sites at Ayios Photios, a western and an eastern area, the latter one being the "temple" site. He mentions the theory issued by Lang, that the first, western, site yielded material coming from a separate sanctuary, adding that he does not agree with his former colleague.[143] Throughout the *Atlas*, Cesnola differentiates between these two sites when describing where each object has been found, writing "found on the spot west of...", "in the field west of...", or "from the site near the temple at Golgoi", in order to separate the first (western) site from the actual "temple" area. According to the *Atlas*, then, our **Cat. 20** and **Cat. 22–25** were all found at the first, western, site. Excavated inside the rectangular "temple" structure were our **Cat. 21**, **Cat. 26–31**, the fragmentary **Cat. 32** and **Cat. 33**, and **Cat. 34–40**. Clear and consistent as this may seem at first, we must remember Cesnola's own confusion regarding his find sites.[144] Certain evidence suggests that we should treat this division with some caution. For example, our **Cat. 21**, as well as the statue draped in a panther skin – both noted as if coming from the first, western, site in Cesnola's 1877 volume – are here said to have been found "in the temple at Golgoi".

We saw above how Lang interpreted the finds made by Cesnola on the western site as if coming from a sanctuary of its own. Cesnola himself checked on this by returning to the site, and re-established that no architectural structures were to be found. In response to this, O. Masson inferred that the first, western, site which Cesnola came upon might have been a *bothros* connected to the temple subsequently excavated on the other side of the hill.[145] In a correspondence cited by Masson, Einar Gjerstad noted, however, that the distance between the two sites – 200–300 meters – renders such an hypothesis less credible. The Swedish archaeologist preferred to follow Lang's line, proposing that the western site represented, in fact, another *temenos* area.[146]

At the first, western, site, no inscriptions were found. Several Cypro-syllabic and Greek dedications were unearthed inside the "temple" structure, however, some bearing a dedication to the god Apollo. The other gods mentioned in the inscriptions from this site are the "Paphia" (the Goddess of Paphos, that is, Aphrodite), and Zeus.[147] Dates for these inscriptions have rarely been suggested.[148] It is worth noting, that from the entire Golgoi area, only two fragmentary Phoenician inscriptions have been found.[149]

Both the western and (especially) the eastern sites at Ayios Photios were very rich in votive sculpture, yielding 32 and 228 limestone figures, respectively. Cesnola did not report the finds of any terracotta objects from these two find spots.[150] Apart from the additional votive finds referred to briefly above, the 1885 *Atlas* indicates that at the western site, female figures with rich jewelry and male figures wearing rosette diadems were unearthed.[151] At the eastern site, male figures with rosette diadems and "Cypriote belts" abounded, together with Herakles Melqart figurines and mantle-wearing figures with conical caps playing the flute or carrying votive objects – but occasional depictions of Baal Hammon, figures with animal masks, and lions and other animals are indicated as well.[152] It should be noted that at both sites, there were a few additional fragmentary statues

[141] The Ashmolean Museum at Oxford acquired certain pieces: Masson 1971a, 317–320, figs. 11–12.

[142] In an auction of "duplicates", arranged in 1928, a limited number of sculptures and other objects from the New York Cesnola collection were sold, however. While some objects were bought by private collectors, a large part was acquired by John Ringling, for the John and Mable Ringling Museum in Sarasota, Florida. This includes **Cat. 20**, **Cat. 22**, **Cat. 23**, **Cat. 27**, **Cat. 31**, and **Cat. 38**: de Forest 1928, nos. 97, 344, 346, 354, 372, 375.

[143] Cesnola 1885, Introduction, p. xi.

[144] O. Masson suggests, however, regarding the exact find spots of the figures that we can trust Cesnola more here than in the information given in the romanticized account of 1877: Masson 1971a, 311.

[145] Masson 1961, 279.

[146] Masson 1961, 279 nn. 2–3. Gjerstad proposed an open *temenos* area, similar to that encountered at Ayia Irini, and elsewhere. It could perhaps be added, that the presence of statue bases – no less than 26 of them – at this western site adds to the difficulties of suggesting the presence of a mere *bothros* at this find spot.

[147] Masson 1961, 280, recounts that Cesnola – in his report from 1871 – noted 34 Cypro-syllabic inscriptions from the "temple" site: Ulbrich forthcoming.

[148] A Greek inscription naming a man "Themías" is suggested by O. Masson as belonging to the 5th century B.C.: Masson 1971a, 327–330.

[149] Masson 1971a, 326; Masson 1990; Given 1991, 205 (appendix 3, nos. 9–10).

[150] Cesnola 1894.

[151] Cesnola 1885, pls. 14.16, 15.18–20, 81.531. There was also the find of a small votive stele featuring the Egyptian ibis-headed god Thoth (pl. 57.377), an object which will be returned to below, in Ch. 5.2.1.

[152] Cesnola 1885, pls. 19, 25 (rosette diadems), 87 (Herakles Melqart), 40–41 (conical caps), 38.250, 57.373 (Baal Hammon), 24.57–59 (animal masks), 27, 84 (lions etc.). Attributed to the eastern site was further what rather looks like a grave stele, with a male bearded sphinx with double crown, on its top, placed back to back with a lion: pl. 42.273.

and statuettes wearing plain kerchiefs which could originally have belonged to kilt-wearing figures, but whose attribution remains unclear.[153]

About five kilometers southwest of ancient Golgoi lies the extra-urban site of Athienou *Malloura*.[154] In this area, the largest rural sanctuary site on the island is currently under excavation, and rich sculptural finds dating to the (Late) Archaic period have been made.[155] The find of a head with Egyptian headdress has been reported, but awaits publication.[156] Already in 1862, M. de Vogüé excavated a statuette with a plain Egyptian-type kilt somewhere at Athienou *Malloura*. The figure, **Cat. 41**, is part of the Louvre collections today.

Finally, the modern village of Arsos, situated east of ancient Golgoi, has yielded a particularly rich array of votive figures made of limestone. The ancient *temene* once situated here have not been identified, but are merely indicated through finds of votive figures. A find site excavated by M. Markides in 1917, duly published by the Swedish Cyprus Expedition, yielded rich finds of – mainly – female Archaic limestone figures.[157] Only a few male heads were found, none of which belongs within the Egyptianizing group. Inscriptions from the site mention "Aphrodite from Golgoi".[158] A life-size, although fragmentary, Egyptianizing limestone figure, **Cat. 42**, is said to have been found at Arsos, however. Its closer find context unfortunately remains unknown.[159]

The Kingdom of Tamassos

A fourth Cypriote kingdom site to concern us is inland Tamassos. Site of the well-known "royal tombs",[160] the ancient city seemingly incorporated a large territory, including the ascents to some of the nearby copper mines. Three sanctuary sites have been excavated in and around ancient Tamassos,[161] all of them – at least originally – by M. Ohnefalsch-Richter.[162] Inside the city walls was the major urban sanctuary of a female goddess, to judge by the inscriptions and votive figurines found.[163] From this sacred area, no finds of male statues or statuettes have been reported, let alone figures wearing an Egyptian-type outfit. Just outside the ancient walls, on the west bank of the Pediaios river, a sub-urban sanctuary was situated, detected in modern times by the fortuitous find of a cast, life-size, bronze statue of 5th century B.C. date.[164] A small Egyptianizing bronze statuette comes from this same sanctuary,[165] depicted with its right forearm raised, wearing a helmet or "white crown", and a kilt parted in the middle.[166] Depicted in a photo from the early excavations are fragmentary, large-scale stone figures, including a truly colossal male figure which must originally have been five meters in height, and a late, almost full-scale *quadriga* with driver.[167] The most well-known of the local *temenos* areas is perhaps the third one, a

153 Addendum 1, Nos. 5–6, from the western site, and Nos. 7–9, from the eastern (temple) site.

154 Toumazou *et al.* 1998, 172–173, fig. 2. Ulbrich GO 5.

155 Counts 1998.

156 Toumazou *et al.* 1996, 365.

157 Gjerstad *et al.* 1937, 583–600, pls. 185–203. Included among the finds is the so-called "Arsos head", a colossal limestone head considered by A. Westholm and E. Gjerstad as being of purely Egyptian style (pp. 587–588, pl. 189.1). The head is included in the Addendum 1 to our catalogue (Ch. 7), as No. 10. It has been suggested that this is the head of a female figure: Hermary 2001b, 29. It was, indeed, excavated together with almost only female statues and statuettes.

158 Masson 1961, 275 n. 3.

159 In Addendum 1, the heads of two additional male votive figures found at Arsos are incorporated (Nos. 11–12). Their exact find spots are unknown as well. Is it possible that they were once displayed within the same sanctuary area as **Cat. 42**?

160 Buchholz 1973, 322–337; Buchholz 1974, 577–589, figs. 25–26 (plan and section of Tomb 5), fig. 49 (Tomb 11). Note that two sphinxes with double crowns and four lions were found at Tamassos in 1997 – creatures which may have guarded the entrances to such well-carved tombs. For more on the sphinxes, see below Chs. 3.3.2 and 5.1.3.

161 The ancient city was situated between the modern villages of Politiko and Pera, close to the Pediaios river: Masson 1964, 199, fig. 5 (map of the area).

162 Ohnefalsch-Richter 1893, 7–11; Masson 1964, 206–213, 232–236.

163 Ohnefalsch-Richter 1893, 11; Buchholz 1974, 555–567; Ulbrich TA 1. The modern geographical denomination of this site is Politiko-Chomazoudia. Buchholz notes terracotta horse statuettes, a mold-made "Astarte" plaque, and several *thymiateria* among the finds from an Archaic votive depôt unearthed in the northern part of (what seems to be) the forecourt of the temple. See also Masson 1964, 209–210; Buchholz 1973, 342–361. Two fragmentary, limestone, Hathoric capitals were unearthed here as well: Buchholz 1993, 202, nos. 22, 23.a–b, pl. 55.1, 3–5; Hermary 1998a, 69 nn. 13–14.

164 The male statue, unfortunately cut into pieces by local farmers who wanted to share the costly bronze, has only partly survived. Its head, kept today in the British Museum, London, is known as that of the "Chatsworth Apollo": Masson 1964, pl. 9. The sanctuary is Ulbrich TA 2.

165 According to O. Masson, reading at the time from a copy of Ohnefalsch-Richter's unpublished "Tamassos und Idalion", the statuette was found 180 cm below ground level, in the dry river bed: Masson 1968, 404 n. 4. Ohnefalsch-Richter marked the find spot on a plan: Buchholz 1978, 214, fig. 56, point "B1". The colossal Hellenistic statue, referred to shortly below, was found at point "K".

166 Addendum 2, No. 14. A further bronze figurine was recovered at this site, a small statuette wearing what looks like a double belt and plain, rectangular "kilt": Addendum 2, No. 15.

167 Buchholz & Untiedt 1996, figs. 7.b, 61.a–d. Incredible as it may seem at first, the colossal figure is indeed lost; see text connected with fig. 7.b. Masson 1964, 211, notes that the colossal figure was of Hellenistic date, and that it may have been destroyed on the site.

peri-urban sanctuary situated at Pera-Phrangissa,[168] discovered in 1885 by M. Ohnefalsch-Richter and excavated in only 18 days.[169] The excavator, who never published his remarkable findings, noted that this site was the richest so far on Cyprus to be systematically explored – particularly in painted terracotta figures.[170] He described that sculptures were still standing *in situ*, on their bases.[171] Ohnefalsch-Richter's plan of the area, redrawn by the present excavator of Tamassos, H.-G. Buchholz, shows a multitude of statue bases *in situ*, most with depressions for the insertion of stone and terracotta statuary.[172] In the south part of the *temenos*, beside a large, painted terracotta figural head and a board-shaped, life-size limestone figure,[173] a fragmentary colossal terracotta statue was found. It is the hollow lower part of the body of a male, "kilt"-wearing, figure, with two thin, highly stylized "*uraei*" hanging down centrally from the belt.[174] Not far away from this very spot, the well-known – and well-preserved – colossal terracotta figure was found, which is exhibited today in the Cyprus Museum, Nicosia.[175] There are no exact find spots reported for our limestone figures **Cat. 43** and **Cat. 44**, but it is clear that they were both unearthed within this *temenos* area as well. Both are well preserved, although in different ways: while **Cat. 43** is unique in that it is intact, with head, body, and limbs preserved, the small, delicate **Cat. 44** displays rich traces of coloring. Only male figures were found in the Phrangissa sanctuary.[176] Apart from the figures described, we know that a multitude of terracotta figurines were unearthed, many of which were horse riders and cart models. Limestone counterparts were found as well in addition to an intact statuette wearing a "Cypriote belt" and conical cap, and a small Herakles Melqart figurine. Further, several male limestone figures wearing a *chiton* and mantle, being crowned by wreaths, were found at this important site.[177]

Similar to what we saw in "Lang's sanctuary" at Idalion, later Phoenician dedicatory inscriptions were found in the Phrangissa "temple", in close connection to the Archaic terracotta and limestone figures described above.[178] Like the Idalion examples, these inscriptions, too, belong to the 4th century B.C., a time when there was a "King of Kition and Idalion".[179] The two texts referred to are both bilinguals, written in Phoenician and in Greek, the first being dedicated to "Apollo Alasiotas", the second to "Apollo Helos", in Phoenician mirrored as "Reshef Eleios".[180]

(Probably) within the territory of ancient Tamassos, we find the modern village of Meniko and the local sanctuary excavated at site "Litharkes".[181] Among the terracotta material unearthed at the site is a well-

168 Phrangissa is the name of one of the valleys leading up to the copper mines, situated around five kilometers southeast of the ancient city: Masson 1964, 207, 232 n. 5, fig. 5.

169 Ohnefalsch-Richter 1893, 8–10, no. 4, pl. 6. The sanctuary is Ulbrich TA 3.

170 Buchholz 1991, 3–5; based on the unpublished accounts of M. Ohnefalsch-Richter.

171 Buchholz 1991, 4, citing the excavator, "Dieser Bezirk zu Frangissa ist bis jetzt der einzige auf Cypern entdeckte, in dem die nicht geköpften lebensgroßen Statuen und Kolosse aufrecht in situ standen."

172 Buchholz 1991, 14, pl. 2; Buchholz & Untiedt 1996, fig. 66 (with text adjoining).

173 See, for the former figure: Buchholz 1991, 14, pl. 2, no. 8. It is depicted in pl. 3.b, "…oberste Reihe, 5. Objekte von links", probably not counting the interspersed heads of much smaller dimensions. The latter (limestone) figure – p. 14, pl. 2, no. 10 – is depicted in pl. 4.b, third figure from the left. One may ask, if the head – which is seemingly clad in an Egyptianizing kerchief – truly belongs to the body, dressed in a plain, ankle-length robe?

174 Addendum 2, No. 16. H.-G. Buchholz followed a reconstruction made by Ohnefalsch-Richter, suggesting that the torso belonged together with the upper part of a male terracotta figure, found in the vicinity: Buchholz 1991, 9, 14–15, no. 9, "6.a", pls. 4.b, 5.a, 6.a. In answer to this, V. Karageorghis assembled the pieces, showing that this reconstruction was not feasible, and that the figure would have been of similar colossal proportions as the figure referred to in the coming footnote (the Cyprus Museum, Nicosia, Inv. no. B.246), found within the same sacred precinct – that is, originally around three meters in height: Karageorghis 1992, especially pl. 2.

175 Inv. no. B.246. This figure was referred to several times above, in Ch. 2.3. For depictions, see, for example: Karageorghis 1993, figs. 15, 18, pl. 18.2. Ohnefalsch-Richter noted that the figure was standing upright when discovered: Masson 1964, 234 n. 11.

176 Buchholz 1991, 9, recounts how Ohnefalsch-Richter noted that only male figures were found in the sanctuary apart from a Hellenistic Artemis figure. As Buchholz notes, "Artemis" turned out to be an Apollo *Kitharodos* statuette.

177 Of the more than 350 objects which seem to have been unearthed during the eighteen-day excavation, some, at least, were grouped together and photographed in 1885 by E.A. Cerletti. Buchholz 1991, pls. 3.a–6.b, reproduces a series of eight photos, where most of the above-mentioned pieces are recognizable.

178 One dedicatory inscription was built into a wall running parallel to the south sanctuary wall, while the second one, the famous "Alasiotas" bilingual, was found inside the sanctuary itself, in close connection to the colossal terracotta figure, Addendum 2, No. 16: Buchholz 1991, 14, pl. 2, nos. 4, 7, 9.

179 Inscriptional evidence from Kition indicates that, at least during the time of King Pumiyaton (ca. 340 B.C.), Tamassos had been annexed by Phoenician Kition: Guzzo Amadasi & Karageorghis 1977, 14–15 (A 2). I thank A. Ulbrich for this reference.

180 The Phoenician text says "[Rasa]f-Eleios", that is "Reshef from Cyprus", following Alasia as the ancient name of the island: Donner & Röllig 1964, 58, no. 41; Masson 1961, 224–228, nos. 215–216, pl. 33.1–2. See below, Ch. 5.2.2.

181 Karageorghis 1977b, fig. 3, for a plan of the sanctuary. Ulbrich TA 7.

known seated Baal Hammon figure.[182] Several terracotta, but only few limestone, statuettes were recovered, among which male figures with conical caps and ankle-length robes, and a figure wearing a plain version of the "Cypriote belt".[183] Finds of particular interest from the site were further painted Phoenician-type terracotta *thymiateria*, with a plastic row of drooping palm leaves placed around the top of their cylindrical bases.[184] No Egyptianizing figures were encountered at the site, however.

The Kingdom of Kition

The ancient city of Kition was the site of a Phoenician colony from the 9th century B.C. onwards.[185] Centuries later, from 479 to 312 B.C., it was the seat of a dynasty of Phoenician kings.[186] Unfortunately, the ancient remains are largely situated underneath today's Larnaka. Two sanctuary areas have been unearthed within the boundaries of the ancient city wall. The main sacred urban precinct, the so-called Area II at Kathari, displays cultic continuity from the Late Bronze Age down into the late 4th century B.C.[187] Excavations in and around the so-called Astarte temple have identified structures and floor levels (Floors 3, 2a, and 2) belonging to the Cypro-Archaic period.[188] The second area at ancient Kition to provide ample evidence of cultic activity is the Bamboula hill, situated south of Kathari,[189] close to the ancient harbor.[190] A cultic continuity is evident here as well, established from the 9th century B.C. down through the Archaic and Classical periods. The recently excavated Late Archaic and Classical remains at Bamboula lie adjacent to a *bothros* holding material of a similar date, discovered and emptied by E. Gjerstad in 1929.[191] Among the limestone material from the *bothros* we encounter several Herakles Melqart figures, male figures wearing conical caps and mantles, flute players in similar garb, and later figures, draped in tight-fitting *chiton* and mantles, wearing wreaths around their heads. Gjerstad further unearthed two fragmentary male Egyptianizing statuettes, **Cat. 45** and **Cat. 46**, one carrying a goat under his left arm and wearing a wreath around his head, the other standing in the characteristic pose, one arm hanging and one hand placed on the chest.

There are certain additional sculptural finds from the Kition area, apart from the finds from the Gjerstad *bothros*. Two additional sites within the ancient city wall, Chrysopolitissa and Kamelarga,[192] have yielded a limited amount of Archaic limestone and terracotta statuary,[193] and at a place called Phaneromeni, situated south of the ancient town, a *bothros* with Archaic sculpture indicates the presence of a peri-urban sanctuary.[194] There are no Egyptianizing limestone statues and statuettes among these limited finds. However, a life-size, although fragmentary, Egyptianizing statue is said to have been unearthed in the vicinity of a tomb at Larnaka, in 1871. The statue, **Cat. 47**, was part of the collection of the Italian Consul on Cyprus, Riccardo Colucci. If the information on its find spot is reliable, then the figure is one of only very few pieces of large-scale limestone (and terracotta) sculpture unearthed at ancient Kition. The fact that large-scale statuary is missing at the ancient city has been noted before.[195] Within the monumental temple at Kathari (Area II) and the several *bothroi* connected to it, virtually no

[182] Karageorghis 1977b, 24–25 (no. 1), pl. A.1, for the well-preserved, painted terracotta figurine.

[183] The terracotta figurines included the well-known and interesting group consisting of two male figures clad in rosette diadems (and "Cypriote belts"?), flanking a large bull (p. 27, pl. 10.16). Further finds were male figures with conical caps (some with upturned cheek pieces), horse riders, and chariot models. For the limestone statuettes: Karageorghis 1977b, 33, 38–39, pl. 11.

[184] Karageorghis 1977b, 39–41, pls. A, 12.21–22.

[185] Yon 1997, 11–12.

[186] On the Phoenician kings at Kition: Yon 1991a, 1296; Guzzo Amadasi & Karageorghis 1977, 11–48, who present translations of contemporary Phoenician dedicatory inscriptions naming, mainly, Milkyaton (392–362 B.C.) and his son and successor, King Pumiyaton.

[187] The sanctuary is Ulbrich KI 2. In 312 B.C., the Ptolemies seem to have put an end to the Phoenician dynasty at Kition. King Pumiyaton was slain, and the (Phoenician) city temples destroyed: Karageorghis 1976b, 172; Yon 1985, 224–225 (regarding Kition *Bamboula*).

[188] Karageorghis 1976b, figs. 18 (Floor 3), 19 (Floor 2a), 16 (Floor 2). For a detailed overall plan, with features of all periods included: Clerc *et al.* 1976, fig. 2.

[189] For an aerial photograph with the two sites marked: Yon 1997, fig. 1.

[190] Ulbrich KI 1. Excavators and explorers of the past century reported that the following had been found on or in connection to the hill: two large, limestone, Hathoric capitals, one substantial Phoenician inscription listing duties and wages of attendants connected to a temple of Astarte (Guzzo Amadasi & Karageorghis 1977, 103–128, C 1), and the famous stele of Sargon II, erected in 707 B.C.: Yon 1985, 219. Recent excavations have offered finds which complement, in a very interesting manner, the two large-scale limestone Hathoric capitals; five small terracotta plaques with the image of the Egyptian goddess: Caubet & Pic 1982, 237–240, figs. 2.b, 3.

[191] Gjerstad *et al.* 1937, 1–75, pls. 5–36.

[192] Myres 1897, 164–169, fig. 15 – where no. 13 is a small limestone statuette of a male figure wearing a "Cypriote belt", with vertically striped upper garment (see above, Ch. 2.2.2), and no. 8, a small Egyptian (?) faience amulet.

[193] Caubet 1986, 160–161, fig. 1; Nicolaou 1976, 228, pl. 17 (Chrysopolitissa).

[194] Caubet 1986, 162–163; Nicolaou 1976, 222, pls. 19–20.

[195] Nicolaou 1976, 217, 222; Wriedt Sørensen 1992, 258. Cf. Caubet & Yon 1994, 98 n. 6.

finds of votive statuary have been made.[196] What has been recovered are small-scale finds made of precious materials like faience, ivory, and bronze (see below) – and large amounts of pottery.[197] This should be seen against the fact that from the third temple (Floor 2), dated to 600–450 B.C., come the finds of two long benches added to the temple courtyard, and 11 rectangular pedestals placed behind one of the benches along the southern wall of the court.[198] These features were most probably added to facilitate the dedication of votive gifts – including statues and statuettes. A similar lack of large-scale statuary is noted for the remaining part of the Bamboula hill, excavated by a French mission since 1976; *bothroi* connected to the remains of the Archaic and Classical sanctuary have been found virtually empty.[199]

From the main temple site, the "temple of Astarte", comes a limited number of small-scale Egyptianizing statuettes in bronze and faience, however, whose find sites will shortly be outlined.[200] All three figurines were unearthed in and around the so-called Temple 1 at Kathari (Area II). Throughout the Iron Age period, the monumental temple seems to have consisted of a large, rectangular courtyard, which was partly roofed.[201] In its western end two free-standing pillars were erected, flanking the entrance to the slightly raised "holy-of-holies".[202] On Floor 3, that is, on the courtyard of the earliest (Phoenician) temple, a fragmentary faience figurine was found.[203] The kilt-clad statuette has a back-pillar support featuring hieroglyphic inscriptions. Further finds from this level included a collection of *bucrania*, placed adjacent to an offering table near the double pillars, and a fragmentary bowl of Phoenician Red Slip ware with an inscription mentioning the goddess Astarte.[204] This first temple seems to have been destroyed by fire, and a second temple was erected on the site. The corresponding level of the courtyard has been labelled Floor 2a by the excavators, and dated to between 800–600 B.C.[205] Outside the south wall of the second temple, in a level corresponding to Floor 2a, two kilt-wearing bronze figurines were unearthed.[206] From the courtyard itself comes the find of, among other things, a small female faience figurine, which is indeed a small water container.[207] The following phase, featuring a third temple on the site, saw a paved courtyard and a wealth of different precious materials deposited in the contemporary *bothroi*. In one of these, dated – just like the contemporary Floor 2 – to around 600–450 B.C.,[208] another Egyptianizing faience statuette was found, together with, among many other things, a small Bes amulet of the same material.[209] Yet another *bothros* yielded a pottery bowl of local ware with a Phoenician inscription naming "Melqart".[210] This name or epithet is encountered in 4th century B.C. Phoenician inscriptions from the site, together with "Astarte" and "Eshmun".[211]

About 11 kilometers northeast of Kition lies the modern village of Pyla. On the outskirts of the village, at Pyla-Stavros, R.H. Lang discovered yet another ancient sanctuary.[212] Lang discovered the

196Karageorghis 1967a, 321, fig. 118, is the only published example known to me: a female limestone statuette of Late Archaic date. See also below, n. 199.

197Karageorghis 1976b, 101–102, 110–111.

198Karageorghis 1976b, 111–112, fig. 16.

199M. Yon in Karageorghis 1985, 939–941, p. 939, who notes that the excavated circular *bothroi* were found merely filled with stones. Only small-scale objects, like a faience scarab and a small terracotta "goddess with uplifted arms" are reported from the sanctuary: p. 939, figs. 102, 104.

200I have included in this section, and in the book in general (see, for example, Ch. 5.1.3), only those faience figurines which are larger in size – true statuettes – and do not treat the large number of amulets only a few centimeters in height. See above, Ch. 1.3.

201Karageorghis 1976b, 98–99, fig. 18.

202Karageorghis 1976b, 98, pls. 69–70.

203Addendum 2, No. 17. Floor 3 represents the earliest level of the Phoenician temple, and would thus correspond to a time around 850 B.C., placing the small figurine outside the chronological limits of this study: Karageorghis 1976b, 96–101. Stylistically, however, it comes very close to other small-scale Archaic material found on the island. In Caubet 1986, 160, Floor 3 is indeed referred to as belonging to the Cypro-Archaic period.

204Karageorghis 1976b, 102, pls. 78–81 (the *bucrania*), 106, pl. 83 (the bowl with inscription). It is believed that the *bucrania* were used as masks by priests or other functionaries, in cultic ceremonies. The well-known Phoenician inscription on the Red Slip bowl indeed recounts that a man from (Tamassos?), ML, thanks the goddess for hearing his prayer: Guzzo Amadasi & Karageorghis 1977, 149–160, fig. 23 (D 21).

205Karageorghis 1976b, 109–111, fig. 19.

206Addendum 2, Nos. 18–19.

207Karageorghis 1976b, 110–111, pl. 88; Lagarce & Leclant 1976, pl. 20.1–4.

208Karageorghis 1976b, 111–114, fig. 16.

209Addendum 2, No. 20. Karageorghis 1976b, 90 (the Bes figurine). In Karageorghis 1967a, 321–324, it is noted that terracotta figurines of Classical date, fragments of limestone statues and statuettes, and more than 50 scarabs were found in the same *bothros* (figs. 115–119).

210Karageorghis 1976b, 113, pl. 92. The bowl was found in the rich *Bothros* 6, together with – among other things – ivory chippings, indicating that ivory carving had taken place within the sacred area. All the Kathari *bothroi* are marked on the plan reproduced in Clerc *et al.* 1976, fig. 2.

211One 4th century B.C. inscription mentions "Eshmun Melqart": Guzzo Amadasi & Karageorghis 1977, *passim*.

212Ulbrich KI 13/Pyla 2. No indications have been found in the area of an ancient *polis* in its own right, and Pyla is viewed as belonging to the territory of Kition: Masson 1966, 1; Caubet & Yon 1994, 98; Ulbrich forthcoming. The contrasting lack of votive sculpture from Kition Area II and Kition *Bamboula* is thus even more emphasized.

remains basically in his own backyard, and excavated hastily during late 1868, right after his first campaign at Idalion (see above).[213] A multitude of statues and statuettes, and a few dedicatory inscriptions, were unearthed.[214] The important findings were not sent as a collection to a given museum, but were largely dispersed, some pieces even lost, with time. It is to G. Colonna-Ceccaldi that we owe a general account of the finds. According to him, a large number of colossal statues were unearthed, and among the material recovered there were "...personnages mâles, habillés à l'égyptienne et portant des animaux, béliers ou chiens."[215] If Colonna-Ceccaldi's notes are correct, then the site yielded not one but several Egyptianizing limestone figures carrying votive animals, a type otherwise only known in two additional instances from the island, our **Cat. 45**, from Kition *Bamboula*, and **Cat. 62**, of unknown provenance. Interestingly, the French author adds that Cypriote statues were arranged together in the sanctuary, separated from the votive statues of Greek style, with Greek inscriptions.[216] Unfortunately, no illustrations were ever published of the Pyla material.[217]

Continuing a few kilometers northeast, but probably still within the territory of ancient Kition, one reaches the village of Achna, and the site of a sanctuary excavated by M. Ohnefalsch-Richter. The statuary recovered was not satisfactorily published or even reported. From what is said and shown by the excavator in his 1893 volume, it seems as if a majority of the figures unearthed were female terracotta statues and statuettes.[218]

3.2.3 The southwestern part of the island

The Kingdom of Amathus

Excavations at the ancient kingdom city of Amathus have revealed a particularly rich array of Egyptianizing objects of various kinds.[219] This evidence has been recovered mainly from the slopes of the acropolis, on top of which the main sanctuary was situated,[220] and from individual graves at the city's necropoleis. Similar to the Aphrodite sanctuary at Old Paphos, however (see below), Roman activity at the main cultic site has obliterated virtually all Archaic remains.[221] The few large-scale Archaic objects which have come down to us did so because they were reused in later foundations and buildings.[222] This is true for our life-size but very fragmentary **Cat. 48**, recovered from structures within the lower city of Amathus, from the so-called agora (*Pl. 11.1*).[223] This figure is one of very few large-scale votive statues from the ancient city site. Apart from this piece, Amathus is said to have yielded two Egyptianizing limestone statuettes, of more limited dimensions. Both were unearthed by L.P. di Cesnola, during his period of extensive diggings on the island. In his *Atlas* from 1885, Cesnola notes that the colorful statuette **Cat. 49** was found "in a tomb at Amathus", while the statuette **Cat. 50** is simply said to be "from Amathus" itself.[224] Further the head

213 O. Masson recounts that Lang made no report of his findings, nor published any plan thereof: Masson 1966, 11–12.

214 Both male and female figures were recovered. The later, Hellenistic, statuettes show both a male and a female deity (Apollo and Artemis?): Masson 1966, 15–19. Two inscriptions are dedicated to "Apollo Magirios": Masson 1961, 302–304, nos. 304–305.

215 Colonna-Ceccaldi 1882, 21. According to the author, these figures were found together with heads with beard and laurel wreath, remains of a bearded terracotta head, lyre-playing male and female terracotta figures, and figures of Diana, Apollo, Pan, and Hercules.

216 Colonna-Ceccaldi 1882, 22.

217 Admittedly, not much is known about the Egyptianizing figure excavated at Toumba (Salamis), described above. The piece is, however, incorporated into the catalogue (Ch. 7), as **Cat. 4**. The differences between the Toumba piece, known only through J.A.R. Munro, and the Egyptianizing Pyla material, known only through G. Colonna Ceccaldi, is that the exact number of the latter is unknown to us, as are their actual appearances. The Toumba figure, on the other hand, even though never reproduced, is merely one piece, and was at least sparingly described by its excavator.

218 Ohnefalsch-Richter 1893, 1–2, 352–353, pls. 11–12, 209–212. A. Ulbrich notes that remains of not less than seven sanctuaries have been found at and around this site: Ulbrich forthcoming.

219 Several finds of Egyptianizing objects at or in connection to a site interpreted as the royal palace of Amathus has led T. Petit to suggest that the Amathusian kings used an Egyptianizing iconography to establish and diffuse their royal ideology: Petit 1995.

220 Ulbrich AM 1. In 1979, an inscription was found on the site, giving witness to the dedication of a votive statue or statuette to "Kypria", by means of King Androkles – for his fine son. M.-C. Hellmann and A. Hermary, who published the interesting find, have suggested that the dedicated statuette was that of a "temple boy": Hellmann & Hermary 1980, 262–265. It has been established, that "Aphrodite" is the *interpretatio graeca* of the Great Cypriote Goddess.

221 The Amathusian sanctuary of "Aphrodite" has yielded nine terracotta boat models, a characteristic type of Archaic votive object from the area: Hermary 1996b, 16 n. 22. Further, a cave once housing cultic activity was excavated in connection to the temple site. There were Archaic remains inside, but no stone statuary was found: Hermary *et al.* 1988, 857–862.

222 The two large, limestone, Hathoric capitals, unearthed by the French Mission in 1983 and 1987, respectively, were both found incorporated into later wall structures: Aupert & Hermary 1984, 967, figs. 3–4 (AM 805); Hermary *et al.* 1988, 862–863, figs. 15–17 (AM 1555).

223 M.C. Loulloupis, personal communication, 1999. I thank Dr. Loulloupis for the permission to include the torso among the plates and the drawings to scale at the end of the book.

224 Cesnola 1885, text relating to pls. 34.215 and 54.347; Hermary 1981, 16–17, 22–23, figs. 2, 12. We saw above that the

of a small terracotta figurine wearing the Egyptian Osiride *atef* crown with frontal *uraeus* was unearthed during late 19th-century excavations.[225] The tomb in which it was found, the so-called Tomb 83, is well-known for its contents, including several terracotta objects with a strongly Egyptianizing character. Apart from the small polychrome figural head, the grave yielded a niche decorated by a winged sun disk and an upper row of *uraei*, containing a male figure clad in Egyptianizing dress;[226] a Humbaba-like demonic mask; a terracotta *kriophoros*, quite unusual in that it apparently copies limestone sculpture;[227] a nude female figurine pressing her breasts with both hands ("Astarte"); at least one boat model; and horses and cart models, birds, a small bell, etc.[228] Attic pottery dates the tomb context to around 550–500 B.C. It was noted already by the British excavators that the Egyptianizing (Osiride) figurine was made from non-local clay, in an unusual technique, and that it represents an iconographic type not well-known on the island.[229] A. Hermary has suggested that the figurine wearing the *atef* – together with a collection of other figurines, found in a nearby grave and on the acropolis, all seemingly made from the same kind of clay and in similar technique – represents the Phoenician style, or indeed manufacture.[230]

A safe context can be attributed to a small-scale bronze statuette head wearing the Egyptian double crown, which was unearthed at Amathus during more recent excavations. It was found by the French Mission which has been excavating at Amathus since 1975.[231] The statuette head was recovered on the south slope of the acropolis, about halfway between the city gate and what is held to be the royal palace at Amathus.[232]

Among the vast corpus of additional, Egyptianizing finds from Amathus, it can be noted that the ancient city is the main find site on the island for large-scale Hathoric limestone capitals.[233] Most of the nine recovered capitals were found on and around the acropolis, no doubt connected to the female deity venerated in the main city sanctuary on its top.[234] In addition, suffice it to draw attention to two groups of objects which are indeed unique to the island.[235] The first consists of (at least) two very fragmentary stone thrones flanked by sphinxes wearing broad collars and striped *nemes* headdresses.[236] The second group includes several colossal Bes figures[237] wearing vertically striped kilts with frontally hanging cobras, all unearthed on the so-called Roman agora.[238] It may

falcon-headed **Cat. 1** was most probably found by the Consul somewhere on the Karpasia peninsula, and not at Amathus, as stated in the 1885 *Atlas*.

225Addendum 2, No. 21.

226The British Museum, Inv. no. A 149. The small male figure, standing in the characteristic striding position with one arm hanging, one hand clenched on the chest, is wearing a correctly rendered pleated *shenti* kilt, and what seems to be an Egyptian-type wig or kerchief. See below, Ch. 5.2.2.

227Hermary 1996b, 17.

228The grave finds from Amathus were slightly mixed up when being catalogued at the Cyprus Museum, Nicosia, and the British Museum, London, respectively, resulting in some uncertainties regarding the exact content of, among others, Tomb 83. A. Hermary gives a clear account of the available evidence, and of the plausible original contents of this and a few other Amathusian graves: Hermary 1996b, especially pp. 16–19.

229Indeed, the *atef* crown with a central *uraeus*, so characteristically Egyptian, is – as far as I know – unparalleled within the Cypriote corpus of terracotta and limestone statues and statuettes. However, two bronze statuettes from Ayia Irini (Addendum 2, Nos. 26–27) are wearing what seems to be a squat version (with flat knob) of the Egyptian crown, with the two characteristic ostrich feathers at the sides: Masson 1968, figs. 32–33 (AI 1479), 36 (AI 2758).

230The figurines referred to are a set of polychrome *dea gravida* figurines from Tomb 291 and two terracotta heads uncovered from the acropolis terrace (a sanctuary?), along with "Bes" and "Ptah-Patek" figurines: Hermary 1996b, 20.

231Addendum 2, No. 22. It has been noted that it is not common for Cypriote Egyptianizing bronze figurines to wear the proper Egyptian *pshent* or double crown: Petit 1995, 139. Only two such figures are known, Addendum 2, No. 22, and the unprovenanced No. 33. Unfortunately, in both cases, merely the heads of the figures are preserved.

232It was found in the so-called "chantier C", in a stratum situated underneath Hellenistic remains: Aupert 1978, 946–947, fig. 14. Not far from this find site, one of the Hathoric capitals referred to above, AM 805, was unearthed in 1983, in terrace buildings which were later identified as part of the royal palace: Aupert & Hermary 1984, 967, fig. 1 (with text in connection).

233Hermary 1998a, 68–70. In all, 18 capitals have been unearthed on Cyprus, of which nine at Amathus.

234A. Hermary suggests that several of these Hathoric depictions were connected to a building just beneath the royal palace, on the slope of the acropolis: Hermary 2000, 146.

235The Egyptianizing evidence from Amathus carried out in the round (Hathoric capitals, sphinxes, etc.) are further uniquely echoed in two dimensions, in depictions found on so-called "Amathus style" pottery.

236The sphinx thrones were found more than half a kilometer east of the acropolis, on a hill called Viklaes. A. Hermary dates them to the 5th century B.C.: Hermary 1981, 61. In fact, the *nemes* and broad collar is clearly found on only one of the thrones/sets of sphinxes. I thank A. Hermary for the permission to study the Viklaes fragments, kept in the Limassol District Museum.

237Apart from the assembled stone Bes figure in the Limassol District Museum and the (obviously later) one kept in the Archaeological Museum of Istanbul, there are fragments of at least two additional figures in the Limassol Museum courtyard. All the figures were excavated by M.C. Loulloupis.

238Dating these figures is problematic. A. Hermary has suggested that the reconstructed Bes figure, now in the Limassol District Museum, is of a Late Archaic date but remained on display on the Roman Agora. Alternatively, he states, the kilt-clad fragmentary Bes figures could be part of a group of Archaizing examples, produced during Imperial times: Hermary 1995, especially p. 26 n. 21.

be added that there are virtually no finds of any Phoenician inscriptions from the site.[239]

The Kingdom of Kourion

Of the main sanctuary on the Kourion acropolis, not much remains and not much is known.[240] More well-known is the peri-urban sanctuary of Apollo Hylates, which was at its peak during the Roman period.[241] As in other places on the island such as Palaepaphos and Amathus, Roman activities at the site led to the obliteration of earlier remains to a large extent. However, the small limestone head **Cat. 51** was unearthed to the west of the so-called Street One leading up to the Roman Apollo temple.[242] To the east of this same street, an "Archaic precinct" was excavated during the early American expeditions between 1934 and 1948. The material from the area was published in the 1950's (mostly terracottas),[243] while further excavations on the site have been carried out and published more recently.[244] Further, a small Egyptianizing serpentinite amulet comes from the Apollo sanctuary.[245] It is not clear at what exact location it was found within the sacred area, however.[246] The other Archaic find categories from the site consist mainly of terracotta figurines,[247] and a smaller amount of limestone figures, including a male figurine with conical cap and mantle, male figural heads with wreaths, and horse riders.[248]

A depôt with a strong male character was found at Limassol-Komissariato. Male terracotta figures, horses, and *quadrigas* were found, alongside a terracotta phallus. The only two limestone objects, however, were very fragmentary female statuettes of Classical date.[249]

The Kingdom of Palaepaphos

The major urban sanctuary of Old Paphos was dedicated to a female divinity, named Aphrodite in Greek. Mentioned and described by several authors, indeed famous in ancient times,[250] the sanctuary of the Paphian goddess – situated inside the city walls – seems to have enjoyed a continuity of cultic activity from the Late Bronze Age down throughout the Roman period.[251] For the Archaic period, however, evidence from the site is virtually non-existent, due to the extensive cleaning and rebuilding taking place in Roman times.[252] It is the work of fate that we have, instead, ample evidence preserved from an Archaic sub-urban sanctuary, once situated somewhere outside the northeastern gate of the city wall of Old Paphos, Palaepaphos.

In the summer of 1950, the Kouklia Expedition of the University of St. Andrews and the Liverpool Museums arrived at the modern village of Kouklia. The main goals of the Expedition were to uncover remains of ancient occupation at Old Paphos and to investigate the area of the temple of Aphrodite.[253] During one single month, intensive work was carried out at two sites situated close to the village. Site C, on its western limits, was the site of the Aphrodite

239 Hermary 1981, 11; Given 1991, 205, nos. 1–4 (appendix 3).

240 The finds of two fragmentary Hathoric limestone capitals may indicate the identity of the deity worshipped within this main cultic area: Hermary 1998a, 69–70, pl. 3.1–2; Ulbrich forthcoming.

241 Soren 1987, 183–184, 198–202; Dietrich 1996, 17–18. The sanctuary is Ulbrich KOU 3.

242 "The head was found to the west of Street One in the Apollo sanctuary (section Z-H-6-8)." This information is given by G. Markoe in Markoe 1988a, 17 n. 5, with references on p. 18 n. 18. The small male head **Cat. 51** is otherwise unpublished, but belongs to material excavated by G.H. MacFadden at the site. For a plan of the sanctuary marking both the excavation area west of Street One and the so-called Archaic precinct just east of it: Young & Young 1955, 5, plan 1.

243 Young & Young 1955.

244 Buitron-Oliver 1996. It should be noted that a much weathered head which is possibly wearing an Egyptianizing kerchief was unearthed in this area: Addendum 1, No. 13. A. Hermary compares the head to **Cat. 8**, from Idalion: Hermary 1996c, 140–141.

245 Addendum 2, No. 23. The Kourion amulet was carved from stone, and is thus included here – in contrast to the tiny, mold-made faience amulets (see above n. 200).

246 The tiny statuette, merely four cm in height, is published only in Markoe 1988a, 17–18, pl. 5.1–3. On its unclear exact provenance, see p. 18 nn. 16–18. G. Markoe suggests, however, that it was found on the same spot as **Cat. 51**, that is, west of Street One – in that case (possibly) originally coming from the "Archaic precinct" east of the street, and included in fill material used for terracing: Markoe 1988a, 18 n. 18; Young & Young 1955, 4.

247 A multitude of horse riders and chariots, but also male terracotta statuettes, have been found: Young & Young 1955, 25–26, pls. 6–7; Winter 1996.

248 Young & Young 1955, 173–176, pls. 69–70; Hermary 1996c. A. Hermary notes that the stone used for the votive figurines is not local but most probably originated in the eastern part of the island (p. 140).

249 Karageorghis 1977b, 60–61, pls. 19–21 (terracotta figures), p. 63, pl. 21.180–181 (lower part of female statuettes).

250 Tac. *Hist.* 2.2. James 1888 starts out with Tacitus' account, and adds the other ancient textual references known.

251 Maier 1974b, 133–138, fig. 1; Maier & Wartburg 1985b, 143–144. The sanctuary is Ulbrich PA 1. Was the single Hathoric head recovered at the ancient site once displayed within this main sanctuary? See Masson & Hermary 1986.

252 Maier & Wartburg 1985b, 155.

253 It is remarkable that so few earlier excavations had been attempted in this well-known area. Basically, it was only one other British campaign, undertaken in 1887–1888, which preceded the Kouklia Expedition: Gardner 1888b; Maier 1967b, 30–32. For more on visitors to the site, both early and more recent: Maier & Wartburg 1988.

temple, while Site A was established about 400 meters northeast of Kouklia, on the Marcello Hill.[254] The excavations undertaken at the large temple site proved disappointing in terms of the ancient material remains that were uncovered.[255] At the Marcello Hill, however, important architectural remains came immediately to light together with several pieces of Archaic limestone statuary and other votive objects, used as filling material in the mound and the surrounding wall. Despite the short period of time available, the Expedition leaders, T.B. Mitford and J.H. Iliffe, were able to arrive at far-reaching conclusions about the newly established site.[256] Among the material recovered during this first season were two male figures wearing a "Cypriote belt"; one of them with a rather more unusual tie belt,[257] and the kilt-wearing **Cat. 53**.[258] The Expedition further published marble fragments of (sphinx) wings with much color preserved, a Proto-aeolic volute capital, and part of a stepped niche stele, or false window, with three so-called Phoenician cup-palmettes rendered in high-quality relief.[259] Further, 16 Cypro-syllabic inscriptions were recovered from the mound (see below). The leaders of the Expedition noted that among these objects recovered at Site A[260] were several sculptural pieces and fragments which had remarkably well preserved traces of color.[261] Excavations were carried out for another four seasons, between 1950 and 1955, uncovering among other finds **Cat. 58**, the well-preserved male sculptural head with double crown and winged *uraeus*, subsequently called "the Priest King".[262]

Between 1966 and 1971, excavation undertakings on the Marcello Hill were continued by a Swiss-German Archaeological Expedition led by F. G. Maier.[263] In focus were the fortifications and siege works which had come to light on the hill, identified as the northeastern gate of the Paphian city wall, and a siege mound constructed against it.[264] The theory put forward by the former British excavators, that objects from a nearby sanctuary had been used as filling material in the construction, could now be proven. Each season, more debris from the Archaic sanctuary was recovered from the slowly disappearing mound, resulting in a total collection of around 2000 more or less fragmentary stone objects.[265] We learn that among these objects, there were remains of 16 full-bodied statues, up to eight board-shaped figures, 21 sphinxes and lions,[266] 158 votive stelai of different types, 59 votive columns, and at least 11 small votive altars.[267] The group of male statues thus consists of earlier, board-shaped pieces and a group of more full-bodied figures. The latter ones are said to be wearing either the "Cypriote belt" decorated with rosettes or an Egyptian-type dress.[268] Of the Egyptianizing figures referred to in the excavation reports, only **Cat. 52** and **Cat. 53** have been published and reproduced. **Cat. 52**, assembled from several fragments, displays

[254]Mitford & Iliffe 1951, 52–60. This sanctuary is Ulbrich PA 2.

[255]Mitford & Iliffe 1951, 62–66, figs. 5–7, pl. 11, for a small group of Archaic female terracotta figurines which were, indeed, recovered.

[256]Already in their first report, Mitford and Iliffe suggested that they had come upon a Persian siege mound, from 498/497 B.C., and that the sculptures and other votive material encountered in the mound were debris from a nearby sanctuary. The wall and the mudbrick tower encountered west of the mound were identified as part of the city wall of Old Paphos: Mitford & Iliffe 1951, 54–57.

[257]Mitford & Iliffe 1951, 60–61, pl. 9.a, c (KA 25, KA 618). The figure with tie belt, KA 25, is wearing a short-sleeved garment decorated by thin, vertical incisions. See, for very similar renderings, the upper garments of **Cat. 23** and **Cat. 24**, both from the western site at Golgoi (Ayios Photios).

[258]Mitford & Iliffe 1951, 61, pl. 9.d (KA 620). Mitford and Iliffe noted that this piece was actually discovered previously, during unauthorized diggings, and that it had been acquired by the Cypriote Director of Antiquities. It could be noted that the excavators publish the piece without, F.G. Maier *with* the lower left arm and both hands attached. Compare Mitford & Iliffe 1951, pl. 9.d; Maier 1974a, fig. 2.

[259]Mitford & Iliffe 1951, 60–61, pls. 8.a, 9.c, f (KA 5/268/371/455/468/616 being the fragmentary sphinx wing, KA 26, KA 6). The Phoenician cup palmette motif was treated above, in Ch. 2.2.2, in connection with **Cat. 12**, from Idalion.

[260]The Kouklia Expedition catalogued finds from Sites Kouklia A and C, marking them KA and KC, respectively. The finds from Site A, the Marcello Hill, are thus KA 1 and onwards: Mitford & Iliffe 1951, 60 n. 1.

[261]Mitford & Iliffe 1951, 65 (in connection with no. 18, KA 331); Maier 1985, 21, notes rich traces of black, red, and blue paint.

[262]The results of the first two seasons were published in the *Liverpool Museum Bulletin* (vols. 1–2, 1951–1952), a journal to which I have not had access.

[263]Continuous reports are found in the *Archäologischer Anzeiger* and the *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* from 1967 onwards. The Expedition further excavated at the sanctuary of Aphrodite, certain Lusignan cane sugar installations, and – from 1983 – the eastern settlement area of Palaepaphos: Maier & Wartburg 1985a, 100.

[264]The semi-circular wall referred to earlier, running along the foot of the hill on its eastern side was indeed part of the siege works. Debris was thrown into the *fosse* outside the city wall, and the siege mound was then created with the aid of the semi-circular wall: Maier 1967b, 35–44, fig. 2; Maier 1985, pl. 11.3 (photo of *fosse* and ramp).

[265]Tatton-Brown 1994, 71.

[266]Veronica Wilson, now Tatton-Brown, who has been entrusted with the publication of the vast group of limestone finds, notes that it is difficult to assess the exact number of sphinxes and lions from the paws and body fragments available: Wilson 1975a, 449.

[267]Maier 1974a, 30.

[268]Wilson 1975a, 447 – where the number of full-bodied figures is given as 12 only. See also Wilson 1974.

not only kilt with cobras and sash ends, but also a double crown. There are, in addition, at least four (fragmentary) figures of this type, dressed in a virtually identical version of the Egyptian-type dress.[269] Two pieces, **Cat. 54** and **Cat. 55**, are upper parts of bodies, where the broad belts with raised outer ridges and part of the striped kilt cloth are preserved. The other two, **Cat. 56** and **Cat. 57**, are instead the lower parts of bodies, preserved from the belts down to the knees of the figure. Judging by what is left of the fragmentary torsos, they could not have belonged together but must represent four additional individual pieces of male statuary.[270] Common to **Cat. 52–57** are thus the broad, ridged belt, the pleated kilt cloth, and the frontal *uraei* with lateral sash ends. There are close correspondences between all these pieces, but **Cat. 53** and **Cat. 57** are virtually identical.[271] It could perhaps be added that until recently there were two additional torsos kept in the Cyprus Museum, Nicosia, which were said to have come from Kouklia. According to the drawings on the museum cards, the two fragmentary kilts displayed dress and details which came very close to those found on the known Palaepaphos figures. Unfortunately, the Nicosia torsos were reported as missing in a 1988 museum inventory.[272]

It is interesting to juxtapose the group of male Egyptianizing figures wearing pleated kilts but lacking elaborate broad collars with the very elaborate fragments of winged sphinxes which have come to light from the mound.[273] The sphinxes are described as wearing broad collars and frontally hanging aprons, both dress elements carrying elaborate floral decoration carved in relief.[274] Of the available material, only one object – a large fragment of a frontal apron (?) with nine decorated registers – has been reproduced.[275] Further, a trunk and wing of a limestone sphinx and several marble wing fragments reconstructed together displaying much red, blue, and green color have been published, the latter piece said to be an import from the Greek islands.[276] There are thus several elaborately decorated (sphinx) fragments which have not yet been shown.[277] Beside the possible Greek import it has been noted that the Palaepaphos limestone pieces clearly witness to the Phoenician sphinx being translated into stone.[278] Of interest is the fact that the Kouklia sphinx fragments are seemingly produced in a different type of limestone than the rest of the vast but fragmentary sanctuary material, being made of chalk and not of the locally available calcarenite.[279]

Apart from human and animal statuary[280] the mound revealed a multitude of different categories of votive gifts mentioned in passing above. The large number of votive stelai found, most of the *naiskos* or niche type, sets the site apart from any other find site on the island.[281] Unique is also the evidence of statuary and votive stelai being dedicated together.[282] Votive columns of varying sizes and with different

269This, and other, statuary will be published by V. Tatton-Brown in a forthcoming volume in the *Alt-Paphos* series. I warmly thank F.G. Maier and V. Tatton-Brown who kindly gave me permission to visit the storerooms of the Kouklia Museum in January 1999 and refer to the yet unpublished material here. The presence of these additional figures, wearing similarly pleated kilts and frontally hanging cobras, is indeed referred to in an earlier publication: Wilson 1975a, 447–448.

270The only hypothetical connection possible, in my view, would be between the two fragments **Cat. 53** and **Cat. 54**. No such match has been proposed by the excavators, however, while **Cat. 52** is assembled from several fragments – with one breakage right beneath the broad belt of the figure. If additional matching between pieces were possible, then it would surely already have been carried out in publications, or in the storerooms.

271Their consecutive inventory numbers, KA 620 and KA 621, and the indication of the year 1949 for the latter figure, suggest that they were both found during unauthorized diggings, and acquired by the Cypriote authorities.

272The Cyprus Museum, Inv. nos. 1949/IV–15/1 F and G. The height of the fragments was 54 and 52 cm, respectively, indicating that just like the other kilt-wearing figures from the site they were originally life-size. Note that the year of inventory, 1949, corresponds well with that given for **Cat. 57** (KA 621), indicating that these missing torsos were found during unauthorized diggings as well.

273It is true that **Cat. 52** displays the incised outline of a broad collar. It was not carved in relief, however: the hypothetical decoration was most probably rendered in paint.

274Wilson 1975a, 449; Tatton-Brown 1994, 73.

275Maier 1974a, fig. 4. In the exhibition of the Kouklia Museum, the Expedition number of this piece is said to be KA 1994.

276The fragmentary sphinx was found by chance in 1950 behind the Kouklia police station: Mitford & Iliffe 1951, 60–61, 63, pl. 8.a–b (KA 5/268/371/455/468/616, and KX 45); Wilson 1975a, 449.

277This material will also be published by V. Tatton-Brown, who has so generously allowed me to view the available pieces. In the Kouklia storerooms I saw fragments of what seems to be either broad decorated collars or frontal aprons, two of large dimensions and three smaller ones, all of them with elaborate, high-quality floral decoration. See below, Ch. 5.1.3.

278Wilson 1975a, 449; Tatton-Brown 1994, 73.

279Tatton-Brown 1994, 73 n. 18, cites petrographer C. Xenophontos.

280For two further human figures found: Wilson 1975a, 448, figs. 17–18 (male figure with short-sleeved garment and plaited hair hanging down on the shoulders, and a "lion tamer" dressed in a mantle, respectively). Not only sphinx statues, but also several fragmentary limestone lions have been excavated: Mitford & Iliffe 1951, 61, pl. 10.e (KA 490); Maier 1967a, 312, fig. 14; Maier 1968, 681, fig. 11; and a very similar one reproduced in: Maier 1985, pl. 10.4 (KX 199).

281There are several different kinds of stelai at Palaepaphos. Wilson 1975a, 450, notes that *naiskos* stelai (or niche stelai), rounded stelai, dovetail-, rope-, and tooth stelai have been found. According to the author the sanctuary at Mozia, Sicily, is a particularly strong parallel (pp. 450, 455).

282Tatton-Brown 1994, 76.

ornamentation have come to light.[283] Indeed, the realization that none of these columns and capitals is architectural has led to the conclusion that the sub-urban Archaic sanctuary at Old Paphos must have featured an open-air *temenos*, surrounded by a wall, perhaps, and containing a shrine of limited dimensions.[284] The *terminus ante quem* of 498 B.C. offered by the construction of the siege mound renders this context quite unique, and of particular importance.[285] Not only was the material recovered from it produced before that date but also that certain of the pieces indicate that for a limited period of time a small but highly skilled group of sculptors produced at least some of the figures displayed there.[286] It could be suggested that the contemporary Astarte/Aphrodite sanctuary (see below), situated inside the city walls, would most probably have been furnished with products emanating from this school of sculptors as well. A Phoenician influence on much of the material from the Palaepaphos siege mound has often been noted, and parallels with Phoenician ivory material put forward.[287] That wooden objects are mirrored in stone in the material has been suggested as well.[288] On the other hand, there are no indications in or around Old Paphos of any Phoenician population.[289] The fact remains, however, that the type and style of the votive objects from the sanctuary stand apart when compared to what is generally encountered in other Archaic cult places on the island.[290]

The 300 Cypro-syllabic inscriptions recovered from the mound makes the site one of the richest epigraphical sources on Cyprus, and were indeed decisive in the identification of the Paphian syllabary, a sub-group within the Cypro-syllabic script. Most inscriptions are in Greek but transcribed into the local script.[291] The find of a highly interesting Phoenician inscription was made at a site called Xylinos, north of Kouklia, including the words "STRT PP", "Astarte of/from Paphos".[292] One single Phoenician inscription has been recovered from the siege mound debris, however, a fact which does not favor the presence of a Phoenician population – or even dedicators – at this site.[293]

3.2.4 The northwestern part of the island

The Kingdom of Marion

One sub-urban and one urban sanctuary have been excavated at ancient Marion (today's Polis tis Chrysochous).[294] The worship of both a male and a female deity has been attested at the first sanctuary site.[295] Finds are mainly of terracotta, but a limited amount of limestone statuettes have been unearthed.[296] From the Archaic *temenos* at Polis-Peristeries, identified as an urban sanctuary within the ancient city, come finds of virtually only female statues and statuettes. The area is viewed as sacred to the Goddess of Cyprus.[297] The excavators have noted the presence of, for example, a Phoenician-type *thymiaterion*, and a male faience amulet wearing Egyptian-type kilt – material which widens the often

283 While some are crowned by plain helmets or helmets with upturned cheek pieces, others display palm capitals: Wilson 1975a, 453, figs. 21–22. It has often been put forward that an interesting parallel for the presence – and placing – of floral capitals within the sacred area is found in a terracotta shrine model from Idalion. See, for the small shrine: Caubet 1979, 94, pl. 8.1–3. It is well worth noting the find of a two-meter column with palm capital at Kition, excavated in *bothros* 17, dug in connection to the smaller Temple 4 at Area II (Kathari). In that temple, just like in the larger so-called Temple 1, two limestone bases were found in front of the "holy-of-holies", possibly once holding votive columns (see above): Karageorghis 1976b, 119–120, 140, pl. 105.

284 Maier 1969, 33–34; Maier 1971, 2.

285 T.B. Mitford's parallel with the "Perserschutt" on the Athenian Acropolis is adequate: Mitford & Iliffe 1951, 56. Unfortunately, the Palaepaphos context might be disturbed. A decidedly younger piece was found together with the Archaic debris: V. Tatton-Brown, personal communication, 1997.

286 On the close correspondences between certain material from the site, see above Ch. 2.4.2, and below Ch. 3.3.1.

287 Mitford & Iliffe 1951, 60; Maier 1969, 34 n. 2, both connect the stepped niche stele with Phoenician cup palmettes (KA 6, KA 728) with Phoenician ivory work of the 9th and 8th centuries B.C. F.G. Maier further connects the small female (?) figure in a stepped niche (KA 1813) with the Phoenician "Woman at the window" motif: Maier & Wartburg 1985b, 156.

288 Wilson 1975a, 450; Tatton-Brown 1994, 74.

289 Maier & Karageorghis 1984, 192; Tatton-Brown 1994, 76 n. 43, citing a commentary by L. Wriedt Sørensen.

290 Notable is also what seems to be an almost complete lack of terracotta figures from the sub-urban sanctuary. Only single finds have been recovered: Maier 1985, 72, pl. 9.2, a small "goddess with uplifted arms" (KA 1678).

291 Masson & Mitford 1986. Names of dedicators only, not of any deities, have been encountered.

292 Masson & Sznycer 1972, 81–84. It could be added that there is 5th/4th century B.C. epigraphical evidence for a man from Paphos dedicating "to the goddess" in the Eshmun temple at Phoenician Sidon: Masson 1982, 47–49. See below, Ch. 5.2.2.

293 Masson & Sznycer 1986, 109–110, no. 239, pl. 26.239. The inscription is dated to the 5th–4th centuries B.C.; that is, it could not have belonged to the sanctuary material. Tatton-Brown 1994, 74 n. 32 – but cf. p. 76, in the same article.

294 The two sanctuaries are MA 2 and MA 1 in Ulbrich.

295 Serwint 1991, 214–216. The sanctuary (Marion Maratheri) was incorporated into the enlarged city walls at least from the 5th century B.C. onwards: Ulbrich forthcoming.

296 Childs 1988, pl. 40.2, 7–8; Serwint 1991; Childs 1994, 107–109, pl. 29.b.

297 Serwint 1991, 217–218; Childs 1997, 40 n. 4; Smith 1997, 80. See also Ulbrich forthcoming.

held belief that Marion was a Greek city.[298] No Egyptianizing statuary has been found in or around this area, however.[299]

The Kingdom of Soloi

At the small village of Kakopetria, a *bothros* containing mainly terracotta votives was excavated in 1938, indicating the presence of a local sanctuary.[300] A multitude of female figurines was found, as well as a few examples of Herakles Melqart statuettes – indeed, the only examples known of this type rendered in clay.[301] The female figures, some of which wear helmets and carry weapons, have been identified with the goddess Athena.[302] The absence of Egyptianizing figures at this site comes as no surprise given the strong female character of the depôt and the virtual absence of limestone figures.

Situated ten kilometers west of Soloi, along the coast, is the small (peri-urban) site of Limniti. The sanctuary material, recovered during the end of the former century, was said to include stone statuettes which were generally female and terracottas which were generally male.[303] No Egyptianizing figures were reported from the site.

The Kingdom of Lapithos

Similarly poor in limestone material, let alone any male figures, was a find group recovered at Lapithos, possibly dedicated to the Great Goddess.[304] More well-known is the peri-urban sanctuary at Ayia Irini, displaying an abundant Archaic terracotta material. The warrior character of many of the votive figures led the excavators to suggest the cult of a war god at this site.[305] It is interesting to note that at Ayia Irini, several of the terracotta figures seem to have been arranged thematically and by size.[306] The handful of Archaic stone figures unearthed at the site displays non-Cypriote traits, like the back-pillar support.[307] No examples of votive figures clad in Egyptian-type dress were recovered, however.[308]

The Kingdom of Keryneia

Between the foot of the Keryneia mountains and the Mediterranean, a *favissa* was discovered at the site "Mines", situated below the village of Kazafani – indicating the presence of a peri-urban sanctuary.[309] Cat. 59, a much-decorated, kilt-wearing, limestone statuette, was found in the *favissa* together with a large number of other objects of various kinds. Other finds from the same context included: male figures wearing ankle-length garments and conical caps or helmets with upturned cheek pieces; figures with a "Cypriote belt" and/or rosette diadem rendered in both limestone and terracotta; male figures wearing wreaths; a small Herakles Melqart statuette with pleated "kilt"; heads of bearded, male, terracotta figures; and various mold-made terracotta figurines, both male and female.[310] From the same context came a very interesting group of material, consisting of the upper bodies of life-size, sword-carrying, male, terracotta figures.[311] Two of these are more well-preserved, one is very fragmentary. Common to all three of them is that they are wearing short-sleeved garments ending in tassels at the waist, garments which display an elaborate painted decoration, with pairs of winged sphinxes and lions in panels, interspersed by running floral designs.[312] Fragments from a fourth figure indicate a similar dress which did not carry a painted but rather a stamped figural decoration.[313]

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298 Childs 1997, 40, fig. 5. The faience figurine is included in Addendum 2, as No. 24.

299 Cf. Childs 1988, 127, pl. 40.7; Serwint 2000, 174–175, who reproduce figures found at the first, sub-urban, sanctuary which could not be included in this study (see above, Ch. 1.1.2).

300 The material was published in 1977: Karageorghis 1977a. Ulbrich SO 19.

301 Karageorghis 1977a, 182, 186, pls. 58.11, 64.53–54.

302 Karageorghis 1977a, 197–201. The *bothros* material seemingly belongs to the Late Archaic and Classical periods.

303 Munro & Tubbs 1890, 87–99. Ulbrich SO 17.

304 Yon & Caubet 1988. The small sanctuaries indicated around Lapithos were possibly peri-urban: Ulbrich forthcoming.

305 Gjerstad *et al.* 1935, 822–824, on the evidence from the Cypro-Geometric period and on the cultic continuity into the Archaic periods of the sanctuary, termed Periods 4, 5, and 6, respectively (p. 818). The absolute majority of the dedicated votive figures are male. One should note, however, the presence of a female (terracotta) figure seated on a throne flanked by winged sphinxes: Gjerstad *et al.* 1935, 731, pl. 233.10–11, nos. 1563 + 2026. The sanctuary is LA 10 in Ulbrich.

306 Gjerstad *et al.* 1935, 808–809, figs. 277–293.

307 Gjerstad *et al.* 1935, pl. 239. See above, Ch. 1.1.2.

308 Two bronze figurines wearing what looks like Egyptian-type kilts and helmet-like versions of the Egyptian *atef* crown were unearthed at the site: Addendum 2, Nos. 26–27.

309 P. Dikaios excavated at the site in 1934 and V. Karageorghis published the findings in the *RDAC* of 1978. The "Mines" *favissa* was three meters in diameter, and about 50 cm deep: Karageorghis 1978c, 156. Ulbrich KE 4.

310 Karageorghis 1978c, pls. 17–44.

311 Karageorghis 1978c, pls. 45–47.

312 The elaborately decorated dress is often referred to as a "cuirass" in literature, from the first publication of a similar figure from Toumba (Salamis), onwards (see above): Munro & Tubbs 1891, 151–152, pl. 10. J.A.R. Munro stated that the painted scale pattern found as a background for the figural decorations of each panel must be derived from scale armor. It was suggested that the general pattern of the Toumba fragments depicted a corselet of mail worn under an embroidered tunic.

313 Karageorghis 1978c, 181 (no. 207), 189–190, pl. 47.207. M. Yon has suggested that these Kazafani figures, so obviously related to the Toumba ones, were made at Salamis: Yon 1991b, 241.

3.3 Find patterns

In the former section, we looked closer at the archaeological find contexts of a majority of the Cypriote figures included in this study. Fifty-nine figures were involved, the remaining 12 lacking a reported provenance. It is on the contexts of the same 59 figures that the following analysis is based.

However, before we seek to evaluate the discernible patterns of distribution from the island, there is a need to consider the elements that influence the superficial picture we get when plotting find concentrations on the map of Cyprus. To begin with, it is important to consider that there are certain factors affecting the amount of material recovered at a given site. It was referred to above, for instance, that the state of preservation of Archaic material is severely altered when a site continued to be inhabited and used during the following centuries. Ancient cities like Salamis, Amathus, Kourion, and Palaepaphos saw a great period of prosperity in Graeco-Roman times, and we must keep in mind that what has survived is, most probably, a faint reflection of their Archaic splendor. The history of the ancient site for more than two thousand years is, of course, to be considered as well. A major difference between rich sculptural find sites like Golgoi and Idalion and the virtually empty sanctuary areas at Kition is that while the latter was continuously inhabited, its remains lying beneath today's city of Larnaka with its 35000 inhabitants the former sites were left comparatively undisturbed through the centuries, merely touched by the shallow plowing of local farmers.[314] We further need to consider the extent to which any given site has actually been excavated, and also the quality of the information on the proceedings and the results of the fieldwork. Especially for the early, 19th-century digs the available information is incomplete, at best. We have no clear picture of what actually took place nor what was found at sites like Pyla, Achna, and Toumba. At the rich, rural site of Pera-Phrangissa (Tamassos) we know that Max Ohnefalsch-Richter needed to abandon the site of excavation after only 18 days because of the coming of the rainy season.[315] The site was never investigated further.[316]

Naturally, Cyprus is not the only area where local circumstances and the history of each site affect our understanding of the archaeological and thus historical picture. Particular for the island is, however, the fact that there is a silent number of figures which are kept in the museums of northern Cyprus, made inaccessible through the Turkish occupation of 1974. This state of affairs creates a void on any distributional map of the island. It is more than probable that **Cat. 2** and **Cat. 3** (from Aloda and Krina west of Salamis), and the unpublished **Cat. 4** (found at site Toumba, less than two kilometers south thereof) testify to the recurrent dedication of high-quality, even life-size figures of the Egyptianizing type in the sanctuaries of eastern and northeasternmost Cyprus – just as in other parts of the island.[317]

The missing material outlined above, together with the 12 statues and statuettes which lack a reported provenance, could indeed dramatically alter our view on the distribution of the Egyptianizing male votive figures on Cyprus. This is and remains the danger when trying to obtain distributional patterns from only limited collections of material or objects. We need, of course, to refrain from trying to draw too far-reaching conclusions on the basis of our findings.

3.3.1 The find places in relation to general geography and geology; to the character of the sanctuaries; and to the chronology, character, and intensity of Egyptian impact on the statues and statuettes

From Ch. 3.2 above, we can learn that the provenanced figures were found mainly in the south and southeastern parts of the island, with find concentrations at the sanctuary sites of ancient Idalion and Golgoi. A site which alters this distributional pattern slightly is Palaepaphos, with a large and homogeneous group of Egyptianizing figures from the southwestern corner of Cyprus. Most other sanctuaries situated in the western and northwestern part of the island have not produced any examples whatsoever of this sculptural type. In other words, of the known Archaic Cypriote city kingdoms all except Chytroi, Marion, Soloi, and Lapithos have produced finds (few or several) of Egyptianizing votive figures.[318]

There is an emphasis on the south and southeastern part of the island not only regarding the numbers of Egyptianizing votive figures. This emphasis is true also for size, the large-scale examples of the type being concentrated here. At the extra-urban, western site of Golgoi (Ayios Photios) the only truly colossal Egyptianizing limestone figure excavated on Cyprus

314 Caubet & Yon 1994, 98 n. 6. It is, of course, true for many sites that the search for building material had caused local villagers to dismantle much of the surviving architecture. Once an ancient site was discovered, severe looting would take place.

315 Ohnefalsch-Richter 1893, 8–10.

316 Buchholz 1991, 4–5; Buchholz & Untiedt 1996, 48–49.

317 These, and – most probably – several other similar figures, were (are?) kept in the District Museum at Famagusta.

318 The Kingdom of Keryneia is the only north-northwestern territory which has yielded a figure of the type, **Cat. 59** from Kazafani.

was unearthed (**Cat. 22**). Other life-sized and slightly over-life-sized figures (**Cat. 24** and the closely related **Cat. 23**, and **Cat. 20**) were found there as well,[319] beside examples of more limited dimensions. The sculpture excavated within the walls of the Golgoi "temple" structure, on the eastern site, comprise several life-sized figures (our **Cat. 26–29**, **Cat. 31–33**). Characteristic for the Golgoi pieces is their size and their excellent state of preservation, features which add to their dominating role within the general group of Egyptianizing figures from the island. The secondary, urban "Apollo-Reshef" sanctuary at the neighboring city of Idalion yielded additional over-life-sized figures (represented only by heads, **Cat. 9** and **Cat. 7**) and life-sized ones (another head, **Cat. 8**).[320] The Idalion figures are much less well-preserved than the Golgoi counterparts, and since three of the larger pieces are heads and fragmentary broad collars only, their original appearance can be reconstructed only by aid of the related Golgoi figures. Finds from peri- and extra-urban sanctuary sites situated within the ancient kingdom of Idalion display additional life-sized figures (**Cat. 17–19** and **Cat. 42**), and similar finds are known from the easternmost territory of the kingdom of Salamis (**Cat. 2** and **Cat. 3**). It is to be noted that apart from the cluster of seven life-sized or just below life-sized figures from Palaepaphos, there are only two additional life-sized Egyptianizing figures from the island, one said to be from Kition (**Cat. 47**), the other unearthed at Amathus (**Cat. 48**). The rest of the Cypriote Egyptianizing material is of more limited dimensions.

One important factor to be taken into consideration here is, of course, the actual availability of high-quality stone at any given ancient Cypriote site. It is a well-established fact that the stone most suitable for sculpting is found on the Mesaoria Plain, in the eastern part of the island. It is thus no coincidence that sites with substantial records of dedicated limestone statuary lie almost in a circle around the great plain: at and around sites like Salamis, Achna, Arsos, Golgoi, Potamia, Lympia, Louroukina, Idalion, Tamassos, Voni, Lefkoniko, and Aloda, large numbers of statues and statuettes made of the local, soft, cream-colored limestone have been recovered.[321] Already at nearby Kition the local stone is of an inferior quality, breaking more easily into longitudinal slabs.[322] At Amathus the availability of two kinds of stones have been noted, one of a finer quality, similar to the Mesaoria stone, and another, harder and less fine-grained variety, which is found in abundance along the southern coast.[323] The availability of suitable stone in the western parts of the island was much more restricted.[324] Finds of quarry sites at Idalion have indicated that stone taken from within a very limited area was used in the production of votive objects at a given sanctuary site.[325] The efforts involved in transporting the raw material seem to have led to only a very limited trade in Mesaoria limestone on the island. A. Hermary has suggested that such stone was indeed imported at ancient Kourion – but only for a certain production of statuettes of limited size.[326] Thus, in the western part of the island the production of terracotta figures largely predominates. The rendering of the Egyptianizing votive type in terracotta is known in only three instances, none of which comes close to the appearance of the limestone figures, but which are equipped with stylized versions of the Egyptian-type kilt.[327] Whether Egyptianizing influences did not reach the western part of the island to a similar degree, or whether the coroplasts of the area did not choose to translate these influences into clay, is not yet possible to ascertain.[328] In connection with this, it

[319] I avoid referring to **Cat. 21** since it cannot be fully ascertained whether it was found at the western or the eastern site at Golgoi (Ayios Photios).

[320] Additional limestone figures from Idalion, of life-size (**Cat. 12** and **Cat. 14**) and slightly (**Cat. 13**) or much below that (**Cat. 15**), need to be added to our picture, even if their more exact find spots remain unknown. Egyptianizing statuettes and figurines of limited size were unearthed at the "Apollo-Reshef" sanctuary as well: statuettes (**Cat. 5** and **Cat. 6**) and figurines (**Cat. 10** and **Cat. 11**).

[321] Connelly 1988, 2–3.

[322] Caubet & Yon 1994, 97, pls. 25.a, 26.c. A. Caubet and M. Yon suggest that limitations in the local stone led to the creation of the smiting Herakles Melqart type (pp. 98–99). M. Yon noted similar limitations in the stone used for certain figurines from Salamis: Yon 1974, 11–13, fig. 7.

[323] Cesnola 1885, Introduction, pp. xi–xii, notes the difference between soft Mesaoria limestone and the local Amathusian stone; Hermary 1981, 10. The small-scale figures **Cat. 49** and **Cat. 50** were both made from the softer version, while the two sphinx thrones referred to in the former section, found at the Viklaes hill, were sculpted from the harder, local stone. This seems to be true for the life-size torso **Cat. 48** as well (?).

[324] Hermary 1996c, 139–40, notes, when talking of the limited evidence of stone statuary from ancient Kourion, that the presence of high-quality pieces from the siege ramp at Palaepaphos and the palace at Vouni are virtually the only exceptions to the lack of large-scale sculpture noted for western and southwestern Cyprus. On outcrops of limestone within the Palaepaphos area, suitable for carving even life-size statues: Kourou *et al.* 2002, 39.

[325] Connelly 1988, 2 n. 3.

[326] Hermary 1996c, 140.

[327] Addendum 2, Nos. 37–38: two kilt-wearing terracotta statuettes that are "said to be from Cyprus". The colossal Addendum 2, No. 16, found at the Phrangissa sanctuary outside ancient Tamassos, rather (interestingly) displays an echo of an Egyptianizing outfit, with its worm-like cobras hanging down centrally along the "kilt".

[328] It will be noted further below that the general distributional pattern of the Egyptianizing male votive figures is followed quite

is interesting to refer to Idalion, a site which stands out with its early production of large-scale statuary in both limestone *and* terracotta.[329] At a place and time where there was obviously both knowledge and will to produce (male) Egyptianizing statuary, there is no material preserved to indicate that such figures were ever manufactured in clay.

With this in mind, we can note that despite the availability of high-quality Mesaoria limestone, only two small-scale Egyptianizing figures were unearthed at the Phrangissa sanctuary outside Tamassos, and none at the local sanctuary at Lefkoniko. Similarly, nearby Voni, south of ancient Chytroi, yielded no finds of the Egyptianizing votive type.[330] The relative dearth of large-scale limestone figures in general, and Egyptianizing figures in particular, from Kition and Amathus must also be noted.[331] It is true that both sites have seen much later habitation and construction. In common for the two, however, is that they are comparatively well-excavated, rich in other categories of Egyptianizing material, and that there are clear traces of the display of statuary within the local, Archaic sanctuaries.[332] The quality of the local stone, said to be inferior, did not prevent the manufacture of large-scale Hathoric capitals and (later) sarcophagi at both sites, and – at Amathus – of the monumental stone vases carved right out of the local rock.[333] Thus, it is surprising to note the very limited number of large-scale stone statuary that has been unearthed – including examples of the Egyptianizing type.

Considering in what type of sanctuaries the Egyptianizing figures have been found, it is clear that the extra-urban cult sites (sub- and peri-urban ones) predominate. Within the territories of cities like ancient Salamis, Idalion, Tamassos, Kition, Kourion, Paphos, and Keryneia, there were sub- or peri-urban sanctuaries in which the votive type under study was displayed. In common for several of these is that they were dedicated to the god Apollo, and that the gender of most votive figures unearthed within them was male.[334] In contrast, there is not one single find of the Egyptianizing type encountered at any of the major urban sanctuaries, where (mainly) the Great Goddess of Cyprus was venerated.[335] This pattern confirms the general view held about the ancient dedication of votive statuary: even if more than one deity was often venerated at a given cult place, the Cypriote sanctuaries were most probably dedicated to one main sacred character, either a (male) god or a (female) goddess.[336] It is a well-established fact, on Cyprus and elsewhere, that in an ancient sanctuary dedicated to a female goddess, the majority of votive figures and figurines were female.[337] The same is true for sanctuaries consecrated to male gods: as noted above, the votive figurines dedicated to Apollo Hylates at Kourion – to name but one example where the identity of the god is comparatively well known – were virtually all male.[338] It is thus not surprising to find that (male) Egyptianizing figures have not been found at sanctuaries dedicated to the "Kypria" (Aphrodite/Astarte), but rather at cult places where the worship of Apollo-Reshef was in focus. Bearing this in mind, it can be stated that with few exceptions, the kilt-wearing votive figures were dedicated at virtually all (male) Cypriote sites where raw material (soft limestone) was readily available. The sanctuaries at Lefkoniko and Meniko still stand out as the only "empty" sites.[339]

closely by that of the other Egyptianizing find categories. A majority of these objects were executed in limestone.

329Hermary 1991a, 141–142.

330Admittedly, the 19th-century digs at Voni seem to have yielded very few figures of an Archaic date (see above).

331For Kition, see above nn. 195–199; for Amathus: Hermary 1988, 105–106.

332At Kition, benches and pedestals were found in the courtyard of "Temple 3", 600–450 B.C. (see above n. 198). At Amathus, square holes most probably made for the insertion of votive gifts, possibly including statuary, were carved into the rock just outside the Archaic temple on top of the acropolis: Hermary *et al.* 1988, 866–867, figs. 23–24 (and plan on fig. 2).

333Hermary 1995, 23, for the local, hard, coarse-grained limestone of which the vases were made.

334In the above Ch. 3.2, (late) inscriptional evidence from Idalion, Golgoi, Tamassos, Pyla, and Kourion was referred to. For the sub-urban character of the hillside sanctuary at Idalion, before it was incorporated into the city walls and turned into a (secondary) urban cult place, see n. 44. At all these sites, as well as at sub-urban Toumba and Palaepaphos, the recovered figures were predominantly male.

335None from Idalion (the western acropolis), nor from Tamassos-Chomazoudia, Kition *Kathari*, Amathus (acropolis), Kourion (acropolis), or Palaepaphos. The two finds from a *bothros* at the secondary urban sanctuary at Kition *Bamboula*, **Cat. 45** and **Cat. 46**, were found together with, predominantly, male votive figures. E. Gjerstad suggested that the god venerated at the site was Melqart, due to the large number of finds of so-called Herakles Melqart figures: Gjerstad *et al.* 1937, 75.

336The example of the sanctuary at Pyla, shortly referred to above (n. 214) – Apollo Magirios and Artemis (?) – is worth recalling. Note also Karageorghis 1979, 314 n. 6, on the finds of Herakles Melqart terracotta statuettes beside Athena figurines, in a Late Archaic/Classical *bothros* at Kakopetria; and the inscriptional evidence from Kition *Kathari* (above n. 211) – given that these later indications reflect earlier cult practices. On the (very probable) worship at Amathus of a male counterpart to the "Kypria": Hermary 1988, 107–108.

337Gjerstad 1948, 7; Hermary 1996c, 140.

338Young & Young 1955; Winter 1996, pls. 17–33; Hermary 1996c, pls. 34–46.

339According to 4th century B.C. Phoenician epigraphical evidence from Kition *Kathari*, both a male and a female deity were worshipped at this site (Eshmun Melqart and Astarte). Nicolaou 1976, 102–113; Yon 1985, 224. This would thus be

The western site at Golgoi (Ayios Photios) has produced the earliest figures of the type, where **Cat. 20**, **Cat. 23** and **Cat. 24**, and perhaps **Cat. 30**, can be dated to the early 6th century B.C.[340] At nearby Arsos and Athienou *Malloura*, **Cat. 41** and **Cat. 42** represent kilt-wearing figures belonging to that same period of time. Two of the fragmentary figures unearthed at the hillside sanctuary at Idalion may probably be datable to this early period as well (**Cat. 6** and **Cat. 9**),[341] together with single figures from the neighboring sites Lympia, Louroukina, and Tamassos (**Cat. 16**, **Cat. 17**, and **Cat. 43**). Thus, it is on Mesaoria sites that we find the earliest specimens of the figural type under study. The only additional early 6th century B.C. figures are **Cat. 47**, said to have come from Kition, and **Cat. 49**, from Amathus. Together with several figures from the eastern site at Golgoi (Ayios Photios), the Palaepaphos figures seem to belong to the middle and the second half of the 6th century B.C. **Cat. 58** from Palaepaphos belongs to around 500 B.C. Apart from this piece, Egyptianizing figures of the late 6th/early 5th centuries B.C. have been unearthed at Kition (**Cat. 45**), at Amathus (**Cat. 50**), and at Golgoi (**Cat. 21**, **Cat. 29**, **Cat. 31**, and **Cat. 34**).

It can be seen that the find places of the related figural types concur with those of the basic type, except in the case of the single, falcon-headed, kilt-wearing figure which was probably unearthed on the Karpasia peninsula.[342] The representatives of the warrior type were all found at Golgoi (**Cat. 30**, **Cat. 35**, and **Cat. 37**), while the Egyptianizing figure carrying a large votive animal under the left arm is known only from the Kingdom of Kition and – in one case (**Cat. 39**) with an uncharacteristic kilt dress – from Golgoi.[343]

Let us now look briefly at the inter-site, distributional patterns related to the rendering of dress, body form, and outfit of the figures, and the various degrees of intensity of Egyptian impact witnessed in the representatives of the main figural type. As regards the kilt dress, the only two figures to display an outfit which comes very close to the Egyptian, New Kingdom pleated kilt with beaded *devanteau* and lateral cobras were found in the eastern part of the island (**Cat. 3** from Krina and **Cat. 29** from Golgoi).[344] The kilts worn by the Egyptianizing figures unearthed at Palaepaphos are similarly close to the Egyptian original dress but they do not display the beaded "*devanteau*". The broad collar decorated with persea fruits, triangles, and hanging drop shapes has been encountered only at sites around the Mesaoria Plain (the Kingdoms of Idalion, Golgoi, and Tamassos), apart from single occurrences at Kition (**Cat. 47**) and Amathus (**Cat. 48**). The double crown is similarly encountered on the east of the island,[345] apart from the exception of two figures wearing such crowns found at Palaepaphos (**Cat. 52** and **Cat. 58**). It is worth noting that a collection of the only known belts with figural relief decoration encountered on the island comes from Golgoi – all found on Egyptianizing figures, and all rendered in low relief.[346] The vertically striped upper garment remains unique for the western site at Golgoi (**Cat. 23** and **Cat. 24**) as well. In terms of ornamental details, Golgoi and Idalion display certain ties with Amathus. The apotropaic heads placed right underneath the belt of the figures have been encountered at these three sites only,[347] and the unusual rendering of the jewel-like persea fruits of Amathusian **Cat. 48** is paralleled only at Golgoi (in **Cat. 21**, see *Fig. 5*). The Egyptian-type wig, emanating from a point on the crown of the head, with its "tresses" tied together at regular intervals by thin bands, has been encountered in one over-life-size

another "empty" male site. However, as has been noted before there is a general lack of large-scale sculpture from this area.

340 On chronology, see above Ch. 2.5. Interestingly, the earliest rendering from the island in limestone of the goddess "Hathor" comes from a necropolis outside Golgoi (a stele): see below.

341 If, indeed, once part of a kilt-wearing, Egyptianizing statue, our Addendum 1, No. 1 – dated to around 600 B.C. – would corroborate such an early dating for parts of the Idalion material.

342 Unfortunately, of the few related (falcon-headed) stone figures at hand, only one fragmentary statuette has a reported provenance: Golgoi. See Hermary 1989a, 290–292.

343 Apart from **Cat. 45**, which was unearthed at Kition *Bamboula*, there is the information given by G. Colonna-Ceccaldi regarding similar statuettes encountered at Pyla-Stavros: see above Ch. 3.2.2. Animal-carrying **Cat. 62** is of unknown provenance, and so is the statuette carrying a piece of textile (?) over one arm, **Cat. 64**. Could it be possible that **Cat. 62** was originally excavated at Pyla, and was one of the statues seen and reported by the French scholar? On the possible Phoenician origin for certain pieces from the Collection de Clercq (of which **Cat. 62** was originally a part): Hermary 2001b, 29 n. 23.

344 We saw above, in Ch. 2.4.2, that the two figures share not only the (uncommon) beaded *devanteau* with lateral cobras and sash ends, but also a similar rendering of plaited hair and armrings.

345 **Cat. 2** was unearthed at Aloda and **Cat. 20**, **Cat. 21**, and **Cat. 30** all come from Golgoi. Worthy of note is that the headgear is known from Amathus as well, in a bronze figurine (Addendum 2, No. 22) and a stone relief depiction (see above Ch. 1.1.1). There is quite a large number of unprovenanced figural heads from the island wearing double crowns: **Cat. 66**–**71**.

346 See **Cat. 27** (rosettes), **Cat. 30** (unidentified), **Cat. 31** (winged human face), **Cat. 32** (man fighting lion), and **Cat. 33** (crouching, winged sphinxes). The only additional example known to me is the animal frieze found on **Cat. 60**, of unknown provenance: Faegersten forthcoming a. Could this in fact be an indication that this fragmentary piece was originally unearthed at Golgoi as well?

347 In **Cat. 30** and **Cat. 31**, from Golgoi; **Cat. 12** and **Cat. 15**, from Idalion; and **Cat. 50**, from Amathus.

piece from Idalion (**Cat. 7**), and in a small statuette from Amathus (**Cat. 49**), as well as in a statuette from Kourion (our **Cat. 51**).

Within the single site the examples of Egyptian-type dress are, in general, heterogeneous. Amathus is a good example. The three male, Egyptianzing votive figures found there have in common several Egyptian-type elements of dress and ornamentation. Regard, however, the very particular rendering of the (crossing) cobras in **Cat. 50** and the unparalleled animal frieze at the lower end of its "apron";[348] the full-bodied, tiny **Cat. 49** with its jewelry-like broad collar; and the fragmentary **Cat. 48**, which not only displays the irregularity of the perfect rendering of the broad collar on the back of the figure, but also the unusual rendering of persea fruits with attachments just referred to.

It is only at Palaepaphos that we find a group of kilt-wearing figures who display a remarkable internal likeness in terms of the rendering of their dress. In common for the Egyptianizing figures and torsos from the site are the shape and outline of the kilt dress, the belt with raised ridges, the finely pleated kilt cloth, and the rendering of "*devanteaux*", cobras, and sash ends. On well-preserved **Cat. 52**, the belt and the pleats of the kilt are beautifully rendered on the back side, an uncommon feature in the Cypriote votive material in general. It is thus worthy of notice that at least two of the related figures from the same context have belts and pleats continuing all around, in the same manner.[349] None of these figures wears a broad collar rendered in relief into the stone, but on **Cat. 52** there is an incised outline of such a collar – the rest of it perhaps once having been painted.[350] No other varieties of figures clad in Egyptianizing garb have been found at the site, and no other versions of the rendering of the Egyptian dress. This is indeed unparalleled on the island.

It is not only the dress which is well rendered on the back of the Palaepaphos figures, at least on **Cat. 52**. The modeling of the figure's back, buttocks, and striding legs is quite unique, in fact, and further seems to characterize this group of figures.[351] These stylistic similarities are confirmed when we compare the few sculpture heads (of various types) which have been recovered from the sanctuary debris. When comparing the facial features of the Egyptianizing **Cat. 52** to those of one of the male figures wearing a rosette diadem (and thus most probably a "Cypriote belt"), and a female figure with plain headcloth, stylistic similarities are obvious.[352] F.G. Maier has noted the presence of a separate school of sculptors at Palaepaphos,[353] and the limited evidence briefly presented here indeed indicates a group of stone carvers working close together during a limited period of time. Based on such close typological and stylistic similarities, it can further be suggested that an Egyptianizing limestone torso found at the Samian Heraion,[354] and a Cypriote bronze head of unknown provenance wearing a double crown, are both related to or have their origin in this local school of sculptors.[355]

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[348]A. Hermary has suggested that the figure is datable to the 5th, or perhaps even the 4th century B.C., made in imitative Archaic style (see above Ch. 2.2.2 n. 504). This could, of course, explain the uncommon appearance of the figure.

[349]This is visible on the two upper parts of bodies, **Cat. 54** and **Cat. 55**, where fragmentary belts and pleats seemingly continue all around. This is not true, however, for **Cat. 53**. The back part of the figure has been broken off, but still visible on the left-hand side – roughly in line with the fragmentary left hand – is the point where the vertical pleats cease, and a plain area begins. The same seems to the case for the very similar **Cat. 57**, which displays the same termination of vertical incision on one of its sides. It is further worth noting that another difference between **Cat. 52** and **Cat. 53** is the techniques used when carving the cobras. See above, Ch. 2.2.1 n. 141.

[350]Both torsos in the Kouklia storerooms (**Cat. 54** and **Cat. 55**) display an edge at the base of the neck, seemingly indicating if not the border of a collar then the upper edge of a short-sleeved garment. Since the navel of **Cat. 54** is indicated, however, it seems as if no such dress was intended. On the other hand, compare **Cat. 24**, from the western site at Golgoi (Ayios Photios), displaying both vertically striped, short-sleeved garment *and* nipples, indicated into the stone. It is interesting to oppose the lack of broad, elaborate collars on the Egyptianizing figures from the Palaepaphos siege ramp, with the collars encountered on sphinxes (fragments of sphinxes) from the same site, creatures which do display broad collars decorated with much the same vegetal ornaments as male votive figures unearthed further east (see below, and Ch. 5.1.3).

[351]Admittedly, this statement is based only on the appearance of the (much weathered) back part of **Cat. 57**; despite the fact that belt and kilt pleats do not seem to have been rendered in the stone, the rounded shape of the figure's buttocks was modeled. Due to the placing of **Cat. 56** in the storerooms it was not possible to corroborate if its back had a similar appearance as well. Unfortunately, the back side of figure **Cat. 53** had been damaged or cut off.

[352]Maier 1985, pls. 9.7–8 (the head of **Cat. 52**, KA 3, KA 614), 10.2 (the female head, KA 2110).

[353]Maier & Wartburg 1985b, 156; Maier 1985, 21.

[354]For the torso: Buschor 1935, 45, figs. 150–153. The stylistic affinities between the Samian torso and **Cat. 52** have already been noted: Lewe 1975, 57 n. 279; Senff 1993, 53 n. 427. Both authors also include **Cat. 5**, from Idalion, as a close parallel. The size of the Samos torso, noted by E. Buschor to be three-quarters life size (p. 45) further concurs well with that of the Egyptianizing Palaepaphos figures. Cf. Freyer-Schauenburg 1974, 156–157. For more on the Samian figure, see below in Ch. 4.1.2.

[355]Addendum 2, No. 33. The close stylistic affinities between the bronze head and one of the Palaepaphos figures has already been noted: Lewe 1975, 76 n. 403. Lewe's close limestone parallel is "Ktima KA 673", a number which seems to be referring to **Cat. 52** – see the similar number given in connection to this figure in Wilson 1975a, 448 n. 37 – unless there is a third, unpublished, Palaepaphos figure wearing a double crown in addition to **Cat. 52** and **Cat. 58**. According to the inventory books of the Paphos District Museum, however, where **Cat. 52** is exhibited, its Expedition Catalogue numbers are KA 3 (head), KA 248 (upper-), and KA 280 (lower part of the body, beneath

The 59 provenanced figures all display different numbers of Egyptianizing features, and these features correspond more or less closely to the original Egyptian elements of dress and ornamentation.[356] We note that Golgoi and Idalion, with their large numbers of dedicated Egyptianizing stone sculpture, display figures with all the various degrees of intensity of Egyptian impact.[357] The two sites, both providing groups with Egyptianizing figures of some quantity, seem to reveal to us that such a mix of characteristics and of degree of ornamentation was not only common but also quite natural within the Cypriote sanctuaries. In marked contrast, however, stands the material recovered from the sub-urban sanctuary at Palaepaphos. As noted above, the seven male, kilt-wearing figures display not only the same actual size and the same elements of Egyptian-type dress, but also a very similar degree of understanding for that dress, all displaying quite a strong impact.[358] Apart from Palaepaphos no particular site has yielded figures which all end up on the same end of the intensity scale. As an example of this, the richly decorated hybrid kilt which proved to be a characteristic of Cypriote Egyptianizing statuary has been encountered at all known sites with the exception of Palaepaphos.[359] In a general manner, however, the creative placement of several different ornaments on the exposed apron-*devanteaux* of kilt-wearing figures is encountered only at Golgoi, Idalion, Amathus, and Tamassos.[360] Playfully crossing cobras are found only on the kilts of **Cat. 31** and **Cat. 50**, from Golgoi and Amathus, respectively. It is perhaps to be expected that figures displaying many features deviating from the original Egyptian outfit were found at sites with elaborately decorated pieces. It seems, indeed, that with increased size and the additional rendering of ornamental detail, comes the risk or possibility of deviating from the original appearance of dress details and single ornaments, of revealing the degree of (mis-) understanding of the Egyptian-type dress. Thus, large-size, expensive votive figures do not imply better acquaintance with the Egyptian dress and its elements. The colossal **Cat. 22**, from the western site at Ayios Photios, displays a confusion avoided in virtually all other figures: the lateral sash ends, intended to hang on either side of the apron-*devanteau*, are instead rendered *on* the device, as part of its decoration. As was noted above (in Ch. 2.4.2), the single parallel rendering known from the island comes from a figure found nearby, life-size **Cat. 21**.[361] Our **Cat. 20**, another large-scale piece from the western site at Golgoi, displays several odd and unidentified elements in its broad collar, and its helmet-like double crown is particular as well. It is interesting to note that similar renderings are found in a statuette, **Cat. 30**, which is more limited in size but strongly related to **Cat. 20** – and found at the neighboring "temple" site. Both figures share the helmet-like double crown decorated with a large, frontal rosette. Further, just like its larger counterpart, **Cat. 30** displays misunderstandings of dress and detail which, in certain cases, impede their identification.[362]

Summing up what has been said above, we can detect no obvious inter-site pattern of find places that bears on either the character of the Egyptianizing statuary as expressed through dress, body form, and outfit of the figures, or the degree of Egyptian impact shown: there is a great variety between the sanctuaries. This situation appears to be correlated with a similar one for the single site, since each Cypriote sanctuary has generally yielded Egyptianizing statuary of all various characters and of all various degrees of Egyptian impact. The exception is Palaepaphos. This site has produced solely figures with a strong Egyptian impact, and one can also point at certain typological and stylistic properties that are shared not only by the Egyptianizing figures but also by other statuary found at the site. It has been proposed for Palaepaphos that the recovered

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the belt). As mentioned above, F.G. Maier confirms "KA 3" as the catalogue number of the head of this figure: Maier 1985, 72 (text in connection to pl. 9.7). This stylistic affinity between stone and bronze stands in marked contrast to what we encounter in the Idalion material, where both Egyptianizing bronze and limestone figures are abundant.

356 See above, Ch. 2.4.2.

357 At the western site at Ayios Photios there are figures displaying several Egyptian-type dress elements and ornaments that deviate from the original Egyptian features (see the colossal **Cat. 22** and **Cat. 24**, and the collars of **Cat. 20** and **Cat. 23**), beside statuettes like **Cat. 25** which displays few such features. At Idalion, compare **Cat. 5** and **Cat. 6** (and most probably **Cat. 7**–**9**) with small-scale **Cat. 11**.

358 **Cat. 52** and **Cat. 53**, along with **Cat. 56** and **Cat. 57**, all display the same – misunderstood – lower outline of the kilt: see above, Ch. 2.4.2, where **Cat. 52** and **Cat. 53** were described in more detail.

359 The lower outline of the well-rendered Palaepaphos kilts echoes the apron belonging together with the *shenti*. The only figure on the island who is wearing a New Kingdom-type kilt with *devanteau* without any indication of the *shenti* and apron is **Cat. 3**, from Krina west of Salamis.

360 See our **Cat. 22**, **Cat. 26**, **Cat. 30**, **Cat. 31**, (and **Cat. 33**?), from Golgoi; **Cat. 12** and **Cat. 15**, from Idalion; **Cat. 50**, from Amathus; and **Cat. 44**, from Phrangissa (Tamassos).

361 We noted earlier on, in Ch. 3.2.2, that it is hinted at – in Cesnola's 1877 account – that **Cat. 21** was found at the western site at Golgoi, that is, the exact find spot of related **Cat. 22**. In the *Atlas* of 1885, however, **Cat. 21** is said to have been recovered "from the temple at Golgoi".

362 The motif carved on its belt, although well-preserved, is not possible to identify. The winged cobras which are placed along the lower border of the apron-*devanteau* are lacking their elongated bodies and have been turned into turtle-like creatures instead.

material indicates a local school of sculptors working for a limited period of time. It is possible that a high degree of heterogeneity, such as seen in the material from Amathus – granted that the statues and statuettes described above were all recovered at the site – indicates a longer activity of production and thereby perhaps also the right conditions for the successive reception and elaboration of new features and new ways of rendering dress or ornamental details.[363]

The bronze figurines found (mainly) at Idalion display an Egyptian-type dress which comes quite close to the original Egyptian outfit.[364] Large amounts of small-scale Egyptianizing statuettes made of materials other than stone and bronze have been excavated only at Kition and Amathus. It is worth noting that most of these faience and terracotta figurines have quite high degrees of intensity of Egyptian impact, at least as far as the appearance of the kilt is concerned.[365] If small-scale figurines are often comparatively close to Egyptian counterparts, is that merely due – as was suggested above – to the fact that the larger the figure (with increased number of included elements of dress and decoration) the larger is also the risk of revealing inconsistencies and a lack of understanding for the original feature. Or does this indicate that the Egyptianizing figural type was introduced into the workshops of the island in small-scale figurines, while losing in understanding when "blown up" into larger sizes? For more on this matter, see below (Ch. 5.1.3).

3.3.2 Comparative patterns: the find places of other Egyptianizing – and non-Egyptianizing – votive statuary and objects

It is of interest to consider whether there are any patterns regarding the other sculptural material which was once dedicated in the Cypriote sanctuaries. It has been noted, in general, that the rich Cypriote Archaic sculptural repertoire consisted of a rather limited number of votive types.[366] These types are further said to have been repeated in close to all parts of the island, in local sanctuaries, and it has been shown that the introduction of new types was quickly spread even to remote sites.[367] The male figure in ankle-length robe or mantle with conical cap, carrying a votive gift or playing an instrument, is a type encountered at virtually every Archaic find site – and thus also at the sites where the Egyptianizing figures have been found. Certain male statues and statuettes wearing "Cypriote belts" and rosette diadems were shown above to be related to the Egyptianizing category of figures (see Ch. 2.2.2).[368] The two figural types are in fact often encountered at the same sites.[369] Similarly, the Egyptianizing statues and statuettes have some features in common with certain Herakles Melqart figures,[370] and are often encountered at the same sites as this particular votive type.[371] No specific pattern can be identified here either, however, considering the multitude of Herakles statuettes from the Lefkoniko sanctuary, and the total lack of Egyptianizing limestone figures from that site – and the contrary situation at Palaepaphos, where several Egyptianizing stone figures contrast the dearth of statues and statuettes of

[363] Of course, this suggestion remains based on a material which is extremely limited, and therefore correlations would need to be made against other votive types from the site. That the general preserved number of Archaic statuary from Amathus is very restricted has been noted above, however.

[364] Quite a few figures display well-rendered "white crowns" and "*shenti*" kilts: Addendum 2, No. 8, and the unprovenanced Nos. 28, 35, and 36. Others even wear the kilt with *devanteau* and sash ends: Addendum 2, Nos. 9 and 11, from Idalion. Much related are Nos. 2, 3, and 6, from the same site. Note that the Archaic date of No. 11 has been questioned (see Ch. 2.4.2 n. 764).

[365] See the true, pleated (although slightly oblique) *shenti* kilt of a Kition faience statuette, Addendum 2, No. 17; the terracotta kilts of two unprovenanced figurines, Addendum 2, Nos. 37–38; and the towering *atef* crown worn by an Amathusian terracotta figurine, Addendum 2, No. 21. The Kition faience figurine Addendum 2, No. 20 wears a pleated kilt lacking any further features, but instead carries lotus flower and papyrus stalk.

[366] Reyes 1994, 37–38; Wriedt Sørensen 1994, especially 79–85.

[367] Senff 1993, 19.

[368] It was shown that the two figural types are the only ones to share the vertically decorated, short-sleeved garment, not only striped in a general manner (like in **Cat. 23** and **Cat. 24**) but also furnished with a central, single, broad band decorated in low relief with vegetal patterns. Furthermore, **Cat. 13** from Idalion indeed represents the actual combination of the two types, with its rosette diadem and Egyptian-type kilt.

[369] See the evidence from Idalion, Potamia, Golgoi, Tamassos, Palaepaphos, and Kazafani, presented above. This is not always the case, however. At Lefkoniko, the lack of Egyptianizing limestone figures is contrasted by the preserved number of statuettes wearing a plain version of the "Cypriote belt": Myres 1940–1945b, pl. 13. At Meniko, the small number of limestone figures recovered included no Egyptianizing figures, but one "Cypriote belt"-wearer. Similarly, among the few stone statuettes unearthed at site Kamelarga, at Kition, there was a tiny figure wearing a "Cypriote belt" and vertically striped upper garment (see above Ch. 2.2.2 n. 505).

[370] See above, in Chs. 2.2.2 and 2.3, where parallels regarding the "kilt" of Herakles were noted, in addition to the decorated belt with raised ridges. Certain Herakles figures further share the (Egyptianizing) "flaps" on the shoulders, similar to the ends of an Egyptian-type wig, which are found on some Baal Hammon figurines: Cesnola 1885, pl. 87.580; Myres 1914, 173, 222–223, no. 1092; Sophocleous 1985, 59.

[371] At the western site at Golgoi (Ayios Photios), the colossal **Cat. 22** and **Cat. 24**, along with life-size **Cat. 23** (and small-scale **Cat. 25**), were displayed together with an over-life-size Herakles Melqart figure, 217 cm in height. Apart from Golgoi, Egyptianizing figures and Herakles Melqart statuettes were found in large quantities at Idalion, and a few, at least, together at Potamia, Tamassos, Kition *Bamboula*, and Kazafani.

the Herakles Melqart type.[372] Similarly lacking at Palaepaphos are any examples of the seated and horned Baal Hammon figure.[373] When considering that this type is well represented at sites like Lefkoniko and Meniko, sanctuaries displaying a complete lack of Egyptianizing limestone figures, one would hope to sense an emerging pattern. This is immediately eradicated, however, when considering the material from the rich eastern "temple" site at Golgoi (Ayios Photios), and the hillside sanctuary at Idalion, where both votive types were encountered.[374]

There is a large group of additional Egyptianizing (votive) material from the island. Apart from the small-scale bronze, faience, and terracotta statuettes listed in Addendum 2, there are several different categories of limestone material which share details of dress and/or ornamentation with the Egyptianizing figures.[375] Sphinxes, Hathoric capitals, and votive capitals are the most well-known of these. The bearded sphinx, wearing a double crown, the broad decorated collar, and a frontally hanging apron, has, in fact, several elements in common with the male figures wearing Egyptian-type dress.[376] In the case of the Hathoric capitals, the general Egyptian iconography of the goddess, including the vulture headdress and the broad collar of the earliest depictions,[377] the rearing *uraeus* crowned by a sun disk, the winged solar disk, and the additional paradise flower and volute-and-palmette flower motifs, are similarly paralleled in the male Egyptianizing figures.[378] Sphinxes are generally arranged in flanking pairs on either side of a throne holding a seated figure, or – at necropoleis – protecting the deceased and his grave. There are only a very few indications that sphinx statues were dedicated as votive objects within a sanctuary.[379] The double-sided Hathoric capitals, on the other hand, have been found in connection with main urban sanctuaries dedicated to a female goddess – suggesting that they are, indeed, an image of the goddess herself – and further, at Amathus and (later) Vouni, in connection to royal palaces.[380] This makes it difficult to compare exact find spots of these two categories and the male Egyptianizing votive figures. In general, however, it can be said that limestone sphinxes, Hathoric capitals, and kilt-wearing figures share the same emphasis on southern and southeastern Cyprus – with Palaepaphos as a common digression in the far west. However, while sphinxes and male Egyptianizing figures have been encountered at the same sanctuary sites, this is never the case for the male kilt-wearing figures and the biface Hathoric capitals.[381] On the contrary: within those sanctuaries where large-scale capitals abound, no finds of kilt-wearing figures have been made.[382] And vice versa the two richest sites for Egyptianizing limestone figures, Idalion and Golgoi, have not yielded one single example of these large-scale, characteristic, female objects.[383] This state of affairs comes as no surprise, however, when considering what was established above: that the (male) Egyptianizing figures have been encountered mainly at sanctuaries dedicated to Apollo-Reshef, and virtually never at the major urban cult sites where the Great Cypriote Goddess was worshipped. The only connection between the two that could be found is in the very different realm of dress ornamentation: the presence of a small Hathoric head in low relief on the

372 At Lefkoniko, one kilt-wearing bronze statuette was unearthed, however (Addendum 2, No. 1): Myres 1940–1945b, pl. 12.1.

373 A. Hermary has noted the absence of Herakles and Baal Hammon at this and other west Cypriote sites: Hermary 1996c, 140.

374 See above Ch. 3.2.2. For a seated Baal Hammon figurine from Idalion: Pryce 1931, 89, fig. 14 (C.222). Note, however, that this figure was not incorporated into Senff's 1993 volume with material from the site, and that the author states that a few of Pryce's site attributions were probably incorrect: Senff 1993, 3–4.

375 See above, in Ch. 2.2.2.

376 The sphinx collar can have decoration painted on, rendered by incision, or carved in low relief – just like the collars of the Egyptianizing figures: Comstock & Vermeule 1976, no. 426; Seipel 1999, 194–195, no. 93, fig. 11; Karageorghis *et al.* 2000, 136–137, no. 206. There are even correspondences as regards individual floral ornaments which are part of the decoration (see below, Ch. 5.1.3).

377 The earliest depictions are rather grave stelai: Cesnola 1885, pl. 18.27; Hermary 1985, 676, fig. 23 (who dates this particular piece to 570–560 B.C.).

378 It is further true that a small Hathoric head – with collar protome and the characteristic cow ears – is found on the apron-*devanteau* of **Cat. 22**, unearthed at the western site at Golgoi (Ayios Photios) (see below).

379 The evidence from Palaepaphos is convincing, however (see above in Ch. 3.2.3). The sphinx and lion said by Cesnola to have been found "in the temple at Golgoi" would be more at home crowning a grave stele: Cesnola 1885, pl. 42.273; Karageorghis *et al.* 2000, 136–137, no. 206 (where the author does place the piece within the category "Funerary sculpture").

380 Hermary 2001a, 14–16.

381 If the two Kition Hathoric capitals, probably unearthed in connection with the Bamboula hill, and the two Egyptianizing figures from the Gjerstad *bothros*, **Cat. 45** and **Cat. 46**, were displayed within the same sacred area, then this is the only available exception.

382 Such as the main urban sanctuary at Tamassos-Chomazoudia, referred to above, and the equivalents on top the acropoleis at Amathus and Kourion. For the latter site and the finds of fragmentary Hathoric capitals made there: Hermary 1998a, 69–70.

383 The very fragmentary find of what could be a Hathoric capital has been unearthed at the palace of Idalion, however: Hadjicosti 1997, 56, fig. 21. I thank A. Ulbrich for this reference.

apron-*devanteau* of the colossal **Cat. 22** from Golgoi.[384]

3.3.3 Archaeological contexts of particular significance

The only two sanctuaries to provide architectural remains, and an idea of the actual arrangement of the ancient sculptures, are the secondary urban hillside sanctuary at Idalion and the extra-urban (eastern) temple site at Golgoi (Ayios Photios).[385] At Idalion, votive figures of varying sizes were arranged in parallel rows along the southern wall of the precinct, younger figures partly covering older statues. In what has been interpreted as the older part of the sanctuary, there was a monumental altar and an innermost, raised platform. On top of the platform, at least some of the Egyptianizing figures were said to have been standing. It can thus not be ruled out that two large-scale, Egyptianizing figures were standing on the two statue bases which flanked the stairways up to that platform.[386] At Golgoi, the arrangement of rows of votive figures was mirrored, with large and small limestone statues standing on top of statue bases along all four walls of the rectangular "temple". It is very unfortunate that at neither Idalion nor Golgoi did the excavators note what particular statues could have belonged to the recovered statue bases – some of which carried dedicatory inscriptions.[387] In common for these two find contexts is, however, the way the 19th-century excavators noted that statuary was arranged according to figural type or category. For Golgoi, Cesnola noted that figures with conical headdresses were standing beside each other, along the temple wall, and that figures "showing a strong Egyptian tendency" were grouped together as well. It was noted above that we cannot be altogether confident about what the excavator meant by "strong Egyptian tendency": in a depiction in his 1877 volume, both a kilt-wearing figure (**Cat. 29**) *and* a mantle-wearing figure holding two branches in the right hand are referred to as being of "Egyptian style".[388] On the other hand, in connection with a relief depiction of limited dimensions, found on the dress of the Geryon figure from the same context, Cesnola noted that the depicted male figures were "Egyptians". In this case he could only have been referring to the broad belts and the knee-length "kilts" worn by the two small-scale figures – that is, his criterium for "Egyptian" was dress.[389] In a second passage the excavator stated that the votive statues in the temple were "…ranged according to the art or nationality they represented – the Egyptian by themselves, the Assyrian in like manner, and the Greek and Roman near the western wall... ." It is probable that Cesnola based this division into ethnic affiliation on the dress of the figures, rather than on stylistic criteria such as the rendering of face and body form. Thus, the votive figures do seem to have been arranged according to their dress and equipment. At Golgoi, not only were certain human figures arranged together in this manner, but seemingly also other find categories: "...the tablets with bas-reliefs and inscriptions by themselves, and the different votive offerings classed according to their nature, and probably placed before their appropriate divinities." This adds to the indication that there was a certain deliberate arrangement of votive objects within the sacred precinct. At the rural sanctuary at Ayia Irini a similar kind of arrangement of votive objects and figures can be discerned, where not only certain votive categories, such as horse chariots, were placed close together, but where figures of similar size were grouped together as well.[390] In the (5th century B.C.) main palace sanctuary at Vouni, limestone and terracotta votive figures were separated.[391] In addition, in his concise report of the sanctuary remains unearthed at Pyla, G. Colonna-Ceccaldi said that the confusion of Cypriote and Greek statues had been carefully avoided through their separate arrangements within the precinct.[392] It is clear that the "Greek" statues referred to by the author were accompanied by Greek inscriptions. Could it be possible, on the other hand, that the arrangement witnessed by the 19th-century excavators at Idalion, Golgoi, and Pyla, was more the effect of chronology than typology, where earlier figures

[384] See above Ch. 2.2.1 n. 169. The colossal statue and the iconography of the Hathor image both belong within the earliest part of the 6th century B.C.

[385] The peri-urban sanctuary at Phrangissa (Tamassos) similarly offered remains of sanctuary walls, and statuary *in situ*. There is no find information on the Egyptianizing figurines recovered there, however.

[386] The heads of two over-life-size figures are preserved, **Cat. 7** and **Cat. 9** (and, possibly, Addendum 1, No. 1). This reconstruction is of course purely hypothetical, however; see below Ch. 5.2.2.

[387] The only exception is the connection made by L.P. di Cesnola between the colossal Herakles Melqart figure and the (most probably later) statue base with relief depictions featuring the hero-god, both unearthed at the western site at Ayios Photios: see above Ch. 3.2.2. The base carried no inscription, and Cesnola described how the relief was cut away from the heavy base with a saw and incorporated into the additional mass of votive finds.

[388] See above n. 126.

[389] See above n. 135.

[390] Gjerstad *et al.* 1935, 808–809, figs. 277–293.

[391] Gjerstad *et al.* 1937, 277–280, figs. 150–155, plans 24–25. See above n. 69.

[392] Colonna-Ceccaldi 1882, 22: "Dans l'enceinte du temple, la confusion entre les statues chypriotes et grecques avait été soigneusement évitée, et les statues chypriotes se trouvaient en rang, placées vis-à-vis des statues à inscriptions grecques, également en rang."

(among which the major part of the Egyptianizing ones) were dedicated during a certain time span, separated from later specimens (among which the major part of the "Greek" ones)?[393] By no means am I referring to the consecutive chronology, following the periods of alleged foreign political domination over Cyprus, which was suggested by, among others, J.L. Myres and E. Gjerstad.[394] It is clear, however, that there is a large chronological variation between some of the statues unearthed within the Golgoi temple. The Egyptianizing figures, mainly standing along the eastern wall, are clearly earlier than many of the "Greek" sculptures which are depicted in Cesnola's volumes, and said to have been arranged along the western wall.[395] Regarding the Idalion sanctuary, R. Senff shares the first excavator's opinion that the innermost part of the sanctuary was also its oldest part, dating the rows of figures standing along the southern wall in the "later" part of the temple to the early 5th century B.C. The Egyptianizing statuary in the innermost part of the hillside sanctuary are clearly much earlier in date.[396]

The suggestion of a continuous amassment of statuary, instead of a deliberate arrangement according to figural type, does not seem to hold, however. As noted above, figures with conical caps, and additional types of votive objects were apparently arranged together at Golgoi and Idalion. And the indications of what seem to be similar distinctions in the disposition of the votive material at Ayia Irini and Vouni agree with this picture. Thus, it seems possible to accept the observations in the early excavation accounts from Golgoi and Idalion as referring to what could have been an actual practice at these sites: of separating the male votive figures according to their dress and equipment when they were dedicated in the sanctuary.

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[393]This possibility was noted by R. Senff as well, in relation to F.N. Pryce's thoughts on Cypriote versus Greek votive figures at Idalion: Senff 1993, 18.

[394]See above, Ch. 1.2 "Previous research", where it was noted that criticism from C. Vermeule, P. Gaber, and others has shown that this chronological linearity is all wrong.

[395]The circumstance that the Egyptianizing **Cat. 30** seems to have been standing along the western wall of the Golgoi sanctuary, in the midst of the "later", "Greek" figures, should be mentioned.

[396]Compare the similar relation between (early) Egyptian-type and (later) Greek-type votive figures in the sanctuaries at Phoenician Amrit and Bostan esh-Sheikh (Ch. 4.4.2).

4 Related sculpture outside Cyprus

In this chapter the focus is no longer on Cyprus itself. We turn, instead, to consider the material of stone statues and statuettes displaying Egyptian-type dress, headgear, and ornaments encountered outside the island, in the vast area referred to as the Eastern Mediterranean.[1] The focus is not on the few imported Egyptian objects known to us,[2] even if these will be returned to briefly below, in Ch. 5. The discussion rather concerns Egyptianizing objects, that is, stone statuary displaying Egyptian dress while clearly being of a non-Egyptian manufacture. Before entering upon the Egyptianizing statues and statuettes themselves, however, it seems wise to briefly turn to the general Cypriote-style statuary material which has been encountered outside Cyprus. Only then will the "foreign" Egyptianizing objects be considered.

4.1 Introduction. Cypriote-style statuary and Egyptianizing statuary (*Fig. 18*)

4.1.1 General Cypriote-style statuary

It was E. Gjerstad who first attempted to bring together the Cypriote-style plastic material excavated outside the island,[3] but the subject matter has been much advanced by very recent research.[4] Judging from the wide-spread finds, Cypriote votive statuettes were appreciated gifts to local gods in sanctuaries in the entire Eastern Mediterranean area, and were traded extensively from the last quarter of the 7th century B.C., onwards.[5] Finds outside the island are mostly limited to small-scale statuettes. Among the limestone material, we encounter votive types which are found in abundance on Cyprus such as mantle-wearing figures – with caps with upturned cheek pieces or laurel wreaths – carrying votive animals or gifts, and Herakles Melqart and Baal Hammon figurines.[6] Cypriote-style Egyptianizing figures have also been encountered (see below). The Cypriote manufacture for these figures has not been doubted. It has been noted, however, that a large part of the Cypriote-style stone statuettes found outside Cyprus adheres to types which are rare or virtually unknown on Cyprus itself.[7] The naked youth, sometimes carrying a lion, is of a decidedly non-Cypriote kind, and small lions, falcons, and sphinxes with frontal aprons, and male figures playing the lyre or carrying a caprid on the shoulders are rare on the island.[8] These types are abundant, on the other hand, in sanctuaries at Naukratis,[9] at Amrit and Sidon on the Phoenician

[1] One single Egyptianizing stone statue is known from the Western Mediterranean area, an acephalous male figure wearing a pleated kilt held up by a belt with raised outer ridges, placed low on the figure's hips. The over-life-size statue is seemingly carved from local, volcanic rock. It was found in Sicily, at Stagnone, in the waters outside the Phoenician colony of Mozia: Falsone 1970.

[2] It is, of course, of interest to consider the fact that there was a certain amount of Egyptian stone, metal, and wooden statuary displayed in sanctuaries in some of the regions of the Eastern Mediterranean. The archaeological and written records provide evidence at – for example – cities like Phoenician Byblos, at Kameiros on Rhodes (stone), and at the Samian Heraion (wood and bronze). See below, in Ch. 5.1.3.

[3] Gjerstad discussed both terracotta and stone statuary: Gjerstad 1948, 318–336. His fig. 53 is a distribution map marking the find spots of the hitherto known material (Cypriote sculpture – and pottery).

[4] Kourou *et al.* 2002, 5–7, note the distribution of Cypriote-style statuettes outside the island. The survey is in part based on Fourrier 1999a – a work to which I have not had access.

[5] To give but one example, L. Ganzmann *et al.* note the abundance of Cypriote votive statuary and the complete absence of Greek sculpture, from the earliest levels of the sanctuary at Bostan esh-Sheikh (600–550 B.C.): Ganzmann *et al.* 1987, 129.

[6] For an overview of the finds from the Palestinian coast: Stern 1977, 162. See also below, in Ch. 4.4.3.

[7] A. Hermary notes that this is true as well for certain Cypriote-style terracotta statuettes unearthed on Samos – a fact indicating local manufacture on the Greek island: Hermary 1991a, 141, 145.

[8] A centaur and a pair of small lions seated side by side, from Kameiros on Rhodes, are similarly unique types: Pryce 1928, 168, B.368, B.370, pl. 38. See also a group with two men and a sacrificial bull, and a "fish vendor", from Naukratis: pp. 197–200, B.464, B.467, figs. 239, 242. The two last figures are tiny, measuring only seven and four cm in height, respectively.

[9] The material found at Naukratis includes naked *kouros* statuettes of a more purely (East) Greek style; a statuette in the Golenischeff Collection in Moscow is often taken to exemplify

coast, on Rhodes and Samos in particular, on Knidos, Chios, and at other East Greek sites – while finds are known from the island of Delos, and single, sporadic ones from Eretria and Aegina.[10] The mixed character of this category of votive statuettes, mainly typologically but also stylistically speaking, has led to its designation as "Cypro-Ionian", reflecting doubts on a Cypriote origin.[11] Gjerstad, and others after him, connected the "Cypro-Ionian" phenomenon with an interchange that took place between Cypriote and East Greek artists in workshops outside the island. It was through this interchange that Cypriote plastic art in general saw the increased (East) Greek influence which is so clearly witnessed during the 6th century B.C. and culminating in the 5th.[12]

Early "Cypro-Ionian" statuettes constitute one important find category when considering the emergence and spread of large-scale statuary in the Eastern Mediterranean in the 7th and 6th centuries B.C.,[13] and their implications have rightly been much discussed. What does their mixed character imply? At some locations they have been found side by side with what has been recognized as more purely Cypriote pieces.[14] Were the "Cypro-Ionian" objects manufactured on Cyprus and exported, or were they produced in local workshops situated close to the sanctuaries in which they were later found? If so, were they carved by immigrant Cypriote artists or by local craftsmen, in imitation of the Cypriote style? In relation to these matters on geographical place of manufacture and the ethnic identities of the individual stone carvers, the possibility of transport of raw material has been considered.[15] It was noted early on that certain "Cypro-Ionian" statuettes excavated at Naukratis, the Knidian peninsula, and on Rhodes, carry dedicatory inscriptions in the local script – as opposed to the Cypro-syllabic one used on statuettes on Cyprus itself.[16] The place of manufacture of the pieces might still have been Cyprus, however, and the exported objects could have been inscribed after reaching the distant sanctuary.[17]

With the recognition of varying kinds of raw material in the stone figures, a more fruitful path has emerged. Beside objects of the characteristic soft, Cypriote limestone, statuettes made of local stone have been excavated in Phoenicia,[18] but more conspicuously at Naukratis. The presence at Naukratis of quite a few naked *kouros* statuettes made of sandstone and of what seems to be a local alabaster,[19] has directed the focus towards the Delta city for part, if not all, of the "Cypro-Ionian" production.[20] The suggestion that unfinished pieces have been found at Naukratis – a fact which would put a local production beyond doubt – can be discounted, however.[21] The manufacture of Cypriote-style figures in various local stones does imply that Cypriote stone carvers were active in foreign workshops.[22] In contrast, however, the analyses which have recently been attempted on various Cypriote-style stone statuettes excavated outside the island

this (limited) category of figures. See also an alabaster (?) statuette found at nearby Saïs: Parlasca 1975, 57, pl. 8.a.

[10] A. Hermary provides a distribution map of the "Cypro-Ionian" stone and terracotta sculpture: Hermary 1998c, 269, fig. 6. See also Fourrier 1999b, 385, fig. 30.

[11] Wriedt Sørensen 1978; Hermary 1991b. R.V. Nicholls noted in connection with this category of figures, "Their style is strangely mixed, part Cypriot, part East-Greek and part Egyptianizing.": Budde & Nicholls 1964, 5. B. Lewe discussed the group with usual clarity: Lewe 1975, 25–30.

[12] Gjerstad 1948, 361; Lewe 1975, 30. See above, in Ch. 2.3.

[13] Ridgway 1977, 32–33.

[14] Hermary 1991b, 174, on Amrit and Sidon. For the Heraion at Samos, see below.

[15] Wriedt Sørensen 1978, 120 n. 6.

[16] Blinkenberg 1931, 402–403 (Ionian Greek at Naukratis, Doric Greek on Knidos and Rhodes). In addition, a Cypriote-style sphinx from the rural sanctuary at Vroulia on southern Rhodes carries a Phoenician dedicatory inscription: Riis *et al.* 1989, 51–52, no. 34.

[17] C. Blinkenberg himself apted for manufacture on Cyprus proper for the Lindian "Cypro-Ionian" figures. The more unusual types, he suggested, were made or chosen specifically for export: Blinkenberg 1931, 404.

[18] Riis 1979, 34, fig. 99, notes that one Cypriote-style head (wearing a wreath, and thus probably not of "Cypro-Ionian" character; H. 9.5 cm) was seemingly carved from the local sandstone material from the site, from Tell Sukas. See, on Cypriote limestone versus Phoenician sandstone: Stucky 1993, 15 (regarding Bostan esh-Sheikh).

[19] I. Jenkins has argued that the stone is not alabaster but gypsum, available on Cyprus as well. Much like Blinkenberg for Lindos, he views the "Cypro-Ionian" statuettes at Naukratis as manufactured on Cyprus itself, designed and destined for a foreign market: Jenkins 2001, 177. For doubts regarding Cypriote statuette production destined for export only, as being too modern a conception: Lewe 1975, 27.

[20] S. Fourrier suggests that workshops at Naukratis, strongly influenced from Cyprus, produced virtually all "Cypro-Ionian" stone statuettes found in the Eastern Mediterranean area for a limited period of time (ca. 620–570 B.C.): Fourrier 2001. See also Nick 2001, 65.

[21] F.N. Pryce saw unfinished figurines in the material: Pryce 1928, 183 (citing B.456, instead of the correct B.457); 194–195, B.457, fig. 234. An "unfinished" appearance of the stone surface, where broad, vertical marks of the knife used are still present, is characteristic for certain Cypriote statuary however (see, for example, **Cat. 64**). Indeed, Pryce's statuette B.457 displays rich traces of color, something which would hardly have been applied to an unfinished piece. See also Kinch 1914, 15, no. 1, a figurine with similar tool marks – and much color preserved.

[22] Apart from the evidence from Phoenicia (see below) and Naukratis, such indications come from the Knidian peninsula. The excavators note "local limestone" for the earliest statuettes excavated at the Apollo sanctuary at Emecik, close to Datça, and white marble for the later ones: Berges & Tuna 2000, 201–202 (with more caution); Berges & Tuna 2001, 157. For a (late) Cypriote sculptor's signature from Naukratis: Hogarth 1898–1899, 32, pl. 14.9.

indicate their being made of Cypriote limestone.[23] This has been shown for material from the Phoenician sanctuary at Amrit,[24] and for the Cypriote-style statuettes unearthed at Lindos, on Rhodes, and at the Samian Heraion.[25] A combination of: 1) foreign or unusual types and styles within the "Cypro-Ionian" repertoire, 2) the finds of a certain amount of figurines carved from local stone at certain sanctuaries, and 3) the large presence of Cypriote limestone encountered outside the island, does favor the idea of itinerant Cypriote craftsmen, indeed sometimes carrying with them their own local material – beside a certain Cypriote export of finished products, which seems difficult to exclude.[26]

4.1.2 Egyptianizing stone statues and statuettes (Fig. 18)

It seems necessary to keep this complex "Cypro-Ionian" issue in mind when considering the Egyptianizing stone statuary found outside Cyprus in the Eastern Mediterranean area. The reason for this is that the case of the Egyptianizing votive type differs somewhat from the other general, Cypriote-style material encountered. It was noted above that among the Cypriote-style statues and statuettes found outside of the island there are mantle-wearing figures, Herakles Melqart and Baal Hammon figurines, as well as Egyptianizing statues and statuettes. In contrast to the "Cypro-Ionian" figures these votive types are well known on the island itself, and since they seem to have been carved from the fine-grained, Cypriote limestone, they have been regarded as export goods reaching these distant coasts from Cyprus. There are virtually no known examples of mantle-wearing, Herakles Melqart or Baal Hammon figures and figurines which display local (foreign) style, or were made of local (foreign, that is, non-Cypriote) stone material.[27] In contrast, however, there is abundant material of Egyptianizing statues which were clearly manufactured from local (non-Cypriote) stone, some – but not all – displaying a non-Cypriote way of rendering the face and body. Another deviating fact is that Egyptianizing stone statues – both Cypriote style and non-Cypriote style, both seemingly made from Cypriote limestone and non-Cypriote stone – have been encountered also outside Cyprus in large-scale pieces, reaching life-size and over life-size dimensions. Characteristic for virtually all other Cypriote-style statuary found outside the island (and especially for the "Cypro-Ionian" figures) is that it is of very limited size, from a few centimeters in height to around half a meter, only – that is, easily transportable.[28] There will be a thorough analysis of these "foreign" Egyptianizing pieces (see below, in Ch. 4.3), but first it is of importance to consider the find sites for the Egyptianizing stone statuary excavated outside Cyprus. The survey commences at Egyptian Naukratis, moving counter-clockwise through the Eastern Mediterranean sites.

Of the statuette material unearthed in and around the Apollo and Aphrodite *temene* at Naukratis, only one figurine is equipped with what can be identified as an Egyptian-type kilt.[29] The Cypriote-style male figure, which seems to be made of limestone, is wearing a broad belt and a kilt with "*devanteau*",[30] his hair being covered by a plain cloth. While close general correspondences to Cypriote limestone plastic art can be noted,[31] the way in which the legs of the

[23] The attempt made by Riis *et al.* included only three samples, from Syria, Lindos, and Kition respectively – all being of the same stone: Riis *et al.* 1989, 32.

[24] The study carried out by K. Lembke and C. Xenophontos on the statue material from Amrit is comprehensive. In a forthcoming publication the Cypriote origin of the stone in a large number of statues and statuettes is shown. The micropaleontological analysis is briefly referred to in Kourou *et al.* 2002, 39.

[25] A recently finished project has involved not only the sampling of statuettes from these two areas and from Cyprus, but also from ancient quarries found in connection: Kourou *et al.* 2002, 44, 71, 74–75, fig. 13 (Rhodes), pp. 69, 71, 74–75, figs. 11–12 (Samos). The results which regard the Samian material – that the stone of most of the Heraion statuettes does not seem to be local, but comes close to Cypriote limestone – corroborate G. Schmidt's view from 1968: Schmidt 1968, 118.

[26] This combination was, indeed, suggested by L. Wriedt Sørensen already in 1978: Wriedt Sørensen 1978, 120. See also a passage in Athenaeus (15.675f–676c) which has often been referred to, recounting the purchase by the merchant Herostratus of a statuette of Aphrodite at Paphos, and the subsequent dedication of the votive gift at the goddess's temple at Naukratis.

[27] The only possible exception, a statuette head from Tell Sukas, was referred to above in n. 18.

[28] The Amrit material stands out with quite a large group of Cypriote-style, male votive figures of various types (naked, mantle-wearing, and Herakles Melqart figures) which seem to have reached up to around one meter in height: Dunand 1944–1945, pls. 14.3, 25.40, 18.15. A true exception is a male, colossal, cap-wearing, Cypriote-style head said to have been found at Byblos: Pryce 1931, 37, C.74, fig. 45.

[29] The University College, London, Inv. no. UC 16469. Gjerstad 1948, 319–320, fig. 48; Kyrieleis 1996, pl. 40.1–3. The figurine is 22.5 cm in height.

[30] The rich traces of color preserved on this statuette show that a kilt with *devanteau*, and not a *shenti* with apron, was intended. For more on the color patterning, see above, in Ch. 2.2.2. Once again, I thank G. Nick for information on a figure I have not been able to study myself.

[31] The general treatment of body and face; the border at the base of the neck; the painted, vertical border with rosettes decorating the upper short-sleeved garment (see above Chs. 2.2.2 and 2.3); the rendering of the hands; the almond-shaped outline of the knee; and the border of hair rendered beneath the plain headcloth or "kerchief". It should be noted, however, that some of these characteristics could, theoretically, be among those which reached Cypriote craftsmen through interchange with East Greek

figure have been joined by a support-like feature is unparalleled on Cyprus.[32] The same is true for another limestone statuette, depicting a hunter carrying bow, arrows, and prey.[33] The lower outline of his "kilt" indeed seems to echo an Egyptian-type kilt with centrally hanging apron. The two flaps of textile hanging over the sides of the belt indicate, however, that the *chiton*-like dress was pulled up under the belt at the sides, resulting in such a dipping hemline.[34]

From the area around Amman, in Jordan, comes quite a homogeneous group of finds of male votive figures equipped with the Egyptian *atef* crown.[35] The two intact statuettes stand around half a meter in height, while the heads recovered must have belonged to life-size and even (in one case) colossal figures.[36] They are made of yellowish limestone or – in two cases – of basalt.[37] The figures have all been dated to between the 9th and 6th centuries B.C.[38] The few examples which are completely preserved display a short-sleeved garment reaching to the knees and a shawl. No Egyptian-type kilts or broad collars are known from these figures.[39] It must be noted that from the same context as a certain group of these male figures (the Amman Citadel) come finds of four double-sided, life-size female, limestone heads.[40] The Hathor-like heads display wig-like hair, large earrings and inlays of a black bitumen-like substance and ivory fitted into their eyes, eyebrows, and choker necklaces.[41] Circular dowel holes on the top of each head and under each neck indicate that they were once incorporated into an architectural setting.[42]

From the site of Umm el-Amed, situated just south of Tyre on the Phoenician coast, come six statues made of local limestone displaying Egyptian-type kilts and/or broad decorated collars.[43] All statues have back-pillar supports, and all are of almost life-size dimensions.[44] It must be noted, however, that the temple complex in which they were excavated may date to the 4th–2nd centuries B.C. Should this be the date of the sculptures as well, then they do, indeed, fall way outside the limits of this study.[45]

At Tyre itself one Egyptianizing statuette has been recovered, carved from the hard, local stone.[46] It is wearing a pleated kilt with centrally hanging cobras

colleagues abroad. In fact, H. Kyrieleis argues that the "wig" of the figure, and the border at the base of the neck (of a figure with a naked upper body – thus, not really this statuette) is a characteristic for the Naukratite workshops, combining Cypriote, Greek, and Egyptian features: Kyrieleis 1996, 75–76, 78–79.

[32] A. Möller has indeed suggested that this "support-like" entity between the legs of certain Naukratite stone statuettes represents a Greek (Cypro-Greek?) translation of the Egyptian back-pillar support: Möller 2000, 158. See also Kyrieleis 1996, 75–76, pl. 40. For another statuette with similar "support": Gardner 1888a, pl. 14.10 (a lion tamer). That a limited number of Egyptianizing statuettes from Amrit display this trait as well will be noted below in Ch. 4.3.4.

[33] The British Museum, Inv. no. B.451 ("the Naukratis hunter", H. 49 cm): Pryce 1928, 190–191, fig. 229, pl. 41. The statuette carries a dedicatory inscription in Greek on its lower right leg, the reading (and dating) of which is disputed, however. It should be noted that close equivalents to this hunter type are unknown on Cyprus. The appearance of the bow and arrows, however, and the way they are being carried, come close to what we find in certain Cypriote Herakles Melqart figures. This has already been noted by A. Hermary: Hermary 2001b, 32–33.

[34] This kind of rendering of dress, which is so characteristic for Cypriote art, was treated above, in Ch. 2.2.2. It cannot be interpreted as a clear rendering of an Egyptian-type kilt. Compare, however, the arrangement of dress and kilt on **Cat. 37**, from Golgoi.

[35] Two complete figurines and seven heads are known: Abou Assaf 1980, 21–32, pls. 1–11; Dornemann 1983, 156–157, fig. 91.1–4. For the identification as votive statuary, see p. 163 (a related statuette, without crown, carries a Phoenician dedicatory inscription).

[36] Abou Assaf 1980, pls. 4, "Kopf 4" and "Kopf 5" (heads of statues originally reaching around 150 cm in height), 5, "Kopf 7" (statue originally reaching way over two meters). The other heads seem to have belonged to figures of between 100 and 130 cm.

[37] Abou Assaf 1980, 21–32. A. Abou Assaf suggests that a high-quality head from Amman is made of steatite (p. 31, "Kopf 19").

[38] Dornemann 1983, 162; 1987, 137, no. 134, a find context datable to the 7th century B.C.

[39] However, the Ammonite figures share details with Cypriote plastic art like the beaded hem of the shawl with alternate coloring in black and red, the small, round object held in the clenched hand – and their being carved in yellowish limestone. The body stance is the conventional advanced left leg, one arm hanging down the side of the body, the second arm bent with hand resting on the chest: Dornemann 1983, 157–158, fig. 92.2–4. Note also the row of curls of hair beneath the crown (fig. 91.2), the outline of the beard, and the way the beard curves up meeting the lower lip (compare, for example, **Cat. 23** and **Cat. 27**, from Golgoi).

[40] Abou Assaf 1980, 32–34, pls. 12–16; Dornemann 1983, 159–162, figs. 93–94.

[41] Some of the male Ammonite statues and statuettes display hollow eyes, intended to carry inlay as well. This is true for at least two of the male heads wearing the *atef* crown: Dornemann 1983, 157 n. 2. R.H. Dornemann further notes that the low, raised, flat planes of the eyes of one of the male figures (the high-quality head, see above) seem to imitate inlay work: pp. 156–157, pl. 91.3.

[42] Parallels have been drawn to the Phoenician "Woman in the window" motif, encountered in ivory, where female heads are placed on balustrades: Spycket 1981, 422–423; Uehlinger 1997, 129 n. 165.

[43] Dunand & Duru 1962, 156–158, pls. 30.1–2, 81.2–3, 83.2–3. A figure with long garment and broad decorated collar, now in the Louvre Museum (Inv. no. AO 4405), remains unpublished.

[44] The figures, lacking head and legs from beneath the knees and down, average 70 cm in height, with one exception reaching 102 cm. The AOH of the figures would be between 115 and 195 cm.

[45] For more on the figures and their dating, see below in Ch. 4.4.2.

[46] The National Museum, Beirut, Inv. no. 2265: Parrot *et al.* 1975, 96–98, no. 101 (H. 53 cm, AOH 87 cm). A head of a life-size diorite statue, wearing a striped *nemes* headcloth with frontal *uraeus*, is said to come from Tyre. It has been identified as an imported Egyptian piece of Nubian workmanship (the A.U.B. Museum, Beirut, Inv. no. 48.356, H. 25.7 cm).

and a decorated broad collar, and is equipped with a back-pillar support. At Kharayeb, a few kilometers northeast of Tyre, two closely related figures were excavated in 1969.[47] They are equipped like the Tyre statuette, carved from local stone, and are both attached to back-pillar supports.

The coastal site of Sarepta (Sarafand) has yielded one colossal, kilt-wearing figure, pillar-like in its anatomy, and possibly part of an architectural setting.[48] It, too, displays a kilt with cobras and broad collar and a back-pillar support. The material from which it was carved has been identified as local limestone.[49] Not unlike the Sarepta figure in appearance is a well-preserved, although unprovenanced, (local) limestone figure, excavated somewhere along the Lebanese coast.[50] The life-size figure is wearing a plain *nemes* headcloth with frontal *uraeus*, and a diagonally pleated *shenti*. From the Eshmun sanctuary at Bostan esh-Sheikh just outside Sidon, a site rich in Cypriote-style sculpture in general, come one colossal and three life-size Egyptianizing figures, and two small-scale statuettes – all made of soft, fine-grained limestone.[51] An additional, elaborately decorated life-size Egyptianizing figure manufactured from soft limestone was unearthed "at Sidon", possibly at a spot near the southern city gate. At Byblos, on the other hand, two massive and colossal kilt-wearing pieces were excavated, very similar in appearance and once part of the flanking statuary found outside the so-called "Bâtiment I" at the site.[52] Both colossal figures were carved from hard, local stone, and both display back-pillar supports. The sanctuary dedicated to a male god, at Amrit, has yielded one colossal Egyptianizing, kilt-wearing statue, four life-size figures,[53] and 14 statuettes (see below) – just like its Sidonian counterparts, this statuary is manufactured from soft, fine-grained limestone. Among the rich statuary material from the site, no figures equipped with back-pillar supports are found.

Further north a basalt statuette was found at Sfiré, near Aleppo, in Syria.[54] It depicts a man wearing a pleated *shenti* held up by a broad, decorated belt.[55] A large dagger is suspended from the belt. On the back of the fragmentary figure is a seven-line dedicatory cuneiform inscription. The date of this statuette is disputed, however.[56] Finally, a limited group of material from the Levantine area falls outside this resumé, since it is only possible, and not clear, that they can be identified as wearing an Egyptian-type dress.[57]

The sanctuaries along the Phoenician coast are thus rich in the Egyptianizing figural type. These statues and statuettes are manufactured both from the harder, local stones (sand- and limestone, and basalt), and from a soft limestone material which seems foreign to the area. In contrast, when turning to Rhodes – an island displaying large amounts of "Cypro-Ionian" statuettes excavated at various sites – we encounter one single kilt-wearing figure.[58] The very fragmentary limestone statuette, found at Kameiros, is indicated merely by part of its plain *shenti* and its square back-pillar support. The left leg is much advanced, causing quite a torsion in the small figure.[59]

The Heraion at Samos, another site to provide large amounts of "Cypro-Ionian" statuettes, supplies finds of two kilt-wearing, limestone figures. Both pieces are fragmentary. The first is an unstratified statuette wearing a broad belt with raised outer ridges placed around the waist, and a plain *shenti* kilt cloth and

[47] Kaoukabani 1973, pl. 16.1–2. The figures, preserved from the base of the neck to the ankles, measure 80 and 87 cm, respectively (that is, their AOHs are 105 and 115 cm).

[48] The Louvre Museum, Inv. no. AO 4805 (H. 144 cm, AOH 200 cm). For more on this theory, see below Ch. 4.3.2.

[49] Gubel & Fontan 2002, 114. I thank E. Gubel for this reference from a book I otherwise have not had the chance to take into consideration, in this study.

[50] The National Museum, Beirut, Inv. no. 2006. (H. 124 cm, AOH 178 cm).

[51] The colossal figure, its preserved height being about 180 cm (AOH 210 cm), has a back-pillar support in the Egyptian manner.

[52] See below for more on these figures.

[53] As will be clear below (Ch. 4.4.2), it is not impossible that the decorated collar fragment indicating the fourth figure could have belonged together with one of the three kilt fragments which do indicate three separate, life-size figures.

[54] Warmenbol 1985, figs. 2–6 (the Aleppo Museum. The Inv. no. is not given). The preserved height of the head- and legless figure is 42 cm, its AOH thus 80 cm.

[55] The *shenti* is pleated in the characteristic Egyptian manner, with vertical (or diagonal) pleats on the kilt cloth and horizontal ones on the apron. Cf. Warmenbol 1985, 168.

[56] For a Bronze Age date of the figure: Spycket 1981, 333, who gives references to earlier literature advocating the same early date. E. Warmenbol, on the other hand, dates the figure to between the 8th and the 6th century B.C.: Warmenbol 1985, 177.

[57] G. Falsone refers to an unpublished figure found in the sea outside Ashkelon. The statue is said to resemble the colossal, kilt-wearing figures from Byblos, mentioned above: Falsone 1989, 154–155. A group of male, sandstone figures from Transjordan are wearing what seems to be a kilt-like dress held up by a belt: Bossert 1951, 359, figs. 1235–1236. In addition, a kneeling basalt statuette from Hama, Syria, displays a broad belt hanging on the hips, holding up a pleated, kilt-like cloth: Riis & Buhl 1990, 55–57, no. 45. These figures do not display clear enough Egyptianizing traits to be included here.

[58] The British Museum, Inv. no. B.389: Pryce 1928, 169, fig. 210 (H. 8.4 cm, AOH 40 cm).

[59] These features are all non-Cypriote, while the material is limestone. An attribution to an Egyptian workshop, which would perhaps be stylistically feasible, is not favored by the kind of stone used (unless all this does, indeed, favor Naukratis as the place of manufacture). On Egyptian statuettes excavated on Rhodes, see above n. 2, and below in Ch. 5.1.3.

apron.[60] From what is preserved we note both Cypriote and non-Cypriote characteristics.[61] The second piece is a limestone torso found west of Misokampos on Samos in 1928.[62] Preserved from the waist to just above the knees, it displays a broad belt with raised ridges hanging on the hips of the figure, holding up a pleated kilt with centrally hanging cobras and lateral sash ends. In her publication of the piece, B. Freyer-Schauenburg noted the correspondences with Cypriote Egyptianizing limestone sculpture, and suggested that the piece was ordered by a Samian merchant visiting Cyprus.[63] The close resemblance of this piece to material from Palaepaphos and Idalion (our **Cat. 52**, **Cat. 53**, and **Cat. 5**, for example) has been noted by others,[64] and it does seem fair to assume that the large statuette was imported from Cyprus.[65]

From the remaining East Greek area, including the island of Chios and the Knidian peninsula – all of which have yielded a certain amount of figures of the "Cypro-Ionian" type – no finds of Egyptianizing statues or statuettes are known. Nor are any finds from the remaining Greek area known to me.

Summing up the evidence of Egyptianizing statuary found outside Cyprus in the Eastern Mediterranean area, the major concentration is on the Phoenician coast. General Cypriote-style statuary has been encountered at several sites in the littoral, while the "Cypro-Ionian" group of figures is mainly limited to Naukratis and to certain East Greek sites. The Egyptianizing votive type does not share these find sites, but is basically limited to the Phoenician coast.[66] In the sanctuaries along that coast, quite a large number of such figures have been found, made from both local, harder stones, and from a softer limestone material. Certain sites have yielded single finds of Egyptianizing statues made of local stone, figures which are not Cypriote in style but rather Phoenician – thus, Phoenician Egyptianizing statues. On the other hand, the sanctuaries at Amrit and Sidon stand out in that they display large amounts of general Cypriote-style votive material, including several examples of (Cypriote-style) Egyptianizing votive figures.[67] It was noted above that in contrast to the small-scale "Cypro-Ionian" statuary material from sites in the Eastern Mediterranean,[68] the Egyptianizing material from the Phoenician sanctuaries is not only plentiful, but often large-scale – sometimes even colossal – as well.[69]

Thus, it is evident that the Phoenician coast provides the only additional find concentration of Egyptianizing statues and statuettes in stone outside the island of Cyprus itself. The remainder of this chapter will deal with material only from this area.

[60] Schmidt 1968, 90–91, pl. 103, C.96. The height of the piece is 15.4 cm (AOH 57 cm).

[61] It is true for both the sharply carved, almond-shaped knee-caps and the plain *shenti* kilt with apron, that they are present – but unusual – in Cypriote plastic art in general. The ridged belt is found repeatedly on Cypriote figures, especially the Egyptianizing ones, but its placement, tightly placed around the waist, is far from the general Cypriote belt resting on the hips of the figures. See above Ch. 2.3..

[62] The Tigani Museum, Inv. no. 364: Wrede 1929; Buschor 1935, nos. 150–153. The height of the piece is 39 cm, its AOH accordingly 145 cm.

[63] Freyer-Schauenburg 1974, 157. The way the kilt cloth follows the outline of the legs led the author to suggest that this is not a pure Cypriote work, but that there was Samian influence involved. In contrast to the suggested scenario, where the piece would have been imported from Cyprus, she noted that the appearance of the limestone comes closer to that locally available at Samos, than to Cypriote stone.

[64] Lewe 1975, 57 n. 279; Senff 1993, 53 n. 427. The type of belt and its placing; the pleated kilt cloth following the outline of the body; the way the kilt is pleated in the front and not in the back of the figure (compare **Cat. 53** and **Cat. 57**, for example); and the ridges on the sides of the kilt marking the points of attachment of the hanging arms – all find parallels in the Cypriote (Egyptianizing) material.

[65] The find of a fragmentary, kilt-wearing ivory statuette from the Heraion can be brought up here as well: Freyer-Schauenburg 1966, 75, pl. 16.b, E.47. It is wearing a broad belt with raised outer ridges (and knot), a diagonally pleated kilt (?) with a beaded hem set within raised, double ridges, and a small round object kept in the preserved right hand. The statuette will be shortly returned to in Ch. 5.1.3, below.

[66] Not only is the evidence for this figural type very limited from sites rich in "Cypro-Ionian" statuary like Naukratis, the Rhodian sanctuaries, and the Heraion at Samos. The actual finds outside the Levantine coast are, in general, very few.

[67] In addition, the Phoenician coast is the only area in the Eastern Mediterranean where sites *without* general Cypriote-style material have yielded Egyptianizing kilt-wearing statuary. The stone statues and statuettes found around Amman, Jordan, wearing the Egyptian *atef* crown are the only real exception. Perhaps it is no coincidence that we encounter, on one of the figures, a dedicatory inscription in the Phoenician script. In addition, parallels to Phoenician plastic art are encountered in certain details, like the type of earrings, the hairdo of the figures, *and* the inlays of ivory and bitumen (for references, see above nn. 35–42).

[68] To a certain extent, the limited size of the material from sites like Naukratis, Lindos on Rhodes, and Emecik on Knidos, can be due to the history of each site. In these cases the "Cypro-Ionian" statuettes are part of older sanctuary debris which was used as filling material in the construction of later terraces and buildings on the sites. As part of such fill, no larger statues would have been incorporated. It could be argued, however, that large-scale figures – if present – would have been found in other contexts within these sanctuaries. Compare the case of Sidon, where small-scale statuettes were found as part of fill-material, while large-scale pieces were excavated in *favissae* dug within the sacred area: Ganzmann *et al.* 1987, 123–127.

[69] However, the Egyptianizing figures share the fact with the "Cypro-Ionian" statuettes that, outside Cyprus, they are sometimes executed in ways more or less unknown to the island (for example, being attached to a back-pillar support), and – in addition – that statues of this type have been produced not only from the soft Cypriote limestone but from (harder) local stones as well.

4.2 In-text catalogue

This catalogue is an enumeration of the Phoenician Egyptianizing figures. The aim has been to follow closely, but in a slightly abbreviated manner, the catalogue of the Cypriote Egyptianizing figures (Ch. 7). Here, as well, the entries of the catalogue are arranged according to site, and within each site according to the degree of intensity of Egyptian impact displayed in each figure. Geographically, the Phoenician sites are arranged from north to south, starting out with Amrit – as it happens, the most find-rich site on the Phoenician coast as far as Cypriote-style statuary, and male Egyptianizing figures, are concerned.[70] As in the Cypriote catalogue the occasional * indicates that I have not made a first-hand study of the statue or statuette, and AOH is short for each figure's Approximate Original Height. Please consider the introductory text to the catalogue of the Cypriote figures for other practical matters (Ch. 7.1).

Cat. Ph1 Colossal torso with decorated apron-*devanteau* and beaded kilt edges
(*Pls. 14.3 & 36*)

H. ca. 86 cm, AOH 249 cm
The Tartus Museum, Tartus. Inv. no. 1328

Material: Fine-grained limestone

Provenance: Amrit

Back-pillar support: ?

State of preservation: Torso put together by two fragments: there is a horizontal break in the stone at about half the height of the kilt. Preserved is the lower part of a male body, from the lower abdomen to just above the right knee. Remains of the right hand preserved on the side of the kilt, an abraded area possibly indicating the attachment of the left hand on the other side. The back side is cut off vertically. Some small damage to the front of the torso, including a large chunk missing on the front left thigh. No traces of color.

Description: Part of a colossal statue depicting a man standing with the left leg advanced, the right arm hanging along the side of the body, perhaps the left as well.

The figure is wearing a pleated kilt held up by a belt. The belt has raised outer ridges and a (much abraded) decoration consisting of alternating large circles and horizontal bars. The belt is hanging on the hips and dips down centrally. The kilt cloth has been drawn aside from the center revealing an elaborately decorated apron-*devanteau*. Right beneath the belt there is a panther-like head with grinning mouth and protruding tongue. From this head four reptiles emanate: two large, winged, crossing cobras with sun disks on their heads, extending all the way down to just above the bottom end of the device, and two very thin counterparts which hang perpendicular down to the level of the former creatures' solar disks where they form perfect loops, their heads characteristically raised. Beneath the larger pair of serpents there is a thin, horizontal border, and beneath that what seems to be a horizontal, decorated area, now much damaged and abraded. The apron-*devanteau* stands out noticeably from the right (recessed) leg. The vertical sides of the kilt cloth are lined with corn-kernel-shaped "beads". On each side of the kilt three sash ends, their lower ends tapering in the opposite way from what is generally encountered. The upper part of the body was seemingly clad in a tight-fitting garment with a central, vertical, decorated (?) band. This band, if not the result of very similar damage to both sides of the abdomen of the figure, is rendered in low relief and has a rounded outline closest to the belt, on each side.

Bibliography: Dunand 1944–1945, 103, pl. 16.9; Dunand 1946–1948, 97; Dunand & Duru 1962, 157 n. 4; Warmenbol 1985, 168 n. 17; Markoe 1990a, 118 nn. 34–35; Nunn 2000, 18, pl. 3.2; Lembke 2001b, 18, fig. 8; Lembke forthcoming.

***Cat. Ph2 Fragment of a broad, decorated collar**
(*Pl. 36*)

H. ? cm
The Tartus Museum, Tartus? Inv. no. ?

Material: Fine-grained limestone

Provenance: Amrit

Back-pillar support: ?

State of preservation: Preserved is what seems to be merely a horizontal fragment of the broad collar of a figure, possibly the upper right shoulder of a male figure. An abraded area in the stone perhaps indicates the neck of the figure.

Description: On the rounded shoulder there are four collar registers separated by thin, raised ridges. Three of them display decoration. The upper one seems to contain persea fruits, the second hanging triangles overlying two slightly curving, horizontal, double lines. The triangles are decorated, each displaying consecutively smaller triangles or chevrons set within. The bottom register has large hanging drops.

Bibliography: Dunand 1946–1948, 86, no. 99, pl. 42.66 ("99" would be correct); Lembke 2001a, 43 n. 324; Lembke forthcoming.

Cat. Ph3 Fragment of a broad, decorated collar
(*Pl. 36*)

H. 7 cm, W. 16.5 cm, AOH 150 cm
The Tartus Museum, Tartus. Inv. no. 1178

Material: Fine-grained limestone

Provenance: Amrit

Back-pillar support: ?

State of preservation: Preserved is what seems to be merely a horizontal fragment of the broad collar of a figure. On the left-hand side of the fragment there seems to be a slightly raised, plain area, of unknown identification.

Description: The fragment contains one decorated collar register and two very fragmentary ones, separated by raised ridges. The central and better preserved one displays hanging triangles overlying slightly curving, horizontal lines. The thin triangles do not reach to the lower border of the register. Above the triangles there seems to be a register

[70]The Amrit material is treated in a forthcoming study by K. Lembke, see below in Ch. 4.4.2 n. 188.

containing persea fruits (?), and below, there is a tiny part of what seems to be yet another row of hanging triangles (?).

Bibliography: Dunand & Saliby 1985, pl. 54.5; Lembke forthcoming.

Cat. Ph4 Slightly over-life-size torso with kilt, cobras, and sash ends
(*Pls. 14.4 & 37*)

H. ca. 80 cm, AOH 184 cm
The Tartus Museum, Tartus. Inv. no. 1329

Material: Fine-grained limestone

Provenance: Amrit

Back-pillar support: No

State of preservation: The torso consists of two halves, a front and a back part, the break in the stone running vertically through its middle. Preserved is the much abraded lower part of a male body, from the lower abdomen to about the height of the left knee. Remains of the attachment of the right arm on the side of the kilt. The lower outline of the torso runs diagonally from high on the right thigh down towards the level of the left knee. The lower part of the preserved kilt is badly abraded, and only the back part of the left leg, below the kilt, is preserved. No traces of color.

Description: Figure standing with the left leg advanced and the right arm hanging along the side of the body. From a broad belt with raised outer ridges hang two long, thin cobra bodies, set only slightly apart. Only the left-hand side serpent has a somewhat preserved lower part, showing the rearing head crowned by a sun disk. On each side of the reptiles' bodies there are three slightly curving sash ends, coming down to about half the length of the (preserved) kilt cloth. Beneath the cobras there might be traces of a thin, horizontal border being the upper limit of a (once decorated?) horizontal area. The back of the figure was only roughly carved, there are no traces of the belt or kilt. Despite this, however, the outlines of the buttocks and even the left thigh are modelled in the stone.

Bibliography: Dunand 1944–1945, 103, pl. 16.8; Dunand 1946–1948, 97; Dunand & Duru 1962, 157 n. 4; Warmenbol 1985, 168 n. 17; Markoe 1990a, 118 n. 34; Lembke forthcoming.

Cat. Ph5 Over-life-size torso with kilt, cobras, and sash ends
(*Pls. 15.1 & 37*)

H. 59 cm, AOH 224 cm
The Tartus Museum, Tartus. Inv. no. 1003

Material: Fine-grained limestone

Provenance: Amrit

Back-pillar support: No

State of preservation: Preserved is the lower part of a male body, from the upper part of the belt to just above the knees. The right hand and lower forearm are attached to the side of the kilt. The carved frontal surface of the torso is in very good condition. No traces of color.

Description: Figure standing with the left leg advanced and the right arm hanging along the side of the body. Most probably the left arm was bent with fist placed on the chest, since there are no traces of a point of attachment of a hanging arm on the left-hand side. A broad belt with raised outer ridges (the upper ridge is missing) is holding up a kilt cloth drawn apart to reveal an apron-*devanteau*. The vertical edges of the cloth are marked by a raised, flat ridge. On each side of the cloth, actually overlapping the upper part of this ridge, are three sash ends which curve away from the center of the kilt. They come down to about two thirds of the length of the kilt. The lowermost part of the apron-*devanteau* has slightly tapering sides. On it there are two cobras, both creatures hanging from the belt. The thickness of their bodies and the area between them are very limited just beneath the belt but gradually widen. The creatures have characteristically expanded hoods, thin, elongated heads, eyes, and slightly open mouths.

In its right hand the figure is grasping a round object. The thumb nail is indicated, all four fingers delineated.

The back of the figure has been only roughly carved, there are no traces of the belt or lower edge of the kilt. Despite this, however, the outline of the buttocks is modelled in the stone.

Bibliography: Dunand 1944–1945, 103, pl. 16.7; Dunand 1946–1948, 97; Dunand & Duru 1962, 157 n. 4; Warmenbol 1985, 168 n. 17; Markoe 1990a, 118 n. 34; Lembke 2001b, 18, fig. 9 (reconstruction drawing); Lembke forthcoming.

Cat. Ph6 Life-size torso with kilt, cobras, and sash ends
(*Pls. 15.2–3 & 37*)

H. 31 cm, W. 38 cm, AOH 140 cm
The Tartus Museum, Tartus. Inv. no. 232

Material: Fine-grained limestone

Provenance: Amrit

Back-pillar support: No

State of preservation: Preserved is the upper part of the kilt of a figure, from below the belt to just below the sash ends. The right hand is attached to the side of the kilt. No traces of color.

Description: Part of a figure standing with the left leg slightly advanced, the right arm hanging along the side of the body. A small part of the lower raised ridge of the belt is preserved. Two thin cobras hang down centrally, their bodies carved in low relief. On each side of the serpents' bodies there are three curving sash ends, the lowermost parts of which are preserved in only the right-hand set. Beneath these sashes the border of the kilt cloth is visible. The hand is slightly squarish in shape, the thumb has the nail indicated. Four fingers are delineated, and from the back the little finger is indicated in the stone in a particular manner, being elongated and bent inside the hand. The back of the figure is only roughly carved, but the outline of the buttocks is indicated in the stone.

Bibliography: Lembke forthcoming.

Cat. Ph7 Torso with kilt, cobras, and sash ends
(*Pls. 15.4–16.2 & 38*)

H. ca. 17 cm, AOH 55 cm
The Tartus Museum, Tartus. Inv. no. 832

Material: Fine-grained limestone

Provenance: Amrit

Back-pillar support: No

State of preservation: Torso of a figure preserved from above the broad belt to just below the right knee. Possibly the remains of the

left arm on the side of the pleated kilt cloth. The central back part is slightly abraded, the lowermost part of the "*devanteau*" missing. No traces of color.

Description: Statuette of a man standing with the left leg well advanced, possibly the left arm hanging along the side of the body. The belt is hanging far down on the hips of the figure, the belly visible above it. The belt is holding up a vertically pleated kilt cloth which is much shorter in the front than in the back. From the plain belt a broad, rectangular object hangs down to the level of the knees, its lateral borders marked by two thin cobras. The lowermost part of the left-hand serpent is preserved; it is rearing and has an open mouth. On each side of the rectangular "*devanteau*" three sash ends hang down from the belt, each tapering in the characteristic manner. The lower border of the kilt on each thigh is concave, and marked by a thin, plain band. The vertical pleats of the kilt continue all around. On the left-hand side of the figure, the belt abruptly ends and the vertical pleats continue even high up in the figure's waist. This may be due to the fact that the left arm was hanging down along this side, the forearm placed on the advanced left leg. The "*devanteau*" stands out markedly from the right leg, and beneath it the legs are joined. Whether the legs were actually joined all the way down to the feet, or whether this joint is only restricted to this small area, caused by the fact that the kilt comes down further in the back of the figure, is quite impossible to tell.

The back side is well carved, the pleats continuing all around and the outline of the thigh muscles visible in the stone.

Bibliography: Lembke forthcoming.

Cat. Ph8 Statuette with pleated kilt, beaded belt and "*devanteau*" carrying a goat under the left arm

(*Pls. 16.3–4 & 38*)

H. ca. 43 cm, AOH 83 cm
The Tartus Museum, Tartus. Inv. no. 132

Material: Fine-grained limestone

Provenance: Amrit

Back-pillar support: No

State of preservation: The figure is preserved from the base of the neck to just below the knees. The head of the figure is missing together with the entire right arm. The lower part of the goat's face is missing, and so is the front part of the animal's lower left leg. The surface of the stone is well preserved, except for certain small patches including the front part of the clenched left hand. No traces of color.

Description: Statuette of a male figure standing with the left leg slightly advanced. The left arm is bent holding an animal, most probably a goat, the forefeet of the creature held tightly together in the figure's left hand. The preserved left shoulder is rounded, and the biceps muscle on the upper left arm slightly indicated. The right arm was most probably bent, the forearm raised; there is a small, round support on the right breast muscle of the figure. Apart from the breast muscles, situated quite far up on the torso, the surface of the upper body is plain and smooth. Preserved on both legs are raised, slightly curving areas marking the border between thigh muscle and knee. The figure's thighs are close together.

The figure is wearing a finely pleated kilt held up by a belt with raised outer ridges and a pattern of horizontal, rectangular beads. In its center there is a belt buckle. From the belt hangs a rectangular "*devanteau*" with similar, beaded decoration: placed on top of each other are rows of three vertical, rectangular "beads". The lateral borders of the "*devanteau*" are marked by two thin, hanging cobras. They are rearing, their hoods pressed back towards their thin bodies. Both have one eye indicated, and each carries a large sun disk on its head. The fact that the cobras are pressed back against their bodies, their hoods of limited width, seems to be due to the fact that the lowermost part of the "*devanteau*" is set forward from the rest of the kilt and from the legs. From the height of the heads of the cobras, the plain lower borders of the kilt run obliquely down far beneath the level of the serpents. On each side of the cobras hang three thin sash ends. They are tapering in length, but in contrast to what is usually the case, the ones closest to the "*devanteau*" are the shortest. The pleats of the kilt are meticulously carved, being tightly and regularly set. They do not continue in the back of the figure, and neither does the figure's belt. The back side of the figure is plain, but the outline of the buttocks is indicated.

The front part of the goat's body is fuller than its hind part. The partly preserved head displays two small ears with a border of locks inbetween, rounded eyes, and a small beard carved in low relief. The hocks and the back hooves are well outlined, as are the male genitals of the creature. The tail is broad and flat.

Bibliography: Dunand & Saliby 1985, pl. 44; Lembke forthcoming.

Cat. Ph9 Statuette with pleated kilt, "*devanteau*" with cobras, and animal under the left arm

(*Pls. 17.1–3 & 38*)

H. ca. 34 cm, AOH 66 cm
The Tartus Museum, Tartus. Inv. no. 799

Material: Fine-grained limestone

Provenance: Amrit

Back-pillar support: No

State of preservation: The figure is preserved from the base of the neck to just below the knees. The head of the figure is missing together with the right arm from below the shoulder. The entire front part of the goat's body is missing, and so is the lower part of the left leg. The surface of the stone is well preserved on both the front and the back sides of the figure. No traces of color.

Description: Statuette of a male figure standing with the left leg advanced. The left arm is bent holding an animal, most probably a goat. The shoulders of the figure are rounded. There is no trace of the attachment of the right arm along the side of the figure's body but the entire side is very well carved. This may indicate that the right arm was bent and raised. The breast muscles are quite angular in shape and situated high up on the upper torso. Both knee-caps are indicated in the stone, and above them there are raised, slightly curving areas marking the lower borders of the thigh muscles.

The figure is wearing a short-sleeved garment on its upper body, the sleeve being indicated on both the front and back side of the upper left arm. Below the waist there is a thin belt with raised outer ridges holding up a finely pleated kilt cloth. From the belt hangs a plain, rectangular "*devanteau*". Its lateral borders are marked by two thin, hanging cobras. They are uniquely turned towards each other in a rearing position, their heads carved in low relief on the "*devanteau*" itself. The better preserved left-hand side creature has a sun disk on its head. The fact that the cobras are carved *on* the "*devanteau*" seems to be due to the fact that the lower part of the rectangular object is set forward from the rest of the kilt and from the legs. On each side of the "*devanteau*" there are three sash ends. The kilt with its meticulously carved vertical pleats ends in a thin, plain border running all around. The pleats, the ridged belt, and the lower outline of the kilt all continue in the back of the figure, which is as well carved as its front. The shallow vertical line between the thighs is indicated, and the buttocks are well modeled. As noted above, the short sleeve of the left arm is indicated on the back as well.

The lower part of the goat's body is firmly attached to the figure's side. The hocks and the back hooves are well outlined, and so are the male genitals of the creature. The tail is broad and flat.

Bibliography: Dunand 1944–1945, 102, pl. 15.4; Dunand 1946–1948, 98; Dunand & Duru 1962, 156 n. 1; Dunand & Saliby 1985, pl. 46; Warmenbol 1985, 168 n. 17; Markoe 1990a, 118 n. 34; Lembke forthcoming.

***Cat. Ph10 Fragmentary figure with kilt, "*devanteau*", and sash ends**
(*Pl. 38*)

H. ? cm
The Tartus Museum, Tartus (?). Inv. no. ?

Material: Fine-grained limestone?

Provenance: Amrit

Back-pillar support: ?

State of preservation: Preserved is the front part of a male figure clad in a kilt. The central part of the chest and abdomen is preserved, from about the base of the neck, and the kilt is preserved together with a small part of the figure's legs. Thus, the chipped-off fragment reaches from the base of the neck to just above the knees of the figure.

Description: The preserved area of the upper torso seems plain and undifferentiated. A broad, plain belt is hanging on the figure's hips, and from it hangs a rectangular "*devanteau*". On each of its sides three sash ends hang down to about half its length, each with the lowermost end tapering in the characteristic manner. The two longest sashes are placed closest to the central, rectangular object. The concave lower outline of the kilt is visible on each side of the "*devanteau*".

Bibliography: Dunand 1944–1945, 102–103, pl. 16.6; Dunand 1946–1948, 97; Warmenbol 1985, 168 n. 17; Markoe 1990a, 118 n. 34; Lembke forthcoming.

Cat. Ph11 Statuette with kilt and geometrically decorated "*devanteau*", carrying an animal under the left arm
(*Pls. 17.4–18.1 & 38*)

H. 22.5 cm, AOH 85 cm
The Tartus Museum, Tartus. Inv. no. 1134

Material: Fine-grained limestone

Provenance: Amrit

Back-pillar support: No

State of preservation: Preserved is the lower part of a male body, from the lower ridge of the belt to just below the left knee. The lower part of a small animal's body is attached to the left-hand side of the kilt. No traces of color.

Description: The figure is standing with the left leg advanced. The left arm was bent and holding a small animal, probably a goat. There are no traces of the attachment of the right arm on that side of the kilt. Small parts of both thighs are visible, and there are traces of the thigh muscle and knee-cap of the left leg. The legs are joined beneath the kilt. Whether the legs were actually joined all the way down to the feet, or whether this joint is only restricted to this small area, caused by the fact that the kilt came down further in the back of the figure, is quite impossible to tell.

The lower, raised ridge of the broad belt is preserved, and from the belt hangs a rectangular "*devanteau*" decorated by rows of standing rectangles ("beads"). At its bottom end there is a horizontal row of incised drops set within a thin frame. The lowermost outline of the kilt differs in shape on each side of the "*devanteau*", being concave on the right thigh while being more obliquely set on the left. There are faint traces in the stone of two "sash ends" on the left-hand side of the kilt. The sashes are placed high up on the side of the kilt tapering outwards, and not in the characteristic, hanging position. The back side of the figure is only roughly carved, but the outline of the buttocks is indicated.

The lower part of the goat's body is firmly attached to the figure's side. The hocks and the back hooves are well outlined, and so are the male genitals of the creature. The tail is broad and flat.

Bibliography: Dunand 1944–1945, 103, pl. 17.11; Dunand 1946–1948, 98; Dunand & Duru 1962, 156 n. 1; Markoe 1990a, 118 n. 34; Lembke forthcoming.

Cat. Ph12 Statuette with kilt, "*devanteau*", small *aryballos* in the right hand, and an animal under the left arm
(*Pls. 18.2–3 & 38*)

H. ca. 23 cm, AOH 87 cm
The Tartus Museum, Tartus. Inv. no. 804

Material: Fine-grained limestone

Provenance: Amrit

Back-pillar support: No

State of preservation: Preserved is the lower part of a male body, from the lower ridge of the belt to the knees. A small part of the right hand (thumb and index) is preserved, holding a small globular jug. The lower part of a small animal's body is attached to the left-hand side of the kilt. No traces of color.

Description: The figure is standing with the left leg slightly advanced. The left arm was bent and holding a small animal, probably a goat. The right arm was hanging along the side of the body, the hand is holding a small jug or *aryballos*, thumb resting on the round, ridged mouth of the small vessel. The upper parts of both thighs are visible, they are tightly set beneath the kilt. The figure's rounded stomach is indicated beneath the belt, through the "kilt cloth".

The belt has raised ridges but also a thin, incised line running parallel right underneath it. It is holding up a plain kilt cloth. From about half the length of the cloth, a central, rectangular "*devanteau*" is rendered in the stone, carved in relief and standing out from the level of the thighs. There is a faint, incised, vertical line on each of its sides, lines which could be taken to indicate single sash ends. The lower outline of the kilt is incised on each side of the "*devanteau*". The back side of the figure is carved with less care, but the belt and the lower outline of the kilt continue all around, and the outline of the buttocks is indicated.

The lower part of the goat's body is firmly attached to the figure's side. The hocks and the back hooves are well outlined, and so are the male genitals of the creature. The tail is broad and flat.

Bibliography: Dunand 1944–1945, 103, pl. 17.10; Dunand 1946–1948, 98; Dunand & Duru 1962, 156 n. 1; Markoe 1990a, 118 n. 34; Lembke forthcoming.

Cat. Ph13 Statuette head with double crown
(*Pl. 39*)

H. ca. 6 cm, AOH 28 cm
The National Museum, Damascus. Inv. no. 7427

Material: Fine-grained limestone

Provenance: Amrit

Back-pillar support: No (?)

State of preservation: The head of a male figure wearing a crown, preserved from the knob of the headgear to just below the base of the neck. The stone surface is quite rough, the left side of the figure's face damaged. No traces of color.

Description: The face is oval, the eyes are rounded and superficially set. The nose and mouth are abraded but seem to have been delicately carved, a slight smile on the lips. The neck is short. The ears are particularly well carved, being small and delicate in shape. From behind them, and from beneath the crown, two oblong, rounded masses of hair hang down on the shoulders of the figure.

At the base of the neck there are remains of a raised rounded ridge, possibly the uppermost part of a broad collar? The crown characteristically consists of two parts, a "red crown" holding the inner "white crown". The inner crown ends in a circular knob, the outer in a squarish support behind it.

Bibliography: Dunand & Duru 1962, 193, pl. 8.2; Dunand & Saliby 1985, pl. 43.1; Hermary 2001b, 29 n. 23; Lembke forthcoming.

Cat. Ph14 Statuette with plain kilt with exposed apron
(*Pls. 18.4–19.1 & 39*)

H. ca. 46 cm, AOH 87 cm
The Tartus Museum, Tartus. Inv. no. 741

Material: Fine-grained limestone

Provenance: Amrit

Back-pillar support: No

State of preservation: The statuette has been assembled from two pieces, the break running horizontally right above the belt. It is preserved from the base of the neck to just above the knees. The head of the figure and the legs from below the knees are thus missing, and so are both hands from above the wrists. No traces of color.

Description: A male figure standing with the left leg advanced and both arms hanging along the sides of the body, being attached to it all along. The arms are slightly bent. The breast muscles are indicated in the stone. There is a border at the base of the neck as if indicating the presence of a tight-fitting garment, but no sleeves are indicated on the upper arms.

The figure is wearing a plain belt placed around the hips, and a plain kilt consisting of an opened-up kilt cloth and a long, concave apron. The figure is very flat from a profile view, and the back was only roughly carved.

Bibliography: Dunand 1944–1945, 105, pl. 22.28 (the lower part of the body); Lembke forthcoming.

Cat. Ph 15 Statuette with kilt and belt, and with animal under the left arm
(*Pls. 19.2–3 & 39*)

H. 34.5 cm, AOH 67 cm
The Tartus Museum, Tartus. Inv. no. 1082

Material: Fine-grained limestone

Provenance: Amrit

Back-pillar support: No

State of preservation: The figure is preserved from the base of the neck to the knees. The head of the figure is missing together with the right arm from below the shoulder. The body of the animal is preserved, heads and legs are missing. The surface of the stone is very abraded, details are hard to discern. No traces of color.

Description: Statuette of a male figure standing with the left leg slightly advanced. The left arm is bent holding an animal, probably a goat. There are no traces of the right arm on the side of the figure, a fact which could indicate that the arm was bent and raised, but the stone is very abraded and this cannot be safely stated. The breast muscles are indicated in the stone.

On the upper left arm there is a flat band, either indicating the short sleeve of a garment or the presence of an armring. A thin belt is placed around the waist, it consists of two horizontal ridges. There are traces of the lowermost part of the kilt dipping down centrally, most probably indicating the "apron-*devanteau*". The belt continues in the back of the figure, but there it is plain. The outline of the buttocks is indicated as well.

The animal's body is simply very abraded, the only detail visible being the broad and flat tail.

Bibliography: Dunand 1944–1945, 103, pl. 17.12; Dunand 1946–1948, 98; Dunand & Duru 1962, 156 n. 1; Markoe 1990a, 118 n. 34; Lembke forthcoming.

***Cat. Ph16 Fragmentary statuette with plain *shenti* kilt**
(*Pl. 39*)

H. ? cm
The Tartus Museum, Tartus (?). Inv. no. ?

Material: ?

Provenance: Amrit

Back-pillar support: Yes?

State of preservation: Preserved is the lower part of a male body, from the belt to just above the ankle of the right leg and to just beneath the knee on the left. Part of the left arm attached to the side of the figure's body, at the height of the belt. No traces of color.

Description: The figure seems to be standing with the left leg advanced. The left arm was seemingly hanging along the side of the body; the forearm was perhaps extended slightly from the body. There are seemingly no traces of the attachment of the right arm on that side of the kilt. The legs are rough in their outline, but each knee-cap is well carved and almost circular. Judging by the published photograph, the legs were joined together all the way down to the ankles (?).

The belt is broad and plain, and it is holding up a kilt cloth which is overlapping, covering the upper part of a broad and rectangular apron. The apron comes down to just above the knees, the kilt cloth ends higher up on the figure's thighs.

Bibliography: Dunand 1944–1945, 103, pl. 17.13; Dunand 1946–1948, 98; Dunand & Duru 1962, 156 n. 1; Markoe 1990a, 118 n. 34; Lembke forthcoming.

Cat. Ph17 Torso of a kilt-wearing figurine
(*Pls. 19.4–20.1 & 39*)

H. ca. 8 cm, AOH 35 cm
The Tartus Museum, Tartus. Inv. no. 819

Material: Fine-grained limestone

Provenance: Amrit

Back-pillar support: No

State of preservation: Preserved is the lower part of a male, kilt-wearing figure, from below the belt to the knees. The left forearm is attached to the side of the figure's body. The stone surface is quite well preserved. No traces of color.

Description: The figure is standing with the left leg advanced, the left arm hanging along the side of the body. There are no traces of the right arm on the opposite side. The small arm is well modeled, the thumb of the hand slightly over-sized. The kilt is plain with no details indicated in the stone. Its lower outline confirms the presence of an "apron-*devanteau*" which dips down centrally, and on each of its sides the lower outline of the kilt continues obliquely towards the sides of the body. The back side is quite flat, but the outline of the buttocks is indicated in the stone.

Bibliography: Lembke forthcoming.

Cat. Ph18 Torso of a kilt-wearing figurine
(*Pls. 20.2–3 & 39*)

H. 17 cm, AOH 74 cm
The Tartus Museum, Tartus. Inv. no. 1121

Material: Fine-grained limestone

Provenance: Amrit

Back-pillar support: No

State of preservation: Preserved is the lower part of a male, kilt-wearing figure, from below the belt to just below the knees. The right hand is attached to the side of the figure's body. No traces of color.

Description: The figure is standing with the left leg advanced, the right arm hanging along the side of the body. There are no traces of the left arm on the opposite side. The preserved hand is clenched, four fingers delineated. The right knee-cap is visible, its upper, concave outline incised in the stone.

The kilt is plain with no details indicated. Its lower outline confirms the presence of a slightly tapering "apron-*devanteau*" which dips down centrally, and on each of its sides the lower outline of the kilt continues obliquely towards the sides of the body. The back side is quite flat, but the outline of the buttocks is indicated in the stone.

Bibliography: Lembke forthcoming.

***Cat. Ph19 Statuette with belt and plain kilt**
(*Pl. 20.4 & 40*)

H. ca. 10 cm, AOH 19 cm
The Tartus Museum, Tartus (?). Inv. no. 121 (?)

Material: Fine-grained limestone?

Provenance: Amrit

Back-pillar support: No

State of preservation: The figure is preserved from the base of the neck to just above the knees. The head of the figure is missing together with the entire right arm. The lowermost part of the clenched left hand is missing as well. No traces of color.

Description: The figure is standing with the left leg advanced, the left arm hanging along the side of the body. On the opposite side there are vertical traces of the attached right arm indicating that both arms were hanging along the sides of the body. The left arm is detached from the body at the level of the waist, and so was, seemingly, the right one. The upper torso is plain and undifferentiated, no traces or either garment or anatomical details.

A broad and plain belt is placed around the waist of the figure. It is holding up a kilt which is plain with no details indicated in the stone. Its lower outline confirms the presence of an "apron-*devanteau*" which dips down centrally, and on each of its sides the lower outline of the kilt continues obliquely towards the sides of the body. The back side is quite flat, but the outline of the buttocks is indicated in the stone.

Bibliography: Lembke forthcoming.

Cat. Ph20 Colossal figure with tripartite wig and *shenti*
(*Pl. 40*)

H. 260 cm, AOH 260 cm
The National Museum, Beirut. Inv. no. 2026

Material: Local limestone

Provenance: Byblos

Back-pillar support: Yes

State of preservation: The figure is almost complete, its feet attached to a square statue base. Missing are the left hand and the front part of the feet of the figure. The nose is missing. The surface of the stone is very abraded. No traces of color.

Description: Male figure standing with the left leg advanced, both arms hanging along the sides of the body. Both arms are attached to the body, and both are quite flat and inorganically appended from the shoulders. In the crook of the right arm there is a horizontal incision. The preserved right hand is clenched around a circular object, the fingers of the hand are delineated. The shoulders are limited in width, the upper part of the body naked, breast muscles modeled in the stone. The figure's legs are attached to each other, they are straight and lack anatomical renderings. The bare feet are roughly carved, but there are traces on the right foot of the big toe.

The man is wearing a *shenti* held up by a plain belt. The two sides of the cloth characteristically overlap and cover all but the lowermost part of a rectangular apron. On the chest of the figure there is a curving, incised line, probably marking the outer boundary of a broad collar. The neck of the figure is very broad and short, supporting the head which is unproportionately large. The figure has what seems to be a tripartite wig hanging down in the back and also in the front, three "tresses" resting on each shoulder. On the back of the head there is a pattern of squares, seemingly indicating the arrangement of the wig or hair. The better preserved left ear is well modeled. The face is broad and somewhat triangular in shape, displaying large eyes and broad lips. On the forehead there is a hole in the stone with traces of metal left inside. Was there a metal cobra attached to this spot?

The back of the figure is well carved, the plain belt continues all around until meeting the tall and square back-pillar support. The level of the belt is higher in the back than in the front. The back-pillar support reaches to just above the shoulders of the figure.

Bibliography: Dunand 1929, 213, pl. 37; Dunand 1937, pl. 26 = Dunand 1939a, 67, 71; Tore 1995, 449; Doumet Serhal *et al.* 1998, 68, 171, no. 27.

Cat. Ph21 Parts of a colossal figure wearing *shenti* (?)
(*Pl. 41*)

H. 186 cm (lower part of body), AOH 260 cm
Exhibited on site, at ancient Byblos (Jbeil)

Material: Local limestone

Provenance: Byblos

Back-pillar support: Yes

State of preservation: The figure was broken into three pieces, and the central part is missing. Preserved is the head and part of the shoulders of the figure, and the lower part of its body from below the belt to the feet, which are attached to a high, square statue base. Thus, the upper torso of the figure and most of the arms are missing, as are the front part of the feet of the figure, most of the left hand and the thumb of the right. The surface of the stone is very abraded, there are virtually no details left in the figure's face or of its dress. No traces of color.

Description: Male figure standing with the left leg advanced, both arms hanging along the sides of the body. The shoulders seem to have been limited in width, the upper part of the body naked. The figure's legs are attached to each other. On the right leg there are indications of the knee-cap, and the outline of thigh and calf. The bare feet are roughly carved.

The man was possibly wearing a kilt of some kind. The neck of the figure is very broad and short, supporting the head which is unproportionately large. The figure has what seems to be a tripartite wig hanging down in the back and also in the front, on each shoulder. On the back and top of the head there is a pattern of squares and waves, seemingly indicating the arrangement of the wig or hair. The face is broad but too abraded to display any features.

The back of the figure is very flat and roughly carved, and squarish. A back-pillar support is coming out only slightly from the squarish block of stone. There are no indications of dress on the back side of the figure.

Bibliography: Montet 1928, 29–30; Dunand 1937, pl. 4.1 = Dunand 1939a, 67, 78, fig. 47; Tore 1995, 449.

Cat. Ph22 Life-size figure with pleated kilt with "*devanteau*" and cobras, and broad, decorated collar
(*Pl. 41*)

H. 110 cm, AOH 181 cm
The National Museum, Beirut. DGA Inv. no. 2005 (Collection Ford)

Material: Fine-grained limestone

Provenance: Sidon

Back-pillar support: No

State of preservation: The figure is preserved from the base of the neck to the knees. The head of the figure is missing together with the entire left arm, and the right one from just above the elbow. A front part of the upper torso, including most of the broad, decorated collar, was chipped off but has been put back in place. The surface of the stone is very well preserved, except for certain patches on the kilt and belt. Abraded vertical areas on both sides of the figure mark the points of attachment of the hanging arms. Rich traces of red color on the "*devanteau*", the sash ends, the vertical floral border placed right above the belt, and on the broad collar.

Description: Male figure standing with the left leg advanced, both arms hanging along the sides of the body. Both arms were freed from the body at the level of the waist. The shoulders are rounded, the preserved right upper arm has the biceps muscle slightly modeled in the stone. Breast muscles indicated as well. Small parts of the thighs are visible beneath the kilt, both preserving the semi-circular, upper outline of the knee-cap.

The man is wearing a short-sleeved garment with a band of decoration running horizontally at its lower end, right above the belt, and a broad, decorated collar. A broad belt of slightly irregular shape is holding up a kilt. The belt has raised outer ridges and a pattern of lying, rectangular "beads", most with rounded ends fitting well into the next. Every second set of beads are longer. From the belt hangs a rectangular "*devanteau*" with similar, beaded decoration: placed on top of each other are rows of three standing, rectangular "beads", every second row markedly higher than the next and every second longer set painted red. Its lateral borders are marked by two thin, hanging cobras. They are rearing with expanded, rounded hoods. The serpents have a line running from the hood to the front part of the head, and eyes and mouths indicated, and each carry a sun disk on its head. Beneath the cobras there are the remains of a horizontal bar connecting them, marking the lower border of the "*devanteau*". The lower outline of the kilt marks the shape of a tapering apron, however. On each side of the cobras there are three long sash ends, the central one on each side being painted red. The kilt cloth is vertically pleated. The carving was done evenly and meticulously, and pleats are even found in the limited space on each side of the cobras' bodies. The lower outline of the kilt is bordered by a thin, plain band.

The broad collar has four decorated registers, containing (moving from the neck) persea fruits, lilies and paradise flowers linked with curving loops, hanging triangles overlying two slightly curving, horizontal bands, and a bottom row of hanging drops. Red color is preserved on the lilies' central spikes, between the lilies, that is, behind the paradise flowers, between the double bands placed beneath the triangles, and between the drops of the outer row. The floral border placed right above the belt is virtually identical to the second decorated register of the collar, featuring lilies with red central spikes and paradise flowers, linked with curving loops.

On the preserved right upper arm there is an elaborate double armring with a large, central rosette. On each side of the flower each ring ends in a small feline head and thus, four small lions (?) support the rosette.

The back of the figure is smooth and well carved, but it lacks any indication of dress or detail, apart from the outline of the belt and the lower outline of the kilt which continue all around. The outline of the buttocks is indicated as well.

Bibliography: Dunand 1946–1948, 97; Lewe 1975, 58–60; Parrot *et al.* 1975, 96; Tore 1995, 448; Doumet Serhal 1998, 31, figs. 3–6; Doumet Serhal *et al.* 1998, 65, 171, no. 26; *Liban* 1998, 103.

*Cat. Ph23 Over-life-size figure with pleated kilt and short-sleeved tunic
(*Pl. 42*)

H. 120 cm, AOH 198 cm
Present whereabouts unknown. Excavated in 1969 (no. E 1276)

Material: Limestone (according to R. Stucky)

Provenance: Sidon, Bostan esh-Sheikh

Back-pillar support: No (?)

State of preservation: The figure is broken into three pieces, at the waist and at the bottom end of the kilt. It is preserved from the base of the neck to the left knee. The right leg from below the kilt is almost entirely missing. The head of the figure is missing together with the central part of both arms. The surface of the stone is very abraded. No traces of color (?).

Description: Male figure standing with the left leg advanced, both arms hanging along the sides of the body. Both arms were freed from the body at the level of the waist. The clenched hands are attached to the sides of the kilt. The shoulders are rounded. On the preserved left thigh there seems to be a certain indication of musculature, and perhaps of the knee-cap.

The man is wearing a short-sleeved garment, visible through the short sleeve with decorated band which is preserved on the right upper arm. Right beneath it are traces of an armring. A broad belt with raised outer ridges is holding up a pleated kilt cloth. The abraded stone preserves only parts of the well-carved and regularly set vertical pleats, the lower part of the right-hand side cobra, the horizontal border beneath the serpents, and part of the lower outline of the kilt which is bordered by a thin, plain band.

The band decorating the sleeve on the upper arm contains lilies and paradise flowers linked with curving loops.

Bibliography: Stucky 1993, 16, 61, 69, pl. 7.15.

***Cat. Ph24 Colossal figure with pleated kilt, holding an animal under the left arm**
(*Pl. 42*)

H. ca. 180 cm (including plinth), AOH 210 cm
Present whereabouts unknown. Excavated in 1972

Material: Limestone (according to R. Stucky)

Provenance: Sidon, Bostan esh-Sheikh

Back-pillar support: Yes

State of preservation: The figure is well preserved, missing only the head, the right arm from below the shoulder, the front part of the bent left arm and most of the animal it once held. Missing are also the front part of the figure's feet. The surface of the stone seems to be well preserved. No traces of color (?).

Description: Male figure standing with the left leg slightly advanced. The left arm is bent holding an animal (?), a support on the upper right arm suggests that the right arm was bent and raised. The shoulders are rounded, breast muscles indicated in the stone. The calf muscles of the figure are modeled in the stone, the bare feet are attached to a square statue base of some height. The legs are connected by the back-pillar support which is apparently present behind the figure.

The man is wearing a broad belt with raised outer ridges and a pleated kilt. There seems to be a central, trapezoidal object hanging from the belt, and there are traces of thin cobras hanging down along it, and of sash ends placed on each of its sides. The vertical pleats of the cloth are regularly and beautifully set. On both upper arms there are double armrings.

Of the goat (?) not much is preserved, merely an irregular block of stone placed beneath the bent left arm of the figure.

Bibliography: Dunand 1973, 12; Stucky 1993, 16, 61, 69, pl. 6.13; Hermary 1996a, 570.

***Cat. Ph25 Statuette with kilt, "*devanteau*", and cobras**
(*Pl. 42*)

H. 15 cm, AOH 29 cm
Present whereabouts unknown. Excavated in 1968 (no. E 1262)

Material: Limestone (according to R. Stucky)

Provenance: Sidon, Bostan esh-Sheikh

Back-pillar support: No (?)

State of preservation: The figure is broken into two pieces, at a point just below the belt. It is preserved from the base of the neck to just above the knees. The head of the figure is missing together with most of the left arm and part of the right forearm and hand. The surface of the stone is quite well preserved. No traces of color (?).

Description: Male figure standing with the left leg slightly advanced, both arms hanging along the sides of the body. Both arms were freed from the body at the level of the waist. The clenched hands are attached to the sides of the kilt.

The man is wearing a broad belt with raised outer ridges and a central belt buckle, which is holding up a plain kilt cloth. From the belt hangs a rectangular "*devanteau*" framed by thin cobras. From where the "*devanteau*" and the thin bodies end two cobra heads emerge, each with an open mouth and a sun disk on its head. From the rearing creatures the concave lower outline of the kilt runs towards the sides of the figure. Three sash ends emanate from a point on each side of the "*devanteau*", virtually all emanating from below the belt buckle. The two sashes placed closest to the center are uncharacteristically the shortest. There is an armring on the preserved right upper arm.

Bibliography: Stucky 1993, 16, 69, pl. 7.16.

***Cat. Ph26 Statuette head wearing the white crown of Egypt (?) with coiling, frontal cobra**
(*Pl. 42*)

H. 10 cm, AOH 58 cm
Present whereabouts unknown. Excavated in 1969 (no. E 1283)

Material: Limestone?

Provenance: Sidon, Bostan esh-Sheikh

Back-pillar support: ?

State of preservation: The head of a male figure wearing a crown, preserved from the upper part of the damaged headgear to the base of the neck. The central part of the head has been damaged, a deep cut obliterating all features, but otherwise the stone surface seems quite well preserved. No traces of color (?).

Description: The face is rounded in shape. The nose and mouth are abraded but seem to have been delicately carved, a slight smile on the lips. The partly preserved left eye has a surrounding ridge which is drawn out towards the side of the face, in the Egyptian manner. The eyebrow follows the outline of the eye. Beneath the crown there seems to be a border, possibly indicating hair.

The crown comes down in front of both ears in a squarish tip. It is conical in shape, its upper part broken off. In its center, close to the lowermost border, there are the remains of a thin, coiling cobra, its body possibly forming two separate loops before continuing up along the center of the crown.

Bibliography: Stucky 1993, 16, 69, pl. 6.12.

***Cat. Ph27 Statue torso wearing kilt with cobras**

H. 120 cm, AOH ? cm
Present whereabouts unknown. (no. E 1278)

Material: ?

Provenance: Sidon, Bostan esh-Sheikh

Back-pillar support: ?

State of preservation: ?

Description: According to R. Stucky, who saw a sketch of the figure, it is wearing a kilt with *uraei*.

Bibliography: Stucky 1993, 16 n. 80.

Cat. Ph28 Slightly over-life-size figure with pleated kilt and decorated collar
(*Pl. 43*)

H. 144 cm, AOH 200 cm
The Louvre Museum, Paris. Inv. no. AO 4805 (acq. 1857)

Material: Limestone

Provenance: Sarepta

Back-pillar support: Yes

State of preservation: The figure is preserved from the upper chest to above the ankle of the right leg and just below the knee of the left. The head of the figure is missing together with the shoulders, both arms, lower legs and feet, and a thin, vertical section of the entire left-hand side of the figure. The surface of the stone is quite well preserved. No traces of color.

Description: Male figure standing with the right leg advanced (?). The position of the left arm is impossible to reconstruct since the left side of the figure has been sawn off. Judging by the fact that there are no traces on the right-hand side of the figure of the attachment of a hanging arm it is possible that the right arm was bent and raised. The upper torso is roughly carved. There are indications of abdominal muscles, and a semi-circular navel. The better preserved right leg has the thigh and the calf roughly modeled in the stone.

The man is wearing a plain, rounded belt placed below the waist. From it two cobras are hanging tightly set together, each creature rearing away from the other further down. On each side of them there are three triangular shapes placed almost horizontally, emanating from the sides of the cobras long bodies. Most probably they are versions of the Egyptian-type sash ends. Beneath the cobras, connecting them, is a hanging semi-circular shape. The kilt cloth has broad and rounded pleats, set almost horizontally out from the center of the kilt, following the (preserved right-hand) side of the body until meeting the back-pillar support which is placed along the figure's back. From the side it is clear that the belt of the figure continues in the back in the same manner. It is placed much higher up in the back, however, and hangs down markedly on the figures hips. The lower border of the kilt is marked by a plain band.

On the chest of the figure there are the remains of what seems to be a broad, decorated collar, where a row of drops placed upside-down is followed by a row of dots, all rendered in low relief. Beneath the "collar", on the chest of the figure, there is a large disk and crescent, perhaps a pendant hanging from the collar or from around the neck?

Bibliography: Rey 1880, 2; Perrot & Chipiez 1885, 68, fig. 302; Ohnefalsch-Richter 1893, 197, fig. 166, pl. 140.6; Dunand 1946–1948, 97; Contenau 1949, 106, fig. 18; Moscati 1968, 52–53; Parrot *et al.* 1975, 96; Pritchard 1978, 12–13, fig. 7; Spycket 1981, 424, fig. 276; Warmenbol 1985, 168 n. 17; Masson & Hermary 1988, pl. 5.6; Markoe 1990a, 117, fig. 15; Stucky 1993, 16 n. 81; Tore 1995, 448–450, fig. 1; Fontan 1997, 256; Nunn 2000, 20–21, pl. 4.12; Gubel & Fontan 2002, 114.

***Cat. Ph29 Figure with kilt and broad collar, carrying an animal (?)**
(*Pl. 43*)

H. 80 cm, AOH 105 cm
Present whereabouts unknown. Excavated in 1969 (no. Kh. 1629)

Material: Limestone (according to B. Kaoukabani) – local limestone?

Provenance: Kharayeb

Back-pillar support: Yes

State of preservation: The figure is preserved from the base of the neck to just above the ankles. The head of the figure is missing together with virtually all of the left arm and the right arm from below the elbow. Much of the left leg is damaged. There is a small, rectangular block of stone attached to the left-hand side of the figure's body, possibly the remains of an animal rather than part of the left arm. The surface of the stone is abraded but preserves several features of dress and musculature. No traces of color (?).

Description: Male figure standing with the left leg advanced. The left arm was possibly bent and holding an animal which was hanging along the side of the figure's body; there are traces further down on the side of the kilt which may be the remains of the creature. The right arm was probably hanging along the side of the body. The upper torso is roughly carved. There are indications of breast and abdominal muscles, and the navel. The better preserved right leg has the knee-cap indicated in the stone. The legs are joined by the back-pillar support which is placed along the figure's back.

The figure is wearing a thin, plain belt holding up a kilt cloth which preserves traces of almost horizontal pleats emanating from the center of the kilt. From the belt hangs a trapezoidal "*devanteau*" framed by thin cobra bodies. The serpents are rearing, the better preserved one has an open mouth. On each side of the "*devanteau*" there are three "sash ends", the closest one to the central object characteristically being the longest. There is a triangular area carved into the lowermost part of each "sash", however, which gives the appearance that each set of three sashes is instead a piece of cloth which has been folded twice creating three tapering plies. On the sides of each set of "sashes", just beneath the belt, there are small, unidentified oval shapes. The lower border of the kilt is marked by a plain band.

Around the figure's neck there is the outline of a broad (decorated?) collar.

Bibliography: Kaoukabani 1973, 51, pl. 16.1; Markoe 1990a, 117 n. 31; Nunn 2000, 20–21.

***Cat. Ph30 Figure with kilt and broad collar, carrying an animal (?)**
(*Pl. 43*)

H. 87 cm, AOH 115 cm
Present whereabouts unknown. Excavated in 1969 (no. Kh. 1628)

Material: Limestone (according to B. Kaoukabani) – local limestone?

Provenance: Kharayeb

Back-pillar support: Yes

State of preservation: The figure is preserved from the base of the neck to just above the ankles. The head of the figure is missing together with both arms. Much of the right leg is damaged. There is a small, rectangular block of stone attached to the left-hand side of the figures body, possibly the remains of an animal rather than part of the left arm. The surface of the stone is abraded but preserves certain features of dress and musculature. No traces of color (?).

Description: Male figure standing with the right leg advanced. The left arm was possibly bent and holding an animal which was hanging along the side of the figure's body. The right arm was possibly hanging along the side of the body, or, perhaps, bent and raised. The upper torso is roughly carved. There are indications of breast and abdominal muscles, and the navel. The better preserved left leg has the knee-cap and the shin bone indicated in the stone. The legs are joined by the back-pillar support which is placed along the figure's back.

The figure is wearing a broad belt with raised outer ridges which is holding up a kilt cloth which preserves traces of almost horizontal pleats emanating from the center of the kilt. On the kilt there are faint remains of two thin, parallel lines, perhaps marking the bodies of two hanging cobras. The lower border of the kilt is marked by a continuous, plain band.

Around the figure's neck there is seemingly the outline of a broad (decorated?) collar.

Bibliography: Kaoukabani 1973, 51, pl. 16.2; Markoe 1990a, 117 n. 31; Nunn 2000, 20–21.

Cat. Ph31 Large statuette with pleated kilt with "*devanteau*" and cobras, and broad, decorated collar
(*Pl. 43*)

H. 53 cm, AOH 87 cm
The National Museum, Beirut. Inv. no. 2265

Material: Local limestone

Provenance: Tyre

Back-pillar support: Yes

State of preservation: The figure is preserved from the base of the neck to the knees. The head is thus missing together with the right arm and both legs from below the knees. The surface of the stone is rough but preserves several details of dress and anatomy. No traces of color.

Description: Male figure standing with the left leg advanced, both arms hanging along the sides of the body. The arms were attached to the body all along. The preserved left arm shows that they were both slightly bent, and not just hanging perpendicular along the side. The biceps muscle is slightly outlined, and in the crook of the arm there is a U-shaped line with a tiny depression in the stone right below it. The clenched left hand is attached to the side of the kilt, holding a round object. The thumb nail is indicated, four fingers delineated. Breast muscles are indicated, and so is the median line of the abdominal muscles. On each side of the upper torso, running from the armpit along the sides of the body, there is a slightly curving, incised line. The waist is marked, and below it there is a rounded belly.

The man is wearing a broad belt with raised outer ridges, decorated by incised, hanging triangles or zig-zag lines. The belt is holding up a kilt cloth covered with large, rounded pleats. The lowermost border of the kilt closely echoes the belt, having raised outer ridges and a pattern of hanging triangles. From the belt, at a certain distance from each other, hang two thin cobras. At the bottom end of the kilt, above the lower border, they are rearing away from each other in the characteristic manner. The better preserved right-hand side cobra has a small mouth, and carries a sun disk on its head. Between the cobra bodies, connecting them, there are at least seven horizontal "spacer bars", each slightly curving. On each side of the thin bodies there are three or perhaps four triangular shapes, some with raised, narrow outline, attached with their bases to the serpents' bodies. Most probably they echo the Egyptian-type sash ends. On the right-hand side of the thin bodies, just beneath the belt, there may be a small, rounded shape indicated in the stone. Broad pleats with rounded outline hang from the center of the belt and run, almost horizontally, around the figure's body until meeting the back-pillar support towards which the figure is leaning in the back. Around the neck of the figure there is a broad collar with at least three registers of decoration, each separated by a thin, raised ridge. The central register has incised triangles or drops, the broader, bottom one what seems to be a pattern of feathers, or a set of rectangles. The collar continues all around as well until reaching the back-pillar support in the back. Thus, both the broad collar and the decoration of the kilt (including pleats, belt, and decorated lower outline) continue on the back side of the figure. The back-pillar support itself is square and is slightly tapering inwards, towards the figure's back. It reaches to about shoulder height. Despite the fact that the legs were attached to the support and to each other, they are separately carved right underneath the kilt.

There is a double armring on the figure's left wrist.

Bibliography: Parrot *et al.* 1975, 96–97, fig. 101; Spycket 1981, 424, fig. 275; Gubel 1983, 28–29, fig. 2; Warmenbol 1985, 168–169; Markoe 1990a, 117, fig. 16; Stucky 1993, 16 n. 81; Tore 1995, 448; Doumet Serhal 1998, 27–29, fig. 1; Doumet Serhal *et al.* 1998, 65, 170, no. 24; Nunn 2000, 21; Faegersten forthcoming c.

Cat. Ph32 Statuette with kilt and broad, decorated collar, standing with the right forearm raised
(*Pl. 44*)

H. ca. 60 cm, AOH 116 cm
The Louvre Museum, Paris. Inv. no. AO 4401

Material: Local limestone

Provenance: Umm el-Amed

Back-pillar support: Yes

State of preservation: The figure is preserved from the base of the neck to the knees. The head of the figure is missing together with virtually all of the right arm and the forearm of the left. There is a squarish block of stone beneath the right shoulder of the figure. The surface of the stone is rough and partly abraded but preserves several features of dress. No traces of color.

Description: Male figure standing with the left leg advanced. The left arm is hanging along the side of the body, while the right arm was possibly bent and raised, the squarish block of stone being the support enabling this. The upper torso is quite plain, only slight indications of breast muscles visible. The legs are joined by a back-pillar support which is placed along the figure's back.

The figure is wearing a broad belt with raised outer ridges which is hanging on the hips. From the belt hangs a trapezoidal "*devanteau*" with two thin cobras placed along its center, set body to body. At the bottom end of the device they rear away from each other in the characteristic manner. Each has the wider hood indicated, the better preserved right-hand side serpent a sun disk on its head. On each side of the cobras' bodies, still on the "*devanteau*" itself, there are three short "sash ends", their lowermost ends each (uncharacteristically) tapering in the same direction. The kilt cloth is plain, its lower borders running obliquely from the central object towards the figure's sides. Around the neck of the figure there is a broad collar with three decorated registers, each separated by a thin, raised ridge. The

decoration is very abraded, however, and difficult to identify. The bottom register may hold standing (!) drops with dots on top.

The figure is leaning against a square back-pillar support reaching up to about shoulder height.

Bibliography: Dunand & Duru 1962, 157, 184, pl. 81.3; Gubel 1986a, 100, no. 21; Markoe 1990a, 118 n. 36; Tore 1995, 449; Fontan 1997, 255.

Cat. Ph33 Statuette with kilt and decorated collar, standing with the right leg advanced and the right forearm raised
(*Pl. 44*)

H. ca. 87 cm, AOH 168 cm
The Louvre Museum, Paris. Inv. no. AO 4404

Material: Local limestone

Provenance: Umm el-Amed

Back-pillar support: Yes

State of preservation: The figure is preserved from the base of the neck to the knees. The head of the figure is missing together with most of both arms. Along the left side of the figure there are remains of the hanging arm, and beneath the right shoulder of the figure there is a squarish block of stone. The surface of the stone is rough and partly abraded but preserves several features of dress and musculature. No traces of color.

Description: Male figure standing with the right leg well advanced. The left arm was hanging along the side of the body, while the right arm was possibly bent and raised, the squarish block of stone being the support enabling this. The upper torso is roughly carved. There are indications of breast and abdominal muscles, and the navel. The legs are joined by a back-pillar support which is placed along the figure's back, but they are separately carved beneath the kilt cloth.

The figure is wearing a plain, broad belt holding up a *shenti* with apron. The sides of the plain kilt cloth characteristically overlap, covering the upper part of a rectangular apron. The outline of kilt and apron is marked by a broad, plain band. Around the neck of the figure there is a broad collar, its bottom outline marked by a thin, raised ridge in the stone. No remains of its decoration are preserved.

The figure is leaning against a square back-pillar support reaching up to about shoulder height. At the top of the back-pillar support there is a Phoenician inscription measuring around 14 x 16 cm. It reads in French translation: "Au seigneur Ousir (?), qu'a voué Ba'alshillem, fils de Ba'alyaton, parce qu'il a entendu sa voix, qu'il le bénisse."

Bibliography: Dunand & Duru 1962, 156–157, 189, pl. 83.2; Markoe 1990a, 118 n. 36; Tore 1995, 449; Fontan 1997, 255.

Cat. Ph34 Statuette with kilt and decorated collar, standing with the right forearm raised
(*Pl. 44*)

H. ca. 67 cm, AOH 130 cm
The Louvre Museum, Paris. Inv. no. AO 4400

Material: Local limestone

Provenance: Umm el-Amed

Back-pillar support: Yes

State of preservation: The figure is preserved from the base of the neck to just above the knees. The head of the figure is missing together with the right forearm. The surface of the stone is rough and partly abraded but preserves several features of dress and musculature. The lowermost part of the kilt is very abraded. No traces of color.

Description: Male figure standing with the left leg advanced. The left arm is hanging along the side of the body, while the right arm was bent and raised. The left arm is plain and hangs perpendicular along the side of the body, the clenched hand rounded, the nail indicated on the small thumb. The upper torso is roughly carved. There are indications of breast and abdominal muscles, and the navel. The legs are joined by a back-pillar support which is placed along the figure's back.

The figure is wearing a plain, broad belt holding up a *shenti*. The sides of the plain kilt cloth characteristically overlap, the oblique outline marked by a broad, plain band. The apron is not preserved, however. Around the neck of the figure there is a broad collar, its registers separated by thin, raised ridges. The decoration cannot be identified due to the abraded state of the stone.

The figure is leaning against a square back-pillar support reaching up to about shoulder height. At the top of the back-pillar support there is a Phoenician inscription measuring around 15 x 18 cm. It reads in French translation: "Au seigneur El, qu'a voué Ba'alshillem, fils de Ba'alyaton, parce qu'il a entendu sa voix, qu'il le bénisse."

Bibliography: Dunand & Duru 1962, 156–157, 188, pl. 83.3; Markoe 1990a, 118 n. 36; Tore 1995, 449; Fontan 1997, 255.

Cat. Ph35 Figure with plain kilt, back-pillar support, standing with the right leg advanced and the right forearm raised
(*Pl. 45*)

H. 102 cm, AOH 197 cm
The National Museum, Beirut. Inv. no. 2004

Material: Fine-grained limestone?

Provenance: Umm el-Amed (temple of Milkashtart)

Back-pillar support: Yes

State of preservation: The figure is preserved from the base of the neck to just above the knees. The head of the figure is missing together with the right hand. It may have belonged together with a statue base with two feet attached, together with the lowermost part of a back-pillar support. In this case the central part of the legs from above the knees to the ankles are missing. The surface of the stone is very well preserved. It has traces of the chisel. No traces of color.

Description: Male figure standing with the right leg well advanced. The left arm is hanging along the side of the body, the right one bent and raised. Both arms were attached to the body, the left arm all along, the right arm down to the elbow. The shoulders are rounded, the left biceps muscle slightly outlined in the stone, the horizontal partition of the crook of the arm is indicated. The left hand is rounded and clenched around a circular object, the thumb nail is outlined. The breast muscles are modeled, and so is the navel of the figure. The upper torso is softly modeled, the rounded belly rendered in the stone. The legs are joined by the back-pillar support which is placed along the figure's back, but they are separately carved beneath the kilt.

The figure is wearing a broad, plain belt holding up a plain *shenti*. The ends of the cloth characteristically overlap and cover the upper part of an apron with rounded lower edge. The figure is leaning against a square back-pillar support reaching up to about shoulder height. To this figure may belong a statue base of 45 cm height with two feet attached. The two feet, connected to the lowermost part of a fragmentary back-pillar support, do seem somewhat small for the statue. They both have toe nails indicated. On the front of the base there is a Phoenician inscription, reading in French translation: "Au

Seigneur Milk'ashtart El-Hammon, qu'a consacré ton serviteur 'Abdosir, fils de Arish, en commémoration. Parce qu'il a entendu (sa) voix, qu'il le bénisse."

Bibliography: Dunand & Duru 1962, 156, 184, 193, pl. 30.1 (no. M.436, not E.436); Markoe 1990a, 118 n. 36; Tore 1995, 449; Doumet Serhal 1998, 31, fig. 2; Doumet Serhal *et al.* 1998, 66, 171, no. 25; Nunn 2000, 20, pl. 4.11.

Cat. Ph36 Fragment of a figure wearing a *shenti
(*Pl. 45*)

H. ? cm
Present whereabouts unknown.

Material: Local limestone?

Provenance: Umm el-Amed

Back-pillar support: ?

State of preservation: Preserved is merely the lower front part of a kilt, and the front part of the legs of a figure.

Description: The fragment preserves part of a male figure standing with the left leg advanced. Both legs are joined and thus, apparently, the figure was leaning against a back-pillar support. The presence of the overlapping sides of a kilt cloth covering the upper part of an apron with concave sides shows that the figure was wearing a *shenti* kilt. The edges of the cloth are marked by a broad, plain band. There may be indications in the stone of pleats on the right-hand side of the cloth, following the rounded lower outline of the kilt.

Bibliography: Renan 1864, pl. 22.5; Dunand & Duru 1962, 156 n. 2, pl. 81.2.

Cat. Ph37 Statuette with pleated dress and broad, decorated collar
(*Pl. 45*)

H. ? cm
The Louvre Museum, Paris. Inv. no. AO 4405

Material: Local limestone

Provenance: Umm el-Amed

Back-pillar support: Yes (?)

State of preservation: The figure is preserved from the base of the neck to just below the waist. Both forearms are missing. The surface of the stone is very abraded, but despite this certain details are visible in the stone. No traces of color.

Description: The figure is standing with the left arm hanging along the side of the body, the right arm bent and raised. It is wearing what seems to be a long robe covered with vertical pleats. The breast muscles are visible through the "textile". The robe is framing the base of the raised right forearm, which was thus probably bare. Around the neck there is a broad, decorated collar, with at least two registers framed by thin, raised ridges. The upper register holds a row of circular ornaments, the decoration of the second register cannot be identified.

Bibliography: Unpublished

Cat. Ph38 Life-size figure with pleated *shenti* kilt and plain "*nemes*" headcloth
(*Pl. 45*)

H. 124 cm, AOH 178 cm
The National Museum, Beirut. Inv. no. 2006

Material: Local limestone

Provenance: Unknown

Back-pillar support: Yes

State of preservation: Well preserved, except for the legs which are missing from the knees down. The surface of the stone is abraded at a number of spots, such as the face, the right hand, and the lower half of the kilt. No traces of color.

Description: Male figure standing with the left leg advanced, both arms hanging along the sides of the body. The shoulders are very limited in width, the flat arms attached to the sides of the bodies. There is a thin, straight, horizontal line marking the crook of each arm. Both hands are clenched around a circular object which is visible on both the front and the back sides of each hand. The front of the right hand is abraded, however. All fingers are delineated in the stone. The breast muscles are squarish and rectangular, echoing the flaps of the headgear placed above, resting on the shoulders. The abdominal muscles are roughly indicated by two vertical lines with a third line running horizontally above. The navel is indicated as well. The figure is leaning against a square back-pillar support reaching to just above shoulder height.

The figure is wearing a plain belt with rounded outline holding up a pleated kilt cloth. The lowermost part of the kilt is abraded, but judging by the large, obliquely set pleats it is a *shenti*.

On the shoulders is set an unproportionately large head. The figure is wearing a plain *nemes* headcloth with a triangular protrusion, most probably the outline of a cobra, placed centrally above its brim. The headcloth is squarish in shape, from a frontal view, its diminutive flaps hanging down in the front, on the figure's shoulders. The brim of the headcloth comes down on each side in front of the ears, ending on the cheeks of the figure. Thus, the roughly carved ears are rendered as protruding from the cloth itself. The half-moon-shaped eyes are large and slightly obliquely set, the mouth abraded.

The large, rounded pleats of the kilt do not continue on the figure's back.

Bibliography: Unpublished

ADDENDUM 3

***1 Beardless head of figure wearing a plain kerchief**

H. ? cm
The Tartus Museum?

Provenance: Amrit

State of preservation: The head of a male figure preserved from the crown of the head to the base of the neck. The surface of the stone is very abraded, the facial features mostly obliterated. No traces of color (?).

Description: Male, beardless figure wearing what seems to be a plain headcloth or kerchief. Superficially set eyes, broad nose, straight mouth. The cloth characteristically falls down behind the ears, ending in a rounded shape on each side of the figure's neck. Spiral earring in the right ear?

Bibliography: Dunand 1946–1948, 85, pl. 38.82.

2 Beardless head of figure wearing a plain kerchief

H. ca. 10 cm
The National Museum, Damascus, Inv. no. ?

Provenance: Amrit

State of preservation: The left half of the head of a male figure preserved from the crown of the head to just below the left shoulder. The vertical break runs all along the center of the head. The surface of the stone is quite abraded, only few facial features are preserved. No traces of color.

Description: Male, beardless figure wearing what seems to be a plain headcloth or kerchief. Rounded cheek, large, superficially set eye. Unproportionately large ear. The cloth characteristically falls down behind it, resting on the shoulders of the figure.

Bibliography: Dunand & Saliby 1985, pl. 51.2.

***3 Figure wearing kerchief and a broad belt**

H. 21.5 cm
The Archaeological Museum, Istanbul

Provenance: Sidon, Bostan esh-Sheikh

State of preservation: The upper half of a male statuette, consisting of three separate pieces, the breaks running horizontally below the neck and vertically through the center of the right forearm, respectively. The figure is preserved from the crown of the head to just below the waist. The tip of the right thumb missing. The surface of the stone is partly damaged, in particular in the face, but otherwise well preserved.

Description: Male figure standing with the left arm hanging along the side of the body, the right arm bent and the clenched hand placed on the lower chest. Both arms are freed from the body along both chest and waist. Rounded shoulders, plain upper torso and arms. The upper torso is probably naked, despite the borders visible around the neck and on the upper right arm. Large thumb resting on top of the clenched hand. On the slightly cone-shaped neck the oval, beardless head with a plain kerchief hanging down behind the ears, resting on the shoulders of the figure. Superficially set eyes, small, protruding mouth. Remains of a plain, broad belt.

Bibliography: Macridy 1903, 73–74, pl. 7.7; Gjerstad 1948, fig. 49.2; Ganzmann *et al.* 1987, 84, no. 4, pl. 26.4.

4.3 The Egyptianizing stone statuary excavated in Phoenicia: forms

It was evident in Ch. 4.1, above, that the Phoenician coast provides the only additional find concentration of Egyptianizing statues and statuettes in stone outside Cyprus.[71] The available material (38 pieces) was presented in the above in-text catalogue, Ch. 4.2, and in the following section a limited evaluation of these statues and statuettes excavated in Phoenicia is given. An effort is made to follow as closely as possible the outline used in Ch. 2, where the Cypriote material was analyzed and evaluated. The following Ch. 4.4 gives the find places and archaeological contexts of the Phoenician finds, following the same lines of treatment as that of the Cypriote contexts in Ch. 3 above.

Before entering upon a short introduction and the following formal analysis of the (Phoenician) Egyptianizing statues and statuettes, there is a need to consider a few circumstances which are of importance for our understanding of the group. A first fact to consider regards the availability of material. In a study of the present kind it is perhaps impossible to aim at a first-hand examination by the author of all relevant material. In the case of the Cypriote Egyptianizing figures, the ratio between known and examined figures was satisfactory.[72] In one sense, the ratio for the figures excavated in Phoenicia may be considered fair as well.[73] The problem that should be noted is that due to political circumstances, the proportion of figures to which I had no access is especially large for the rich find site at Bostan esh-Sheikh, just outside Sidon.[74] Thus, I have seen proportionately less material first hand from this site. The same is unfortunately true for the material found at Kharayeb, an inland site between Sarepta and Tyre. Two Egyptianizing stone statues were excavated at the site, neither of which has been studied by the author.

A second fact to be taken into consideration is the problem of correctly dating the figures. The chronological limits for this study are 700 to 475 B.C. The general problem of dating Phoenician sculpture is well known, however, and it may well happen that single objects fall outside the given frames. The site of Byblos presents a very complex archaeological picture with its continuity of settlement and cultic activity from the Bronze Age to the Roman period. To correctly date certain groups of material found in connection to the tombs and temples at the site prove virtually impossible.[75] The two colossal, Byblite stone statues included in the following are believed to fall

[71]The term "Phoenician -s" is used throughout, even if it is recognized that the correct terminology would regard each coastal city state on its own, terming the inhabitants of each of them "Sidonians", "Tyrians", "Byblites", etc., respectively. On this issue: Röllig 1983, 82–83; Bikai 1990; Clifford 1990, 56.

[72]Out of the 71 Egyptianizing limestone figures included in the catalogue (Ch. 7), I was able to make first-hand studies of 55 (77.5%).

[73]The corresponding ratio for the Egyptianizing stone figures excavated on the Phoenician coast is 26 studied figures out of a total of 38 (that is, 68%).

[74]For the fate of the material excavated at the site during the years 1901–1903, 1920, 1924, and 1963–1979: Stucky 1998, 3–4. See also below, Ch. 4.4.2.

[75]At Byblos there is also the difficulty of distinguishing what material is of Egyptian production, either imported or made at the site, and what was locally produced, by local craftsmen – that is, what we can term "Egyptianizing".

chronologically within the frames of the present study. In the description presented below I have further included the six statues and statuettes excavated at Umm el-Amed, just south of Tyre. The two temple complexes at the site were dated by the excavator, Maurice Dunand, to between the 4th and 2nd centuries B.C.[76] Recent scholarship, however, has argued for an earlier date for some of the sculpture found at the site, including the Egyptianizing statues.[77] In a similar manner, the two statues from Kharayeb, referred to above, were excavated together with an abundant terracotta material which seems to fall into two periods of production, both belonging to a later period than that set for this study.[78] The fact that all the statuary from Umm el-Amed and Kharayeb are missing their heads does not aid in dating them. As a result, I have chosen to include the Umm el-Amed and the Kharayeb pieces in the following descriptive section, looking closer into their find contexts in Ch. 4.4.2. In the analytical Ch. 5, however, they will be treated separately. Should the figures be datable to a much later period, they at least indicate a very close – and thus highly interesting – continuation of a votive concept, and should be noted as such. Furthermore, the find situation at Umm el-Amed is particularly informative and can be compared to the other, less well-preserved, Phoenician sanctuary sites.[79] It will be returned to both in Ch. 4.4.2 and in Ch. 5.2.2.

4.3.1 Introduction

This body of stone sculpture consists of 38 male figures excavated in sanctuaries along the Phoenician coast. While several were found in *favissae*, two colossal figures were found *in situ* in connection to a temple entrance at Byblos (**Cat. Ph20** and **Cat. Ph21**). A third figure, found at Umm el-Amed (**Cat. Ph35**), may also be connected to a particular find site, given that it once belonged to a nearby statue base placed outside the east entrance of a large temple complex at the site. Several of the statues and statuettes are made of fine-grained limestone, which is clearly not local, while others are made of local, more coarse-grained, sand- or limestone. The Egyptianizing male figures are executed in all sizes, ranging from small-scale statuettes to figures of colossal size.

Unfortunately, as mentioned above, most figures are acephalous. Of a total of 38 figures only five have heads preserved – and two of these are heads only. This gives us a very limited number, three statues, which are what we could call better preserved (**Cat. Ph20** and **Cat. Ph21**, the colossal figures from Byblos, and the unprovenanced **Cat. Ph38**).

A large group of figures have a broad, square back-pillar support reaching up to about shoulder level – much in the Egyptian manner. Dedicatory inscriptions in the Phoenician script are placed on the back-pillar supports of two of the figures from Umm el-Amed, **Cat. Ph33** and **Cat. Ph34**.[80] A similar dedicatory text is carved into the above-mentioned statue base with feet preserved which was found outside one of the temple entrances at the same site. Not far from the base, **Cat. Ph35** was found. It may thus be that the inscription can be connected to this life-size, kilt-wearing figure.[81]

4.3.2 The figural type

Just like their Cypriote counterparts, the Egyptianizing statues found in Phoenicia are standing, frontal, male figures. Most figures stand with the left leg advanced, three statues displaying an advanced right leg instead.[82] The arms are hanging down along the sides of the bodies.[83] In no instance do we find one arm bent and the hand placed on the chest of the figure, as so often encountered in the (early) Cypriote stone statues.[84] A related type is the

[76]Dunand & Duru 1962, 193–195 (on the dates of the dedicatory inscriptions), 233–234.

[77]Spycket 1981, 426, notes that certain statuary at the site could have been secondarily inscribed; Tore 1995, 449 (regarding **Cat. Ph33** and **Cat. Ph34**); Fontan 1997, 255–256; Nunn 2000, 20, 250.

[78]However, A. Nunn suggests that these statues, too, belong to the late 6th or early 5th century B.C.: Nunn 2000, 21.

[79]As we shall see, the case is made for the possibility of reflecting later contextual information on related – but earlier – sites.

[80]The two inscriptions read, in French translation: "Au Seigneur Ousir (?), qu'a voué Ba'alshillem, fils de Ba'alyaton, parce qu'il a entendu sa voix, qu'il le bénisse" (**Cat. Ph33**), and "Au Seigneur El, qu'a voué Ba'alshillem, fils de Ba'alyaton, parce qu'il a entendu sa voix, qu'il le bénisse" (**Cat. Ph34**): Dunand & Duru 1962, 188–189. The practice of adding an inscription to the back-pillar support of a statue is also, in itself, an Egyptian characteristic.

[81]The inscription reads, in translation: "Au Seigneur Milk'ashtart El-Hammon, qu'a consacré ton serviteur 'Abdosir, fils de Arish, en commémoration. Parce qu'il a entendu (sa) voix, qu'il le bénisse": Dunand & Duru 1962, 193.

[82]See figures **Cat. Ph30** (from Kharayeb) and **Cat. Ph33** and **Cat. Ph35** (from Umm el-Amed).

[83]Eight large-scale figures have the left leg advanced and both arms hanging down along the sides of the body, hands clenched: **Cat. Ph14**, **Cat. Ph19** (from Amrit), **Cat. Ph20**, **Cat. Ph21** (from Byblos), **Cat. Ph22**, **Cat. Ph23**, and **Cat. Ph25** (from Sidon), and **Cat. Ph38** of unknown provenance.

[84]Some statues have one arm hanging down along the side of the body, while the other arm is missing. In these cases where there is no abraded area on the corresponding side of the body, chances are that the figure once actually had the arm bent, with the hand placed on the chest. (A raised hand would leave traces on the upper arm on the corresponding side). Thus, our fragmentary **Cat. Ph17** and **Cat. Ph18** (from Amrit) show the possibility that one arm was bent, hand placed on the chest. Perhaps it is no

figure standing with the right forearm raised and connected to the upper arm or the right breast muscle by means of a support.[85] In certain figures this is clearly visible,[86] while in others the fragmentary state of the statue or statuette makes such identifications difficult. In **Cat. Ph35**, excavated at Umm el-Amed, the raising of the right forearm of the statue was made possible by the additional material left to connect the upper arm of the figure with its raised, lower part.[87] It is probable that a similar technique was employed in **Cat. Ph32–34**, and **Cat. Ph37** – all from this very site. Unfortunately, the right arms of these figures are all damaged. It could be noted that **Cat. Ph33** seems to extend its bent right arm straight forward, a fact which would, indeed, turn the block of material above it into remains of a votive object.[88] However, in this, as in the other figures, the area just above and below the belt on the corresponding side of the statue's body is well-carved, and lacks any remains of excess material – a fact which makes it impossible to envisage, for example, a large votive animal held under the arm (see below).[89] According to the published photograph **Cat. Ph29**, from Kharayeb, could also be displaying an extended right arm: a weathered surface seems visible on the arm, which ends abruptly at about the level of the waist. This does remain hypothetical, however. In two further figures, **Cat. Ph9** from Amrit, and the Tyrian **Cat. Ph31**, the right arm is missing and no remains are left of it, neither along the side, beneath the belt, nor on the chest of the figures.[90] This could indicate that these figures, too, displayed a raised or extended right forearm – perhaps holding an object.[91] **Cat. Ph28**, from Sarepta, has no indications whatsoever of the right arm, despite the rest of that side of the body being well-preserved. This makes it possible to envisage another (non-Egyptian) pose for this figure.[92]

Quite a few of the figures displaying a raised right forearm carry a large quadruped under the left arm – in all instances known to me, an animal which most resembles a goat.[93] What is only fragmentarily preserved under the left arm of the colossal **Cat. Ph24**, from Sidon, and **Cat. Ph15** and **Cat. Ph29**, from Amrit and Kharayeb, respectively, is more easily identifiable in four statuettes from Amrit.[94] In **Cat. Ph8** the large animal is almost completely preserved, displaying a delicate (although damaged) head with the goat's beard rendered underneath, two thin, front legs which are kept in a firm grip by the male figure, a slender body with a short and broad tail, male genitals, and thin legs with characteristic caprid hocks and tiny hooves (*Pl. 16.3–4*).[95] Although the animals of the closely related **Cat. Ph9**, and of **Cat. Ph11** and **Cat. Ph12** are only partially preserved, what remains show that these creatures looked much like the one just described.

The last-mentioned figure, **Cat. Ph12**, constitutes an additional, related, figural type in that it is carrying an animal while holding a small jug or *aryballos* in the hanging right hand.

Some of the Phoenician statues are of over life-size or even colossal dimensions, in this being related to an Egyptian concept and/or desire to produce and to

coincidence that the fragmentary but strongly related **Cat. Ph4–6**, from Amrit, shows one hand preserved (**Cat. Ph5** and **Cat. Ph6**), and indications in the stone that one arm was, similarly, hanging (**Cat. Ph4**). A position with one arm hanging, one arm bent can thus not be ruled out for these figures.

[85]Unlike the hanging arms and the clenched hand placed on the chest, this seemingly religious gesture is only rarely encountered in Egyptian stone statuary.

[86]In **Cat. Ph8** (Amrit) and **Cat. Ph24** (Sidon) the fact that the (missing) right forearm was raised is shown by the presence – on the right shoulder or breast muscle – of a small, round support. The colossal **Cat. Ph24** is merely known through one (frontal) excavation photo. There does seem to be the remains of a support on the right breast muscle of the figure. Admittedly, however, the "support" could be a loose stone, placed unintentionally on top the lying statue. R. Stucky does interpret the remains as a support: Stucky 1993, 69, no. 13.

[87]The resulting chunk of material left in the crook of the arm is squarish, and could almost be taken for a separate object, a votive gift. This illusion (?) is even more present in the other figures from the same site. See below, Ch. 4.4.2.

[88]An incense box is found held in the extended right hand of several of the (non-Egyptianizing) figures carved into relief stelai from the site. Could it be that **Cat. Ph33**, and perhaps **Cat. Ph32**, **Cat. Ph34**, and **Cat. Ph37**, is offering such a box to the local gods? This would, indeed, be the only known instance of its kind within Phoenician sculptural material in the round.

[89]M. Dunand related the Umm el-Amed figures to the Egyptianizing, animal-carrying figures from Amrit: Dunand & Duru 1962, 156. I do not believe that this is a feasible explanation.

[90]**Cat. Ph31** does have a vertical area underneath the broken-off arm which shows that it was attached to the body until a point just above the belt. On **Cat. Ph9** no such traces are visible.

[91]Admittedly it seems impossible to envisage a (free-standing) arm which is bent and extended forward, in the case of **Cat. Ph9**. Such a rendering would most probably be impossible due to the material. The fact remains, however, that no trace of the right arm is visible in this figure.

[92]An unorthodox stance is a possibility, perhaps with both arms raised in the manner of a *telamon*? The weakness of such a suggestion is, of course, that it is based on material which is lacking, not on features that are preserved.

[93]The available material does not include any figures holding the animal under the right arm. Regarding the Umm el-Amed figures **Cat. Ph32–34**, see above.

[94]It is possible that what is preserved on the left-hand side of **Cat. Ph16** are remains of an animal. I have not been able to study this piece, however, and unfortunately no information on its actual size is given in the publication. Neither is it possible to discern, from the published photo only, whether or not the second Kharayeb figure, **Cat. Ph30**, was mirroring the animal-carrying relative **Cat. Ph29**.

[95]Dunand & Saliby 1985, pl. 44, offers additional (excellent) photos of the creature.

dedicate figures over life-size.[96] The two well-preserved, colossal figures from Byblos measure 260 centimeters in height. The height of the other (fragmentary) large-scale figures excavated in Phoenicia can only be conjecturally restored. Thus, **Cat. Ph28**, from Sarepta, has an estimated original height of about 200 centimeters – its possible identification as an architectural member would perhaps affect such an estimation (see below). **Cat. Ph24**, from the Sidonian sanctuary at Bostan esh-Sheikh, was also well-preserved at the time of excavation. What remains known from photographs and excavational sketches is that the statue was acephalous, and that it can be estimated to about 180 centimeters in preserved height.[97] The piece would thus originally have reached around 210 centimeters, the related **Cat. Ph23** around 198 centimeters. The very fragmentary **Cat. Ph1** and **Cat. Ph5**, from Amrit, would have been slightly taller, standing around 250 and 224 centimeters high, respectively.[98] Another large-scale figure is **Cat. Ph35** from Umm el-Amed (197 centimeters).

It was mentioned above that the back-pillar support is recurrent in the Phoenician material. This truly characteristic element of Egyptian statuary is unknown at Amrit, but encountered at all other sites along the Phoenician coast. The statues found at Byblos, Sarepta, Kharayeb, Tyre, and Umm el-Amed all display the tall, square support reaching up to about shoulder height.[99] This is true also for the unprovenanced **Cat. Ph38**. At the Sidonian sanctuary at Bostan esh-Sheikh, the support is found only once in large-scale sculpture (**Cat. Ph24**).[100] The front of the stone statues and statuettes excavated in Phoenicia are well-carved, and so are, in not a few cases, the back parts of the figures. In these cases, the belts, kilts, and sometimes the broad decorated collars continue all around until they meet the back-pillar support. The rest of the figures have unfinished backs, which are only roughly hewn. One single figure (**Cat. Ph22**) displays traces of color, red pigment painted on its dress.[101]

The figures are wearing the Egyptian-type kilt, either plain or pleated. It is held up by a broad belt. The type of kilt displayed in these figures are versions of the *shenti*, or the New Kingdom kilt with *devanteau*. Characteristic for the second type are dress details like the double cobras and lateral sash ends. Only a limited group of the Egyptianizing figures excavated in Phoenicia carry the broad Egyptian-type collar. The preserved collars are decorated by stylized vegetal ornaments. One fragmentary figure, **Cat. Ph37** (from Umm el-Amed), displays a broad, decorated collar overlying what seems to be a long, pleated garment. It is the only figure in the study who is not wearing the Egyptian-type kilt.[102] The legs and feet of the Phoenician figures are naked, and so is, most often, the upper part of the body. Occasionally, however, this latter is covered by a short-sleeved garment.

The few heads that are preserved (five) display the *nemes* headcloth with a frontal *uraeus*, the white crown (?) of Egypt, a double crown, and the tripartite wig with tresses indicated in the stone. None of the heads displays a beard.

Several of the figures have the outlines of a round object in the clenched hand, placed at the side of the body – much like the Egyptian "emblematic staves". A few of the figures carry armrings on the upper part of the arm,[103] in one elaborate case ending in tiny lions' heads holding a rosette.

Within the Phoenician group of votives there is the presence of pairs of figures, similar in appearance, which seem to have been intended to be placed in a flanking or antithetic manner. The presence of guardian figures outside entrances to sacred or in other ways particular areas is a most general trait in several ancient cultures. However, kilt-clad pair statues standing antithetically at the tomb or temple entrance is something characteristically Egyptian.[104] The two colossal statues from Byblos, wearing the plain *shenti* and tripartite hairdo or wig, and furnished with back-pillar supports, are close to

[96] See above, Ch. 2.3.

[97] Stucky 1993, 69, no. 13.

[98] For all these figures, see the drawings to scale at the end of the book.

[99] See **Cat. Ph20**, **Cat. Ph21** (Byblos), **Cat. Ph28** (Sarepta), **Cat. Ph29**, **Cat. Ph30** (Kharayeb), **Cat. Ph31** (Tyre), and the Umm el-Amed pieces **Cat. Ph32–35**, and **Cat. Ph37**.

[100] Of the Egyptianizing figures found at the site it is – to my knowledge – only the colossal **Cat. Ph24** which displays a back-pillar support. It is worth noting that the whereabouts of this figure is unknown, and no additional studies of the statue have been possible since the time of its excavation: Stucky 1993, 69, no. 13. Among the other votive types found at the sanctuary, only a small and very fragmentary alabaster statuette displays a back-pillar support, with a Phoenician (dedicatory?) inscription on it (the dedication was never recorded, and the present whereabouts of the statuette is unknown): Stucky 1993, 68, no. 1.

[101] Again, it is important to remember that this is the only Sidonian figure I have studied.

[102] Admittedly, the lower part of the figure is missing.

[103] **Cat. Ph31** has a double ring around the preserved left wrist, instead.

[104] Well-known and characteristic examples are the gold and ebony statues flanking the entrance to the tomb of Tutankhamun, and the seated colossal stone statues outside the main gate of the temple of Amun at Luxor, and at the temple built by Amenhotep III at western Thebes. On the Egyptian wish to avoid exact mirror images (where slight deviations were added to enliven compositions) and the Near Eastern preference for heraldic compositions: *LÄ* 6 (1986), 129–132 s.v. Symmetrie (E. Hornung).

identical in dimensions. They are stylistically very similar and seem, indeed, to have been made by the same hand or workshop. They were found *in situ* together with other colossal sculpture in connection with one of the entrances of a complex referred to by the excavators as "Bâtiment I".[105] From the site of Umm el-Amed come two separate pieces of evidence. The first relates to **Cat. Ph33** and **Cat. Ph34**, two figures for which the exact find sites are unknown. The two acephalous statues are very similar regarding the general rendering and musculature of the body, the dress, and the placing of the arms.[106] Their dimensions are slightly deviating, however. On each of their back-pillar supports there is a Phoenician dedicatory inscription (see above). According to the inscriptions both statues were offered by Baalshillem, son of Baalyaton, one to Osiris (?) (**Cat. Ph33**), the other to El (**Cat. Ph34**). Apart from their size, the only real difference between these closely related figures is that while **Cat. Ph34** has the left leg advanced in the characteristic manner, **Cat. Ph33** has the right leg advanced, instead. The direction of the diagonal fall of the *shenti* kilt is opposed on the two figures, further indicating that they may have been intended to be displayed together, antithetically, in the sanctuary. The second piece of evidence from the site can be said to confirm these indications. **Cat. Ph35** is similarly dressed in a plain *shenti*, is furnished with a back-pillar support, and has the left arm hanging along the side of the body and the right forearm raised. It, too – unusually – has its right leg advanced. It is interesting to note that it was found outside the entrance to the so-called temple of Milkashtart, most probably belonging to an inscribed statue base which was placed on the right-hand side of the east entrance. No second statue or statue base was found but according to the excavator, the appearance of the corresponding area on the left-hand side of the doorway suggested that something had been placed there as well.[107] It is thus possible to imagine a mirror-image, with left leg advanced, standing on a base in this position.[108]

With these indications as a background it is difficult to believe that it is a coincidence that the two single, kilt-wearing stone figures found in connection to the temple complex at Kharayeb, both very similar in appearance, has the left and the right leg advanced, respectively. It could be suggested that they, too, were meant to be arranged together in the sanctuary, in an antithetical manner. It may be added that the appearance of the colossal **Cat. Ph28** from Sarepta, and the way its left-hand side seems to have been sawed off, has led to the suggestion that it was originally used as an architectural member – perhaps flanking the doorway of a sacred area together with a twin figure.[109]

4.3.3 Dress and equipment: Egyptian and non-Egyptian features

When considering the dress of the Egyptianizing figures excavated in Phoenicia, we noted above that all except one (**Cat. Ph37**) display the Egyptian-type kilt.[110] A version of the plain *shenti* is found on a handful of large-scale figures.[111] One figure only, the large-scale, unprovenanced **Cat. Ph38**, presents a *shenti* rendered with diagonal pleats. A majority of the male figures wear what most closely resembles the Egyptian New Kingdom-type kilt with *devanteau*, however. A plain or pleated kilt cloth with a centrally hanging device equipped with cobras,[112] and with the characteristic sash ends at the sides, are found in 17 instances.[113] Another three figures display a "*devanteau*" but lack cobras or lateral sash ends.[114] The plain kilt worn by the remaining handful of figures will be returned to below.[115] **Cat. Ph8** and **Cat. Ph22**, from Amrit and Sidon, respectively, both have a *devanteau* which has the same geometrical

105 The first excavator, Pierre Montet, named it "the Egyptian temple". For more on this site and on the find contexts of the Byblite colossi, see below, Ch. 4.4.2.

106 Both figures are wearing the plain *shenti* and the broad decorated collar (where the ornamentation is much weathered), and both have the left arm hanging down the body, while the lower right arm is raised.

107 Dunand & Duru 1962, 48, 184, 193. For more on this matter, see Ch. 4.4.2.

108 It is worth adding that the legs of the two figures would be "correctly" arranged, in this case, according to Egyptian principles of art and symmetry, the two legs closest to the entrance being advanced.

109 Spycket 1981, 424; Falsone 1989, 156; Fontan 1997, 256.

110 And it has been pointed out before that the kilt has been regarded, in this study, as the main feature to signal this group. Since all kilt-wearing figures in Cyprus and Phoenicia have been included here, it is, of course, a bit of a circular argument to state that the kilt is the main dress element encountered throughout the study.

111 See **Cat. Ph16** (from Amrit), **Cat. Ph20**, **Cat. Ph21** (?) (from Byblos), **Cat. Ph33–36** (from Umm el-Amed), and **Cat. Ph38** (of unknown provenance).

112 Ten of the 13 preserved cobra pairs carry sun disks on their heads. The cobras on **Cat. Ph23**, **Cat. Ph24**, and **Cat. Ph27**, from Sidon, could not be included here because of the insufficient photographs in their publication.

113 See **Cat. Ph1**, **Cat. Ph4–9** (from Amrit), **Cat. Ph22–25** and – probably – **Cat. Ph27** (from Sidon), **Cat. Ph28** (from Sarepta), **Cat. Ph29** (from Kharayeb), **Cat. Ph31** (from Tyre), and **Cat. Ph32** (from Umm el-Amed).

114 **Cat. Ph10–12**, from Amrit.

115 The Amrit figures **Cat. Ph14**, **Cat. Ph15** (much weathered), and **Cat. Ph17–19** all have a very plain kilt with more exposed apron – seemingly a combination of the *shenti* and the New Kingdom kilt. For this hybrid kilt in the Cypriote material, see above Ch. 2.4.2.

decoration as does the broad belt holding up the kilt – a patterning which mirrors an original bead- or inlay work. The "beads" found on both figures come particularly close to an Egyptian inlay pattern, with their rounded ends fitted together.[116] On **Cat. Ph11**, from Amrit, the belt is not preserved, but the figure indeed displays an incised pattern of vertical rectangles on its "*devanteau*" – it is, further, the only figure to display the characteristically Egyptian lower row of hanging drop shapes at the bottom end of the device (*Pl. 17.4*). **Cat. Ph31**, found at Tyre, has a set of thin, horizontal bands connecting the cobras, echoing the horizontal spacer bars found on Egyptian *devanteaux*. Belt buckles, which may have been made with Egyptian cartouche-shaped buckles in mind are rendered in relief on **Cat. Ph8** and **Cat. Ph25** (from Amrit and Sidon). The Amrit figure **Cat. Ph1** is the only statue in the group to display the tiny panther (?) head placed beneath the belt, at the top of the "*devanteau*" (*Pl. 14.3*).

A limited group of the Egyptianizing figures excavated in Phoenicia wear a broad decorated collar. Sidonian **Cat. Ph22** stands out with its well-preserved collar carrying three decorated registers and an outer row of hanging drops. The decoration consists of persea fruits, large lilies and small paradise flowers linked with curving loops, and the characteristic hanging triangles overlying two slightly curving, horizontal double lines. The only other corresponding finds are two fragments found at Amrit, both carrying similar decoration and both thus probably once part of broad collars of life-size figures (**Cat. Ph2** and **Cat. Ph3**).[117] The upper part of the colossal **Cat. Ph28**, from Sarepta, is much damaged, but remains of drop shapes and dots indicate the presence of a decorated collar.[118] **Cat. Ph31**, from Tyre, shows a collar arranged in three separate registers. Its state of preservation does not allow a safe identification of its ornamentation, however. Discernible is an irregular triangular pattern in the central register,[119] and what may be a centrally placed, winged object (?) in the outermost one.[120] Quite similar to each other in appearance, but much weathered, are the collars encountered on three of the figures found at Umm el-Amed (**Cat. Ph32–34**), and the two statues from Kharayeb (**Cat. Ph29** and **Cat. Ph30**). Common to these renderings are one or two registers, separated by thin, raised ridges. Remains of decoration are visible on most of the collars, but it is only the outermost one on **Cat. Ph32** which is identifiable: a row of standing drop shapes (much like that of **Cat. Ph28**) with dots on top. It should be added that the Byblite colossus **Cat. Ph20** has an incised line on its chest, indicating the presence of a broad collar.

Despite the fact that there is a very limited amount of preserved heads in the group, a range of different headgear is encountered. One figure, which unfortunately lacks a reported provenance, displays the Egyptian-type *nemes* headcloth with a centrally placed *uraeus* (**Cat. Ph38**). Two frontal "flaps" are characteristically placed on the shoulders of the figure. Tripartite wigs, or hair, are clearly found on the two similar – and apparently related – colossal figures from Byblos, **Cat. Ph20** and **Cat. Ph21**. The massive wigs have tresses hanging in front, on the shoulders of both figures, and a pattern of squares at the back of both heads reveal that the sculptor(s) wanted to indicate sections of hair.[121] In addition, two Egyptian-type crowns are found in the Phoenician material. Both are placed on small-scale heads, one from Amrit, the other from Sidon. **Cat. Ph13** is wearing a squat version of the Egyptian double crown, with a circular knob on the inner, slender white crown. The crown of **Cat. Ph26** is unfortunately damaged. What is still visible is a plain, conical shape with a squarish part coming down in front of the ear, and with a thin, beautifully coiled cobra placed on its lower center. The appearance of the coiling snake is unique, in fact, in the (sculptural) material found outside Egypt, and closely echoes the way the apotropaic *uraeus* is arranged on the Egyptian blue crown.[122] R. Stucky identified the headgear as the white crown: due to its fragmentary state, this cannot be ruled out.[123]

[116] In **Cat. Ph22** this is most clearly seen on the right-hand side of the belt, an area seldom depicted in photos. In **Cat. Ph8** the "beads" of both belt and *devanteau* display this shape. See, for a very similar rendering, the belt of Cypriote **Cat. 12**, found at Idalion.

[117] M. Dunand saw in **Cat. Ph2** a fragmentary arm covered by a wide bracelet. Based on the type of ornaments and their arrangement, and the placing and angle of an adjacent abraded surface (the neck?), I suggest that the fragment is indeed part of the shoulder of a figure and – thus – of a broad decorated collar.

[118] Unlike what is usually the case, the drop shapes are placed with the pointed ends turned downwards, each ending in a circular dot.

[119] This pattern is echoed in both the belt and the lower outline of the kilt of the figure.

[120] What I interpret as individual feathers placed horizontally on top of each other, in the register, may simply be stylized (squarish) and obliquely placed drop shapes.

[121] Cf. Dunand 1939a, 67 (who identifies each headdress as a *klaft*, that is, as the Egyptian *nemes* headcloth).

[122] Evers 1929, 27, §176. This holds true for the New Kingdom period. Compare, however, contemporary Late Period Egyptian royal heads, where the cobra is rendered in a characteristic double-S on the crown: Aldred 1980b, 144–145, fig. 126 (Pharaoh Apries); Bothmer 1960, pl. 50, figs. 120–122 (Pharaoh Amasis).

[123] Stucky 1993, 69, no. 12.

The round objects, or "emblematic staves", held by Egyptian standing statuary are echoed in a handful of the large-scale Phoenician figures.[124] So are the plain or double armrings which may imitate Egyptian jewelry depicted on statuary. **Cat. Ph24** and **Cat. Ph31**, from Sidon and Tyre respectively, display double armrings, in the first figure placed on both upper arms, while the second has the ring placed around the wrist.[125] **Cat. Ph22**, from Sidon, has a particularly elaborate version where at least the notion and placing of the device may echo Egyptian counterparts.[126] **Cat. Ph15** from Amrit, and **Cat. Ph25** from Sidon, have plain versions, or rather bands, on their upper arms.

One single figure, Sidonian **Cat. Ph22**, displays rich traces of color. In the broad, decorated collar, the central part of the lilies and the area between the thin, double horizontal lines found underneath the hanging triangles are painted red, as is the area between the hanging drop shapes. The central parts of the lilies in the horizontal floral band placed at the lower end of the short-sleeved garment of the figure were similarly highlighted with paint.[127] Of the three sash ends hanging on each side of the "*devanteau*", the middle one carries rich traces of red color. And the bead pattern, finally, decorating the "*devanteau*" is highlighted at intervals by the same kind of red paint. It is the only example in the Phoenician material of the jewel-like application of paint, seemingly echoing an Egyptian New Kingdom preference which I have chosen to term "color as pattern".

There are several non-Egyptian traits in the dress and ornamentation of the statues and statuettes unearthed in Phoenicia. The garment worn by the fragmentary **Cat. Ph37**, from Umm el-Amed, seems to be a long tunic with folds indicated underneath the raised right forearm. On top of this dress is the broad, decorated collar. This remains a unique example, the only known (to me) of this combination of dress.[128] A handful of the Phoenician kilt-wearing figures display a short-sleeved garment, however – in one single instance in combination with the decorated broad collar (**Cat. Ph22**).[129] Common to **Cat. Ph22** and **Cat. Ph23**, both found at Sidon, is that their short-sleeved garments are enriched by vegetal decorations rendered in relief. In **Cat. Ph22**, alternating large lilies and small paradise flowers, linked with curving loops, adorn the lowermost part of the garment, thus placed right above the belt of the figure. The preserved garment sleeve of **Cat. Ph23** is decorated with a virtually identical vegetal band. It is set between two thin, raised ridges.

Raised ridges are found also on the belts of several of the Phoenician figures.[130] **Cat. Ph8** and **Cat. Ph22** were mentioned above, since they show – on their belts (and *devanteaux*) – what seems to be an echo of an Egyptian pattern. Unparalleled in the Egyptian repertoire is, however, a pattern such as that displayed on the belt of the colossal **Cat. Ph1**, from Amrit. Incised ovals alternate with superimposed horizontal bands on this belt (*Pl. 14.3*). The incised triangles decorating the belt of **Cat. Ph31**, from Tyre, can be added here as well.

The way the lower part of the apron-*devanteau* of certain figures (mostly from Amrit) is set forward noticeably from the recessed right leg could further be identified as a non-Egyptian trait,[131] giving a more massive appearance to a device which was supposed to reflect a thin piece of cloth, or a set of plaques or collection of beads, respectively.[132] It is on two figures from this same site, **Cat. Ph1** and **Cat. Ph4**, that we

[124] See **Cat. Ph5** (from Amrit), **Cat. Ph20** (and **Cat. Ph21**?) (from Byblos), **Cat. Ph31** (from Tyre), **Cat. Ph35** (from Umm el-Amed) – as well as the unprovenanced **Cat. Ph38**.

[125] **Cat. Ph23**, also from Sidon, may preserve traces of an armring similar to those worn by **Cat. Ph24**.

[126] For the elaborate details of this piece of jewelry, see below.

[127] See above Ch. 2.2.1 n. 315.

[128] Folds are visible on the left-hand side as well, and on the (short?) left sleeve. Hellenistic relief stelai from the same site depict standing, male figures clad in ankle-length tunics, approaching the god or goddess with the right forearm raised, sometimes with an incense box held in the extended left hand: Dunand & Duru 1962, pl. 77 (stele of Baalyaton), and pls. 36–37, 79, 81. In none of the known depictions is there a broad collar rendered together with the tunic, however.

[129] Skin-tight, short-sleeved garments are found on **Cat. Ph1** (?), **Cat. Ph9** (from Amrit), **Cat. Ph22** and **Cat. Ph23** (from Sidon). The plain armring found on **Cat. Ph15**, from Amrit, could perhaps instead indicate the broad border of a short sleeve? In addition, it can be noted that on the single excavation photo of Sidonian **Cat. Ph25**, there seems to be a dark, horizontal band placed right above the belt: Stucky 1993, pl. 7.16. Does this reflect decoration rendered in paint on a short-sleeved garment?

[130] See **Cat. Ph1**, **Cat. Ph4**–**Cat. Ph6**, **Cat. Ph8**, **Cat. Ph9**, **Cat. Ph11**, **Cat. Ph12**, and **Cat. Ph15** (from Amrit), **Cat. Ph22**–**25** (from Sidon), **Cat. Ph30** (from Kharayeb), **Cat. Ph31** (from Tyre), and **Cat. Ph32** (from Umm el-Amed). It was noted already in the treatment of the Cypriote figures, above, that Egyptian belts often have two incised lines marking their outer borders, but that the thin, raised bands or ridges of the Cypriote belts seem to echo more closely a treatment of the belt which is found rather outside Egypt – particularly in East Greek sculpture.

[131] See **Cat. Ph1**, **Cat. Ph7**–**9**, **Cat. Ph11**, **Cat. Ph12**, **Cat. Ph18**, and **Cat. Ph19** (from Amrit), and **Cat. Ph33** and **Cat. Ph36** (from Umm el-Amed). Perhaps the Amrit figures **Cat. Ph10** and **Cat. Ph16** should be added, two pieces that are known only from the published photographs.

[132] It is true that the advanced left leg found in a majority of the Phoenician figures explains the presence of a certain massiveness on behalf of the "apron" – at least closest to the rear leg. **Cat. Ph11** and **Cat. Ph12**, from Amrit, are examples where there was no such need, however. In the other figures a "massive" apron could have been avoided by setting its surface on an angle, following the outlines of the legs. This is the case in a majority of the Cypriote figures.

find remains of what might have been a vegetal or figural decoration placed on the lowermost part of the apron-*devanteau*, beneath the cobras (*Pls. 14.3–4*). The "*devanteau*" of **Cat. Ph22** is fragmentary, but it is possible that its lowermost part, too, carried some kind of decoration. A row of drop shapes would faithfully echo Egyptian counterparts, while any other elements would tie it, rather – together with the above **Cat. Ph1** and **Cat. Ph4** – to a non-Egyptian sphere. In connection with **Cat. Ph22**, it can be noted that even if the common pattern of the belt and the *devanteau* seemingly reflects the actual beads of the Egyptian originals, the way the beads are arranged would not be encountered in an Egyptian context. In both the belt and the *devanteau*, every second row of beads is elongated, giving a particular rhythm to the pattern.[133]

The much weathered border decoration of the apron-*devanteau* of **Cat. Ph1** is only one of the non-Egyptian elements displayed on this particular figure. The beaded hem of the kilt and the way the pair of winged cobras is supplemented by another pair of very thin, coiling snakes are altogether unknown in Egyptian statuary renderings.[134] These are well-known features from the Cypriote repertoire, however.

Cat. Ph28, from Sarepta, presents a particular case in that it carries a disk and crescent on its chest, rendered in low relief below the broad collar of the figure. Whether intended as a separate pectoral suspended from the neck or as a decoration placed on a short-sleeved garment (?), the placing of the symbol is unparalleled in both Egyptian, and other Phoenician, statuary. Like so many of the decorative ornaments encountered in Phoenician art, however, the disk and crescent has its origin within Egyptian religious symbolism.[135]

A handful of the Phoenician figures have details of dress and ornamentation which are enhanced by a raised, narrow outline, a characteristic which was referred to above, in the Cypriote section. The hanging triangles decorating the collar of **Cat. Ph22** are marked in this manner, as is the preserved floral frieze found on the garment of **Cat. Ph23**, also from Sidon. The "sash ends" of **Cat. Ph31**, from Tyre, display similar raised outlines. In addition, the thin, raised ridges separating the registers of the broad collars of several of the Phoenician figures may be said to further exemplify this enhanced outline.[136]

With the elaborate version of a double armring, found on **Cat. Ph22**, the section on non-Egyptian articles of dress and equipment is closed. Placed on the upper part of the right arm are two plain, double rings, set slightly apart, the four edges of which end in small leonine animals' heads. The creatures, which each have what looks like a tiny mane indicated, are facing each other, two by two. Between the four heads, actually supported by all four of them, is a large, petalled rosette placed frontally on the arm. To my knowledge the ring is unique in the Phoenician sculptural repertoire – even though armrings with rosettes, or with very similar leonine heads, are known.[137]

4.3.4 Face and body: Egyptian and non-Egyptian features

It was noted above that quite a few of the Phoenician figures display a back part which is relatively well-carved – in a manner related to Egyptian statuary. The Tyrian **Cat. Ph31** has a belt, pleated kilt, and indeed broad collar rendered in the stone on the back side as well, continuing until they meet the broad and flat back-pillar support. The same is true for large-scale **Cat. Ph28** from Sarepta, where belt and pleated kilt cloth are well carved until meeting the broad dorsal support.[138] In a similar manner the Umm el-Amed sculptures[139] and the Byblite **Cat. Ph20** and **Cat. Ph21** have belts which merge with the support in the back.[140] **Cat. Ph9** from Amrit has no back-pillar support but displays a belt with raised outer ridges and a pleated kilt cloth which are both beautifully carved in the back (*Pl. 17.2*).

The placement of the figures' belts also generally follows Egyptian standards. Few are the exceptions who wear a belt around their waist instead of

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133 Virtually the exact rhythmic pattern is encountered on the *devanteau* of **Cat. 3**, a life-size figure excavated at Krina outside Salamis, on eastern Cyprus (see above, in Ch. 2.2.2). The belt of the Cypriote figure was left plain, however.

134 The additional non-Egyptian character of the winged "*uraei*" decorating this kilt is treated below, in Ch. 4.3.5.

135 The moon disk and crescent are generally carried by the lunar gods Thot and Khonsu in Egyptian iconography: *LÄ* 4 (1982), 192–196 s.v. Mond (W. Helck).

136 See **Cat. Ph2**, **Cat. Ph3** (from Amrit), **Cat. Ph22** (from Sidon), **Cat. Ph29** (from Kharayeb), **Cat. Ph31** (from Tyre), and **Cat. Ph32–34**, and **Cat. Ph37** (from Umm el-Amed).

137 See below in Ch. 4.4.2, where related material from Amrit is presented; and above, Ch. 2.2.2 n. 442, for a possible Cypriote parallel, **Cat. 27** from Golgoi (Ayios Photios). For very similar occurrences in 9th century B.C. Assyrian relief art: Albenda 1986, pls. 15, 139.

138 The related (unprovenanced) **Cat. Ph38** is wearing a pleated *shenti* kilt and a belt. The belt does continue in the flattened back of the figure, the pleats of the *shenti* do not, however.

139 **Cat. Ph32–35**.

140 The Kharayeb figures **Cat. Ph29** and **Cat. Ph30** seem similar to the Umm el-Amed figures **Cat. Ph32–34**. It is possible, but we cannot know, whether these missing figures, too, displayed a dress which continued in the back until meeting the back-pillar support.

characteristically hanging on the hips.[141] Several figures have their hanging arms attached to their bodies; the sculptor has made no effort to free them, at least in part, from the waist.[142] This comes close to the Egyptian way of treating the human body monolithically in its sculptural form.

Further, the rendering of a headgear without indication of hair below its frontal brim is Egyptian. This we find in the (unprovenanced) *nemes*-wearing figure **Cat. Ph38**, and in the small Amrit figure wearing double crown (**Cat. Ph13**).[143] As noted above, all preserved figural heads are beardless, in the Egyptian manner.

Quite unique in the material treated in this study is the preserved eye of the small crown-wearing head of a statuette from Sidon (**Cat. Ph26**): the eye is outlined by a surrounding border which extends towards the side of the face, mirrored in width and outline by the eyebrow. This is a rendering which comes very close to the stylization of the human eye in Egyptian art.

There are several non-Egyptian traits in the rendering of the face and body of the Egyptianizing figures encountered in Phoenicia. A whole group of figures displays a similar treatment of the naked upper part of the body, where the general shape is rather block-like and the arms and musculature adhere to that shape. **Cat. Ph28**, from Sarepta, and **Cat. Ph38**, of unknown provenance, show this the most clearly. Both figures are very much still in the original, rectangular block of stone, of which the back-pillar support constitutes a natural member. The upper part of the body of **Cat. Ph28** is fragmentary, but its squarish shape is clearly visible, accentuated by the vertical lines indicating the sides of the *rectus abdominis* muscle, and the horizontal line insensitively marking the boundary between thorax and abdomen. In **Cat. Ph38**, the shape of the body and the outline of the muscles are virtually identical to those just described. In addition, the breast muscles are vertically elongated and rectangular.[144] With its large head and diminutive shoulder area, the figure is indeed block-like. The shape of the arms of this figure emphasizes this even more, being flat and unanatomically appended to the sides of the figure.

Even if the rendering of abdominal muscles does not correspond, there are several parallels between this figure and the well-preserved Byblite **Cat. Ph20** (and **Cat. Ph21**?). The colossal figure shares the general, squarish shape,[145] the lack of broad shoulders, and the flat arms attached rather inorganically to the sides of the body. Common to **Cat. Ph38** and **Cat. Ph20** are further the non-Egyptian proportions of the human figure, where the head is very large in relation to the rest of the body. In both statues the head is connected to the chest by means of an (unproportionately) massive neck. The figures from Umm el-Amed which display a naked upper part of the body are far from the block shape noted in the above figures, but it is true that their general shape is faintly rectangular and roughly hewn.[146] Their uneven body surfaces, including the musculature, are perhaps not only due to a stone material which displays inclusions, some of which have been lost, leaving tiny depressions in the surface, but to the rough carving just referred to. From the available photos it seems that the Kharayeb figures **Cat. Ph29** and **Cat. Ph30** have upper bodies which are quite similar in appearance.

In connection with this, it should be noted that **Cat. Ph8**, **Cat. Ph9**, **Cat. Ph11**, and **Cat. Ph12**, all from Amrit, have a body form which – in section – is more square than the normal rectangular. The figures are well-carved and in no way do they adhere to a block of stone, like the above examples. Their shape does diverge from the rest of the figures in the group, however – and from the Egyptian norm.

The opposite, a flat and almost two-dimensional rendering of the body, is found in **Cat. Ph14**, from Amrit.[147] An increased corporeality, but a lack of indication of dress features in the back, is found in several figures. Sidonian **Cat. Ph22** has a broad collar which is not indicated in the back at all, and as for the kilt, only the lower border and the outlines of the broad belt are rendered in the stone. Figures with unfinished backs are virtually only found among those excavated at Amrit.[148]

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[141] See **Cat. Ph11** and **Cat. Ph12** (and perhaps **Cat. Ph16**?), from Amrit.

[142] **Cat. Ph14** (from Amrit), **Cat. Ph20**, **Cat. Ph21** (from Byblos), **Cat. Ph29** (and **Cat. Ph30**?) (from Kharayeb), **Cat. Ph31** (from Tyre), **Cat. Ph32–35**, and **Cat. Ph37** (from Umm el-Amed) – as well as the unprovenanced **Cat. Ph38**.

[143] Cf., however, Sidonian **Cat. Ph26**, where a border beneath the brim of the white (blue?) crown seemingly indicates hair.

[144] As will be suggested below, the shape of the breast muscles rather adheres to the frontal "flaps" of a *nemes* headcloth – such as the one worn by the figure.

[145] This is especially well visible from the side, where the belt seemingly "turns a corner" before meeting the back-pillar support. This is almost exactly mirrored in **Cat. Ph38**.

[146] See **Cat. Ph32–34**. **Cat. Ph35** does not display the same squarish body shape and rough outline.

[147] This could be true also for **Cat. Ph17**, from the same site, and **Cat. Ph25**, from Sidon. This is more insecure, however, especially regarding **Cat. Ph25** which is known only through photos.

[148] **Cat. Ph4–8**, **Cat. Ph14**, **Cat. Ph15**, **Cat. Ph18**, and **Cat. Ph19**, all from Amrit, display a marked difference between the renderings of their front and back sides. Again, it needs to be emphasized that I have not been able to take the back sides of the Sidonian statues and statuettes into consideration – except that of **Cat. Ph22**, mentioned above.

Further, it is in the Amrit material that we encounter single, additional non-Egyptian traits, like the belt placed around the waist (**Cat. Ph11** and **Cat. Ph12**), the miniature hand placed along the side of the figure (**Cat. Ph19**), the manner in which legs are attached to each other even though no back-pillar support is present (**Cat. Ph7** and **Cat. Ph11**),[149] and the presence of a baggy mass of hair rendered beneath a royal headgear (**Cat. Ph13**). **Cat. Ph26**, from Sidon, has an indication of hair underneath the otherwise well-perceived white (?) crown. Figures from both Amrit and Sidon display hanging arms which are carved free from the body at the level of the waist. This is true for **Cat. Ph8**, **Cat. Ph9**, **Cat. Ph15** (?), and **Cat. Ph19**, from Amrit, and the Sidonian **Cat. Ph22–25**.

4.3.5 The Egyptianizing features and their transformations

Like the Cypriote Egyptianizing figures the ones unearthed in Phoenicia can be analyzed as regards their varying degrees of intensity of Egyptian impact. A first aspect is the actual number of Egyptian-type traits, dress elements, and ornaments which they display. With the exception of the figures excavated at Amrit, and perhaps Sidon,[150] virtually all other Phoenician statues and statuettes display the Egyptian back-pillar support. Together with the broad collar, kilt, and "*devanteau*" with cobras encountered, **Cat. Ph28**, **Cat. Ph29** (and **Cat. Ph30**?), **Cat. Ph31**, and **Cat. Ph32** (from Sarepta, Kharayeb, Tyre, and Umm el-Amed, respectively) all end up on the far end of the scale, displaying strong Egyptian impact. Back-pillar support, broad decorated collar, and Egyptian-type kilt are further found in two additional figures from Umm el-Amed – the only divergence being that they are wearing the more plain Egyptian *shenti* kilt instead (**Cat. Ph33** and **Cat. Ph34**).[151] Compare **Cat. Ph35**, which has the same back-pillar support as the other figures, but is wearing only the plain *shenti* kilt cloth, and **Cat. Ph37**, clad in a folded tunic, which seems to have borrowed only the broad decorated collar from the Egyptianizing figures. From a first impression **Cat. Ph20** and **Cat. Ph21**, from Byblos, and the unprovenanced **Cat. Ph38** appear to belong to the other end of the scale, displaying a weak Egyptian impact. However, with their back-pillar supports, their *shenti* kilts, incised collar (**Cat. Ph20**), headgear (tressed wig and *nemes* with *uraeus*, respectively), and "emblematic staves", the impact of the figures can only be considered strong. The colossal **Cat. Ph24** is the only known Egyptianizing figure from Sidon to display the back-pillar support. The figure has a pleated kilt with "*devanteau*" framed by cobras and sash ends and broad armrings, but does not wear the broad decorated collar. The lack of a collar characterizes the two additional, well-preserved figures from the same site, from Bostan esh-Sheikh, **Cat. Ph23** and **Cat. Ph25**. It is possible that the small statuette head **Cat. Ph26** should be reconstructed as belonging to a figure similarly clad in a pleated Egyptian-type kilt, but lacking the broad collar. All the Sidonian figures show several Egyptian references and can thus be said to have a strong Egyptian impact. This is particularly true for **Cat. Ph22**, possibly excavated in connection with the southern city gate. With its richly decorated kilt and short-sleeved garment, and with the broad decorated collar with decoration rendered in low relief, it stands out not only within the Sidonian group of figures, but in the Phoenician material as a whole. The more well-preserved figures from northern Amrit share the lack of a back-pillar support, and the general omission of the broad collar with the Sidonian figures. In terms of degree of intensity, several pieces have a strong Egyptian impact, with their pleated kilts, and "*devanteaux*" with lateral cobras and sash ends (**Cat. Ph4–9**). The presence of two fragmentary pieces of broad collars indicate that this dress element was not unknown at the site (**Cat. Ph2** and **Cat. Ph3**). In addition, the colossal **Cat. Ph1** wears quite uniquely an "apron-*devanteau*" with rich, interactive ornamentation (see below). However, the majority of the Phoenician Egyptianizing pieces with few Egyptian-type traits comes from this site in particular, and can accordingly be said to have a weaker Egyptian impact.[152]

A second aspect concerns the various transformations of the Egyptian-type dress and ornamentation, alterations which also influence the degree of intensity of Egyptian impact in a given statue or statuette. A certain group of Phoenician figures are dressed in what resembles the Egyptian New

[149] Is this (admittedly hypothetical fact) true also for **Cat. Ph16**? As noted above, this figure is known only through the photograph published by Dunand in 1944–1945. This particular trait was noted among Naukratite statuettes, above, in Ch. 4.1.1. In connection with these examples it was interpreted as a feature indicating a mix of Egyptian and East Greek carving traditions.

[150] The fact that **Cat. Ph24**, from Sidon, is equipped with the back-pillar support does not mean that this must be the case for the other statues and statuettes from the site, **Cat. Ph23** and **Cat. Ph25–27**. On the contrary, no back-pillar supports are mentioned for these figures in the accounts by M. Dunand, compiled by R. Stucky. Sidonian **Cat. Ph22**, possibly found in the southern part of the city, lacks such a support.

[151] The broad kilt hem indicated on the very fragmentary **Cat. Ph36**, from the same site, makes it possible that it was similar in overall appearance to **Cat. Ph33** and **Cat. Ph34**.

[152] Common to **Cat. Ph10–12** and **Cat. Ph14–19** is a largely undecorated kilt, where only two of the figures display additional elements, in both cases (**Cat. Ph10** and **Cat. Ph16**) sash ends.

Kingdom kilt with *devanteau*. In the figures excavated at Sidon we find renderings which in general come close to the Egyptian original dress with its centrally hanging, separate bead- or metal device. In **Cat. Ph22**, the elongated bodies of two cobras create the lateral borders of a "beaded" "*devanteau*", which ends in a thin, horizontal bar placed beneath the rearing bodies of the creatures. Together with the vertical kilt pleats serving as a background for the cobras – further setting them off as part of a separate device – and their beautifully rendered heads and hoods, this is the most delicate rendering in the group of this Egyptian dress element. However, the lower end of the kilt does not echo a frontally hanging *devanteau*, but instead, a kilt with apron – much like in the Cypriote figures described in Ch. 2.4.2. The tapering vertical edges on each side of the *uraei* mark off the whole central area – with vertical pleats, "*devanteau*", cobras, and all – as part of a centrally pendant apron.[153] Three well-modeled and polychrome sash ends are placed on each side of this "*devanteau*". From the published photos it seems that the pleated kilts of **Cat. Ph23** and **Cat. Ph24** had similarly arranged frontal "*devanteaux*" with lateral cobras and sash ends.[154] In one respect, the smaller statuette **Cat. Ph25** displays a *devanteau* which comes closer to the Egyptian original, rendered as a separate object – framed by lateral cobras – set off against the kilt cloth. The placing of the sash ends and the appearance of the cobras, however, diverge more strongly from Egyptian counterparts (see below). Thus, as regards the transformations of the dress as well, the Sidonian figures belong at the far end of the scale, displaying a strong Egyptian impact.

Three statuettes from Amrit have pleated kilts with frontal *devanteaux*. Like the Sidonian **Cat. Ph22**, our **Cat. Ph8** has a "beaded" (belt and) "*devanteau*" which is framed by lateral cobras (*Pl. 16.3*). The rendering in this figure is really that of a separate device hanging in front of the kilt cloth in the Egyptian manner. Note can be made of how the separate, lower part of the *devanteau*, set forward from the rear right leg of the figure, forced the sculptor to make the cobras flat and squeezed back against their own bodies.[155] A similar restriction is even more clearly visible in closely related **Cat. Ph9** (*Pl. 17.1*). It is true that this figure displays a frontal *devanteau* which hangs separately in front of a vertically pleated kilt cloth, thus very similar to Egyptian counterparts. The device is so separated, however, and elevated from the background that the only way to render the rearing cobras was to carve them *on* the *devanteau* itself, facing each other. In the third figure, **Cat. Ph7**, the broad, plain *devanteau* is not set forward from the level of the pleated kilt cloth (*Pls. 15.4 & 16.2*). It is rendered as separate, though, and together with the preserved rearing cobra it presents a rendering of this device which perhaps comes closest, within this study, to the original Egyptian device. All three Amrit figures have three well-modeled sash ends hanging on each side of their *devanteaux*,[156] adding to their strong Egyptian impact.

Cat. Ph29, from Kharayeb, displays a *devanteau* which in shape and outline and with its lateral cobras comes very close to the Egyptian original. The sash ends placed along its sides, however, are curiously misunderstood (see below). The kilt of Tyrian **Cat. Ph31** has a similar combination of the way the Egyptian-type features have been transformed. The two thin cobras hanging vertically from the belt have a set of equally thin, horizontal bars connecting them at intervals. This comes very close to the horizontal spacer bars found on Egyptian counterparts, between which the vertical beads or plaques of the *devanteau* were arranged. In this figure, however, the lower outline of the kilt does not echo the placing of a separate device hanging in front of the kilt. The unifying lower border, closely matching the appearance of the belt of the figure,[157] turns the kilt into what seems to be one single piece of cloth, and reduces the "*devanteau*" to part of its decoration. From the "*devanteau*", on each of its sides, three triangular shapes extend which most probably echo lateral, Egyptian sash ends. In the colossal figure from Sarepta, **Cat. Ph28**, we find a rendering of the Egyptian New Kingdom kilt which has similarly come quite far from the original outfit. A plain belt is placed around the squarish body, holding up a kilt

[153] This combination of features is exactly paralleled in the Cypriote figures from Palaepaphos, **Cat. 52**, **Cat. 53**, and **Cat. 57**.

[154] We may add the unpublished **Cat. Ph27**, of which it is known only that it was 120 cm high (thus similar in size to **Cat. Ph23**) and that it displayed frontally hanging *uraei* on its kilt. Regarding **Cat. Ph24**, it may be possible to discern, on the photo, that the "*devanteau*" was broader at its lower base – in that case reflecting more closely the shape of the Egyptian counterpart.

[155] Comparison can be made with **Cat. Ph22**, where an apron-like background seems to have enabled the sculptor to model the creatures the way he liked.

[156] Three additional figures from the site display what could be said to depict a separate, frontal *devanteau*, but no cobras are rendered in connection with it, and only two of the figures have lateral sash ends or traces thereof. See **Cat. Ph10–12**: the first two figures display lateral sash ends, while **Cat. Ph11** carries a pattern of "beads" on the "*devanteau*", and a row of drop shapes at its lower end.

[157] Both have thin, raised outer ridges, and a pattern of triangles or running zig-zag lines.

with almost horizontal pleats.[158] Centrally on the kilt a set of elements are arranged, ending, at the lower end, in a half-circle, and thus possibly intended as part of a common device. This is true, at least, for the two cobras, hanging from the belt closely set, body to body.[159] They are united, below, by the hanging half-circle. Arranged on each of their sides are three hanging, triangular devices, most probably echoing Egyptian-type sash ends. In this figure the elements of the Egyptian dress are almost not recognizable as such, any more. Like the figures from Kharayeb and Tyre, it displays a combination of several Egyptian-type features (strong Egyptian impact) with quite a high degree of transformation of these very elements of dress and decoration (a weakened impact).

As opposed to the rest of the Eyptianizing statues from that site, **Cat. Ph32** from Umm el-Amed has a kilt which shares features with the New Kingdom kilt with *devanteau*. In front of the kilt cloth there is, in fact, a tapering device which could well be interpreted as the characteristic central *devanteau*. This is confirmed by the two *uraei* with sun disks on their heads, which are placed body to body along its central part. The sculptor remained true to the idea that the sash ends are supposed to flank the cobras, even if this resulted in the unorthodox placing of the sashes *on* the "*devanteau*" itself.[160]

In contrast to the related Cypriote stone figures, several Phoenician Egyptianizing figures have well-rendered versions of the Egyptian *shenti*. The Byblite colossus, **Cat. Ph20** (and, most probably, the related **Cat. Ph21**), has a plain version hanging from a belt, with a squarish apron with tapering sides hanging beneath the overlapping cloth, in the characteristic manner. One single figure from Amrit displays this kind of dress (**Cat. Ph16**), a figure which (from the photo) seems quite roughly hewn and which displays an over-sized, rectangular apron. From the site of Umm el-Amed come four figures, all which share well-carved versions of this plain kind of kilt. **Cat. Ph35** stands slightly apart since its kilt cloth is shown as plain, and is only just overlapping. In contrast, **Cat. Ph33**, **Cat. Ph34**, and the fragmentary **Cat. Ph36**, display *shenti* kilts which thoroughly overlap and have broad hems along the sides of the cloth – in one case (**Cat. Ph33**) even along the rectangular apron. This broad hem is not an Egyptian characteristic, however. Together with **Cat. Ph35**, our **Cat. Ph36** has an apron which is tapering and thus comes closer to the original Egyptian rendering. The *shenti* of the unprovenanced **Cat. Ph38** is unfortunately too damaged to be considered here.

Within the Cypriote material the most common and well-spread version of the Egyptian-type kilt was a hybrid dress. Characteristic for this kilt dress is the way it combines features from the New Kingdom kilt, including the *devanteau* with *uraei* and sash ends, with those of the plain Egyptian *shenti*. This type of garment, displaying a combined apron-*devanteau*, is only encountered in a handful of the related Phoenician figures. The colossal **Cat. Ph1** stands out among the Amrit pieces of sculpture, and indeed within the whole Phoenician group (*Pl. 14.3*). Despite its fragmentary state it displays the clearest example of the (Cypriote) hybrid dress described above. Beneath the belt of the figure there is a pleated kilt cloth which only partly overlaps a tapering "apron". The "apron" is richly decorated, among other things with characteristic *uraei*, and three sash ends are hanging along the sides of the kilt cloth, thus framing it. The dress looks like an opened-up *shenti* kilt, where the uncovered apron has received the decoration which characterizes the Egyptian *devanteau*: the apotropaic panther head, and the *uraei* with sun disks on their heads. The decorated central object could thus best be seen as a hybrid form, termed "apron-*devanteau*". The only additional examples of this hybrid dress, among the Phoenician material, come from the same site, from coastal Amrit. **Cat. Ph4–6** are closely related – although fragmentary – figures, all three of life-size or slightly above that. The most well-preserved, **Cat. Ph5**, has a kilt cloth which almost entirely overlaps the top of a central apron, which characteristically has slightly tapering, vertical sides (*Pl. 15.1*). Two rearing cobras are placed along its center, set only slightly apart. The sides of the kilt cloth are covered by the three characteristic sash ends. **Cat. Ph6** must have had a kilt of virtually identical appearance. The difference noted in **Cat. Ph4** is that the vertical borders of the kilt cloth are obliterated, or left out, allowing for the sash ends to be arranged in direct connection with the thin bodies of the two cobras (*Pl. 14.4*). In all three cases, however, we are dealing with examples of a hybrid dress where an apron-like ("textile") feature carries the decoration of the Egyptian ("bead" or "metal") *devanteau*; thus constituting true "apron-*devanteaux*".[161] Another handful of statues and

[158] Compare the pleats of the kilts of **Cat. Ph28** and the unprovenanced **Cat. Ph38**. The only correspondence in the Cypriote material are the pleats on the kilt of animal-carrying **Cat. 62**, of unknown provenance.

[159] In this figure, there is no trace of the actual "*devanteau*", and the cobras have lost their lateral functions, turning into decorative elements in their own right.

[160] This characteristic rendering is found in only two other figures in the study, both large scale, and both excavated at Golgoi, on Cyprus: **Cat. 21** and **Cat. 22**.

[161] Similar to **Cat. Ph1**, **Cat. Ph4** carries traces of a decorated lower border on its "apron-*devanteau*" – a feature found on several Cypriote kilts, echoing the lower ends of Egyptian

statuettes from the site, all plain and undecorated, seem to display this kind of hybrid kilt. **Cat. Ph14** displays what looks like an uncovered apron, only partly overlapped by the sides of the kilt cloth (*Pl. 18.4*). Its tapering "apron" is undecorated, however.[162] The same is true for the fragmentary statuette **Cat. Ph17**, and possibly also for **Cat. Ph19** (*Pls. 19.4 & 20.4*).[163] It is probably in the light of this group that the kilt of the much-weathered, animal-carrying **Cat. Ph15** shall be seen, together with the very fragmentary and plain **Cat. Ph18** (*Pls. 19.2 & 20.2*).

The Egyptian sash ends are seldom omitted from the Phoenician figures, whose dress is inspired by the New Kingdom kilt. The shape and placement of these items are usually well-understood. In **Cat. Ph1**, however, the lower ends of the sashes are tapering in an opposite manner (*Pl. 14.3*). So are, in fact, the lower ends of the sashes found on **Cat. Ph32**, from Umm el-Amed – where the placing of these features is *on* the *devanteau*, rather than along its sides. The faint incisions on the left-hand side of the kilt of the Amrit statuette **Cat. Ph11** reveal awkwardly placed sash ends, a placing more or less paralleled in the Sidonian statuette **Cat. Ph25**. The curious shape of the "sash ends" of **Cat. Ph31** and **Cat. Ph28**, from Tyre and Sarepta, respectively, were described above. Note shall be made again, however, of the way in which these sashes emanate not vertically from the belt, but rather horizontally (especially in **Cat. Ph31**) from along the cobra bodies. With **Cat. Ph29**, from Kharayeb, we reach a kilt with *devanteau* with lateral "sash ends" of quite particular appearance. The triangular incision at the lower end of each "sash" gives the impression that what is depicted is rather one large piece of cloth which had been folded in order to create tapering pleats. Whether this is merely an impression created by a decoration placed randomly on these sashes, or whether it reflects a misunderstanding of these Egyptian characteristics by way of the sculptor, is quite impossible to tell.

Within the Egyptianizing repertoire, the kilt, with its additional elements, offers most opportunities for transformations to take place. Additional remarks can be made, however, in connection with three other dress elements. The broad decorated collars encountered in the Phoenician figures correspond quite well with the Egyptian original ones, in shape as well as in placement. An exception is the fragmentary collar found on **Cat. Ph28**, from Sarepta, where standing drop shapes framed beneath by a row of dots in relief would hardly be possible to identify as the outer row of an Egyptian-type collar were it not for their placement on the figure.[164] Turning to the headgear encountered within the group, we note that there is a squat double crown placed on the head of **Cat. Ph13**, from Amrit. As in so many of the Cypriote figures, the headgear is far from the towering Egyptian royal double crown, but is instead short and rounded. The top of the inner "white crown" ends in a large, circular knob. In contrast is the very well-rendered – although fragmentary – crown worn by **Cat. Ph26**, from Sidon. The upper part of the headgear is unfortunately damaged, but it seems clear that this was not a squat version, but rather originally a close imitation of an Egyptian royal crown, whether the white or the blue. The small, rectangular edge of the crown which comes down in front of the ears closely echoes the way the towering headgear was kept in place in Egyptian depictions, and the thin *uraeus* arranged in a large loop at the center of the lowermost part of the crown comes very close to Egyptian counterparts.[165] The photo through which this figure is known suggests that the tail of the cobra continues upwards, frontally, towards the top of the crown. If this is the case, it marks even closer the ancestry of the creature – and the strong Egyptian impact of this rendering. Quite uniquely, the unprovenanced **Cat. Ph38** is wearing an Egyptian-type *nemes* headcloth. The undecorated *nemes* has a general shape which resembles the Egyptian counterpart, including the frontal "flaps" which are hanging on the shoulders of the figure. In fact, these "flaps" are of diminutive scale. Since the breast muscles of the figure are curiously rectangular in shape, rather resembling such *nemes* "flaps", one could ask whether this shape was due to confusion on the part of the sculptor. It is true, that the frontal rearing *uraeus*, so characteristic for the Pharaonic headdress, has been rendered above the frontal brim of the headcloth, a brim which runs along the forehead of the figure. The brim ends, however, well below and in front of the figure's ears, a rendering which gives the awkward impression of ears protruding from the cloth itself. Just like the Kharayeb, Tyre, and Sarepta statues referred to above, **Cat. Ph38** displays the presence of several Egyptian features (a strong Egyptian impact) which are, however, very transformed in shape (and thus, a weakened impact).

counterparts (which were merely decorated by a row of hanging drop shapes). The indications preserved on **Cat. Ph1** suggest a different vegetal, or figural, decoration.

[162]Unless, of course, decorative elements were painted on.

[163]The lack of decoration on this figure, or even of traces of the outline of the dress, makes it difficult to postulate anything with certainty.

[164]As we saw above, the same was true for the elements of the kilt in this colossal statue.

[165]We saw above that the Egyptian-type eye of this fragmentary figurine is well-rendered as well. We also noted, however, the way the border beneath the crown – if, indeed, an indication of hair – diverges from the Egyptian standard rendering.

We have already noted the shape and placement of the *uraei* on the front of Egyptian-type headdresses within the Phoenician material (**Cat. Ph26** and **Cat. Ph38**). We have also seen that a majority of the cobras depicted on the kilts of the Egyptianizing figures characteristically carry the sun disk on their heads. In their general shape, the Phoenician serpents come close to the elongated Egyptian counterparts, which are placed along the sides of bead- or metal *devanteaux*. In a handful of renderings, however, the cobras diverge to a larger degree from the creatures encountered in Egyptian iconography. In **Cat. Ph1**, the two large cobras emerge from the sides of the "panther" head, not from the belt of the statue (*Pl. 14.3*). On their way down towards the end of the "apron", the broad bodies are crossing. Both carry a chain pattern of faint, incised lozenges.[166] The well-preserved right-hand creature shows that the two snakes were winged, the vertical feathers awkwardly following the outline of the upper body, or cobra hood.[167] Hanging from the same spot, from the side of the "panther" head, are two additional snakes, long and thin in appearance and coiling, rearing outwards away from each other, in this reflecting the placement of the larger relatives. In both the shape, number, and placing of the cobras **Cat. Ph1** comes very close to Cypriote counterparts, but is distinctly differing from the Egyptian original outfit and its decoration. As we saw above, in two cases, the cobras are instead placed tightly together along the center of the kilt (**Cat. Ph28**, from Sarepta, and **Cat. Ph32**, from Umm el-Amed).[168] We further noted an unorthodox positioning of the reptiles on **Cat. Ph9**, from Amrit, where they are turned inwards, instead, thus facing each other (*Pl. 17.1*). It was suggested that the placement could be due to the actual limitations of the outline of the raised "*devanteau*" of this particular figure. In three cases, found on statues from Sidon and Amrit, respectively, the cobras have been rendered with open mouths, in a manner which suggests them to be living creatures, and not merely ornamental dress details. The "cobras" on the Sidonian statuette **Cat. Ph25** are particularly expressive,[169] less so the Amrit ones on the kilts of **Cat. Ph5** and **Cat. Ph7**.

Rounding off the treatment of the transformations of the dress elements and ornaments of the Phoenician figures, we note that the small leonine head placed apotropaically on top of the "apron-*devanteau*" of **Cat. Ph1**, from Amrit, comes rather close in appearance to the Egyptian equivalent, the small panther head – as was the case with certain of the Cypriote figures. Like the Egyptian panther, this head is rendered with small ears placed on the sides of the head, with obliquely placed and fierce-looking eyes and a small rectangular nose. What must be noted, however, is that the lower part of the small head, although slightly weathered, seems to display a broad mouth from which a tongue extends. The mouth thus rather seems to be that of a grinning, Greek-type gorgon head. If this interpretation of the slightly abraded area of the stone is correct, we find here a virtual fusion of two apotropaic elements: the Egyptian panther and the Greek gorgon.

From the above it is clear that the statues and statuettes from Sidon display a particularly strong Egyptian impact. This is true for some of the Amrit figures as well, but the transformations witnessed in several of these votives – often closely corresponding to the alterations witnessed in the Cypriote group of figures – place these particular renderings further from the Egyptian counterparts. Amrit is more or less the only Phoenician site to display figures with very weak Egyptian impact in terms of the number of Egyptian-type dress elements and ornaments. At all other sites treated, the general Egyptianizing figure displays several Egyptian-type traits – including the characteristic back-pillar support. While some of these elements of dress and ornamentation are well rendered, confirming the strong Egyptian impact of these figures,[170] others are transformed in a manner which places them very far from the Egyptian counterparts they (originally) echoed. In these figures there is often the combination of a very strong, and very weak, Egyptian impact. It is only at Amrit and Sidon that we encounter examples of transformed dress elements which were found to be characteristic to Cyprus: the hybrid kilt with combined apron-*devanteau* and the squat double crown. **Cat. Ph1** shares not only the outline of the kilt with several of the Cypriote figures but also the double pair of cobras – of which one pair is crossing – and the apotropaic head placed right beneath the belt. There was, in fact, close correspondence between the rendering of the kilt of a figure from Sidon (**Cat. Ph22**) and the related group of figures unearthed at Palaepaphos, on Cyprus.[171]

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[166] For this pattern on Cypriote statuary, see above, Ch. 2.2.2.

[167] For a parallel rendering from the Cypriote horizon, see **Cat. 50**, from Amathus.

[168] The central placement of the cobras on **Cat. Ph5**, **Cat. Ph6**, but especially on **Cat. Ph4**, all from Amrit, seems similar.

[169] The general quality of execution of this figure is markedly lower than the rest of the Sidonian (large-scale) material. It is perhaps to this fact that we owe the schematic rendering of the body of the figure, the appearance of the "living" cobras, and the awkward position of the sash ends (see above).

[170] With their back-pillar supports and plain *shenti* kilts, some of these figures come very close to Egyptian stone statuary. See below, in Ch. 5.1.3.

[171] See above n. 153.

4.3.6 Internal groupings (Table 4)

The Egyptianizing figures found in Phoenicia have been brought together because of shared elements of dress and ornamentation. It is quite a heterogeneous group of material, however. It may even be that they do not all represent votive statuary. The two pair sculptures from Byblos, **Cat. Ph20** and **Cat. Ph21**, may instead have been part of a (sacred) architectural complex, found in a flanking position in connection with an entrance. The same has been suggested for **Cat. Ph28**, from Sarepta. A statue found at Umm el-Amed (**Cat. Ph35**) most probably shows, however, that flanking figures placed outside sanctuary doorways could indeed be dedicated, that is, serve as votive sculpture. Within this heterogeneous group of figures, I believe it possible to distinguish three more or less distinct groups, however. I end the formal description of the Phoenician Egyptianizing pieces by accounting for those relations which seem possible to identify.

A first group of figures (group 1 A) are characterized by squarish bodies, schematically rendered musculature, arms which are flat and inorganically attached to the sides of the shoulders, and unproportionately large heads. These figures have in common the way they display several Egyptian features and dress elements, including the back-pillar support. Despite the fact that the dress elements are relatively well-understood, they are often transformed and quite dissimilar to the Egyptian original devices. The above regards **Cat. Ph20** and **Cat. Ph21**, from Byblos, **Cat. Ph28** from Sarepta, and **Cat. Ph38**, of unknown provenance.

A second group (group 1 B) similarly share the back-pillar support, and the large amount of Egyptian dress elements displayed in their outfit. Here, too, the renderings of the dress features diverge markedly from the Egyptian counterparts. The group is characterized by a body rendering which is quite rough, the naked upper part of the body slightly rectangular in outline, while muscles are quite well delineated. The figures from Umm el-Amed, **Cat. Ph32–34** are placed in this group, beside **Cat. Ph29** and **Cat. Ph30**, from Kharayeb, and **Cat. Ph31** from Tyre.

Common to both this and the previous group is the fact that the arms of the figures are attached to the body and are not freed from it (the waist) at any point. In common for the two groups is further the rendering of a naked upper part of the body, and the way the indications of dress and jewelry in the stone generally continue around the back sides of the figures to the back-pillar support.

A third group of figures (group 2) consists of statues and statuettes which generally lack a back-pillar support, have plain body surfaces, and wear the (pleated) kilt decorated by cobras. The Sidonian figures **Cat. Ph22–25**, and **Cat. Ph1** and **Cat. Ph4–9**, found at Amrit, are included here.[172] Some, if not all, of these figures have in common the presence of a short-sleeved garment, and the way their back sides have been mostly left undecorated. Quite a few of them have arms which are (partly) free from the body.

Three figures require special attention. Even though **Cat. Ph22**, from Sidon, was included in the above grouping, it is unparalleled within the Phoenician group of figures through certain details of its rendering. It is the only well-preserved figure in the group to have a broad decorated collar with the characteristic Egyptian New Kingdom combination of persea fruits, triangles, and hanging drop shapes.[173] It displays, in a similarly unique manner, a related floral border along the lower part of its short-sleeved garment. The details of the kilt dress of the figure are particularly well-carved, and close to the original Egyptian dress. In addition, it is the only example known to me, among the statues excavated in Phoenicia, which displays paint added in a manner to enhance detail, referred to in this study as the use of "color as pattern". Turning to **Cat. Ph1**, from Amrit, we note that it, too, is unique within the Phoenician group of figures. It is the only example which presents the hybrid dress which could be described as an opened-up *shenti* kilt, which uncovers a decorated hybrid "apron-*devanteau*", equipped with lateral sash ends. It follows that the ornaments of this uncovered "apron" – the apotropaic "panther" head, the crossing, winged *uraei*, and the additional pair of thin, coiling snakes – are unknown from the rest of the material found along the Phoenician coast. So are the beaded hems of the borders of the kilt cloth of this figure.[174] **Cat. Ph26**, finally, a small statuette head excavated at Bostan esh-Sheikh, also stands out, in this case because it comes so close to Egyptian counterparts. Despite its being merely the head of a figure, and although it is damaged, enough is preserved to render this figure unique in terms of how closely it imitates Egyptian original features. Unlike the only other known royal crown within the material (**Cat. Ph13**, from Amrit), this damaged crown seems to have been much closer in shape to the towering Egyptian royal headdress. The general shape of the crown, and the way it comes down in front of the ear of the figure, indicate this. The shape and placement of the coiling *uraeus* at the base of the

[172] **Cat. Ph24** is the only exception within the group, leaning, as it does, against a back-pillar support.

[173] The collar has an additional register containing large lilies and small paradise flowers linked with curving loops.

[174] It is not unknown on Cyprus, however: see **Cat. 20** from the western site at Golgoi (Ayios Photios) – and a colossal Herakles Melqart figure from the same site (Ch. 2.2.2).

crown is unparalleled in the rest of the material, as is the preserved Egyptian-type eye displayed by the small statuette.

4.4 The Egyptianizing stone statuary in Phoenicia: find places and archaeological information

The Phoenician city states were situated along the coastline, or on islands just outside it. The larger cities, each with its own royal dynasty, controlled a surrounding area. The territories varied greatly in size during the period concerned here, due to political changes during periods of Assyrian, neo-Babylonian, and Persian interference. These changes, and their effects on the Phoenician city states and their territories, will not be discussed in detail here, but will be returned to briefly below in connection with certain sites. The order of presentation of the find sites of the Phoenician Egyptianizing figures will simply be north to south. The reader will find an account of the Egyptianizing figures in connection with each site, including attempts at dating the pieces.

4.4.1 The sites: an overview (Fig. 18 & Table 3)

On virtually all of the Phoenician find sites, remains of a temple complex have been unearthed. One of the more well preserved is the temple at Amrit, situated only a few hundred meters from the sea, beside the river Nahr Amrit. The temple, together with the nearby necropoleis and other installations, was part of the inland expansion of the inhabitants of one of the main Phoenician cities, Arados, situated on a small island (modern Arwad) just off the coast. The temple was orientated north–south, with access from the north, facing the small river. In a *favissa* found less than 100 meters from the temple complex, the majority of the statues and statuettes excavated at the site were found. Among the several hundred excavated fragments, 19 can be identified as belonging to Egyptianizing figures.[175]

At Byblos, in the 6th century B.C., ancient temples coexisted with newer structures. A temple attributed to the local goddess, Baalat Gubal, was situated at the center of the ancient mound, adjacent to the royal cemetery. Judging by depository finds, the temple seems to have been constructed already during the period of the Egyptian Old Kingdom, and substantially rebuilt during the Middle Kingdom period. In direct connection to this temple a much later structure was unearthed, a sanctuary area termed "Bâtiment I" by the excavator. In connection with one of the entrances of this structure, several colossal sculptures were found *in situ*, among others **Cat. Ph20** and **Cat. Ph21**.

One of the foremost of the Phoenician cities, Sidon, possessed a large sanctuary area situated about three kilometers to the north of the city limits, beside the river Nahr el-Awali. Not much is known of the temple structure itself, other than that it was erected on a monumental podium. A large amount of stone statuary was excavated in connection to this complex, placed in *favissae* or incorporated in the fill material used when a second, larger, podium was built. Among the earlier material from the site were the Egyptianizing **Cat. Ph23–27**. A sixth figure, **Cat. Ph22**, has "Sidon" as its reported provenance. Whether it was once displayed in the sanctuary just described, or in one of the other (to us unknown) sacred precincts within the large city, remains unknown.[176]

The single find of a colossal figure wearing Egyptian-type dress (**Cat. Ph28**) was reported in 1857, from the coastal village of Sarafand.[177] The site corresponds to the ancient city of Sarepta, and the find thus indicates the presence of a larger sacred (?) structure within or just outside the city – of which no further remains are known.[178]

Amrit	**Cat. Ph1** **Cat. Ph2** **Cat. Ph3** **Cat. Ph4** **Cat. Ph5** **Cat. Ph6** **Cat. Ph7**	**Cat. Ph8** **Cat. Ph9** **Cat. Ph10** **Cat. Ph11** **Cat. Ph12** **Cat. Ph13** **Cat. Ph14**	**Cat. Ph15** **Cat. Ph16** **Cat. Ph17** **Cat. Ph18** **Cat. Ph19**
Byblos	**Cat. Ph20**	**Cat. Ph21**	
Sidon	**Cat. Ph22**		
Sidon (Bostan esh-Sheikh)	**Cat. Ph23** **Cat. Ph24**	**Cat. Ph25** **Cat. Ph26**	**Cat. Ph27**
Sarepta	**Cat. Ph28**		
Kharayeb	**Cat. Ph29**	**Cat. Ph30**	
Tyre	**Cat. Ph31**		
Umm el-Amed	**Cat. Ph32** **Cat. Ph33**	**Cat. Ph34** **Cat. Ph35**	**Cat. Ph36** **Cat. Ph37**
Unknown	**Cat. Ph38**		

Table 3. Distribution of Egyptianizing stone sculpture in Phoenicia.

[175] See the colossal **Cat. Ph1**, the life-size **Cat. Ph4–6**, followed by statuettes **Cat. Ph2**, **Cat. Ph3**, and **Cat. Ph7–19**.

[176] Asmar 1997; Nunn 2000, 237, on the different areas of excavation at which material later forming the so-called Collection Ford was unearthed. **Cat. Ph22** is part of this collection of objects.

[177] The statue was purchased at Sarafand in 1857 by E.G. Rey, who was told that it had been found on the coast by the village: Rey 1880, 2.

[178] The presence on the site of a small sanctuary dedicated to Astarte-Tanit will be returned to briefly, below.

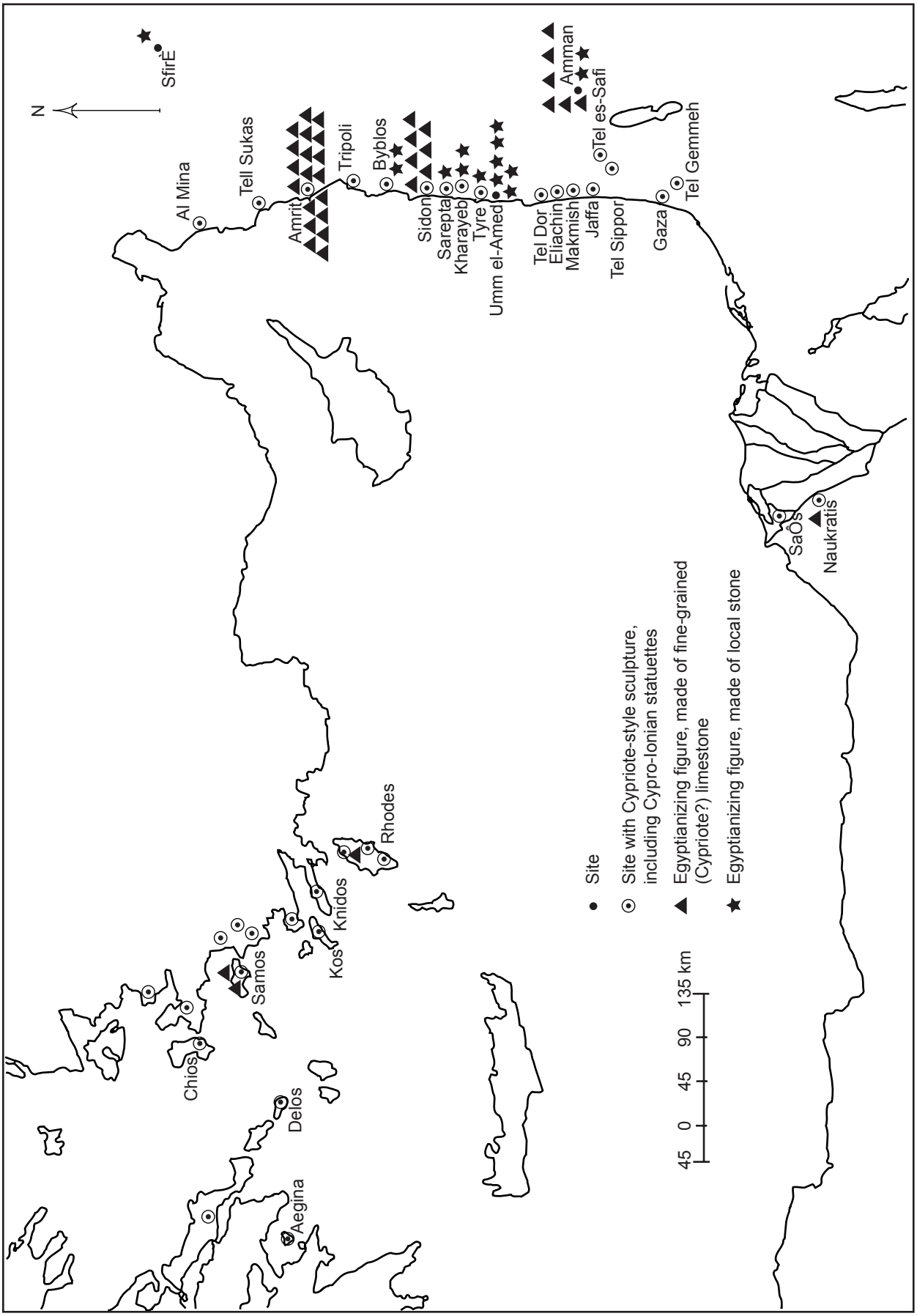


Fig. 18. Map of the Eastern Mediterranean area.

A few kilometers southeast of Sarepta, near the inland village of Kharayeb (situated some five kilometers from the sea) a rectangular temple structure was brought to light in 1946. The corners of the building face the four cardinal points, and outside its southwestern long wall there was a paved court. On the court, and in a *favissa* dug only about ten meters from the temple, large amounts of terracotta figures and figurines were discovered. It was on the outer, paved court that **Cat. Ph29** and **Cat. Ph30**, virtually the only stone figures found at the site, were encountered.

Similar to the colossal **Cat. Ph28**, said to have come from Sarafand, **Cat. Ph31** represents a single, fortuitous find. It was purchased in modern Sur in the late 19th century (?). None of the temples of the important island city state of Tyre has been located, or excavated.[179] That the statuette was dedicated in one of these, or in a sanctuary situated in the mainland part of the city, is more than probable.

The last site to be noted lies on the coast as well, 19 kilometers south of Tyre, eight kilometers north of Akhzib. Known as Umm el-Amed it preserves remains not only of two ancient sanctuary complexes, but also of the surrounding settlement and necropoleis. Apart from Byzantine structures, including a church placed within one of the sanctuaries, the ancient site was never extensively rebuilt or resettled, and its remains were therefore remarkably well preserved at the time of excavation. Some 500 meters from the sea, perched on an elevated mound, the two sanctuaries lie in line, about 160 meters from each other, on an east-west axis. The first, western, complex had two entrances, the main one seemingly from the east. The slightly smaller, eastern, equivalent has three entrances, of which the main ones seem to have been from the west and east. Of the six pieces of Egyptianizing statuary found at the site,[180] only one figure (**Cat. Ph35**) has a reported provenance: it was found just outside the main entrance to the western temple complex.

4.4.2 The find places

Amrit

The importance of water for the cult practiced at Amrit becomes evident when considering the placing of the sanctuary on the south bank of the river Nahr Amrit, in connection with a fresh-water well. The temple complex was carved from the native rock itself, a large, hollowed out rectangular basin, leaving a monumental pedestal of rock in its center.[181] On top of the square pedestal a niche was built. The basin, which was three meters deep and fed with water from the nearby well, was surrounded by porticoes on its east, south, and west sides.[182] The fact that the material removed when creating the basin was seemingly used for the square pillars of the porticoes has led to the assumption that the temple complex was constructed within a limited period of time and not, as has sometimes been argued, in a gradual manner.[183] The correspondence in decoration of the various architectural units of the structure seems to confirm this as well.[184] Running around the architrave of both porticoes and niche, and decorating the two tower-like structures which marked the northern edges of the portico was a row of crenellations. The central niche displays an Egyptian-type *cavetto* molding. Most probably the elevated niche thus surrounded by water symbolized the abode of the deity worshipped here, whether or not rendered as a three-dimensional image.[185] A platform placed inside the water basin, along its northernmost edge, preserves traces of an altar foundation.[186] Facing the opening of the niche, this seems to have been the focal point of cultic activity within the complex.[187]

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[179] See, however, a complex referred to by Émir M. Chéhab in a conference proceeding from 1983: Chéhab 1983, 171.

[180] **Cat. Ph32–34**, **Cat. Ph36**, and **Cat. Ph37** were excavated by E. Renan in the middle of the 19th century, and taken to the Louvre. **Cat. Ph35** was found during the excavations by M. Dunand and R. Duru between 1942–1945, and is currently in the Beirut National Museum.

[181] The temple at Amrit has been well studied and treated in recent literature: Wagner 1980, 2–8; Dunand & Saliby 1985; Lembke forthcoming.

[182] A reconstruction drawing is presented in Dunand & Saliby 1985, pl. 63.

[183] Lembke 2001b, 18.

[184] Lembke 2001b, 18.

[185] Several Phoenician miniature *naiskoi*, representing the actual cultic center of a sanctuary, are known from the Phoenician mainland (see below, Ch. 5.2.2). Empty *naiskoi* are known, as are those occupied by an anthropomorphic figure, or by an empty throne flanked by sphinxes. For the identity of the monumental niche at Amrit as the abode of the god, and the correspondence of Phoenician and Punic miniature *naiskoi*: Bisi 1971, 21; Ciafaloni 1995, 538–539, 548. On this attested combination – within Phoenician religion – of aniconism *and* the desire to render the deity anthropomorphically, see, for example: Mettinger 1997, 194–198.

[186] See the plan in Dunand & Saliby 1985, pl. 61.

[187] E. Renan in fact discovered a similar sanctuary area, some 600 meters south of the "Maabed", or "temple" (a term used to refer to the Amrit sanctuary). In a water basin fed by a nearby well, two large limestone niches were placed around ten meters apart, facing each other. The frieze of *uraei* carved along the top of one of the monuments seems to have given the site its local name "Ayn el-Hayyat" or "Well of the snakes": Renan 1864, 68–70, pl. 9; Wagner 1980, 8–10. Since the time of the French scholar's visit and description, these installations have been almost completely destroyed. They testify, however, to contemporary cultic activity of a kind related to that at the

Of the statuary which was once dedicated in connection with the altar and in the surrounding porticoes,[188] only a handful was excavated within the temple structure itself. A mere 12 fragments were found at the bottom of the central basin. Masses of sculptural fragments were found, instead, within a limited area situated about 100 meters west of the temple. The 12 pieces found in the water basin seem to range in date between the early 6th and the 4th centuries B.C., a range mirrored by material unearthed in the nearby rich deposit. The excavator of the *favissa* stated that he found no indications of different phases of deposition of material, but rather a find situation which indicated one single (late) emptying of the temple.[189] Against this background it has been assumed that the sanctuary was constructed and cult initiated at least before the second quarter of the 6th century, and that cultic activity continued into the late 4th century B.C.[190] Finds of pottery from inside the temple area, which reaches in date into the 3rd century B.C., suggest additional activity at the site. No sculptural remains are known from this later period, however.[191]

After studying and describing the monuments of Amrit, in 1861, the French scholar Ernest Renan reported the finds of scattered, fragmentary statuettes in the vicinity of the "Maabed", or temple.[192] No doubt, what had been discovered was part of the *favissa*, which was later to be rediscovered and extensively excavated. Unfortunately, the whereabouts of the 60 heads reported to have been collected at the site are, for the major part, unknown today.[193] They were said to range in size from five to 15 centimeters.[194] In 1926, Maurice Dunand was attracted to the site by reports of finds of fragmentary statues and statuettes. By noting the high concentration of finds and recognizing that the pieces unearthed seemed to have been deliberately broken in antiquity, he identified the locality as a *favissa*. Four hundred and fifty-six fragments were unearthed during a short excavation campaign, the vast majority being pieces of limestone statuary mixed with single marble and terracotta fragments.[195] Apart from describing the 121 better preserved entries, Dunand reported the amount of fragmentary heads[196] and limbs and the number of pieces which were altogether unidentifiable.[197] Almost 30 years later the French archaeologist returned to the site, excavating inside the temple structure[198] and again in the *favissa* area. Another 200 fragments were unearthed, material which has remained largely unpublished.[199] In the initial publication of the *favissa* material, M. Dunand noted that the white and fine-grained limestone of the statuettes was not identical to the local kind of stone from which the temple had been constructed. Indeed, the harder and more coarse-grained local limestone (*ramleh*), he stated, was less well suited for carving statuary.[200] He noted the strong similarities to Cypriote limestone and that the technique evident in the figures as well recalled statuary from the nearby island. Very recently, stone analyses have been carried out on the Amrit statuary material, analyses which may be able to determine the provenance of the whitish limestone. The results will be presented by K. Lembke and C. Xenophontos in connection with the republication of the statuary material from the site.[201]

nearby "Maabed". Regarding the correspondences in cult, a suggestion by E. Puech can be noted: Puech 1986, 336, 338.

188The sculptural material from the temple at Amrit is the subject of a forthcoming study by K. Lembke: *Die Skulpturen aus dem phönizischen Heiligtum von Amrit – ein Beitrag zur Erforschung phönizischer Skulptur*. This publication is referred to regarding all matters regarding the site.

189Dunand 1944–1945, 100; Lembke 2001b, 21. The subsequent pillaging of stone for construction material could have contributed to what seems to be a systematic emptying of the votive contents at the sacred site: Lembke forthcoming.

190Lembke 2001b, 18–21. For the terminal date: Dunand & Saliby 1985, 48.

191Dunand & Saliby 1985, 48; Lembke 2001b, 21.

192In his "Additions et corrections" Renan cites information from two gentlemen, Mr. Gaillardot and Mr. Péretié, on the discoveries made in the vicinity of the Maabed: Renan 1864, 849–872.

193A probable exception is a well-preserved, beardless head of a large Herakles Melqart statuette, kept today in the National Museum in Copenhagen: Riis *et al.* 1989, 88–90, no. 70.

194Renan 1864, 850–851.

195Dunand 1944–1945, 100; Dunand 1946–1948, 85–86, pls. 39.89–90, 40.92. Neither pottery nor metal was found in the *favissa*.

196Dunand found 27 heads. He added to them the 60 heads reported from the 19th-century explorations and noted the close correspondence in number to the 98 torsos he had recently identified: Dunand 1946–1948, 90.

197Among the very fragmentary material were 82 pieces of legs, 57 arms (of which 34 carrying votive animals or objects), around 50 pieces belonging to torsos, 11 heads, and 150 fragments which remained unidentifiable: Dunand 1946–1948, 86.

198The 12 pieces of statuary from the water basin were unearthed during this campaign.

199Some pieces are reproduced in Dunand & Saliby 1985, among others **Cat. Ph8** (pl. 44). For the available information on the find spots of the figures (the 12 pieces from the water basin): Lembke forthcoming.

200Dunand 1946–1948, 90–91; Dunand & Saliby 1985, 49, where the stone is more correctly termed "calcarenite" instead of the Arabic term *ramleh*. For more on this local, poros stone, encountered along the entire Levantine coast, see below in the section on "Umm el-Amed".

201See above n. 24, where it was noted that the analyses have confirmed the Cypriote origin of the stone in a large number of statues and statuettes from the site. See, in addition, below, in Ch. 4.5.2.

Apart from a very limited amount of small-scale architectural elements unearthed in the *favissa*[202] and an occasional lion statuette,[203] the material found at the site comprised only male, standing figures, mostly of limited size. The most common type is the figure clad in a tight-fitting, short-sleeved tunic, to which a mantle is soon added, draped as to leave one shoulder bare. Judging from the stylistic range of this type of figure, it was favored throughout the whole period of religious activities at the site.[204] In 1993, C. Jourdain-Annequin estimated that of the 154 male torsos found at the site, 21 were parts of Herakles Melqart figures.[205] This figural type characteristically depicts a beardless man clad in a tunic and a lion skin who is brandishing a club and holding a small lion in his left hand. The type is well known on Cyprus where it seems to have been introduced only towards the end of the 6th century B.C., being current throughout the following century. The related figures from Amrit seem to mirror this chronological range. It is interesting to note, however, the presence of at least one earlier (fragmentary) type of "Herakles" figure,[206] with lion skin, tresses of hair, a bow under his left arm, and possibly a quiver on his back.[207] Another common type unearthed at the site is the male figure wearing Egyptian-type kilt, sometimes equipped with *uraei*. As noted above, 19 figures or fragments are known to us. In addition, a handful of naked male statuettes was found,[208] as well as a few examples of "pair sculpture", where a larger, mantle-clad figure is accompanied by a much smaller one (a child?), placed along the lower part of the larger figure's leg.[209] Common to numerous mantle- and kilt-wearing figures is their pose and equipment: while carrying a votive animal under the left arm, the right forearm is often raised in a gesture of adoration,[210] where the palm of the hand was most probably turned outwards.[211] In several cases remains of a small, round support left in the stone in connection with the right shoulder is still visible, spared in order to enable the carving of the raised arm.[212] The votive animal is generally a (he-) goat. It has been noted that the male votive categories identified at the Amrit sanctuary include what could be considered as mixed types.[213] It is true that the votive limestone figure with a raised right forearm is known but not well documented on Cyprus, which otherwise does seem to be the typological and stylistic "home" of most Amrit figures. And the kilt-wearing figure carrying an animal under his left arm while raising his right one is unknown on the island,[214] while encountered in one single additional example from along the Phoenician coast.[215] Unparalleled elsewhere is also the way the Herakles Melqart figure is found holding another small animal, not the usual lion but possibly a small goat[216] – as if he was

[202] Dunand 1946–1948, 87–88, pl. 42: a small altar, two small, identical papyrus capitals, and what looks like an incense burner with rows of drooping petals – all made of limestone.

[203] The lions presented separately in the *favissa* publication (13 entries) seem to have been of very limited size, and thus once belonged to Herakles Melqart figures. The only exception, as far as I can judge, is Dunand's no. 107, a seated limestone lion reaching 44 cm in height: Dunand 1946–1948, 87, pl. 39.107.

[204] Compare Dunand 1944–1945, pls. 24.33–34, 26.42–46, 29.54; and Dunand 1946–1948, pl. 32.61 (where the upper part of the body is seemingly naked).

[205] Jourdain-Annequin 1993, 72. It seems, but is not entirely clear, that the additional 200 pieces of statuary, excavated from 1954 and onwards by Dunand, are included in this figure. Cf. Dunand & Saliby 1985, 40, who state that 18 Herakles Melqart figures were found at Amrit.

[206] Dunand 1944–1945, 105, pl. 22.32 (the Tartus Museum, Inv. no. 788).

[207] There are several parallels from Cypriote Idalion and Golgoi for this early type: Senff 1993, pl. 46.a–d (with Archaic tresses and quiver on the back); Cesnola 1885, pls. 87.580 (bow in the left hand), 87.574 (bow under the left arm), 87.576 (a quiver (?) under the arm, painted red). The "tresses" on the shoulders of the Amrit Herakles figure could instead be similar to the enigmatic, flap-like devices found on two of the Golgoi Herakles figures: Cesnola 1885, pls. 87.580, 88.585 (the latter one being the colossal, bearded Herakles statue unearthed at the western site at Ayios Photios). J.L. Myres took these "flaps" for parts of an Egyptian-type wig: Myres 1914, 173.

[208] Dunand 1944–1945, 102, pl. 14.2–3; Dunand & Saliby 1985, pls. 47.1–2, 48.1, 51.1, 54.5.

[209] Dunand 1944–1945, pl. 14.1; Dunand 1946–1948, 82, pl. 33.65–66.

[210] For (slightly) more on this characteristic pose in front of the deity, see below in the section on "Umm el-Amed".

[211] Admittedly, in all such figures, the (raised) right forearm and hand are lacking.

[212] This is true for **Cat. Ph8**, as well as for two of the (published) mantle-wearing figures: Dunand 1944–1945, pls. 25.40, 26.44. For more on this matter: Dunand 1946–1948, 99. In contrast to M. Dunand, I do not think that nos. 48 and 50 were extending their right arms forward, but rather that they, too, had it piously raised.

[213] Lembke 2001b, 19.

[214] The right arm of the unprovenanced, kilt-wearing, animal-carrying **Cat. 62** seems to have been hanging along the side of the body, but the arm is missing from slightly below the shoulder, and the piece is unfortunately not available for additional study. The only other animal-carrying, kilt-clad figures known from Cyprus come from Golgoi (Ayios Photios), and the area of Kition (**Cat. 39** and **Cat. 45**). It is not impossible that **Cat. 62** was among the statuary unearthed at the sanctuary at Pyla, situated within the Kition territory.

[215] See the colossal **Cat. Ph24**, from Sidon. It is true that **Cat. Ph29**, from Kharayeb, may be holding an animal under his left arm, while his right one does not seem to have been hanging along the side of the body. Judging from the photo, however, the arm was not raised but perhaps rather extended forwards? This all remains hypothetical.

[216] This was noted by C. Jourdain-Annequin in connection with a well-preserved Herakles Melqart figure from the site: Jourdain-Annequin 1993, 73, pl. 8.1 (the Tartus Museum, Inv. no. 225, figure reconstructed with head). Cf. Dunand 1944–1945, 104, pl. 20.21, who identified the traces in the left hand and on the

carrying a votive gift and not a (miniature) reference to a heroic fight. Furthermore, the male, mantle-wearing figure with the (fragmentary) right arm raised as if brandishing a club is similarly unique to the site.[217] The apparent confusion between the Egyptian-type kilt and the lower part of the dress of certain Herakles Melqart figures is,[218] however, known to have occurred on Cyprus as well.[219]

Among the Egyptianizing statues and statuettes from the site,[220] four figures stand out because of their large size. The very fragmentary **Cat. Ph1** was originally a colossal figure, reaching around 250 centimeters in height, and the closely related **Cat. Ph4**–**6** were all life-size or slightly over that.[221] These dimensions far exceed the general size of the rest of the statuary material from the site of all other types, judging by the published material[222] and the material I have had the chance to study.[223] As we saw above, the colossal piece is the only example from the site displaying an exposed, richly decorated "apron-*devanteau*". The three life-size figures are very similar to one another, not only in size but also in the color of the stone and in the rendering of corporeality and visible details of dress.[224] The interesting fact that these similarities are close enough as to suggest a common hand or workshop will be returned to below (in Ch. 4.5.2). It is clear from what is preserved that neither of these figures had the right forearm raised or carried a votive animal.[225] On the contrary, chances are that all three figures had one arm bent, with the clenched hand placed on the chest.[226] As we noted in the former section this gesture – so commonly found within Cypriote plastic art – is not encountered in any other Egyptianizing figure excavated in Phoenicia,[227] and it is only very rarely

thigh of the figure as those of a small lion. For more on these matters: Lembke forthcoming.

217Dunand 1944–1945, pl. 29.57 (with animal under left arm); Dunand 1946–1948, 81 (no. 57), 99, pl. 31.64.

218C. Jourdain-Annequin has noted this as well: Jourdain-Annequin 1993, 72. Compare Dunand 1944–1945, pls. 22.27, 23.30 (the second figure with broad, ridged belt similar to that of most Egyptianizing figures) with the Cypriote, Egyptian-type kilt displaying an opened-up "*shenti*" with exposed apron. The correspondences were close enough as to lead Dunand to identify our (then fragmentary) **Cat. Ph14** as part of a Herakles Melqart figure: pp. 104–105, pl. 22.28.

219See above, Ch. 2.2.2 n. 423, regarding the colossal Herakles figure from the western site at Ayios Photios, among others. Note, in addition, that **Cat. Ph1** and a Herakles Melqart statuette from the site seem to share the decoration of their belts. For the Melqart figure: Dunand 1944–1945, pl. 22.29. Compare the belt of an unprovenanced Herakles figure kept in the Museo Barracco, Rome: Borda 1948, fig. 18.

220A figure displaying a tight-fitting dress with two pieces of textile falling over a ridged belt, with vertical pleats on the lower, knee-length part, is – according to M. Dunand – wearing an Egyptian-type kilt: Dunand 1944–1945, 102, pl. 15.5; Nunn 2000, 18, pl. 3.1. I do not find it possible to identify the uncommon outfit as a kilt. Compare a figure with closely related dress, which is catalogued under "Types hellénisants": Dunand 1946–1948, 83, pl. 33.69. The two statuette heads said by Dunand to be wearing the Egyptian double crown are actually wearing Cypriote caps with upturned cheek pieces: Dunand 1946–1948, 84, 98, pl. 35.73–74.

221**Cat. Ph3**, a fragment from a broad decorated collar, is seven cm high and must, thus, have belonged to a large-scale Egyptianizing figure – perhaps one of the ones just enumerated? A fragmentary arm with spiral armring ending in lions' heads seems to be of a size which would correspond to an over life-size figure: Dunand & Saliby 1985, pl. 54.4 (the Arwad Museum, Inv. no. 148). Judging by the quality of the rendering of the tiny heads and the close similarities to the creatures of the armring belonging to the high-quality piece from Sidon, **Cat. Ph22**, the arm does not seem to belong to the only known colossal Egyptianizing figure, **Cat. Ph1**. In addition, we must note that M. Dunand failed to give the preserved height of **Cat. Ph2**, which I suggest is part of a fragmentary broad collar of a figure (see above Ch. 4.3.5). The present whereabouts of the piece are unknown. Judging by the published photo, where the detailed rendering is well visible, it seems to have belonged to a large-scale figure, not a small statuette (see Ch. 7.1).

222The Herakles head in Copenhagen (see above n. 193), 19 cm in height (with neck), would have belonged to a figure of over 100 cm in height. Almost the same height would have been reached by two of the published Herakles Melqart torsos: Dunand 1944–1945, 104, pls. 18.15, 19.16. See also a large statuette depicting a mantle-wearing figure: Dunand 1946–1948, 83, pl. 31.67, possibly reaching well over 100 cm in original height. There is a need to add once again the unfortunate fact that far from all figures in the original *favissa* publication have their heights indicated.

223In the spring of 1999 I was allowed to study the Amrit material kept in the exhibition and in the storerooms of the National Museum in Damascus. At the Tartus Museum I was similarly allowed access to both the exhibition and to two large, wooden caskets full of fragments, kept in the museum storerooms. I take the opportunity to thank, again, the Curators of both museums. In addition, K. Lembke generously encouraged me to share in the photographic material of the Amrit sculpture assembled by herself and photographer M. ar-Radi, and kept at the DAI in Damascus.

224All three figures are well-preserved enough as to display, in profile view, the figure's buttocks indicated in the stone on the back side (**Cat. Ph4** even the thigh muscle of the left leg): see *Pl. 15.2* for **Cat. Ph6**. Compare, from the Cypriote horizon, the group of kilt-wearing figures excavated at Palaepaphos (**Cat. 52**–**57**) – and the limestone torso found at Samos (see above, Ch. 4.1.1).

225The right hand is preserved on the hips of **Cat. Ph5** and **Cat. Ph6**, while an abraded area on **Cat. Ph4** indicates that the right arm was hanging along the side of the body. The left-hand side of the bodies of all three figures lack any indications of an animal. The colossal **Cat. Ph1** is too fragmentary to allow any safe statements of a similar kind.

226No traces are preserved of a hanging arm on the left-hand sides of the figures. And the notion of an arm raised in a gesture of adoration is made very improbable by the strong Cypriote character of the figures, and the way they would be unique within the entire Egyptianizing corpus in raising the left arm instead of the right. A reconstruction drawing in Lembke 2001b, 18, fig. 9 (**Cat. Ph5**), does depict a figure with the left arm bent and the clenched hand placed on the chest.

227The single exception could be a fragmentary figure from Bostan esh-Sheikh which seems to be wearing a plain kerchief and a broad belt. Since it could not be safely incorporated into

encountered in other types of stone statuary found along that coast.[228]

Turning to the rest of the Egyptianizing figures of more limited size, we note that a lack of votive animal and raised right forearm is similarly visible in a number of figures.[229] It is possible that among these figures, too – beside the ordinary stance with both arms hanging along the sides of the body (**Cat. Ph14** and **Cat. Ph19**) – there are examples which had one arm bent, the clenched fist placed on the chest.[230] It is interesting to note that within the group of animal-carrying figures, **Cat. Ph8** and **Cat. Ph9** seem related with regard to type of dress and general body rendering – and the same is true for **Cat. Ph11** and **Cat. Ph12**.[231] Unfortunately, due – in part – to the 19th-century excavations, very few heads are preserved today to help identify and date the Amrit statues and statuettes. The small head **Cat. Ph13** may, hypothetically, have belonged to one of the smaller Egyptianizing torsos mentioned.[232]

If the mantle-wearing figures seem to be represented through both the 6th and 5th centuries B.C. (see above), the Egyptianizing figures are seemingly confined to the 6th century B.C.[233] Their fragmentary state makes difficult dating even more troublesome, but judging by the corporeality, for example, of related **Cat. Ph4–6** in comparison to the Cypriote material, they may belong within the third quarter of the 6th century B.C. It is perhaps possible to group the other Egyptianizing figures slightly before and slightly after that range.[234] They are thus among the early, if not the earliest, material from the site.[235] Despite minor variations in chronology it seems possible to postulate that the general development at the site is one from a larger number of different types, and a preponderance of figures clad in Egyptian-type dress, in the 6th century B.C., to a more limited range of figural types and an increased influx of Greek elements of dress and body which sees the Egyptian-type kilt exchanged altogether for the Greek-type draped mantle, around 500 B.C.[236] Somewhere in this shifting period the brandishing Herakles Melqart votive type is introduced at Amrit.

Judging from the sculptural material recovered at the site, M. Dunand concluded that the Amrit cult was directed towards Phoenician Melqart, witnessed abundantly within the votive material in his characteristic (religious and) iconographical syncretism with the Greek hero-god Herakles.[237] The limited epigraphical material from the site includes a few theophoric names such as Bodmelqart, Adonibaal, and Eshmunadon.[238] At least one actual dedication to the young healing god Eshmun can be identified in an inscription placed on the lower part of a fragmentary statuette clad in a tight-fitting tunic.[239] There was doubtless a healing cult at Amrit. Through a discussion incorporating – among other things – the parallel iconography between the god Shadrafa on a well-known stele found at nearby Tell Kazel (ancient Simyra) and the god (?) termed Herakles Melqart, E. Puech suggests that a polymorphic cult took place at the ancient "Maabed", a cult which was directed towards the

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the catalogue of Egyptianizing figures (Ch. 4.2), it was placed in Addendum 3, as No. 3.

228For a (Cypriote-style) example from Amrit itself: Dunand 1944–1945, 106–107, pl. 26.46; from Kharayeb: Chéhab 1953–1954, pl. 101.a (both mantle-wearing figures).

229See **Cat. Ph7**, **Cat. Ph10**, **Cat. Ph14**, and **Cat. Ph17–19**.

230**Cat. Ph18** has the preserved right hand placed on the hip, and no traces of neither left arm nor votive animal on its left-hand side. Chances are, thus, that the left hand was resting on the chest. **Cat. Ph17** has the left arm hanging along the side of the body, no traces of the right one, and thus its position cannot be speculated upon.

231The animal-carrying **Cat. Ph15** is very abraded and no longer displays any actual details of dress. It is not clear from the published photo whether the fragmentary **Cat. Ph16** is carrying an animal under the left arm or not.

232Another small (?) head which seems to be wearing a plain kerchief has been included in Addendum 3 as No. 1, since it may have belonged to a kilt-wearing figure.

233As an example, the late trait – visible in virtually all Herakles Melqart figures at the site – of rendering the genitals visible through the tunic or textile, is never encountered among the Egyptianizing figures. Other (5th century B.C.) figures occasionally display this trait: Dunand 1944–1945, pl. 15.5.

234K. Lembke places the large-scale Egyptianizing figures (**Cat. Ph1**, and **Cat. Ph4–6**) slightly earlier, between 600–550 B.C.: Lembke 2001b, 19.

235In my view, the following figures exemplify the earliest material at the site: Dunand 1944–1945, pl. 18.14 (fragmentary figure with wide, ankle-length dress), pl. 23.32 (the "Herakles with the bow" figure referred to above); Dunand 1946–1948, pl. 35.74 (bearded head with cap); Dunand & Saliby 1985, pls. 51.3 (fragmentary head), 54.5 (part of naked, male figurine).

236Lembke 2001b, 19–20. That a similar development is witnessed at the Sidonian sanctuary at Bostan esh-Sheikh will be evident, below.

237Dunand 1946–1948, 94–97; Dunand & Saliby 1985, 39–40 (adding the inscription naming "Bodmelqart", p. 38). For more recent views: Ganzmann *et al.* 1987, 85 n. 14; Jourdain-Annequin 1993, 78–83; Yon & Caubet 1993, 53–58. Coin depictions from Amrit show the face of the hero-god: Babelon 1893, 132, pl. 23.1.

238The names are found in the same dedicatory inscription, placed on a cubic stone fragment and dated palaeographically to the 6th century B.C. The names are from the reading suggested by E. Puech: Puech 1986, 331. Cf. Bordreuil 1985, 223.

239Puech 1986, 332–335 (again suggesting a different reading than that proposed by P. Bordreuil): "Ceci est la statue qu'a dédiée Abdeshmun (?) à son seigneur Abdeshmun...". For the statuette: Dunand & Saliby 1985, 46–47, pl. 53.

healing powers of Eshmun-Melqart-Shadrafa-Reshef.[240]

Byblos

The nature of the Byblite structure which M. Dunand chose to term "Bâtiment I" has not been fully established, nor has its relation to the adjacent Baalat Gubal temple ("Bâtiment II/XL").[241] The date of the construction is far from clear. Judging from the several colossal stone sculptures which were found in direct association, however, it must be considered as part of an important sacred edifice within the religious center of ancient Byblos.[242] The first architectural and sculptural remains were unearthed by Egyptologist Pierre Montet.[243] At the edge of a paved court, four colossal, although fragmentary, limestone figures were excavated *in situ*. They were placed with their backs against a wall running approximately north-south, directly connected to a doorway which was flanked – on the inside – by two column bases.[244] On the right-hand side of the entrance, a fragmentary, standing, male figure was placed (**Cat. Ph21**), while on the left hand side there were three seated statues, of varying sizes, with the largest figure placed closest to the door.[245] When passing through the doorway, an area was reached which was at a slightly lower level than the paved court. Here, too, a well-hewn paving had been added, and along the northern wall of this room or hall, a low two-level bench was placed.[246] A deep, oval-shaped basin, constructed by large blocks of stone, was found south of this area.[247] During these early excavations several finds were made in connection with the unearthed architectural remains and colossal figures, among others an additional large-scale (acephalous) female statue, seated on an Egyptian-type stool or throne with lions' legs, and a large male torso.[248] An Egyptian bas-relief with an offering scene and one sphinx's wing were reported, both made of limestone.[249] In 1926, M. Dunand assumed responsibility for the excavations at Byblos, and archaeological undertakings were to continue at the site up until 1973. Not far from the first group of four colossal figures, an additional – intact – male, colossal, kilt-wearing statue was unearthed (**Cat. Ph20**).[250] In size, proportion, outfit, and style, it is the twin of the standing figure found on the right-hand side of the entrance. It seems very reasonable to assume that the two figures were made, and exhibited, together. In addition, another (acephalous) female statue was unearthed, seated on a stool or throne with lions' legs.[251] M. Dunand noted that all large-scale figures were carved from the local, coarse-grained limestone, and that the two standing male figures shared with the largest, seated (female?) one a large, corresponding hollowed-out area between the feet, suggesting that they were interrelated.[252] It is interesting to note the nearby find of a small-scale statuette which comes very close, stylistically, proportionately, and material-wise, to the two kilt-clad, colossal, male figures.[253] A safe dating of all pieces referred to here remains quite impossible to reach, however. Indeed, M. Dunand came to the conclusion that they had been reused in a structure which proved to be much later, extending down into Roman times.[254] No actual period of manufacture for the colossal figures was suggested, however.[255]

If the character and dating of "Bâtiment I" prove elusive, along with its relation to the nearby Baalat Gubal temple, we can note a few architectural

[240] Puech 1986, 337–342. Reshef is not encountered epigraphically, however. See also Jourdain-Annequin 1993, 78–79.

[241] Scandone 1994, 38–40.

[242] For a general plan of the site, and a drawing of the complex termed "Bâtiment I" (including statue bases): Dunand 1937, pls. 211–212.

[243] Montet 1928, 29–44, who termed the complex "Temple égyptien". R. Dussaud preferred the term "Sanctuaire aux colosses": Dussaud 1927, 113.

[244] Montet 1928, pls. 24–27. Compare the later photographs presented in Dunand 1937, pls. 3.1, 4.1.

[245] The size of the seated figures must originally have been truly impressive. Judging from the preserved lower parts of their bodies, I estimate the largest one to have been around five meters in height, the second one between three and four meters, and the "smallest" one reaching between two and three meters in height. Montet reported a low back-support on the "throne" of the largest figure (p. 29).

[246] Montet 1928, 31, pl. 27.1.

[247] Montet 1928, pl. 25.1.

[248] Montet 1928, pl. 29.13. Montet ascribed the seated statue to the Old Kingdom period (p. 39). For the male torso, see pl. 31.14. Unfortunately, the heights of the two figures are not given.

[249] Montet 1928, 35–37, pl. 28.11 (the double offering scene), p. 41, pl. 31.20 (the sphinx wing).

[250] Dunand 1937, pls. 6.1, 26 = Dunand 1939a, 67.

[251] Dunand 1937, pl. 25.1316 = Dunand 1939a, 53–54 (H. 152 cm).

[252] Dunand 1939a, 67, 78. The different levels of the statues visible in fig. 47 can hardly correspond to differences in date of (manufacture and) erection.

[253] Dunand 1937, pl. 41.3276 = Dunand 1939a, 221 (H. 21.8 cm). The statuette does not seem to be wearing an Egyptian-type kilt, however, but rather an ankle-length dress. It has thus not been incorporated in the group of Phoenician Egyptianizing figures under study here.

[254] Dunand 1929, 209; Dunand 1939a, 70–72. He noted, among other things, that the line of colossal statuary was not fully parallel with the north-south wall behind them, and that the two column bases were awkwardly placed on the inside of the structure.

[255] Egyptologist P. Montet dated the colossal statuary – along with several other finds – to the Old Kingdom period: Montet 1928, 44.

elements which may be possible to connect with this religious structure, whether directly or indirectly.[256] Not far west of the initial find spot of the four colossi, a basin was found alongside a canalization and a fragmentary obelisk with abraded relief decoration. Further north, three architectural elements were discovered, fragmentary lintels crowned by winged *uraei*.[257] In connection to these finds it may be interesting to note the well-known 4th century B.C. (?) stele, erected by Yehawmilk king of Byblos to the goddess of the city, Baalat Gubal. The stele was found in the vicinity of, or possibly inside, what has been identified as the temple to the local goddess.[258] Underneath an incised image depicting the king (or his statue) in front of the seated deity, a seven-line dedicatory inscription tells of the additions made to the temple complex in his name. Apart from referring to a new altar, a portico, and a gilded statue of the goddess placed beside the statue of Yehawmilk himself,[259] the inscription notes that a winged disk made of gold was placed in the middle of the stone which was above the golden statue.[260] The limestone stele itself is crowned by a winged sun disk with lateral *uraei*, where remains in the stone show that it, too, was covered by metal, possibly gold.[261]

It was not least through the find of the last-mentioned stele that the large temple complex at Byblos could be ascribed to the Lady of the city, to Baalat Gubal. But epigraphical material going much further back in time shows us that the tradition of a Byblite cult to an Egyptian goddess, assimilated with a local deity, goes back well into the Bronze Age. References – in hieroglyphic writing – to "Hathor, Mistress of Byblos" occur,[262] together with more explicit (Middle Kingdom) evidence of the identification of a local goddess with Egyptian Hathor.[263] The first dedications explicitly naming Baalat Gubal (literally "Mistress of Byblos") are the reused statues of Pharaohs Shoshenq I and Osorkon I (Twenty-second Dynasty), where the Byblite kings Abibaal and Elibaal added their own inscriptions beside the royal cartouches of the statues.[264] It has been suggested that the 1st millennium B.C. saw a slight change in the syncretism between the local Baalat and the Egyptian goddess, shifting from (Isis)Hathor to Isis (Astarte), instead.[265]

From the day of their discovery, the colossal triad on the left-hand side of an entrance to the so-called Bâtiment I has been associated with the divine triad of the Phoenician city, with Baalat Gubal as the equivalent to Egyptian Isis in the characteristic Egyptian setting. No identification has been attempted for the two kilt-wearing mirror images (**Cat. Ph20** and **Cat. Ph21**) which were found in connection. Can they be viewed at all as votive statuary dedicated to the goddess who resided in the nearby temple? It is important to note that they are unique in the present section, with their possible association to the aggrandizement of a temple complex dedicated to a local city goddess.

Sidon

Eshmunazar II, king of Sidon, chose for his last journey a reused Egyptian anthropoid sarcophagus. In a famous inscription carved on its cover he recalls how he and the rest of the royal family built temples to the Sidonian gods, among others a temple to Eshmun, in connection to the Ydlal spring.[266] As finds of additional royal inscriptions inspired Theodor Macridy Bey to undertake excavations at a site known as "the Garden of the Sheikh" (Bostan esh-Sheikh), an area well fed with water situated three

256 It is difficult, if not impossible, to date the fragmentary merlon, or crenellation, found by E. Renan, a marble piece which is decorated by rosettes: Renan 1864, 208, pl. 20.4. The parallel to the architecture at Amrit is worth noting, albeit in passing. It is also worth considering that somewhere on the Byblos promontory, 5th-century B.C. Cypriote-style statuette heads were found: compare Dunand 1937, pl. 42.1361, 1888, with very similar material from Amrit: Dunand 1946–1948, pl. 36.

257 Dunand 1939a, 73–76.

258 That is, in the vicinity of "Bâtiment I", as well. On the probable find spot of the stele: Dunand 1941, 58–59, fig. 1.

259 These last words, of course, strike the reader as a description of the very image incised on the stele. On the translation: Puech 1981, 160–161. Dunand noted the correspondence to the scene on the Egyptian bas-relief, referred to above, found in connection to "Bâtiment I" (p. 72). Note also a similar depiction in a terracotta plaque in the Louvre (Inv. no. AO 27197), of unknown provenance, where Phoenician king and goddess are similarly rendered, this time within an architectural setting framed by two columns with a decorated lintel above: Gubel 1986b, figs. 1, 2.a–2.b.

260 Dunand 1941, 73, 84–85, pl. 5, gives the whole stele (cast) (including the lower right corner found by Dunand himself), a facsimile of the text, and its French translation.

261 Dunand 1941, 71.

262 The Egyptian bas-relief, referred to above, shows a double image where a kneeling king is offering to a seated deity. The hieroglyphic inscription notes that the (unidentified) royal figure is "Aimé d'Hathor, seigneur de Byblos". P. Montet dated the inscription, and thus the piece, to the Old Kingdom period: Montet 1928, 35–38, fig. 6, pl. 28.11.

263 An Egyptian amphibolite statuette of a seated male figure holding a papyrus scroll carries a long inscription, of which a part reads, in translation: "Offrande royale à Hathor, dame de Denderah, qui demeure à Byblos...": Dunand 1937, pl. 40.2856 = Dunand 1939a, 181–182; Scandone 1994, 44.

264 Montet 1928, 49–54, nos. 26–30, pls. 36, 37, and pp. 54–57, no. 31, fig. 18.

265 Scandone Matthiae 1991, 405–406.

266 Donner & Röllig 1964, 19–23, no. 14. On the Ydlal spring: Teixidor 1969, 332–333 (in Bodashtart's inscriptions). The sarcophagus was unearthed at the royal necropolis Magharat Ablun, outside Sidon, in 1855: Jidejian 1971, nos. 5–9.

kilometers north of Sidon, it was soon recognized that this was the very sanctuary referred to by the ancient king. The history of excavation at the important site, including the early undertakings by Macridy between 1901 and 1903, have recently been well synthesized and presented by R.A. Stucky, and need not be treated in detail here.[267] It is of importance, however, to recount the fate of the masses of sculpture and architectural fragments which were unearthed at the site during the various archaeological campaigns. The material excavated during the first years of the 20th century was taken to the Archaeological Museum at Istanbul.[268] T. Macridy left over 240 pieces at the site, however, pieces which were too heavy for transport. Of these, virtually all have since disappeared.[269] The material subsequently unearthed both by Georges Contenau and (mainly) by M. Dunand (who excavated on a more regular basis between 1963 and 1979) has unfortunately also been for the most part dispersed.[270] It is with the outspoken aim of publishing reproductions of material which may thus be traced on the antiquities market that R. Stucky has written his 1993 volume on the sculpture from the site, and a forthcoming volume on the architectural elements excavated.

When considering the evidence accumulated at the site, it seems evident that the sanctuary saw two important construction phases during the period of interest here. During a first phase a square monumental podium was built, serving as the foundation for a temple complex. This probably corresponds to the building activity recorded for Eshmunazar II and his family. A second phase saw the construction of a second, much larger podium, which was placed on top of its forebear. The new podium only partly incorporated the former one, however, since it was placed at a slightly different angle, on an east-west axis.[271] Just like the first temple complex, the size and appearance of the temple on top the second podium remains unknown. The large number of royal inscriptions found in the northwestern part of the second podium leaves no room for doubt regarding its patron: the Sidonian king Bodashtart, in part together with his successor Yatonmilk.[272] Due to difficulties regarding the chronology of the royal Sidonian dynasty, the dating of the religious complexes at Bostan esh-Sheikh diverges considerably. Against R. Stucky's higher chronology, placing the construction of the first podium around 550 B.C., and the second around 525–520 B.C.,[273] stands an earlier view which placed Eshmunazar II and thus his – and the subsequent – building activities (well) after 500 B.C.[274] To judge by the sculptural material unearthed at the site, votive offerings were plentiful already during the second and third quarters of the 6th century B.C. Indeed, stylistic correlations with Cypriote statuary were conclusive in leading R. Stucky to suggest the earlier dates.[275] The presence of early terracotta figurines, which indicate that cult activities existed at the site as early as the late 7th century B.C., has led to the questioning of the strict parallel between the actual foundation of the sanctuary and the inscription made by Eshmunazar II.[276] The preserved material record indeed makes it possible to assume that the Sidonian king rebuilt and monumentalized a sacred area which was already in function, rather than initiating a new cult at the site we call Bostan esh-Sheikh. This would not make it impossible, however, to view the first monumental podium as the direct outcome of Eshmunazar's building activity – admitting the higher chronology suggested by R. Stucky.

The early votives at the site were generally found incorporated into the fill material which was used when constructing the second podium, on (inside) the podium itself, or scattered beneath it. The fill material thus assembled when building the uppermost, south wall of the second podium contained, among other things, a fragmentary naked figure,[277] a mantle-wearing figure carrying a quadruped,[278] fragmentary terracotta figurines, and –

267 Ganzmann *et al.* 1987; Stucky 1993, 8–13; Stucky 1998, 3–4.

268 The sculptural material is republished and well analyzed in Ganzmann *et al.* 1987.

269 Ganzmann *et al.* 1987, 124. G. Contenau, who saw (part of?) the material, mentions in passing the preponderance of fragments of feathered wings (winged sun disks?) among these architectural remains: Contenau 1924, 19.

270 Stucky 1998, 3. At the start of the civil war in Lebanon, in 1974, about 40 sculptures were taken from the storerooms on site, at Bostan esh-Sheikh, to the National Museum at Beirut. These objects are still part of the Museum's collections. In 1978, the rest of the available material, consisting of around 600 sculptural and architectural fragments, were taken to the Crusader castle at Byblos for security reasons. From there they were all stolen between 1980 and 1990.

271 Stucky 1993, 11, a plan of the site where the later podium is diagonally hatched.

272 Donner & Röllig 1964, 23–24, no. 15 (found in ten examples), p. 25, no. 16 (nine examples). King Bodashtart presents himself as the grandson of Eshmunazar (II).

273 Ganzmann *et al.* 1987, 126–128; Stucky 1993, 9.

274 On the general chronology of the Sidonian dynasts: Galling 1963, 151; Assmann 1964, 715–716; Teixidor 1969, 335–336; Bordreuil & Gubel 1990, 500–502.

275 Ganzmann *et al.* 1987, 123–128; Stucky 1993, 54.

276 Hermary 1996a, 569.

277 Ganzmann *et al.* 1987, 83, no. 2, pl. 25.2. Stucky suggests that the piece represents the "Unterkörper einer Herakles/Melqart-Statuette", a view I do not share.

278 Ganzmann *et al.* 1987, 84, pl. 26.6. Stucky notes that the piece is the youngest in the fill material, ca. 530 B.C., and that

probably – the life-size, Egyptianizing **Cat. Ph23**.[279] Inside the southwestern corner of the podium, a coherent group of large, Egyptianizing, male, faience figurines were encountered, together with a male Cypriote-style head,[280] while just outside it, several additional 6th century B.C. limestone figures and fragmentary terracottas were unearthed.[281] The Egyptianizing statuettes **Cat. Ph25** and **Cat. Ph26** were found beneath the northwestern corner of the monumental podium, thus in connection with the remains (again the corner) of the first structure. In the first years of the 1970's, M. Dunand took to dismantling a monumental staircase leading up towards the hillside podia. Beneath, he recovered a large number of sculptures, including the colossal **Cat. Ph24** together with a large hand which ought to have belonged to the figure,[282] a group of Herakles Melqart statuettes, two mantle-wearing figures, and the upper part of the arm of a large scale – if not colossal – statue.[283] In the same cache were found statuettes of a decidedly later date, late 5th/early 4th century B.C. "temple boys".[284] The exact find spot of large-scale **Cat. Ph27** remains unknown.

As in the case of the sculptural material excavated at Amrit, it was recognized already during the first investigations undertaken at the site that the earliest sculptural material displayed close parallels with Cypriote statuary.[285] Among these earlier objects were figures made of local stone (*ramleh*), as well as of a soft, fine-grained limestone typical for statuary from the nearby island. There are general correspondences as well, as regards sculptural types recovered at the two sites, at Amrit and at Bostan esh-Sheikh. The mantle-wearing figure found so abundantly at the Amrit "Maabed", the Herakles Melqart figure, and the kilt-wearing figure equipped with *uraei* are three figural types which were similarly dedicated in 6th century B.C. Sidon.[286] As was noted above, the colossal **Cat. Ph24** is the only other kilt-wearing statue which is carrying a votive animal (Amrit figures **Cat. Ph8**, **Cat. Ph9**, **Cat. Ph11**, and **Cat. Ph12**), and has the right forearm raised helped by a small, round support (**Cat. Ph8**). In contrast to the related Amrit statuettes, however, it is equipped with a back-pillar support. Five Egyptianizing limestone figures have been unearthed at Bostan esh-Sheikh,[287] of which three are life-size or above that. **Cat. Ph23** and **Cat. Ph24** share a similar body rendering and (seemingly) the general appearance of the pleated kilt.[288] The stance of **Cat. Ph24** is not echoed in the other more well-preserved figures, however, which display arms hanging along the sides of the bodies (**Cat. Ph23** and **Cat. Ph25**). The two Egyptianizing statuettes from the site diverge not only in size, where the head **Cat. Ph26** once belonged to a larger statuette, but also regarding how close they come to the original Egyptian features of dress and equipment. We noted already above, in the preceding section, that **Cat. Ph26** stands out with its well-carved rendering of the Egyptian white (?) crown with frontal, coiling *uraeus*. Together with the back-pillar support of **Cat. Ph24** it reflects a stronger Egyptian impact than that generally encountered in the related Amrit material.[289]

Judging from the bodies of **Cat. Ph23** and **Cat. Ph24**, which display a great deal of corporeality, and taking the facial features of **Cat. Ph26** into consideration, it may be possible to place the Sidonian Egyptianizing figures within the third quarter of the 6th century B.C. It is worth noting that this corresponds closely to the chronological frame I

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the span of its votary "life time" marks the *terminus post quem* for the second podium (p. 126).

279Ganzmann *et al.* 1987, 124, pl. 28.16–17; Stucky 1993, 69 n. 486.

280Ganzmann *et al.* 1987, 126; Stucky 1993, 71, no. 28, pl. 9.28.

281Ganzmann *et al.* 1987, 124 ("C"), pls. 25.8, 25.10, 26.3–4, 27.11–12, 29.18–21. Among these pieces we note no. 4, a fragmentary figure which seems to be wearing an Egyptian-type kerchief. Due to its fragmentary state, it could only be incorporated in Addendum 3, as No. 3.

282The size of the right hand is said to correspond to that of the kilt-wearing figure. If this is the case, then the raised right forearm of the figure ended in a clenched hand, holding an unidentified, hanging object. Judging from the photo, however, there is an abraded area indicating attachment beneath the little finger, an area which renders the hypothetical placing of the hand more complicated: Stucky 1993, 69, no. 14, pl. 6.14.

283Stucky 1993, 68–71, pls. 5.4, 5.6–7, 7.19, 8.27, 9.29.

284Stucky 1993, 73, 85–86, 97, pls. 12.44, 25.104, 28.114, 42.184 (a "temple girl").

285Macridy 1902, 503 (limestone figures); Macridy 1903, 75 (terracottas). When describing the finds made at Bostan esh-Sheikh, M. Dunand referred to the Cypriote-style figures made of soft, fine-grained limestone as being "de calcaire du type d'Amrith": Dunand 1970, 62; Stucky 1993, 15.

286See also the parallel occurrences of the early figure with wide, ankle-length tunic and the naked male statuette: compare Stucky 1993, 70, pls. 8.22, 8.26, and Ganzmann *et al.* 1987, 83, pl. 25.2 (at Bostan esh-Sheikh), with Dunand 1944–1945, 104, pl. 18.14, and Dunand & Saliby 1985, pls. 47.1–2, 54.5 (at Amrit).

287A very fragmentary alabaster statuette found at the site is equipped with a back-pillar support, to which a Phoenician inscription has been added. It is possible, but in no way evident from the published photo, that the figurine was once wearing an Egyptian-type kilt. Cf. Stucky 1993, 14 (p. 68, pl. 4.1). A larger figure, carrying a votive animal under its left arm, is said to be wearing a tight-fitting tunic. It is possible, but again not evident from the photo, that it, too, was rendered as wearing an Egyptian-type kilt: p. 71, pl. 10.32.

288The two figures are known through photos only. The existence of **Cat. Ph27** is only known through a drawing, referred to by R. Stucky. In size, it seems to have been similar to the life-size **Cat. Ph23**. Thus, at least in size and in general equipment, it was related to the other two large-scale figures.

289The imported alabaster and the back-pillar support of the statuette referred to in the above note fit into this picture as well.

suggested above for the Egyptianizing material at Amrit. At Sidon, too, they would be among the early, but not the earliest, material at the site. R. Stucky has pointed out the preponderance at the site of Cypriote-style material during the 6th century B.C., in contrast to the increasing Greek influence visible during the 5th century. No Greek-style votive figures were found in the earlier podium fillings, and no Cypriote-style material was unearthed in the 5th–4th-century deposit excavated in the locus termed "piscine du trône d'Astarté".[290]

The sanctuary at Bostan esh-Sheikh was situated one kilometer from the sea, on the south bank of the river Nahr el-Awali (ancient Bostrenus). The Ydlal spring, which carried water from the mountains, surfaced in the hills above the sacred precinct and the canalizations and water basins placed at the foot of the monumental podium testify to how its waters were collected. A lush area, with several basins for ritual ablutions – such was the sanctuary dedicated to the healing god Eshmun where king Eshmunazar II took pride in erecting sacred buildings.[291] The rich epigraphical material from the site identifies the young healing god as the main deity worshipped.[292] However, in more than one instance he is revered together with Astarte, the main Phoenician goddess who – in the myth recalling the death and resurrection of the young god – appears as his mourning mistress.[293] Astarte is also present in the inscriptions from the site through theophoric names.[294] During the Hellenistic period Eshmun is equated with Greek Asklepios in inscriptions from this site.[295] That an earlier equation or identification with Apollo took place cannot be ruled out.[296]

Kharayeb

As was noted above, a rectangular temple structure was unearthed in a hilly area close to the modern village of Kharayeb, situated about halfway between Sarepta and Tyre, some five kilometers from the sea. The structure measures 13 by 11 meters[297] and seems to have contained two rectangular chambers placed on each side of an open (?) central area. The few architectural fragments which have been found show that the building had a lintel, possibly above its entrance, where a winged (?) sun disk was flanked by *uraei*.[298] The lintel has much preserved red color. A large, paved courtyard, built outside the southwestern wall of the complex, is indicated through areas of dressed stones.[299] Very few finds were made inside the structure, but large amounts of terracotta figures and figurines were unearthed on the paved court and in a *favissa* dug only about ten meters from the "temple". Stylistically the terracottas can be ascribed to the Achaemenid and the Hellenistic periods, respectively. Earlier material is represented by, among other things, a seated, bearded figure wearing conical headgear (an *atef* crown?) and holding his beard; "Astarte" figurines squeezing their breasts; figurines of the "dea gravida" type; and dwarf-like Bes and so-called Ptah Patek statuettes.[300] The later material consists of Greek-style figurines of characteristic types depicting deities, dancers, and children.[301] A limited number of objects were dated by the excavators to the 6th century B.C., including statuettes of horse-and-rider and of soldiers.[302]

At the very bottom of the *favissa* a single limestone object was unearthed. It is a statue base with two naked feet attached, with the final part of an illegible Phoenician dedicatory inscription placed between the

290 Ganzmann *et al.* 1987, 129; Stucky 1993, 54, 61, 64.

291 Stucky 1993, 53.

292 Apart from the Eshmunazar II and the Bodashtart/Yatonmilk evidence, several inscriptions at the site address Eshmun. Well-known is the inscription by Baalshillem offered to Eshmun by the Ydlal spring, placed on the base of a statue of a small "temple boy": Dunand 1970, 63–64, pl. 1.a; Stucky 1993, 84, no. 101, pl. 24.101. This particular dedication has been dated to the second half of the 5th century B.C.: Teixidor 1972, 432.

293 An inscription on a statue base reads in German translation: "...das gegeben hat MY'MN, Sohn des 'Abedschamsch... für Astarte (und) für meinen Herrn Eschmun, dass sie sie segnen", where the dedicator possibly carries a theophoric name which incorporates the name of the Egyptian god Amun: Stucky 1993, 104, no. 227.

294 Masson 1982, 48–49; Stucky 1993, 91–92, no. 157, pl. 35.157: "Gelübde, das 'Aschtartyaton, Sohn des 'Abdeschmun, seinem Herrn Eschmun geweiht hat, dass er ihn segne."

295 Stucky 1993, 47–48, 58–60, notes dedications to Greek Asklepios and to his daughter Hygieia.

296 Ganzmann *et al.* 1987, 96; Stucky 1993, 48 n. 347, p. 58.

297 Chéhab 1951–1952, 9, plan no. 2; Kaoukabani 1973, 44. The excavators refer to the building as "le bâtiment rectangulaire". The shape of the structure is dependent, however, on how the preserved walls are interpreted. The southwestern wall seems to continue past the northwestern corner, perhaps to create a roofed, outer area? This wall is, in total, almost 17 meters long.

298 Kaoukabani 1973, 52, 54 (Kh. 1630), 56, pl. 18.2. No wings are indicated in relief in the stone, but they may have been painted.

299 It is worth recalling that a similar paved court was found at Byblos, in front of the so-called "Bâtiment I".

300 Chéhab 1953–1954, pl. 5.3–6; Kaoukabani 1973, pls. 7–9 (corresponding to the excavator's "deuxième couche"). On the material from Kharayeb and related material found in Palestine: Bisi 1990, 76–77, 79.

301 Chéhab 1953–1954, pls. 12 (Demeter and Kore), 15 (Eros), 20 (Silenus), 29 (Artemis); Kaoukabani 1973, pls. 4.1 (children's heads), 4.2 (Eros) (corresponding to the excavator's "première couche").

302 Kaoukabani 1973, 49–51, pls. 12.1–2, 13.3–4, 15.2–3, 16.4.

feet, on the material connecting them.[303] On the paved courtyard a second pair of stone statue-feet was unearthed, attached to a base.[304] In size, these two pairs of feet do not seem to correspond to the two single additional limestone statues from the site,[305] **Cat. Ph29** and **Cat. Ph30**.[306] These two Egyptianizing figures were also unearthed on the paved courtyard in front of the "temple", a context which could indicate that they were found *in situ*. Their exact find spots were not reported, however, nor their relation to each other.[307] The similarities between the two figures are striking. They share size, stance, dress, stylistic characteristics, and the roughly cut back-pillar support. It could well be argued that they were manufactured by the same hand or workshop, and that they were made to be exhibited together. Since one figure has the left leg advanced and the other the right, there is indeed the possibility that they were supposed to be arranged in an antithetical manner, flanking a statue, an object, or perhaps one of the entrances to the sacred structure. The slightly better preserved of the two figures displays traces of an animal (?) which was carried under the left arm. In comparison to its twin, the details of its kilt are well preserved. From the published photograph it seems that the "sash ends" placed on each side of the "*devanteau*" were perceived in quite a unique manner.[308]

The few stone objects recovered at the site were seemingly made of two different kinds of stone (as was the case at Sidon, see above). The excavators noted that the larger pair of feet attached to a base was made of local *ramleh*, while the smaller pair of feet was of soft, chalk-like limestone. The material for **Cat. Ph29** and **Cat. Ph30** is not clearly identified in accordance with this terminology, but chances are that they, too, were manufactured from local stone.[309]

In order to establish a date for the period of time during which cult was practiced at this inland, rural site, different pieces of evidence need to be considered. It is true that the terracotta statuette material ranges in date from the late 6th to the 1st century B.C., with a preponderance during the 5th to 3rd centuries B.C. The coins found in the *favissa* date from the 4th century B.C. onwards as well.[310] In addition, according to the first excavator, Maurice Chéhab, the architectural technique witnessed in the walls of the rectangular structure is attributable to the Hellenistic period.[311] Thus, with few exceptions, the main activity at the site seems to have been during the latter part of the Persian period. Unless **Cat. Ph29** and **Cat. Ph30** had been displayed on the outer courtyard for a long period of time – and the crispness of the preserved details does nothing to suggest this – they must be dated to a similar (and for our purposes later) period, to the 5th/4th centuries B.C.[312]

No epigraphical material gives the name of the deity or deities worshipped at the site. The Phoenician inscription placed on the stone statue base, referred to above, is unfortunately fragmentary.[313] The character of the dedicated terracottas point to a female cult, but male overtones are not missing.[314] The large number of figurines of children, and the large amounts of beads and astragals recovered closely reflect the 5th/4th-century material unearthed at Bostan esh-Sheikh.[315]

Umm el-Amed

The last Phoenician site to provide find contexts for Egyptianizing stone figures is a coastal site known today as Umm el-Amed. It seems clear that the settlement was under the political influence of Tyre

303 Chéhab 1951–1952, 12, 77–78 (Kh. 1130) = Chéhab 1953–1954, pl. 101.b ("...en *ramleh*...").

304 Kaoukabani 1973, 54 (Kh. 1222), pl. 17.2 ("...il est fait en pierre crayeuse").

305 A fragmentary, Cypriote-style, mantle-wearing figure was found in the valley below the sanctuary: Chéhab 1951–1952, 19 = Chéhab 1953–1954, pl. 101.a ("...en calcaire crayeuse..."). Compare n. 303.

306 The first pair of feet seems to have belonged to a larger figure, the second pair of feet to a statuette of more limited size, compared to **Cat. Ph29** and **Cat. Ph30**. Note that in the second case there is no stone material connecting the feet or legs of the figurine, that is, unlike the other three figures, it was not connected to a back-pillar support.

307 They were part of the earlier "deuxième couche", however, excavated in 1970, and probably unearthed in squares J11 or J12 on the site plan: Kaoukabani 1973, 44, plan no. 2.

308 On each side of the *devanteau*, instead of three separate sash ends hanging down, there are, rather, what looks like a piece of cloth which has been folded three times (see above, in Ch. 4.3.5). For a similar treatment of folded textile beneath the belt of a figure's dress, see a statuette from Amrit: Dunand 1944–1945, pl. 27.48.

309 B. Kaoukabani calls the stone of the figures "calcaire tendre", but not "crayeuse", as in the case with the smaller pair of feet with plinth: compare Kaoukabani 1973, pp. 51 and 54.

310 Chéhab 1951–1952, 76–77, 159.

311 Chéhab 1951–1952, 8–9.

312 The statues were indeed found in an earlier level, termed by the excavator "deuxième couche", together with Persian-period terracottas: Kaoukabani 1973. As regards the crispness in detail, it was noted in the Cypriote section that a roof or other arrangement could have protected and preserved votive statuary at certain ancient sites.

313 What can be discerned seems to be the standard finial of dedications (in translation): "...parce qu'il a entendu la parole de ses serviteurs": Chéhab 1951–1952, 77.

314 B. Kaoukabani envisaged a cult to a fertility goddess (Isis-Astarte) at Kharayeb: Kaoukabani 1973, 56–58.

315 Dunand 1978, 50. A difference between the two sites is made clear through the material used for the deposited votive figures; marble versus terracotta.

during the period of interest here.[316] Unlike the nearby Phoenician metropolis, the settlement at Umm el-Amed was remarkably well-preserved at the time of excavation. Ancient remains were found scattered over a large area, covering more than 18 hectares, and they included two well-preserved sanctuary complexes. Apart from a few earlier expeditions,[317] excavations were carried out at the site from 1942 to 1945, by Maurice Dunand and Raymond Duru.

As was noted above, the two sanctuaries lie on an east-west axis, about 160 meters apart. The western complex[318] is the larger of the two, but it appears more closed, with apparently only one large entrance (from the east). The second, eastern sanctuary[319] has the same general layout but is smaller in size. Two large entrances are found: one was reached by a stairway from the east, while the more monumental gate is in the northwest corner of the structure, thus facing the other temple.[320] The general layout of the two sanctuaries is virtually the same: a rectangular, colonnaded portico encloses an open courtyard where, in its rear part, the elevated temple cella is placed.[321] Preserved in the larger, western sacred area was the beautiful paving of the inner open court, and the altar, placed in front of the temple cella. In connection with the altar were found 12 orthostats and stelai with relief decoration.[322] At the main east entrance of this larger sanctuary, on the right-hand side of the doorway, the excavators unearthed a large, square statue base *in situ*.[323] It displayed a three-line, Phoenician, dedicatory inscription on its front side, addressing the god Milkashtart El-Hammon.[324] The base still carried the lowermost part of an inserted limestone statue, a plinth with two feet attached where the right foot was slightly advanced, both feet connected to the remains of the back-pillar support of the figure. In the immediate vicinity, the Egyptianizing **Cat. Ph35** was unearthed, a figure with back-pillar support and right leg advanced, broken off from just above the knees. The excavators assumed that it must have belonged to the nearby statue base. No base or statue was recovered *in situ* on the other side of the doorway, but the excavators noted the presence of a similar, available area there.[325] M. Dunand suggested that a recovered second inscribed base, of virtually identical proportions, had once stood on the other side of the main entrance.[326] He pictured the Egyptianizing **Cat. Ph32**, found by E. Renan in the 19th century, as belonging to this base, thus flanking the eastern doorway together with **Cat. Ph35**.[327] The male figures thus flanking the main entrance were mirrored inside the sanctuary by the crouching sphinxes, which in turn were on either side of the staircase leading up to the cella.[328] In addition, it can be deduced from the architectural remains at the western temple complex that the columns of the portico carried Doric capitals, and that there was a large colonnaded ("hypostyle") hall in the northwestern part of the sanctuary.[329] At least one, possibly more, door lintel decorated with a winged sun disk with *uraei* belonged to this temple.[330]

The similar plan of the second, eastern, sanctuary diverges from the first only in the presence of two large entrances, in the lack of a "hypostyle hall", and in the axis of the temple cella, which was set slightly off the median (east-west) line of the sanctuary. No male flanking statues were found in connection to

316 Dunand & Duru 1962, 233.

317 E. Renan, C. Clermont Ganneau, and E. de Lorey all dug at the site. The finds recovered by Ernest Renan were brought to the Louvre in Paris: Renan 1864, 695–749.

318 Dunand's "Temple de Milk'ashtart".

319 Dunand's "Temple Est". The objects found in connection to the former sanctuary are designated M.1, M.2, etc., the objects from "Temple Est" accordingly E.1 and so on.

320 Dunand & Duru 1962, 89, fig. 20, provides a good plan of the area, including the two sanctuaries.

321 Two adequate reconstruction (axionometric) drawings are found in: Dunand & Duru 1962, 49, fig. 10 (the western temple), p. 76, fig. 17 (the eastern temple). M. Dunand noted the parallels between the colonnaded porticoes of the Maabed at Amrit, and those in the sanctuaries at Umm el-Amed, arguing a very late date for the Amrit structure: Dunand 1946–1948, 107.

322 Dunand & Duru 1962, 143–152. See further, below.

323 Dunand & Duru 1962, 48, 116, fig. 9, pls. 30.2–3 (where "E.435" should be "M.435"), 31.1. The base measures 57 x 52 x 42.5 cm.

324 Dunand & Duru 1962, 193. The inscription reads in translation: "Au Seigneur Milk'ashtart El-Hammon, qu'a consacré ton serviteur 'Abdosir, fils de Arish, en commémoration. Parce qu'il a entendu (sa) voix, qu'il le bénisse."

325 Dunand & Duru 1962, 48, pls. 8, 19.1; Falsone 1989, 155–156.

326 Dunand & Duru 1962, 184, pl. 88.2 (where the base seems to have been cut). This base measures 58 x 52 x 42 cm. Its Phoenician inscription reads in translation: "À Milk'ashtart El-Hammon, qu'a consacré 'Abdeshmun pour son fils."

327 Dunand & Duru 1962, 184–185. I do not agree with this reconstruction: see below.

328 One sphinx was found *in situ* on the balustrade of the large staircase: Dunand & Duru 1962, 167 (the number of the statue is unfortunately not given), pl. 8. See also the reconstruction drawing on p. 49, fig. 10. Apart from the fragmentary front part of a sphinx (pl. 86.1 = the Louvre, Inv. no. AO 4852), there is a more well-preserved piece in the Louvre (Inv. no. AO 1439) showing a human head with striped *nemes* and double crown, with hair visible in the front right beneath the headcloth. The broad collar has several decorated registers: Moscati 1988a, 301 (where the sphinx is said to come from Sidon). See also Gubel 1986a, 99.

329 Dunand & Duru 1962, pl. 22.

330 Dunand & Duru 1962, 112, 114, fig. 32, pl. 25.3 (for M.366); pp. 169–170, pls. 83.1, 87.2–3 (for Renan's lintels).

this complex.[331] On either side of a decorated door lintel placed above the monumental, western entrance (on its outside), however, were two small male figures, carved in relief, with pointed headgear and right arms raised holding a scepter. The figures thus flanked a winged sun disk with *uraei* placed all along the large lintel.[332] The entrance itself was of the stepped or recessed type. In connection with this gateway were found two fragmentary sphinxes, creatures which thus most probably flanked or guarded the temple entrance.[333] Several additional fragments of door lintels with sun disks and *uraei* were found, of which one large set could be identified as belonging above the entrance (from the open court) to a roofed chamber termed "Chapelle du trône" because of the empty stone throne flanked by sphinxes which was found there.[334] The stepped or recessed lintel preserves not only the large, winged sun disk with the characteristic, lateral cobras with sun disks on their heads, but also, beneath them, the disk and crescent motif.[335]

Of the six Egyptianizing statues unearthed within the two sanctuary complexes, as many as five were found by E. Renan in the 19th century, and thus lack recorded find spots. **Cat. Ph35**, together with its inscribed statue base, remains the only figure for which we have a more exact location. Renan mainly dug in the area of the larger, western temple, however, and it is probable that at least some of the five additional figures were once displayed there as well. If our contextual knowledge of **Cat. Ph32–34**, **Cat. Ph36**, and **Cat. Ph37** is limited, it is the more unfortunate that contradictory information is given by the more recent excavators regarding **Cat. Ph35** as well, being the only Egyptianizing figure unearthed by them, and a key statue with regard to its find spot. The problem is not so much that there was some confusion regarding its site number, nor that it was said to have the left leg advanced instead of the right, which is clearly the case.[336] What is truly disturbing is the way the published photograph of the piece was cut, indeed distorted, making it seem as if the right flank of the figure was hollowed out.[337] It is puzzling that the excavators seem to have forgotten this altered appearance of the original form when stating in their publication that the hollowed-out area once must have held a votive animal held under the right arm of the figure.[338] The statue is in the exhibition of the Beirut National Museum today, where its actual appearance is easily verified.[339] Taken together, these irregularities may give the impression that two very similar statues were excavated at the site, but there was only one slightly over-life-size Egyptianizing figure unearthed at Umm el-Amed: **Cat. Ph35**. Its approximate original height was around 195 centimeters, while the other well-preserved, kilt-wearing figures, **Cat. Ph32**, **Cat. Ph33**, and **Cat. Ph34**, would originally have reached only between 115 and 165 centimeters. To envisage, with Dunand, that **Cat. Ph35** (195 cm) and **Cat. Ph32** (115 cm) were flanking the eastern entrance to the western, larger sanctuary seems improbable, in this light. The fact that the two figures display altogether different types of kilts further disrupts the alleged symmetry they would create together.[340] When it comes to the statue base, however, which was connected by the excavators to the left-hand side of the temple entrance, it is true that it equals in size the one found *in situ* and that its inscription addresses the same deity as that of its counterpart. Therefore, it is possible to visualize it at this spot, bearing up a second statue. In this connection, it is interesting to note that the inscriptions placed on the back-pillar supports of the two related figures **Cat. Ph33** and **Cat. Ph34** correspond to a very high degree.[341] Since the figures furthermore are identical in dress and general appearance, if not in size, and since one has the right leg advanced, the other the left, and the two display corresponding fall of the *shenti* kilt, it seems

331 Unless E. Renan actually found **Cat. Ph33** and **Cat. Ph34** there – see below.

332 Dunand & Duru 1962, 71–73, 170–171, fig. 16, pls. 63.2–3, 64.

333 Dunand & Duru 1962, 70, 131 (E.14, E.20). The second fragmentary statue, consisting of the forelegs of the creature, was resting on a plinth with a much abraded Phoenician inscription cut into it.

334 Dunand & Duru 1962, 67–68, pl. 67, which depicts the empty throne flanked by sphinxes wearing *nemes* headcloths, double crowns, broad decorated collars, and frontal "*devanteaux*".

335 Dunand & Duru 1962, 67, fig. 15, pl. 63.1.

336 Dunand & Duru 1962, 48 ("M.435"), text in connection to pl. 30.1 ("E.436"), for the statue M.436; and text in connection to pl. 30.2–3 ("E.435"), for the square base M.435. In the description on p. 156, the statue is said to have the left leg advanced.

337 Dunand & Duru 1962, pl. 30.1; apart from depicting the figure with a large, empty space on the inside of the raised right arm, the right thigh is similarly cut as to seem thinner than it really is (giving the impression that the lowest outer part of the kilt is detached from the leg).

338 Dunand & Duru 1962, 156. In connection, it is stated that the belt of the figure is not rendered in the back, but that the back side is only roughly hewn. This is indeed not the case. The back, including the belt, is well-carved on this figure up until meeting the flat back-pillar support.

339 For an accurate reproduction of the statue and its base: Doumet Serhal *et al.* 1998, 66, 171, no. 25 (the Beirut National Museum, Inv. no. 2004).

340 While **Cat. Ph35** is wearing the plain Egyptian *shenti* with apron (and no collar), **Cat. Ph32** is wearing a kilt with *devanteau* equipped with cobras and sash ends, all placed on the central device. It is also wearing a broad decorated collar.

341 In fact, the same person (Baalshillem, son of Baalyaton) seems to have dedicated both statues, one to El, the other to Osiris (?). For the inscriptions, see above nn. 80.

more than probable that they were made, and exhibited, together.[342] The possibility that they were flanking an object or a doorway must be considered. Whether this took place in the western or the eastern sanctuary complex, we do not know. Renan's activities at the site would point towards the former complex, where **Cat. Ph35** was flanking the main entrance, possibly together with a second, very similar figure.

For some reason, then, M. Dunand visualized **Cat. Ph35** with a hollowed-out area in the right-hand side of its torso, on the inside of the bent right arm. He suggested that the figure originally would have carried a votive animal, maybe a goat, under this arm, an animal now lost. He looked to the animal-carrying figures from Amrit for comparative material.[343] The sculpture does not display any hollowed-out area, but its bent and raised right arm is attached to the torso down to the level of the elbow. It is thus clear that this figure merely had its right arm bent, the forearm and hand raised and (most probably) open, turned outwards. At Amrit, we saw several mantle- and kilt-wearing figures with raised right forearms, sometimes connected to the right-hand breast muscle by means of a small, round support. Several figures carried a votive animal under their left arm, while raising the right arm and turning the hand outward in the characteristic gesture of adoration.[344] M. Dunand visualized an animal under the right arm of not only **Cat. Ph35**, but of **Cat. Ph32–34** as well.[345] It is true that the three latter figures display rather cubical areas in connection with their bent right arms, and that the upper parts of the arms are missing in all three cases. There are no traces of any votive animals along the right-hand sides of their bodies, however. And among the rich relief material recovered at the site, there is not even one exception to the rule: every single male (and female) figure has the right forearm raised, the open hand turned outwards.[346] Thus, we must assume that the somewhat cubical areas found in connection with the bent right arms of these figures (and of **Cat. Ph37**) represent the support needed to stabilize the raised arm – a coarse equivalent to the small, round support of the Amrit figures.[347]

Apart from the sphinxes and the Egyptianizing figures dealt with above, finds of statuary in the round from the site are quite restricted in number. We can note from the larger, western sanctuary a handful of statues, of which some are stylistically very late.[348] The smaller, eastern temple yielded a few female statuettes, within its limited preserved sculpture repertoire.[349]

Throughout this section I have chosen to give a short overview of the additional sculptural material recovered at each site, material which was dedicated together with or beside the Egyptianizing figures which are in focus. In connection with the present case, however, I feel it necessary to incorporate a limited discussion of the rich relief material found at the site as well. It was noted in passing, above, that 12 large stelai and orthostats were unearthed by Dunand and Duru in direct connection with the altar of the larger, western sanctuary. A group of similar objects were collected at the site already during the 19th century. It is true that most of these have one or several figures standing in adoration, either by themselves or flanking a central motif. In at least two cases, large, square blocks of stone had relief decoration on three sides.[350] In the better preserved one there is a large, stylized "sacred tree" on the front side, below which two bulls are flanking a round object, their frontal heads lowered. This central scene is flanked by two tall, slender columns crowned by volute capitals. Only half of each column (and capital) is visible, since the other half is part of the decoration on the corresponding sides of the stone block. Thus, on the left-hand side, a male figure is depicted facing the column (that is, the "sacred tree"

342 Dunand and Duru saw their similarities as well (but wrongly stated that **Cat. Ph34** has no broad decorated collar): Dunand & Duru 1962, 156–157.

343 Dunand & Duru 1962, 156. Consider, again, how easily the free-standing arm would have been broken off when the statue fell down from its base if the hollowed-out area had existed (pl. 30.1). I doubt that the stone would allow such a carving in the first place.

344 See also **Cat. Ph24**, from Bostan esh-Sheikh. On the gesture: Dunand 1941, 72; Dunand & Duru 1962, 161.

345 Dunand & Duru 1962, 156–157.

346 Dunand & Duru 1962, pls. 27.1–2, 28.2, 77, 81.1 – and the very well-preserved pl. 79.3 (all those with known find context unearthed in connection with the altar of the western sanctuary complex).

347 Several figures on the stelai and orthostats unearthed at the site have the right hand raised, while holding the left arm straight forward, carrying an incense burner consisting of a bowl decorated with a sphinx with double crown (pls. 77 and 81.1 showing this most clearly). The possibility that **Cat. Ph32–34** would be carrying this kind of object – on an extended right arm – must be considered as weak.

348 Dunand & Duru 1962, pls. 35.1–3 (male torso with feathers?), 38.5 (a lion), 35.4 (Herakles with lion skin?). See also pls. 35.5 (male head), 38.1 (mantle-wearing figure).

349 Dunand & Duru 1962, pls. 65.1 (fragmentary female figure seated on a chair or throne), 66.4 (lower part of standing female (?) statuette). See also pls. 65.4–5 (standing male figure, left arm placed on the chest), 69.4–6 (terracotta figurines), 65.2 (fragmentary male (?) figure). E. Warmenbol followed M. Dunand (p. 157, "masque de Bés") in suggesting that the last-mentioned figure displays a panther head and two hanging *uraei*, thus an Egyptian-type kilt outfit: Warmenbol 1985, 168–170 n. 18. The published photo does not give enough evidence to confirm this – if so, then the cobras were rendered in a uniquely crude manner.

350 Dunand & Duru 1962, pls. 28.2 (M.195), 36.1–2, 37.1 (M.361). See also pl. 29.1 (M.421).

and the bulls), and on the right-hand side he is mirrored by two male figures. The three figures are all facing – and thus flanking – the "sacred tree", and they all have their right forearms raised, while in their extended left one, they are each holding what seems to be an incense burner with a small sphinx with double crown attached.[351] Of interest is that among this large-scale relief material, there are depictions of male, flanking figures clad in Egyptianizing outfits as well. On each side of a rectangular (and unfortunately fragmentary) orthostat two corresponding figures are carved, both wearing a pointed crown or helmet – from the top of which a long, thin object is hanging – and a broad collar with two decorated registers, the outer one clearly displaying hanging drop shapes.[352] Like all other figures from the site, they have their right arm raised. This particular area of the stone is very abraded, but it is possible that one figure is holding a scepter,[353] the other a tall staff. Unfortunately, the lower half of the orthostat is not preserved, and it is impossible to identify the dress of the figures. Placed on the short side of this orthostat, and thus flanked by the two figures, is merely a geometric, brick-like pattern. It cannot be a coincidence that these figures correspond exactly in dress, attitude, and equipment to the two small male figures depicted as flanking the winged sun disk on the lintel above the western entrance of the smaller, eastern temple, mentioned above. The small figures are intact but the stone surface is too abraded to allow us to determine whether they (and then perhaps the related larger figures) were wearing the Egyptian-type kilt or not.[354] The presence at Umm el-Amed of flanking figures with Egyptian-type outfit in both relief carvings and statuary in the round is highly interesting. Is it possible that **Cat. Ph32–35** can be linked to the relief figures, indicating that they, too, originally were wearing a version of the Egyptian white crown (?) on their heads, and holding a scepter in their raised right arm and hand? From inscriptional evidence on the relief stelai we know that at least some of the male figures clad in a tunic, displaying a raised right arm and holding an incense burner in their extended left hand were priests of Milkashtart, who ordered a stele depicting themselves for dedication in the temple to this god.[355] If the men with tunics and incense burners were priests, we may ask how the male, flanking figures with crown, broad collar (and scepter) were identified.[356]

Turning to the date of the two sanctuaries and of the votive material recovered in connection to them, we note that the earliest material from the site is a very limited number of Cypriote 7th century B.C. pottery sherds, found in the earth terrace constructed to accommodate the larger, western sacred area. In contrast to the surrounding settlement, which seems to have been founded only in the Hellenistic period, this sanctuary preserves adjacent older walls, perhaps – according to the excavators – the remains of an older sanctuary.[357] Virtually all other finds from the site corroborate a period spanning the 4th to the 2nd centuries B.C. as that of main activity. Coins occur often from the time of Ptolemy II, and the inscriptions found on stelai and statue bases have all been dated to the Hellenistic period.[358] The similarities in plan and layout between the two sanctuary complexes would perhaps indicate that they were (re-) built at the same time. It seems evident, however, from the architectural remains unearthed that there were different periods of building activity within their premises.[359] The sculptural material found in the temples is decidedly of a late date, that is from the 4th century B.C. onwards. This seems true also for the sphinxes, judging by the rendering of their bodies, and the ornaments present in their broad, decorated collars. The excavators dated the inscription placed on the statue base of **Cat. Ph35** to the 2nd century B.C.[360] They reflected upon the disputable fact that figures clad in Egyptian-type dress – which they normally would have placed in the 4th century B.C., in a period before the massive onset of Greek iconographic influences – would have been produced at this late date.[361] Others, too, have found

[351] Dunand & Duru 1962, 151–153, pls. 36.1–2, 37.1 (M.361).

[352] Dunand & Duru 1962, pl. 27.1–3.

[353] It is true that the excavators saw in the raised right hand a cup or *thymiaterion*, perhaps with flames rising from it (p. 145). However, the three parallel, rounded rectangles visible high in front of the figure (suggested to be the lower feathers of a winged sun disk) could instead be the drop shapes hanging from the small collar of a ram-headed (?) scepter. Again it is necessary to emphasize the abraded state of the stone and the uncertainty of any interpretations and identifications made. For more on this scepter and the figures carrying them, see below, and Ch. 5.2.2.

[354] Dunand & Duru 1962, 71, pls. 63.2–3, 64.1–3. Like the larger figures, these small-scale ones are wearing a towering crown with a thin object hanging from its knob. Their right arm is raised: one figure is holding a scepter, the other seemingly a tall staff.

[355] Dunand & Duru 1962, 185, pl. 79.3 (the Louvre, Inv. no. AO 4047). The inscription on the stele reads in translation: "À Ba'alyaton, fils de 'Abdhor, prêtre de Milk'ashtart."

[356] For more on this matter, including the additional evidence from the rock carving at nearby Wadi Ashur, see Ch. 5.2.2.

[357] Dunand & Duru 1962, 233–234, pl. 9.4 ("mur d'époque antérieure").

[358] Dunand & Duru 1962, 193–194, 233.

[359] Compare pls. 22–23 (Doric capitals and volute capitals), 24, 26 (Ionian capitals and architraves), and 84.1 (an elaborate, Ionian capital). The lintels with Egyptianizing decoration are more difficult to date (see, for example, pl. 25.3, M.366).

[360] Dunand & Duru 1962, 193.

[361] Dunand & Duru 1962, 195.

difficulties in ascribing the Egyptianizing statuary from Umm el-Amed to the late Achaemenid or Hellenistic period. It has been suggested that figures like **Cat. Ph32–35** were reused, and that later inscriptions were added to their bases and back-pillar supports.[362] It is true that the Egyptian-type dress in Phoenicia is generally found in statuary datable to the 6th and early 5th century B.C. and that certain details on the body, like the straight arm lacking in anatomical detail (**Cat. Ph34**), would echo a much earlier date. But the best preserved broad, decorated collar of the Egyptianizing figures shows close similarities in terms of its decoration to the counterparts worn by the decidedly late (4th–2nd century B.C.) sphinxes from the site. It is further a fact that the carved surface of dress and body of **Cat. Ph35** is very well-preserved. I do suggest that in contrast to the other Egyptianizing figures, which seem to have been made of the local, coarse-grained stone, **Cat. Ph35** was carved from a more fine-grained variety.[363] Despite this, it seems impossible to envisage that this stone surface would have been exposed, flanking the main entrance to the western temple for several generations.[364] With its find spot, at the gate of a Hellenistic sanctuary, and its well-preserved condition, this figure is perhaps the strongest indication of a late date (if not as late as the 2nd century B.C.) of the Egyptianizing figures at Umm el-Amed. In addition, the six Egyptianizing figures are not alone in being "Archaizing". If we want to date **Cat. Ph32–35** to a decidedly earlier period than the rest of the material from the site, then we need to be able to explain the large number of related examples which also correspond closely to an iconography in vogue along the Phoenician coast already from the 8th century B.C. onwards. How are we to explain the presence of the stylized "sacred tree", and the volute capital framed by characteristic raised, narrow outlines, carrying the small, characteristic drop shape hanging from beneath the volute?[365] And what about the niche (or lintel) with stepped or recessed entrance, equipped with either sun disk and New Kingdom-type *uraei*, or small columns with a row of drooping palm leaves?[366] Add to this that at the smaller, eastern sanctuary a sphinx throne was unearthed, where the sphinxes are wearing *nemes* headcloths, double crowns, broad collars decorated with persea fruits, frontal *devanteaux* with horizontal space bars and have inlaid eyes.[367] All elements enumerated here characterize 8th–7th century B.C. Phoenician iconography, witnessed mainly in the minor arts, where ivory plaques and occasional statuettes stand out as the richest source of evidence.[368] It seems that at Umm el-Amed, we have a late Achaemenid and Hellenistic architectural and sculptural material which expresses a much earlier ivory iconography, although in large-scale stone. If we want to place the male figures clad in Egyptian-type outfit in an earlier period, we shall have to do the same with this whole range of rather closely related material. I believe the material at the site is coherent, and that it represents a remarkably well-preserved example of the way that an Egyptianizing iconography continued to be in vogue in the Phoenician cities well down into the Hellenistic period, and perhaps even beyond – parallel with a Greek-style Hellenistic one.[369]

Umm el-Amed is one of the richest sites along the Phoenician coast when it comes to epigraphical finds. Sixteen dedicatory inscriptions were published by Dunand and Duru in 1962. The statue base on top of which **Cat. Ph35** most probably was placed has a key role in the identification of the deity residing in the larger, western sanctuary. As noted above, the base was placed at the main entrance of that complex, and it carries a dedication to Milkashtart El-Hammon. The identification of the dedication of the western sanctuary at Umm el-Amed to this god is further corroborated by finds from inside the sacred complex, carved upon the excavated relief stelai and orthostats, and on the base of a fragmentary sphinx statue.[370] Theophoric names include Abdosir, Abdeshmun, and Abdadoni, thus linking the main,

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362 Spycket 1981, 426; Fontan 1997, 255–256; Tore 1995, 449 (regarding **Cat. Ph33** and **Cat. Ph34**); Nunn 2000, 20, 250. See above, Ch. 4.3 n. 77.

363 Dunand and Duru discuss the hard, heavy, coarse-grained limestone used for most of the statuary from the site on p. 90 (where n. 3 is of interest). See also p. 158 ("le mauvais calcaire local"). The local stone, *ramleh*, is said to be more fine-grained, and thus more easy to work. It is less suitable for statuary, however, and at Umm el-Amed it seems to have been used merely for later constructions, not sculpture. The excavators do not suggest that **Cat. Ph35** was made from a stone different from the local heavy, coarse-grained one.

364 See above n. 312.

365 Dunand & Duru 1962, pls. 37.1 ("sacred tree"), 28.2, 29.1 (volute capitals). Both these features are found in direct connection with depictions of persons in the act of adoration, figures which are clad in Hellenistic dress.

366 Dunand & Duru 1962, pls. 25.3, 63, 37.2. For the New Kingdom-type *uraei*: pl. 87.2–3 (door lintels).

367 Dunand & Duru 1962, pl. 67.1–3.

368 The excavators did note certain iconographical similarities to the much earlier Egyptianizing Phoenician ivory material: Dunand & Duru 1962, 143–150.

369 M. Yon and A. Caubet discuss a similar continuity regarding the material recovered at and around Amrit: Yon & Caubet 1993, 65–66.

370 See, again, the stele depicting a man clad in a tunic with raised right arm, with the inscription: "À Ba'alyaton, fils de 'Abdhor, prêtre de Milk'ashtart": Dunand & Duru 1962, 188, pl. 79.3 (the Louvre, Inv. no. AO 4047). For the stone sphinx: 192–193, pl. 31.2–3 (M.363), where the translated inscription mentions a "sculpture toute d'or".

local god with the young, dying god of both Egyptian and Phoenician descent.[371] Nineteenth-century finds of inscriptions, which escape secure identification to either of the two sanctuaries, include the mentioning of what seems to be a subsidiary god, Baalshamin.[372] **Cat. Ph33** and **Cat. Ph34** carry pious inscriptions addressing El and Osiris (?), respectively.[373] The main Phoenician goddess is present both in combination with the name of the main god of the western sanctuary, and in theophoric names from that complex (Ashtartazar). It is possible that she was venerated in that temple together with him – and that Milkashtart should be read "Milk (qart) consort of Astarte".[374] Since Astarte is also evidenced through a theophoric name at the smaller, eastern temple, and since a certain amount of female statuettes and an empty sphinx throne were recovered there, the excavators believed that the slightly smaller sanctuary complex was dedicated to the female deity.[375]

4.4.3 Find patterns

The areas of influence of the Phoenician coastal city states are quite difficult to determine. Under Assyrian and neo-Babylonian overlordship, cities like Arwad, Sumur, Tripoli, Byblos, Beirut, Sidon, and Tyre were kept under strong commercial control and forced to pay heavy tribute. Commercial activities and expansion were made in accordance with the will of the ruling, eastern kings.[376] The situation during the period of increased Persian influence (from 525 B.C.) seems to have been somewhat different, perhaps due to the Great King's dependence on Phoenician naval powers against Egypt and Greece.[377] Textual evidence indicates that the larger Phoenician cities were allowed to expand their territories on a larger scale. The inscription on the sarcophagus of the Sidonian king Eshmunazar II, mentioned above, tells how "the Lord of Kings" (the Persian ruler) gave the royal Sidonian family supremacy over an area extending from Dor to Jaffa.[378] The archaeological record confirms that a large part of the Levantine coast, from Gaza to Al Mina, was under the influence of – or traded extensively with – the main Phoenician cities listed above.[379] This, indeed, for much of the Iron Age (I–III) period, but increasingly so under the Persian era (525–330 B.C.).

Thus, when considering the finds made of Egyptianizing votive sculpture in Phoenicia, we need to consider the main Phoenician city states without neglecting the areas of influence situated further north and south along the Eastern Mediterranean littoral. What immediately follows, however, is the need to emphasize the well-known fact of a very poor material record preserved on the Phoenician mainland. Continuous habitation up until modern times, intensive Graeco-Roman building activities (even geographical alterations), and a war-torn recent history all add up to the extremely fragmentary evidence available regarding the Iron Age levels of the area.[380] We have no indications whatsoever of urban Iron Age religious centers at large cities like Tripoli, Beirut, Sidon, or Tyre, sanctuaries which are occasionally known through ancient sources and inscriptions.[381] Occasional finds of votive statuary from the largest and most influential of the Phoenician city states – Sidon and Tyre – have been made, including the Egyptianizing **Cat. Ph22** and **Cat. Ph31**.[382] They remain sporadic finds which merely serve to point out what has been lost to us. Haphazard was also the 19th-century acquisition of **Cat. Ph28**, at the village of Sarafand. It is worth noting that at this site, at ancient Sarepta, an American expedition unearthed a small-scale sanctuary where the very limited epigraphical evidence refers to Anat-Astarte.[383] It seems impossible to ascribe the colossal, limestone figure as once belonging to the diminutive shrine. However, a later (4th century B.C.) inscriptional find at the site is dedicated to Greek Asklepios (Phoenician Eshmun), thus perhaps indicating the presence of yet another

[371] Dunand & Duru 1962, 194, 240.

[372] Dunand & Duru 1962, 181.

[373] The reading of "Osiris" is doubtful: Dunand & Duru 1962, 189.

[374] Dunand & Duru 1962, 195.

[375] Dunand & Duru 1962, 233. For the theophoric name ("Ashtartpalas"): pp. 193–194 (E.154). For the female deity depicted in the Wadi Ashur rock carving, see below in Ch. 5.2.2.

[376] Elayi 1982, 95.

[377] Elayi 1989, 140–142.

[378] Donner & Röllig 1964, 19–23, no. 14.

[379] Kamlah 1999, 184, notes that while inland Samaria and Judah remained separate regions, the coastal plain and Galilea were largely influenced from outside, evidenced by the fact that Phoenician artefacts and indications of cultic activities abound (bronze *situla* with inscription to Astarte at Mispe Yammim; *scapula* with Phoenician-style maritime scene and Cypro-syllabic inscription, from Tel Dor).

[380] Bikai 1990; Elayi 1990, 229–230.

[381] The sanctuary to Baal or Melqart ("Baal" = "Lord", "Melqart" = "king/lord of the city") at Tyre, is described in: Hdt. 2.44. The funerary inscription of Eshmunazar II recalls – apart from the (re-) building of a sanctuary to Eshmun at the Ydlal spring – various other building activities in sanctuaries situated in different parts of Sidon, to both Astarte and Baal: Donner & Röllig 1964, 19–23, no. 14. On the names of the various city districts of Sidon: Teixidor 1969, 332–333.

[382] It is possible, but in no way ascertained, that **Cat. Ph22** was unearthed during soundings in the vicinity of the southern city gate of Saïda (Sidon), when the American School was built: Asmar 1997, 2, 6.

[383] Pritchard 1978; Pritchard 1988.

cult place in the area.[384] The few well-preserved Phoenician sanctuaries that have come down to us have done so because of very particular, and divergent, circumstances. The temple or "Maabed" at Amrit was cut into the local rock itself, thus providing a unique picture of the total layout of a sacred Phoenician area. The Eshmun sanctuary excavated at Bostan esh-Sheikh was a peri-urban installation, which was only reused as an orchard or plantation after antiquity, due to the abundance there of ("healing") water. Both Kharayeb and Umm el-Amed were rural sites situated within the coastal area dominated by Tyre. No actual habitation or other activity was centered there, after antiquity.

It is a slight compensation that – compared to the Egyptianizing statuary found on Cyprus, where several objects lack a reported provenance – all Phoenician statues except one (**Cat. Ph38**) have a reported find site, occasionally even a more exact find spot. In the following, the patterns that are discernible for the Phoenician material will be presented. Let me once again point out, however, that what is at our disposal today represents only a fraction of the original material.

The find places in relation to general geography, to sanctuaries, and to the chronology, character, and intensity of Egyptian impact of the statues and statuettes

Keeping the above-mentioned *lacunae* in mind, we note that finds of votive sculpture in general, and Egyptianizing statuary in particular, are concentrated to the large Phoenician city states – Arados (Arwad), Sidon, and Tyre – and their immediate areas of influence. With regard to votive figures clad in Egyptian-type dress, the sanctuary at Amrit stands out with its 19 limestone objects.[385] The size of the largest specimens, two colossal and two life-size figures, is unparalleled in the rest of the votive material uncovered at the site. The Eshmun sanctuary at Bostan esh-Sheikh has several parallels to the Amrit "Maabed", not least the presence of similar, Cypriote-style votive types, including the Egyptianizing one. Five statues and statuettes are known from the site, of which two are life-size and one slightly above that.[386] Several large-scale statues that were discovered at the site have since disappeared, however, and we can thus not safely state, as in the case of Amrit, that Egyptianizing figures were alone – among the early material – in being of such large sizes.[387] A similar number of figures in Egyptian-type dress were found at Umm el-Amed (six pieces), although the material from the site prove to be distinctly later in date.[388] Just outside the Milkashtart sanctuary, one slightly over-life-size figure was found, while the other five are somewhat below that size. Similarly later in date and of matching size are the two statues found at Kharayeb (**Cat. Ph29** and **Cat. Ph30**). They were virtually unique, among the large amounts of terracotta statuettes recovered, with regards to their larger size and their material. In contrast, the two colossal figures brought to light at Byblos (**Cat. Ph20** and **Cat. Ph21**) were found together with several other limestone figures of similar (and even larger) dimensions, both seated and standing.[389] It is of interest to note that not less than three sites, in fact the last three mentioned (Umm el-Amed, Kharayeb, and Byblos), display Egyptianizing figures which were found *outside* the temple complexes themselves, standing in courtyards and/or in direct connection with the entrance of the sacred structure.

What Phoenician sanctuaries or sites have yielded no examples of the male Egyptianizing type? Dearth of evidence need not mean anything, as we have seen above. However, the presence of excavated Iron Age (Persian period) levels at a few "empty" coastal sites deserves attention. Thus, among the (admittedly very limited) amount of votive statuary finds belonging to the Persian period at northern sites like Tell Sukas, Ibn Hani,[390] and Sumur (Tell Kazel), no Egyptianizing finds have been reported. The same is true for sites situated south of the Phoenician central area, although being under Phoenician influence, which have yielded 6th–5th-century B.C. votive material: no Egyptianizing figures have been reported either from coastal Akhziv, Dor, Makmish, or Gaza,[391] or from inland Tel Dan, Mispe Yammim, Beth Shean, Eliachin, Tel es-Safi, Tel Sippor, or Tel Gemmeh (*Fig. 18*).[392] The very limited amount of

384 Masson 1982, 45–46. It is of interest to note that the inscription is a digraph, giving the same dedication in Greek and in the Cypro-syllabic script ("Timon Tim... Asklapioi"). Thus, a Cypriote man offered a votive gift to (Eshmun) Asklepios in 4th century B.C. Sarepta. See below, Ch. 5.2.2.

385 **Cat. Ph1–19**.

386 **Cat. Ph23–27**.

387 Stucky 1993, 15.

388 **Cat. Ph32–37**.

389 The evidence points mainly towards seated figures, however, regarding the three figures placed in connection to **Cat. Ph21**, and the two additional (and very similar) seated female figures that were unearthed. A fragmentary male torso may have belonged to either a standing or a seated statue. See above, in the section on "Byblos".

390 For a Herakles Melqart statuette head, found out of context at this site: Bounni *et al.* 1979, 288–290, fig. 55.a-b. On the find context, a Byzantine cistern: pp. 257–288, fig. 51.

391 For Makmish: Avigad 1977; for Gaza: Stern 1975. Single finds are reported and reproduced in: Stern 1982, 161, 163, figs. 270, 274–275 (Makmish), p. 163, fig. 277 (Gaza). On the cult at Dor: Haran 1977.

392 For Tel Dan: Biran 1978; Biran 1980. Epigraphical evidence from Mispe Yammim is presented in: Kamlah 1999. Single finds

finds unearthed at the above Palestinian sites seem to belong to the 5th century B.C., a time when the dedication of Egyptianizing figures was virtually over at sites like Amrit and Bostan esh-Sheikh. On the other hand, Phoenician Kharayeb, with its parallel occurrence of certain types of terracotta figurines and male Egyptianizing limestone figures (**Cat. Ph29** and **Cat. Ph30**), would indicate the possibility of a coexistence of such find categories at, for example, Akhziv, Beth Shean, and Makmish, where identical coroplastic types have been unearthed.[393] We need to consider the differences in cult practices between Phoenicia and Palestine when it comes to dedicating anthropomorphic votive figures in temples or open sanctuaries. In the Phoenician cities early Egyptian influences may have contributed to an openness towards the dedication of votive statuary, while in Palestine the dedication of a votive gift, not necessarily a votive figure, was generally practiced.[394] It could be that the few statuary finds unearthed at Palestinian sites all indicate Phoenician or Cypriote presence. The fact remains that no evidence exists to suggest that dedicators at these sites chose to offer Egyptianizing statuary to the local god or gods.

The Phoenician Egyptianizing statues and statuettes were dedicated at sanctuaries where male healing gods were worshipped. This is true for Amrit and Sidon where inscriptional evidence confirms the identity of the main god. At Sidon, however, there are indications that Astarte was venerated as well, and similarly, at Umm el-Amed, inscriptional evidence refers to Milkashtart, perhaps a combination of the main Phoenician goddess and her male counterpart. In contrast to the Cypriote horizon, three Phoenician statues preserve dedicatory inscriptions that tie them to a specific deity. **Cat. Ph33–35**, from Umm el-Amed, were dedicated to Osiris (?), El, and Milkashtart, respectively – that is, all three to male gods. A particular case is the twin Byblite figures (**Cat. Ph20** and **Cat. Ph21**) which seem to have been among the statuary flanking the entrance to a building related to the cult to the main city goddess of Byblos, Baalat Gubal. This is the only clear evidence which ties male, Egyptianizing stone figures to a major urban sanctuary, both among the Cypriote and the Phoenician material.

In order to determine where the earliest Egyptianizing figures were encountered, we would need to be able to know more of the relative dates of this statuary material. At Amrit and Sidon, Egyptianizing stone statuary was being dedicated by at least the middle of the 6th century B.C. This is the earliest datable indications we have of the votive type in Phoenicia. Again there is a great need to emphasize that it is virtually impossible to reach a consensus regarding the date of statues like the Sarepta piece **Cat. Ph28**, or the Tyre figure **Cat. Ph31**, or even Byblite **Cat. Ph20** and **Cat. Ph21**.[395] That the latest figures were found at Kharayeb and Umm el-Amed was suggested above (see Ch. 4.4.2).

It is of interest to consider the distribution patterns regarding the related figural types, the rendering of dress and body form of the figures, and their varying degrees of intensity of Egyptian impact. The votive figure standing with its right forearm raised was encountered at Amrit, Sidon, and Umm el-Amed while most probably lacking at the other sites,[396] while the figure displaying a raised right forearm *and* a votive animal tucked under the left arm was only encountered at the first two sites.[397] In contrast, figures leaning against a back-pillar support were encountered at all sites *except* at Amrit, and was found in only one example at Sidon (**Cat. Ph24**). A similar pattern is discernible regarding the presence of strongly related figures which seem to have been placed in an antithetical manner flanking an entrance or an important feature within the sanctuary: such figures were encountered at Byblos, Kharayeb, Umm el-Amed, and perhaps Sarepta – but not at Amrit and Sidon.

At all sites – except Byblos – there are examples of the Egyptian-type kilt imitating the royal New

are reproduced in Stern 1982, 17, fig. 21 (Eliachin), p. 161, fig. 271 (Tel es-Safi), p. 161, fig. 272, p. 163, fig. 273, p. 164, fig. 279 (Tel Sippor). E. Gjerstad noted that, apart from at Tel Gemmeh and Tel es-Safi, a Herakles statuette head had been found at Tel Sheikh Yussuf: Gjerstad 1948, 322–324.

393Compare, for example, the bearded male figure wearing an *atef* (?) crown, who is seated on a throne holding his beard: Kaoukabani 1973, 48, pl. 10.4 (Kharayeb) ("...une dizaine de figurines similaires..."); Stern 1982, 165–166, fig. 283 (Beth Shean); Avigad 1977, 770 (Makmish). Compare also Bisi 1990, pls. 1, 2, 4 (pp. 77–78).

394Kamlah 1999, 183–184, fig. 4. However, that there were cases where an aniconic image of the deity was venerated through the dedication of anthropomorphic votive figures is noted in: Uehlinger 1997, 132.

395See, for example, the diverging dates attributed to **Cat. Ph28** and **Cat. Ph31**: Parrot *et al.* 1975, 96–97 (6th century for both statues, *and*, in another place, 8th century B.C. for **Cat. Ph31**); Falsone 1989, 156 (not before the 6th century B.C.); Gubel 2000b, 193 (the 7th or perhaps 8th century B.C. for both figures); Nunn 2000, 21 (6th century B.C. for **Cat. Ph28**, 8th or 7th century B.C. for **Cat. Ph31**).

396Due to the fragmentary state of the material it cannot be ruled out that **Cat. Ph 29** from Kharayeb and **Cat. Ph31** from Tyre raised the right arm as well. Amrit is particular, with the gesture present among not only the male kilt-wearing figures, but the mantle-wearing ones as well. At Umm el-Amed, the rich collection of relief stelai and orthostats have depictions which are quite closely related, where virtually all the figures have their right forearm raised.

397Again, **Cat. Ph29** from Kharayeb may display a raised right arm and a votive animal. This cannot be ascertained, however. Admittedly, there is only one preserved example from Sidon (**Cat. Ph24**).

Kingdom kilt with *devanteau*, cobras, and sash ends. At all sites this type of dress is different from the original outfit, but there are variations regarding these differences or transformations. At Amrit and Sidon the hybrid kilt of Cypriote type is found, combining the kilt with *devanteau* and the plain *shenti* with apron. At sites like Sarepta, Kharayeb, Tyre, and Umm el-Amed, on the other hand, the transformation of the New Kingdom-type kilt is created from this dress type only, and has no relation to the opened-up (and decorated) apron so characteristic of Cypriote Egyptianizing figures. In fact, this particular type of elaborate dress, displaying a decorated apron-*devanteau*, is encountered only at Amrit in a handful of examples (**Cat. Ph1**, **Cat. Ph4–6**), while at Sidon the combination of the two kilts is rather the well-rendered one encountered in only few Cypriote statues, particularly the related group of figures found at Palaepaphos (**Cat. 52**, **Cat. 53**, **Cat. 56**, and **Cat. 57**).[398] Similar to the Palaepaphos figures on Cyprus, the Sidonian kilts come closest to the original Egyptian outfit when considering the Egyptianizing figures unearthed in Phoenicia. The transformations of the New Kingdom-type dress encountered in the statues from Sarepta, Kharayeb, Tyre, and Umm el-Amed are entirely unknown on Cyprus. In addition – in contrast to what was the case on Cyprus – there are several statues within the Phoenician material which are depicted wearing a plain *shenti* kilt with ("textile") apron.

It is only at Amrit and Sidon that the broad collar decorated with persea fruits, hanging triangles, and drop shapes has been found (a collar so commonly encountered on Cyprus), and the single finds of Egyptian royal crowns come from these sites as well.[399] Similarly, the short-sleeved garment which is characteristic for Cypriote statuary is found on statues and statuettes from Amrit and Sidon, but not from any other Phoenician site.

Turning to the evaluation of the various degrees of intensity of Egyptian impact witnessed in the statues and statuettes, we note that on the whole there is an abundance of Egyptianizing figures with strong impact at the Phoenician sites. At Amrit and Sidon, as well as at Umm el-Amed, Kharayeb, and Byblos, the Egyptianizing statues are generally equipped with several Egyptian-type dress elements and ornaments. The same goes for the two single statues unearthed at Sarepta and Tyre (**Cat. Ph28** and **Cat. Ph31**). In fact, the only site with figures which perhaps emit a weaker impact is northern Amrit. Beside the figures equipped with New Kingdom-type kilt with *devanteau* and *uraei* and even broad decorated collars, stand the figurines – often more limited in size – which display merely a kilt with central apron.[400] The related Sidonian material displays no such spectrum, but all six figures found in the area (including **Cat. Ph22**) have richly decorated outfits. The two colossal figures from Byblos, which seemingly have quite plain and unadorned attire, in fact have a strong Egyptian impact. Incorporated in the figures are not only the plain *shenti*, the "emblematic staves", the incised broad collar, and the tripartite ("tressed") wig, but the figures are also further equipped with the characteristic Egyptian back-pillar support reaching up to about shoulder height. The back-pillar support in fact distinguishes much of the Phoenician Egyptianizing material, missing only at Amrit (and mostly at Sidon). This technical feature thus adds to the general strong Egyptian impact of the Phoenician figures. Two large statuettes from Umm el-Amed, **Cat. Ph33** and **Cat. Ph34**, even share the way the back-pillar support has been used for inscription, in the Egyptian manner. The placing of pair statues in connection with entrances to sacred structures is another trait with clear Egyptian antecedents, a trait which thus has a strong impact. We saw above that this is an arrangement which has been (at least) indicated from virtually all Phoenician sites except Amrit and Sidon.[401]

Not only the number of Egyptian-type dress elements and ornaments but also the actual transformations of the Egyptian-type outfits lead to varying degrees of intensity of Egyptian impact in the statues and statuettes under discussion. Keeping in mind that much of the Sidonian material is possible to study through photographs only, it remains true that the appearance of Egyptian-type features in the statues and statuettes from the site is markedly close to Egyptian counterparts – and thus that the impact can be considered strong. This regards not only the kilts and their equipment, but also the crown and facial features in one preserved case (**Cat. Ph26**).[402]

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[398] For a description of this type of transformed dress, see above, in Ch. 2.4.2.

[399] **Cat. Ph13** is wearing a squat version of the Egyptian double crown – in the manner of several Cypriote Egyptianizing statues – while **Cat. Ph26** has the white (?) crown of Egypt.

[400] Compare the "strong" figures **Cat. Ph1**, **Cat. Ph4**, **Cat. Ph5**, **Cat. Ph8**, and **Cat. Ph9**, with the "weaker" **Cat. Ph14** and **Cat. Ph17–19**. It has been noted before that the presence of broad decorated collars is indicated merely through fragments (**Cat. Ph2** and **Cat. Ph3**).

[401] In fact, **Cat. Ph8** and **Cat. Ph9**, **Cat. Ph11** and **Cat. Ph12**, from Amrit, correspond in style and in outfit. At Sidon, **Cat. Ph23** and **Cat. Ph27** seem to have been of corresponding size. By no means does this prove that they were once displayed together, however.

[402] The statuette **Cat. Ph25** has an outfit which is in one way quite far from Egyptian counterparts, most clearly visible, perhaps, in the rendering of the cobras and sash ends. As regards

In addition, the two Byblos colossi and the statues from Umm el-Amed diverge very little from Egyptian counterparts in dress. It could be noted that these figures are wearing the plain *shenti*, attire in which divergences are seldom encountered. The single figure from Umm el-Amed wearing a version of the more decorated New Kingdom kilt with *devanteau* and *uraei* does, in fact, show a very transformed rendering (**Cat. Ph32**).[403] **Cat. Ph28** and **Cat. Ph31**, from Sarepta and Tyre, respectively, have sash ends which are deformed in a similar way, and the other elements of dress in these figures are all more or less distant from Egyptian originals. The same goes for the Kharayeb figures (**Cat. Ph29** and **Cat. Ph30**), where, on the one hand, the Egyptian elements are plentiful (with a strong impact), but where the rendering of the sash ends on the more well-preserved of the two figures have come a far way from the original Egyptian devices (a weaker Egyptian impact).

In fact, much transformed and thus "weak" renderings are found at all sites, except Sidon.

Comparative patterns: the find places of other Egyptianizing – and non-Egyptianizing – votive statuary and objects

The other sculptural stone material that the Egyptianizing figures have been found with is quite divergent when we compare the sites. Amrit and Sidon have virtually identical categories of find types, including the Herakles Melqart and the mantle-wearing figure, corresponding well with the main votive types encountered at the average Cypriote Archaic sanctuary.[404] Byblos, with the so-called "Bâtiment I", most probably represents a much altered archaeological find situation. Additional colossal figures were found in connection with **Cat. Ph20** and **Cat. Ph21**, but the rest of the associated finds are of very diverging dates and types, and few can be safely attributed to the same period as the two large limestone figures. In general it can be stated that all sites except Byblos are characterized by the abundance, indeed the vast majority, of male figures and finds. At Byblos only, female colossal figures were among those found in connection with the two male Egyptianizing statues.

At certain of the Phoenician sites we noted (above) the presence of votive material which is related to the male Egyptianizing figures, sharing the same kind of Egyptian-type outfit and/or decorative elements. The sphinxes, either free-standing or flanking the sides of a stone throne, is one such category. They share not only the broad decorated collar, the double crown, and the "*devanteau*" of the male figures, but also the way they are arranged in pairs flanking the throne of a deity.[405] At sites like Bostan esh-Sheikh and at Umm el-Amed, both free-standing creatures and those which are incorporated into thrones were encountered. The single Sidonian, free-standing (crouching) sphinx is wearing a *nemes* headcloth and a ceremonial beard, while the sphinx throne excavated *in situ* at the site displays standing, winged creatures with similar (although much weathered) attire.[406] At Umm el-Amed several free-standing (crouching) sphinxes were uncovered, where two pairs were shown to have flanked the main entrance to the eastern temple and the steps leading up to the western temple cella, respectively. These creatures share the *nemes* headcloth and the broad decorated collar. In addition, in the eastern temple a well-preserved sphinx throne was unearthed, displaying winged creatures each wearing striped *nemes*, double crown, broad collar decorated with persea fruits and hanging drops, and – indeed – a "*devanteau*" with thin *uraei* connected by horizontal spacer bars.[407] Yet another throne was found at the site.[408] The find category of sphinx thrones is well known and attested at several other sites as well,[409] including various examples from Tyre and its immediate vicinity.[410] However, in common for these thrones and the free-standing sphinxes is that they are all datable to the 4th century B.C. onwards. From the preceding (6th and

the general resemblance to the Egyptian-type kilt and its features, however, the figure remains close – and thus "strong".

[403] We noted already above that the placing of the cobras and the sash ends *on* the "*devanteau*" of this 4th century B.C. (?) figure corresponds closely to the similarly transformed rendering found on **Cat. 21** and **Cat. 22**, both found at Golgoi (Ayios Photios).

[404] The naked male figure is also found at the two sites, a votive type which is rare – but not unknown – from Cyprus itself.

[405] Similar to some of the male figures possibly flanking entrances, the flanking sphinxes extend the front leg nearest to the throne. For clear examples: Doumet Serhal *et al.* 1998, 33–34, nos. 14, 15 (from Ayn Baal, near Tyre, and from Sidon).

[406] Stucky 1993, 73–74, pls. 13.47, 15.58. Due to the condition of the sphinxes flanking the throne, and the fact that their heads were separately inserted, it can only be assumed (not stated) that they, too, were wearing *nemes* headcloths. No traces of ceremonial beards remain.

[407] Dunand & Duru 1962, pl. 67.

[408] Dunand & Duru 1962, pl. 87.1. The sphinxes are very weathered, in part missing, but it is possible to discern the frontal "*devanteau*" with thin, double lines ("cobras") on the right-hand side creature.

[409] Delcor 1983; Swiggers 1983; Will 1986.

[410] The Tyrian thrones include examples where the sphinxes are wearing *nemes* headcloths, double crowns, broad decorated collars, and/or "*devanteaux*" with *uraei* and horizontal spacer bars. An inscription found on a throne from Khirbet et-Tajibe contains a dedication to Astarte, a fact which has led to the general association between this object and the supreme Phoenician goddess. For the inscription: Donner & Röllig 1964, 25–26, no. 17. The dedicator is Bodbastet (son of Bodbaal), a theophoric name containing the name of Bastet, the Egyptian cat goddess.

5th) centuries, there are simply no known examples, in stone. Found in connection with the two colossal Byblos figures, **Cat. Ph20** and **Cat. Ph21**, was one sphinx's wing, carved in limestone. It is seemingly of contemporary (6th century B.C.) date. It remains too fragmentary, however, to be treated further.

Thus, the sphinxes encountered at Sidon prove to belong to a later period of time than the Egyptianizing votive figures found there, while the creatures from Umm el-Amed share the late date of the kilt-wearing votive statues from that particular site. From Amrit and Kharayeb come no finds whatsoever of sphinxes in stone. In fact, there is a complete lack of related Egyptianizing material in the round at the rich find-site Amrit. It is also worth emphasizing that the preserved Phoenician material culture of the period seems completely void of any Hathoric iconography.[411]

Is there, then, any related Phoenician material in the round which is datable to the late Assyrian, the neo-Babylonian, or the early Persian periods (ca. 700–475 B.C.)? Indeed, small-scale Egyptianizing figures are testified, not of stone but of faience, bronze, and ivory. At the Eshmun sanctuary at Bostan esh-Sheikh, an entire group of Egyptianizing faience statuettes was unearthed. The figures are very closely related and belong to a find category which has been encountered at not only other Levantine sites, but in the Eastern Mediterranean area in general.[412] It has been suggested that these Sidonian figures are actually limestone statuettes covered with a green glaze,[413] but in general they are described as made of faience.[414] They all have a vertically pleated *shenti*, rendered in an awkward manner so typical for the faience repertoire. In addition, they generally wear the *nemes* headcloth, have ceremonial beards, "emblematic staves", painted broad collars, and armrings. A peculiarity for this category of figures is the way they often display small monkeys or sphinxes set closely to the lower part of their legs. Quite a few figurines are grasping a tall and thin papyrus (?) stalk, and occasionally holding a lotus flower. Apart from the eight statuettes that were found in the southwestern corner of the second podium at Bostan esh-Sheikh, a single identical figure was found in the small-scale sanctuary at Sarepta, referred to above.[415]

Of similar size as the faience statuettes, and of similarly obscure provenance, are the few ivory statuettes which have been attributed stylistically as stemming from workshops within the Phoenician coastal cities. Virtually no finds of the very well-known category – mostly plaques but occasionally statuettes in the round which may have been part of the decoration of furniture and other objects – have been made in Phoenicia itself, but only in distant royal centers like Arslan Tash, Nimrud, and Samaria.[416] The later material, which is datable to the 8th and 7th centuries B.C., was encountered at Assyrian Nimrud. The place of manufacture of the ivories which display Egyptianizing motifs, including male figures clad in Egyptian-type dress, is under continuous debate. There is consensus, however, that the major centers of production for this category of objects can be assigned to the Phoenician coastal cities. The few statuettes in the round that are preserved display well-equipped, male, kilt-wearing figures, all dressed in the finely pleated New Kingdom-type kilt with *devanteau* and *uraei*. Broad decorated collars are part of the outfit, as are tripartite wigs or double crowns.[417]

4.5 The Phoenician material: imported or locally produced?

What follows is a typological and stylistic comparison between the material found in the Phoenician sanctuaries and that excavated on Cyprus. To establish the relationship between these two categories of objects is of great importance for our understanding of the phenomenon of Egyptianizing statuary as a whole. Thus, in the section below, Cypriote and Phoenician characteristics are defined and identified, and suggestions are made as to the patterns of actual local manufacture for the group of limestone figures under study.[418]

411 See, however, below in Ch. 5.1.3.

412 Well-known are the three finds from Tel Dan, of which a large head (H. 12 cm) and a torso share a common context, placed inside two jars set into the floor of what has been identified as an Iron Age cult installation at the site: Biran 1978, 270, pl. 53.c; Biran 1980, 91–98, figs. 6–7, pl. 5.a–b.

413 Macridy 1903, 74; Nunn 1996, 255. I thank D. Wicke for this last reference. If these figurines were of limestone, made in close imitation of faience, they would have needed to go into the in-text catalogue (Ch. 4.2) of Phoenician Egyptianizing limestone figures.

414 von Landau 1904, 70–71; Stucky 1993, 14 n. 68; Hölbl 2000, 146–150. I have not had the chance to study the figurines myself.

415 Pritchard 1988, 47, 268, fig. 13.64. For more on these figurines, see below in Ch. 5.1.3.

416 For an ivory statuette seemingly wearing a broad decorated collar, discovered in the Sarepta sanctuary: Pritchard 1988, 113, 282, fig. 29.25. No. 26 represents a small, two-dimensional plaque (female figure with plaited wig and broad collar decorated with lilies). See also two female bone statuettes: Stucky 1985, 10, 26–27, pl. 2.3–4 (both – once – displaying broad decorated collars with counterpoise at the back).

417 Barnett 1957, 175, fig. 65 (at least three figures rendered in three-quarters relief); Herrmann 1986, pls. 338–339, 340.1293. For more on this ivory statuette material, see below in Ch. 5.1.3.

418 Now when the typological and stylistic relationship between statues found on Cyprus and in Phoenicia are at issue, it becomes

4.5.1 The formal relations between the Cypriote and the Phoenician Egyptianizing material (Table 4)

Seventy-one Egyptianizing limestone statues and statuettes are recorded in this study as having been found on Cyprus, while 38 pieces are known from the Phoenician coast. The two groups of votive material have been selected for study from a rich repertoire of statuary and other votive objects, dedicated in most major sanctuaries in those areas where cult was practiced during the 6th century B.C. On Cyprus, virtually every known archaeological context yielded a very large number of additional votive statuary, in addition to the Egyptianizing figures. This is true for the "Maabed" at Amrit and the sanctuary at Bostan esh-Sheikh as well, both of which yielded a larger group of stone and terracotta votive material. The other Phoenician find sites, however, display only single, related, statuary finds from the same contexts as the male Egyptianizing figures.

There are obvious similarities between the Egyptianizing, kilt-wearing statuary found on Cyprus and that in Phoenicia. Both groups consist of the male statue or statuette, ranging in size from around 30 centimeters to way above life-size. Virtually all figures have the left leg slightly advanced, and several have both arms hanging parallel along the sides of the body. The kilt held up by a broad belt placed on the hips and equipped with cobras and sash ends is common within both groups, as is the broad, decorated collar. The round objects ("emblematic staves") clenched in their hands are similarly encountered in figures from both Cyprus and Phoenicia. Beside these parallels, however, there are discernible differences between the two groups of material, visible through a handful of features typical for either Cyprus or Phoenicia, but not both. It can be stated that the following traits are unique for Egyptianizing limestone statues unearthed on Cyprus:

- The male, kilt-wearing figure dressed like a warrior or hunter, carrying either helmet and sword, or bow and arrows (see **Cat. 30**, **Cat. 35**, and **Cat. 37**).
- The characteristically rounded shoulders which much exceed in width the neglected torso.
- The bearded male face.[419]
- The eyebrows, and even moustache, decorated by a characteristic "feathered" pattern.
- The double spiral earrings.

It could be argued that these are features which characterize Cypriote workmanship in Archaic votive statuary. It is highly interesting to note that all five are similarly characteristic of, and even distinguish, Cypriote terracotta statuary (see Ch. 2.2.2).

Unique for Phoenicia are, on the other hand:

- The back-pillar support.
- The presence of two close to identical figures which are arranged together within the sacred area, in a flanking or antithetical manner.[420]
- The *nemes* headcloth.
- The squarish body.
- The flat, inorganically attached arms.
- The well-carved back.

In addition, there are several Phoenician – but only very few Cypriote – examples of the following constellation:

- The male, kilt-wearing figure which has the right forearm and hand raised.[421]
- The kilt-wearing figure which carries a votive animal under the left arm.[422]

Beyond these clear-cut differences, there are several other features which seem to characterize the Cypriote and the Phoenician Egyptianizing groups, respectively. Before outlining these additional differences, however, we need to do justice to the heterogeneous Phoenician material by reintroducing the preliminary groupings arrived at in the analytical section 4.3.6. There, three subgroups (1 A, 1 B, and 2) were defined within the Phoenician Egyptianizing statuary material based on their typological and stylistic properties. Common to both the first two groups (1 A–B), which were strongly related, were a

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of importance to include in the discussion only these objects which can be fairly safely attributed to the Archaic period, to the 7th and 6th centuries B.C. Thus, in the following the statues from Kharayeb and Umm el-Amed are excluded, statuary seemingly belonging to the 5th/4th and 4th/3rd centuries B.C., respectively.

[419]No examples are known from the Phoenician Egyptianizing group which admittedly is poor in preserved heads.

[420]The Byblite colossi and the Sarepta torso are mere indications of a phenomenon which seems determined by the later material available to us, **Cat. Ph29** and **Cat. Ph30**, from Kharayeb and **Cat. Ph33**–**35** from Umm el-Amed. It is only within this later material that we encounter (preserved) pairs of virtually identical sculpture where one of the figures displays the right leg advanced, instead of the left.

[421]**Cat. 39** from Golgoi is the only known, possible Cypriote occurrence. Admittedly, the lower part of the figure's right arm is missing.

[422]This is, in fact, encountered in two kilt-wearing figures from Cyprus, **Cat. 45**, from Kition, and **Cat. 62**, of unknown provenance – and reported from the site of Pyla (see Ch. 3.2.2). See also the above-mentioned **Cat. 39**, from Golgoi, which is holding a votive goat (the dress of the figure is not the characteristically Egyptian-type one, however). In addition, the general animal-carrying votary is very common on Cyprus.

squarish body, schematically rendered musculature,[423] and arms sculpted in direct connection to the body, in some figures flat and inorganically attached to it. Preserved heads were unproportionately large in relation to the rest of the body. All figures within the first two groups lean against back-pillar supports, and accordingly have back sides which are fairly well carved. Since the Umm el-Amed and the Kharayeb figures comprised the second group together with Tyrian **Cat. Ph31**, the remaining entries representing the first and second groups here are **Cat. Ph20** and **Cat. Ph21**, from Byblos, **Cat. Ph28**, from Sarepta, and **Cat. Ph38**, of unknown provenance. The rest of the Egyptianizing votive material from Phoenicia, corresponding basically to the statuary excavated at Amrit and at Sidon/Bostan esh-Sheikh, was placed within a separate (third) group (group 2). Apart from lacking the above characteristics, they were seen to display plain body surfaces, (generally) no back-pillar supports and thus only roughly carved backs,[424] and arms detached from the bodies. Both plain kilts and elaborately decorated, pleated ones were encountered.[425] We thus find ourselves with a first (**Cat. Ph20**, **Cat. Ph21**, **Cat. Ph28**, **Cat. Ph31**, and **Cat. Ph38**) and a second (Amrit and Sidon/Bostan esh-Sheikh) group within the Phoenician material.

With these two subdivisions in mind we can better attempt a more detailed comparison with the Egyptianizing pieces discovered on Cyprus. The approach is to identify features which are more common within one tradition, as compared to the other – resulting, perhaps, in less clear-cut, but nonetheless revealing, differences. It is thus possible to note that a characteristic trait for much of the (early) Cypriote Egyptianizing material is the statue or statuette displaying one arm hanging along the side of the body, the other arm bent with the clenched hand placed on the chest. In Phoenicia this pose is only (possibly) encountered at coastal Amrit.[426] Similarly commonly found among the figures excavated on Cyprus, less so amid those found in Phoenicia, is the richly decorated statue. Several Cypriote figures display the characteristic opened-up *shenti* with decorated apron-*devanteau*, where cobras, sash ends, apotropaic heads, figural and vegetal ornaments were added. We saw above, in Ch. 2.4.2, that on this available central area the horizontal spacer bars connecting the double cobras could disappear, allowing for the creatures to come alive, even interact. Drop shapes could turn into lotus flowers (**Cat. 12**), and thin coiling snakes could be added to the composition. In the Phoenician material only single similar examples are found within the second (Amrit and Sidon/Bostan esh-Sheikh) group.[427] The broad collar found on several of the Cypriote figures is also richly decorated, with stylized floral motifs arranged in three or more broad registers,[428] and the broad belts with relief decoration found on several statues. The short-sleeved garments, sometimes adorned with decorative horizontal and vertical floral borders, are recurrent in the Cypriote material, much less so in the Phoenician.[429] Further single, decorative details can be found on the Cypriote pieces only.[430] In addition, the decorativeness of the Cypriote outfits was sometimes emphasized by the alternate application of paint, in a manner referred to in this study as "color as pattern", a trait recorded only once within the Phoenician sphere (in Sidonian **Cat. Ph22**). Recurrent in the Cypriote material but rare in the Phoenician are further the spiral armrings placed around both upper arms.[431]

In comparison to the Egyptianizing material found on Cyprus, few of the Phoenician figures have preserved heads. Keeping this in mind, we still note several divergences when it comes to the headdresses worn by the Cypriote and the Phoenician figures. The plain headcloth or kerchief, so commonly found

[423] All figures in the first two groups have a naked upper torso.

[424] R. Stucky notes that a finished back side of a statue is characteristic for Phoenician workmanship, a rough and neglected back instead marking Cypriote work: Stucky 1993, 72, no. 39.

[425] Within this "third" group (group 2), the pleats of the kilt are thin and vertical, while it occurs in the first group (see, for example, **Cat. Ph28**, **Cat. Ph31**, and **Cat. Ph38**) that the pleats are broader and hanging, virtually horizontal. Compare the later Kharayeb figures (**Cat. Ph29** and **Cat. Ph30**). Compare also the Cypriote (?) animal-carrying **Cat. 62**, which lacks a reported provenance. That there is a possibility that this figurine was, in fact, found in Phoenicia was noted above in Ch. 3.3.1 n. 343.

[426] See above, Ch. 4.4.2. For a general discussion on the pose, and on Cypriote versus Phoenician material: Falsone 1989.

[427] See **Cat. Ph1**, in particular, but also **Cat. Ph4**–**6**.

[428] The characteristic raised, narrow outline found around the (floral) elements of several Cypriote figures is echoed in the collar of Sidonian **Cat. Ph22** (framing the hanging triangles).

[429] For the few available examples of these decorative elements and traits within the material uncovered in Phoenicia, all from Amrit and Sidon (group 2): **Cat. Ph2**, **Cat. Ph3**, and **Cat. Ph22** (broad collar with stylized floral motifs); **Cat. Ph1** (broad, decorated belt); **Cat. Ph1**, **Cat. Ph22**, and **Cat. Ph23** (short-sleeved garments decorated with floral borders).

[430] A well-known border design (one horizontal rectangle followed by two squares, etc.) is encountered on the kilts of **Cat. 6** and **Cat. 61**. The squat double crown of **Cat. 30**, from Golgoi (Ayios Photios), was adorned not merely with a frontal rosette (see also **Cat. 20**), but also with so-called paradise flowers linked with curving loops. The only exception is the disk and crescent motif displayed on the chest of **Cat. Ph28**, from Sarepta.

[431] Spiral armrings are encountered on related **Cat. Ph22**–**24**, from Bostan esh-Sheikh, and Tyrian **Cat. Ph31** (where it is placed around the wrist). We noted above that an additional armring, ending in animals' heads, has been found on an arm fragment at Amrit.

on Cyprus, is not represented in Phoenicia,[432] nor is the Egyptian-type wig with tresses emanating from a point on the crest of the head, each unit held together by thin bands. The recurrent, Cypriote, squat, double crown is found in one single instance in Phoenicia – at Amrit (**Cat. Ph13**). And the *nemes* headcloth with frontal cobra on the unprovenanced **Cat. Ph38** is unique for the Phoenician material. Additional types of headgear are found within the Cypriote and the Phoenician statuary, respectively, each occurring only once or twice.[433]

Turning from the attire to the face and body form of the figures, we note additional traits which are common in the Cypriote group of figures, much less so in the Phoenician one. Certain statues and statuettes display the characteristic, general Cypriote statuary trait of leaving the back of the figure only roughly cut. The resulting board-shaped appearance of much Cypriote statuary is not paralleled in the Phoenician material in general, but does occur among the statuary excavated in connection to the Amrit "Maabed" (*Pl. 18.4*).[434] The over-sized thumb occurring in Cypriote statuary is not encountered in Phoenicia.[435] And, as in the case of the headgear, above, there are several hairstyles found among the Cypriote figures which are not paralleled among the Phoenician statuary.[436]

Considering the differences and similarities between the Cypriote and the Phoenician figures as regards the varying degrees of intensity of Egyptian impact displayed, we note that here as well, there are parallels between the Cypriote Egyptianizing figures and those belonging to the second Phoenician (Amrit and Sidon/Bostan esh-Sheikh) group. Correspondingly, there are few such parallels between the Cypriote figures and the first group of Phoenician material (**Cat. Ph20**, **Cat. Ph21**, **Cat. Ph28**, **Cat. Ph31**, and **Cat. Ph38**). In Ch. 3.3.1, above, we saw how rich, Cypriote find sites like Idalion and Golgoi had figures with both stronger and weaker Egyptian impact, with figures placed all along the hypothetical sliding scale. The only actual exception was Palaepaphos where a homogeneous group of statues was excavated characterized by a strong impact regarding both the actual number of Egyptian-type elements and how close they come, in appearance, to the original Egyptian outfit. From a Phoenician horizon, the material from Amrit is very similar to the general Cypriote one, displaying figures with both stronger and weaker Egyptian impact; it is, in fact, the only Phoenician site to have yielded "weak" Egyptianizing figures. The Sidonian Egyptianizing material is characterized by a strong Egyptian impact, regarding both the number and the appearance of the Egyptian-type elements. In this respect the site is related to Cypriote Palaepaphos, not only through these same general properties, but also, in fact, in terms of the rendering of details of the kilt and its equipment.[437] At both Palaepaphos and at Sidon/Bostan esh-Sheikh the finely pleated kilts are equipped with *devanteaux* with thin, lateral cobras and sash ends, where the relation between central creatures and dress are virtually identical.

In contrast, the Phoenician statues ascribed to group 1 are characterized by quite a strong Egyptian impact as regards the number of elements (not least the recurrent back-pillar support), but a high degree of transformation of the dress and other features which markedly weakens this impact.[438]

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[432]Three figures wearing what looks like the plain, Egyptian-type headcloth were included in the Addendum to the catalogue in Ch. 4.2 (Nos. 1–2 from Amrit, No. 3 from Sidon). They were not included in the study since it cannot be safely established that they once wore Egyptian-type attire.

[433]The diadem decorated with rosettes worn by Cypriote **Cat. 13** is paralleled only by the Cypriote votaries wearing a "Cypriote belt". Similarly, the wreaths worn by **Cat. 31** and **Cat. 45** are found only on the heads of other votive types on the island. The mask carried by the falcon-headed **Cat. 1** remains uncommon, if not unique, on the island – and unknown in the Phoenician plastic material. We have noted before that the white (?) crown with coiling cobra on **Cat. Ph26**, from Bostan esh-Sheikh, is altogether unparalleled. So are the tripartite wigs worn by the colossal **Cat. Ph20** and **Cat. Ph21**, from Byblos.

[434]The Cypriote characteristics are: a roughly cut back, the lack of anatomical detail, the manner of freeing the arms by removing material from the torso of the figure, the way the bent arm lacks volume, the cone-shaped neck, and the way a border below the neck seemingly marks a garment when, in fact, the upper part of the body is naked. Only in single pieces, like the Amrit statuette **Cat. Ph14**, do we encounter similar traits. See also **Cat. Ph25**, from Bostan esh-Sheikh.

[435]Other Cypriote traits are the ears which are delicately made, like small shells, and the eyes of figures which are sometimes superficially and roughly added to the surface of the face (see, however, for both these features, **Cat. Ph13** from Amrit).

[436]The tressed hair of **Cat. 3**, **Cat. 29**, and **Cat. 31** is unparalleled, as are the spiral curls of hair and beard found on certain of the Cypriote figures. The baggy mass of hair hanging down from beneath a headgear is recurrent on Cyprus, as is the border beneath the front of the crown or wig, indicating hair. For two single examples of these traits among the Phoenician material, see **Cat. Ph13** and **Cat. Ph26** (from Amrit and Bostan esh-Sheikh, respectively).

[437]It is not merely the presence of a back-pillar support on **Cat. Ph24** (and a small-scale alabaster statuette) which marks the strong Egyptian impact of the Sidonian material, but the well-rendered kilt with *uraei* and sash ends (**Cat. Ph23**–**25** and **Cat. Ph27**), the kilt and decorated collar of **Cat. Ph22**, and the crown with coiling tail (and Egyptian-type eye) of **Cat. Ph26**. (Compare the squat double crown of **Cat. Ph13**, from Amrit).

[438]Examples of these significant transformations are: the appearance of the broad, decorated collar of **Cat. Ph28**, the sash ends of **Cat. Ph28** and **Cat. Ph31**, the way the ear of **Cat. Ph38** is placed on the textile of the *nemes* headgear, the way the shape of the breast muscles of this figure seems to have been influenced by *nemes* "flaps", and the unified lower kilt border of **Cat. Ph31**.

	PHOENICIAN Egyptianizing stone figures			CYPRIOTE Egyptianizing stone figures
	Group 1A Byblos Sarepta Unknown	Group 1B Kharayeb Tyre Umm el-Amed	Group 2 Amrit Sidon	
MATERIAL	Local sand- and limestone	Local sand- and limestone	Non-local (Cypriote?) limestone	Local limestone
FIGURAL TYPE	Standing frontal male:	Standing frontal male:	Standing frontal male:	Standing frontal male:
	Back-pillar support	Back-pillar support	*	
	Flanking figures	Flanking figures		
	Colossal size		Colossal size	Colossal size
	Both arms hanging	*	Both arms hanging	Both arms hanging
			One hand on chest	One hand on chest
				Warrior/hunter
		*	Carrying votive animal	Carrying votive animal (Kition only)
				Falcon-headed figure
DRESS			Hybrid kilt	Hybrid kilt (mix N.K. kilt and *shenti*)
			Short-sleeved garment	Short-sleeved garment
	*	*	Broad, decorated collar	Broad, decorated collar
				Kerchief
			Double crown	Double crown
	Nemes headcloth (*)			
	Tripartite wig			
ORNAMENTS			Apotropaic head	Apotropaic head
			Lily and/or paradise flowers linked with curving loops	Lily and/or paradise flowers linked with curving loops
			"Color as pattern"	"Color as pattern"
			Persea/triangles/ hanging drops	Persea/triangles/ hanging drops
FACE AND BODY FORM				Beard and moustache
			Arms freed from body	Arms freed from body
	Schematized rendering of body:	Schematized rendering of body:	Schematized rendering of body:	Schematized rendering of body:
			Board-shaped body	Board-shaped body
			Rough back	Rough back
			Pronounced and rounded shoulders	Pronounced and rounded shoulders
	Squarish body shape	Squarish body shape		
	Flat, inorganically attached arms	Flat, inorganically attached arms		
	Well-carved back	Well-carved back		
DETAILS OF THE OUTFIT	"Emblematic staves"	"Emblematic staves"	"Emblematic staves"	"Emblematic staves"
			Spiral armrings	Spiral armrings

Table 4. Comparing the Cypriote and the Phoenician Egyptianizing stone statues (compare Table 1 for the Cypriote evidence).
** marks the occasional, single example.*

On Cyprus, as in Phoenicia, the Egyptian-type kilt displayed in the statuary under study is the New Kingdom kilt with *devanteau*, on the one hand, and the *shenti*, on the other. In both areas, the former kilt is the one which is repeated more often. A difference, however, is that while several Phoenician statues have a well-rendered *shenti* kilt, there is not one "*shenti*" in Cyprus which is free from the influence of the decorated New Kingdom attire, with its *devanteau*, double cobras, and sash ends.[439] We saw above how a hybrid mix of the two types is the most common form of kilt on Cyprus – the opened-up *shenti* with decorated apron-*devanteau* – and how this type of dress is only encountered in a handful of figures at Phoenician Amrit.

The short outline presented above has confirmed what has been noted several times before:[440] the statuary material at Amrit and Bostan esh-Sheikh (our second Phoenician group) comes very close to material found on Cyprus. The parallels concern technique, style, and iconography. Beside the similarities referred to above, there are additional similarities visible in things large and small.[441] At times, the corresponding details are so close as to indicate a similar hand or workshop![442] With the first Phoenician group, however, the Cypriote Egyptianizing figures have much fewer things in common.

Considering the chronology of the figures it is clear that the Cypriote Egyptianizing pieces predate those found in Phoenicia. There are no parallels, at Amrit or Sidon, for the earliest type of Cypriote, Egyptianizing figure with a very schematized rendering of body, face, and facial hair.[443] The earliest Amrit and Sidon figures were dated, rather – in this study – to around the middle of the 6th century B.C. It is much more difficult to suggest dates for the statues included in the first Phoenician Egyptianizing group. We can merely note that it cannot be ruled out that at least single pieces within this group predate the Cypriote Egyptianizing figures.

4.5.2 Cypriote workshops in Phoenicia?

From the preceding section we carry with us the relationship between the Cypriote Egyptianizing statues and statuettes, and the two groups of Phoenician statuary. The first Phoenician group (1 A–1 B), consisting of **Cat. Ph20**, **Cat. Ph21**, **Cat. Ph28**, **Cat. Ph31**, and **Cat. Ph38**, was seen to diverge in type and style from most of the material excavated at Amrit and Sidon – as well as from the Cypriote figures. This study deals with a very limited group of material, and overinterpretation is an everpresent danger. It does seem possible to suggest, however, that – on a basic level – while the first group of Phoenician figures stem from an indigenous Phoenician stone-carving tradition, the Amrit and Sidon figures were created under strong Cypriote influence.[444] When turning to the stone material from which the figures were carved, this is indeed verified. **Cat. Ph20** and **Cat. Ph21**, from Byblos, the unprovenanced **Cat. Ph38**, and **Cat. Ph28** and **Cat. Ph31**, from Sarepta and Tyre, respectively, have in common a hard, coarse-grained stone material.[445] To identify the stone in each case as either local (Phoenician) dune sandstone (*ramleh*) or local limestone is, unfortunately, beyond the skill of the author.[446] It is a fact, however, that – to the naked eye – this stone is distinctly different from the soft, fine-grained limestone encountered in many of the Amrit and Sidonian figures.

The first group of Phoenician figures thus emerges as representatives of a fully local sculptural tradition, being non-Cypriote in character and made of local

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439 See the Cypriote figures **Cat. 11**, **Cat. 16**, and **Cat. 21** – and above, Ch. 2.4.2. Compare the Phoenician *shenti*-wearing **Cat. Ph16**, **Cat. Ph20**, **Cat. Ph21**, and **Cat. Ph38** (to which the later Umm el-Amed pieces could be added).

440 Macridy 1903, 75; Dunand 1944–1945, 99; Gjerstad 1948, 323, 325–326, 366.

441 See the corporeality (the increased body volume) of Amrit figures **Cat. Ph4–6**, so similar to the Palaepaphos figures **Cat. 52** and **Cat. 53**; the stylized knee-caps of so many Cypriote figures, and of **Cat. Ph16** and **Cat. Ph22**; the raised outer ridges of the broad belts; the characteristic raised, narrow outlines on certain decorative elements (the collar of **Cat. Ph22**); the belt buckles (**Cat. Ph25**); and the common use of the paradise flower, at times linked with curving loops (compare Cypriote **Cat. 47** with **Cat. Ph22** and **Cat. Ph23**).

442 The similarities between Sidonian and Palaepaphos material was pointed out above. In addition, **Cat. 3** (from west of Salamis) and **Cat. Ph22** (from Sidon) share the same kind of outfit, and both have *devanteaux* with rectangular beads arranged in exactly the same manner, or rhythm. Similarly, the individual beads of the belt and *devanteau* of **Cat. Ph22** (and **Cat. Ph8**, from Amrit) are identical in shape, with rounded ends fitted together like those of **Cat. 12**, unearthed at Cypriote Idalion.

443 See above, in Ch. 2.5.

444 We are still elaborating within frameworks drawn up by others. It was noted before, and see further below, that the Cypriote connection with the material found at Amrit and at Sidon/Bostan esh-Sheikh has been recognized since the first discoveries.

445 The same is definitely true for the later Umm el-Amed and, most probably, the Kharayeb pieces (group 1 B). Note, however, that I expressed doubts regarding **Cat. Ph35** earlier on, in Ch. 4.4.2 – to my naked eye it does not seem to have been manufactured from the same coarse-grained stone as the other figures from Umm el-Amed.

446 The different qualities of two kinds of local stone found at Umm el-Amed, lime- and sandstone, are described by M. Dunand: Dunand & Duru 1962, 90 n. 3. See also Dunand 1946–1948, 90–91; Dunand & Saliby 1985, 49. In the recently published Louvre catalogue on Phoenician stone statuary, by E. Gubel and E. Fontan, such distinctions are made: see above n. 49.

stone. The Cypriote-style material from Amrit and Sidon/Bostan esh-Sheikh – the second group – proves more difficult to identify, however, and requires more attention. In a general manner these figures are considered Cypriote imports, made by Cypriote sculptors in workshops on Cyprus and exported to Phoenicia, to be displayed in the local sanctuaries.[447] We noted above, however, that it is true not only for Egyptianizing votive figures from these two sites but also for other votive types, that beside the examples which closely match the ones encountered on Cyprus there are others which diverge in different ways, constituting mixed types.[448] We know by now that in the case of the Egyptianizing figures, the most distinctive of these non-Cypriote characteristics are the occasional back-pillar support, the raised right forearm, and the votive animal carried under one arm. Attempts have been made at differentiating the stone material in the Cypriote-style figures, in order to verify their place of manufacture.[449] In his publication of the statuary from Bostan esh-Sheikh, R. Stucky discusses the different kinds of stone encountered within the material, distinguishing the soft, Cypriote limestone from the harder and more coarse-grained local sandstone (*ramleh*). The great obstacle for such a division, the inavailability of large parts of the excavated material from the site, is mitigated by the acute eye of excavator M. Dunand, who noted the pieces of fine-grained limestone as being of "genre Amrit".[450] The few objects that are identified as being made of *ramleh* are considered of Phoenician manufacture. That this manner of attribution is not devoid of problems is acknowledged by R. Stucky himself.[451] To be noted is, however, that all five Egyptianizing figures found at the site are said to be made of soft, Cypriote limestone, and thus, of Cypriote manufacture.[452]

At the site of ancient Amrit the coexistence of different statuary traditions was noted already by E. Gjerstad.[453] Through the efforts of a recent research project, carried out by K. Lembke in collaboration with geologist C. Xenophontos, micro-paleontological analyses have been carried out on part of the rich votive material, differentiating the local poros limestone (calcarenite) – from which the temple or Maabed was carved – from the soft, fine-grained limestone which characterizes much of the votive statuary.[454] Sampling from Syrian quarries as well as from quarries on Cyprus has been undertaken in order to identify the provenance of the limestone used for the votive figures. The project has attained satisfying results, all pointing towards a Cypriote origin of the stone of the figures and figurines.[455] Thus, for the available Egyptianizing statues unearthed at Amrit as well, it seems highly probable that they were carved from Cypriote limestone.

Thus, the (analyzed) stone used to produce the Egyptianizing figures of our second Phoenician group is consistent with Cypriote limestone. Can we then simply identify the Amrit and Sidon figures as being imported objects, carved on Cyprus and taken by ship to Phoenician ports? Certain facts do not favor such an explanation, at least not for a large part of the material. To begin with, the deviations described above seem to indicate a production on site. Secondly, our (fragmentary) **Cat. Ph1** from Amrit is a colossal piece of statuary which originally stood around 250 centimeters high. From what is preserved it is clear that the kilt was of the elaborately decorated, hybrid type with cobras, "panther" head, and lower decorated panel. This kind of kilt, so characteristic for much of the Egyptianizing statuary on Cyprus, is found in Phoenicia in only four related examples, all from Amrit, of which **Cat. Ph1** stands out with its elaborate decoration. The other three

447 Accordingly, in several museum catalogues on Cypriote statuary, material found at Amrit has been incorporated: Hermary 1989a, 37, no. 31, 43, no. 51, 114–115, nos. 222–223, 149, no. 292, 264, no. 536; Riis *et al.* 1989, 88–90, no. 70. In the latter catalogue only very few of the entries in the Cypriote section have been found on the island: the majority are figurines of "Cypro-Ionian" character, unearthed on Rhodes.

448 Apart from the Amrit examples referred to above, in Ch. 4.4.2, see, for Bostan esh-Sheikh, a Herakles figure with a small lion – not a club – attached to the back of its head: Stucky 1993, 68, no. 3, pl. 4.3.

449 The need or the possibility was noted by, among others: Riis *et al.* 1989, 31–32: "The supposition of Cypriote sculptors working at Naukratis and on the Phoenician coast is acceptable in so far as the style of some pieces has a Cypriote look, but the stone is local." See also Lewe 1975, 58 n. 286.

450 Stucky 1993, 15. See also above, Ch. 4.4.2.

451 "...werden wir niemals genau wissen, ob kyprische Steinmetzen ihre Werke als Fertigprodukte in den Osten und den Westen exportierten, ob sie – wie seit dem 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr. die Griechen – das Rohmaterial, den weichen Kalkstein, auf ihre Reisen mitnahmen, um es in der Nähe bedeutender Heiligtümer gemäss den Wünschen der Stifter zu bearbeiten, oder ob sie gemeinsam mit einheimischen Steinmetzen ihre Skulpturen in Phönizien und Syrien teils aus importiertem, teils aus lokalem Gestein schufen.": Stucky 1993, 15. Indeed, A. Hermary argues for Cypriote workmanship regarding the child's head (no. 44), attributed by Stucky to the group of Phoenician (sandstone) sculpture: Hermary 1996a, 570.

452 See the end of this section for a short discussion on the possibility of Phoenician sculptors adapting entirely to Cypriote craft techniques, and thus being involved in on-site production.

453 The nestor identified such differences when briefly examining some of the Amrit material in 1928. Gjerstad 1948, 366: "Apart from the numerous Cypriote sculptures found in Amrit, there are also several sculptures from that site which are evidently of local origin, but strongly influenced by Cypriote types."

454 Lembke 2001b, 17. See above Ch. 4.4.2.

455 K. Lembke, personal communication, 2001. I thank K. Lembke for generously sharing with me the preliminary results of the investigations, which are not yet published.

examples are the life-size or slightly over-life-size (although fragmentary) **Cat. Ph4–6**. With the colossal **Cat. Ph1** they share the opened-up *shenti* with decorated apron-*devanteau*, where the two thin cobras are placed together, centrally. Despite the fragmentary state of the three torsos, we can conclude that they were once part of three statues which were very closely related. The correspondences in size, stance, corporeality, and details of dress of the figures can indeed indicate a common workshop for the three.[456] Now, unless we hypothesize the presence of a workshop on Cyprus which produced statuary especially for the Amrit temple – including a remarkable coincidence of preservation which allowed modern excavation to unearth three of its products – the similarities of the three torsos clearly point towards production on site.[457] Their similar original size was less than that of much-decorated **Cat. Ph1**. The supposition that this large-scale statue was manufactured at Amrit as well is reasonable when considering the general problems of transporting a neatly carved stone object of such dimensions. In addition, we need to consider the religious and social marker it once represented, which does seem to require the direct presence of a patron to visualize, order, pay for, and then dedicate the imposing piece.

Similarly, **Cat. Ph24** from Bostan esh-Sheikh stands out by its over-life-size proportions.[458] With its back-pillar support, its raised right forearm, and votive animal carried under the left arm, it appears distinctly local in character. Since the stone from which it was made most probably was of a Cypriote kind, and since – from that which can be learned from the preserved photograph – its dress and body rendering are entirely Cypriote in style, it must be taken as an additional example favoring the production of large-scale sculpture taking place on site, in Phoenicia, in Cypriote limestone. The slightly smaller, but still life-size **Cat. Ph23** has close typological and stylistic parallels with **Cat. Ph24**. Lacking, as it does, any of the three local "markers" (back-pillar support, raised arm, and animal) it could be taken to indicate a parallel and contemporary production of Cypriote-style pieces of statuary (**Cat. Ph23**), and very similar statuary somewhat adapted to local needs or demands (**Cat. Ph24**).[459] An additional life-size figure, **Cat. Ph22** from Sidon, is entirely unique within the Phoenician votive material with its elaborately decorated Egyptian-type outfit. With its broad collar displaying persea fruits, hanging triangles, and drop shapes, its decorated short-sleeved garment, and the presence of alternate addition of paint ("color as pattern"), it is quite at home within the Cypriote Egyptianizing repertoire.[460] Parallels with **Cat. Ph23** and **Cat. Ph24**, found at the nearby peri-urban sanctuary, are several,[461] including the stone quality which – to the naked eye – is of the soft, fine-grained, and thus southeast-Cypriote type. It could well be that the piece was imported ready-made from the island. But the parallels with **Cat. Ph23** and **Cat. Ph24** make it equally possible to assume its manufacture on site, in imported stone. It has been noted that the piece displays oddities, like the double armring with central rosette – where the flower is held by four tiny lions' heads – and the horizontal floral border placed right above the belt of the figure.[462] None of these features is totally unknown on Cyprus, however[463] – but so they are,

[456] **Cat. Ph5** and **Cat. Ph6** are virtually identical (in appearance, not in size), **Cat. Ph4** strongly related. We saw above in Ch. 4.3.4 how it was possible to suggest that all three originally had one arm hanging along the side of the body, the second arm bent and the clenched hand placed on the chest – a pose only very rarely encountered within the general Phoenician votive material. The profile view of all three fragmentary figures is virtually identical displaying a left leg which is much advanced, well-shaped buttocks, and (on **Cat. Ph4**) the outline of the thigh muscle of the back of the left leg; this despite the fact that much of their back sides have been left in a rough state. Note also the corresponding appearance of the broad belt, the raised outer borders of the kilts, and the shape and curve of the sash ends.

[457] On the contrary: from a statistical point of view, the three related, recovered pieces ought to be indicative of the original presence of more of their kind.

[458] It is estimated here that the piece originally stood around 210 cm high.

[459] The enigmatic **Cat. Ph27**, said to be of equal size as **Cat. Ph23** and to display double *uraei*, is merely referred to by R. Stucky, who had access to a sketch of the piece. It is, of course, impossible to include it in the present discussion.

[460] See above, Chs. 4.3.3 and 4.3.4, where we noted several additional correspondences with Cypriote sculpture: body, stylized knee-cap, the relation between *devanteau* with cobras and the pleated kilt (exactly paralleled in **Cat. 52** and **Cat. 53**, from Palaepaphos), beaded belt and *devanteau* (where the arrangement of beads were exactly paralleled in **Cat. 3**, from west of Salamis), the presence of paradise flowers linked with curving loops (compare **Cat. 47**), and the appearance of the lily (virtually identical in the broad collar of **Cat. 8**, from Idalion).

[461] The body rendering is close to identical. In addition, the floral border on the sleeve of **Cat. Ph23** is exactly the one – large lilies and small paradise flowers linked with curving loops – found on **Cat. Ph22**, both in its collar and above the belt. If additional paint, noted here as "color as pattern", had been preserved on the Egyptianizing figures from Bostan esh-Sheikh – none of which has studied by the author – it is doubtful if mention thereof would have reached the notebooks of excavator M. Dunand.

[462] Lewe 1975, 60, who adds the combination of short-sleeved garment and relief collar as unique (on Cyprus, we find it in **Cat. 23**, however, and – painted – on **Cat. 29**, both from Golgoi). She does not consider the divergences as sufficient to postulate a Phoenician workshop behind the piece, however. Doumet Serhal 1998, 30, suggests a Sidonian *atélier*.

[463] The double armring with rosette is encountered in three figures on the island – in **Cat. 20**, **Cat. 27**, and **Cat. 62**. On the published photograph of **Cat. 27** it may be possible to discern animals' heads on each side of the central flower – but due to the fact that the piece is unavailable for study this remains impossible to confirm.

indeed, from a Phoenician horizon. The figure's elaborate armring and horizontal floral border do not indicate that it was carved within a Phoenician workshop. At most, they may constitute minor adaptations made to satisfy local taste or wish – thus, if anything, indicating its manufacture within a Cypriote workshop set up at Sidon.[464] Add to the above the presence – at least at Bostan esh-Sheikh, and in a slightly later period – of Cypriote-style pieces carved in local sandstone, and the notion of traveling Cypriote workshops becomes imperative.[465]

So far we have dealt with the large-scale figures from the two sites. Turning to those of more limited size, we note that the kilt-wearing figure with raised right forearm and votive animal – constituting a combination of Cypriote stone and what is considered here as Phoenician typological characteristics – occurs at Amrit as well (**Cat. Ph8**).[466] Additional animal-carrying figures are **Cat. Ph9**, **Cat. Ph11**, **Cat. Ph12**, and **Cat. Ph15**. We noted in passing, above, that merely the carrying of a votive gift (or animal) can hardly, by itself, be considered a non-Cypriote trait. On the contrary, there are two Cypriote kilt-wearing and animal-carrying figures within the Cypriote material (**Cat. 45** and **Cat. 62**)[467] – and it is a characteristic for much of the other Archaic votive statuary from the island. In addition, the carrying of an animal is not encountered within the first Phoenician group of Egyptianizing figures (1 A–1 B), considered here as representatives of a fully local sculptural tradition.[468] However, the animal-carrying votive figures found at Amrit and at Sidon in Phoenicia, are only – if at all – encountered at or around Kition on Cyprus.[469] And it seems that the few Cypriote examples of a standing, male figure with raised right forearm (and animal) are in the same way more or less geographically confined to the same city, or city kingdom.[470] The fact remains, however, that there are very few finds of the animal-carrying Egyptianizing figure from Cyprus. Thus, the statuettes referred to above which combine Cypriote limestone and animal-carrying pose could be said to constitute yet another group of objects which suggest locally adapted production taking place in direct connection to the "Maabed".[471] The additional pieces from the two sites, small-scale statuettes often fragmentarily preserved, are difficult to ascribe.[472] It is worth noting, however, that three more features can be added to the list of traits present in the Cypriote-style material at Amrit, but not (or very rarely) on Cyprus, thus pointing towards production on site: the concave outline of the lowermost edge of the kilt cloth above each knee, the way the legs have been joined even though no back-pillar support is present, and the apron which is rendered in high relief (*Pls. 15.4 & 16.1–2*).[473] It

[464]Note also how the broad decorated collar indicated through the very fragmentary **Cat. Ph2**, from Amrit, displays the characteristic persea fruit, hanging triangles, and drop shapes – but that the attachment of the fruit (a small circle) and the patterning of the triangles (small consecutive triangles set within) are unknown on Cyprus and could, hypothetically, represent another set of details which were attempted to fit local tastes. On the other hand, this could, of course, all be due to the hazard of preservation.

[465]See above n. 451: if no. 44 from Bostan esh-Sheikh is made of *ramleh*, and if A. Hermary is correct in attributing it to a Cypriote master, then this is the case. See also above Ch. 4.1.1 n. 18 regarding the Cypriote-style statuette head from Tell Sukas which is suggested to have been carved from local stone – similarly indicating production on site.

[466]It is entirely possible that the other statuettes from the site which carry an animal under its left arm had its right arm and hand similarly raised. None of them is preserved well enough to tell, however (see **Cat. Ph9**, **Cat. Ph11**, and **Cat. Ph15**). The exception is **Cat. Ph12**, which carries a small jug or *aryballos* in its hanging right hand.

[467]See also **Cat. 39**, from Golgoi – which is not wearing a typical Egyptian-type outfit, however.

[468]This is not true for the raised right forearm, however, found within our second (Amrit and Sidon/Bostan esh-Sheikh) group.

[469]See above, Ch. 3.2.2 n. 215, where the alleged presence at Pyla (within the territory of Kition) of Egyptianizing figures carrying votive animals was briefly discussed – and the possibility (although highly speculative) that the unprovenanced **Cat. 62** was once part of that lot. On **Cat. 62**, however, see also above n. 425 for its possible Phoenician provenance.

[470]Hermary 1989a, 266, no. 541 (the figurine is from Golgoi); Nunn 2000, 18 n. 5. For material from Kition: Gjerstad *et al.* 1937, pls. 19.144 + 23, 24.251 + 14, 242 + 253. For single Idalion examples (from Lang's sanctuary): Senff 1993, pls. 12.g–j, 13.e–g. It seems that these are mainly 5th century B.C. examples. It is interesting to note that one of the Kition figures preserve remains of a club (similar to that of Herakles) at the back of its head (Gjerstad *et al.* 1937, pls. 17–18.22 + 111) – in this displaying perhaps a mixed votive type, like those noted for Amrit.

[471]This view is held by K. Lembke, who sees in the large-scale figures (**Cat. Ph1**, and **Cat. Ph4–6**) an earlier group, to which was added impulses from the mantle-wearing, animal-carrying votive so common in the sanctuary during the latter part of the 6th century B.C. A contamination of characteristics would have taken place, resulting in the new type quite unknown to Cyprus of Egyptianizing figure with votive animal under one arm: Lembke 2001b, 19–20. For this to take place we need to visualize an active workshop.

[472]The Amrit statuettes (?) **Cat. Ph10** and **Cat. Ph16** remain quite impossible to evaluate, given the poor quality of the published reproductions and the fact that no additional description, not even measures, are preserved. The apparent non-Cypriote character of **Cat. Ph16** is well worth noting, however, but can take us no further. Would the fact that it, together with **Cat. Ph7** and **Cat. Ph11**, share the way the legs were (probably) not separately carved but joined by supportive stone somehow point towards local adaptation?

[473]For the concave outline, see **Cat. Ph7** and **Cat Ph10**. The joined legs of statuettes are (probably) encountered on **Cat. Ph7**, **Cat. Ph11**, and **Cat. Ph16** (compare the Naukratite examples referred to in Ch. 4.3.4 n. 149), while the high-relief apron is found on, for example, **Cat. Ph11**, **Cat. Ph12**, and **Cat. Ph19**.

becomes important to note, once more, the one Sidonian piece – **Cat. Ph26** – which is not equalled by material found on Cyprus. To suggest that – in this case as well – this is indicative of (Cypriote) adaptation to local demands proves difficult, however.

The material presented here favors the presence of Cypriote sculptors at Amrit and Sidon. Only by visualizing locally based Cypriote craftsmen at these sites can we explain the divergences which are found in the Cypriote-style material unearthed there – which are not to be found elsewhere. The alternative explanation, considering the Cypriote limestone from which the figures were carved, is to visualize one or several workshops on the island which specialized in making objects – of all different sizes – suitable for export only. That similar views would be based on too modern an assumption has been argued by B. Lewe.[474] The parallels with the question of the provenance of the small-scale "Cypro-Ionian" statuary are to be noted.[475] If locally based Cypriote craftsmen were working at Amrit and Sidon – and this is what the material leads us to believe – then they were (mostly) working in their own limestone. It thus becomes necessary to assume the large-scale transport of raw material to Phoenicia, of limestone quarried on southeastern Cyprus. This possibility has rarely been suggested in studies on Cypriote-style sculpture found outside the island.[476] The noted presence of limestone quarried on Cyprus in what seems to be most of the "Cypro-Ionian" statuary unearthed on Samos and Rhodes does have similar implications.[477] In the case of the "Cypro-Ionian" figures there is merely a question of small-scale statuettes, however, and it has been easier to visualize the organized and large-scale transport of such small commodities.[478] In fact, the transport of ready-made statuettes would apply in both views currently held, whether the viewing of a production of large part of the corpus based on Cyprus is favored, or at Naukratis. We noted above that S. Fourrier has made a strong case for the presence of Cypriote workshops at Naukratis producing votive statuettes for an (East-) Greek clientele for a limited period of time.[479] According to her view the limestone used could be local, that is, Egyptian, together with the alabaster (?) found in certain of the figurines.[480] A single workshop or group of workshops would explain the stylistic homogeneity of the group, the lack of identifiable local schools within the material, and the fact that certain of the votive types are not encountered on Cyprus itself. There is indeed a practical possibility of viewing the small-scale votive statuettes as commercial goods, transported from one center to several distant localities in the Eastern Mediterranean. In the (Egyptianizing) Amrit and Sidon figures, the notion of satisfying local tastes and demands is similarly found. But, as has been pointed out above, the size of the figures, together with the occurrence of mixed types, and close similarities between certain pieces, prevent us from viewing them as imports from one center of production. Their place of manufacture, in contrast (?) to much of the "Cypro-Ionian" statuary, must be found in direct connection to the temples in which they were once dedicated.

Transport (export) of ready-made statuary doubtlessly took place. And the long-distance transport of (small-scale) votive figures on behalf of dedicants is known, as in the story retold by Athenaeus.[481] But the large-scale, Cypriote-style material at Amrit and Sidon testifies to the long-term preference and dedication of this kind of material – at Amrit covering at least two centuries.[482] This calls for a more regular and organized manufacture, and, thus, of a large-scale import of raw material, of Cypriote limestone.[483]

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474 Lewe 1975, 27 – regarding the small-scale "Cypro-Ionian" material.

475 Regarding the small-scale statuettes, P. Riis *et al.* note: "Today it seems most reasonable to conclude that the limestone figures dealt with here were manufactured in Cyprus; but some of them may have been made exclusively to meet the special demands of some foreign market, just as for instance was the case with Tyrrhenian amphorae.": Riis *et al.* 1989, 32. More recently, manufacture of these figurines on Cyprus intended for export only has been suggested by I. Jenkins (see above Ch. 4.1.1 n. 19).

476 As noted in Ch. 4.1.1, L.Wriedt Sørensen included the possibility in her often-cited 1978 article: Wriedt Sørensen 1978, 120 n. 6. So did R. Stucky for the Sidonian horizon (above n. 451). Recently, the research results of K. Lembke, from the Amrit material – in which I have been allowed to share – have led her to postulate Cypriote manufacture on site, and thus import of Cypriote stone: Lembke 2001b, 20; Lembke forthcoming.

477 Kourou *et al.* 2002, 74–75 (and above Ch. 4.1.1).

478 An exhaustive treatment of the problem, including the terracotta votive material which is also found at the same sites, is not offered here where the focus is on transport and manufacture of stone statuary. Interestingly, S. Fourrier has similar suggestions for the faience material which is also repeatedly found in connection to the characteristic limestone figurines: Fourrier 2001, 46–47.

479 Fourrier 2001, and – again – Ch. 4.1.1.

480 Note that U. Höckmann and G. Nick consider the presence of local East Greek/Cypriote workshops on Samos, for example, as a possibility: Höckmann 2001, viii; Fourrier 2001, commentary by G. Nick on p. 49; Nick 2001, 65. The need for petrographic analyses is stressed (Höckmann, p. vii).

481 Ath. 15.675f–676c. See above n. 26.

482 Lembke 2001b, 18. R. Stucky has noted that while at Amrit the Cypriote-style dedications continued into the 4th century B.C., at Sidon they were replaced by Greek marble offerings – seeing in this the difference between a smaller town and a large, commercial city: Stucky 1993, 16–17.

483 In contrast to the richness and the longevity of the Amrit (and Sidon) material are, for example, the two single finds of Cypriote-style torsos on Samos. We noted already above, in Ch.

The commonplace event of such bulky transport during the Archaic period need perhaps be briefly considered. The procedure of the manufacture of early (7th and early 6th century B.C.) Greek marble sculpture is well-known: raw material and know-how were provided on Naxos, Paros, and Samos, and widely exported.[484] Sculptors generally traveled to where work was available, where commissions were made. For comparable indications from Phoenicia itself we need go only to the large-scale import of Greek marble which is evidenced from the early 5th century B.C. onwards, both to enable the production of sculpture in the round, and the well-known category of anthropoid sarcophagi. The amount of marble needed to make possible the carving of the latter pieces – from around 480 B.C. so characteristic for workshops on the Phoenician coast[485] – was extensive. In the case of both sculpture and sarcophagi, it is estimated that Greek sculptors, well acquainted with the hard stone, traveled with their large, roughly carved blocks of stone[486] and set up workshops locally. It is similarly clear that Phoenician apprentices very soon learned their craft, the result being a clear local production of truly Phoenician, Egypto-Greek objects.[487] Several recent studies on this material category have suggested that already during the middle of the 5th century B.C., the general absence of local, Phoenician stylistic traits indicate that Phoenician artists had fully acquired and mastered the Greek technique of workmanship.[488]

This state of affairs might perhaps be reflected back upon the manufacture of votive statuary in limestone. R. Stucky did note the possibility that not only Cypriote sculptors were producing the Cypriote-style votive types but also Phoenician artists well trained in the Cypriote craft techniques.[489] Perhaps it is entirely in vain to attempt to trace ethnic identity in cases where there could have been – and most possibly was – a close co-operation between craftsmen of different ethnic, although neighboring, backgrounds. Divergences could simply be due to varying degrees of skill of the craftsman, or to taste and intention on the part of the patron ordering the statue. In the above, three distinct features have been noted as characteristic for the Egyptianizing figures found in Phoenicia – the back-pillar support, the raising of the right forearm, and the carrying of a votive animal. They have been used to denote the adaptation on the part of the Cypriote artist to local needs and demands, to requirements dictated by Phoenician patrons. It is entirely possible that they are instead indicative of Phoenician artists imitating Cypriote style, but adding the characteristics dictated by local patrons.[490] R. Stucky has pointed out that this is impossible to determine unless inscriptional or other evidence can be added to the picture. Perhaps it does not even matter. It is postulated here that Cypriote sculptors were working in Phoenicia, in imported limestone, and that there are clear typological divergences between the Egyptianizing material found on Cyprus, and some, if not all, of the Cypriote-style Egyptianizing figures found at Amrit and Sidon. It is further to be pointed out that, in some ways, these Phoenician Egyptianizing figures are typologically related to a limited group of objects which I have chosen to term the "first group" (groups 1 A–1 B: **Cat. Ph20**, **Cat. Ph21**, **Cat. Ph28**, **Cat. Ph31**, and **Cat. Ph38**), consisting of figures which more clearly have a provenance within the Phoenician artistic expression.

4.1.2, that these most probably represent the fortuitous single imported votive object.

[484]Ridgway 1977, 46, 64, 290–292; Stewart 1990, 33, 118.

[485]Lembke 2001a, 84, 105.

[486]See Spivey 1996, 67, on the natural effort to do as much work on the block of stone as possible prior to transport.

[487]It has been established that, in several cases, the marble is consistent with Cycladic marble – and no similar (finished) objects have been encountered in Greece itself: Lembke 2001a, 105, 109–110. See, however, Elayi 1988a, 293–294.

[488]Stucky 1993, 15, regarding the Sidonian marble statuary: "... zugezogenen fremden Meistern und lokalen Gesellen hin. Diese bemühten sich intensiv um eine vollständige Aneignung der technischen Kenntnisse in der Steinbearbeitung sowie der stilistischen Ausdrucksmöglichkeiten ihrer Lehrmeister, so dass eine Trennung zwischen Vorlage und Imitat oft schwer fällt." See also Elayi 1988a, 297.

[489]See above n. 451.

[490]Returning to the Herakles figure from Bostan esh-Sheikh referred to above (in n. 448), which surprisingly is rendered with the small lion in the place of the club, we need to remember that it cannot be satisfyingly ascribed to the misunderstanding on behalf of a Phoenician artist working convincingly in a Cypriote style, but ought to be seen as a deliberate choice on behalf of the patron or – perhaps – the stone carver.

5 The derivation of the Egyptianizing votive type: the questions of the iconographic transference and the religious significance

5.1 The iconographic transference

From what has been discussed above, a picture emerges of a strong, vital Cypriote sculptural tradition. This holds true also for a votive type such as the Egyptianizing, a type incorporating elements which are so clearly of foreign inspiration. The Cypriote Egyptianizing figures are often very decorated, equipped with colorful jewelry and ornamental details. The soft, fine-grained, Cypriote limestone leant itself beautifully to this kind of detailed carving and application of paint. The Cypriote votives predate much of the local Phoenician production of related figures in Egyptian-type dress, figures made of local stone which display back-pillar supports and in general have less ornamentation. Local (Phoenician) patrons dedicating statuary at 6th century B.C. Amrit and Sidon appreciated the decorative Cypriote figures, and apart from the possibility of importing ready-made pieces, seem to have been able to benefit from Cypriote sculptors working in direct connection with the two sanctuaries, providing pieces adapted to local taste. Thus, limestone votive statuary and know-how were exported from Cyprus to Phoenicia. Granted this expansion of the Cypriote Egyptianizing votive type to some sanctuary sites in Phoenicia, how, in the first place, was the Egyptian-type dress and overall iconography transferred into the Cypriote votive tradition and the sculptural repertoire of the island? After dedicating much of the present study to the identification of the different parts of the dress, considering material on Cyprus and in Phoenicia within their find contexts, and relating the two groups of material, it is time to consider from where these influences reached Cyprus, and by what means. From where, how, and in what materials could this transmission have taken place.

5.1.1 The Cypriote setting

It is worth recalling the picture which emerged regarding the patterns of the Egyptianizing votive tradition on Cyprus itself. The Archaic Cypriote reality was an end result of inner development and external interchange – within it, the manufacture of the Egyptianizing votive type was one phenomenon – and we need to offer possible explanations of this reality. Thus, we noted how the Egyptianizing male limestone figure on Cyprus was mainly encountered at sanctuaries dedicated to male gods situated in direct connection with the limestone quarries of the Mesaoria Plain. The figures have several elements of dress and equipment in common, but generally the heterogeneity of the material is striking, showing a variety of styles and of modes of execution of the dress and its details. Material displaying both a stronger and a weaker Egyptian impact is found side by side, those displaying a large number of Egyptian-type elements often being the ones which show the most marked deviations from the original, Egyptian counterparts. The transformations of the Egyptian dress occur already in the earliest Cypriote figures, dated to the very beginning of the 6th century B.C. In this early material the characteristic hybrid kilt, which seems unique to the island,[1] and the squat and transformed Cypriote double crown are already encountered. In stark contrast to the statuary from the sites which have a mix of votives with strong and weak Egyptian impact is the group of Egyptianizing male figures unearthed at Palaepaphos, a material dated to the middle of the century, which includes only male Egyptianizing figures with very homogeneous attire with a strong Egyptian impact both as regards the number of elements, and how close they come to the original Egyptian ones. The Palaepaphos group represents the only actual find

[1] The few examples from Amrit are considered here to be of Cypriote manufacture. See above Ch. 4.5.

concentration outside the Mesaoria orbit.[2] The only sanctuary sites to render statuary still *in situ*, find-rich Idalion and Golgoi, had statues and statuettes roughly arranged in accordance with their dress and equipment.[3] It thus seems as if the Egyptianizing votives were displayed together in at least these, and maybe other, Cypriote sanctuaries. As for the geographical diffusion of certain votive types, it was not possible to establish any direct relationship with any other characteristic group of votives. Stylistic, and certain typological, parallels and direct interrelations with the rest of the votive material on Cyprus – both limestone and terracotta – were easily found, however, with particularly close similarities to the figures wearing "Cypriote belts" and rosette diadems.[4] The figure wearing Egyptian-type dress was thus no different from any other male, Cypriote votive figure to which any other dress and/or equipment could have been added. The few kilt-wearing (Egyptianizing) figures dressed as warriors, something so typical of Cypriote Archaic statuary, bear ample witness to this. The Egyptianizing figure was only very occasionally encountered in materials other than limestone on the island, with the exception of Idalion, where there is a group of bronze statuettes which share details of dress with the larger stone figures. Apart from these, there were single finds in terracotta and faience.

It was noted that the male Egyptianizing figures share some elements of dress and decoration with the limestone sphinxes encountered on the island, and with certain renderings of the goddess Hathor. While the flanking sphinxes can be attributed to more or less the same sites as the male figures under study, the Cypriote Hathoric iconography is closely linked to female sanctuaries, from which male Egyptianizing figures are completely absent.

Could the two find concentrations, at the Mesaoria – with Idalion and Golgoi as the major sites – and at Palaepaphos, suggest the influx of a limited amount of actual models which were used and copied by the Cypriote sculptors when rendering the earliest Egyptian-type outfits? Indeed, the many similarities among the recovered Palaepaphos figures suggest that the same local sculptor or group of sculptors worked in imitation of one and the same model.[5] In contrast, the heterogeneity in the workshops supplying the sanctuaries in and around the Mesaoria favors the presence of a whole range of such Egyptian-type models – or the influx of an early model from which a large number of different renderings were derived, over a longer period of time. The fact that the time range available for the origin, development, and end of the manufacture of the Egyptianzing type is limited[6] favors the idea of several models – at different sites, and at slightly different periods of time. With influences reaching the island from overseas, we need to consider the possibility that the Mesaoria workshops were provided with input and actual models through coastal cities such as Salamis and Kition. In this light, it becomes important to incorporate into our picture of the Cypriote Archaic (sculptural) setting the very limited amount of finds of Egyptian-type figures from these two large centers.[7] The fact that coastal Amathus, so rich in foreign influences during this particular period, has so far produced very few Egyptianizing pieces of sculpture can be added here as well.

5.1.2 The feasible model: basic prerequisites

The Cypriote Egyptianizing figures are stylistically and even typologically heterogeneous. When it comes to their Egyptian-type dress and the accompanying ornaments, it is true that we can identify several different ways of rendering details. When considering the characteristic set of elements which so often recurs in these figures, however (see below), these differences appear rather as relatively limited variations on a common, central theme. This fairly limited group of figures, individually so dissimilar, thus presents quite a degree of uniformity as regards their Egyptian-type dress and equipment. It is suggested here that this can only be interpreted in terms of a common denominator or origin reaching the island from outside. If it were not for these recurrent details of Egyptian-type dress and ornamentation – of very similar type, shape, and placing – then other views on the origin for the votive type could have been postulated, views including more of an internal development on the island where the starting point was not a group of imported artefacts arriving together with certain (to us perhaps mostly intangible)[8] needs and ideas originating within the local workshops or sanctuaries. But the apparent similarities within the heterogeneous

[2]We noted above that this may be true for several votive types, reflecting rather the fact that these two areas are the main find spots on the island with large amounts of limestone votive sculpture. It is certainly not true for the Herakles Melqart and "Baal Hammon" figures, however, which have not been found at western, coastal Palaepaphos.

[3]See Ch. 3.3.3, above.

[4]See above, in Ch. 2.2.2.

[5]The figures resemble each other in several ways, both typologically and stylistically speaking.

[6]See Ch. 2.5.

[7]We saw above (Ch. 3.2.1) that 19th-century reports of the presence of excavated Egyptianizing figures come from the site of Toumba (near Salamis). Our **Cat. 3** was found at Krina, west of Salamis. Phoenician Kition has yielded three figures, small-scale **Cat. 45**, **Cat. 46**, and life-size **Cat. 47**.

[8]See, however, below in Ch. 5.2.

Cypriote Egyptianizing material strongly favor actual, imported models, or rather a group of models. In the following section we shall attempt to distinguish these suggested models. We need to ask ourselves what we need to expect from such a tangible, imported tradition.

Indeed, this is no easy task. It is rarely encountered, in comparative studies on Archaic material, that limits or methodological outlines are drawn regarding the reconstruction of ancient processes of cultural loans and artistic transferences. There is, however, a great need to discuss such matters. In Bronze Age studies much more theoretical work has been done on intercultural exchange, with implications for tracing its imprint in the archaeological record. Such work has been carried out within the realms of comparative studies on pottery, stone vessels, and wall painting, among other material categories.[9] A general *adaptation* of a certain shape, motif, or craft technique has often been contrasted with the actual imitation or *copying* which must have taken place within a workshop, probably involving the presence of both teacher and apprentice craftsmen. Such close collaboration within a workshop milieu would be necessary to explain the spread of complex metallurgical techniques, such as for example the *cloisonné* or the granulation technique, while being similarly necessary in order to explain close correspondences between distant material categories of various kinds.

As regards the sculptural material under study here, no efforts have been made to establish methodologically tenable procedures. In this situation I have used the material itself and extrapolated backwards to what could have been the basic parameters of the model. Then, in a second step, I have tried to weigh the pros and cons in relation to a number of more specific, potential model contexts, thereby introducing into the argument also the more detailed evidence of the sculpture (see below, in Ch. 5.1.3).

Thus, to start with, it is important to consider whether we should study only statuary in the round in order to explain this transference of iconography, or whether two-dimensional objects would also serve. If we view the Egyptianizing votives as just any Cypriote votive figure to which has been (superficially) added yet another possible kind of attire, then we could envisage the reproduction of a dress only met in relief work.[10] But in spite of this, and the fact that the earliest Cypriote votives are not seldom quite flat and board-shaped objects in themselves with the dress carved only on the front of the figures, it seems impossible to suggest anything but another (statuary) material in the round as provider of the input for the dress. The Egyptian double crown requires three dimensions to come out in a satisfying manner – and so does the tressed wig held together by thin bands, where the strands of hair emanate from a central point on the crown of the head. These characteristic Egyptian features are well mirrored on a certain number of the Cypriote figures.[11] The same goes for the rendering of the falcon-headed **Cat. 1**, where the Cypriote sculptor would surely have needed a model manufactured in the round to be able to reproduce the characteristic head or mask featuring the bird of prey.

What is surely needed is a group of objects which have at least all of the Egyptian-type dress elements and ornaments encountered in the Cypriote figures. The only other possibility would be a combination of elements borrowed by the Cypriote sculptors from different sources, merging into the outfits rendered in their limited group of Egyptianizing limestone produce. Again, the actual degree of uniformity among the pieces does not favor such an explanation. Further, there is the need for a model or group of models which comes quite close to the original Egyptian outfit. Only thus can we explain the strong Egyptian impact of the Cypriote pieces displaying quite accurate versions of the royal Egyptian New Kingdom kilt found west of Salamis, at Golgoi, and at Palaepaphos.[12] We need to view, among the models, the presence of certain similarly well-rendered pieces, at least matching **Cat. 3** concerning its kilt. We have noted that on Cyprus itself, in the local workshops, several transformations of given Egyptian-type elements, details, and motifs took place, transformations which are unique to the island.[13] This would be well explained by the importation of figures with a strong Egyptian impact, the details of which could be copied, elaborated upon, and at times misunderstood.[14] The only other possibility here would be that the handful of more

[9] See, for example, Papadopoulos 1997; Watrous 1998, 22 n. 17; Wedde 1997; Winter 2000. See also C. Lilyquist's work on Egyptianizing Bronze Age material in the Levant: Lilyquist 1996; Lilyquist 1997; Lilyquist 1998.

[10] The amount of details present in the kilt and the collar would necessitate large-scale models. The incised, miniature, kilt-wearing figures encountered in the 7th century B.C. metal bowls, for example, would be impossible to envisage as any kind of carriers of influence regarding the limestone outfit. Rather, this small-scale iconography needs to mirror a repertoire available in larger scale, in other materials: see further below.

[11] For the double crown, see, among others, **Cat. 21**, **Cat. 58**, and **Cat. 66**. As regards the tressed wig, see **Cat. 7**, **Cat. 49**, and **Cat. 51**.

[12] **Cat. 3**, **Cat. 29**, **Cat. 52**, **Cat. 53**, **Cat. 56**, and **Cat. 57**.

[13] See above, in Ch. 2.4.2.

[14] It is, of course, possible to envisage the importation of similarly transformed Egyptianizing objects, displaying transformations of Egyptian motifs, which were faithfully copied by the Cypriote sculptors. We would still have to explain the more well-rendered Cypriote pieces, however.

well-rendered Cypriote figures were imported from outside the island, and actually constituting the models we seek. As we have seen above, however, these figures are entirely Cypriote, and there seems to have been no importation from abroad of the Egyptian-type votive figure. Rather, the elaborately decorated Cypriote votive type was appreciated at other (foreign) sanctuaries and centers, and there seems to have been an export both of actual finished pieces, and of Cypriote craftsmen *and* Mesaoria limestone.

When considering in more detail what we should find within a feasible group of models, there is a need to focus on the broader picture at first. By listing the minimum amount of elements which are needed, we acquire a list against which different categories of foreign material can be tested. When the basic elements correspond, we can go into more detail based on the detailed analysis of the Cypriote figures presented in Ch. 2, and (for the Egyptianizing material in Phoenicia) Ch. 4. In order to persuade as carriers of influential iconography the kilt-wearing models need to be one part of a wider tradition. It is highly probable that they, too, were part of a larger Egyptian (or Egyptianizing) context which incorporated sphinxes and Hathoric iconography as well. The Cypriote male figures and the sphinxes have enough similarities to make it unreasonable to assume that they would have reached the island through different traditions.[15] With the Cypriote Hathoric capitals, likenesses are there, but the case is not as clear.[16]

Further, the foreign tradition inspiring the Cypriote sculptors needs to incorporate a large amount of Egyptian decorative motifs: our **Cat. 44**, from Tamassos, bears witness to how the Cypriote craftsman could replace the apotropaic head at the top of the "apron-*devanteau*" with the "Eye of Horus" (the Egyptian *wedjet*), apparently having at his disposal a collection of Egyptian symbols which he knew were related to the overall outfit of the figure. Thus, a wider Egyptian or Egyptianizing context would be needed around the models we are tracing. Central in this, however, is the kilt which is so characteristic for the Cypriote figures. In order to be persuasive, the models need to incorporate the pleated kilt with *devanteau* and sash ends, where the central device is equipped with lateral cobras and a lower frieze of drop shapes, in the manner of the Egyptian royal dress. In Ch. 2, we saw how this New Kingdom-type outfit is directly or indirectly present in every single kilt-wearing limestone figure on the island. There are reflections of the Egyptian *shenti* – and this, too, thus needs to be encountered in the models we seek – but it remains true that even if rendered as a *shenti* kilt, the Cypriote limestone version always has either cobras or sash ends which echo the former, more elaborate type of Egyptian dress. Beside the kilt with *devanteau*, we need to find the precedence for the broad collar with floral ornaments. Evidence of a limited range of models is found in the fact that several Cypriote figures are wearing a collar which displays the same three ornaments arranged in concentric rows – in all but one example even repeated in the same relation to each other.[17] It could well be emphasized that this characteristic way of rendering the collar has been encountered both around the Mesaoria *and* at Amathus.[18] Further, the models need to incorporate the double crown, the tressed wig where the strands of hair are held together by thin bands, the plain kerchief, and – possibly – the falcon or "Horus" head (or mask).

All the elements mentioned above need to be included on male figures, depicted in a variety of sizes. We could, of course, suggest that the figures entering Cyprus with Egyptian-type iconography could all have been of (very) limited size. This "blowing up" of initial small-scale pieces is what is envisaged, in general, for the origin of large-scale sculpture.[19] This is often held to be the way transference of style and iconography could occur, even over vast geographical areas.[20] It could indeed be imagined that the various combinations of a common set of elements for the Cypriote Egyptianizing figures

[15]The double crown (with winged cobra with sun disk), the broad decorated collar, and the (probable) decorated "*devanteau*" hanging in front, are all shared. So is the alternate application of paint ("color as pattern"). See further below.

[16]Several Hathoric capitals share single elements (the winged sun disk, the cobra with sun disk on its head, the paradise flowers *with* raised, narrow outlines, lily and bud linked with curving loops, the volute-and-palmette flower, and the Phoenician cup palmette) with the male Egyptianizing figures, and at least in one case the characteristic application of "color as pattern". Does this suffice to tie them intimately to the kilt-wearing figures? No preserved specimens display the broad, decorated floral collar, for example.

[17]The persea fruit, the hanging triangles, and the bottom drop shapes are recurrent in the Cypriote figures. See above, Ch. 2.2.1 "The broad collar".

[18]At sites like Idalion, Golgoi, and Amathus, the exactly similar arrangement of floral ornaments is found. At Tamssos (**Cat. 44**) two of them have merely traded places. Note that the collar of **Cat. 47**, allegedly from Larnaka, displays this exact arrangement as well – in connection with a frieze of paradise flowers linked with curving loops.

[19]See above, in Ch. 3.3.2 nn. 364–365.

[20]To name but one example, it is envisaged that the Late Archaic, mantle-wearing figure reached Cypriote workshops through the importation of terracotta statuettes and/or small-scale anthropomorphic vessels. The actual study of such objects, or of larger statuettes, by Cypriote craftsmen visiting East Greece has also been suggested. See, for example, Ganzmann *et al.* 1987, 85.

and the diversity as regards details could be explained by a larger number of related small-scale figures (models) being imported, each then "blown up" into one or several large-scale figures, leaving room for the free interpretation of the Cypriote sculptor within given frames. Again, however, when considering the appearance of the limestone figures under study, this is not persuasive. It could well be argued that if the Cypriote Egyptianizing figures were largely the result of an enlargement of small-scale figures, then their Egyptian dress elements and ornaments would be far more disparate in actual shape and composition than what they are.[21]

In addition, the amount of ornamental details present in these figures, and the skill and precision with which certain of these features are carried out, does not favor the medium of a miniature tradition. On the contrary, it appears impossible to envisage the introduction of, for example, the floral ornaments of the collar, the lower frieze of the *devanteau*, and the occasional, winged cobras as occurring through figures of below 50 centimeters in height.[22] Further, among the preserved small-scale limestone figures which are wearing the decorated kilt with cobras and sash ends, none of them is close enough to the original Egyptian outfit to suggest their being one of these hypothetical models.[23] The small-scale Cypriote figurines discussed in Ch. 3.3.2 which come close to Egyptian counterparts as regards dress are, rather, figures clad in the plain *shenti*, with no additional decorative elements – thus, objects which would require overt distortions of the kilt in order to be considered to emit a weak Egyptian impact. Note can also be made of the fact that there is at least some consensus regarding the theory that miniature or small-scale objects or figures generally echo large-scale statuary, rather than the other way around.[24] We cannot rule out the possibility that small-scale figurines served at least in part as the influence for the Cypriote Egyptianizing figures. I do suggest, however, the need for the influx of models in (at least) different sizes, including pieces which reached *over*, rather than under, half a meter in height.

5.1.3 The contexts of the feasible model

Egyptian or Egyptianizing, large-scale stone sculpture?

In Ch. 2.2, above, we started by identifying the Egyptian dress elements and ornaments which are encountered in the Cypriote figures. The possible Egyptian antecedents for certain ways of rendering the face and body of the figures were also discussed. In addition, we traced the articles of clothing, the ornaments, and the stylistic traits which can be attributed to a non-Egyptian origin. When we now attempt to establish whether Egyptian stone sculpture could have included the models which inspired the dress of the Cypriote Egyptianizing limestone figures, then it seems advisable to stick to this division of body rendering, on the one hand, and (superficially added) dress and ornamentation, on the other. Such a division is justified by what was recognized above, in Ch. 2.3: that the Egyptian element in the way of rendering the face and body of the general, Cypriote votive figure – including the Egyptianizing one – is very limited, while the "antiquaria" of the kilt-wearing figures from the island are so clearly of Egyptian pedigree (see below).

It can initially be noted that there is a virtual lack of finds of Egyptian statuary from the island. A red porphyry statuette head of unknown provenance is the only actual object known to me.[25] Well-known, and often returned to, are two textual passages by Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus:[26] Herodotus is the

[21] See A.C. Gunter, who discusses the Greek Orientalizing material, emphasizing the need for an influx of actual foreign works of art (models) in larger scales, in order to admit the transference of "... thematic relationships, composition, stylistic element, narrative and spatial conventions." Small-scale objects or merely textiles would not have allowed for this to take place: Gunter 1990, 145.

[22] The same is true for the belt and *devanteau* carrying the same beaded pattern, the panther or apotropaic head, the double crown with frontal *uraeus*, the decorative application of "color as pattern", and many of the floral ornaments (paradise flowers, lilies, lotus flowers, etc.). It is revealing to compare with the Egyptianizing, Cypriote bronze statuettes – with reservation for the differences in material – which display no decoration on their central "*devanteaux*", and only schematically rendered decoration (zig-zag lines and tiny circles) in their broad collars.

[23] Closest comes, perhaps, **Cat. 49** from Amathus, originally reaching only around 17 cm in height. With its kilt with central "*devanteau*", cobras and (painted, single) sash end and its unusual beaded collar, it is not a convincing model for one of these "blown-up" figurines, however.

[24] G. Falsone considered kilt-wearing bronze figurines as small-scale copies of larger limestone sculpture: Falsone 1989, 154, 173, 175. R. Senff has noted that the Egyptianizing bronzes found at Idalion represent a different tradition than the larger, kilt-wearing limestone statues, and that in this case, we cannot postulate a small-scale material giving impulses for the creation of large-scale counterparts: Hermary 2001b, commentary by R. Senff on pp. 36–37. See also, in general: Ridgway 1977, 21. Cf., however: Herrmann 1986, 48; Roaf 1996, 27.

[25] The Cyprus Museum, Inv. no. B.134, H. 11 cm. See Hermary 2001b, 27, pl. 1.1–2, for the only available depiction. A. Hermary notes the presence of a back-pillar support at the back of the head of the figure, and of a dowel hole on the flattened top of the plain headcloth which most probably served as an attachment for a separately made crown of some kind. In this case, it is a royal or divine depiction.

[26] Hdt. 2.182, Diod. Sic. 1.68.6 (see above Ch. 1.2). Diodorus seems to concentrate into one sentence that what was said by the

more informative, listing votive offerings which Pharaoh Amasis (570–526 B.C.) dedicated in East Greece.[27] Through the archaeological record it can in fact be corroborated that a certain amount of Egyptian statuary was displayed in the larger sanctuaries situated in the coastal areas of the Eastern Mediterranean.[28] Although making no claim to giving a complete list of these objects, we note a limited number of finds from the Aegean, where Rhodes and especially Samos stand out.[29] In some cases, Egyptian votive statuettes were clearly brought by Greeks residing in Egypt, bringing to their home sanctuaries what they apparently viewed as appropriate gifts.[30] In Phoenicia, the evidence is particularly strong regarding the presence of Egyptian statuary hypothetically available for copying.[31] At Byblos, there was quite a unique Egyptian presence ever since Old Kingdom times, and it is to be assumed that imports and local imitations of Egyptian statuary were displayed side by side at least in the temple of Baalat Gubal[32] well into the later period with which we are concerned (see below).[33]

Apart from the above-mentioned porphyry statuette, no such finds have been made on Cyprus, however. And the evidence for an Egyptian presence or military conquest of the island during Amasis, recorded in the two textual passages referred to above, is not conclusively supported by either artefacts from Cypriote soil or by Egyptian textual evidence.[34] However, if we stretch the evidence from the East Greek area, we may venture to hypothesize that a limited group of contemporary Egyptian stone statues or statuettes – which for some reason have escaped the archaeological record – were indeed available in Cypriote sanctuaries. Could these hypothetical objects have served as the models for the Egyptianizing figures under study? The answer to that is a firm "no". We need to elaborate on what could be expected of such a category of objects. It is true that they could well have been available in different sizes, and that they would depict male figures almost exclusively. The dress and equipment of these hypothetical sculptures would, however, be completely different from the one encountered in the Cypriote limestone figures wearing Egyptian-type dress. The general, royal Late Period statue known to us wears the pleated *shenti* and the striped *nemes* headcloth with frontal cobra.[35] The double crown is seldom found in statuary depictions in the round, but the period sees the revival of the blue crown instead.[36] The other category of contemporary material, private sculpture, generally has figures in a large number of possible stances – seated, kneeling, and squatting figures – wearing a plain headcloth or kerchief, and plain (Old Kingdom-type) kilt. The naophore figure, or the figure presenting an image of Osiris, are plentiful. Common to both categories of statues or statuettes would be the back-pillar support, with added hieroglyphic inscription. The royal Egyptian

former writer on the issue: "He (Amasis) also reduced the cities of Cyprus and adorned many temples with noteworthy votive offerings."

[27]"Moreover Amasis dedicated offerings in Hellas. He gave to Cyrene a gilt image of Athene and a painted picture of himself, to Athene of Lindus two stone images and a marvellous linen breast plate, and to Hera in Samos two wooden statues of himself, which stood yet in my time behind the doors in the great shrine. ... Moreover he was the first conqueror of Cyprus, which he made tributary to himself."

[28]I am referring here to anthropomorphic statuary. As for other statuary types, see, for example, Haider 1987 (on the Didyma lions).

[29]Pryce 1928, 169, fig. 210, B.389, a fragmentary limestone statuette from Kameiros, with *shenti*, much advanced left leg, and back-pillar support (being the only example where an Egyptian origin can not be fully assured, see above Ch. 4.1.2). For Samos: Kourou *et al.* 2002, 35, 71, pl. 10.2 (limestone); Parlasca 1953, 135; Jantzen 1972 (bronze).

[30]Of particular interest is an Egyptian statuette (said to be from Priene) where the Greek inscription makes it clear that it was dedicated by a man named Pedon, who had held office under Pharaoh Psammetichus I (664–610 B.C.). For references and discussion, see Kyrieleis 1996, 109–110. See also a black basalt fragment with Greek inscription, found at Kameiros (along with an Egyptian statuette head): Jacopi 1932–1933, 286–287, figs. 11–12.

[31]J. Leclant adequately presented the Egyptian 1st millennium B.C. material encountered (to date) in Phoenicia: Leclant 1968. See also Scandone 1984, *passim*; Yon & Caubet 1993, 54–55, pl. 2.6; Elayi 1995, 15–17. Regarding Bronze Age statuary which may have been available (that is, visible) in later periods: Helck 1976, 113–115; Rowe 1930, 36, 38, pl. 51, for a statue of Ramesses III from Beth-Shean (H. 148 cm); Higginbotham 1998, 41, suggesting that this basalt statue may have been the focus of worship at Beth-Shean in later times. Millard 1999, 319, 323, notes the availability of Egyptian sculpture, relief depictions, and/or inscriptions at Palestinian and Phoenician sites.

[32]For the well-known statues of Pharaohs Shoshenq I and Osorkon I (Twenty-second Dynasty), both with added Phoenician inscriptions confirming that they were dedicated to the local goddess by Byblite kings: Montet 1928, 49–57, figs. 14–18, pls. 36–38. Just how long the depictions of these 10th century B.C. Pharaohs remained exhibited is of course impossible to tell (see the suggestion by W. Helck: Helck 1994, 110–111). In the A.U.B. Museum in Beirut (Inv. no. 48.356, H. 25.7 cm), there is a diorite statue head found at Tyre which deserves attention: it is probably a Twenty-fifth Dynasty Nubian statue, and it is wearing a very transformed rendering of the striped *nemes* headcloth with frontal cobra.

[33]G. Scandone has noted that despite the fact that there is a decrease in imported Egyptian statuary and other objects in Phoenicia in general in the 1st millennium B.C. as compared to earlier periods, the "Saïte renaissance" brought renewed influx: Scandone 1984, 158–161; Scandone 1994, 47.

[34]Leclant 1972, 83–84; South 1987 (a stone mortar with hieroglyphic inscription, from Larnaka). On the alleged conquest by Amasis: Leahy 1988, 194–195, who comments on Edel 1978.

[35]We noted above, in Ch. 2.2.1 "The kilt", that in general, very few examples of royal depictions in the round are preserved from the Twenty-sixth Dynasty.

[36]See Ch. 2.2.1, "The white and the red crown of Egypt".

figures would wear the ceremonial beard, and possibly "emblematic staves" in their clenched hands. In addition, characteristic for both categories would be the lack of a broad collar rendered in relief – let alone one carrying floral decoration.

This is in no way what we encounter on the island. The *nemes* headcloth is completely unknown on the kilt-wearing figures,[37] as are the blue crown,[38] the back-pillar support, and any attempts at copying accompanying, Egyptian-type inscriptions. The plain *shenti* is simply not encountered on the island.[39] The majority of the Cypriote figures are wearing the pleated kilt with *devanteau*, sash ends, and cobras. As we saw above, in the two single cases where the kilt can be more clearly identified as being of the *shenti* type, there are still contaminations stemming from the more decorated New Kingdom version.[40] The model for the Horus-headed **Cat. 1** would require the importation of divine Egyptian statuary – of which there are no indications.[41] The correspondences are thus limited to the plain kerchief found in private statuary, and the "emblematic staves". Despite the fact that there are no direct parallels within Late Period sculpture for the tressed wig held together by thin bands, the general rendering of a wig where the strands of hair all emanate from one point on the crown of the head is recurrent in contemporary Egyptian private sculpture. The hypothetical Egyptian models would indeed be part of a larger tradition, from which sphinxes and Hathoric iconography could well have been borrowed as well.[42] No finds of either Egyptian sphinxes carved in the round or Hathoric capitals have been made on the island, however.[43] Thus, it is not possible to envisage that imported Egyptian stone sculpture served as models for the Cypriote limestone figures.[44]

If Egyptian stone sculpture was not copied on Cyprus, then it could have been copied by Cypriote artists outside the island. The focus of attention has frequently been on the Greek *emporion* in Egypt, on Naukratis, the important meeting-place for peoples and ideas. Founded no later than 625 B.C.,[45] it provides a perfect chronological match not only for the origin of the Egyptianizing votive type on Cyprus, but also for the entire origin of large-scale stone sculpture in the Eastern Mediterranean, including Greece. The parallel presence and mutual influence of Egyptian, (East) Greek, and Cypriote art forms have been noticed, a characteristic mix which could lie at the bottom of several encountered material types, not least the Cypriote figures clad in Egyptian-type outfit.[46] H. Kyrieleis has presented a clear and coherent picture as regards the origin of the Greek Archaic *kouros*, outlining how the sculptural type – both in terms of idea or conception, and in terms of technical feat – was imported from Egypt.[47] The large presence of Greek first- or second generation settlers in the Egyptian Delta in general and at Naukratis in particular, the closeness to the Egyptian sculptural workshops at Saïs and Memphis, and the visiting skilled Greek stone carver would be crucial. That foreign sculptors were active at workshops in Naukratis seems certified by the (admittedly poor) archaeological record.[48] The much-debated, small-scale "Cypro-Ionian" stone figurines, with their Cypriote style and their mixed typologies, have been seen to confirm that Cypriote sculptors worked at Naukratis for an East Greek clientele.[49] If

[37] It is interesting to note that two Tamassos sphinxes (see above, in Ch. 3.2.2) are wearing the New Kingdom combination of striped *nemes* headcloth and double crown. This combination was revived in royal Egyptian statuary of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty: see, again, Ch. 2.2.1.

[38] Here, it becomes interesting to note the possibility – mentioned before – that **Cat. Ph26** from Sidon is wearing a fragmentary blue crown.

[39] This is true for limestone. It is encountered, however, in certain bronze and all known faience figurines. See further below.

[40] See **Cat. 21**, from Golgoi, which is wearing a "*shenti*" where the partly covered apron is decorated with cobras and sash ends; and **Cat. 16**, from Lympia, with "*shenti*", apron, and lateral sash ends.

[41] And if the attribution of scribal equipment to this figure would be correct (see above, Ch. 2.1.1), then the rendering of Horus as a scribe would indeed be something unusual, by Egyptian standards.

[42] The remains of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty buildings and sculptural programs are very insufficiently preserved – due, in large part, to the limited possibilities of preservation in the Delta area. In Hdt. 2.175–176 it is referred to large-scale building programs initiated by Pharaoh Amasis, including – for the Neith temple at Saïs – man-headed sphinxes.

[43] A. Caubet saw, as a possible prototype for the Cypriote Hathoric capitals, the presence of small-scale, Egyptian bronze (and faience) sistra on the island. Similarly, A. Hermary suggested Egyptian bronze mirrors as the actual source of inspiration for the Cypriote sculptors: Caubet 1973, 2–3; Hermary 1985, 672.

[44] Cf. Lewe 1975, 76; Stucky 1993, 16, who both see the Cypriote double crown and (Stucky) the (Sidonian) kilt with *uraei* being borrowed directly from Egyptian plastic art. See also above, in Ch. 1.2 n. 60.

[45] See, most recently, Möller 2000, 90–92.

[46] See above, Ch. 1.2.

[47] Kyrieleis 1996. See, for the male colossal sculpture as idea in Egypt and in Greece, pp. 112–120, and for practical and technical matters, pp. 121–127.

[48] As always in the Egyptian Delta area, it must be kept in mind that what is preserved is a *very* limited part of the original whole.

[49] The differing views on the Naukratite statuette material were presented above, in Ch. 4.1.1 – including the usage of local stones like sandstone and alabaster (?) for the statuettes, and the presence at Naukratis of a (late) Cypriote sculptor's signature.

Egyptian stone sculpture was copied here, by Cypriote artisans,[50] it could well explain the missing back-pillar support, hieroglyphic inscriptions, and *nemes* headcloths of the Cypriote Egyptianizing figures – all removed in the ethnically mixed Naukratite workshops. A Naukratite origin could also explain the clearly non-Egyptian elements of dress and ornamentation which are encountered in the Cypriote figures, and the non-Egyptian stylistic traits which they display.[51]

The problem is, however, that the recovered material does nothing to suggest this. It has been noted before that the small-scale, Cypriote-style statuette material unearthed at Naukratis displays very little Egyptian influence.[52] In terms of dress elements, ornaments, and headgear, this is entirely true. The single piece to display an Egyptian-type kilt is a small limestone statuette, today in the University College, London.[53] The kilt worn by the figure is of the typical Cypriote hybrid form, the "*shenti*" with opened-up "apron-*devanteau*". This becomes entirely clear when considering the remains of paint which are still visible on the figure.[54] The central device displays two painted, vertical lines – probably depicting the central cobras – and a lower frieze where a standardized triangular pattern echoes the usual lower border of drop shapes.[55] On each of its sides, sash ends are indicated by both incision and color. Interestingly, the upper part of the body of the figure preserves rich remains of color, the remains of a short-sleeved, upper garment with a floral (?) design on the central border, and a broad collar with linear decoration.[56] This attire is not contemporary Egyptian. It is quite at home, however, within the Cypriote Egyptianizing tradition.[57] Thus, not even in this single figure do we find a representative of the hypothetical group of intermediary figures which would indicate the direct inspiration for the Cypriote sculptors working at Naukratis of contemporary Egyptian stone sculpture.[58] In order to be able to believe that such an interchange took place, we would need a larger group of figures and figurines wearing decorated kilts, broad floral collars, double crowns, etc. And this is not the case at Naukratis. To hypothesize that Cypriote sculptors could have traveled to great centers like Tanis, Memphis, and Saïs, encountering earlier New Kingdom statuary and copying the dress of these colossal figures,[59] would be exceedingly far-fetched. Apart from the general fact that the hypothetical outcome would have included a focus on entirely different features,[60] one would need to explain the model for the broad floral collar, which is simply not encountered in large-scale New Kingdom stone sculpture.[61]

At this time there was a production of anthropoid sarcophagi in hard stone in the larger Egyptian sculptural workshops. Reflecting an unchanging funerary tradition, they were generally rendered with the broad floral collar placed around the neck of the sculpted deceased.[62] To suggest that Cypriote sculptors would have been able to acquire the idea of

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The allegations of finds of unfinished pieces were seen to have been unfounded.

[50]Cypriote sculptors could have studied dress on exhibited sculpture, or have visited Egyptian workshops: Davis 1981, 75–79.

[51]See above, Chs. 2.2.2 and 2.3.

[52]Davis 1979, 16.

[53]Inv. no. U.C. 16469. See Kyrieleis 1996, pl. 40, for the best depictions. See above, in Ch. 4.1.1.

[54]Once again, I wish to thank G. Nick who has kindly provided information on an object which I have not had the chance to study, myself. For a short note on the color, see: Nick 2001, 58.

[55]The drop shapes have been turned into three hanging triangles, painted red. What comes to mind are the transformed drop shapes – turned into three and a half lotus flowers – on **Cat. 12**, from Idalion. Cf. Kyrieleis 1996, 76, 78.

[56]The color on the belt of the figure indicates that this, too, was decorated, and a central patch of red color seems to indicate the belt buckle. For the central floral border of the Cypriote upper garment, see Ch. 2.2.2.

[57]Cf. Kyrieleis 1996, 76, 78–79. H. Kyrieleis considers the figure as a fine example of the connection between Egyptian and Cypriote art, a Greek work of art made in imitation of Egyptian prototypes. For the dress, this is not possible to corroborate. As regards the body rendering, however, see below.

[58]Interestingly, single figures indicate a relation between contemporary Egyptian statuary and certain "Cypro-Ionian" figurines. Compare, for example, the Egyptian Isis with a coiling snake on her head to a Cypriote-style (male) limestone statuette found at Kameiros, on Rhodes: Bothmer 1960, pl. 52, no. 55 (ca. 530 B.C.), and the British Museum, Inv. no. B.334. S. Fourrier draws similar parallels regarding the "Baal Hammon" type: Fourrier 2001, 45.

[59]In Ch. 2.2.1 "The kilt", above, we noted how – for example – a large-scale statue of Ramesses II was reused at Tanis and incorporated into the architectural and sculptural decoration by pharaohs of the Third Intermediate Period.

[60]The back-pillar support with royal inscriptions, the *nemes* headcloth combined with the double crown, and the correctly rendered *shenti* are only three of the many features we would have expected – in a transformed or stylized form. Add to this the royal regalia, the scepter and flail (*heka* and *nekhakha*), the ceremonial beard, and the royal sandals. These differences would of course similarly be envisaged if we postulate that Cypriote stone carvers encountered Egyptian statuary displayed in Phoenician sanctuaries, for example.

[61]See above, Ch. 2.2.1 "The broad collar". It is rather in wall paintings and on painted sarcophagi that we encounter the rich, floral New Kingdom collar. This funerary sphere would of course be entirely inaccessible to foreign visitors in Late Period Egypt.

[62]See above, in Ch. 2.2.1. See also Grallert 2001, pl. 31, a sarcophagus interestingly enough belonging to a man with an Egyptian name, whose parents had Greek names. The collar contains paradise flowers, among other things. Note should be made of the fact that there are no collar renderings on Twenty-sixth Dynasty sarcophagi decorated with the characteristic (Cypriote) Egyptianizing combination of persea fruits and hanging triangles, that is, standardized leaves.

the much-decorated floral collar – so standardized in their own treatment – through these colossal, funerary objects is not feasible, either. This again leaves us with the fact that as far as the Egyptian-type dress is concerned, it is likely that there were no actual impulses transmitted from Egyptian stone sculpture to the makers of the Cypriote Egyptianizing figures.

However, if we finally consider, for a moment, the faces and bodies of the figures rather than their attire we might see something somewhat different. It seems that Cypriote sculptors were working under strong East Greek influence at this Egyptian site.[63] But simultaneously, and inevitably, the (Cypriote and/or East Greek) sculptors active within these workshops were exposed to Egyptian influence as well. H. Kyrieleis identifies several stylistic traits that he says were transferred directly from contemporary Egyptian sculpture to the Cypriote-style statuettes, and pictures a Naukratite workshop as the source of this exchange.[64] However, in Ch. 2.3 above, it was suggested that several of these characteristics were indigenous Cypriote, and that the only actual Egyptian (stylistic) input on Cypriote statuary was equally shared by contemporary, East Greek statuary.[65] It is more than possible that it was at Naukratite workshops that Cypriote – and Greek – craftsmen acquired the inspiration for the male figure with increased corporeality, standing with the left leg advanced and arms hanging along the sides of the body, a slight smile on his lips.[66] The Egyptian and East Greek influence on early Cypriote sculpture – as seen in the face and body – is a highly complex matter, and cannot be further treated here.[67] We can only state, again, that for the Egyptian-type dress of the Cypriote figures, models need to be found elsewhere.

In Ch. 4.3, above, the Egyptianizing stone sculpture unearthed in Phoenicia was analyzed. It was suggested that the material could be differentiated into two groups, of which the first one (groups 1 A and 1 B) was of Phoenician manufacture, while the second one (group 2) consisted of Cypriote imports, alternatively products of Cypriote sculptors working at Phoenician sanctuaries. The first, indigenous, Phoenician group consisted of figures carved from local lime- or sandstone, so-called *ramleh*. It should be noted that several of these large-scale figures were found just outside, rather than inside, the local sanctuaries. Among these Phoenician Egyptianizing stone statues (Group 1), the larger group of objects belonged to the 5th–3rd centuries B.C. (Group 1 B). Leaving those probably later specimens aside, it is of interest here to focus on the few Phoenician stone statues which seemingly belong to the Archaic period (Group 1 A):[68] **Cat. Ph20** and **Cat. Ph21**, from Byblos, **Cat. Ph28**, from Sarepta, **Cat. Ph31**, from Tyre, and **Cat. Ph38**, of unknown provenance. In these figures, we do encounter the back-pillar support – sometimes with (Phoenician) inscription, the occasional royal *nemes* headcloth with frontal cobra, the well-rendered Egyptian *shenti*, and generally less decorated figures, where several lack the broad collar rendered in low relief. It could be tentatively suggested that these figures, instead, were (at least partly) imitations of Egyptian stone models, objects which we know were available in the round in certain sanctuaries along the Levantine coast (see below).[69]

It is thus possible to suggest that this Phoenician group of figures was created under strong influence from Egyptian stone statuary which was exhibited or otherwise available in Phoenician sanctuaries, or at other public places. The question to pose is whether this category of Phoenician stone sculpture could have served as a model for the Cypriote Egyptianizing statues in its turn.[70] The complete lack of such objects on Cypriote soil does not allow us to imagine that Phoenician stone statuary was exported from

63 The naked, Cypriote-style *kouros* figure is highly characteristic, in this respect.

64 The wig-like coiffure, the stabilizing material kept between the legs of the figure, the broad shoulders, elongated and slender upper body, rounded hips, a belly slightly protruding below the navel, proportionately small buttocks, and the border between neck and naked chest: Kyrieleis 1996, 77–78.

65 The stance, the "Archaic" smile, the over-sized thumb, and the colossal size of (votive) statuary.

66 We have noted elsewhere that there is no trace, in the Cypriote figures, of the Late Period Egyptian tripartition of the male torso or of the Egyptian canon of proportions.

67 Suffice it to say that there is a need to incorporate into any such discussion the earliest Cypriote terracotta material, which is stylistically so characteristically regional, and yet incorporates some of the traits which are often described as Egyptian. Note should also be made of the fact that no large-scale statues or fragments thereof have been found at Naukratis. The largest statuette recovered is 48 cm in height. For more on this matter, and the questions that it raises, see Ch. 4.1.1.

68 The difficulties in correctly dating these objects were noted in the above chapters.

69 See above, Ch. 4.5.2. It remains to explain from where the sculptors behind **Cat. Ph28** and **Cat. Ph31** copied the heavily transformed versions of the royal New Kingdom kilt with *devanteau*. In contrast to the Cypriote figures, this much altered dress would make it possible to suggest the actual enlarging from small-scale figures, available perhaps in other materials (see below, "Phoenician wood and ivory statuary"). The availability of, and the copying of, certain slightly earlier, transformed Egyptian renderings – like the Nubian diorite statue referred to above in Ch. 4.1.2 n. 46 – would perhaps be another possibility.

70 The possibility that the Sidonian, Egyptianizing figures would have inspired the (much related) Palaepaphos figures is not at all feasible. As we saw above in Chs. 4.3 and 4.5, elaborately decorated statues found in Phoenicia are very scarce, and decidedly Cypriote as regards type and style.

Phoenicia to Cyprus where it was later copied or imitated in local workshops.[71] Hypothetically, however, Cypriote sculptors could have become acquainted with the Phoenician Egyptianizing statuary when visiting Phoenician sanctuaries, initiating the production of similar, although stylistically different, pieces.[72]

The appearance of the figures does nothing to suggest this, however. Just like contemporary Egyptian sculpture, these locally carved Phoenician figures have very little in common with the limestone votives produced on Cyprus. Sure enough, the male figure standing with the left leg advanced and arms hanging along the sides of the body remains universal. The pleated kilt, the belt hanging on the hips of the figures, and the "emblematic staves" are likewise shared characteristics. The presence, however, in the Phoenician figures of the Egyptian-type back-pillar support, sometimes carrying a (votive) inscription and of the royal *nemes* headcloth, contrasted by the lack of well-rendered versions of the royal New Kingdom dress with *devanteau*, cobras, and sash ends, of the double crown, and of the broad floral collar, set them considerably far apart from the Cypriote figures under study. Moreover, the Phoenician stone sculptures do not provide a whole range of general Egyptian (-izing) ornamental details,[73] nor do they incorporate sphinxes and Hathoric iconography in their repertoire.[74] It is not possible to identify models with several, and well-rendered, Egyptian elements amongst this stone material, either. Hypothesizing that Phoenician stone sculpture *did* serve as models for Cypriote counterparts, it is reasonable to suggest that the end result of this transference would have been statues of quite different appearance, wearing plain kilts and few additional dress elements – among which, possibly, the royal *nemes* – while resting against (inscribed) back-pillar supports.

We have looked in vain for a possible model for the figures under study. We could conclude that, as regards the dress and equipment of the Cypriote Egyptianizing figures, Egyptian stone sculpture did not act as a source of inspiration for the Cypriote stone carvers either directly or indirectly, that is, through large-scale Phoenician imitations in stone.[75]

Egyptian or Egyptianizing small-scale faience and bronze figurines?

Coming into focus next is a group of material which is similarly strongly connected to Naukratis and the Egyptian Delta. During the 8th to 6th centuries B.C. we see the production and vast distribution of Egyptian faience figurines, pendants, and amulets – or imitations thereof. These small *Aegyptiaca* are generally molded figurines, where additional details or color were added before firing.[76] Beside human or divine figures, small animals, scarabs, and miniature vases were produced in this popular material. They are encountered in funerary as well as in sanctuary contexts throughout the Mediterranean. It has been proposed that certain of these objects were connected to a popular magical sphere whose function was the protection of women and children, pregnancy and fertility.[77] Of interest for us in this section is the category of male, kilt-wearing faience figurines. Depicting what seems to be both divine and human Egyptian-type figures, this group of mold-made objects varies in size from a few centimeters in height to around 40 centimeters.[78] The smaller examples, or amulets, are generally perforated at the back in order to be able to be strung. These small-scale objects seem to have been produced in the Delta region as miniature versions of large-scale Egyptian sculpture.[79] It is of interest to consider whether it is possible that these easily transportable goods were copied in areas

[71] Unless we envisage a very limited material of figures and figurines which has not (yet) become a part of the Cypriote archaeological record. See above on the virtual lack of Egyptian stone sculpture on Cyprus.

[72] A. Nunn suggests that Phoenician-style **Cat. Ph31**, from Tyre, served as an inspiration and model for the Cypriote Egyptianizing figures: Nunn 2000, 21 (see above Ch. 1.2 n. 62).

[73] The large-scale, sometimes colossal, Phoenician stone sculptures would be more than large enough to have served as models. However, their lack of ornamental detail – with exception made for the very transformed outfits of **Cat. Ph28** and **Cat. Ph31** – decreases the necessity for larger sizes to be available, in order to obtain close imitations of dress and details.

[74] The Phoenician stone sphinxes carved in the round, primarily found in pairs flanking (empty) thrones, are generally much later in date (4th–2nd centuries B.C.), see above Ch. 4.4.3. No Hathoric depictions in stone are known from the Phoenician sanctuaries.

[75] Nor indirectly through the medium of small-scale faience figurines, as will be briefly outlined just below.

[76] The figures consist of a body material (core) coated with a vitreous, alkaline glaze. On Egyptian faience and the techniques of production: Lucas 1962, 156–161.

[77] De Salvia 1993, 65, 67; De Salvia 1985, 337–340. See also Marinatos 2000, 184.

[78] The largest figurine known to me, found on Crete, is a statuette of Nefertum, 32 cm in height, unearthed in a child's burial in the North Cemetery at Knossos (ca. 700 B.C.): Stampolidis *et al.* 1998, 146–147; Coldstream 2000, 172. A well-known group of eight strongly related kilt-wearing faience statuettes, excavated at the Eshmun sanctuary at Bostan esh-Sheikh, includes two figures which originally must have stood around 40 cm high: Nunn 1996, 257, 260, pls. 4–5 (8.a–c, 9.a–d).

[79] Kyrieleis 1996, 73. Naukratis and Rhodes are the two proposed centers of production of East Greek imitations. For the Rhodian evidence: Webb 1978, 5–10. S. Fourrier proposes that both "Cypro-Ionian" limestone figures and faience figurines were produced at Naukratis only, for an East Greek clientele, and widely exported from there: Fourrier 2001, 42, 46–47.

outside Egypt, in other materials, being "blown up" into (kilt-wearing) figures of larger sizes.

Just like in other (Eastern) Mediterranean areas, finds are plentiful in Cypriote sanctuaries and grave contexts. From the temple at Kathari, Kition, come two representative, although fragmentary, kilt-wearing faience figurines. The first is an acephalous figure clad in a pleated, undifferentiated kilt held up by a belt, where the bent left arm is holding a thin but tall stalk crowned by a papyrus flower.[80] The right arm is hanging along the side of the body, a large lotus flower held in the diminutive hand. The figurine rests against a back-pillar support which is very limited in depth, and broader at its base. Virtually identical figurines have been found on Crete and in the Levant.[81] In fact, comparison with a strongly related piece found at Bostan esh-Sheikh indicates that the fragmentary Kition faience may also have featured one or two small animals squatting at its feet.[82] The second Kition faience to be noted here is merely the central part of a figurine wearing a pleated *shenti*, where the belt is hanging on the hips of the figure and clenched hands are holding "emblematic staves", all connected to a broad back-pillar support carrying a legible hieroglyphic inscription.[83] The kilt of the figurine is of a kind not encountered so far in this study: despite the fact that the pleats of the "textile" are rendered in a manner very true to Egyptian counterparts,[84] the relation between kilt cloth and apron is assymetric. The piece further differs from most other Egyptianizing faience kilts encountered outside Egypt, where a highly stylized form of the Egyptian *shenti* is most frequently encountered.[85]

The place of manufacture for this group of objects has been heatedly discussed. The debate has not involved the Saïte Egyptian faience production, which was distributed from the Delta, but rather the clearly non-Egyptian production of figurines to which the two Kition examples clearly belong. Few have suggested a local production on Cyprus itself: scholars seem to have favored the Levant,[86] or Naukratis, where – indeed – the combination of Egyptian technical know-how and an East Greek/Cypriote clientele interested in the mass production of imitations would be present.[87] W.F. Petrie did discover the remains of a faience workshop at Naukratis, opposite the sanctuary of Aphrodite.[88] And there are, in fact, several similarities with Egyptian Saïte sculpture in these small figures.[89] A Cypriote stylistic element is also clear in many of the objects. It has been noted that there are several likenesses between the non-Egyptian faience statuettes and the limestone statuettes referred to as "Cypro-Ionian" (see Ch. 4.1.1). These two categories of material share the same limited period of production (ca. 650–550 B.C.), and display close iconographical and stylistic resemblances.[90] They are virtually always encountered side by side, at the same (East Greek) sites.[91] One explanation for these strong

[80] Addendum 2, No. 20. H. 9.5 cm, AOH ca. 20 cm.

[81] This could, indeed, point to very few (one?) centers of production. For the figurines, all with an AOH of ca. 20 cm: Karetsou *et al.* 2000, 348, no. 374, from Amnisos; Nunn 1996, 256, 259, pl. 2 (3.a–c), from Sidon; Pritchard 1988, fig. 13.64, from Sarepta; Biran 1980, 97, fig. 6, from Tel Dan. A second, virtually identical, figure from Sidon seems originally to have reached around 30 cm in height: Nunn 1996, 256, 259, pl. 2 (4.a–c).

[82] Nunn 1996, 256, 259, pl. 2 (3.a–c). Compare the Egyptian (female) figurine type where the lion-headed goddess Sekhmet is standing holding a papyrus stalk, a tiny (Bastet?) cat at her feet. For an example found in the sanctuary at Kommos: Karetsou *et al.* 2000, 353, no. 384.

[83] Addendum 2, No. 17. H. 4.6 cm, AOH ca. 10 cm. I thank V. Karageorghis for bringing this figurine to my attention. See, for similarly inscribed faience back-pillar supports: Blinkenberg 1931, pl. 53.1211, from Lindos; Karetsou *et al.* 2000, 344, no. 366, from the Idaean cave.

[84] We saw above, in Ch. 2.2.1 "The kilt", that the Egyptian royal *shenti* displays vertically striped cloth, in contrast to a horizontally striped apron.

[85] The general faience kilt – which is large enough to receive individual treatment – has a unified lower border, displaying one curving, incised line running vertically between the belt and this border. In connection to this central, curving line (indicating the vertical edge of the cloth) is a small, second line (indicating its opposite edge). See, for (some widespread) example (-s): Karetsou *et al.* 2000, 349, no. 377, from Amnisos, p. 353, no. 383, from Kommos; Fourrier 1999, 381, fig. 29, from Delos; and the group of Sidonian statuettes presented in Nunn 1996.

[86] The Levant has been proposed as the place of origin for the earliest, 8th century B.C., specimens only. See, for example, Coldstream 2000, 172. It could be noted that the group of faience statuettes found at Bostan esh-Sheikh, referred to below, are very homogeneous in style and iconography, indicating a common workshop. No figurines of this type have been encountered at Naukratis, as far as I know.

[87] Just like the presence of favorable conditions available at Naukratis for the mutual influence of Egyptian, East Greek, and Cypriote (stone) statuary, which was discussed in the former section. V. Webb opted for Rhodes as a second production center in addition to Naukratis: see above n. 79.

[88] Petrie 1886, 36–38. See also Möller 2000, 113–115.

[89] Webb 1978, 87, no. 369, pl. 12, from Samos (kneeling flute player with toes separated on splayed-out foot); p. 88, no. 386, pl. 12, from Kameiros (kneeling kilt-wearing figure with characteristic tripartition on its naked upper body); p. 90, no. 414, pl. 13, from Lindos (kneeling naophore figure); p. 94, no. 482, pl. 14, from Kameiros (hawk with naked female figure sheltering in front). See also De Salvia 1985, 342.

[90] The harp- or lyre player, the *kriophoros*, the tunic-wearing figure accompanied by a goat, and the small lions, falcons, and sphinxes are found within both material categories: De Salvia 1993, 68; Fourrier 2001, 46–47 n. 40. See also Webb 1978, 83, 87, 90, nos. 420–423: "A misunderstanding of Cypriot lion-tamer figure?".

[91] Fourrier 2001, 42. Common to both stone and faience figurines are the finds of virtually identical figures at far-away

similarities is that Cypriotes[92] or Egyptians[93] were producing faience imitations for an East Greek clientele at Naukratis. Thus, it could be stated that the center of production is most probably the Egyptian Delta and its workshops, chiefly situated at Naukratis, and that there is a definitive Cypriote element involved in this production.[94]

Is it, then, feasible to view the small-scale faiences as the direct inspiration and mode of dissemination for new sculptural types (and styles), including the Cypriote, kilt-wearing figure? Faience finds from Cyprus share the stance, the (slightly transformed) pleated kilt with belt placed on hips, the "emblematic staves", and occasionally the animal head or mask with the larger Egyptianizing stone sculptures.[95] From outside the island come finds of figurines with a plain, broad collar and armrings added in paint.[96] The miniature figurines are part of a wider Egyptian tradition, and there are finds of occasional small-scale sphinxes and depictions of Hathor/Mut in faience.[97] Access to the repertoire of Egyptian religious ornaments would also have been possible through this category of material.[98] However, this evidence does not count for much in comparison with the overriding lack of similarity between stone and faience figures: the faiences have back-pillar supports, sometimes with hieroglyphic inscriptions,[99] they wear only the *shenti* and there are no known depictions whatsoever of the New Kingdom royal kilt with *devanteau*, cobras, and sash ends.[100] Completely missing in the small-scale figures is further the broad decorated collar[101] and the double crown. Behind most of these dissimilarities lies the fact that the faiences are generally objects of very limited size, where the largest known examples reach 40 centimeters in height, but a majority are considerably smaller. Keeping in mind what was established above, we note that this is obviously not a material category which provides a whole range of figures of various sizes, where at least some exceed 50 centimeters in height. Nor do we find the presence within this material of figures which incorporate a comparatively large number of Egyptian-type elements, or elements which come close to the Egyptian, original counterparts. In addition, it could be noted that *if*, indeed, the faience figurines directly inspired (certain) Cypriote limestone figures, then we would have expected a very different range of figures and types than what the island's archaeological record has given us.[102] It is only possible to conclude that small-scale faience figurines did not act as carriers of inspiration for the Cypriote stone sculptors responsible for the Egyptianizing figures under study.

The same arguments could be presented regarding the hypothetical influence of Egyptian and Egyptianizing bronze figurines, which are equally well spread during this period of time. To be sure, contemporary Egyptian bronzes depict divine figures wearing the plain *shenti*, the tripartite wig, the plain, broad collar, and the towering double crown.[103] There are far too many and far too characteristic Egyptian-type features in the Cypriote Egyptianizing figures that are not found in the bronzes – for example, the New Kingdom-type kilt with *devanteau*,

sites. This would, indeed, favor the idea of only one production center.

92De Salvia 1993, 68–69.

93Fourrier 2001, 47.

94H. Kyrieleis also sees both "Cypro-Ionian" limestone statuettes and "Egypto-Greek" faience figurines being produced for a Naukratite and East Greek market. He notes, however, that our chances for determining the amount of Greek and Cypriote craftsmen in these Naukratite workshops would perhaps be futile, even after additional far-reaching stylistic analytical work: Kyrieleis 1996, 75.

95See, for example, Karageorghis 1973a, fig. 97, an amulet from Soloi; Lagarce 1976, pl. 7, an amulet from Kition. See also Christou 1992, fig. 45 (H. 3.8 cm), from Amathus. Among the kilt-wearing limestone statues, the falcon-headed **Cat. 1** is the single, but highly interesting, example.

96See, again, the Sidonian faience statuettes: Nunn 1996, 256, pl. 2 (4.a–c), wearing both collar and armrings, and pp. 255–256, pl. 1 (2.a–c), with armrings, bracelets, and painted decoration on the belt. For a plain collar rendered in low relief, see (again) Karetsou *et al.* 2000, 344, no. 366, from the Idaean cave.

97See, for example, Webb 1978, 97, no. 560, pl. 14 (a sphinx from Kameiros); Caubet 1973, 2–3 (bronze Hathor sistra, and miniature ones in faience). Bes figurines and the like abound.

98That several other Egyptian-type symbols and amulets were available (on Cyprus) in faience is well attested through, for example, a set of such amulets encountered in an anthropoid sarcophagus excavated at Ayios Prodromos, Larnaka. Among the pieces are small-scale Egyptian deities, sacred animals, the *wedjet* eye, and scarabs: Karageorghis 1963, 353, figs. 42–44.

99See above, on the possibility that Cypriote sculptors chose to leave out the back-pillar support when – *if* – imitating statues or statuettes equipped with this characteristic feature.

100Or, for that matter, of the hybrid kilt so typical for the Cypriote Egyptianizing stone statues, discussed above.

101The fact that miniature New Year's faience pilgrim flasks, so appreciated outside Egypt, sometimes display broad collars with decorated registers cannot explain the transference of the notion of the broad, New Kingdom-type collar with persea fruits, hanging triangles, and outer drop shapes.

102In that case, the kneeling, kilt-wearing figure would perhaps have been enlarged as well, as would the naked figures, the figures seated on thrones carrying the *sema-tawy* sign, Nefertem with ceremonial beard and the characteristic lotus on his head, lion-headed Sekhmet, or figures equipped with papyrus stalks and lotus flowers, with small animals squatting at their feet. In addition, the *shenti* would be the only kilt type found, particularly in the much standardized version described above, in n. 85.

103See, for example: Yoyotte 1968, 202.

cobras, and sash ends – to allow us to view them as possible models which were "blown up" by the Cypriote stone carvers. On the general problems of considering a material of such limited dimensions as the forerunner of (often) life-size figures, see above (Ch. 3.3.2 and 5.1.2). Finally, it is worth emphasizing that there are great differences as regards the techniques employed in the manufacture of faience and bronze figurines, on the one hand, and the carving technique used to produce (limestone) sculpture in the round, a fact which does not favor close cooperation between craftsmen skilled in these particular products.

Phoenician wood and ivory statuary?

The third and final material category to be considered is a well-known, high-quality material – the costly ivory, often worked with a high degree of skill. In the Levant, from the 9th until the 7th century B.C.,[104] large elephant tusks were cut into appropriate pieces and carved into a variety of shapes, including decorative plaques, small containers or vessels, and statuettes.[105] The Phoenician tradition of carving such detailed and delicate work is well established, despite the fact that only a very few pieces of carved ivory have been found in the cities along the Phoenician coast.[106] It is rather in distant, royal Assyrian palaces that large part of the known material of Phoenician manufacture has come to light – due to the claiming of tribute, taking of war booty, and/or the collection of gifts, on behalf of the Assyrian kings, and possibly by the presence of traveling foreign craftsmen at these royal centers. There were several centers of production turning out costly ivory during this period of time: beside the Phoenician workshops – which have been identified through style, iconography, craftsmanship,[107] and the miniature letters or "fitters' marks" in the Phoenician alphabet which they sometimes carry – North and South Syrian centers of production have been identified.[108] Some of the strongly Egyptianizing iconography which is so characteristic for the Phoenician ivories is very common in the Syrian workshops as well, although the style is markedly different.[109] Our focus here, however, is solely on those ivories which have been identified as being of Phoenician manufacture, many of which were excavated at the Assyrian residential city Kalah (Nimrud).[110] From this site comes a group of stylistically related objects which seem to have been produced in one of the larger Phoenician cities, possibly Sidon or Tyre.[111]

The excavated Phoenician ivories are mainly thin relief plaques, highly decorative with an intricate Egyptianizing repertoire of motifs carved in a variety of techniques.[112] Small plaques, reaching a few centimeters in height, were glued onto wooden objects like boxes and caskets. Larger ivory panels were attached to large-scale wooden furniture – chests, the backs of thrones and chairs, headboards of beds, couches, tables, footstools and the like – either by means of an adhesive, or with the aid of tenons, dowels, or keyhole slots.[113] When mounted against a darker wooden background, open-work ivory plaques must have had a highly decorative effect. Figures carved in the round were also manufactured from the costly material. Several male, kilt-wearing statuettes of originally up to 40 centimeters in height have been brought to light at Nimrud.[114] They were manufactured from several separate pieces of carved ivory, in order to make use of all of the precious and

[104] As before in this study, I am not including the related (ample) Bronze Age evidence.

[105] According to M. Mallowan, tusks of the Syrian elephant were used for the Nimrud ivories: Mallowan 1966, 484.

[106] Renan 1864, 500, figs. 1–6, two decorated plaques from Sidon; Barnett 1957, 227, no. U.13, pl. 123; Stucky 1985, 10, 26–27, pl. 2, a Sidonian anthropomorphic bone unguent pot and two female bone statuettes wearing broad, decorated collars – a cheaper material perhaps used due to the shortage of ivory; Montet 1928, pl. 142.878 (Iron Age?) fragment found at Byblos; Pritchard 1978, 143–144, fig. 139, a statuette head from Sarepta. Only the two last-mentioned pieces were made in a style comparable to that of the "Phoenician" ivories from Nimrud, however.

[107] Winter 1976c, especially pp. 4–11.

[108] Barnett 1957, 133; Winter 1976b; Winter 1981, 129 (Damascus); Herrmann 1989 (Tell Halaf). I. Winter has stressed the presence not only of several centers of production, but also the possibility of several co-existing workshops, working in different styles: Winter 1976a, 202.

[109] Ciafaloni 1992, 118, treats the shared motifs. It is stated that the motifs with stronger Egyptian connotation remain unique to the Phoenician group of ivories. See, again, Winter 1976c, who juxtaposes objects of similar usage and with similar motifs from the two "schools", in order to define stylistic differences between them.

[110] R.D. Barnett noted that additional Phoenician-style ivories had been unearthed at Samaria, Khorsabad, and Arslan Tash: Barnett 1939, 15. The pieces from Samaria are the only closely related ones, however, in terms of style and technique (*cloisonné* inlay). On the possibility that some of the ivories from Room SW 37 at Fort Shalmaneser, Nimrud – of which a large part are Phoenician-style – were part of the booty taken by Sargon II during the sack of Samaria in 720 B.C.: Herrmann 1986, 35.

[111] Barnett 1948, 4 (suggesting Tyre, following Ezekiel's "lament"); Barnett 1957, 111 (identifying the "Layard series" as originally belonging to one single scheme of decoration).

[112] R.D. Barnett lists techniques which are all represented within the so-called Layard group, among which were objects of undoubted Phoenician manufacture: low relief, high relief, open-work (*ajouré*), and statues and statuettes, made entirely or in part of ivory: Barnett 1957, 155–159.

[113] Herrmann 1986, 4.

[114] Barnett 1957, 175–176, C.39–C.45, fig. 65, pl. 6 (at least three different figurines), p. 215, pl. 96.S.314; Herrmann 1986, 239, nos. 1292–1295, pls. 338–342.

curiously shaped raw material.[115] It is possible that these high-relief and plastic figurines were attached as well to elaborate pieces of wooden furniture.[116] This cannot be said, however, of the larger examples of composite sculpture of wood and ivory which obviously were up to life-size, and which are testified to through various finds of large-scale – although very fragmentary – ivory body parts. A fragmentary (hollow) face and at least three pairs of life-size ivory ears are some of the published pieces which point towards similar large-scale, composite figures.[117] Apart from human figures, large-scale wood and ivory lion statuary is witnessed in the remaining, fragmentary material.[118] Common to both relief plaques and the figures and figurines carved in the round was the application of thin gold foil to the dress, jewelry, wigs, and headgear of the figures.[119] The Nimrud ivories had been deliberately stripped of this foil in the destruction of the Assyrian capital city in 612 B.C. On certain pieces, however, enough is preserved to allow an impression of the actual appearance of these chryselephantine products.[120] Further, we note the frequent use of inlaid colored glass, carried out in a technique which imitated the *cloisonné* technique employed for jewelry where enamel or precious and semi-precious stones were set in raised (metal) sockets.[121] Beside this jewel-like inlay technique, where the *cloisons* were usually separated by small portions of ivory (so-called gripping), the Phoenician-style ivories display a second mode of inlay which was simply the filling of sockets which were carved into the surface of the ivory.[122] With these two methods of inlay, details of the Egyptianizing dress of the figures were highlighted in a strikingly colorful and opulent manner. In addition, ivory was sometimes tinted or stained, where added paint served to enhance details or alternating features.[123] Indeed, this polychromy is something which characterizes the Phoenician-style ivories, setting them apart from the additional styles that have been identified.[124] It is interesting to note that there are pairs of ivories – both plaques and figures carved in the round – which are virtually identical.[125] This does favor their reconstruction together, on either side of a central element. Double figures flanking a stylized plant is in fact a motif which constitutes another characteristic of the Phoenician-type ivories.[126]

The wood employed for both furniture and large-scale, composite sculpture seems to have included maple, boxwood, mulberry, cedar, and juniper.[127] We encounter both furniture and statuary in the Assyrian palace reliefs, where pieces of furniture and large-scale sculpture are depicted being carried out from conquered, western cities.[128] It is possible that the large-scale, composite figures were cultic or votive statuary, originally found within a religious context.[129] In view of the valuable materials employed

[115] A relatively well-preserved (although acephalous) statuette from Fort Shalmaneser, Nimrud, demonstrates that the body and arms were carved from one piece, while legs and head were jointed in separately: Herrmann 1986, 24, 239, no. 1292, pls. 338–339. Possibly, the headgear was separately carved as well: compare Barnett 1957, 175, C.39–C.45 (from Rooms V and W, North-West Palace, Nimrud), and the separate pieces of ivory double crowns: Herrmann 1986, pls. 340.1304, 341.1302–1303. See also Barnett 1957, 112, 155, 158.

[116] Barnett 1957, 130 (supports of the arms of a chair?).

[117] Herrmann 1986, 23–24, 238, no. 1285, pl. 334.1285, pp. 240–241, nos. 1307–1309, who also mentions (p. 24) that additional fragments of large-scale statuary have been uncovered in the so-called Well AJ, in the North-West Palace. Despite the fact that some, if not all, of these fragments seem to be rather of North Syrian manufacture, they add to our awareness of the presence of large-scale composite statuary.

[118] Herrmann 1986, 24, pls. 359.1383, 366.1393–1395, 375–378.1430–1436. It should be noted that the occasional ivory furniture leg could be found among the lion paws.

[119] The precious foil was generally only around one mm in thickness: Herrmann 1986, 58. Remains of it, or its glue, are never found on body parts (human flesh), where ivory was preferred. See also Barnett 1948, 2.

[120] For some excellent color photographs, see: Moscati 1988b, 515; Uberti 1988, 411 (the famous O1). In both these examples remains of red (carnelian) and blue (lapis lazuli) inlays are preserved. As noted above colored glass was most often used to substitute such semi-precious stones.

[121] Conscious of the Egyptian forerunners in wood (see above, Ch. 2.2.1 "Color as pattern"), R.D. Barnett suggested that it may have been a Phoenician idea to extend the polychrome technique of *cloisonné* to ivory: Barnett 1957, 156.

[122] Barnett 1957, 157. Barnett noted that the second type of inlay is not found in the Phoenician-style ivories at Nimrud, only at Samaria. Occasionally it is, however, as in Herrmann 1986, 239, nos. 1293–1294, pls. 340–341.1293–1294 (the drop shapes of the broad collar).

[123] Barnett 1957, 157; Herrmann 1986, 59–60. See also Ciafaloni 1992, 90–91, who notes that blue color was sometimes used for the flesh of divine or semi-divine figures.

[124] Deep sockets for colored glass inlay are typical of the Phoenician-style ivories, and rare on North Syrian counterparts: Barnett 1957, 156–157; Winter 1976c, 3.

[125] Barnett 1957, 112; Mallowan 1966, 484, on plaques; Falsone 1989, 174–175, on statuettes. The (fragmentary) faces of C.39 and C.41 are striking in this respect: Barnett 1957, pl. 6.

[126] Winter 1976c, 6–7; Ciafaloni 1995, 539–540.

[127] Barnett 1957, 12.

[128] Berlejung 1998, 41–52, pls. 1, 3, 5, 6; Uehlinger 1997, 124–128, figs. 45–46. For furniture: Winter 1976b, figs. 5–6, depicting a relief from the Palace of Sennacherib, Nineveh, and the well-known Assurbanipal relief where the king is reclining on a (wooden) couch virtually identical to the one found in the previous depiction, obviously decorated by ivory reliefs. Note also the small table and the elaborate chair or throne of his queen.

[129] Note that the only characteristically Phoenician-style (anthropomorphic) ivory to have been unearthed in the Phoenician homeland was excavated in the small Anat-Astarte sanctuary at Sarepta: Pritchard 1978, 143, fig. 139 (see above Ch. 4.4.3 n. 383).

in these figures and in the furniture – including, indeed, some of the wood – and taking the find places into consideration, these objects seem to be firmly connected to a royal sphere. This is supported by the suggested source of inspiration for the decorative gilded and inlaid ivory in general, which is royal Egyptian Third Intermediate Period jewelry and gilded wooden objects,[130] where the Tanite treasures remain the more well-known.[131] The Libyan rulers of the Egyptian Delta – the Twenty-first to the Twenty-third Dynasties (1069–ca. 720 B.C.) – relied heavily, in their material culture, on the preceding New Kingdom period. Thus, in the Phoenician ivories we encounter the balanced and often symmetrical composition of slender, elegant figures typical for Egyptian decorative works of art[132] – and we encounter the royal New Kingdom-type dress.

That this kind of decorative material spread to Cyprus is evident from the finds from the so-called royal tombs at Salamis, dated to the last quarter of the 8th century B.C. Unique for these finds is the fact that it was possible to reconstruct the actual shapes of the wooden furniture to which the inlaid ivory plaques were once attached.[133] With their slender proportions, attention to detail, and *cloisonné* inlay, the Salamis ivories fall well within the Phoenician-style production. No traces of composite figures carved in the round were recovered at the Cypriote site.

Before going into detailed comparisons between the Phoenician-style Nimrud ivory statuettes and the Cypriote Egyptianizing limestone figures, it should be noted that general correlations between the Phoenician ivories and the material culture of Archaic Cyprus have been attempted and established several times before. Not only has the characteristic decorative iconography been found in other (Cypriote) media such as terracotta, bronze, and limestone,[134] but a direct connection between the Nimrud ivories and Cypriote stone sculpture has been proposed, both regarding sphinxes[135] and – indeed – the male Egyptianizing statues under study.[136] What is offered here is a detailed comparison between the two material categories, a comparison which – it is hoped – will determine the actual degree of correspondence between the two. Used for comparison are the eight preserved male, kilt-wearing ivory statuettes in the round from Nimrud,[137] but occasionally, related and more well-preserved ivory figures rendered in low relief are incorporated as well (*Pl. 21.1*).[138]

Starting out with the more general similarities (*Table 5*), we note that the stance of the ivory figures is invariably that most commonly found among the Cypriote stone figures: left leg advanced, one arm bent with hand resting on the chest, the other arm hanging. Further, the similarities found in the dress, headgear, and jewelry of these figures are striking. The ivory figurines are wearing the ornate, royal, New Kingdom-type kilt, which is held up by a decorated belt placed on the hips of the figure. The thin, outer borders of the belt are raised. The finely pleated kilt has a similarly decorated *devanteau* placed centrally, a device which is broader at its base. Its lower part displays a horizontal, inlaid border, right above which is the characteristic, lower-most frieze of drop shapes, consisting of three or four drops or petals, depending on the width of the device. The inlaid, horizontal border further connects the two lateral *uraei* with sun disks on their heads which frame the *devanteau*, their thin bodies equal to its lateral sides. On each side of the device hang three sash ends, the one closest to the center the longest one, the other two tapering off upwards (*Pl. 21.1*). In

130 Originally, scholars opted for an imitation of Egyptian Middle and New Kingdom jewelry, among which gold pectorals with inlays: Barnett 1939, 16; Winter 1976c, 8–9. K.A. Kitchen noted several parallels to material from contemporary Third Intermediate Period Egypt: Kitchen 1986. D. Ciafaloni similarly pointed towards Tanite royal jewelry and golden masks: Ciafaloni 1992, 28, 88, 123–124. The latter added that gilded, inlaid, and/or painted wooden objects could have served as inspiration as well (pp. 27, 94).

131 For an object-to-object comparison: Ciafaloni 1992, 19–30.

132 Winter 1976c, 8.

133 Karageorghis 1973b, 87–94; Karageorghis 1974, pls. A–E, 61–63, 65–71 (thrones and one bed). See above, in Ch. 1.1.1.

134 A. Hermary noted strong correlations between the painted decoration of a late 8th century B.C. bichrome amphora from Amathus and the ivory repertoire, suggesting either a direct connection, or one taking place through perishable materials such as textile: Hermary & Masson 1990, 195–198. D. Parayre suggested that the Cypriote craftsmen responsible for two Amathusian Hathoric capitals had turned to Phoenician ivories for a model of the winged sun disk: Parayre 1990, 220. See also, among several other instances: Karageorghis 1978c, 190; Gubel 1998, 483–485 (stamped and painted decoration on Cypriote terracotta "cuirasses").

135 Hermary 2001b, 34, 36. A. Hermary interestingly notes that the Tamassos sphinxes and lions, discovered in 1997, seem to be mixed beings incorporating features of both the "Cypro-Ionian" animal/monster, and the traditional Phoenician-type one.

136 Not only has G. Falsone rightly noted that stance, dress, and ornaments correspond. He also pointed to the decorated lower border of **Cat. 6**, from Idalion, which comes so close in appearance and actual technique to the kilt-wearing ivory figures with inlaid lower kilt border (see further below): Falsone 1989, 162. See also Markoe 1990a, who linked Third Intermediate Period Egyptian material, the Phoenician ivories, and the Cypriote Egyptianizing limestone figures.

137 Herrmann 1986, pls. 338–342, nos. 1292–1295 (from Fort Shalmaneser); Barnett 1957, fig. 65, pl. 6 (at least three figurines, from the North-West Palace); Barnett 1957, pl. 96 (from the "Burnt Palace"). See above n. 114.

138 Apart from the Nimrud plaques, I include the female head with wig and broad decorated collar recovered at Sarepta: Pritchard 1978, 143, fig. 139; Pritchard 1988, 113–114, fig. 29.26.

all preserved ivory examples referred to here, this kilt decoration was inlaid and thus enhanced with pieces of colored glass.[139] There are further examples, within the ivory relief material, of the plain Egyptian *shenti*.[140] The ivory material in general presents the broad, New Kingdom-type floral collar. The preserved male figures used for comparison are wearing a plain version of the broad collar, with an outer row of (inlaid) drops. On ivory sphinxes, however, the floral collar with persea fruits, triangles, and hanging drop shapes is frequently encountered.[141] In addition, the female ivory relief figure from Sarepta is wearing a collar incorporating lilies, very similar to that encountered in certain Cypriote stone figures.[142]

The only ivory statuettes which are not acephalous are lacking their headgear, which seems to have been made and attached separately.[143] There has come down to us a series of small double crowns carved in the round, obviously formerly attached to the heads of Egyptianizing statuettes.[144] Apart from this indication, we need to rely almost entirely on the evidence from related relief plaques. The double crown was a common headgear in this material,[145] and its occurrence with kilt-clad figures is very probably a sign that it could be seen in ivory figures and figurines carved in the round as well. It is also evident that the Egyptian-type wig with tresses which emanate from one point on the crown of the head, held together by alternating thin, horizontal bands, was common on Phoenician Egyptianizing ivory figures.[146] As is well known, these are the two most characteristic types of headgear encountered on the Cypriote stone statues beside the plain headcloth or kerchief.[147] In addition, we find in the ivory plaques evidence of animal-headed creatures and/or divine beings. The kriocephalic sphinxes and the kilt-wearing, falcon-headed figure are the most frequent.[148] In this light, the unique falcon-headed limestone statuette **Cat. 1**, from the Karpasia (?), thus seems to make up a (not so) distant Cypriote parallel.

Beside these strong but more general similarities there are close connections between Phoenician ivory and Cypriote stone which are revealed when the material is studied in more detail.[149] A first example of this is evidenced from Cypriote statuary, where details in the treatment of the limestone figures point towards decorative inlay work, so typical for Phoenician ivory. The lower kilt border of **Cat. 6**, from Idalion, has a characteristic geometric pattern, where lying rectangles alternate with double squares (*Pl. 1.3–4*). The pattern was cut out of stone, in this case, leaving sockets which would seem to have been made for inlays.[150] The technique reflects exactly, in fact, one of the two employed for inlay work in the Nimrud ivories, where sockets were carved into the material and pieces of colored glass were inserted afterwards (*Pl. 21.1*). In **Cat. 6**, there are no traces of added filling in the recessed squares, or of any remaining adhesive. But the technique is indeed one of inlay work, so characteristic for ivory, while peculiar, to say the least, for limestone. The most common technique employed for inlay in the ivories was, however, the one referred to as "gripping", where raised ivory *cloisons* were filled with pieces of colorful glass, cut to exactly that shape. In this

[139]It is more than possible that the pleated cloth of the kilts was overlaid with thin gold foil in these figures.

[140]Herrmann 1986, pl. 244.941 (a North Syrian relief?); Ciafaloni 1992, pl. 13.c (SW 12).

[141]Herrmann 1986, pls. 113.508, 114.514, 115.515, 123.538, 540. See also a male relief figure wearing a double crown, who is similarly wearing a collar containing "persea fruits" and hanging drops: pl. 283.1082.

[142]For the best photo of the Sarepta plaque, turn (again) to: Pritchard 1978, 143, fig. 139. For Cypriote Egyptianizing pieces with lilies or related paradise flowers in their collars: **Cat. 8** (containing both), **Cat. 19** (lilies), **Cat. 23**, **Cat. 27**, and **Cat. 47**.

[143]Barnett 1957, fig. 65, pl. 6 (C.39, C.41).

[144]Herrmann 1986, pls. 340.1304, 341.1302–1303.

[145]See, for kilt-clad figures wearing double crowns: Mallowan 1966, fig. 481; Herrmann 1986, pls. 77.338–339, 244–245.940–941.

[146]Herrmann 1992, pl. 84.402. Additional evidence available from the Nimrud plaques comes mainly from sphinx figures: Herrmann 1986, pls. 122.539, 123.538, 541–542. This type of wig (?) is also the standard headgear of the "Woman in the window": Barnett 1957, pl. 4 (C.12–C.15). See, in addition, a female head of Syrian (?) style, from the South-East Palace: pl. 59.S.186.

[147]See, for the plaited wig in the Cypriote material: **Cat. 7**, **Cat. 49**, and **Cat. 51**.

[148]Mallowan 1966, 524, fig. 434; Herrmann 1986, pls. 277.1062 (falcon-headed figures); Mallowan 1966, figs. 467, 483–484; Herrmann 1986, pl. 126.548 (ram-headed sphinxes).

[149]Since our focus is on statuary in the round, it is not possible to discuss actual sets or combinations of images, the way they were arranged or how they were related to each other. Such aspects can be studied, however, in the ivory relief material, for example, which often displays complex scenes featuring human figures, animals, and monsters in interaction, set against backgrounds or beside various vegetal ornaments. We are, rather, (once again) limited to dealing with the actual elements of dress and the ornaments of the figures, the way they were perceived and actually depicted in the raw material, stone or ivory. With a bit of luck, this is something which could – at least in part – reveal to us the preferences of the craftsman, allowing us to identify an unconscious identification on his part of his actual source of inspiration. With some of the following evidence, there is the feeling that this intangible evidence could be at hand.

[150]It was noted above that **Cat. 61**, of unknown provenance, displays a very similar pattern along the lower outline of its kilt. In this case, however, the decoration is merely rendered by incision, and not by the actual emptying of sockets. See above, in Ch. 2.2.1 "The kilt – the geometric patterns".

	PHOENICIAN STONE (groups 1A & 1B)	PHOENICIAN (WOOD &) IVORY	CYPRIOTE LIMESTONE
FIGURAL TYPE	Standing frontal male:	Standing frontal male:	Standing frontal male:
	Back-pillar support		
	Flanking figures	Flanking figures	
	Both arms hanging		Both arms hanging
		One hand on chest	One hand on chest
		Falcon-headed figure	Falcon-headed figure
DRESS			Hybrid kilt
	N.K. type kilt with *devanteau*, cobras, and sash ends	N.K. type kilt with *devanteau*, cobras, and sash ends	N.K. type kilt with *devanteau*, cobras, and sash ends
	Shenti and apron	*Shenti* and apron	*Shenti* and apron*
		Beaded hem on kilt	Beaded hem on kilt
		Kilt loop (sash end)	Kilt loop (sash end)
			Short-sleeved garment
	Broad, decorated collar	Broad, decorated collar	Broad, decorated collar
			Kerchief
		Wig with tresses and thin bands	Wig with tresses and thin bands
		Double crown	Double crown
ORNAMENTS		*	Apotropaic head
		Lily and/or paradise flower linked with curving loops (large–small–large…)	Lily and/or paradise flower linked with curving loops (large–small–large…)
		Phoenician cup palmette, paradise flower, volute-and-palmette flower	Phoenician cup palmette, paradise flower, volute-and-palmette flower
		"Color as pattern"	"Color as pattern"
		Persea/triangles/hanging drops	Persea/triangles/hanging drops
	*	Raised, narrow outline	Raised, narrow outline
		Stylized wing-feather pattern on belt and *devanteau*	Stylized wing-feather pattern on belt and *devanteau*
		Four-winged scarab	Four-winged scarab
		Man fighting beast	Man fighting beast
		Beast fighting beast	Beast fighting beast
		Wedjet eye	*Wedjet* eye
		Lotus flower	Lotus flower
		Block-border pattern	Block-border pattern
		Hathor head	Hathor head
FACE AND BODY FORM			Beard and moustache
		Arms freed from body	Arms freed from body
		Over-sized thumb	Over-sized thumb
DETAILS OF THE ATTIRE	"Emblematic staves"	*	"Emblematic staves"
		*	Spiral armrings

Table 5. Comparing Cypriote and Phoenician Egyptianizing stone statuary with Phoenician (wood and) ivory statuettes.
** represents the single, occasional example.*

manner, the inlays were surrounded by thin ivory ridges which, in turn, were sometimes overlaid with gold foil (*Pl. 21.1*).[151] All combinations were possible, including the technique of alternate inlay, where a regular pattern, like a border of a garment or a feathered wing, had all the features/feathers surrounded by thin ivory ridges, while only every second was hollowed out and filled with a piece of red or blue glass, every second left intact.[152] This would create a pleasing pattern of alternating colors. Can it merely be put down to chance that several of the Egyptianizing limestone figures display what we have termed earlier on as "raised, narrow outlines" around their sash ends and their floral ornaments (compare, for example, *Pls. 3.1 & 21.1*)?[153] The way some of these elements of dress and decoration are framed by ridges seems to reflect exactly the ridges of raised ivory *cloisons*, which either provided the settings for inlay or were left plain.[154] Such an hypothesis is further strengthened when considering that there are Cypriote examples, like **Cat. 21** from Golgoi, where elements of the broad collar have not only raised, narrow outlines but also the application of alternating (red) paint (*Fig. 5*). This rhythmic addition of paint, encountered in a handful of the Egyptianizing limestone figures,[155] reflects in a remarkable manner the preferences of coloring through inlay encountered in the decorative Phoenician ivory repertoire (*Pl. 21.1*, which preserves many traces of red and blue inlay).[156]

Another feature which is shared between Cypriote stone and Phoenician ivory, and which can hardly be put down to chance, is the recorded presence of a minute detail, one small part of the royal New-Kingdom-type dress. Among the eight preserved ivory statuettes referred to here, there is not even one which lacks the characteristic, additional Egyptian textile sash hanging down on the right-hand side of the kilt and tied into a loop which is placed right beneath the belt (*Pl. 21.4*, for an Egyptian example). The small but significant feature is found in ivory relief depictions as well (*Pl. 21.1*). I believe it is highly indicative that **Cat. 5**, from Idalion, displays such a loop beneath the belt, placed on the right-hand side of the kilt (*Pl. 1.2*). We noted above, in Ch. 2.2.1, that it seems as if the Cypriote sculptor behind the Idalion piece, unable to guess the original significance of this element, reinterpreted and rendered it in his own manner, as the coiling tail of one of the cobras which are hanging down centrally over the figure's kilt. In my view, both cut-out sockets (**Cat. 6**) and raised, narrow outlines (**Cat. 5**, **Cat. 12**, etc.), as well as "color as pattern" (**Cat. 21**, etc.), and the coiling cobra tail or "sash loop" (**Cat. 5**) together clearly indicate the close relationship between ivory and stone, an intimacy which can only be explained through a process which involved direct copying.

Apart from these parallels there are several other similarities between ivory and stone. Admittedly, there is a difference between those details in stone which can be firmly tied to a Phoenician ivory repertoire and those which can merely be placed within a general, Egyptian realm. Here, only the more conspicuous relationships are listed: the way the belt and the *devanteau* of the figures have the same geometric pattern, the stylized wing-feather pattern (*Pls. 7.3 & 21.1*);[157] the way the rendering of the bottom row of drop shapes of the broad collar results in tiny triangles, which are placed two on each side of the base of each drop (*Fig. 5*);[158] the beaded hem of certain kilts;[159] the over-sized thumb, which is

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[151] D. Ciafaloni rightly stressed the jewel-like effect which would have been the result of such a combination of materials: Ciafaloni 1992, 88. See also Mallowan 1966, 484–485. For raised, narrow outlines holding glass paste in Egyptian New Kingdom metal (gold) jewelry: Evers 1929, 24, §154.

[152] The technique is described in Herrmann 1986, 19. For examples of the raised, thin, ivory ridges, see pls. 218.836–839 (drooping palm leaves), 384.1448 (feathered wing).

[153] See the sash ends of **Cat. 5** and **Cat. 12**, both from Idalion (*Pls. 1.2 & 3.1*). Paradise flowers, persea fruits, and other vegetal ornaments with raised, narrow outlines are encountered on **Cat. 8**, **Cat. 21**, **Cat. 32**, **Cat. 60**, and on **Cat. Ph22**, found at Sidon, which is considered here to be of Cypriote manufacture.

[154] J.J. Orchard noted that the same narrow border or zone is repeated in miniature, painted glass plaques found at Nimrud, featuring winged sphinxes. Thus, in this case as well, the characteristics of ivory were transferred or copied into a different medium: Orchard 1978, 12.

[155] See above, Ch. 2.2.1, "Color as pattern". The fact that no indications are found on the eight preserved ivory statuettes referred to here of inlaid floral elements with raised outlines may very well be explained by their limited size. The outer row of drop shapes on the collars of these figures were always inlaid, however.

[156] The decorative principles guiding Phoenician ivory carvers – and painters of glass plaques – are most clearly laid out in: Orchard 1978, 10–12.

[157] This is well evidenced in **Cat. 29**, from Golgoi, and **Cat. Ph22**, found at Sidon, while only partly in **Cat. 3** and **Cat. 12**, from west of Salamis and Idalion, respectively. The stylized wing-feather pattern of the ivory *devanteaux* – almost always inlaid – is mirrored in the limestone figures by rectangles with rounded ends.

[158] See the collars of **Cat. 18**, **Cat. 19**, **Cat. 21** (*Fig. 5*), **Cat. 26**, **Cat. 30**, and **Cat. 48**, from Potamia, Golgoi, and Amathus, respectively. For correspondences in the ivory material, carved in the round: Barnett 1957, pl. 6.C.42; Herrmann 1986, pl. 341.1294. Certain sphinx plaques have very clear examples: pls. 123.538, 541. Note that this carving technique is found also in the reliefs of drop shapes on the *devanteaux* of the Egyptianizing ivory figurines: Barnett 1957, pl. 6.C.42; Herrmann 1986, pls. 338–339.1292. Were these tiny triangular areas inlaid in their own right?

[159] For the Cypriote evidence: **Cat. 15**, **Cat. 20**, **Cat. 21**, and **Cat. Ph1** (the last figure, from Amrit, considered here to be of Cypriote manufacture). On the beaded hem or frilled garment

evidenced in both ivory and stone figures;[160] the way the headdresses of the figures come down in front of the ears, in a rounded or squarish tip, in a manner so characteristic for Egyptian headgear (or their temple bands);[161] and the rich repertoire of similar vegetal and geometric ornaments which are found decorating the dress of the Cypriote stone figures and the Phoenician ivory plaques alike. We encounter paradise flowers, Phoenician cup palmettes, and volute-and-palmette flowers[162] – rendered by themselves or linked together with curving loops.[163] Some of these vegetal ornaments are surrounded by raised, narrow outlines, something which – as is suggested here – seems to tie them closer to an ivory or wooden repertoire.[164] In addition, a characteristic arrangement of these vegetal ornaments, encountered both in Phoenician ivory and in Cypriote stone, shows large and small elements placed harmoniously together, much in the Egyptian manner (*Fig. 6*).[165] The pattern displayed on the border of the kilt of **Cat. 6**, horizontal rectangles alternating with double squares, is very frequent in the ivories where – just as in the two Cypriote examples (**Cat. 6** and **Cat. 61**) – it is generally placed along garment borders (*Pl. 21.1*).[166] Finally, the four-winged scarab beetle, the winged cobra, and the winged sun disk are additional ornaments which are frequently encountered in the ivories[167] and on the Cypriote limestone figures.[168]

At the beginning of this section there was a brief discussion on what characteristics we would expect to find on a group of potential models for the Cypriote Egyptianizing limestone statues. In looking at the Phoenician ivory figurines, we see that they display an iconography which has a very strong Egyptian impact. The eight male ivory statuettes referred to and the additional, related relief figures are generally equipped with the full, elaborate New Kingdom-type attire. The ivories display *not only* virtually all dress elements and ornaments encountered in the Cypriote figures, but indeed several other Egyptian-type features as well – a vast repertoire from which additional elements and single motifs could be chosen and employed by the foreign (Cypriote) craftsman. For example, the ivory figurines display the tripartite (inlaid) wig and the royal cobra with a compartmented body so characteristic for New Kingdom depictions – features never encountered in Cypriote stone statuary. In the ivory relief plaques there are additional Egyptian-type (royal) devices, like the transparent bag-tunic, the animal tail hanging from the belt of the figure (*Pl. 21.1*), the counterpoise or *mankhet* of the broad collar, the ceremonial beard, the twin bands of the double crown hanging down in the neck of the figure (*Pl. 21.1*) and the characteristic frontal spiral emerging from the brim of the red crown.[169] Just like the tripartite wig and the New Kingdom-type cobra, none of these features is found in the Cypriote material. In addition, the ivory iconography incorporates a whole range of more complex Egyptian-type motifs, characteristic for contemporary Third Intermediate *and* earlier New Kingdom-period Egyptian jewelry and minor arts.[170]

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border within the ivory repertoire: Freyer-Schauenburg 1966, 76–77; Winter 1981, 104, who notes that the over-sized beads on ivory figures from Arslan Tash represent North Syrian work.

[160]See, for example, **Cat. 6**, **Cat. 19**, **Cat. 24**, **Cat. 47** (from Idalion, Potamia, Golgoi, and Larnaka), and Barnett 1957, pl. 96.S.314 (from the "Burnt Palace").

[161]Compare **Cat. 7**, **Cat. 26**, **Cat. 43** (from Idalion, Golgoi, and Tamassos), with Barnett 1957, pl. 6.C.39, C.41.

[162]In fact, the peculiar placing of a paradise flower *inside* a volute-and-palmette counterpart, witnessed not only in **Cat. 22** (Golgoi) but also in certain Phoenician metal vessels found in the Western Mediterranean (see above Ch. 2.2.2), is so specified as to indicate the presence of actual pattern books.

[163]Compare **Cat. 8**, **Cat. 47** with the Salamis ivories in Karageorghis 1974, pls. 241.148, 258 (*Figs. 15 & 16*); **Cat. 12** with Herrmann 1986, pl. 41.183; and **Cat. 19**, **Cat. 59** with Herrmann 1986, pl. 224.

[164]**Cat. 8**, **Cat. 32** (paradise flowers), **Cat. Ph22** (triangles), **Cat. 21** (triangles and persea fruits), **Cat. 60** (persea fruits).

[165]The broad collars of **Cat. 19** and **Cat. 47** provide Cypriote examples in stone.

[166]Apart from the kilt, the dress of the ivory figure in *Pl. 21.1* is a version of the Egyptian bag-tunic (see Ch. 2.2.1). The pattern itself is a stylization of the Egyptian block-border pattern, described in Ch. 2.2.1 (originally horizontal reeds tied at intervals by vertical ones). The pattern is so characteristic for Phoenician garment borders that it is even rendered in miniature, silhouette figurines: Decamps de Mertzenfeld 1954, pl. 19.212.

[167]See also the beaded hem of the male kilt (**Cat. 15**, **Cat. 20**, **Cat. 22**), the double crown with frontal cobra erroneously placed on the white crown instead of on the brim of the red (**Cat. 21**), the *wedjet* eye (**Cat. 30** and **Cat. 44**), male figure with sword and lion (**Cat. 32**), recumbent sphinxes (**Cat. 33**), and Hathoric head (**Cat. 22**) – all elements or ornaments which are encountered in 8th–7th-century B.C. Phoenician-style ivories. Regarding the male hero in combat with a lion, an age-old Oriental motif, it could be noted that an essential characteristic of Phoenician art is the ability to incorporate various impulses and ideas from other artistic traditions – from Mesopotamian, Assyrian, Babylonian *and* (mainly) Egyptian iconography – into their own art.

[168]**Cat. 60** (scarab), **Cat. 5**, **Cat. 12**, **Cat. 30**, **Cat. 50**, **Cat. 61** (cobra), **Cat. 31** (seemingly a sun disk, but incorporating a small human head). For similarities in the ivories, see, for example: Herrmann 1986, pl. 256.991 (scarab); Mallowan 1966, figs. 467 (cobras), 481 (sun disk).

[169]Herrmann 1986, pl. 77.338. This kilt-wearing figure is carrying the characteristic *oinochoe* and ram-headed (?) scepter, to which we will return below, in Ch. 5.2.2.

[170]For an overview of the motifs employed in the Phoenician-style group of ivories: Barnett 1957, 137–153; Ciafaloni 1992, 118. Represented are: Horus child on a lotus flower, cow suckling her calf in a papyrus thicket, a male figure smiting/sphinx trampling the enemy, and the sacred papyrus barque carrying insignia or divine beings.

To be sure, there are single, Egyptian-type elements carved on the Cypriote figures which, to my knowledge, lack counterparts in the rich ivory iconography. To be more precise, some are lacking while others are found, but in totally different contexts than the Cypriote ones. The panther head is encountered on its own in the Phoenician material,[171] but never at the top of the New Kingdom-type *devanteau*.[172] The broad floral collar with persea fruits, hanging triangles, and outer drop shapes is similarly found in the ivories, on sphinx plaques, but as far as I know, it is unknown on human figures, and in depictions in the round.[173] Further, there are features which are not encountered within the (preserved) ivory material at all: the plain kerchief, the "emblematic staves", the spiral armrings, and the belt buckle, all characteristic of Cypriote Egyptianizing limestone figures.[174] These differences will be returned to below.

It was stated above that beside being part of an Egyptianizing tradition displaying strong Egyptian impact as regards the number of Egyptian-type dress elements and ornaments, the hypothetical group of models must include examples which come rather close to the original Egyptian-type dress. In the rendering of the royal Egyptian outfit, the eight male ivory statuettes presented above come very close to Egyptian contemporary (Third Intermediate) and earlier (New Kingdom-period) counterparts.[175] The most well-rendered of the Cypriote Egyptianizing kilts, worn by **Cat. 3** from west of Salamis, **Cat. 29** from Golgoi, and **Cat. Ph22** from Sidon, include features which could easily be traced back to the elaborate ivory dress. It is equally true, however, that there are several indications within the Phoenician relief material of transformations of Egyptian motifs, hieroglyphic writing, and – not least – elements of dress.[176] Such transformations occur within the Phoenician-style group of ivories, but are more frequent and obvious in the North and South Syrian group.[177] Thus, the Phoenician ivories incorporate an iconography which is very true to Egyptian counterparts, one which is quite free in its interpretations thereof, and all stages inbetween.[178]

The Nimrud ivory statuettes are part of a larger Egyptianizing tradition, incorporating a very elaborate male (and female) dress, and a whole range of Egyptian motifs. This is no less true when we consider that sphinxes are so commonly repeated in the ivory relief repertoire. Indeed, there are occasional occurrences of the head of the goddess Hathor as well.[179] We postulated above, at the beginning of this section, that it is worth considering whether there is a possibility that the related male Egyptianizing figures and the sphinxes could have reached the island through the same media, within the same social or religious context. Turning, then, to a comparison between Cypriote limestone and Phoenician ivory sphinxes, we note at once that there are no indications of sphinxes carved in the round from the preserved and known Phoenician-style ivories.[180] That composite sphinx statuary *was* manufactured in Phoenician 8th and 7th century B.C. workshops – beside life-size male and lion statues – can be postulated, however, in view of certain evidence.[181] The two colossal *cherubim*, or winged sphinxes,[182] made by Phoenician craftsmen for the temple of Jerusalem were carved from olive wood and covered with gold.[183] This 10th century B.C. statuary evidence could most probably be reflected upon subsequent periods as well. In addition, the ivory relief plaques depicting sphinxes have certain recurring peculiarities, which may indicate that what we see is a

171 Barnett 1957, pl. 14.L.2; Gubel 1985.

172 This was noted by Falsone 1989, 160.

173 The characteristic curving, horizontal, double lines placed underneath or between the triangles, so typical for the limestone figures (echoing the actual vegetal elements or garlands of the floral collar), are not encountered in the preserved ivory material.

174 For the single figure known to me wearing spiral armrings around the (preserved) upper arm: Herrmann 1992, pl. 84.402, a male figure carved in high relief wearing a kilt (?) with beaded hem, a tressed wig with plaits held together by thin, horizontal bands and – unusually – holding a bird in his left hand. For a cavity from a possible belt buckle: Herrmann 1986, pl. 340.1293.

175 In Ch. 2.2.1 "The kilt", we saw that in the preserved, Egyptian relief art of the Third Intermediate Period, transformations of the New Kingdom-type dress do occur.

176 Herrmann 1986, pl. 77.338 (where the central part of the kilt is schematized into merely five sash ends), pl. 82.359; Winter 1976b, fig. 15 (where the decoration of the *devanteaux* has been schematized, and the lowermost drop shapes either left out or transformed).

177 Winter 1976c, 10–11; Winter 1981, 103.

178 It has often been noted that the Samaria ivories are outstanding in their quality, both technically speaking and in relation to the Egyptian forerunners: Scandone 1984, 162 n. 132; Ciafaloni 1992, 23.

179 Herrmann 1992, pl. 17.98, 101, where the parallel strands of hair of the characteristic wig, the bands holding it together, and the eyes of the cow-eared goddess seem to have been inlaid.

180 Of course, the recovered large-scale lion paws could, hypothetically, have belonged to sphinx statues.

181 Large-scale stone sphinx statuary does exist, but from much later periods. These are both attached members, like the ones flanking divine thrones, and free-standing, arranged in pairs, flanking entrances to temple areas. See above, in Ch. 4.4.2, the section on "Umm el-Amed".

182 On the identification of the Biblical *cherubim* with the characteristic, Phoenician-type sphinx: Barnett 1939, 17; Barnett 1957, 59, 141; Keel & Uehlinger 1998, 112. T. Mettinger suggests that the Biblical *cherubim* were not free-standing sculpture, but rather sphinxes attached to a (an empty) throne: Mettinger 1997, 203.

183 1 Kings, 5.6.

translation into low relief of a plastic form carved in the round. The awkward attachment of the wing, the occasional discrepancy of a frontal collar and a profile body, and the way the "*devanteaux*" of the creatures have only one lateral cobra with sun disk on its head are examples of what is cautiously suggested here to be less successful translations from (large-scale) sculpture.[184]

The human-headed sphinx with large, beautifully feathered wings which is wearing a striped *nemes* headcloth and a broad floral collar is recurrent in Phoenician ivory, and occasionally found in Cypriote stone.[185] In the Phoenician plaques the *nemes* headcloth is almost invariably worn together with the double crown, a combination which is attested only twice in the Cypriote material.[186] The persea fruits, triangles, and hanging drops of the Phoenician sphinxes are, in fact, not encountered on Cypriote counterparts. Plain triangles is the only actual ornamentation which can be safely attributed to a Cypriote sphinx collar.[187] However, judging from the preserved material, a very ornate, floral decoration is found on the frontal "*devanteaux*" of Cypriote sphinxes from Palaepaphos, corresponding to the central "*devanteaux*" with single, lateral cobra displayed by the Phoenician sphinxes, the latter category being merely geometrically decorated. The Palaepaphos material is unfortunately very fragmentary, and it must be noted that no sure combination has been made (published) between the very ornate pieces and the body, wings, or head of a sphinx.[188] However, the richly decorated fragments are simply too large, and display too many registers of decoration,[189] to be considered merely as collars of male figures.[190] If considering the Palaepaphos fragments as once belonging to large-scale sphinx sculpture, then we can note that there are several similarities between the ornaments displayed there and the general range of vegetal ornamentation found in the Phoenician-style ivories. As in the male Egyptianizing figures, paradise flowers, lilies, and volute-and-palmette flowers are encountered, rendered by themselves or linked with curving loops in an alternating manner.[191] Apart from these Palaepaphos finds, the actual presence of the frontal "*devanteau*" on sphinxes carved in the round is – as far as I know – encountered in only one additional instance, in the Archaic Cypriote material.[192] Thus, there are several general similarities between Phoenician ivory sphinxes and Cypriote limestone ones, but very few Cypriote creatures incorporate

184 These peculiarities are testified even in such a high-quality piece as that reproduced in Mallowan 1966, pl. 9. For other Nimrud sphinxes: Herrmann 1986, pls. 113–126.

185 It was noted above that A. Hermary has already suggested a direct relation between these two groups of material: Hermary 2001b, 34, 36. However, among the Cypriote sphinxes there are actually only a very few which have *nemes*, double crown, and broad decorated collar.

186 The two Tamassos sphinxes, the Cyprus Museum, Nicosia, Inv. nos. 1997/VII–15/3 and 1997/VII–15/6. The former sphinx is depicted in: Hermary 2001b, pl. 2.6, the latter in: Karageorghis 1998b, pl. 30.2. See also the two (very fragmentary) Viklaes sphinx thrones: Hermary 1981, 59–61, nos. 62–67, pl. 12.62–67. The Viklaes fragments have received late dates (the 5th and 4th–3rd centuries B.C., respectively. See above Ch. 3.2.3 n. 236). Interestingly, these sphinxes all share a particular patterning of the vertical feathers.

187 Seipel 1999, 42, 194–195, no. 93 (winged, bearded (!) sphinxes flanking a throne with a seated female figure). The provenance is unknown (see above Ch. 1.1.1 n. 18). See also the red and green color which remains below the neck of another bearded sphinx with double crown, from Golgoi: Karageorghis *et al.* 2000, 136–137, no. 206. A broad collar fragment from Amathus containing (at least) five decorated registers has been said to have belonged to a sphinx sculpture. This is entirely possible, although not verifiable: Comstock & Vermeule 1976, no. 426. For two-dimensional (painted) depictions from the same site, featuring sphinxes with decorated collars and double crowns: Karageorghis 1990, 124, pl. 22.

188 One large, decorated fragment has been published: Maier 1974a, 29–30, fig. 4. The inventory number of this piece is not known to me. In the Kouklia Museum, the number KA 1994 is given, while in Wilson 1975a, 449 n. 48 it seems to be either KA 974 or KA 1130. Two additional, large, decorated fragments are kept in the storerooms of the Kouklia Museum – beside three very fragmentary ones. I do not know their inventory numbers. Once again I thank F.G. Maier and V. Tatton-Brown for generously allowing me access to this material, and for permitting me to refer to it in this study.

189 The published fragment displays nine (!) decorated registers. The two fragments kept in the storerooms in the Kouklia Museum display six and four, respectively – and they are, indeed, fragments. The broadest collars belonging to male Egyptianizing figures are found on **Cat. 14** (from Idalion) and **Cat. 47** (from Larnaka), which both have four decorated registers – including the lowermost row of hanging drops.

190 The excavators do note the presence within the Palaepaphos material of elaborately decorated, fragmentary sphinxes' aprons: Wilson 1975a, 449; Tatton-Brown 1994, 73; and of tripartite, Phoenician-type (sphinx) wings: Maier & Karageorghis 1984, 187; Tatton-Brown 1994, 73. In addition, the Egyptianizing male figures from Palaepaphos are not wearing the broad collar rendered in low relief, but merely one indicated through incision of the lowermost border, and possibly by additional (now gone) paint (**Cat. 52**).

191 It is worth noting that the Palaepaphos sphinx fragments with intricate decoration are made of a different stone (chalk) than most other votive material from the site (local calcarenite): Tatton-Brown 1994, 73, who cites geologist C. Xenophontos (see above Ch. 3.2.3 n. 279). On these two kinds of stone in a Phoenician setting: Lembke 2001b, 17 (the local *Kalkarenit* used for the Amrit temple, and the soft *Kreidestein* used for the votive figures).

192 Seipel 1999, 194–195, no. 93. For a later example, however, where the "*devanteau*" is in fact richly decorated: Karageorghis 1988, 90, pl. 28.4 (a limestone *thymiaterion* from Golgoi). The small-scale "Cypro-Ionian" sphinx with double crown *and* frontal "*devanteau*", is virtually unknown from Cyprus itself: Hermary 1991b, 176.

more than one or two of the features which are always displayed by their Phoenician counterparts.[193]

Just as in the case of the male, Egyptianizing limestone figures, additional, interesting similarities can be detected when studying the sphinxes more closely. A small anatomical detail which is rarely if ever left out on Phoenician ivory creatures is a small, round protrusion placed at the back of the front legs (*Fig. 16*). This corresponds to the actual appearance of the hock of the lion, and as an anatomical element it is similarly rarely forgotten in Egyptian art.[194] On Cypriote sphinxes this detail is virtually always represented.[195] In addition, just as in the case of the male Egyptianizing figures, there are several indications in the Cypriote limestone sphinxes of the imitation of inlay work, a technique and an application of alternate coloring so typical for Phoenician ivory – and wood. The Tamassos sphinxes stand out in this respect.[196] Apart from general details rendered in black and red in a more common manner,[197] there are two clear examples of the application of alternating paint. The white crowns of both sphinxes are vertically striped, with broad, red bands alternating with unpainted zones of the same width.[198] In addition, the paint preserved on the beautifully feathered wings of the creatures clearly indicate that every second horizontal feather (starting from the uppermost one) was painted bright blue. This corresponds exactly to the detail found in Phoenician ivories, referred to above as "alternate inlay", where every second wing feather was left white, while the alternating ones were hollowed out and filled with a piece of blue (or red) glass. The large, decorated Palaepaphos fragments are also indicative, since at least two of them preserve traces of paint. On the published piece[199] the hanging triangles were all colored except for their outer borders. Most probably, this was meant to reflect the raised, narrow outlines around the elements of dress and the floral ornaments which were sometimes rendered in low relief (*Fig. 5*), and which perhaps imitated the raised, narrow outlines of inlay settings in ivory, in the "gripping" technique.[200] In addition, the hanging triangles on one of the unpublished fragments from the site are alternately red and blue in a manner very similar to the conventions of ivory inlay.[201] This application of "color as pattern" ties these Cypriote sphinxes and fragments not only to the sphere of Phoenician ivory,[202] but also closer to the male, Egyptianizing limestone figures. It does seem as if the two groups of material may have originated from – or at least were related to – the same sculptural tradition, that of colorfully inlaid Phoenician composite sculpture.

The case is not as clear with the Hathoric iconography. It is true that the Cypriote limestone Hathoric capitals share several single, decorative elements and ornaments with the ivory iconography. The *uraeus* with sun disk on its head, the small shrine model or *naiskos* with stepped entrance where the creature was placed, and the winged sun disk, occasionally flanked by two small cobras – all are encountered in both Cypriote stone and Phoenician ivory. And it is true that – just like male, kilt-wearing figures and sphinxes – the Hathoric capitals share with the ivory iconography a whole range of characteristic vegetal ornaments: the paradise flower, the volute-and-palmette flower, the Phoenician cup palmette,[203] and the lotus flower and bud linked with

[193] In a funerary limestone sphinx from Morphou, only the shape and feather pattern of the wings correspond: Karageorghis 1965, 242, 244, fig. 18.

[194] For a New Kingdom example: Saleh & Sourouzian 1986, no. 134 (*nemes*-wearing sphinx of Tuthmosis III).

[195] See, for example, two funerary sphinxes from Golgoi: Cesnola 1885, pl. 17.24 (on the back legs), and the Morphou and Tamassos sphinxes referred to above. Cypriote lions share this feature: Hermary 1981, 53–54, pl. 11, no. 48 (front legs); Karageorghis 1976a, 868, 870, fig. 59 (both front and hind legs).

[196] See above. The group of four lions and two sphinx statues, found at Tamassos as recently as January 1997, will be published by M. Ieronymidou. The two winged creatures were most probably flanking the entrance of a grave.

[197] One of the sphinxes (Inv. no. 1997/VII–15/3, with intact double crown) has red color on the lips and on the border indicating hair, found below the *nemes* headcloth. The second sphinx (Inv. no. 1997/VII–15/6) has a red band beneath the *nemes* headcloth to indicate hair, black paint to indicate the iris of the eye, lots of blue preserved on the *nemes* headcloth, and the outer borders of the broad collar filled with red. In Egyptian art, a red border beneath the royal *nemes* headcloth most probably depicts the temple band: Desroches-Noblecourt 1976, pl. 72 (painted, wooden sarcophagus lid of Ramesses II).

[198] On the colorful, vertically striped crown of Osiris in Egyptian New Kingdom art, see above Ch. 2.2.1.

[199] Maier 1974a, 29–30, fig. 4.

[200] *If* the Amathus collar fragment referred to above once belonged to a sphinx statue, then we can note that it, too, has raised, narrow outlines around its persea fruits, triangles, and drop shapes. See, again: Comstock & Vermeule 1976, no. 426.

[201] This large fragment, for which I can give no inventory number, shows part of a neck and five well-preserved, decorated registers (a sixth is merely fragmentary). In the fourth register (from the top) we find hanging triangles with the characteristic curving, horizontal, double bands between them. There are clear traces of alternating red and blue color.

[202] J.L. Myres mentioned a large-scale sphinx from Phrangissa (Tamassos) displaying alternating red and blue color on the scale pattern on its chest: Myres & Ohnefalsch-Richter 1899, 171, no. 6168. This sounds more like the Greek-type sphinx, however, which is similarly encountered at Palaepaphos, beside the Phoenician-type one: Mitford & Iliffe 1951, 60–63, pl. 8.a–b; Wilson 1975a, 449 n. 48.

[203] It is worth noting that the cup palmette placed instead of a niche on one of the Kition capitals contains two sphinxes – a motif so very common in Phoenician ivory: compare Hermary 1985, figs. 8–9 (Kition Hathoric capital, the Louvre, Inv. no.

curving loops.[204] However, in the preserved Phoenician ivory material the head of the Egyptian goddess is very rarely depicted.[205] The characteristic combination of Hathoric head and *naiskos* with *uraeus* is more or less unknown from the Phoenician material culture that has come down to us.[206] There is also occasional additional evidence which indicates inlay work, even here, in limestone. There are several examples where the vegetal ornaments decorating the Hathoric capitals have raised, narrow outlines, as if imitating the inlay technique referred to above as "gripping".[207] On the single capital with rich polychromy preserved, from Amathus, there are further indications that the technique of using "color as pattern" was applied:[208] we can note how each feather of the vulture headdress is painted blue, in contrast to the plain areas framing them – not far in appearance from, for example, the alternate blue and unpainted feathers of the wings of the Tamassos sphinxes referred to above.[209] To what extent these limited indications actually tie the Cypriote Hathoric limestone iconography to a sphere of Phoenician composite statuary is difficult to assess and difficult to propose, without any actual related material found on the Phoenician mainland.

A last prerequisite for identifying and accepting a probable model for the Cypriote Egyptianizing figures was said to be the availability of figures of different sizes, where some, at least, would exceed around 50 centimeters in height. It was shown above that beside small-scale ivory figurines, large-scale, even life-size, Phoenician composite sculpture was being manufactured. These figures were made of wood and had details and/or body parts covered with ivory, the kilt, headgear, and jewelry perhaps overlaid with gold foil, while decorative elements were enhanced through inlay of pieces of colorful glass. Admittedly, there are no pieces which can be safely identified as belonging to kilt-wearing figures among the limited published, large-scale ivory material. There is, however, a high probability that all types of figures were manufactured in this combination of materials. Thus, in Phoenician workshops of the 8th and 7th centuries B.C., large- and small-scale male, Egyptianizing wood and ivory figures were one of many other figural types being made.

In fact, the resemblance between the limited and barely preserved ivory material and the Cypriote limestone figures under study are by far the closest that were identified and presented in the former section. Not only are similarities in iconography, dress, and equipment between the two categories remarkably numerous and remarkably close, but imitations of carving technique and the manner of applying color are also found. The two media share a detailed and highly decorative carving technique created in – and suitable for – wood and ivory.[210] Despite some few differences, these Phoenician ivory-on-wood figures remain the only actual group of material which work as the source of inspiration for the Cypriote stone sculptors, craftsmen who ventured to introduce a new votive type into the already vast repertoire of the island's limestone workshops. The fact that the panther head at the top of the

AM 93), with, for example, Herrmann 1986, pls. 325.1254, 326.1257–1258 (Nimrud ivory griffins).

[204] One of the Hathoric capitals discovered at Amathus even has what looks like a small persea fruit attached to a necklace around the goddess's neck. The capital is unpublished, but referred to by A. Hermary in his complementary listing of more or less well-preserved examples from the island: Hermary 1998a, 67 (the Limassol District Museum, Inv. no. unknown). See also Hermary 2000, 145.

[205] See above n. 179. Mallowan 1966, 552, fig. 490, is a female figure – not Hathor – wearing tripartite wig and vulture headdress.

[206] A Hathoric limestone capital said to have come from Byblos is instead one of the two found at Kition *Bamboula*, Cyprus (referred to in the coming footnote): Stern 1977, 23, 25, fig. 16.

[207] See, for example, the two Kition limestone capitals: Hermary 1985, 666–667, figs. 8–11. Note the raised outlines of the "stylized cow horns", the "sacred tree", the paradise flowers, and the volute-and-palmette flowers. See also fig. 15, a fragmentary capital with well-preserved paradise flowers with raised, narrow outlines. Raised outlines are encountered on hair and other elements of the capitals as well, as in the striated wigs of the Kition capitals. See, on AM 805 from Amathus (pp. 659–661, figs. 1–4), the raised borders of the bands holding the wig, the feathers and scales of the "vulture headdress", and the volutes indicating curls of hair on the preserved lower part of the wig. Compare with the small, inlaid ivory depictions referred to in n. 179.

[208] The colossal AM 805 from the "palace" at Amathus has remarkable traces of color preserved, well presented in: Hermary 1985, 664–665, 692–694, figs. 6–7 (color photo and drawing). It is surprising to note that the ancient artist did not make full use at some points of the possibilities of highlighting details by alternating or changing colors. Examples where it could have been done to advantage but was not are: the horizontal frieze of rosettes (background and entire rosettes painted red), in the "*uraeus*" rearing inside the niche (creature and background both red), or in the bands holding the hair (all red, when their thin, raised borders could have been left unpainted, or given another color). See A. Hermary's remark, on pp. 693–694.

[209] A. Hermary follows D. Parayre and sees in this polychromy an Achaemenid taste, instead: Hermary 2000, 147–148. For an additional example from the northwestern-most part of the island, from the palace at Vouni, see the feathers of a winged sun disk alternately colored green (formerly blue?) and red: Gjerstad *et al.* 1937, 238, no. 291, pl. 94.5 (from Room 47). A. Hermary has noted that it was most probably originally part of the decoration of a Hathoric capital: Hermary 1985, 674 n. 21.

[210] It seems impossible to view such an iconography as born and developed in the low-quality stone of the Phoenician homeland. Details and intricate carving calls for fine-grained materials such as ivory and wood (see below).

devanteau[211] or the floral collar with persea, triangles, and hanging drops are not encountered in the eight preserved male ivory statuettes from Nimrud could be due to their limited number, or – more probably – to their limited size. Panther heads and floral collars can be found in the ivory repertoire in general,[212] and it is more than possible that such features could have been incorporated in similar, but large-scale, ivory-on-wood statuary. The same may be true for at least some of the other elements which were not found in the very limited Phoenician group of reference material. I believe that the Phoenician iconography seen in the small-scale ivory plaques mirrors – sometimes in a schematized and unsatisfactory manner – an iconography found carved in the round, and in much larger sizes. This is strongly indicated through the material presented above, as well as by the continuity of the Egyptianizing iconography through virtually all the centuries of Phoenician material culture, despite the abrupt halt of ivory production (see below). Once we posit that small-scale iconography reflects that on large-size monuments and statuary, then much can be learned from the Phoenician material culture, so often expressed in perishable materials, and in general insufficiently excavated and known from the homeland.

Turning to the ivory relief plaques, it seems evident that in some cases, the attire of the figures is a schematized version of that found on large-scale figures.[213] We noted above that the peculiarities in the appearance of certain sphinxes could well be explained by the presence of similar figures carved in the round: these latter sphinxes were translated into the small-scale ivory relief material, necessitating certain simplifications and rearrangements of the details of the motif. On the other hand, it is similarly true that certain Egyptian-type features are known and well-suited only for relief depictions. Present in the Phoenician relief material but lacking in the plastic Cypriote limestone and Phoenician ivory figures are – as was noted above – the Egyptian royal animal tail, the counterpoise of the broad collar, the double band and frontal spiral of the double crown, and the short kilt with longer, open kilt on top (the transparent bag-tunic). It has been suggested that small-scale objects generally inspired the creation of large-scale ones.[214] However, the material presented in this study indicates that the direction of artistic influences went from a large-scale production (either in relief or carved in the round) to a small-scale repertoire which could only partly reflect the original objects.

Phoenician art in general reflects this well. Apart from the ivory plaques and statuary, basically only decorated metal bowls and small-scale glyptic art remain.[215] It is striking that all three categories of "minor arts" incorporate the same range of Egyptianizing iconographical motifs, only slightly richer and more diversified for the incised metal bowls.[216]

Since this is the evidence we possess, it has often been maintained that Phoenician art was mainly that expressed in minor arts, and that there was a virtual lack of large-scale material.[217] The appearance of the 8th and 7th century B.C. Egyptianizing iconography in 5th and 4th century B.C. Phoenician stone relief work has led to suggestions that this was due to an enlargement of objects of Phoenician minor arts.[218] On the other hand, it could be suggested that there was a continuous production of perishable, large-scale objects carved both in relief and in the round in wood, a production which perpetuated the Egyptianizing iconography so cherished by the Phoenician craftsmen and patrons.

Returning to the Phoenician ivories, we note that ivory plaques and other objects were often carved with great skill, and with attention to minute detail. In view of their limited size they can only be explained as reflections of a monumental art form where there was sufficient surface area to experiment and to develop intricate iconography and minute detail.[219] It is not feasible to view such experimentation and development in a material as rare and as costly as ivory itself – a material which, in

[211] In fact, in the Cypriote material the apotropaic head is not encountered on the more well-rendered examples of the New Kingdom-type kilt with *devanteau* (**Cat. 3**, **Cat. 29**, and the Palaepaphos figures) but rather as part of the typical, Cypriote hybrid dress, placed on the opened-up apron-*devanteau*.

[212] The sphinx plaques displaying the floral collar with persea, etc., are, admittedly, also of limited size.

[213] See the kilt-wearing figurines on two plaques which are virtually identical: Winter 1976b, fig. 15 (Baghdad); Winter 1976c, pl. 1.a (New York). The "*devanteaux*" of the figures show only one row of the stylized wing-feather pattern, expressing in a stylized manner the several rows of the full-scale device.

[214] See above Ch. 3.3.2 n. 364–365. M. Roaf notes the fact that generally a small medium imitates a larger one, but that there are examples of the contrary: Roaf 1996, 27.

[215] Barnett 1957, 61.

[216] Ciafaloni 1992, 47. See also Moscati 1968, 76, and, for the glyptic evidence: Gubel 1993.

[217] The fact that kings of early Iron Age Judah and Damascus called for Phoenician craftsmen is underlined by Moscati 1968, 65. They were evidently called upon as woodcarvers, creating large-scale and high-quality objects for these courts. Apparently, they were not summoned to carry out the repertoire of minor arts that is preserved to us.

[218] Yon & Caubet 1993, 50, 52; Stucky 1993, 19.

[219] See, for a parallel occurrence, H.-V. Herrmann's thoughts on the wooden "Hera" statuette from the Heraion at Samos, which most probably reflects a larger figure: Herrmann 1975, 40. The skill and range of details visible in the high-quality statuette could have been developed only in large-scale (wooden) statuary.

addition, is severely limited by the actual shape of the elephant tusk. It is much more probable that such experimentation took place within woodcarving, the strongly related craft in which the Phoenicians were so skillful.[220] Wood was readily available and far less expensive, and a familiarity with this material could well have preceded any attempts at mastering ivory.[221] When we recall that ivory was most often used and arranged in combination with wood, in furniture and statuary alike, then it becomes even more evident that the two crafts were intimately related.

Technically, ivory is similar to wood in several ways: for reasons of economy of material and the inherent physical limitations of both wood and ivory, statuary made of both materials is carved in pieces and then assembled, often overlaid with gold foil.[222] In addition, we saw above how Phoenician 8th and 7th century B.C. ivory seems to have been created under the influence of Egyptian Tanite royal objects such as jewelry and gilded wooden items. In view of the close connections between wood and ivory, it would be more feasible to view Egyptian wooden objects rather than jewelry as the source of inspiration for Phoenician wood and ivory carvers. It is worth noting that an element such as the New Kingdom-type floral collar is encountered in Egyptian Third Intermediate Period material culture only in painted, wooden objects.[223] The limited access in Egypt to large trees could well have been one of the reasons that Egyptian woodworkers developed skill in assembling statues from several pieces of material.[224] In the Egyptian material we encounter wooden statuettes, painted and with inlaid eyes, lacking back-pillar supports and assembled from several pieces of wood which left their arms free from the upper part of the body[225] – a technique which seems so clearly reflected in the preserved Phoenician ivory figures.[226] In addition, the limited quality of these kinds of indigenous wood encouraged the application of veneer and inlay – or indeed the application of sheet gold – in order to conceal such shortcomings. Gilded wooden statuary was clearly limited to the royal sphere, in Egypt as well as in Phoenicia.[227] It was the technical skill and quality of the raw materials used rather than the actual shape and design that differentiated royal objects from private ones.[228] Thus, when royal objects were covered with gold foil or indeed -sheet, had veneer of ivory or precious and fragrant woods, and displayed royal symbols inlaid with faience or glass, wooden objects produced outside the royal sphere were merely painted. A layer of gesso or thin plaster could be applied to the wood before painting, a quicker way to create moldings and other details in relief. The application of paint to wooden objects was a cheaper and simpler way to imitate fine (royal) inlay work.[229] This must have been as true for Phoenicia as it was for Egypt. Beside the Phoenician wooden figures partly covered with ivory, with gold foil, and with inlays of colored glass, there must have been a vast market for painted wooden statuary, made in imitation of the more costly, royal versions. The fact is that in the Phoenician archaeological material we can only trace the limited group of royal objects, witnessed through the durable ivory. It must be kept in mind that of the majority of statuary, utensils, and other objects made of painted wood, there are no traces whatsoever left for us.

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220 Barnett 1957, 158, who suggested that Phoenician woodcarvers well acquainted with cedar were the ones to transfer this knowledge and skill into ivory. See also Barnett 1935, 200; Barnett 1939, 5; Barnett 1957, 60.

221 Again, we should remember the Bronze Age antecedents of these crafts, which surely incorporated the same interplay between wooden and ivory objects.

222 Barnett 1939, 5; Barnett 1957, 158; Mallowan 1966, 484; Herrmann 1986, 47.

223 We noted above, in Ch. 2.2.1 "The broad collar", that the floral collar with persea fruits and stylized leaves is virtually not encountered in New Kingdom stone statuary, but is found painted on limestone statuary and on wall paintings in tombs. Throughout the 1st millennium B.C., however, the production of painted cartonnage or plastered wooden sarcophagi display the elaborate floral collar: Desroches-Noblecourt 1976, 165–167, no. 35, pl. 35.

224 Lucas 1962, 448: the locally available woods were acacia, sidder, sycamore, fig, tamarisk, and willow – all of limited size. See also pp. 452–453 (assemblage through mortise and tenon joints and so-called dove-tailing). For an example from the (Old Kingdom) private sphere: Ziegler 1990, 20 (anonymous couple, made of acacia wood).

225 See, for a well-preserved (and again royal) example: Daressy 1902, 155, no. 24598, pl. 31, a wooden statuette from the tomb of Amenhotep II, of cedar wood, H. 80 cm. The arms and part of the feet were added to the core piece.

226 We can only remind the reader of the characteristics of Cypriote limestone statuary which include the lacking back-pillar support and the arms which are mostly carved free from the upper part of the body.

227 Lilyquist 1999, 211–212, figs. 11–12, on Egyptian New Kingdom evidence, and – for example – the stele of King Yehawmilk from Byblos (4th century B.C.), dedicating to Baalat Gubal a statue covered with gold (see above, Ch. 4.4.2). The gilded *cherubim* of the temple at Jerusalem is yet another example.

228 Killen 1996, 19–20: the furniture of Tutankhamun was exceptional, but merely because of its decoration and the quality of the woodwork. Common men would have owned similar things, although merely painted, and carved with less skill. Royal furniture was covered with gold sheet, and decorated with royal symbols inlaid in precious or semi-precious materials. See also Roaf 1996, 22, on the fact that the skill of the ancient craftsman was considered much more important than originality in design.

229 Killen 1996, 19. For an example of an Egyptian painted, wooden statuette: Daressy 1902, 162, no. 24627, pl. 35. This vulture was made of elaborately painted sycamore wood. Admittedly, this is a royal object, once displaying golden legs and claws (now missing).

Thus, Phoenician composite sculpture was the result of an imitation of opulent, Egyptian Third Intermediate Period royal objects. Further, all the available evidence points towards the fact that the resulting, Phoenician, large-scale ivory-on-wood statuary in turn served as the inspiration for Cypriote stone carvers, for the makers of the earliest Egyptianizing limestone figures. Hypothetically, this could have taken place either through the importation of Phoenician wooden objects to the coastal cities of the island, and/or by the actual presence of Phoenician wood carvers at these same sites, and at their workshops. Now, in the Phoenician homeland the production of costly ivory came to a halt during the 7th century B.C.[230] for reasons little known.[231] Considering that the first Egyptianizing limestone figures to be produced on Cyprus were carved around 600 B.C., with most examples several decades later, it is evident that there is a chronological gap in the hypothesis just presented, connecting ivory and stone.[232] It is (obviously) unknown, however, what became of the assumed production in Phoenician, painted wooden sculpture during the 7th century B.C. Even if the production of royal small- and large-scale chryselephantine statuary came to a halt, there is no reason to believe that the manufacture of wooden statuary in general, with dress, ornaments, and other details either painted or inlaid with non-precious materials did so as well. It is doubtless that this production was affected by political events. It has been suggested that in the wake of the annihilation of the North Syrian cities (and ivory workshops) by the Assyrian kings at the very end of the 8th century B.C., the Phoenician workshops gained momentum.[233] This would have been the main period of production of royal composite sculpture. Consequently, the fall of Sidon in the late 7th century B.C. and of Tyre in 583 B.C. must have meant the temporary decline of the workshops active in these large centers.[234]

Leaving, however, the archaeological material from Phoenicia, which offers no additional help,[235] and turning to evidence found further west, there are strong indications of the continuation of the manufacture of (votive) wooden statuary throughout the 7th and 6th centuries B.C. It is not possible to assess what role was played by wooden objects and statuary in the wave of influences which gave rise and impetus to the so-called Orientalizing period in the Greek world.[236] It is clear, however, that the earliest Greek temples and cultic statuary were made of wood.[237] The more ambitious Greek wooden statuary might have flesh parts rendered in ivory, and the dress of the divinity could have been covered with gold foil in the characteristic, Oriental fashion.[238] The possibility of inlay work and the addition of paint on the wooden figures made wood a most suitable material for the colorful, decorative tastes so characteristic for Archaic Greek art.[239] It is clear that not only divine statuary, but also votive statuary in addition to terracotta figures could be made of wood.[240] The evidence from the Heraion at Samos is by far the most well-known and well-preserved to testify to this presence of 7th century B.C. high-quality votive statuary in wood.[241] Ivory figurines from the same site enrich our knowledge of the appearance of Greek and imported statuary of the 7th century B.C.[242] Actual evidence of such early, wooden sculpture covered with gold foil has been discovered in Etruria,[243] and seemingly on

230Barnett 1957, 129; Mallowan 1978, 39–40 (sphinx dated to 670 B.C.). Cf. Ciafaloni 1992, 77. The absolute terminal date for the Nimrud ivories is 612 B.C., when Fort Shalmaneser was sacked.

231I. Winter noted that more complex explanations are required than the one thesis held earlier, that the Syrian elephant became extinct: Winter 1976c, 17.

232This gap has been emphasized before: Lewe 1975, 60 n. 295; Gubel 1998, 486.

233Winter 1976c, 20–21.

234Barnett 1939, 18.

235For a wooden Bes statuette from Sidon: Hölbl 2000, 128, pl. 2. The date of the figure remains unknown, however. See also Gubel 1992, 404.

236Barnett 1957, 61.

237Wasowicz 1966, 230.

238See, for example, the two 6th century B.C. life-size ivory faces from Delphi: Amandry 1939, 90–91, pls. 19–20. Pausanias' late information on preserved wooden statuary remains the most important ancient text on early Greek sculpture. On the use of the word "*xoanon*", and for references to the author's text where this is mentioned, see an early but useful study: Bennett 1917.

239See, among others: Gotsmich 1935, 27. This is well reflected in the subsequent painted Greek limestone sculptural repertoire of the 6th century B.C. This was similarly evident in temple architecture, where 6th century B.C. limestone and marble temples preserve wooden details rendered in stone, and painted in bright colors. It could be suggested that it was rather the other way around: the fact that colorful, wooden objects (and textiles, wicker work, and the like) were imported during this period gave rise to the Archaic Greek taste for the opulent and colorful.

240Apart from the abundant and unique Samian material known through the archaeological record, Pausanias notes the presence of wooden statuary depicting Olympic victors: Meiggs 1982, 302, 310. For indications of animal wooden statuary (a horse and a cow) from the Athena sanctuary at Lindos: Blinkenberg 1931, col. 392.

241Ohly 1953. H. Kyrieleis has suggested that traveling craftsmen from Crete, active at the sanctuary, produced and/or inspired large part of the unearthed wooden statuary: Kyrieleis 1998, 281–282.

242See articles published in the *AM* 74, 1959; Freyer-Schauenburg 1966, pl. 16.a, for a fragmentary ivory statuette which comes very close to the Phoenician-style ivories presented above. The style of the "ivory youth" (pl. 2) and of several other objects, seems rather to point towards North Syrian workshops.

243Prayon 1998, 330, 338–340, fig. 9, on a gilded (almost) life-size wooden statuary head unearthed in a tomb at Vulci. The

Malta.[244] That the influence behind this particular technique was Phoenician has seldom been doubted.

From Cyprus itself no such direct evidence is preserved within the archaeological material. There is, however, indirect evidence of the presence of imported, opulent wooden objects – including statuary and other things. Perhaps the most clear 7th-century B.C. indication is seen in one of the so-called royal tombs at Tamassos, Tomb 5. The tomb which was cut from the local rock has a stepped or recessed entrance,[245] so typical for Phoenician ivory work – in its turn miniature versions of actual wooden doors and window frames.[246] On either side of the grave entrance was a carved pilaster with volute capital.[247] Inside Tomb 5 the stepped doorway and the volutes are mirrored in the friezes of stylized "sacred trees" decorating the two (stepped) false windows which were cut into the wall above the main entrance and above the entrance to the inner (funerary) chamber, respectively.[248] The discoverer of the tomb, M. Ohnefalsch-Richter, marveled at the manner in which woodwork had been imitated in stone in its interior.[249] Together with the false windows with vegetal ornaments, this included false side doors with large "wooden" locks, and an elaborate "timber" ceiling, all cut from the local stone.[250] It lies close at hand to suggest that foreign woodcarvers and their production inspired the appearance of the interior of this grave.[251] It is worth noting that from Kourion come the finds of two large limestone objects which are, in fact, false windows much like the two found carved into the antechamber of Tomb 5 at Tamassos.[252] Both central niches or "windows" are similarly supported by two palm-like volute capitals set on low stems, one pair displaying stems which are surrounded by rows of drooping (palm) leaves, so characteristic for Phoenician ivory. It is highly interesting that along the lower edge of one of the objects, there is a Phoenician inscription which has been dated to the late 7th century B.C.[253] This is not the only 7th century inscription from Cyprus naming a Phoenician sculptor or dedicator – something which further indicates the presence of Phoenician craftsmen and/or dedicants on the island during this early period.[254] Strong parallels, although later in time, are found within the Archaic material unearthed at Palaepaphos. Stepped votive niches, empty or with cup palmettes on top of small palm capitals, and stelai with "dovetail" decoration and friezes of *uraei* are held by the excavators to imitate

author notes the local style of the head, and the foreign technique of applying gold foil. This would favor the presence or influence of Phoenician crafts and craftsmen at Vulci although the actual carving could have been done by local craftsmen. Two life-size silver ears were apparently found in a tomb at Marsiliana d'Albegna (n. 30).

244E. Gubel refers to an unpublished statue, excavated on Malta, of a Baal figure seated on a sphinx throne. The statue is said to be made of sycamore wood, and remains of gold foil are preserved: Gubel 1992, 404. The dating of the piece remains unknown. For what could be viewed as a continuation of the tradition into the 4th–3rd centuries B.C., see the painted and gilded wooden sarcophagi which have been excavated at Punic necropoleis: Delattre 1904, 327–328, 332; Fantar 1972, 347–352.

245The stepped grave entrance is known from Salamis and Amathus as well: Karageorghis 1970c, 129 = Karageorghis 1970b, pl. 161.5 (Salamis Tomb 84, early 6th century B.C.); Karageorghis 1976a, 890, fig. 91.

246Ciafaloni 1995, 546. For such an actual door frame within the North Palace at Nimrud, cut into the mudbrick wall (W. 2.3 meters): Mallowan 1966, fig. 270. M. Roaf notes that in Mesopotamia the stepped doorways (with multiple rabbets) were virtually always confined to temples: Roaf 1996, 26.

247Buchholz 1974, figs. 35, 38. Nearby Tomb 11 also displayed both a recessed entrance and flanking pilasters with volute capitals: Buchholz 1973, figs. 26.a, 27–29.

248The two false windows were thus "facing" each other across the antechamber: Buchholz 1974, figs. 37, 39, 41, 49, 50.b (see above Ch. 1.1.1 n. 16). It should be noted that their vegetal decorations are not identical, but merely similar. Compare Buchholz 1974, figs. 41, 43 (44.a–b).

249The largely unpublished accounts of M. Ohnefalsch-Richter are assembled in Buchholz 1974, 578–589, including a citation in English taken from *The Times* of 1894 (pp. 581–583).

250Buchholz 1974, figs. 45–47 (locks), 36–37 ("timber" ceiling).

251It is interesting to note that parallels can be drawn to early Iron Age royal Judahite and Israelite palaces, where Phoenician craftsmen apparently added paneling and decoration in cedar wood, ivory, and stone. Stepped niches and pilasters crowned with volutes (with raised, narrow outlines!) are characteristic for the decoration of the 10th–9th century B.C. residences at Ramat Rahel, Samaria, and Jerusalem. See, for example, Stern 1977; Aharoni 1978.

252While the two Tamassos "windows" are rectangular in shape, the Kourion counterparts are nearly square (around 80 x 70 cm): Karageorghis 1970a, 226–231, fig. 80.a–b; Dikaios 1940, 122 n. 5, pl. 43.c. The two Kourion "windows" were found at the same site. O. Masson and M. Sznycer followed P. Dikaios in suggesting that they may once have belonged to the same grave, in the manner of the Tamassos tomb: Masson & Sznycer 1972, 89–90.

253Masson & Sznycer 1972, 89–91, pl. 7.1–2. The inscription reads, in French translation: "M et BKRY le Sido[nien... ." It could be argued that the presence of a (dedicatory?) inscription would rather allow for the piece to be viewed as a votive gift in its own right, preluding what is later found at Palaepaphos in terms of stepped votive niche stelai.

254See the two finds from Palaeokastro, south of Pyla, an inscribed statuette base and a life-size, limestone head of a Bes-like figure: Masson 1966, 8; Caquot & Masson 1968, 295–300, figs. 1–2; Hermary 1984. The French translation of the inscription reads: "Ce qu'a fait Eshmounhilleç, le frondeur, à son seigneur, à Reshef de Sh...", indicating that a Phoenician sculptor produced a statue or statuette to be dedicated to Reshef in a nearby Cypriote sanctuary. See the additions made by A. Hermary (citing M. Sznycer): "Ce qu'a fait Eshmounhilleç, le sculpteur, pour son seigneur, pour Reshef Shed." See below, Ch. 5.2.2.

woodcarving.[255] Is it merely a coincidence that at these two sites, elaborately decorated Phoenician-type sphinxes and fragments thereof have been found, both categories displaying characteristic floral ornaments, raised, narrow outlines possibly imitating inlay, and the application of "color as pattern" (see above)? In fact, it could be said that the 7th century B.C. on Cyprus marks the appearance of a whole Egyptianizing, visual culture (see Ch. 1.1.1). This vast range of objects, expressed in a variety of media,[256] shares with the male, Egyptianizing figures, the Phoenician-type sphinxes, and the Hathoric capitals (?) the following three characteristics: the Phoenician-type floral ornaments, the raised, narrow outlines possibly indicating inlay, and – in some cases – the application of alternate paint (or "color as pattern").[257] Could it be argued, on these grounds, that several of these material categories imitate imported, colorful woodwork, produced in Phoenician workshops or by traveling or resident Phoenician craftsmen in workshops on the island itself?[258] This is a possibility, but with the lack of any preserved material, it can remain only that. Choosing to press the evidence, we could even argue that opulent, Phoenician woodwork is traceable in certain elements within the Greek Archaic material culture as well.[259]

It is important to note that there were rich, natural resources on Cyprus when it comes to wood. Pine, cypress, boxwood – even the valuable cedar was abundant on the island in ancient times. The Cypriote cedar was similar to the famed Lebanese relative (*Cedrus libani*), but with shorter leaves (*Cedrus libani brevifolia*).[260] The trees growing at a high altitude were difficult to transport, however, and pine and cypress were far more available. In the excavations of the Aphrodite sanctuary at Chomazoudia (Tamassos), the German team was able to identify 20 different types of wood from the Archaic levels.[261] The wood from the site would have been used for the construction of buildings, for fire wood, and possibly for carved votive objects.[262] Among the woods was boxwood, very suitable for highly detailed carving: for example, statuary and furniture.[263] Thus, there was no shortage of raw material for the foreign and indigenous woodworkers on Cyprus. It can in fact be inferred that the hypothetical, imported, wooden objects reaching the island from the Levantine coast were imitated not only in the local limestone, but frequently in (perishable) local woods.

In connection to this it is important to emphasize that there are several parallels between the carving of wood and the carving of soft limestone. The gouges, knives, and scrapers used for carving would have been the same for the two materials.[264] The Cypriote Mesaoria limestone, when newly quarried, is wet and cheese-like, and closely resembles wood in terms of workability.[265] It is thus not surprising that the craftsman skilled in woodcarving was most probably active in working soft stone as well.[266] Thus, it is not difficult to view the Cypriote 7th century B.C. craftsmen as trying out and imitating new decorative statuary reaching the island from the East in local woods, while only slightly later transforming the new forms into the soft local limestone with which they were so well acquainted.[267] In contrast to the

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255 Mitford & Iliffe 1951, 60; Maier 1969, 34 n. 2, regarding stepped niches; and Wilson 1975a, 450; Tatton-Brown 1994, 74, on additional stelai.

256 Suffice it to refer to decorated votive capitals, terracotta "cuirasses", images on painted pottery featuring flanking sphinxes, and single ivory objects.

257 A well-preserved example is the so-called Amathus sarcophagus, dated to 480 B.C. For the best depictions, in color: Karageorghis *et al.* 2000, 201–204, no. 330 (with a detail on the frontispiece of the book).

258 Admittedly, there is the risk of a circular argument. The similarities between the material categories are there, however. See also n. 134, above, where several scholars have identified these parallels between Cypriote stone, terracotta, and bronze – and Phoenician ivory.

259 There are several examples where painted Archaic limestone or terracotta sculpture displays both floral ornaments, raised, narrow outlines, and an application of paint which comes very close to the Phoenician and Cypriote material presented in this section. See, for merely one example, the terracotta sphinx acroteria placed on the Apollo temple at Korinth (middle of the 6th century B.C.), beautifully illustrated in: Bookidis 2000, figs. 6.2d, 2c (color), 8 (reconstruction drawing), 13 (color). For limestone: Richter 1944, figs. 9–10, pls. 7, 10; Hall 1944.

260 Meiggs 1982, 66, who notes that Cypriote cedar was an alternative already during the Bronze Age for Egyptian rulers who at times lost control of the Lebanese mountains. Kardell 1999, fig. 1, presents a map showing the location of the limited, modern presence of these cedars.

261 Buchholz 1988, 75, 89.

262 Buchholz 1988, 89, 108. Seventy percent of all the wood was identified as oak (pp. 134, 138). It was clear in Ch. 3.2.2, above, that no male votive figures at all, let alone Egyptianizing ones, have been found in the female sanctuary at Chomazoudia.

263 Meiggs 1982, 312. The boxwood was heavy, close-grained, immune to decay and insects, and had a pleasant scent – an excellent material. According to the source material assembled by R. Meiggs, Cypriote kings gave objects made from boxwood as tribute to Sargon II – and according to Ezekiel, Cyprus exported boxwood to Phoenician Tyre (p. 281).

264 Spivey 1996, 63.

265 Kinch 1914, 15; Connelly 1991, 95–96; Senff 1993, 21–22 n. 176.

266 This has been shown in several other studies on ancient craftsmen and their skills: Mallowan 1966, 484; Meiggs 1982, 308; Herrmann 1986, 47; Roaf 1996, 28.

267 Even the application of gold foil, so characteristic for wooden sculpture, seems to have been attempted on limestone statuary as

hypothetical wooden produce, the durable limestone figures have survived in the archaeological record.

5.1.4 Phoenician wooden sculpture in a Cypriote setting?

Finally, let us return for a moment to the discussion at the beginning of this section, where the pattern of the Egyptianizing votive tradition on Cyprus itself was briefly outlined. In the above text it was established that neither Egyptian stone sculpture, faience or bronze figurines, nor Phoenician stone statuary could have provided the necessary input or inspiration for the Cypriote Egyptianizing limestone figures. It is my contention that the influence for the 7th and 6th century B.C. Cypriote craftsmen seems, rather, to have come in a material which has not been found in the Cypriote archaeological record: Phoenician wooden sculpture. It is of interest to view this hypothetical material against the Cypriote setting so briefly outlined above.

Two find concentrations of male, Egyptianizing figures were identified on Cyprus, one on and around the Mesaoria Plain, the other at coastal Palaepaphos. The rich Mesaoria material displayed a marked heterogeneity, with stylistically diverse figures wearing different versions of dress which appear as variations on a common (Egyptian-type) theme. The main potential hubs for receiving and disseminating foreign influences reaching the plain, the influential cities of Salamis and Kition, would have had to receive several different sculptural models, to account for such a heterogeneity. Indeed, if we postulate the importation of Phoenician, Egyptianizing wooden sculpture, we could explain the surprising shortage of Egyptianizing stone figures found at these coastal sites, so favored by general foreign influences.[268] It was evident above that the earliest Cypriote Egyptianizing figures (all from the Mesaoria area), datable to the early 6th century B.C., already display several transformations of the Egyptian-type dress, including the characteristic hybrid kilt – the elaborately decorated combination of *shenti* with apron and kilt with *devanteau* – so wide-spread on the island. This hybrid dress either reached the island from abroad in an already transformed shape, or it was created in the Cypriote workshops. In the Phoenician ivory repertoire there are well-rendered examples of the Egyptian pleated *shenti* with apron, as well as the New Kingdom-type kilt with *devanteau*, cobras, and sash ends. This most probably reflects the character of the material, however, being royal statuary produced in valuable materials for a royal audience.[269] The general painted, Phoenician wooden "copy" of such high-quality work would surely display the characteristic Phoenician misinterpretations of Egyptian dress, iconography, and script. In fact, it was pointed out above that even the costly ivories display schematizations including kilt renderings which are quite far from the Egyptian counterparts. However, in the preserved Phoenician material there is never a case where a kilt has an exposed apron decorated as a *devanteau*. This remains unique for Cyprus. The possibility that this kind of dress was present in Phoenician wooden statuary not available to us must be considered as weak. Thus, the input as regards the two Egyptian kilt types must have reached the island well before 600 B.C., since – as was said above – around that period of time the hybridization of the two is already attested in Cypriote limestone. According to the above hypothesis, it was decorative, colorfully painted Phoenician wooden statuary which provided the Cypriote craftsmen with both types of kilts, more well-rendered examples but surely also objects displaying schematizations. In a general manner, these highly varied wooden models would, possibly, account for the heterogeneity of the Cypriote Mesaoria material. The hypothetical Cypriote wooden statues which were created in imitation of these decorative pieces probably incorporated both types of kilts, and it is possible that the characteristic, hybrid Cypriote kilt was created in (Cypriote) wood.[270] In time, the wooden statuary would have been imitated in durable limestone, in the Mesaoria workshops.

Thus, it is postulated here that there was an Egyptianizing wooden repertoire in 7th century B.C. Cyprus. In fact, it could be argued that this intangible material is witnessed to and indicated through the real metal and ivory objects which are encountered on the island during this very period of time (see Ch. 1.1.1). In Ch. 2.2.2, above, close similarities were identified between the non-Egyptian decoration on certain Cypriote kilt-wearing limestone figures and the iconography of these imported and locally produced metal and ivory objects. It is more than probable that the small-scale Egyptianizing iconography encountered in these bronze and ivory

well: Pryce 1931, 90, fig. 144 = C.223 (from Amathus, "traces of gilding").

[268]The same may be true for Amathus, where the amount of recovered Egyptianizing figures (and statuary in general) is limited.

[269]The great qualitative difference between goods turned out by Phoenician royal workshops of the 7th century B.C. and those manufactured generally has often been emphasized. See, for example: Shefton 1989, 97. Already R. Barnett noted that the degree of approximation to Egyptian art would be closer in the art of the chief cities of Phoenicia, involved in commercial and political contact with Egypt for millennia: Barnett 1935, 199.

[270]Of course, this could have taken place in stone as well, in early material of which we have no evidence preserved.

reliefs reflect that of larger objects made of perishable materials, including wood. This would confirm that the Egyptianizing limestone figure – just like the Cypriote limestone sphinx and possibly the Hathoric iconography – had its genesis in a Phoenician iconography abundantly present in 7th century B.C. Cyprus in wood, but merely reflected in occasional finds of related "minor arts".

Transformations of the Egyptian-type dress elements and ornaments took place in the Cypriote workshops, hypothetically in wood but surely in limestone. Alterations unique for the island were, in fact, identified above in Ch. 2.4.2. In other cases, already transformed Egyptian ornaments, such as the four-winged scarab or the Phoenician cup palmette, were imported to the island, but in time retransformed there (*Fig. 12*).

In contrast to the Mesaoria heterogeneity stands Palaepaphos, where the evident homogeneity of the recovered group of Egyptianizing figures strongly suggests that the same sculptor or group of sculptors worked in imitation of one and the same model. At this site the homogeneous evidence of (fragmentary) sphinx sculpture as well similarly suggests imitation of wooden statuary of only one single type.

If the above hypothesis of an input from Phoenician wooden sculpture is followed, what about the multitude of other votive figural types from the Cypriote sanctuaries? Were they not inspired by this influx of painted wooden statuary, but, rather, originated from and maintained an indigenous tradition? It is a fact that – in contrast to most Egyptianizing figures – the figures wearing "Cypriote belts" and rosette diadems, the Herakles Melqart figures, the general mantle-wearing figures, and the other known sculptural types lack any traces of characteristic Phoenician floral ornaments, of dress elements framed by raised, narrow outlines,[271] of remains of carving imitating inlay, or of the application of "color as pattern". It is suggested here that these characteristics are rather indicators pointing towards colorfully painted, wooden statuary as the original source of inspiration – whether we refer to male, Egyptianizing figures, sphinxes, Hathoric capitals (?), votive capitals, terracotta "cuirasses" or any other Archaic Cypriote material category incorporating them (see above). The figures wearing "Cypriote belts" and rosette diadems, the mantle-wearing figures, and most other votive statuary types have counterparts in the vast Cypriote repertoire of terracotta statuary. This is not true for the Egyptianizing votive figures.[272] Could this be another reflection of the different sources of inspiration for these votive types?[273] It is worth pointing out again that in view of the characteristically Cypriote rendering of face and body form in the Egyptianizing figures, what was imitated from the (hypothetical) painted Phoenician wooden models was merely a new and foreign, colorful, pleasing attire, which was superficially added to a characteristically Cypriote votive figural type.

Several question marks remain. One of them is connected to the fact that the Egyptianizing figures have been found only in sanctuaries dedicated to male gods. Now, if imported wooden sculpture served as inspiration for the Cypriote craftsmen, how can it be that virtually no limestone figures have been found at Kourion, a site with a rich variety of wood, and a large temple dedicated to a male god? The presence at the coastal site of several perishable Cypriote imitations in wood could of course be hypothetically postulated. But how come our **Cat. 51** is the only actual recovered limestone figure?

According to the hypothesis put forward here, decorative wooden statuary with floral ornaments, raised, narrow outlines, and added paint applied as "color as pattern" served as inspiration in Cypriote 7th century B.C. workshops. It then becomes problematic that none of the earliest datable Egyptianizing figures displays these characteristics. It is true that **Cat. 6**, from Idalion, with its "inlaid" lower kilt border, can be identified as one among the earliest within the group.[274] And there are certain indications from other early pieces, like the border ornament of the kilt of **Cat. 61** (of unknown provenance), and the characteristic large and small paradise flowers linked with curving loops, encountered on **Cat. 47** (from Larnaka). In general, however, the rich floral decoration with raised, narrow outlines and "color as pattern" are found on later figures. This is true for most of the related evidence as well, such as the Palaepaphos and Tamassos sphinxes, along with the Amathus sarcophagus and Hathoric capital (AM 805).[275]

In spite of these question marks the "wooden model" hypothesis remains the only feasible one in view of the available evidence found on and outside the

[271] Note, however, that the borders of the "Cypriote belts" worn by the characteristic votive figures are sometimes raised in a manner similar to the outer ridges referred to in connection to the Egyptianizing ivory, wood, and limestone.

[272] With very few and uncharacteristic exceptions, this is similarly true for the sphinx and Hathor iconography from the island.

[273] In contrast to terracotta, stone and wood share that glyptic quality which involves a process of stripping away and cutting into a material, rather than building it up: Spivey 1996, 70.

[274] See Ch. 2.5.

[275] The Palaepaphos and Tamassos sphinxes ought to be attributable to the late 6th century B.C., while the Amathus objects have both been dated to around 480 B.C.

island. The following line of reasoning can be applied: during the 7th century B.C. brightly colored wooden statuary is imported from Phoenicia to Cyprus. It cannot be ruled out that there was a certain presence of skilled Phoenician craftsmen as well, perhaps working in Cypriote workshops and possibly introducing the technique of applying thin gold foil to wooden statuary. On the island the opulent attire of these figures is incorporated into the already existing wood- and limestone votive repertoire. The Cypriote Egyptianizing limestone figures, much decorated and with much added color, are attractive for Phoenician dedicants, and the stone sculptures are moved back to Phoenicia during the early part of the 6th century B.C., to sites like Amrit and Sidon. Cypriote sculptors are invited to bring their soft and appreciated raw material and settle at nearby workshops, and eclectic versions, adapted to Phoenician taste, are created at these foreign workshops by Cypriote (or even Phoenician) sculptors.[276] In case the above holds true, the Egyptianizing limestone figures exemplify quite a remarkable coming and going of cultural and technical impulses between Cyprus and the coastal Phoenician cities. That very close relations existed between these two areas during this period of time was known long ago, and presents nothing new. New, however, is the (possible) insight into a limited but detailed mechanism of cultural exchange, and of the transmission of iconography in the Archaic period.

5.2 The religious significance

It seems as if a decorative, colorful, Egyptian-type dress, associated with a male, standing figure type, was introduced into the Cypriote workshops and sanctuaries during the 7th century B.C. It was suggested above that this influence came through painted, Phoenician wooden statuary which was possibly both imported ready-made to the island and manufactured by skilled, Phoenician traveling craftsmen in local workshops situated in the coastal cities of Cyprus.

Moreover, it was suggested that a much larger group of Archaic Cypriote votive and religious objects, manufactured in several different kinds of materials, form additional evidence of influence from painted or inlaid wooden objects ultimately originating on the Levantine coast. The Cypriote sphinxes, and in some measure also the Hathoric capitals, belong to this group: they were shown to display similarities with the Egyptianizing limestone figures, suggesting – if by no means proving – that they shared the link to Phoenicia. It is time to ask why this iconography was taken up into the local artistic language of Cyprus at this very moment in time, and on such a scale. At issue here is the cultural and religious content or significance of the Egyptianizing votive type.[277]

Several important points need to be made. First, this readiness to adopt foreign religious iconography was by no means new or confined to the Archaic period on Cyprus. Together with the entire Eastern Mediterranean area, the island shared in a common artistic *koiné* during the Late Bronze Age, where the iconographies of the mightiest powers of the time were spread, appreciated, and adopted on a massive scale in the workshops of the surrounding areas. The Archaic movement we are tracing could thus be seen as merely a continuation of this earlier line of events. Secondly, the apparent uniformity of the Egyptian iconography must not deceive us into thinking that it had one and the same significance throughout the periods under discussion. Even if the preference for an Egyptianizing iconography can be traced in different chronological periods and geographical areas, we must by no means take it for granted that what was being expressed was an unchanging content including Egyptian gods, symbols, and (ancient) Late Bronze Age royal splendor. It is clear that Cyprus, for one, saw several waves of influence stemming directly or indirectly from the Egyptian Delta.[278] It is of great importance that we consider the social and political context at a certain period of time when we seek to understand the significance of this popular iconography at that particular moment in time. Would denotations and connotations be the same even when comparing different Cypriote areas, or cities? Or, in the Phoenician case, would a kilt-wearing statuette mean the same thing at royal Sidon as at provincial Kharayeb?[279] It is further worthy of

[276] Is it possible that the general concentration to the area of Cypriote Kition of the votive figure with raised right forearm and a votive animal under the left arm was due to influence returning once more from the Phoenician coast to Cyprus (mainly around the early 5th century B.C.)? See above, Ch. 4.5.2 n. 470.

[277] The reader will find no discussion in this study connecting these Egyptianizing votive statues on Cyprus with the political reality of the 7th to 5th centuries B.C. (see above in Ch. 1.3). This remains a possible prospect for further research. Here it shall merely be noted that there are different view points regarding whether or not it is possible to determine political history from art. Compare, for example, Watkin 1987; Wiesehöfer 1990; Calmeyer 1991; Jourdain-Annequin 1993, 83.

[278] Hermary 1989a, 49, notes various phases of Egyptian and Egyptianizing influence on Cyprus. See also Markoe 1990b, 17–18, on the phenomenon of the "Egyptianizing" in the material culture of the Levant and the three peak periods: the 14th, the 8th, and the late 6th–5th centuries B.C.

[279] Ciafaloni 1995, 542, 545, has emphasized that in the Phoenician realm, no single (Egyptianizing) motif is uniform in significance at different places and through time. On the

note that even if an Egyptian iconography is increasingly wide-spread in the Eastern Mediterranean from the 8th century B.C. onwards, visible through small-scale *Aegyptiaca* and in the decoration applied to pottery and to objects of virtually all other materials, the Egyptian-type kilt, collar, and royal crowns are encountered repeatedly in sculpture in the round *only* in Cyprus and in Phoenicia – and some of the areas of the Western Mediterranean which were under strong Phoenician influence, or indeed colonization. This type of statuary was obviously not manufactured, and therefore not appreciated, at either Naukratis or Crete, or at Samos or Rhodes, or in the rest of the Greek world.[280]

In Ch. 5.1.3, above, in "Egyptian or Egyptianizing, large-scale stone sculpture?", we noted that the *form* or *appearance* of the attire of the Cypriote Egyptianizing figures was not Saïte Egyptian. Rather, the artistic language was identified as one dependent on Phoenician models, available in wood- and ivory statuary a century earlier, but most probably of continued interest and manufacture throughout the Archaic period, and well beyond (see below). But what about *content* or *significance*? In the following, the significance desired by the Cypriote patrons will be sought for. What did the pious 6th century B.C. votive dedicator want to express or signal when he ordered a limestone figure wearing kilt with frontal cobras, a broad decorated collar, and a plain kerchief?

5.2.1 Egyptian religion? Through direct contact with Egypt or by way of Phoenicia?

The Cypriote evidence

It has long been recognized that one of the characteristics of Cypriote Archaic (and Classical) religion was a readiness to adopt foreign iconographical forms for the local deities.[281] In those cases where an Egyptian iconography was adopted, it could well be that a certain local deity who was closely associated with such Egyptian "antiquaria" was further associated with votive statues featuring male figures in Egyptian-type dress. We have noted above that, to a large extent, the male Egyptianizing figures under study have been encountered at sanctuaries seemingly dedicated to the god Apollo (later Reshef). There are no known indications linking Cypriote Apollo to an Egyptianizing iconography, however. Before further evaluating the possibility of a local god (or goddess) adopting an Egyptian-type iconography and the hypothetical connection of the figures under study to such a deity, we must ask ourselves if we can rule out that there was an actual understanding on the island of Egyptian religion that was expressed in art? Despite the fact that it does not seem as if the dress and accessories of the votive figures under study were influenced by those of contemporary Saïte Egyptian sculpture, it must be kept in mind that, time and again, the local Cypriote sculptors were depicting age-old royal and divine Egyptian emblems such as the New Kingdom-type kilt with *devanteau* and cobras, and the double crown.[282] A Cypriote presence at nearby Naukratis is, indeed, highly plausible during this period of time. We thus need to ask ourselves whether religious ideas and cultic practices could have been transmitted from the Egyptian Delta, reaching Cyprus either directly or indirectly by way of the Levantine coast. We noted above, in Ch. 5.1.3, that the case for Egyptian political domination of the island is weak. Egyptian domination had been used earlier to explain the strong Egyptianizing tendencies witnessed in the Archaic material culture of the island.[283] But did contemporary Egyptian religion influence Cypriote patrons and therefore the local sculptors? Was there any contemporary Egyptian *content*, apart from the question of a contemporary Egyptian *form*?

Judging by the preserved archaeological material, a characteristic for Saïte Egyptian religion was a decreasing interest in the national cult of Amun and an increase in importance of the Osiride triad, of Osiris, Isis, and Horus. In addition, according to the preserved material evidence, animal reverence reached new heights and there seems to have been an increase in the worship of zoomorphic Horus at Edfu and Bastet at Bubastis, and of the Apis bull.[284] The Cypriote evidence for votive figures wearing animal

contrary, changes and adaptations take place; if in one area a motif was well understood, at another it could be reduced to mere decoration. It follows that such motifs or other iconographical entities may not be approached in an overly simplified manner – nor must we directly ascribe chronological differences to material with differing appearance: this may instead be due to different modes or manners of reception.

[280] In Ch. 4.1.2 we noted that the kilt-wearing limestone torso from Misokampos on Samos was most probably imported, and of Cypriote manufacture. The single, kilt-wearing statuette from Naukratis has painted attire typical of the Cypriote Egyptianizing artistic language, not of the contemporary Saïte Egyptian (see Ch. 5.1.3). A fragmentary limestone statuette with back-pillar support from Kameiros on Rhodes is a more difficult case. I have not been able to suggest where, or by whom, it was manufactured (Ch. 4.1.2 n. 59).

[281] Sophocleous 1985, 2–3; Hermary 1986a, 405–407.

[282] The material includes one (terracotta) *atef* crown as well (Addendum 2, No. 21). That these particular features were reserved for Pharaoh and the Egyptian gods only, within Egyptian iconography, was made clear in Ch. 2.2.1.

[283] See above, Ch. 1.2.

[284] See, for example, Koch 1993, 452, 455–461.

masks is not without substance.[285] Of particular importance within this study is, of course, the kilt-wearing **Cat. 1** (from the Karpasia peninsula?) which is depicted as wearing the head or rather mask of a falcon. The similarities to the Egyptian god Horus are obvious, and the figure could be said to be one of the clearest and strongest Cypriote references to an Egyptian god.[286] It is of great interest that the fragmentary arms of the figure indicate that something was held against the body, possibly a writing tablet, where we could imagine a (hypothetical) stylus-like object in the other hand.[287] There is a virtually identical limestone figurine in the Louvre, holding tablet and "stylus" and wearing what seems to be a falcon mask.[288] Both the falcon head, which evokes Egyptian divine and/or priestly (in the case of a mask) parallels, and the scribal equipment comprise clear references to an Egyptian cultural and religious sphere.[289]

Another male, (divine?) animal-headed figure is the Cypriote votive type referred to as "Baal Hammon". Clad in an ankle-length robe, the ram-headed figure is seated on a throne sometimes flanked by rams. On its shoulders, beneath the large, curving horns, one can often trace the frontal flaps of an Egyptian tripartite wig.[290] Available on the island from the early 7th century B.C. until at least well into the Classical period, the origin of this figure is far from established.[291] The relationship to the Egyptian kriocephalic deity Amun is there, and it has been suggested that this statuary type was created at, and distributed from, Egyptian Naukratis.[292]

There are single additional depictions from the island of what can be more safely identified as Egyptian deities. A small votive niche featuring the standing, ibis-headed scribal god Thoth, found at Golgoi, is especially interesting since depictions of this god are rare outside Egypt itself.[293] A small bronze figurine which seems to be of Egyptian manufacture displays the characteristics of the Egyptian god Nefertem.[294] In addition, a life-size limestone figure from Golgoi draped in a panther skin has been noted as wearing the outfit so characteristic for the Egyptian Sem priests.[295]

Most conspicuous, however, and most well-spread over the island, is the Egyptian Hathoric iconography witnessed in a large variety of materials but most notably in the well-known, large-scale, biface limestone capitals. Unlike the large-scale Egyptian counterparts, the Cypriote Hathoric capitals do not seem to have filled any architectural function,[296] but were most probably free-standing objects crowning columns or pilasters instead.[297] Other iconographical depictions indicate that the capitals themselves were the direct recipients of cultic activities and worship, something which would also set them apart from their Egyptian architectural counterparts.[298] In terms of iconography, however, the Cypriote capitals incorporate several characteristic Egyptian elements, like the stylized cow horns, the crowning niche with *uraeus*, and the vulture headdress of the goddess[299] –

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285 Sophocleous 1985, 17–19.

286 L. Wriedt Sørensen referred to this figurine when discussing the actual implications of an Egyptian-type dress on Cyprus, stating that it reveals a connection with cult rather than with any general ethnic and/or political relation: Wriedt Sørensen 1994, 82.

287 In his 1981 treatment of the figurine, A. Hermary rightly notes that this can by no means be ascertained: Hermary 1981, 17. See above, in Ch. 2.1.1 n. 21.

288 Hermary 1989a, 292, no. 589. The head is much abraded – and so is the kilt, which could indeed be of the Egyptian type. The figurine further wears spiral armrings on both upper arms. See above, in Ch. 1.1.2 n. 31.

289 For additional falcon-headed figures: Pryce 1931, 24, C.25, fig. 21 (a statuette from Amathus which is indeed holding a tablet in its arms); Hermary 1989a, 290, nos. 586–587 (two additional fragmentary figurines kept in the Louvre).

290 Sophocleous 1985, 59, pl. 13.2–4, notes that these flaps are similarly encountered in certain depictions of Cypriote Herakles (see above, in Ch. 3.3.2).

291 Sophocleous 1985, 58–69; Xella 1991, 229–230, 233. For a late example, found at Kythrea: Karageorghis 1963, 338, fig. 20.

292 Fourrier 2001, 44–45.

293 Cesnola 1885, pl. 57.377; Sophocleous 1985, 180–181, pl. 42.3. G. Scandone has noted the absence of Thoth in Phoenicia: Scandone Matthiae 1981, 75.

294 Addendum 2, No. 28. The figurine has been suggested to be of Cypriote manufacture, and (possibly) of Bronze Age date: Karageorghis 1978a, 881, 884, fig. 10.

295 Nick 2001, 61, pl. 5.4.

296 Caubet & Pic 1982, 241; Hermary 1994, 120–121. See also Wagner 1980, 161, who notes the limited depth of the Cypriote Hathoric capitals, stating that they are to be seen as double-sided stelai instead of as column capitals with any supporting function. Note, however, the single known exception, a capital from the royal palace at Amathus: Alabe & Petit 1990, 1003–1005, figs. 23–24.

297 See one of the two well-known Kition capitals, where two tiny Hathoric heads are depicted mounted on columns or pilasters, flanking the entrance to a small sacred building placed on the head of the goddess. For the best depiction: Caubet & Yon 1994, pl. 27.b. This is not the single occurrence of its kind. An unpublished limestone niche, probably from the Salamis area, features a seated human figure flanked by two Hathoric heads placed on similar columns or pillars: Hermary 1998a, 71; Hermary 2000, 145.

298 Well-known is the painted pottery fragment from an "Amathus style" vessel displaying a Hathoric capital being approached by three men, one leading a goat, most probably the sacrificial animal: Caubet *et al.* 1992, 92, no. 99. See also a female limestone head wearing an elaborate crown featuring winged Bes-like and female figures dancing (?) around small colonettes crowned by Hathoric heads: Hermary 1985, 674–675, fig. 19.

299 The vulture headdress is encountered both in limestone capitals and in painted depictions of "Hathor" on "Amathus style" pottery. Hermary 1985, figs. 1, 14 (limestone examples);

similarities which have led to the suggestion that the Archaic Cypriote Hathoric iconography in general, and the biface limestone capitals in particular, were the direct outcome of close trade and contact with the Egyptian Delta.[300]

In connection with this evidence it is perhaps fitting to refer to the amount of Cypro-syllabic graffiti which has been encountered carved onto Egyptian temple façades and walls. No example has been dated to the Cypro-Archaic period, however: it dates only to the 5th and – particularly – 4th centuries B.C.[301]

It could be added that it has been suggested that Egyptianizing, small-scale amulets were produced also by Cypriote craftsmen, and that there were among the worshippers of the island, in particular the women, those well acquainted with Egyptian popular magic.[302] Indeed, there are known occasions of the finds of Egyptian (-izing) faience amulets in anthropoid sarcophagi on Cyprus, seemingly placed there in order to ensure amuletic protection of the dead.[303] On the other hand, however, it has been acknowledged that it is quite impossible to determine the religious and therefore symbolic value of such items outside Egypt itself.[304]

Despite the above indications it must be kept in mind that there is no known evidence in the epigraphical material from the island of the worship of Egyptian deities.[305] To be able to postulate that the Saïte Osiride cult, referred to above, was practiced in the Cypriote sanctuaries, more direct evidence would have been required, including mummiform divine and votive figures and figurines wearing the characteristic *atef* crowns. No such evidence exists, however.[306] The transformed Cypriote renderings of the Egyptian attire, possibly caused by the transference of this iconography via the Levantine coast, further lead us to wonder whether an Egyptian significance could – at least in part – have reached the island indirectly from the Phoenician cities *together* with the decorative iconography itself.

The Phoenician evidence

It was noted earlier on, in Ch. 5.1.3, that there are antecedents in the Phoenician 8th and 7th century B.C. ivory iconography for not only the Hathoric head and the falcon-headed figure wearing an Egyptian-type kilt, but also for kriocephalic creatures (sphinxes).[307] The Punic evidence for depictions of "Baal Hammon" indicates that there was a Phoenician origin for at least part of this divine (?) iconography.[308] Thus, there are not many Egyptian references encountered on Cyprus which are not similarly found within the Phoenician Iron Age iconography known to us.[309]

When considering the evidence for Egyptian cult in Phoenicia, an issue which has been much discussed, attention immediately turns to coastal Byblos. It is clear that this royal city was engaged in commercial activities and general exchange with Egypt from a very remote period, due to the availability – through its port – of Phoenician high-quality wood and other goods. Imported Egyptian statuary material from the Old and Middle Kingdom and hieroglyphic inscriptions have been discovered in connection with the temple of the local goddess, Baalat Gubal, and Egyptian textual evidence suggests that this goddess was venerated at Byblos in the guise of Egyptian Hathor.[310] In fact, the depictions on the well-known stele of King Yehawmilk, probably dating to the 4th century B.C., testify that at this later period as well, the local goddess is rendered in a characteristically Egyptian garb, wearing an ankle-length robe, the vulture headdress, holding a scepter, and displaying a solar disk placed between the tall cow horns so characteristic for the Egyptian goddess – even if the king himself is wearing Persian costume.[311] This

CVA Great Britain, the British Museum 2, 9, pl. 10.18a–18b (an *amphoriskos* from Tomb 129 at Amathus).

[300]Sophocleous 1985, 125; Lewe 1975, 79–80; Reyes 1994, 82; Hermary 1998a, 70–71; Hermary 2000, 146. See also above, in Ch. 1.2.

[301]Masson 1961, 353–388. There is virtually no evidence from Naukratis, apart from one small exception (pp. 353–354).

[302]De Salvia 1985, 337–338; De Salvia 1993, 66–67.

[303]Karageorghis 1963, 353, figs. 42, 44, a late sarcophagus found at Ayios Prodromos, Larnaka.

[304]Hölbl 1978, 7–8; Hölbl 1979, 229–239.

[305]S. Sophocleous, advocating the introduction of the cult of the goddess Hathor on 6th century B.C. Cyprus, admits that no epigraphical evidence makes reference to the Egyptian deity: Sophocleous 1985, 125. A late Phoenician inscription from Kition includes the theophoric name "Bodosir" ("servant of Osiris"), a fact which would indicate the possible (late) arrival of Osiride worship via a Phoenician population: Donner & Röllig 1964, 52–53, no. 35.

[306]The single occurrence, a small terracotta figure from Amathus, was noted above in n. 282. It has been suggested that this particular figurine, among others, was imported from Phoenicia: Hermary 1996b, 20.

[307]That is, chances are that these figural types were recurrent in wooden relief work and wooden statuary material carved in the round as well.

[308]For a relief from Sousse, depicting the god in profile seated on a throne flanked by winged sphinxes: Lipinski 1986b, 331, fig. 14 (5th century B.C.).

[309]The scribal equipment of the falcon-headed figures referred to above, the male figure wearing a panther skin, and the depiction of the ibis-headed god Thoth from Golgoi are three such examples, however, which seem to remain unique to the island.

[310]See above, in Ch. 4.4.2, the section on "Byblos".

[311]It has often been noted that the Egyptian equipment and emblems are particularly well-rendered in this divine, female

clearly suggests that the cultic statue of Baalat at this period (still) presented her as Hathor, or Isis-Hathor.[312] The inscription on the stele mentions that a statue of the king himself was placed near a golden statue of the goddess, and above these images a winged disk of gold was placed.[313]

This indirect evidence of a gilded, Phoenician, wooden cult statue in full Egyptian attire invites us to consider for a moment the problem of the relationship between Egyptian Hathor, Phoenician Isis-Hathor/Baalat, and Cypriote "Hathor". Is it possible that there was direct influence from the Egyptian Delta reaching Byblos, most probably already during the Bronze Age, resulting in an Egyptian-type iconography of the local goddess? The answer is yes. It is important to note, however, that the goddess herself was not the Egyptian Hathor, but rather the local deity who (through syncretism) borrowed her attributes. To the Egyptians the "Hathor" revered at Byblos was most probably an altogether different deity than their own cow-headed goddess.[314] Can we believe that there was direct influence from the Egyptian Delta reaching Cyprus during the Saïte period, the period of the first appearance of an Hathoric iconography manufactured in the round on the island? Here, in contrast, the answer could hardly be yes. At Naukratis there are no indications whatsoever of the presence of such an Hathoric iconography, or of any syncretism between Greek Aphrodite and Egyptian Isis-Hathor.[315] As was noted in Ch 5.1.3, the Cypriote Hathoric capitals known to us display instead certain similarities to a Phoenician wood and ivory repertoire, which I believe is traceable also in the male, Egyptianizing figures from the island and in some depictions of winged, Cypriote sphinxes. The presence of certain floral ornaments of Phoenician origin, the characteristic raised, narrow outline around each segment, and the application of "color as pattern" are common to all three find categories – features which, in my view, tie them all to the techniques and the appearance of (Phoenician) woodwork. There are no known examples of Phoenician Hathoric capitals rendered in stone from the Iron Age period.[316] It must not be forgotten, however, that there is a similar complete lack of Phoenician sphinx statues in stone from the same period, despite the fact that we know – through a rich ivory iconography, and through earlier Biblical references to wooden *cherubim* – that such creatures *were* part of the Phoenician sculptural production of the time.[317] In terms of later evidence of a Phoenician Hathoric iconography, there is, indeed, a relief depiction on the back of a large, empty marble throne flanked by sphinxes unearthed at Bostan esh-Sheikh, where a goddess is seated on a similarly flanked throne and where on both sides of this central scene are tall columns crowned by Hathoric capitals.[318] It seems reasonable to identify the seated deity with Phoenician Astarte, a goddess venerated at the site, and in general connected by (late) inscriptional evidence to this particular kind of (empty) throne.[319] Thus, it does not seem completely impossible to hypothesize on the presence of actual Phoenician Hathoric capitals flanking the entrances or the image of the goddess at certain temples in cities like Byblos or Sidon.[320] Should this be true, then we would really need to view the Cypriote Hathoric capitals as reflections of an Egyptian iconography transferred by way of the Levantine coast, and such capitals as carriers of religious ideas which did not primarily include references to the Egyptian cow-headed Hathor, but to Phoenician Baalat Gubal or Astarte instead.[321]

figure: Leclant 1968, 19; Scandone Matthiae 1981, 74; Scandone 1984, 162 n. 130.

312 Scandone Matthiae 1981, 74.

313 The disk is merely referred to as such, carrying no name which would indicate a deliberate connection to the Egyptian Horus the Behdetite, the winged solar disk. For a translation of the Phoenician inscription of the stele: Dunand 1941, 84–85.

314 C. Lilyquist, personal communication, 2000 (regarding the Bronze Age period).

315 Admittedly, by the time of excavation the site had long since been plundered of most large-scale architectural elements in stone. It should be noted that A. Caubet and A. Hermary have suggested that the influence for the creation of the Cypriote limestone Hathoric capitals was transferred by means of portable bronze mirrors or bronze or faience sistra, imported from Egypt (see above n. 43).

316 See above nn. 205–206.

317 In the Hellenistic sphinx thrones and in the free-standing creatures discovered at Umm el-Amed, we have late evidence of a statuary type which most probably can be reflected back in time.

318 Stucky 1993, 107, no. 239, fig. 9, pl. 56.239 (3rd century B.C.?).

319 For the inscriptional evidence from Bostan esh-Sheikh, see above in Ch. 4.4.2, in the section on "Sidon". For the identification of the goddess as Astarte, see the suggestions by: Stucky 1993, 40–41; Hermary 1998a, 71. On the Astarte inscription on a sphinx throne from Khirbet et-Tayibeh (Tyre) (the Louvre, Inv. no. AO 4565): Donner & Röllig 1964, 25–26, no. 17; Delcor 1983, 780–783, pl. 147.2.

320 If there is any Phoenician connection to the Ammonite, Egyptianizing stone material referred to in Ch. 4.1.2 nn. 35–42, then it is interesting to note that the recovered Hathoric capitals from Amman display traces of inlay, a technique more well at home in wood and ivory carving.

321 The Astarte temple at Kition did have two pillars placed outside its entrance (see Ch. 3.2.2, the section on "Kition") and the vulture headdress of several of the Cypriote capitals finds an equivalent in the iconography of the Phoenician stele of Yehawmilk. In addition, the closest parallels for the winged sun disks on the Cypriote capitals are found within Phoenician 8th–7th century B.C. ivory iconography: Parayre 1990, 220; Hermary 1998a, 68. I have suggested the strong correlation between ivory and wood – and this would go for the hypothetical Phoenician Hathoric capitals as well.

When considering the issue of Egyptian religious significance within the general Phoenician (Egyptianizing) material culture, several different views have been expressed through the years. Starting out with the actual centers for cultic activities, that is, the Phoenician temples themselves, it seems clear that at least some of them were directly related to the characteristic Egyptian shrine: the *naos* at Amrit, and the similar, less well-preserved counterparts at nearby Ayn el-Hayyat, are quite close reflections of the Egyptian "holy-of-holies".[322] They constitute the only preserved examples in stone, but it has been noted that the general Phoenician shrine was most probably built of wood.[323] The small-scale *naiskos* holding an image of the god – or the void representing him or her – with winged disk and frieze of rearing *uraei* above the "entrance" is characteristic of the Phoenician material culture (see below). Most probably it is a small-scale model of the actual wood or stone abode of the god or goddess.[324] It was noted in Ch. 4.4, that at virtually all Phoenician sanctuary sites included and discussed in this study, there were door lintels with winged sun disks flanked by *uraei* as part of the architectural decoration.[325] Clearly, this is not to say that the gods worshipped at these sanctuaries were Egyptian, or that the winged sun disk above the entrance to a Phoenician temple was similarly regarded as the protective wings carved above Egyptian temple entrances and doorways – on the contrary, the only known textual evidence gives no indication of any particular religious significance for this characteristic decoration.[326] The minimum conclusion to be drawn from such evidence, from Egyptian-type decoration within the houses of the Phoenician gods, would be that in each of these cases, the local god or goddess was more than content to be associated with an Egyptianizing iconography.

In the Phoenician-style ivories of the 8th and 7th centuries B.C. and in the incised and embossed metal bowls manufactured at approximately the same period of time, we encounter a rich, well-preserved, Egyptian-type iconography. The question of whether there was an awareness of what the Egyptian iconography meant in a religious context has recovered varying answers from the scholars. Some have suggested that there was a large amount of understanding for the Nilotic characters and scenes depicted,[327] arguing that the iconography of the ivories and the metal bowls was the end result of close interconnections between contemporary Tanite Egypt and Phoenicia.[328] Particular emphasis has been put on the ivories brought to light at Samaria, many of which are high-quality products displaying a comparatively large closeness to Egyptian form.[329] Others have denied any such degree of awareness behind the characteristic iconography, but viewed it instead as a collection of empty references, repeated merely for its great decorativeness and fashionability.[330] In an analysis of the iconography of the Nimrud ivories, Egyptologist K.A. Kitchen emphasized the recurrent reinterpretations of standard Egyptian motifs, and the nonsense or misplaced hieroglyphic inscriptions which are regularly encountered within the material, concluding that there was poor understanding on the part of the Phoenician craftsmen of the depicted Egyptian religious scenes.[331] On the other hand, few have advocated that an iconography which is so wide-spread, and which displays such an extended chronological continuity, would be completely devoid of meaning. D. Ciafaloni is surely right when stating that the general limited amount of preserved Phoenician material severely undermines any discussions on the iconology of Phoenician art.[332] It is further true that no religious texts survive to help us reconstruct the belief systems which may have been expressed, so often in foreign disguise.[333] In fact, many have suggested that the religious significance thus conveyed in an Egyptianizing form was most probably that of local Phoenician mythology, religious preferences, and ideas.[334] Like the Baalat Gubal at Byblos, depicted as Egyptian Hathor, the characters decorating the Phoenician ivory plaques – intended to be attached to royal wooden furniture – may well have been depictions of Phoenician divine and semi-divine figures, of local origin and descent. Seen against such a background it becomes less surprising to find a large variation in terms of how

322 See above, in Ch. 4.4.2, the section on "Amrit".

323 Scandone Matthiae 1981, 75–76.

324 See above, Ch. 4.4.2.

325 Abundant evidence is found at Byblos, Kharayeb, and at Umm el-Amed. The indications from Bostan esh-Sheikh are less secure (written information by G. Contenau, who saw architectural fragments displaying wings carved into stone).

326 See above, n. 313.

327 E. Gubel interprets the depictions on a metal bowl from Cyprus as an actual eye-witness account, memorized by a foreign craftsman taking part in the Bastet festival organized at Bubastis, in the Delta: Gubel 2000b, 195. See also Gubel 2000a, 73.

328 Hölbl 1989, 324 n. 35; Gubel 2000b, 197. See also Ciafaloni 1992, 19–30.

329 See, for example, Scandone 1984, 162 n. 132; Ciafaloni 1992, 21, 45.

330 Freyer-Schauenburg 1966, 62–63, 67, 76.

331 Kitchen 1986.

332 Ciafaloni 1995, 536.

333 Clifford 1990, 55–56; Ciafaloni 1992, 59.

334 Barnett 1935, 198–210; Barnett 1957, 56, 61–62, 137; Mallowan 1966, 481–482; Hölbl 1989, 324–325; Hölbl 2000, 132.

close these scenes, and hieroglyphic inscriptions, came to Egyptian counterparts.[335]

The situation, however, may have been one of great complexity and varying with time and medium; one has also to take into account that significance and form are not to be seen as complete and independent entities, one remaining stable, for instance, while the other undergoes change, but that both were always involved when an external influence occurred, giving rise to subtly changed patterns that we have difficulties perceiving.

The Egyptian Osiride cult is good for showing the uncertainties of Egyptian cult in Phoenicia. According to Plutarch, part of the dramatic mythological events involving this god took place at Phoenician Byblos.[336] It has not been possible to corroborate that there were ancient Egyptian antecedents for this setting of the myth in a foreign land, but there is rather a possibility that this particular passage of the Osiride "passion" was created and written in Greek times.[337] However, in the Phoenician epigraphical record there is onomastic evidence indicating that during the 4th century B.C., and even more so in the two following centuries, reverence was paid to Osiris and other Egyptian gods.[338] Indeed, the kilt-wearing **Cat. Ph35**, found right outside the temple of Milkashtart at Umm el-Amed, can be connected to an inscription to that particular god ("au Seigneur Milk'ashtart El-Hammon"), dedicated by a man named "Abdosir".[339] A. Lemaire has suggested that the onomastic evidence for a Phoenician worship of not only Osiris, but also of Amun, Bastet, and Isis can be traced back into the early Iron Age period.[340] The author sees parallels between this postulated worship and the Egyptianizing iconography found in Phoenician minor arts, in the ivories and metal bowls, during this particular period of time. If these pre-Persian onomastic indications are less secure, there is Persian-period evidence from Egypt itself, of the worship of Osiris by Phoenician visitors or settlers. Several grave stelai are known where Egyptian depictions carried out in a non-Egyptian style show the deceased placed in an anthropoid sarcophagus attended by the jackal-headed Anubis, with grave offerings and related processions. These 5th century B.C. objects carry Phoenician inscriptions invoking Osiris as the god of death and rebirth.[341]

It is most interesting that from about the same period of time comes the first available evidence of the use of anthropoid sarcophagi from Phoenicia itself. As noted earlier the Sidonian King Eshmunazar II, as well as both his parents – Queen Amoashtart and King Tabnit – chose to be buried in imported, indeed reused, Egyptian anthropoid sarcophagi of hard stone. The two kings added their own (Phoenician) inscriptions to the covers of their royal coffins, texts which – in a typically Egyptian manner – put the evil eye on anyone daring to disturb their eternal rest.[342] Further in keeping with the Egyptian tradition, King Tabnit was actually mummified.[343] It has been suggested that the Phoenician tradition of placing the deceased in an anthropoid coffin was actually started by these three royal initiatives, and continued in local materials like basalt and terracotta – but soon enough in imported, Greek marble.[344] It is important to note, however, that the deity named by Tabnit in his burial inscription to ensure his peace is Astarte, and not any Egyptian god, and further, that all three royal, Sidonian persons are identified in the coffin texts as priests and priestess of the same Phoenician goddess.[345] In addition, it has been shown that all these Egyptian-type Phoenician burials are without any of the characteristic, Egyptian paraphernalia necessary to ensure a safe journey to, entry into, and existence in the other world, such as *ushabtis*, heart scarabs, texts from the Book of the Dead, and the like.[346]

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335 Some of those advocating a direct interconnection between Egyptian Tanite and Phoenician art view certain reinterpretations as occurring already within the Libyan artistic tradition, where partly erroneously rendered motifs would have been subsequently copied faithfully into the Phoenician ivories and metal bowls: Gubel 2000a, 71–75. See also above, in Ch. 2.2.1 nn. 96–97.

336 Plut. *De Is. et Os.* 15–16.

337 Scandone Matthiae 1981, 76; Brunner 1988, 230 n. 1. The latter author gives a passage from the Egyptian Book of the Dead as a possible early version of this part of the myth (p. 233).

338 Scandone Matthiae 1981, 78 (citing a study by S. Ribichini); Lemaire 1986, 87–89. Note that this was spread to Cyprus as well, as in the Phoenician inscription from Kition where the dedicator is a certain "Bodosir", referred to above in n. 305.

339 See above, Chs. 4.3.1 and 4.4.2, in the section on "Umm el-Amed". It was noted that the reading of the inscription on the back-pillar support of **Cat. Ph33**, from the same site, ("au Seigneur Ousir (?)") is very uncertain, due to an abraded area in the stone.

340 Votive inscriptions including theophoric names like Abdamon and Ahoubasti, dated to the 10th century B.C., onwards, are identified by the author: Lemaire 1986, 91–94.

341 Donner & Röllig 1964, 315–317, no. 267 (from Saqqara), 318–320, no. 269 (of unknown provenance), 325, no. 272 (of unknown provenance). For a depiction of the last-mentioned stele: Stern 1982, 88, fig. 105.

342 For Tabnit's sarcophagus: Hamdy Bey & Reinach 1892, pl. 44. For both: Jidejian 1971, nos. 6–9 (Eshmunazar), nos. 79–85 (Tabnit).

343 Jidejian 1971, nos. 86–87.

344 Elayi 1988b, 121–124; Lembke 2001a, 26–28.

345 Donner & Röllig 1964, 17–19, no. 13 (inscription of Tabnit), and 19–23, no. 14 (of Eshmunazar II).

346 Leclant 1991, 17; Elayi 1995, 23–24; Lembke 2001a, 112–113. Protective faience amulets were found in certain sarcophagi, however: Jidejian 1971, nos. 133–136, 141–143; Lembke 2001a, no. 119. That the same practice is encountered in a late coffin unearthed at Larnaka, Cyprus, was noted above, in n. 303.

And yet: Eshmunazar II chose to be buried *à l'égyptien*, and during his lifetime, a second podium was built at the Eshmun sanctuary at Bostan esh-Sheikh, a podium which held several limestone figures in Egyptianizing attire (**Cat. Ph23–27**). What was the relationship between the iconography of the royal sarcophagi and of the Egyptianizing, male votive figures dedicated in the sanctuaries of the period? Were these male figures somehow connected to Egyptian Osiris?[347] Or to Phoenician Astarte? Without additional evidence, we cannot tell.

Theophoric names including the names of several Egyptan deities are known from Persian and Hellenistic Phoenicia, evidence which has been suggested to indicate an individual, popular – rather than an official Egyptian – cult.[348] However, just like on Cyprus, there is no epigraphical evidence from the Phoenician written records testifying to the official worship of any of the Nilotic deities.[349] Instead, what we do have is a reverence for local Phoenician gods set in Egyptianizing iconographical frames both in terms of their attire and of the decoration of their cult places. The connection between Egyptian Osiris and the young Phoenician dying gods, Eshmun and Adonis, has often been noted.[350] And the Egyptian, divine Osiride triad seems somehow to be reflected in the Phoenician concept of Elder God, Younger God, and Goddess.[351] Thus, the divine Phoenician iconography, so often rendered with Egyptian-type attire, seems, rather, to indicate more or less contemporary and active iconographical loans made in order to convey a fitting form for local concepts.[352] There are even single Egyptianizing motifs which have been identified as being characteristically Phoenician reinterpretations, made in order to fit local needs and demands.[353] More can surely be done within this field of study.

Summing up the evidence for Egyptian cult in Archaic Cyprus and Phoenicia, we note that clear indications are few and scattered, and that in both areas there is a complete lack, in the epigraphical records of the period in question, of any worship – or even mention – of Egyptian deities. Rather, in certain important instances, where evidence has seemed to favor the actual acknowledgement of Egyptian cult and religious practices – regarding Hathor at Byblos, and the measures taken at the death of the Sidonian king Tabnit – it was shown that the goddesses venerated were the local Baalat Gubal and Astarte,[354] respectively, and not any foreign (Egyptian) god or goddess. We cannot altogether rule out the possibility that there was religious or cultic appreciation of Egyptian gods in Phoenicia. It could be stated, however, that the evidence available to us indicates, rather, that the local Phoenician gods were venerated in Egyptian-type garb, and within at least partly Egyptianizing temples and settings. Thus, we have no safe indications that Egyptian religious ideas and cultic practices were transmitted to Cyprus, either directly or indirectly.

5.2.2 Phoenician religion?

The Egyptianizing iconography, including the dress and jewelry ("antiquaria") of the kilt-wearing figures, reached Cyprus by way of the Levantine coast, possibly through painted woodwork. No references to Egyptian deities or cult practices seem to have been transferred together with it. Was this Egyptianizing attire, borrowed on quite a substantial scale, only a temporary disguise for local Cypriote gods and ideas? Or is there a possibility that *Phoenician* deities or cultic practices were transferred together with it, and that the male, kilt-wearing figures could be connected to characters within Phoenician religion and mythology? In the following the aim is to examine just that. It needs to be stressed, of course, that due to

[347] It could be referred, again, to **Cat. Ph35** from Umm el-Amed, (most probably) dedicated by "Abdosir".

[348] Scandone Matthiae 1981, 78 (again citing the study by S. Ribichini).

[349] Scandone Matthiae 1981, 73, 76.

[350] Lemaire 1986, 96. A very late, 6th century A.D., source (Stephanus Byzantius) states that both Cypriotes and Phoenicians borrowed Adonis/Osiris from Egypt: P. Aupert in Hermary 1981, 22.

[351] Barnett 1935, 198–210; Puech 1986, 338 (Baal, Astarte, and Eshmun/Adonis).

[352] G. Scandone made interesting observations regarding the god on the Amrit stele, interpreting the contradiction of a living god wearing the Osiris crown, among other indications, as proof of the fact that this iconography was not recently borrowed, but rather a continuously repeated – and neglected – form: Scandone 1984, 161–163; Acquaro 1995, 185. For similar thoughts on the Tir Dibba relief of a goddess: Scandone Matthiae 1981, 73–74. Cf. Ciafaloni 1992, 46 (opting for contemporary, Tanite influence).

[353] The motif of a sphinx trampling an enemy is curiously popular in Phoenicia, when considering that the message of the depiction was originally that of Pharaoh smiting foreign (Phoenician, as well!) enemies. D. Ciafaloni has noted that the trampled figure in the Phoenician version is wearing an Egyptian kilt and *nemes*, and not the original, non-Egyptian garb, turning the motif into one characteristically Phoenician, probably with a particular propagandistic content: Ciafaloni 1992, 34, 39, 124–125. Cf. Freyer-Schauenburg 1966, 63, who takes this very motif as an indication of the complete lack of Phoenician understanding of Egyptian content.

[354] Note should be made of the fact that this may well symbolize the same goddess. "Baalat Gubal" literally means "Mistress of Byblos", and the relationship between this and any other form of the supreme Phoenician goddess remains unknown.

the lack of written sources from the areas under discussion, the hopes of revealing anything new about actual Cypriote and Phoenician religious ideas remain meagre. What will be attempted, however, is to briefly consider evidence for Phoenician cult on Cyprus; to make a comparison between the Phoenician and Cypriote sanctuaries, including the appearance and placing of the Egyptianizing figures found there; and, within both these areas, to focus on certain iconographical features which are repeated in different raw materials, features and motifs which thus stand a better chance of being characteristic, and religiously important, for each particular cultural sphere.

The Cypriote evidence

Commencing with some early evidence, we turn again to the late 8th century B.C. material unearthed in the "royal tombs" at Salamis. The ivories attached to the high-quality wooden furniture deposited in Tomb 79 were clearly of Phoenician manufacture, and imported from there, identifying the source of inspiration and/or import of much of the other objects found in these graves.[355] Here we will merely note the presence, on one of the chariots from this particular tomb, of two identical, small-scale, male, bronze figures carrying swords, attached to the sides of the large wheels. Both figures wear helmets with frontal "rosettes", a short-sleeved garment with a scale pattern (inlaid with blue paste) and a lower border of tassels, and a short tunic decorated with scales and a border of lilies and buds linked with curving loops. They carry swords in sheaths, attached to bands placed diagonally across the chest.[356] There is a close resemblance to a group of large-scale terracotta figures which have been dated about a century later, unearthed at Toumba (Salamis) and at northern Kazafani, on Cyprus.[357] These fragmentary but colorfully painted terracotta "cuirasses" in fact appear as large-scale copies of the Salamis bronze figurines with their short-sleeved garments with scale patterns, alternatively colored (black and red) lower tasseled borders, and their (empty) sword sheaths held by double bands placed underneath the left arm.[358] The upper garments of the terracotta figures are further decorated by figural scenes, and it is interesting to note that these include – beside sphinxes flanking "sacred trees" – kilt-wearing, male figures with sword and sword sheaths fighting lions, as if offering miniature depictions of the large-scale figures they actually decorated.[359]

Bridging the chronological gap between the Salamis bronze warriors and the large-scale terracotta figures are the 8th and 7th century B.C. metal bowls with *repoussé* decoration which are characterized by their Egyptianizing iconography. The age-old, Oriental lion-slayer motif is similarly part of this rich repertoire of male, kilt-wearing figures.[360] Is it possible to view our limestone figures **Cat. 30** and **Cat. 35**, from Golgoi, against this background? Both are kilt-wearing figures wearing the attire described above, including helmets (with rosette),[361] double band placed across the chest or over one shoulder, to which a sword (sheath) is attached (*Pls. 7.4 & 9.2*). A third Egyptianizing figure from the same site, **Cat. 32**, of which only a very fragmentary part is preserved, shows that a kilt-wearing figure had such a scene on the front of its belt (*Pl. 8.3*).[362] The motif may be ageold but the fact that it is encountered in several different materials within the Archaic Cypriote material culture increases the possibilities that it was indeed laden with specific meaning. Would this indicate that at least some of the Egyptianizing, male, limestone votive figures were depictions of mythological characters of Phoenician origin, or similarly well-known stereotypes?

Continuing with the general indications of Phoenician religion on Cyprus, it can be noted that

355 See above, Ch. 1.1.1.

356 Karageorghis 1973b, 19, no. 129, 24, no. 188, 80–81 (with reconstruction drawing of Chariot B on p. 69, fig. 10); Karageorghis 1974, pls. 101–102, 103–105, 257. See also pl. G.1–2 (color photos).

357 See above, in Ch. 1.1.1 n. 14.

358 Large borders of lilies and buds linked with curving loops are also found: Karageorghis 1978c, pls. 45.52, 47.12.

359 Munro & Tubbs 1891, pl. 10 (Salamis); Karageorghis 1978c, pl. 47.207 (Kazafani). The last-mentioned, stamped scene depicts a male figure with short-sleeved garment and a pleated, knee-length kilt, a belt which is possibly decorated, and hanging from it two thin, parallel, vertical bands – possibly echoing the cobras of the Egyptian-type kilt. For a better depiction: Markoe 1988b, pl. 1.1.

360 For a late example in ivory, see a decorated ivory hilt of a dagger (?) from Idalion (Ch. 1.1.1 n. 11): Karageorghis 1964a, 359–362, fig. 95; Karageorghis 1964b, 71, 75, fig. 26.38. Depicted is a man wearing a double crown with frontal *uraeus*, a broad collar, belt, and kilt, who is holding the paw of a rampant lion with one hand while pushing a sword into its body with the other. Are there, indeed, traces of an inlaid border along the oblique lower edge of the kilt of the figure? If this is the case, then this small-scale relief seems to repeat the inlaid pattern found along the lower kilt-border of **Cat. 6**, also from Idalion. It should be noted, however, that no such indications have been given in the drawing of the object presented in: Karageorghis 1964b, 74, fig. 26.

361 Just like the much earlier Salamis bronze figurines, **Cat. 30** has a "helmet" decorated by a central rosette. This is similarly found on closely related **Cat. 20** from the same site, who is not wearing any additional warrior or hunter equipment – apart from that similar hybrid between the Egyptian double crown and the Cypriote (decorated) helmet.

362 The tiny figure who – just like his "cuirass" counterparts – grabs one of the paws of the lion while pushing a dagger into its body has repeatedly been identified as Herakles killing the Nemean lion. See Ch. 2.2.2.

there are, in fact, several such pieces of evidence, of different character.[363] Most important is the epigraphical record which includes Phoenician inscriptions found on the island, datable from the 9th century B.C. onwards, and quite often including the names of Phoenician deities. Two of the earliest inscriptions, one from Limassol and one of unknown provenance, name "Baal" and "Baal-Lebanon", respectively.[364] Further, the votive text painted on a Red Slip bowl, unearthed in the earliest (ca. 850 B.C.) level of "Temple 1" at Kathari, Kition – a sanctuary identified by this inscription to be dedicated to a Phoenician goddess – is well known. In the inscription, a man thanks Astarte for hearing his prayer.[365] A 7th century B.C. statue base and a Bes-like head, both of limestone, were found at Palaeokastro in the vicinity of Pyla, northeast of Kition. According to the inscription the statue is dedicated by a sculptor, Eshmunhilleç, to the god Reshef Shed. A. Hermary has shown that the inscribed base and the demonic head belong together, and that this is the only known instance where a foreign divinity (Phoenician Reshef Shed, in the guise of the Egyptian Bes) is associated with an inscription giving his name.[366] The inscription, which gives us both the name of a Semitic deity and a theophoric name including "Eshmun", clearly indicates that a Phoenician sculptor could venerate his own god within a Cypriote sanctuary. It is interesting to contrast this Archaic evidence with the richer source of late inscriptions which have come down to us. Of particular importance are two slabs displaying bilingual votive texts, written in both Phoenician and Greek,[367] one uncovered at the Apollo sanctuary at Idalion ("Lang's sanctuary"), the other at the temple dedicated to this same god at Tamassos (Phrangissa). The texts have been dated to 389 and 363 B.C., respectively, but their content may possibly go back a long way in time. From the Idalion inscription it is clear that the *interpretatio graeca* of Phoenician Reshef Mikal is Apollo Amyklaios, and similarly, at nearby Tamassos, Phoenician Reshef Eleios ("Reshef from Cyprus"/"Cypriote Reshef") was equated with Apollo Helos.[368] Additional late (mainly 4th century B.C.) evidence of dedications made in the Phoenician script to Phoenician gods come from Kition, Idalion, and Tamassos, confirming – not surprisingly – that under the Phoenician "King of Kition and Idalion", reverence was paid to Phoenician gods.[369] Thus, on this ground alone, it can be ascertained that Phoenician gods and goddesses were worshipped – at least by Phoenicians – within Cypriote sanctuaries.

A highly interesting, but undated, Phoenician inscription from near Palaepaphos includes the words "STRT PP", "Astarte of/from Paphos".[370] The inscription seems to indicate a syncretism between the Phoenician supreme goddess and the Great Goddess revered at Old Paphos. In this light it is worth turning to two late inscriptions written in the Cypriote syllabary, found in Phoenicia. A first inscription indicates that a man from Paphos dedicated a votive gift "to the goddess" at Bostan esh-Sheikh, a sanctuary held to be dedicated to Eshmun and Astarte, respectively.[371] A second text confirms that a Cypriote residing in or visiting coastal Sarepta vowed a gift to Asklepios, possibly to be associated with Phoenician Eshmun.[372]

The single inscription found with a definite connection to the Cypriote Egyptianizing figures is the Cypro-syllabic one placed on the lower left arm of **Cat. 24**, from Golgoi. It reads "Tamigorau", thus "[I am] of Tamigoras", obviously a misspelling of the Greek name Timagoras.[373] It has been suggested that this altered spelling of a Greek name could be taken to indicate that it was a foreigner, perhaps a Phoenician, who dedicated the statue at Golgoi.[374] It is only to be regretted that this is the single piece of evidence of its kind.

Additional evidence is offered by the so-called Temple 1 at Kathari, Kition. Clearly founded by the 9th century B.C. Phoenician settlement at Kition, the temple to Astarte indeed stands out within the sanctuaries of the island. As noted above the identity of the goddess worshipped there is confirmed by very early evidence, but additional late inscriptions are not missing.[375] The architectural outline of the earliest temple was characteristically Phoenician, with a

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[363] Sophocleous 1985, 146–154.

[364] Donner & Röllig 1964, 48–50, nos. 30–31. The inscriptions are dated to the 9th and 8th centuries B.C. and are encountered on a sandstone block and a bronze bowl, respectively.

[365] Karageorghis 1976b, 106, pl. 83; Guzzo Amadasi & Karageorghis 1977, 149–160, fig. 23 (D 21).

[366] Hermary 1984; Hermary 1986a, 405–406. See above, Ch. 5.2.1.

[367] On the Idalion slab, the Greek text is written in the Cypriote syllabary. The text was thus very important for the decipherment of the Cypriote script (see above, Ch. 3.2.2).

[368] Donner & Röllig 1964, 56–58, nos. 39, 41. The authors note that "Amyklaios", seemingly referring to the site in Laconia, is perhaps rather merely a Greek version of the epithet of the Phoenician god (p. 56, no. 38). The same would be true for Eleios versus Helos (p. 58).

[369] The onomastic evidence from this later period is very rich as well.

[370] Masson & Sznycer 1972, 81–84. See Ch. 3.2.3 n. 292.

[371] Masson 1982, 47–49, pl. 7.2.

[372] Masson 1982, 45–46, pl. 7.1.

[373] See above, in Ch. 2.1.

[374] Markoe 1990a, 120 n. 56.

[375] Donner & Röllig 1964, 54–55, no. 37, a marble slab of the 4th to 3rd centuries B.C. Part of the long, administrative inscription reads, in German translation: "Den Bauleuten, die den Tempel der Astart von Kition bauten...".

raised "holy-of-holies" with two flanking, free-standing pillars in front of it.[376] There are no bilingual inscriptions which can convey how Phoenician Astarte was identified on the island, but a syncretism with the local Great Goddess, or Kypria – in Greek Aphrodite – seems reasonable. At this point it is difficult, if not impossible, to determine to what extent the Cypriote worshippers viewed the goddess venerated at Kition as a foreigner (Astarte), or as their own local Great Goddess. This reasoning can of course be extended to the Hathoric capitals which have come to light at Kition *Bamboula*, the second city sanctuary known to us. Could it be, as was suggested above, that the Hathoric iconography in these capitals – possibly completely assimilated with Byblite Baalat Gubal ("Mistress of Byblos") – would indicate that the main Phoenician goddess was similarly assimilated with the local Great Goddess of Cyprus? That the Cypriote goddess was assimilated with Egyptian Hathor at Kition and Amathus has long been advocated by, among others, A. Hermary.[377] In my opinion, however, indications of such a direct Egyptian connection are hard to find.

Votive material carved in the round which indicates the presence or worship of Phoenician deities on Cyprus include two very fragmentary, empty (?) stone thrones flanked by sphinxes, excavated on the Viklaes hill east of Amathus.[378] The empty throne is a characteristic of Phoenician Astarte. In the Cypriote examples, the guardian sphinxes flanking the goddess wear well-shaped, striped *nemes* headcloths. The Viklaes throne fragments have been dated to the 5th century B.C., however.[379] Earlier material displaying a female figure seated on a sphinx throne is known from the island.[380] A limestone example of unknown provenance and two terracotta objects from Ayia Irini show a female figure clad in an ankle-length robe, flanked by two winged sphinxes.[381] The limestone figure has one hand resting on each of the sphinxes' heads, a characteristic also found in depictions of the male, ram-headed god on Cyprus referred to above, identified as "Baal Hammon". This male god, encountered on a throne flanked by rams, can be connected to the iconography of the throning goddess, but the relationship between the two images – and their relation to local gods on Cyprus – is far from known.[382]

There is thus a certain amount of epigraphical and iconographical material on Cyprus which does indicate that Phoenician deities were known and revered on the island. It is quite impossible to know, however, the nature of the cultic activities performed there, and further, who performed them and dedicated (and read) the inscriptions: Phoenicians residing on or visiting the island or the local Cypriote population, worshipping gods like Baal, Astarte, and Reshef. We do not know how these gods and goddesses were viewed by the Cypriote dedicators – but later inscriptional evidence referred to above does point towards the assimilation with local, and Greek, deities. Could the Egyptianizing limestone figures have reached the island as attendants of any of these Phoenician gods? That is, is it possible that the hypothetical, kilt-wearing wooden statuary serving as inspiration for the Cypriote limestone figures was associated with divinities originating on the Levantine coast, deities which preferred an Egyptianizing appearance? To be able to try to answer this question, we need to compare the Cypriote and Phoenician sanctuaries which held the male Egyptianizing sculptural type.

Comparing Cypriote and Phoenician sanctuaries

Relating the Phoenician and Cypriote sanctuaries which once had male, Egyptianizing stone figures is quite difficult due to the limited architectural evidence we have from most of the concerned sites. In the Phoenician case it is fortunate that two sanctuaries, at Amrit and at Umm el-Amed, were carved into the local rock and built of stone, respectively. We are forced to turn to these two examples when trying to reconstruct the appearance and outline of the Phoenician sanctuary, so often built of perishable materials.

Thus, at well-preserved Umm el-Amed, several features are encountered which appear to be characteristic for the Phoenician sanctuary. The gates and entrances to the two sacred precincts, and to different areas within them, seem to have been stepped or recessed. Above them, on the door lintels, winged sun disks with flanking *uraei* were carved. The characteristic arrangement of two similar creatures placed on either side of a central, important feature is repeated on several levels. Outside the main entrance of the eastern temple complex, two

376 See above, in Ch. 3.2.2.

377 Hermary 1986a, 408; Hermary 2000, 146, combining the appearance on Cyprus around 550 B.C. of the biface limestone capitals with increased Egyptian influence over Cyprus. The models used would have been small-scale (bronze) mirrors: see above nn. 43 and 315.

378 Hermary 1981, 59–61, nos. 62–67, pl. 12. See above, in Ch. 3.2.3 n. 236.

379 Hermary 1981, 61.

380 Sophocleous 1985, 108–110.

381 Seipel 1999, 42, 194–195, no. 93 (limestone throne); Gjerstad *et al.* 1935, 731, no. 1563 + 2026, pl. 233.10–11; Karageorghis *et al.* 1977, 39, pl. 23.3 (terracotta thrones).

382 Sophocleous 1985, 11–12, 69, gives the customary identification of "Astarte" and "Baal Hammon", noting that the iconography of Phoenician (?) Baal-Hammon "contaminated" that of the Great God of Cyprus.

crouching stone sphinxes were placed, and two more flanked the stairways up to the cella of the second, western temple.[383] Right outside the main entrance to this second temple, the kilt-wearing **Cat. Ph35** seems to have been flanking the gateway together with an identical figure. It is probable that **Cat. Ph33** and **Cat. Ph34** were similarly placed by another entrance within, or just outside, one of the two temple complexes. On the door lintel above the main entrance of the eastern temple, which was guarded by sphinxes, two small, male figures were carved on either side of the large, winged sun disk. They each wear a pointed, helmet-like headgear which has a slightly curving band hanging down from the top, and hold a short, curved staff in their raised right (arms and) hands.[384] From both Kharayeb and Byblos come the finds of door lintels with winged sun disks with flanking *uraei*, and entrances similarly (possibly) flanked by large, identical, kilt-wearing, stone figures (**Cat. Ph20** and **Cat. Ph21**, and **Cat. Ph29** and **Cat. Ph30**, respectively).[385] The fact that Byblos displays these finds as well is satisfying, since the constructions at both Umm el-Amed and Kharayeb are admittedly of post-Archaic date. It can be argued, however, that the strong continuity concerning both Phoenician Iron Age iconography *and* architecture seems to permit that later sanctuary areas are used in order to reconstruct earlier ones.[386]

Apart from the full-scale architectural evidence, there is some connected with small-scale *naiskoi*. Made of terracotta and stone, these objects are characteristic representatives of the Phoenician votive repertoire. They have been dated to the Archaic period with several examples going down into Persian and Hellenistic times.[387] The preserved *naiskoi* display a rectangular recess which is either empty, displays a frontally rendered, empty sphinx throne, or, indeed, contains the image of what is most probably the god or goddess.[388] Above the "entrance" to the small "temple cella" there is virtually always a winged sun disk flanked by *uraei*, and above that a frieze of several frontal, rearing cobras. It is interesting to note that in several cases, there are flanking figures carved in relief on each outer side of these stone temple models. The examples displaying such flanking figures were all found at Sidon. On each side of one stone *naiskos*, an Egyptian-type, winged female figure is standing on a small platform, with wings protectively outstretched.[389] On two other examples we encounter male figures with pointed helmets, very similar to the ones found on the lintel at Umm el-Amed. The male figures of the Sidonian *naiskoi* share the pointed, helmet-like headgear with the slightly curving band hanging down, and the curved staff held in the raised, right (arm and) hand. In the other hand they hold a small, globular vase. The Sidonian figures wear kilts, possibly with a longer, open kilt on top, and a broad collar.[390] All these figures are arranged in pairs, one on each side of the *naiskos* facing its front, as if they were protecting the deity residing within.

Earlier in this section the large, central *naos* at Amrit, standing on a raised platform surrounded by water, and the similar niches at nearby Ayn el-Hayyat, were referred to.[391] A frieze of rearing *uraei* and a winged sun disk flanked by cobras were part of the decoration of the latter niches,[392] and although no such indications are preserved from the Amrit *Maabed*, there is a great possibility that it, too, shared in this common, sacred iconography. There are strong similarities between what we encounter in the fragmentary, large-scale sanctuary remains and what is depicted in the small-scale models. In fact, the limestone and terracotta temple models seem to validate the indications we have from the real temple remains, in terms of temple decoration and of the presence of identical figures flanking the deity. It could be proposed that these small-scale models are (simplified) depictions of actual ancient temples[393] – and thus, that what we encounter in the small-scale models was most probably what existed in reality. It

383 See above, in Ch. 4.4.2.

384 As noted above, one of the small figures is more abraded than the other, and it is possible that it is holding a tall staff instead. Should this be the case, then the two relief figures are closely paralleled by two large-scale figures decorating an orthostat found in the second, western temple: these figures share the helmet-like headgear with slightly curving band, they wear broad, decorated collars, and perhaps a short, curved and a straight, tall staff, respectively: compare Dunand & Duru 1962, pls. 27, 64.

385 In addition, it has been noted several times before that the inscription on King Yehawmilk's 4th century B.C. (?) stele refers to such a winged disk of gold placed in the middle of the stone above the (gilded) statues of king and goddess. Note that the colossal **Cat. Ph28**, from Sarepta, could possibly constitute one of an additional flanking pair of statues.

386 Stern 1977, 18–19, 22–23, on the continuity of Phoenician architectural characteristics such as the "three steps" crenellation stone, the Proto-aeolic capitals, the recessed openings, and the ornamented window balustrades, in existence from 10th century B.C. Judah to Hellenistic Umm el-Amed.

387 Wagner 1980, 116. Early datings of certain objects are advocated in, for example: Gubel 2000b, 192–193; decidedly later ones in Dunand 1926, 127.

388 Bisi 1971, 18–21.

389 Bisi 1971, 20, figs. 1.b, 7; Wagner 1980, 53, no. 52, pls. 36–37.1.

390 Dunand 1926, 126–127, pl. 33.2a–2b; Bisi 1971, figs. 1.c, 6; Naster 1957, figs. 6–8. For a similar *naiskos* from Sidon, made of terracotta: Contenau 1920, 309, fig. 104.

391 See above n. 322, and in Ch. 4.4.2.

392 Renan 1864, 68–70, pl. 9.

393 Scandone Matthiae 1981, 77; Culican 1986, 568; Ciafaloni 1995, 548. A clear Bronze Age example of the correspondence between terracotta model and monumental temple is offered at Kamid el-Loz: Hachmann 1978, figs. 21, 23, 28–29, 31.

seems possible to suggest that a whole repertoire of sacred, Phoenician architecture, mostly lost to us, has been found in these limestone and terracotta *naiskoi*. It could further be stated that the small-scale temple models confirm that gods and goddesses residing in the temples preferred an Egyptianizing iconography.[394] It is further clear that the god or goddess was often depicted flanked by two identical beings, either sphinxes or human (or semi-divine) figures.[395] The arrangement of a divinity flanked by two male, kilt-wearing figures holding a scepter and a small vase is further confirmed through several different pieces of evidence from the Phoenician area, not least stone relief work. Late evidence is offered by a rock relief found at Wadi Ashur, situated only a few kilometers from Umm el-Amed,[396] and a similar scene is encountered on a stele excavated at Egyptian Memphis, a relief which is probably of Phoenician manufacture.[397] Common to these depictions are the two flanking men with ram-headed scepter and vase or small *oinochoe*. These enigmatic figures display an astonishing continuity within Phoenician, even Canaanite, art: found on a Late Bronze Age stele from Ugarit, they are seen on the ivories from both Arslan Tash (of North Syrian style) and Nimrud (of Phoenician style).[398] As noted above, they continue to be depicted flanking deities or divine symbols well into the Hellenistic period.[399] On Sidonian coins of the 4th century B.C. onwards, they are found walking behind the chariot of the Sidonian, or perhaps the Persian, king.[400] Recent studies have treated the identity of these flanking "attendants".[401] The fact that an iconographical motif is encountered for such an extended period of time, and in so many different categories of material (stone niches, bronze coins, ivory furniture decoration, etc.) seems proof enough to suggest that the two characteristic "attendants" had a specific significance based on a specific religious identity.[402]

Thus, in Phoenician iconography the two male, kilt-wearing figures flanking a deity is a recurrent motif. Could it be that any of the flanking, Egyptianizing figures known to us from Umm el-Amed, Kharayeb, and Byblos (**Cat. Ph33–35**, **Cat. Ph20** and **Cat. Ph21**, and **Cat. Ph29** and **Cat. Ph30**) could have been large-scale versions in the round of this male, flanking pair placed on either side of temple entrances, similar to the relief figures on the Sidonian *naiskoi* referred to above? A characteristic for the Phoenician Egyptianizing figures is the way several of them raise the right forearm. There is not one single hand preserved to confirm this, but would it be possible to envisage ram-headed scepters held in at least some of them? Even aside from the answer to this last question, it seems possible to suggest that Phoenician kilt-wearing figures commonly flanked deities within the Phoenician sanctuaries.

Turning to the evidence from the Cypriote sanctuaries it can be noted at once that unfortunately, there are no well-preserved stone structures which can enlighten us regarding the appearance of the general Cypriote sanctuary area. The rectangular structure at Golgoi with 14 inner columns or pillars is the closest we come to such an outline among the sanctuaries with finds of the Egyptianizing votive type. Although we are left with very fragmentary indications, the following evidence should not be disregarded – most probably it does represent bits and pieces of a reality which was constructed mostly out of perishable

394 There are examples displaying vertical friezes of Phoenician cup palmettes, and horizontal, hanging lotus flowers and buds (see above nn. 387–388). Note that this exact decoration is seen on the upper garment and kilt of **Cat. 12**, from Idalion (*Pl. 3.1*). This is yet another iconographical correspondence between Phoenician material culture and the Cypriote Egyptianizing limestone figures.

395 The deity and the flanking figures or creatures are sometimes depicted in profile, but more often frontally: Moscati 1968, pl. 1, a profile example from Djamdjine (Tyre). In two of the Sidonian *naiskoi* the thrones have small cavities, as if intended to hold an image (anthropomorph, or *betyl*?) of the deity carried out in a different material: Nunn 2000, 16 (in connection to the two very similar examples, pl. 2.7–8).

396 The Wadi Ashur relief is a profile depiction of a seated (female?) deity and attendants, set within a characteristically stepped opening in the rock. The identical attendants are each wearing a pointed helmet with band hanging from the top, knee-length kilt, and holding a curved staff in the raised, right (arm and) hand: Ronzevalle 1944–1946; Dunand & Duru 1962, 178–180, pl. 75.1–2. Depth of the niche: 0.85 m, H. 1.30 m, W. 1.65 m.

397 In this depiction, a goddess with Hathoric cow horns is seated on a sphinx throne. She is flanked by two male figures wearing what looks like Persian dress, of which one is clearly raising a ram-headed scepter towards the goddess while holding a small vase in the other hand. Aimé-Giron 1925, pl. 1; Dunand & Duru 1962, 170, fig. 70, pl. 76. The scene is flanked by columns ending in Hathoric capitals, above which is placed an architrave featuring hanging lotus flowers and buds, a winged sun disk with flanking *uraei*, and a frieze of rearing cobras – much like in the Sidonian *naiskoi* described above. See also a (much abraded) rock relief cut at Mashnaka, Lebanon, where one seated female and one standing male deity, placed within similar architectural settings, are each flanked by figures: Renan 1864, pls. 33–34; Ronzevalle 1944–1946, 89.

398 Naster 1957, figs. 4–5; Thureau-Dangin *et al.* 1931, pl. 32.39; Mallowan 1966, figs. 412, 481 (see also a *wedjet* eye with raised arm and ram-headed scepter, fig. 460); Herrmann 1986, pls. 76–77.337–342, 244–245.940–941.

399 Naster 1957, fig. 11; Will 1986, fig. 4.

400 Ronzevalle 1944–1946, 88–89; Naster 1957.

401 Gubel 2001; Cecchini forthcoming.

402 See, in addition to the two references of the previous note: Winter 1976b, 51; Ciafaloni 1995, 538; Gubel 2000b, 200.

materials.[403] To begin with, there are no preserved remains of recessed gates or entrances within sacred areas. We know of 7th century B.C. tombs cut into the rock, at both Tamassos and Amathus, which display this kind of characteristic entrance, indicating that the feature was not unknown on the island.[404] But no sanctuary evidence is preserved. The same could be said about door lintels decorated with winged sun disks. There is, however, one large-scale, unpublished example uncovered during excavations in the lower city of Amathus, on the so-called agora, which displays part of a rounded, horizontal molding, and beneath it the upper part of a large sun disk with feathered wings attached.[405] It was noted above, in the Phoenician section, that there is evidence indicating that some of the Phoenician Egyptianizing figures were placed in almost identical pairs, often in connection with a sacred gateway. Indications of such arrangements are entirely absent on Cyprus. At "Lang's sanctuary" at Idalion, the innermost part of the area – interpreted by the excavator as the oldest part of the sanctuary – was raised, and a few flights of stairs led up to this podium.[406] There was a statue base on each side of this small stairway, and thus, it is possible that two identical, large-scale statues flanked the entrance to the "holy-of-holies". In addition, the Egyptianizing figures found within the sanctuary area were all, seemingly, found in connection with this "earlier" part, and on top of the podium. This is, however, as far as the evidence takes us. At no find site on Cyprus have identical Egyptianizing figures been discovered,[407] finds which could have flanked an entrance: the group of figures is marked, rather, by its heterogeneity.[408] The clear exception is Palaepaphos, a site which has yielded remains of at least six virtually identical Egyptianzing limestone figures.[409] Of course, this does by no means prove or even indicate that these figures were placed in pairs flanking a central important feature. It must be remembered that in the Phoenician section, above, the actual flanking, large-scale, male stone figures were mirrored, and therefore validated, by relief carvings on both door lintels and small-scale temple models. Correspondingly, the complete lack of any such depictions in the overall Cypriote Archaic material dramatically decreases the chances of flanking (kilt-wearing) figures being part of the actual Cypriote sanctuary reality. There is a certain amount of evidence for the arrangement of flanking, Cypriote sphinxes. Again, however, the evidence comes not from a sanctuary, but rather a funerary, sphere.[410]

Turning to the small-scale niches or *naiskoi* uncovered on the island, there is additional evidence to be found, however. No male, flanking figures are encountered, but instead, we find flanking pillars, sometimes crowned with palm capitals.[411] It is interesting to note that the finds of actual large-scale votive columns with palm capitals come from both Kition and Palaepaphos, again linking the appearance of small-scale temple models to reality.[412] At the Phoenician temple at Kition, excavation has confirmed that there were two free-standing pillars flanking the entrance to the raised "holy-of-holies".[413] The number of preserved Cypriote *naiskoi* or temple models is increased by the presence of *naiskos*-like niches found crowning the limestone Hathoric capitals. On the evidence of these niches, pillars crowned by Hathoric capitals could have flanked the sacred entrances as well.[414] And if the Hathoric *naiskoi* are, indeed, small-scale models of Cypriote temple façades, then we can further assume that the stepped cella entrance, the crowning winged disk with *uraei*, and the frieze of rearing cobras belonged to the recurrent elements of actual sanctuaries.[415]

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[403] As merely one example, take the sanctuary at Chomazoudia (Tamassos), where the excavators have analyzed the wooden remains from different periods, establishing that the north stoa was built entirely of oak: Buchholz 1988, 97–98, fig. 2. See above, in Ch. 5.1.3 nn. 261–262.

[404] See above, in Ch. 5.1.3.

[405] The large fragment, kept today in the Limassol District Museum, was excavated by M. Loulloupis whom I thank for permitting me to refer to the piece here. This item will be included in a future publication by the excavator. Note that the find spot of the Archaic (?) temple (?) door lintel is the same as that of **Cat. 48**, a torso with broad, decorated collar.

[406] See above, in Ch. 3.2.2.

[407] **Cat. 18** and **Cat. 19**, from the site "Ellines" at Potamia, are very similar regarding the general decoration of the broad collar, if not identical in size. But of two such fragmentary figures, no more can be said.

[408] Compare with the several similarities we have between pair sculpture in Phoenicia.

[409] The Palaepaphos material is, admittedly, very fragmentary.

[410] Well-preserved examples are the two virtually identical limestone sphinxes which clearly flanked the entrance to a tomb at Tamassos. See above, in Ch. 5.1.3. Most other grave statuary (guardians), sphinxes and lions, are mostly placed together, two by two, on top of stelai. However, perhaps this double occurrence could indicate a flanking function if not such an actual arrangement?

[411] Caubet 1979, 94, pl. 8.1–3, a temple model from Idalion. There is neither the possibility nor the intention to present here an exhaustive account of the terracotta and limestone *naiskoi* which have been unearthed on the island. I take the liberty of merely referring to examples which could have some bearing on the current discussion.

[412] See above, in Ch. 3.2.2 n. 202.

[413] Karageorghis 1976b, 119–120, 140, pl. 105.

[414] See, again, the well-known Kition capital: Caubet & Yon 1994, pl. 27.b. Add to this the similar depiction on a limestone niche displayed in the Museum of Salamis-Ayios Varnavas, where two pillars crowned by Hathoric capitals are flanking a recess with a seated figure inside: Hermary 1998a, 71; Hermary 2000, 145. See above n. 297.

[415] Hermary 1985, figs. 1, 8, 10–11, 15.

There are various additional examples of terracotta and stone *naiskoi* from the island,[416] particularly at Palaepaphos where a very large and quite unique number of different votive limestone stelai have been unearthed, including examples displaying stepped entrances – with a human figure standing inside – and horizontal friezes of *uraei*.[417]

Now, few have doubted that the Idalion *naiskos* with flanking pillars crowned by palm capitals, referred to above, is of Cypriote manufacture.[418] But what about the *naiskoi* crowning the Hathoric heads? Is it really feasible to view them as small-scale models of Cypriote temple façades? If we accept that the Cypriote limestone capitals were "blown up" motifs borrowed from imported Egyptian bronze mirrors or bronze or faience sistra, then there is really little chance of doing so: the *naiskos* crowning the head of Egyptian Hathor is an iconographic convention reaching far back in time. If, however, it would be possible to compare the Cypriote Hathoric limestone capitals to similar (hypothetical) Phoenician ones manufactured from perishable materials, then the stepped entrances, the winged sun disks, and the friezes of rearing *uraei* would be rather at home within the general Phoenician tradition of votive niches.[419] The effect would be, however, that what we see are, rather, depictions of *Phoenician* temple façades, and not Cypriote ones.[420] The votive stelai excavated at Palaepaphos are truly unique to the island, and it has often been noted that some kind of Phoenician impact must lie behind their introduction into the votive repertoire of this Cypriote sanctuary. Could it thus be that most of the small-scale, Cypriote temple models were imported from Phoenicia, and have nothing to do with Cypriote reality? Keeping in mind the few large-scale finds from the island – the occasional stepped (grave) entrance and the occasional, monumental stone lintel with winged sun disk – it seems difficult to argue that these small-scale models would be merely imitations of Phoenician counterparts, totally void of significance or relation to the Cypriote sanctuary reality. It is, rather, possible to suggest that they testify to the actual appearance of certain Cypriote sacred buildings.

5.2.3 The Egyptianizing votive figure on Cyprus

The Egyptianizing iconography was imported to Cyprus on a larger scale during the 7th century B.C. And after what has been suggested above, the male, kilt-wearing, limestone figures were only one part of a vast repertoire of material categories, most – if not all – introduced to the island by way of painted, Phoenician woodwork.[421] It is in the light of this background that the male figures under study are best understood (see above, in Ch. 1.1.1).

Despite the dearth of preserved evidence from both areas, it can perhaps be postulated that this large group of iconographically interrelated ("Egyptianizing") objects was connected to Phoenician religion. We encounter Phoenician deities on Cyprus in the contemporary epigraphical record, in certain iconographical types – such as the seated deity flanked by two similar beings – and through decorative elements (such as winged sun disks, and *uraeus* friezes) which were characteristic for their temples in the Phoenician homeland. These Phoenician deities are depicted in Egyptian form: Reshef Shed is assimilated with the Egyptian Bes, and possibly, Baalat Gubal/Astarte is merged with the Egyptian Hathor. And again, on Cyprus, even if they maintained their established iconography, these deities were no doubt assimilated in turn with local Cypriote gods and goddesses, as seen in late (4th century B.C.) epigraphical evidence. Thus, "Astarte of/from Paphos", at Palaepaphos, was surely someone very different from Astarte of Phoenicia – perhaps a parallel to the marked difference between the Phoenician "Hathor Mistress of Byblos", and Egyptian Hathor. She was a local, Cypriote goddess in Phoenician (Egyptianizing) garb. The important and interesting question of whether actual cultic practices were imported along with these deities is difficult to answer at best, and falls far beyond the

416 See, for example, a terracotta *naiskos* found in a tomb at Amathus, where a small, male, kilt-wearing figure is standing on a conical (statue?) base inside the "cella": Sophocleous 1985, pl. 45.2; Hermary 1996b, 17, pl. 4.1. Following iconographical conventions from the east, this ought to be the depiction of a male god. It has been suggested, however, that at least some of the terracotta objects from this tomb context were made from non-Cypriote clay, and may have been imported from Phoenicia: Hermary 1996b, 17–20 (Tomb 83 at Amathus).

417 Tatton-Brown 1994, 74, pls. 20–21.

418 If small-scale temple models are in fact reflections of a sanctuary reality, how are we to interpret the perforated holes placed all around the upper part of this little object, or "temple"? For a similar perforated temple model: Sophocleous 1985, pl. 30.2.

419 It is worth noting that on the large-scale, Cypriote Hathoric capital AM 805, there are indications of the vertical decoration of versions of Phoenician cup palmettes or "sacred trees" by the "entrance" of the "cella" – as if faintly echoing the decoration recurrently found on Phoenician limestone and terracotta *naiskoi*, referred to above: Hermary 1985, figs. 2, 39.

420 Compare the possibility that the Amathus terracotta *naiskos* was imported from Phoenicia, see above n. 416.

421 The will and the possibility to import high-quality Phoenician wood and ivory furniture was present among the Cypriote upper classes already during the late 8th century B.C. – as witnessed in the Salamis tombs.

scope of this study. While I believe that this may well have been the case, I have no proof whatsoever.[422]

A hypothetical sanctuary scenario for 7th-century B.C. Cyprus would thus include temples constructed mostly out of wood, which in decoration and perhaps in layout imitated Phoenician counterparts. Flanking figures or features such as pillars, Hathoric capitals, or sphinxes could have been found in connection with the entrances to the temples, or protecting the cult image, whether iconic or aniconic. Among the flanking figures there could have been large, wooden, male, kilt-wearing statues standing with one leg advanced and the right forearm raised. That this was not the only (wooden?) figural type to possibly provide impulses is seen in the Cypriote material through the recurrent pose in standing figures of one arm hanging, the other arm bent and the hand clenched on the chest, and of the presence of the falcon-headed, kilt-wearing figure (**Cat. 1**). Both the characteristic pose and the falcon-headed figure are found in the Phoenician ivory iconography, and we may assume that there were wooden examples in the round which gave the impetus for these characteristics as well. If there were anthropomorphic cult statues, male or female, in these temples, they could have been made in wood and ivory, perhaps with dress parts covered with gold foil. Evidence from the Phoenician mainland indicates that local religion accepted both iconic and aniconic images.[423] In fact, there are some Phoenician relief stelai which depict the male, supreme god wearing Egyptianizing attire, including the kilt.[424] From a Cypriote horizon it is well known that the only available indications point towards aniconic cult images[425] – the only exceptions being, in fact, early depictions of "Hathor" and "Bes".[426] However, if there were anthropomorphic statues of divine beings in these Cypriote "Phoenician" *milieux*, then both the male and the female counterpart may be reconstructed as depicted in Egyptianizing garb, in the case of the male figure in the Egyptian-type kilt.

The few indications we have preserved from Cyprus regarding these hypothetical, Phoenician-type temple structures come from the coastal cities (flanking pillars at Kition and a door lintel at Amathus), as do finds of upper-class graves yielding imported, Phoenician prestige goods (Salamis), of a general Hathoric iconography (Amathus, mainly), and of Phoenician-type votive gifts (the votive stelai from Palaepaphos). Thus, it is more than probable that these influences from Phoenician religion and craftsmanship reached primarily the coastal cities of Cyprus, and were subsequently spread from there. If we postulate that Phoenician religion influenced the Cypriote sanctuaries and their worshippers we must, however, allow for differences between regions and city kingdoms, and fluctuations over time, implying different degrees of understanding and awareness of Phoenician cult on the island. At cities like Salamis, Kition, Amathus, and Palaepaphos there ought to have been a greater appreciation and understanding for Phoenician cult and religious practices.[427] At other sites or cities there was probably less awareness, even if the iconography may have been similarly appreciated and applied to the local (Cypriote) deities.

What about a possible connection to a royal sphere? Late inscriptional evidence from Palaepaphos shows that the local kings acted as priests of the Great Goddess worshipped there.[428] A strong connection between the Amathusian kings and the "Kypria" venerated in the temples of the city has been suggested, not least due to the several Hathoric capitals which have been found in connection to what is held to be the remains of the royal palace at Amathus (see Ch. 3.2.3). A Phoenician parallel was referred to above, where it was noted that the religious duties of the royal Sidonian family are known through inscriptional evidence. In the burial text of Eshmunazar II, King Tabnit and Queen Amoashtart are referred to as priest and priestess of Astarte.[429] Could early, Egyptianizing wooden statuary have served as depictions of members of certain Cypriote royal families, flanking the image of the goddess, or could the statue type have been found

[422] To refer to but one example, the characteristic Phoenician incense stand decorated with rows of drooping palm leaves is present on the island from at least the late 8th century B.C. (the Salamis tombs). It may testify to imported cult practices, not just assimilated deities.

[423] See above, in Ch. 4.4.2 n. 185. The *betyl* worshipped in the temple at Byblos stands in contrast to the image of Baalat Gubal on King Yehawmilk's stele: Babelon 1893, pl. 27.11–12 (for late coin depictions of the Byblite temple); for the stele of Yehawmilk, see above in Ch. 4.4.2.

[424] Dunand 1939b, pl. 13 (a depiction of Melqart (Baal) of Tyre?); Cecchini 1999, figs. 1 (the "Amrit" stele), 3 (stele from Qadbun). The placing of the male figures in the last two depictions standing on the back of lions put their divine identification beyond doubt.

[425] Wriedt Sørensen 1992, 258 (noting that a possible exception is the (cult?) statue base unearthed in the *SCE* excavations at Kition *Bamboula*). For a late coin depiction of the *betyl* at Old Paphos: Sophocleous 1985, pl. 1; the globular cult object found at Ayia Irini is well known: Gjerstad *et al.* 1935, 702 (no. 938), 809, fig. 276.

[426] Wriedt Sørensen 1994, 86–87. Wriedt Sørensen notes the divine connotation inherent in reproducing only the head of a figure. This is true for the Hathoric iconography from the island, as well as for the 7th century B.C. "Bes"/Reshef Shed statue from Palaeokastro, referred to above.

[427] For the case of Amathus, see in Ch. 3.3.1, above.

[428] Masson 1961, 100–115; Baurain 1980, 283–284; Hermary 1985, 683 n. 84; Maier 1989, 377, 380.

[429] See above, in Ch. 5.2.1.

flanking the entrances to royal palaces in 7th century B.C. Cyprus? It is particularly the presence of the Egyptian-type double crown among Cypriote limestone (and bronze) statues and statuettes which has led to earlier theories about the actual presence of statues depicting "priest kings" in the votive material from the island.[430] At the beginning of this section it was established that there was no identifiable Egyptian cultic or religious foundation in the Egyptianizing iconography reaching Cyprus from the late 8th century B.C. onwards. No direct connection could be made with Egyptian Naukratis during the late 7th and 6th centuries B.C., when it comes to a transference of Saïte religious practices or iconography. This would basically mean that when we encounter an Egyptian double crown within the Cypriote material culture, we can no longer be confident that what was being intended was the depiction of a king or a god, as was the case in the cultural sphere in which the royal headgear was originally at home. If we cannot be sure that a Cypriote double crown signals a king or a god, what can actually be said of this, and the other, royal (Egyptian) features when displayed on Cyprus? That they have meaning for an elevated sphere within society wanting to avail itself of the symbols of royalty can be strongly suggested, not because of Egyptian parallels but rather on the following grounds. First, the decorative statue, even if made of painted wood, was a reference to and a cheaper version of royal statuary, with costly inlays and coverings of sheet gold. The hypothetical Phoenician wooden (and ivory?) originals, and the similarly hypothetical Cypriote imitations in wood, would thus all have been references to the opulent world encountered within the royal sphere and the upper classes in cities like Sidon, Tyre, and Byblos. Thus, the reference *is* royal: if not Pharaonic, then royal Phoenician. Secondly, all Cypriote Egyptianizing figures are made of limestone, and there are no characteristic examples of the type executed in clay. This is a sign that the phenomenon of dedicating votive figures in Egyptian-type dress was primarily connected to the higher levels of society, and markedly so, since it did not spread uniformly to all social strata.[431] On Cyprus as well as in Phoenicia a high-quality Egyptianizing iconography is often tied to upper-class graves (Salamis and Tamassos) and similar settings. In sum, it seems possible to state that an Egyptian-type double crown, when encountered on Cyprus, carried a reference to a king or a god, not however on account of Egyptian parallels but following from its alliance to Phoenician religious and upper class conventions.

It has been suggested that the Egyptianizing iconography was a way for Cypriote royalty to claim, establish, and diffuse their royal iconography.[432] This could well be the case. But the possibility that a kilt-wearing votive figure put up in a sanctuary on Cyprus was a reference to Phoenician royalty by no means implies that every Egyptianizing statue or statuette was dedicated by, or the image identified with, a royal person. The group of figures under study is firmly tied to the other votive clay and limestone figures on display in the cultic areas of the island. And it is quite impossible to view **Cat. 67** (a small limestone head of limited quality wearing a double crown), for example, as a royal votive figure. Thus, the royal reference may have been there, but not an actual royal identity of the worshipper or the figure represented by the image.

We can only hypothesize about the reasons for these royal references. It may involve a certain closeness between royalty and divinity, manifest in both Phoenicia and on Cyprus through the royal duty of acting as high priest or priestess.[433] Dedicating a statue in Egyptianizing costume was perhaps a way of trying to share in the (royal) ability to reach the ears of the god(s).[434]

It becomes crucial to connect these hypotheses to an existing, 7th-century B.C. situation with the actual sanctuary and votive remains which are preserved on the island, in stone, from the 6th century B.C. On Cyprus, the sphinxes and the Hathoric (Astarte?) capitals seem to have maintained the flanking function that I believe was overtaken from the Phoenician mainland, where winged sphinxes, Hathoric capitals,[435] and Egyptianizing figures seem to have been arranged in pairs flanking a deity or a sacred space. In contrast to the Cypriote Hathoric images and the sphinxes, however, the male, Cypriote, kilt-wearing figures are never encountered together in pairs, in a flanking or antithetic manner.

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[430] Maier 1989. See further above, in Ch. 1.2.

[431] Admittedly, colossal clay votive figures could surely not be afforded by everyone. It remains a fact, however, that no large group of small-scale (and thus cheaper) versions in terracotta of this votive figural type is known.

[432] Maier 1989; Petit 1995 (viewed against Egyptian royalty, however). See above Ch. 1.2.

[433] In Ch. 2.2.1, above, we noted the desire in Egypt to identify iconographically with Pharaoh in order to share in the royal powers of rebirth.

[434] A similar theory has been put forward by A. Nunn, regarding the group of Egyptianizing faience figures unearthed at Bostan esh-Sheikh: Nunn 1996, 259.

[435] The Phoenician evidence for Hathoric capitals is virtually non-existent. I have suggested, however, that this was due rather to the perishable material from which they were manufactured, rather than their not being part of Phoenician religious iconography. The late Sidonian relief displaying a goddess on a sphinx throne, flanked by pillars crowned by Hathoric capitals, needs to be referred to again.

Within the Cypriote sanctuaries the Egyptianizing figures were arranged together, that is true, but rather placed along walls within the sanctuary, as at Golgoi, or in connection to the altar, as at Idalion. This is rather closer to the characteristic, Cypriote thematic arrangement of votive statuary around an altar as at rural Ayia Irini, and seems far from any display of flanking, kilt-wearing "attendants" of a (Phoenician) deity. There is, again, the hypothetical possibility that there were originally flanking, kilt-wearing votive statues carved by Cypriote craftsmen from local wood and stone in the sanctuaries of the coastal cities. Wood is perishable, and the available Archaic material remains from particularly these sites are notoriously limited, due not least to the subsequent flourishing periods of settlement and construction during the following centuries (see Ch. 3.3.1). The presence at Palaepaphos of six virtually identical, Egyptianizing figures has been noted several times above, figures which could have been arranged together. There is also the possibility that there was a certain production of kilt-wearing (wood and stone) statues made in imitation of the hypothetical wood and ivory cult statue of a male god, found in at least some of the sanctuaries in the coastal cities of southern Cyprus. The earliest Egyptianizing statues would either represent the male god, or derive from an image depicting him. The picture emerging from the preserved limestone statuary and the few archaeological contexts is, however, one of the colorful, wooden, Phoenician, kilt-wearing figure being simply incorporated into the great, local Cypriote votive tradition and introduced into the sanctuaries of the island just like any other votive type with just any other attire. That the identity and actual significance of each of the different votive figural types encountered on the island remain unknown was noted above (in Ch. 2.4.1). The "local school of sculptors" seemingly at work at Palaepaphos manufactured not only figures in Egyptian-type attire but female figures and male figures wearing the characteristic Cypriote rosette diadem as well.[436] Additional examples showing similarities with other Cypriote clay and limestone figures confirm that the Egyptianizing figures were manufactured by the same hands as wearers of "Cypriote belts", Herakles Melqart figures, mantle-wearing figures, etc. There are clear indications that hybrid varieties of these various votive figural types were created. I am referring to the carrying of helmet and sword, or bow and arrows, by some Egyptianizing limestone votives (**Cat. 30**, **Cat. 35**, and **Cat. 37**, all from Golgoi) – equipment and arms corresponding to that of the generic Cypriote warrior type so well represented in stone but even more so in clay. I am further referring to the combination of Egyptian-type kilt and upper garment decorated with a vertical, floral band, and the wearing of a rosette diadem (**Cat. 12** and **Cat. 13**, both from Idalion) – features no doubt inspired by the appearance of the characteristically Cypriote wearers of "Cypriote belts". Such a merging would have taken place within the Cypriote workshops at a point well beyond the introduction of the Egyptianizing votive type on the island. Such transformation of Egyptian-type elements of attire in the hands of the local, Cypriote craftsmen has been well evidenced above.[437] In this light it does not seem very likely that the sword-carrying, Cypriote figures (again **Cat. 30** and **Cat. 35**) were references to Phoenician mythological characters known through other find categories and materials. The additional equipment of these figures can be better understood against a background of characteristic, Cypriote votive figures carrying weapons or votive gifts.[438] However, it is far from clear whether or not this "physical" amalgamation indicates that something similar happened regarding the actual significance of the Egyptianizing figure: that the hypothetical Phoenician royal and divine reference was weakened, and indigenous, Cypriote religious ideas strengthened.

No clear line can be drawn between the hypothetical, flanking, Phoenician, kilt-wearing (wooden) "attendants" and the Egyptianizing (limestone) statues or statuettes found in Cypriote sanctuaries all over the island. We generally lack early evidence from those few coastal sites which could have had the figural type in what has been suggested here as its earliest setting. In the sanctuaries of cities like Salamis, Kition, Amathus, and Palaepaphos, there may have been kilt-wearing wooden figures of different kinds, including flanking "attendants" with one arm raised, falcon-headed figures, figures with one arm hanging and the other bent with the clenched hand placed on the chest, and even the hypothetical cult image – all firmly connected to a Phoenician religious sphere. From the Cypriote evidence that we do have, we see that – unlike the sphinxes[439] and the Hathoric capitals – the male, kilt-wearing figure seems to have been fully assimilated into the Cypriote votive tradition, passing from any

[436]For the stylistic similarities encountered within the Palaepaphos material, see above in Ch. 3.3.

[437]See above, Ch. 2.2.2. This shows us the independence of the Cypriote material. These changes are most probably reinterpretations from models we no longer have.

[438]See also **Cat. 64** who carries a piece of cloth (?) slung over one arm, and a round object in his right hand. This is merely a typical Cypriote votive figure – with an Egyptian-type kilt.

[439]Finds from at least one site, western Palaepaphos, indicate that the sphinx was used as a votive figure in its own right, displayed on its own (?) as a votive gift like any other. This remains the only similar indication we have.

of the above (hypothetical) Phoenician statue categories to one type of very many within the Cypriote limestone votive repertoire. The male, kilt-wearing figure which in Phoenicia flanked the main goddess finds no parallel within the preserved Cypriote material. At no site have male, Egyptianizing figures been found anywhere in the vicinity of the large-scale Hathoric capitals.[440] No connection can be suggested between these two votive categories, either in two-dimensional Cypriote material, or in material carved in the round. As I said before, more plausible is that what we see in the preserved 6th century B.C. Cypriote limestone material is a group of figures which derives from 7th century B.C. Phoenician wooden models, which (originally) had a royal Phoenician reference, but which became a highly "Cyprified" Phoenician iconography, fully adapted to the Cypriote sanctuary reality with its masses of votive figures and types.[441] With time the votive type was spread all over eastern and southeastern Cyprus and in this process the Phoenician religious meaning may have been weakened, at least at certain sites. The figural type is encountered mainly in Apollo (-Reshef) sanctuaries, dedicated together in masses in the characteristic, Cypriote manner.

This Cypriote votive version was, as we saw in Ch. 4.5, moved back to Phoenicia. In fact, at neither Amrit nor Sidon do we have any evidence for flanking, kilt-wearing figures: the two sanctuaries – and Amrit in particular – have all the characteristics of a Cypriote cultic area. The flanking figures, we have noted, were encountered at Byblos, Kharayeb, and Umm el-Amed. There, at least some of the figures display back-pillar supports and raised right forearms. At Amrit and Sidon there are occasional figures displaying the raised right arm (and even the back-pillar support, see **Cat. P24**) which would tie them closer to the other (flanking) Phoenician figures. But the votive statuary at Amrit and Bostan esh-Sheikh is seemingly of Cypriote manufacture. And judging from the lack of pair figures, or of any indication of the existence of such flanking statues, they need to be put into a category of their own in relation to the repertoire of other Phoenician sanctuary sites. One could even ask whether there is a possibility that the cult practiced at these sites, at least at Amrit, was fundamentally Cypriote. To try to answer this, as with so many of the questions approached here, there is a need to investigate and incorporate a far greater range of evidence than merely the limited group of votive figures clad in Egyptian-type dress. It is a fact, however, that at Amrit and Sidon, just like in the Cypriote sanctuaries, the Egyptian-type votives of the 6th century B.C. were followed by Greek-type ones, during the following century.[442]

A possible Phoenician royal reference, stronger at certain Cypriote sites than at other, can also be seen against the fact that the Egyptianizing iconography ceases to be used and reproduced on Cyprus after 480 B.C. By this time an altered political situation may have brought with it new impulses and new preferences and needs, partly discernible in the religious material of the island. In Phoenicia, the Egyptianizing iconography continued, despite the fact that both areas were exposed to an increasingly strong impact from Greek art and artistic conventions at this time. That Phoenician wooden statuary of Egyptianizing type continued to be manufactured in Phoenicia is (indirectly) seen in the 4th century B.C. (?) stele of Yehawmilk, where the inscription refers to a gilded statue of the city goddess, a goddess clad in a well-rendered, Egyptian-type costume. Along with a long tradition of Egyptian contact with the area, a strong woodworking tradition could lie behind the strong continuity which has been acknowledged for both Phoenician Iron Age iconography *and* architecture, continuing down throughout most of the 1st millennium B.C.[443] The Cypriote Egyptianizing iconography, perhaps containing more autonomous cultic content than foreign (Phoenician), would be more easily replaced by new religious impulses, impulses which were perhaps connected both to the appearance and layout of the sanctuary and the votive types within. The votive figure under study could thus more easily be substituted by other – mainly Greek – iconographical forms and preferences.[444]

[440] At the eastern site at Golgoi (Ayios Photios), Egyptianizing limestone figures were found together with a Hathoric stele, however: Cesnola 1885, pl. 18.27. In addition, a clear association between "Hathor" and kilt-wearing figures is found in **Cat. 22**, from this very site, displaying as part of the decoration of its kilt the head of the cow-eared Hathor (see above in Ch. 3.3.2). None of this evidence is "flanking" anything, however.

[441] Perhaps this (hypothetical) state of affairs could explain why only male figures have been encountered on Cyprus wearing Egyptian-type outfit? There are no known depictions of female figures with broad decorated collars, tripartite wigs, or crowns. Compare the Phoenician ivory iconography where such female figures abound.

[442] It is interesting to note that this pattern (from Egyptian-type to Greek-type form) is valid for the Phoenician anthropoid sarcophagi as well.

[443] See above n. 386. See also Yon & Caubet 1993, 52, 65.

[444] See above, in Ch. 1.2.

6 Conclusions

The Egyptianizing limestone figure was a characteristic Cypriote votive type. It was strongly related to clay and other limestone votive figures manufactured in the workshops on the island and displayed in its sanctuaries during the Archaic period. It was dedicated on Cyprus during the entire 6th century B.C. Within this frame, no absolute dates can be proposed for individual statues and statuettes, only relative ones, based on the general stylistic positions of the figures. The various find contexts of this group of figures do not offer any stratigraphical data that can be of help. The votive type has mainly been encountered in the south and southeastern parts of the island, where a majority of the group, including its earliest examples, were found at sanctuary sites situated on and around the Mesaoria Plain. The only notable exception is western Palaepaphos. According to the archaeological evidence, the Egyptianizing votive type was dedicated at extra-urban sanctuaries (sub- or peri-urban ones) found outside large cities like Salamis, Kition, Idalion, Tamassos, Kourion, and Palaepaphos. Indications point towards the worship of a male god at these cult places, perhaps Apollo (-Reshef). No finds of the votive type have been made at the major urban sanctuaries of the island. At two sites, Idalion and Golgoi, the archaeological record indicates that the Egyptianizing figures were put together and arranged so as to be displayed separately from other types in the sanctuaries.

The appearance of the figures is not distinct as to dress, body form, size, or degree of Egyptian impact, making it difficult to group them internally and connect them with specific sites (for the size, see the drawings to scale at the end of the book). There is actually great variation in the material both within and between the different find sites. Again, Palaepaphos provides the only exception, yielding a group of (fragmentary) male, kilt-wearing figures that corresponds closely internally in the mentioned respects. In addition, there are no discernible patterns regarding what other votive figural types the kilt-wearing statues were found together with, and thus dedicated with. It is clear, however, that other Egyptianizing votive material such as sphinxes and Hathoric capitals were generally encountered at the same sites as the kilt-wearing figures, if not at the very same find spots (Hathor). At one site only, at inland Idalion, were there finds of large amounts of Egyptianizing bronze statuettes attired in a way quite closely related to the limestone counterparts. The small figurines, wearing kilts with "*devanteaux*" and sash ends, and broad collars, were most probably made in imitation of the large-scale figures. The possibility that impulses would have gone in the other direction was rejected.

The only find concentration of Egyptianizing votive figures of the type treated here outside Cyprus is encountered in the sanctuaries along the Phoenician coast. The Phoenician statues and statuettes can be divided into two main groups, where the first is of clearly local manufacture, ultimately made in imitation of Egyptian stone statuary, while the second is strongly related to the Cypriote votive tradition. Most probably, there was a certain importation of votive statuary made on Cyprus, but several pieces of evidence point towards the fact that there was also importation of Cypriote limestone, and that there was production on site, by Cypriote (and Phoenician?) craftsmen (see below). The kilt-wearing limestone figure thus constitutes part of a strong and influential Cypriote plastic tradition, which was even transferred successfully to areas outside the island.

In order to grasp the origin and significance of the votive type it is necessary to consider the broader Egyptianizing horizon within the material culture on Cyprus at the time when the type can be calculated to have made its very first appearance. Preserved imported and locally produced (metal and ivory) objects found on Cyprus from the late 8th century B.C. display an Egyptianizing iconography containing figures and features that are later to be encountered in 6th century B.C. Cypriote limestone: male, kilt-wearing figures, winged sphinxes, female divine beings similar in appearance to Egyptian Hathor, and a range of certain characteristic vegetal ornaments (see Ch. 1.1.1). The Cypriote Egyptianizing votive figural type, the sphinx, and the limestone Hathoric capital should all be viewed against this background, being closely linked to contemporary, Phoenician religious (Egyptianizing) iconography. Certain traits

visible in the male, kilt-wearing, limestone figures – and similarly encountered in sphinx and Hathoric statuary – such as the application of "color as pattern", of "inlay", including the characteristic raised, narrow outlines around dress elements and ornaments, tie these stone objects to large-scale, Phoenician composite statuary, the presence of which is hinted at in the archaeological record. Phoenician wood and ivory statuary with colorful inlays or with added paint may therefore be seen as the main source of inspiration for the 6th century B.C. large-scale Cypriote limestone objects referred to. In fact, an entire hypothetical 7th century B.C. sanctuary setting can be postulated for Cyprus, in which the sacred areas of the main coastal cities are likely to have had both actual architectural structures and part of the votive statuary wholly or partly made of wood and other perishable materials and having a strong Phoenician connection. The workshops of these Cypriote cities would most probably have been the first to manufacture the kilt-wearing votive type in local limestone. It is more than unfortunate that particularly these major coastal sites are the least well preserved on the island in terms of Archaic material remains. Also, the Levantine coast has little preserved evidence, archaeologically speaking: these facts taken together with the perishable nature of wood create an unfortunate combination. The above suggestions remain based on limited archaeological evidence, but several other possibilities have been tested and rejected, leaving these theories as the only plausible ones.

The male, kilt-wearing limestone figure was thus tied to Phoenician belief and iconography. In the study both contemporary Egyptian religion and iconography were tested against the Cypriote evidence, but it was not possible to postulate either direct or indirect influence in the figures under study. It is important to emphasize that by no means should this be taken to imply that there was no contact between Cyprus and Egypt during the 7th and 6th centuries B.C. On the contrary, this is a period when there is obviously a Greek and Cypriote presence in the Nile Delta, in the *emporion* of Naukratis. What is firmly stated in the study, however, is that the Cypriote Egyptianizing votive figural type was *not* created under influence from contemporary, Saïte period Egypt. For sure, the interaction of Cypriote and East Greek merchants and craftsmen at Naukratis from at least the last quarter of the 7th century B.C. carried with it strong impulses in many fields of society. Also for the art and manner of carving statuary there was a heavy impact. Early Archaic East Greek and Cypriote (male) statuary share characteristics like the stance, the over-sized thumb, and the Archaic smile, in addition to the carving of the occasional colossal figure, characteristics which can no doubt be ascribed to Egyptian influence. But the "antiquaria" of the Egyptianizing figures was borrowed from Phoenicia. A preference for opulent statuary, including types like the kilt-wearing figure, is not characteristic for East Greek sites or areas like Naukratis, Rhodes or Samos. Such a preference firmly connects Cyprus to Phoenicia.

The foreign trappings found in the Cypriote Egyptianizing votive type were thus of Phoenician pedigree. As regards the style and execution of the human body in these figures, it is firmly Cypriote, however. The strong links between the Cypriote Egyptianizing figures under study and the other terracotta and limestone votive figures manufactured in the workshops on the island was noted briefly above. Thus, the figural type could be said to carry traces of three distinct craft traditions: the indigenous Cypriote votive tradition, the East Greek sculptural tradition which made itself felt increasingly during the entire 6th century B.C., and the Phoenician wood and ivory repertoire, which seems to have been influential on the island from the late 8th century B.C. onwards. Characteristic examples of the indigenous (originally terracotta) tradition were, for example, the hunter or warrior type, the rounded shoulders contrasted against a slender and stylized upper torso, the short-sleeved garment, the beard and the schematically decorated facial hair, and the spiral earrings. Ionian influence brought increased corporeality and less body schematization, while the Phoenician influence affected especially Egyptian-type dress, jewelry, headgear, and techniques of carving and decorating the Cypriote wood or limestone votary. With its distinctly foreign iconography and dress, the male, kilt-wearing figure stands in clear contrast to most other known votive figural types from the island, the trappings of which are rather firmly tied to the characteristic Cypriote terracotta statuary repertoire and to only that.

This mixture of impulses and traditions carries new implications as regards the term used to designate the votive group under study: the "Egyptianizing" group of figures. The figural type was manufactured on Cyprus and stemmed from a distinctly local craft tradition, while displaying both foreign stylistic (East Greek) and typological (Phoenician, Egyptian-type) characteristics. Thus, the term "Egyptianizing" can be applied only in the sense of "imitation of originally Egyptian features", *not* in the sense that there was an obvious attempt by Cypriote craftsmen to make direct imitations of Egyptian sculptural traits, forms, and attire. The impulses and the iconographical transfer leading to the adoption of Egyptian-type dress and ornamentation on Cyprus were quite indirect, reaching the island from Phoenicia, and

strictly speaking the figures could perhaps best be designated as "Phoenicianizing", in the sense of being influenced by the Egyptianizing horizon of Phoenician artistic culture.

The results of the study were heavily dependent on the possibility to juxtapose Cypriote and Phoenician Egyptianizing statuary material. As was briefly noted above there were, within the Phoenician group of figures, traces of two distinct spheres of influence: of Egyptian stone statuary (encountered in "group 1 A and 1 B", massive stone figures with back-pillar supports standing in a flanking position wearing plain kilts and characteristic headcovers), and Egyptian wooden statuary (visible in the preserved, small-scale ivory material, delicate figures wearing elaborate dress, jewelry, and royal crowns, with details highlighted by colorful inlay). It is more than probable that both types of influence reached the Levantine coast during the early 1st millennium B.C., that is, during the Egyptian Third Intermediate Period. These two spheres of influence were present, and evidently intermixed at times, within the Phoenician material culture of the following centuries. From the two, it clearly seems to have been the opulent wooden (or perhaps composite) Egyptianizing statue which was transferred to Cyprus during the late 8th or early 7th century B.C., giving the impetus there for a local production in (most probably wood but clearly also in) local limestone. The votive type was elaborated upon in the Cypriote workshops, transformations of the dress and its details took place, along with a certain amalgamation with other distinctly indigenous votive types, such as the figure wearing "Cypriote belt" and rosette diadem. Apparently, the colorful and elaborately decorated Cypriote Egyptianizing limestone figure, together with certain other indigenous votive figural types, was appreciated in Phoenicia since it was imported and/or manufactured in connection to sanctuaries at Amrit and Sidon, and dedicated to the local gods worshipped there during at least the second half of the 6th century B.C., or just before that. In the workshops producing for the sanctuaries at these two Phoenician sites, there seems to have been yet other examples of the mixture of traditions: of the Phoenician stone statue (back-pillar support and raised right forearm) and of the Cypriote limestone figure (the male figure carrying a votive animal or a votive gift). The elaborate, New Kingdom-type dress remained a loan from Phoenician wooden statuary. The mixed votive types encountered at these two sites (the kilt-wearing figure with elaborate dress carrying a votive animal, in one case leaning against a back-pillar support, or Herakles with a lion instead of a club behind his head, etc.) were most probably the results of local manufacture on site. On Cyprus, the presence of kilt-wearing votive figures carrying a votive animal (and possibly having the right arm raised) is virtually limited to coastal Kition and its area of influence, a fact which might suggest that a new combination or related type was imported back to Cyprus from these Phoenician areas during the late 6th/early 5th century B.C. Thus, there are traces within this particular statuary material of a dynamic flow of impulses going from Cyprus to Phoenicia and back again.

From the above it is clear that it is not possible to consider all Cypriote and Phoenician Egyptianizing, kilt-wearing figures against the same background. This study has focused on the 6th century B.C. Cypriote limestone figures, and one of the aims was to approach the ancient setting within which these statues were once ordered, made, and dedicated. The large-scale, Egyptianizing, kilt-wearing figure most probably arrived on Cyprus as part of a Phoenician religious setting. It was adopted into the workshops and indigenous craft tradition of the island in the late 7th century B.C. What can be said of the possible significance of the votive type on the island, and of the intention of the worshippers who chose to dedicate this particular votive type to (mostly) Apollo-Reshef on the island? Different possibilities were put forward in Ch. 5, above, the strongest perhaps being that this particular figural type was connected to a Phoenician royal and/or divine sphere, where a (foreign) royal reference was one preferred means for attracting the attention of the divine powers. Such a reference could have been there regarding the sphinxes and the Hathoric capitals as well, find categories which are encountered in a flanking position in connection to upper-class graves, to sacred areas, and in general to royal palaces (Hathor). The large-scale or even colossal format reached by several of the kilt-wearing limestone figures, and by certain sphinx and Hathoric representations, would support such a connection. The flanking, kilt-wearing attendants encountered in Phoenicia find no preserved equivalents on Cyprus (nor at Amrit and Bostan esh-Sheikh), where the figural type seems instead to have been taken up in the local sanctuaries as one type among many others. It is more than probable that there could have been differences in reception of the votive type between late 7th century B.C. Kition and Amathus, and late 6th century B.C. Kazafani, for example. That these limestone figures represented or were presented to Cypriote divinities is also probable, even if worship of Phoenician gods or goddesses on Cyprus cannot be ruled out. When the Egyptianizing votive type ceases to be made and dedicated, during the first quarter of the 5th century B.C., it marks perhaps the decline or change in the character of cultural influence and

contact from Phoenicia which had been so clearly visible in Cypriote material culture since the late 8th century B.C. New and different influences arrived on the island at about this time. The figures in Egyptian-type dress still manufactured then thus carried and preserved an elaborate and colorful inheritance from early Archaic imagery.

This study has argued for strong connections between Cyprus and the Levantine coast from the late 8th down through the 7th and 6th centuries B.C. Thus, despite its characteristic Cypriote form, the Egyptianizing male limestone statue from Cyprus proves to be a truly cross-cultural, Eastern Mediterranean votive type.

7 Catalogue

7.1 Introduction

The present chapter contains the known Egyptianizing stone statuary from Cyprus (71 entries).[1] The order of presentation follows that applied in Ch. 3, where the find contexts of the Cypriote figures were under discussion. The figures are thus presented according to region on the island (northeastern, southeastern, southwestern, and northwestern Cyprus), to city kingdom, and to the specific site where they were found. When more than one figure was found within a certain context, the statues are arranged according to the degree of intensity of Egyptian impact, on a sliding scale, where the "stronger" figures are placed first followed by the "weaker" ones" (see Ch. 2.4). The catalogue ends with two Addenda: Addendum 1 contains limestone heads wearing the plain kerchief which may have belonged to statues wearing an Egyptian-type outfit (18 entries), while Addendum 2 lists the Egyptianizing bronze, faience, and terracotta figures and figurines found on the island (38 entries).

Each of the 71 catalogue entries has a short introductory description followed by information regarding the available depictions included in the book: that is, which Figures and Plates depict that particular statue or statuette.[2] It is worth noting that all figures are depicted in the drawings to scale placed at the very end of the book (see below). When the short introductory description is preceded by a * it means that I have not been able to make first-hand studies of that particular piece, but know it only through published photographs. All measurements in the catalogue are given in centimeters, both the preserved height of each figure and its calculated Approximate Original Height (AOH), which will be returned to below. The present whereabouts of each statue is given, together with its provenance and state of preservation. There follows a description of each piece[3] where ornamental details are treated separately, together with technical and formal aspects of the figures where the latter refer mainly to tool marks and discernible carving strategies. Each figure, with the exception of the most fragmentary pieces, has received a suggested date under the final heading before the bibliographical references, "Dating". The approximate dates given are in accordance with the brief section on chronology presented in Ch. 2.5.

Certain difficulties can be presented by statues and statuettes which have been reconstructed in modern times. Quite a few pieces of statuary were found in a fragmentary state and it is not uncommon that statues have been assembled from several bits and pieces. In some cases it is possible that mistakes have been made in the piecing together of head and body, for example. Wherever there are doubts about this, information has been given under the heading "State of preservation". Other sculpture has body parts which have been mended or reconstructed, sometimes in a way which makes it difficult, when judging from a photograph or even from a first-hand examination,[4] to tell the reconstructed sections apart from the original ones.

7.1.1 Drawings to scale

In connection with the photographic plates which are presented as *Pls. 1–21* at the end of the book, there is a group of plates containing drawings of the Egyptianizing statues and statuettes: *Pls. 22–45*. Included are drawings of virtually all the Cypriote (*Pls. 22–35*) and all the Phoenician (*Pls. 36–45*) Egyptianizing statuary referred to and treated in the book. The preserved parts have been supplemented by the parts that are missing. The inspiration to

[1] Two fragments of life-size, kilt-wearing figures found at Palaepaphos could not be included in the catalogue since they were reported missing in a 1988 inventory at the Cyprus Museum, Nicosia, and their present whereabouts are unknown: see above, in Ch. 3.2.3 n. 272. In addition, two figures referred to by A. Hermary are unknown to me and were not incorporated either: Hermary 2001b, 29 n. 23, 31 n. 34.

[2] See also the "Index to catalogue entries" at the end of the book which gives the pages, Figures, and Plates where each statue is referred to, discussed, or depicted.

[3] When there is reference to the right or left-hand side of a face or a kilt cloth, then the right or left-hand side of the statue is intended, not that from the viewer's point of view.

[4] For example, it is well known that statuary included in the Cesnola collection, acquired by the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York at the end of the 19th century, was assembled and restored by means of a lime plaster which turned out to be almost indistinguishable from Cypriote limestone: Connelly 1988, 77; Marangou 2000, 323. See above, in Ch. 3.2.2 n. 140.

attempt these reconstruction drawings came from A. Stewart's book "Greek sculpture. An exploration", figs. 42–43 (Stewart 1990). The gray areas of each figure of course mark the missing parts. The statues are arranged in the same order as in the two catalogues (Chs. 4.2 and 7), that is, according to site. Beneath each figure the catalogue number and the find site are indicated. The fact that all figures in the study are depicted in this last section makes up for those statues which are not photographically represented here: this applies to some of the Cypriote statues and many of the Phoenician ones, since the 14 Phoenician statues and statuettes seen here in photos all come from one site, from northern Amrit, while the others have no photographic documentation in this study.

A handful of figures were not drawn and reconstructed. Cypriote **Cat. 4** and Phoenician **Cat. Ph 27** are only referred to in literature. Their present whereabouts are unknown and depictions of them have never been published: thus, they were impossible to include. Four statue fragments from Palaepaphos are unpublished and not depicted here (**Cat. 54**–**57**).[5] They resemble **Cat. 52** and **Cat. 53** to a high degree, however. The Cypriote statues and statuettes that have no heads were depicted wearing the generic, plain headcloth or kerchief. With so few heads preserved in the Phoenician material, only certain Cypriote-style figures were given the kerchief, while most others were depicted without any headdress at all. Two Phoenician statues, **Cat. Ph8** and **Cat. Ph24**, have remains of the small, round support on the right chest muscle which allowed the right forearm and hand to be raised. Due to the placing of its arm, the entire right-hand side of **Cat. Ph8** was well carved and without any trace of attachment.[6] Since this is the case in **Cat. Ph9**, **Cat. Ph11**, **Cat. Ph15**, and **Cat. Ph28** as well, they, too, were reconstructed with the right forearm raised, despite the lack of any remains of a support in these figures.

Details of the reconstructions of some of the Phoenician statues are less secure than others. This especially regards statuary which is available only in published photographs of varying quality. Thus, the connected legs of **Cat. Ph7** and **Cat. Ph16** are hypothetical. In general, of course, drawings and reconstructions made from photographs only, remain less reliable.

Choices had to be made when reconstructing certain figures. It was supposed that **Cat. 58**, wearing a double crown with *uraeus*, was also wearing a kilt and not, for example, an ankle-length dress.[7] The very fragmentary pieces of decorated belts, **Cat. 32** and **Cat. 33**, could be suggested to originally have been part of kilt-wearing, large-scale statues. They were reconstructed in accordance with the other large-scale statuary from the same site, from Golgoi (Ayios Photios).

Unfortunately the remains of color on the statuary could not be indicated in the present version of the drawings.[8]

One important aspect of the drawings is that they show the size of the statuary, where each figure is depicted to scale (1:10).[9] This enables not only comparisons regarding the number of statues from each site and the inter-site relations visible in the material, including its iconography, but also comparisons regarding the actual size of the statuary. The approximate original height of each figure was calculated in accordance with standard human measures. When dealing with more well-preserved pieces of statuary, this presented few problems. In the case of more fragmentary pieces the better preserved material was used to correlate the estimated measures. Difficulties and risks with this procedure arise, however, in particular when the proportions of the ancient statuary deviate. This is the case with certain of the Cypriote figures (such as **Cat. 17**, for example) but especially with the Phoenician ones, where an over-sized head or unproportionately short legs could affect the resulting calculated approximate original height. Thus, in certain cases, the word to emphasize here is "approximate". According to my calculations, however, even in a life-size figure the maximum possible range of error would be around 20 centimeters only, and this convinced me that the potential of these kinds of reconstructions was far greater than their possible shortcomings.

In a handful of cases the publications treating certain statues and fragments do not give any measurements, and thus the approximate original heights of these pieces could not be calculated. I chose to include the figures in the drawings in any case.[10]

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[5]As mentioned above, the Palaepaphos statuary will be published by V. Tatton-Brown. See Ch. 3.2.3.

[6]I have not been able to study **Cat. Ph24**.

[7]There are no preserved examples of Cypriote figures wearing the Egyptian-type double crown but not the kilt.

[8]The only available depiction showing ancient color is found in *Fig. 5*, which shows details of the belt and broad collar of **Cat. 21**, from Golgoi.

[9]Thereby the term "Drawings to scale".

[10]It is thus to be noted that the large size of **Cat. Ph2** was based only on the detailed carving of the preserved registers of decoration of the collar, which indicate quite a large available area to elaborate upon. This fragment was also correlated with **Cat. Ph3**, it, too, merely the fragment of a broad, decorated collar. The measurement of **Cat. Ph3**, in turn, was compared to the width of the decorated collar registers of well-preserved, Cypriote statues. The fragmentary **Cat. Ph10**, **Cat. Ph16**, **Cat. Ph36**, and

7.2 The Egyptianizing limestone statuary from Cyprus

Cat. 1 Falcon-headed statuette with kilt
(*Pls. 1.1 & 22*)

H. 40 cm, AOH 56 cm
The Metropolitan Museum, New York. Inv. no. 74.51.2516

Provenance: The Karpasia peninsula (?)

State of preservation: Head and body well preserved, legs missing from above the knees, the right hand and the entire left arm missing. Part of the beak was missing, but has been reconstructed, apart from the outermost tip. Carved surface of the stone in good condition. Red color on the raised outer ridges of the belt, on the central sash end on each side, and on the lower part of the apron-*devanteau*, around the cobras.

Description: The body is human, standing with the left leg slightly advanced. The right arm is bent and the fist was resting on the chest of the figure. The left arm was also bent. There is a large, horizontal, slightly triangular point of attachment just above the belt, with a squarish tip towards the right-hand side of the figure. This could be the point of attachment of the missing left arm, but the squarish tip makes this less probable. Both arms were attached to the sides of the body. The head is not human but is the head of a bird of prey, resting directly on the shoulders, the eyes characteristically set at the same level as the strong beak. The eyes are large and rounded, the upper eyelid or rather the thin, even ridge representing it overlapping the lower one. There is a horizontal, rounded ridge just above the beak, and from that two thicker ridges extend down alongside the head ending in a thick mass on the back of the figure, and as two lappets in front of the shoulders, similar to an Egyptian tripartite wig. The right-hand lappet is cut off straight at its lower end, the second is more rounded.

The figure is wearing a kilt held up by a belt with broad and flat, raised outer ridges. Similar ridges are found along the vertical sides of the garment, which are drawn apart as to reveal the upper part of the apron-*devanteau*. The entire lower part of the slightly trapezoidal device is visible, a raised, flat ridge marking its outline and dividing its lowermost part into two empty, rectangular, horizontal areas. On each side of the kilt cloth hang three slightly curving sash ends, reaching just below half the length of the cloth. The upper body could be dressed in a tight-fitting garment, at least judging by the thin borders separating the shoulders and the arms, barely visible also above the missing left arm (see **Cat. 36**). The back is only roughly carved and displays no indications of the dress rendered in the stone.

Ornamental details: On the apron-*devanteau* there are two centrally hanging cobras with sun disks on their heads. The reptiles have the characteristic wide hoods, and both display eyes and mouths. There is possibly the application of "color as pattern" on the sash ends, where both groups of three may have had alternating colors (blue?–red–blue?) (see **Cat. 29**).

Technical and formal aspects: On the figure's back, between the body and the bent right arm, there are two rows of distinct, parallel, oblique strokes cut by a chisel (see **Cat. 34**).

Dating: Early 6th century B.C.

Bibliography: Cesnola 1877, 344; Cesnola 1879, pl. 72.2; Cesnola 1885, pl. 24.58; Perrot & Chipiez 1885, 605–606, fig. 413; Myres 1914, 200–201, no. 1268; Dunand 1946–1948, 97 n. 3; Gjerstad 1948, 103; Lewe 1975, 58 n. 280; Hermary 1981, 17–18, no. 3; Sophocleous 1985, 179, pl. 41.2; Markoe 1988a, 17 n. 7; Hermary 1989a, 290, 292; Markoe 1990a, 118 n. 41; Stucky 1993, 18 n. 94; Wriedt Sørensen 1994, 82; Tore 1995, 452–453, fig. 3; Karageorghis *et al.* 2000, 113, no. 178; Marangou 2000, 43.

*__Cat. 2 Life-size statue head with double crown__
(*Pl. 22*)

H. 33 cm, AOH 157 cm
Formerly in the Cyprus Museum, Nicosia. Inv. no. 1940/XI–19/1. Until 1974 exhibited in the District Museum, Famagusta.

Provenance: Aloda

State of preservation: The head of a figure, cut off at the base of the neck. The hair hanging down in the neck is preserved, and so is the entire headgear, apart from the rounded, uppermost knob which is missing, and a deep, vertical cut placed centrally on the lower, frontal part of the "red crown". The bearded face is well preserved, apart from the missing nose and a small part of the right cheek.

Description: The head of a male, bearded figure with moustache. He is wearing a Cypriote version of the double crown, where the "red crown" tightly encircles the convex "white crown" which ends in a (broken-off) knob. The back part of the "red crown" characteristically comes up behind the (missing) knob in a squarish form. Viewed from the side, the horizontal placing of the "white crown" and the slightly curving lower outline of the "red" counterpart give the appearance that the figure is wearing an ordinary cap instead of a royal crown.

Beneath the crown there is a thick ridge. Its outline, consisting of small semi-circles ("curls of hair"), makes it clear that this depicts the figure's hair. In the neck, beneath the crown and behind the ears, a rounded mass of hair hangs down with large, irregular, rounded curls carved into it. From just in front of the well-shaped but abraded ears the beard emanates, connected to the row of hair placed beneath the crown. It is limited in width at this point but widens on the cheeks and reaches the chin in a rounded tip. The beard consists of schematized, beautifully arranged curls. The moustache of the figure follows the upper outline of the slightly smiling lips and dips down towards the beard, connecting with it, at each outer end. It is decorated by four thin, parallel, horizontal rows of wavy lines. The eyes of the figure are almond-shaped and have sharp, raised contours. The tear duct is preserved on the right-hand side eye. The eyebrows are decorated by a pattern of incised, inverted chevrons, the pointed tips of which point towards the center of the figure's face.

Ornamental details:

Technical and formal aspects: The curls of hair of the beard are neatly arranged in three main rows as curling away from a central, (imaginative) vertical line on the chin of the figure. A fourth, much smaller, row is placed closest to the neck of the figure. Seemingly, the curls are similarly arranged there as well.

Dating: Late 6th century B.C.

Bibliography: Markoe 1987, 124–125, pl. 42.2–3; Maier 1989, 383 n. 15, 386 nn. 27–28; Brönner 1994, 49 (c), pl. 14.a; Wriedt Sørensen 1994, 81 nn. 17, 21.

Cat. Ph37 all similarly lacked measurements, and I chose to make them all 100 centimeters high. It should thus be noted that these figures could of course be either taller or shorter than this. The Cypriote **Cat. 3**, finally, also lacked measurements. In a 1961 article in the *BCH*, it was said to be "colossal", but according to recent personal communication (V. Karageorghis, 2000) it may have been closer to life size. The statue was thus reconstructed as being about 170 centimeters.

Cat. 3 Life-size statue with plaited hair wearing kilt with beaded *devanteau
(*Pl. 22*)

H. ? cm. Life-size: V. Karageorghis, personal communication, 2000.

Until 1974 exhibited in the District Museum, Famagusta. Inv. no. 2 (EMA 2)

Provenance: Found at a site called "Krina", west of Salamis, on the road between the villages of Limnia and Stylloi.

State of preservation: The figure is broken into two large pieces with the horizontal break just beneath the broad belt. The left forearm is attached to the side of the body beneath the break, but the right forearm is missing. There seems to be another break just beneath the spiral armring of the left arm, and in that case the central part of that arm is one separate piece. The head of the figure is missing, but the back part of the neck and part of the hair which hangs down behind the left shoulder are preserved. The legs are missing from the knees down, and the left fist has been cut off obliquely. A round chunk of stone is missing on the central part of the kilt.

Description: Statue of a male figure standing with the left leg slightly advanced, both arms hanging parallel along the sides of the body. Both arms were detached from the body but joined it at the height of the belt. There seems to be some indication of the muscle of the left thigh visible on the preserved part of the left leg, beneath the kilt. Visible on the right arm is a slightly V-shaped carving in the crook of the arm, with biceps muscles of the upper arm indicated above. The outlines of the shoulders are rounded and they curve inwards on the sides, to meet the arms. Breast muscles faintly indicated.

The figure is wearing a finely pleated kilt held up by a plain belt with thin, raised, rounded ridges. In front of the cloth hangs a separate, rectangular device framed by two very thin, elongated cobras, seemingly a beaded *devanteau*. Beneath the rearing reptiles there is a horizontal border connecting them, framed by thin, raised ridges. On each side of the *devanteau* hang three sash ends, the ones on the left-hand side coming down to about half the length of the kilt, the right-hand side ones being slightly longer. According to the single published photo the parallel, vertical pleats of the kilt, which follow the outline of the sash ends on the right-hand side, seem to change direction and be obliquely placed, in connection to the point of attachment of the missing right forearm. Borders on both upper arms of the figure reveal that he was wearing a short-sleeved garment. Seemingly there is no such border at the base of the neck, however. On both upper arms there are double spiral armrings, but the ring on the left arm is very abraded.

Behind the left shoulder three or four strands of plaited (?) hair are preserved.

Ornamental details: The centrally placed *devanteau* is decorated by horizontal rows of thin, vertical rectangles. Each row consists of six rectangular "beads", and there are about 15 such rows placed on top of each other. Some of the "beads" have slightly rounded ends, fitting well into the upper and lower counterparts. In fact, the lowermost row consists of shorter "beads", the following one of longer "beads", and this interplay continues giving a pattern of alternating shorter and longer "beads" (a slightly abraded area of the upper part of the device makes this a little harder to discern).

The thin, lateral cobras have wide hoods and on the better preserved right-hand reptile there seems to be a characteristic line running from the hood to the tip of the head. On this line the eye is placed, and beneath the eye there is a small, straight mouth. The second cobra has a similar mouth as well.

Technical and formal aspects:

Dating: Middle of the 6th century B.C.

Bibliography: Karageorghis 1961, 286–287, fig. 40; Karageorghis 1969, 452 n. 5; Lewe 1975, 57–58 n. 279; Wriedt Sørensen 1994, 81 ("from Troulli").

Cat. 4 Statuette wearing kilt with frontal *uraei

H. ? cm

Present whereabouts unknown.

Provenance: Toumba (Salamis)

State of preservation:

Description: According to the 19th-century excavators: "...the middle part of a small figure wearing the *shenti* ornamented in front with *uraei*."

Ornamental details:

Technical and formal aspects:

Bibliography: Munro & Tubbs 1891, 161.

Cat. 5 Torso of a large statuette wearing pleated kilt with winged cobras
(*Pls. 1.2 & 22*)

H. 30.5 cm, AOH 96 cm
The British Museum, London. Inv. nos. 1873.3–20.48 and 1917.7–1.149

Provenance: Idalion, "Lang's sanctuary"

State of preservation: Torso preserving the lower part of a male body from the navel down to the left knee. Damage on the upper part of the left-hand side of the kilt. The right thigh and part of the back are gone, but the condition of the well-carved, frontal surface of the torso is remarkable. No traces of color.

Description: Statuette fragment of a man standing with the left leg advanced, possibly with the right arm bent and fist placed on the chest, since there is no sign of attachment of a hanging arm on the upper, right-hand side of the kilt. Damage on the left-hand side of the kilt makes it possible, although not certain, that the left arm was hanging parallel along the side of the body. The upper part of the body is naked, the navel and parts of the abdominal muscles can be seen. Between the navel and the upper edge of the belt runs a vertical, median line, and on each side of it are similar vertical grooves marking the lateral borders of the abdominal muscles. It is possible (but difficult to tell) that there are traces of horizontal grooves running from the navel in each direction, reaching these lateral muscle borders. Only a small part of the left thigh is preserved beneath the kilt, but it is clear that the *vastus medialis* muscle is seen bulging over the knee-cap. From the side it is clearly visible that the shape of the buttocks of the figure was outlined in the stone.

The figure is wearing a vertically pleated kilt held up by a plain belt with raised outer ridges. The belt is hanging on the hips and dips down in the front, a trait which is clearly visible from a side view. The lower outline of the kilt is bordered by a broad, flat, raised ridge, and the shape of the outline – with a central, plain, slightly tapering rectangular part descending centrally – reveals that the figure is depicted as wearing an apron-*devanteau*. From underneath the belt two sturdy cobras hang down, reaching to just above the point where the apron-*devanteau* starts. Both cobras are winged. Between them, connecting them, are three broad, horizontal bands. On each side of the cobras hang three sash ends, each marked by raised, narrow outlines. To the right of and partly behind the right-hand side group

of sashes comes what looks like the coiling tail of the right-hand side cobra, forming a perfect loop and ending a bit further down on the kilt in a pointed tip. The vertical pleats are parallel and beautifully rendered, even between the hanging cobra bodies and their rearing heads. The pleats follow the outline of the legs.

Ornamental details: Of the two cobras the right-hand side one is the better preserved. It displays a separate, rounded part of the hood and a broad mouth with indicated upper "lip". The two wings are plain but arranged in a characteristically protective manner, the back wing raised. The front wing emanates from the back part of the creature's hood. The second creature shares all these traits.

Technical and formal aspects: Despite the badly abraded state of the back it is clear that the kilt tightly follows the outline of the buttocks, and perhaps also the thighs. The rendering of the abdominal muscles remains quite unique within the Cypriote votive repertoire.

Dating: Middle of the 6th century B.C.

Bibliography: Lang 1878, 58 (Poole's account), pl. 2.3; Pryce 1931, 20, fig. 14, C 16; Freyer-Schauenburg 1974, 157 n. 276; Lewe 1975, 57 n. 279; Hermary 1985, 685 n. 92; Gaber-Saletan 1986, pl. 129; Markoe 1990a, 111 n. 1; Senff 1993, 13, 51, 53, 82, pl. 36.d–f (including side views); Wriedt Sørensen 1994, 81 n. 18; Tore 1995, 455; Faegersten forthcoming b; Faegersten forthcoming c.

Cat. 6 Torso of a statuette wearing kilt with "inlaid" decoration along its lower border

(*Pls. 1.3–4 & 22*)

H. 25.5 cm, AOH 75 cm
The British Museum, London. Inv. nos. 1873.3–20.17 and 1917.7–1.67

Provenance: Idalion, "Lang's sanctuary"

State of preservation: Torso preserving the lower part of a male body, from the lower abdomen down to just below the knee-caps. The lowermost part of the right forearm and the right hand of the figure are preserved and attached to the body at the height of the belt. The left hand is preserved and still attached to the lower left-hand side of the kilt, the rest of the arm is missing. The tip of the right thumb and part of the left one are missing. The carved frontal surface of the torso is in very good condition. No traces of color.

Description: Statuette fragment of a man standing with the left leg well advanced, the left arm hanging along the side of the body and the right arm bent, clenched hand placed on the lower chest. Slender waist and broad hips, or rather thighs. The more well-preserved thigh, the left one, displays both frontal thigh muscles (the *vastus medialis* and the *vastus lateralis* muscles) and a central, vertical groove separating them. The thumbs of the figure were seemingly over-sized, close to colossal, part of the nail on the left thumb possibly visible. The fingers of both hands are delineated. The left hand of the figure is clenched around a circular object. The rounded knee-caps are modeled into the stone.

A plain, broad belt is placed where the waist is the most slender, and from it the kilt hangs skin-tight, revealing the unusual shape of the body. Just below the belt we encounter three very pointed sash ends hanging down to only about one third of the length of the entire cloth. They are placed on either side of two centrally hanging cobras with sun disks on their heads. The reptiles are placed tight together in the center of the kilt and they are rearing in the characteristic manner. Beneath the cobras there is the outline of a rectangular apron-*devanteau*, and on each of its sides the sides of the kilt cloth come down quite a bit further. The lowermost outline of the kilt, including the borders of the apron-*devanteau*, is marked by a common, geometric pattern carved into the stone. Inside of this pattern, but on the lowermost part of the apron-*devanteau*, there is a broad, horizontal band decorated by two large, hanging drop shapes.

The back side is only roughly hewn, and there are no traces of any details of the dress there. However, from a side view the outline of the buttocks is clearly visible in the stone.

Ornamental details: The cobras' bodies consist of two parts: their thin bodies which turn into the rounded hoods, and the rest of their upper bodies and heads. On the better preserved left-hand side cobra there is a line running from the hood to the rounded eye. Both creatures have open mouths. Just beneath their bodies there are three unidentified, spherical objects, a larger, central one and two smaller, lateral ones. They are placed in the slightly triangular space created where the cobra bodies rear away from each other. The left-hand side cobra slightly overlaps the outer pattern which connects the whole lower outline of the kilt. This pattern, consisting of square and rectangular holes cut into the stone, repeat the pattern of one horizontal rectangle and two squares all around, until ceasing in the figure's sides. The deep holes or sockets appear to be intended to hold an inlay of some kind, but no such traces remain. The decorated, horizontal border placed at the lowermost end of the apron-*devanteau* is particular in that the two depicted drops take up only about a third of the available space. Through their carving there are – on each side of them and between them – three triangular areas created in the stone.

Technical and formal aspects: The legs of the figure are carved as distinctly separated, and this separation of the legs even continues a bit up underneath the apron-*devanteau*. Despite the rough carving on the back of the figure there is in fact a horizontal edge which does not correspond to the lower outline of the actual kilt cloth, but rather to the higher placed lower outline of the apron-*devanteau*. There are small, vertical traces on the lower front part of the plain belt of the carved lines of the sash ends and cobra bodies.

Dating: Early 6th century B.C.

Bibliography: Pryce 1931, 20, fig. 14, C 17; Freyer-Schauenburg 1974, 157 n. 276; Hermary 1985, 685 n. 92; Gaber-Saletan 1986, pl. 130; Markoe 1990a, 111 n. 1; Senff 1993, 53, 82, pl. 36.a–c; Wriedt Sørensen 1994, 81 n. 18; Tore 1995, 455; Faegersten forthcoming b; Faegersten forthcoming c.

Cat. 7 Colossal head with tressed wig and traces of the broad collar

(*Pls. 2.1 & 23*)

H. 39 cm, AOH 235 cm
The British Museum, London. Inv. no. 1917.7–1.143

Provenance: Idalion, "Lang's sanctuary"

State of preservation: The head of a figure, cut off at the base of the neck, a very small part of a broad, decorated collar preserved. The tressed hair or wig is well preserved, apart from the upper part of the head which is missing, a clean, horizontal break running diagonally above the forehead. The condition of the carved surface of the face is remarkable. Black paint preserved, found on the fine, straight moustache and the iris of the left eye.

Description: The head of a male, bearded figure with moustache. His hair is plaited and the tresses all emanate from a central point on the crown of the head, each plait held together by several thin, horizontal bands, the bands creating a pleasing, alternating pattern (see **Cat. 49** and **Cat. 51**). The hair, or the wig, falls behind the ears and is cut off straight just above the shoulders. In front of each ear the wig (?) dips down somewhat in a rounded tip.

Triangular face with almond-shaped eyes, the left one displays the tear duct and the outer contour of the iris rendered in the stone (and

then painted black). The eyebrows are mere ridges continuing the lines of the nose. The right ear is beautifully modeled, the left one more rough. Well-modeled nose, nostrils indicated. A slight smile on the thin lips, on the right side of the upper lip the upper outline of the moustache rendered in the stone (and then painted black). The curly beard has a thin, raised contour running all along its upper edge. The beard consists of schematized, beautifully arranged curls.

The back side of the head is flat and there are no indications of plaits there. The last plait on each side on the back of the head lacks the thin, horizontal bands.

Ornamental details: The preserved fragment of the broad collar is seen in a tiny bit of a curved, raised, narrow outline.

Technical and formal aspects: The snail curls of the beard are neatly arranged in 12 rows, both on the cheeks and on and beneath the chin. They curl away from a central, (imaginative) vertical line on the chin of the figure (see **Cat. 2**).

Dating: Middle of the 6th century B.C.

Bibliography: Lang 1878, 58 (Poole's account), pl. 2.1; Pryce 1931, 18–19, fig. 11, C 12; Gjerstad 1948, pl. 10; Tatton-Brown 1979, 37, fig. 40; Gaber-Saletan 1986, 15–17, 35, pl. 5; Senff 1993, 13, 24, 30 n. 252, 51–53, 82, pl. 34.g–i; Hermary 2001b, 30 n. 30.

Cat. 8 Life-size head with kerchief and broad, decorated collar
(*Fig. 6, Pls. 2.2 & 23*)

H. 29 cm, AOH 157 cm
The British Museum, London. Inv. nos. 1873.3–20.4 and 1917.7–1.174

Provenance: Idalion, "Lang's sanctuary"

State of preservation: The head of a bearded figure, cut off at the base of the neck. Part of the left shoulder is preserved and there are remains of a broad, decorated collar. The kerchief he is wearing is well preserved, but there is some damage to the right-hand side of the head. The nose and the upper lip are missing, and so are the lowermost and the uppermost parts of the right ear. Red paint preserved on the lower lip of the figure, and on the broad collar around the lilies and bud in the first register. According to F.N. Pryce a moustache was rendered with red paint. Of this no trace remains today.

Description: The head of a male, bearded figure wearing a plain kerchief with slightly rounded lower outline. The headcloth falls characteristically behind the ears of the figure. Oval face with delicate features, the neck is somewhat cone-shaped. The eyebrows are mere ridges continuing the lines of the (missing) nose. Thin, well-modeled lips drawn up in a slight smile. The eyes of the figure are almond-shaped and have sharp, raised contours. The tear duct is preserved on the left-hand side eye. The figure has a beard indicated by fine tooling, not rendered in low relief. There are incised zig-zag lines reaching from below the kerchief all around the lower part of the face.

The back side is only roughly carved, with parallel, vertical strokes of about three centimeters in width.

Ornamental details: The two collar registers are separated by flat, raised ridges. In the upper register closest to the neck there is one intact lily, its three sepals emanating from a tripartite "chalice" set on a tiny base, and a second, fragmentary flower. Between them, fitting well into the available space, is a cone-shaped bud also set on a small base. The second register displays one intact and one fragmentary paradise flower, both with slender outline, the intact one similarly connected to the lower flat, raised ridge by a small base.

Technical and formal aspects: Despite the high quality of the carving of the face, the beard of the figure is merely rendered by incised zig-zag lines.

Dating: Middle of the 6th century B.C.

Bibliography: Pryce 1931, 19, fig. 13, C 15; Gaber-Saletan 1986, pl. 30; Senff 1993, 52–53, pl. 35.a–c; Hermary 1996c, 141 n. 14; Hermary 2001b, 30 n. 30.

Cat. 9 Over-life-size head with kerchief and traces of a broad collar
(*Pls. 2.3 & 23*)

H. 40 cm, AOH 215 cm
The British Museum, London. Inv. no. 1917.7–1.144

Provenance: Idalion, "Lang's sanctuary"

State of preservation: The head of a figure cut off at the base of the neck, part of the upper border of a broad collar preserved on each side of the neck. Tip of the nose broken off. Upper part of the beard on both sides of the face badly worn. The lobe of each ear is missing. The plain kerchief is well preserved. No traces of color.

Description: The head of a male, bearded figure with moustache. He is wearing a plain kerchief which falls behind the ears, its lower part markedly wider than the upper, the lowermost ends tapering in towards the neck. The back part of the kerchief is slightly higher, a ridge created by the slight differences in height is running vertically from ear to ear. A difference in height between (what is preserved of) the left and the right shoulder might, hypothetically, indicate that the figure stood with the right arm hanging perpendicular, the left arm bent (the shoulder thus slightly raised) with hand placed on the chest.

Oblong face with marked cheek bones, a broad, almost fleshy nose with deep nostrils. The eyebrows are mere ridges continuing the lines of the nose. Large eyes, the left-hand side one with a tear duct. Archaic smile. Above it a broad, plain moustache rendered in low relief which follows the outline of the mouth, its outermost ends dipping down towards the beard. The abraded beard consists of schematized curls, six rows preserved on the left-hand side of the face, three on the other.

The back side of the head is plain and roughly carved.

Ornamental details:

Technical and formal aspects: The curls of the beard are merely preserved on the central parts of the cheeks, and around the face there seem to be traces of the outline of another beard. The actual width of the face is more limited than what is usually the case and the area behind each ear is sunk. Could all this indicate that the head was recarved during antiquity (see Senff 1993)?

Dating: Early 6th century B.C.

Bibliography: Lang 1878, 47, 58 (Poole's account), pl. 2.2; Pryce 1931, 18, fig. 9, C 10; Gaber-Saletan 1986, pl. 2; Senff 1993, 13, 51–53, 82, pl. 34.d–f; Hermary 2001b, 30 n. 30.

Cat. 10 Acephalous, kilt-wearing statuette with sash ends and collar added with paint
(*Pls. 2.4 & 23*)

H. 13 cm, AOH 25 cm
The British Museum, London. Inv. no. 1873.3–20.206

Provenance: Idalion, "Lang's sanctuary"

State of preservation: Figure preserved from the shoulders down to below the left knee. Kilt almost entirely preserved, only the lowermost right part of the central "*devanteau*" missing. No traces preserved of the right leg, the left leg, however, displays the knee-cap. Right thumb worn off. The carved frontal surface is in very good condition. Several traces of red paint remain. On the uppermost part of the body there are traces of a painted *usekh* around the shoulders, and there are two painted sash ends on either side of the central "*devanteau*". On the "*devanteau*" as well as on the broad belt, there are several red dots placed horizontally (on the belt) and vertically (on the "*devanteau*").

Description: Statuette standing with the left leg slightly advanced, both arms hanging parallel along the sides of the body, hands clenched. Both arms are detached from the body at the level of the waist. The chest is voluminous and rounded, the waist slender from the removal of material rather than from modelling, the belly is similarly rounded and resting on the broad belt. The preserved knee-cap is stylized and slightly lozenge-shaped. The more well-preserved left hand has all fingers delineated, viewed from the back the little finger is well carved.

The figure is wearing a kilt with a central, rectangular part – a "*devanteau*" – raised in low relief. On each side of it there are two thin sash ends rendered with red paint, their lower borders tapering in the characteristic manner. On the central device, along its right-hand side, there is a vertical row of five dots painted red, and in the center of the left-hand side two similar ones. The broad belt, which is tapering outwards, has three similar dots placed horizontally along its upper right-hand side. Around the figure's neck there is a semi-circle of red shapes, at least four T-shaped areas each with a dot or drop beneath, seemingly the outline of a broad collar.

In the back of the figure the belt is indicated but carved on a much higher level than in the front (see **Cat. 54**). The outline of the buttocks is modeled as well.

Ornamental details: The two painted sash ends on each side of the kilt hang at a distance from each other, a distance exactly matching their width. It is thus not impossible that three sash ends were intended on each side, and that the middle sash was added with a more ephemeral color. If this would be the case, then the effect would be the alternate application of paint (red–blue?–red).

Technical and formal aspects: There are several traces of a sharp tool, and thus of the removal of material, between elbow and waist on the right-hand side of the figure. The relatively unusual trait of rendering part of the dress on the back side of the figure (the broad belt) is paralleled by the unusual way that the levels of the two parts of the belt do not correspond, a trait which is clearly visible from a side view.

Dating: Middle of the 6th century B.C.

Bibliography: Pryce 1931, 22, fig. 17, C 21; Wilson 1974, 140 n. 5; Wilson 1975a, 448 n. 33; Gaber-Saletan 1986, pl. 126; Senff 1993, 53, pl. 36.g–j; Hermary 2001b, 31 n. 34.

Cat. 11 Statuette with plain kilt
(*Pl. 24*)

H. 12 cm, AOH 12 cm
The British Museum, London. Inv. no. 1872.8–16.69

Provenance: Idalion, "Lang's sanctuary"

State of preservation: The small figure is entirely preserved, except for the uppermost right part of the unidentified headgear. Its small feet are resting on a curving object which continues behind the figure, attached to it at the back to the level of the thighs. Several traces of red paint are preserved: a red line around the neck of the figure, around the upper right arm, around the waist, and red paint covering the trapezoidal apron.

Description: Figurine standing with the left leg well advanced, the left arm hanging along the side of the body, attached to the body all along, the right arm bent across the chest, the over-sized thumb placed on top of the clenched hand. The figure's proportions are peculiar, his legs being unproportionately short, the head resting almost directly on the shoulders. Breast muscles are indicated in the stone. The legs are joined together at the back by the rounded object to which the figure is attached. The toes of each foot are delineated, and so are four fingers on the left hand, three fingers on the right (apart from the thumbs).

The figure is wearing a kilt cloth which is drawn to the sides exposing a tapering apron, colored red. A thin belt is indicated in the stone with red paint. On the upper right arm a horizontal red line indicating either the short sleeve of a garment or an armring. There is a red, painted line running around the neck of the figure as well, either confirming the presence of a short-sleeved upper garment or marking the outline of a broad collar placed close to the neck. The figure is wearing a rounded, *polos*-like headgear of unknown type which is broken off at the top but coming down a bit in the neck. The beardless head is almost resting directly on the shoulders, the face is rounded, the eyes almond-shaped and superficially set, the small mouth has delicate lips. The roughly carved ears are placed far back on the head, from a side view.

The back of the figure is very roughly carved, the back part of the left arm is not modelled but simply merges into the rough rendering of the back.

Ornamental details:

Technical and formal aspects: On both legs there are tool marks: plain, broad, vertical areas.

Dating: Middle of the 6th century B.C.

Bibliography: Pryce 1931, 21–22, fig. 16, C 20; Gaber-Saletan 1986, pl. 119; Senff 1993, 53, pl. 36.k–m.

Cat. 12 Torso of a colossal figure wearing kilt with richly decorated apron-*devanteau*
(*Figs. 11–12, Pls. 3.1–2 & 24*)

H. 71 cm, AOH 212 cm
The Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Inv. no. Sk 508

Provenance: Idalion

State of preservation: The torso is merely the frontal part of a statue which has been chipped off; preserved is part of the stomach area, the belt, and the front part of the decorated kilt, as well as the right hand which is attached to the side of the figure, the upper part of the thighs and the knee-caps. The back of the figure has thus been vertically cut off. On the left-hand side there are deep cuts in the stone. The rest of the surface of the stone is very well preserved, except for a few abraded patches including the center of the belt and right above it, and the center of the kilt. No traces of color.

Description: Fragmentary male figure standing with the left leg advanced and the right arm hanging along the side of the body. The hand is clenched, thumb and four fingers are delineated. There is an oval, recessed area between the thumb and the fingers. The belly is soft and slightly resting on the broad belt, both knee-caps are modeled in the stone, the better preserved right one is almond-shaped with a bulging ridge placed above, marking the lower part of the thigh muscle.

The man is wearing a kilt consisting of a plain kilt cloth which only partly overlaps a richly decorated, rectangular apron-*devanteau*,

displaying, among other things, an apotropaic head and winged cobras. The lower right-hand side of the apron is massive, due to the distance to the recessed right leg of the figure. Along the edges of the kilt there is a plain, thin band, indicated by a partly incised, partly modelled line. On the right-hand side of the exposed, central apron-*devanteau*, hanging from the belt, are three pointed sash ends coming down to approximately the same level, to about half the length of the apron. The left-hand side set is damaged and displays only one (partially) preserved sash end. They are all marked by characteristic raised, narrow outlines. The kilt is held up by a broad belt with flat, raised outer ridges, decorated by a geometric pattern consisting of parallel rows of three horizontal rectangles or "beads" lying on top of each other, all with rounded ends each fitting nicely into the neighbor. The very fragmentary upper part of the body preserves part of a decorated, tight-fitting dress. There is a broad, vertical band with thin, raised outer edges holding a stylized, vegetal decoration.

Ornamental details: The apron-*devanteau* has four distinct features. Moving from top to bottom, we find a grinning face with snake-like curls of hair; from the cheeks of this figure extend two snakes who each hang down in a curving manner, forming perfect coils from which the rearing heads rise, turned away from one another. From the chin of the apotropaic head hang two winged "cobras", tightly set, body to body, along the center of the rectangular object. Just above the bottom relief, their bodies curve away from one another, each creature rearing with two wings raised in a protective manner. At the very bottom of the apron-*devanteau* there is a broad, horizontal band with floral decoration, bordered at the top by a thin, horizontal edge.

The head placed just underneath the belt is rounded with the chin protruding underneath. Rounded ears are set high up on the sides of the head, a plain area running between them perhaps marking hair. Around the upper part of the head the hair continues in the shape of thin, snake- or rather worm-like curls. The eyes are sharply outlined, the eyebrows and the nose – rendered in three parts displaying the tip of the nose and the nostrils – form one line. The grinning mouth has a row of teeth in the upper jaw, two of which are large, pointed fangs. A tongue is extended from the open mouth, its tip with a small dent in the middle.

The bodies of the first pair of snakes are as broad as the "cobras'", but they have no hoods. Both creatures have open mouths, extended tongues, and outlined eyes.

The tightly set central serpents each have two plain wings, one hanging and one raised in the characteristic protective manner. The hoods of the cobras have not been rendered as such, but have rather been turned into their upper bodies above which their heads rise. Similar to the above counterparts both reptiles have eyes, wide-open mouths, and extended, forked tongues. On top of their heads are sun disks.

The horizontal relief at the very bottom of the apron-*devanteau* is decorated by a row of lotus flowers, three intact ones and one half.

The broad, vertical band on the upper part of the figure's body has a vegetal decoration consisting of parts of "stylized trees" or so-called Phoenician cup palmettes. One entire palmette is set below two halves coming in from the thin, raised edges framing the vegetal border. Between the halves, connecting them, is a small palmette. Three entire cup palmettes are preserved.

Technical and formal aspects: There is a difference in level between the uppermost and the lower part of the apron-*devanteau*; the area of the apotropaic head is markedly lower or deeper carved into the stone.

Dating: Middle of the 6th century B.C.

Bibliography: Stark 1863, 1–12, pl. 171; Hübner 1870, 119; Perrot & Chipiez 1885, 525 n. 1; Conze 1891, 199, no. 508; Ohnefalsch-Richter 1893, pls. 91.4, 140.2; de Ridder 1908, 47 n. 4; Sophocleous 1985, 171; Masson & Hermary 1988, 4–5, pls. 2, 5.2; Hermary 1990, 9 n. 24, 10; Markoe 1990a, 114 nn. 17, 19; Brehme *et al.* 2001, 165–166, no. 177; Senff 1993, 1 n. 2; Hermary 2001b, 28 n. 9; Faegersten forthcoming b; Faegersten forthcoming c.

Cat. 13 Statue with rosette diadem and kilt with cobras
(*Pls. 3.3–4 & 24*)

H. 104 cm, AOH 145 cm
The Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (the Cesnola collection). Inv. no. TC 6682.3, Sk 7873

Provenance: Idalion

State of preservation: The figure is intact except for the legs from below the knees and the tip of the nose. The right elbow and part of the right shoulder are restored. A large, vertical area on the right-hand side of the kilt has been chipped off. Most of the stone surface is in excellent condition, only the lowermost part of the apron is abraded. No traces of color.

Description: Standing male figure with the left leg advanced, the left arm hanging along the side of the body and the right arm bent across the chest, hand clenched. Both arms are slightly detached from the body at the level of the rib cage. Unlike the right counterpart the left arm has a slightly modeled biceps muscle and crook of the arm. All fingers delineated on both hands, the thumb nail indicated on the left one. Conical neck and broad shoulders, the breast muscles are visible through the garment. The belly is slightly protruding above the belt. The broadest point of the lower part of the body is over the figure's thighs.

The man is wearing a kilt with the outline of an apron descending centrally. The lower border of the kilt and the lower end of the apron are rendered in one single line. No further indications marking the vertical outlines of the apron (-*devanteau*) itself. Three sash ends of equal length hang down from the belt on the left-hand side of the kilt, their lower ends being characteristically broad. There are only slight traces of the equivalents on the other side. Centrally on the kilt two elongated cobras hang down, set only slightly apart. The better preserved left-hand serpent is rearing with thin body lacking a hood. The belt holding up the kilt is broad and plain. The upper part of the body is clad in a tight-fitting, short-sleeved garment: there are sleeves indicated on both upper arms, and a garment border right below the neck. On the man's head a broad diadem decorated by three large rosettes, one placed frontally and two on the sides. A border between diadem and forehead most probably indicates hair (see **Cat. 30** and **Cat. 52**). A rounded mass of hair is hanging down beneath the headgear behind the ears, resting on the shoulders. The ears are large and squarish in shape and placed quite far back on the side of the head, when viewed from the side. The face is oval, cheek bones are marked, the chin protruding. A slight smile on the lips. Broad, crescent-shaped, softly indicated eyebrows follow the outline of the eyes, which both have precise and sharp contours.

The back of the figure is plain and only roughly carved, but the outline of the buttocks is indicated. The lower border of the kilt is marked at the back, being shorter than in the front.

Ornamental details: Three rosettes decorate the headgear, fitting perfectly filling the entire height of the diadem. The frontal rosette is slightly smaller (4.5 cm) than the two on the sides (5.5 cm), due to the increased width of the diadem there. All three rosettes have a round, button-like center from which 16 petals stem.

Technical and formal aspects: On the sides of the back and behind the arms there are tool marks: plain, broad, vertical areas.

Dating: Middle of the 6th century B.C.

Bibliography: Hübner 1870, 119; *Schätze* 1972, 20, 45–46, no. 97; Lewe 1975, 57 n. 279; Ganslmayr & Pistofidis 1987, no. 213; Hermary 1990, pl. 2; Brönner 1990, 39–42, no. 26; Brehme *et al.* 2001, 132, no. 139; Hermary 2001b, 31.

Cat. 14 Upper part of body of life-size figure wearing broad, decorated collar
(*Pls. 4.1 & 24*)

H. 32 cm, W. 57 cm, AOH 163 cm
The Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (the Cesnola collection). Inv. no. Misc. 6682.7

Provenance: Idalion (?)

State of preservation: Preserved is the uppermost part of a male torso, reaching from the shoulders and the base of the neck to the rib cage. There are no remains of the figure's arms. Stone surface well preserved except for a central area below the broad collar which is abraded, possibly being the point of attachment of one of the figure's hands. The back of the figure seems to have been cut off vertically with a tool, possibly in modern times since there is a hollow metal rod placed there. No traces of color.

Description: Fragmentary upper part of the body of a male figure. The shoulders are rounded, the breast muscles modeled. The shoulders are markedly broader than the chest.

The figure is wearing a broad *usekh* collar with four registers containing stylized vegetal decoration. The registers are separated by thin bands, the band closest to the neck being flat and slightly broader than the others.

Ornamental details: The upper register of the collar is less broad than the following. It contains seven persea fruits fitting nicely into the available space. The second register is the broadest, containing thin, hanging triangles overlying two curving, horizontal lines. Three horizontal compartments are thus created between each set of triangles. The third register has broad, incised triangles, and from the band placed beneath them hang a very neat row of drops, being about twice as long as they are broad.

Technical and formal aspects: The second row of triangles is merely incised in the stone, while the curving, horizontal lines of the second register and the outer drops are modeled. In the case of the drops, they are found in level with the rest of the fragmentary body while the tiny triangular areas between them have been cut away and are at a slightly lower level.

Bibliography: Faegersten forthcoming c.

Cat. 15 Statuette torso wearing a kilt decorated with an apotropaic head
(*Fig. 11, Pls. 5.1 & 24*)

H. 18.5 cm, AOH 71 cm
The British Museum, London. Inv. no. 1884.12–10.307

Provenance: Idalion (?)

State of preservation: Preserved is the decorated kilt of a figure, from just beneath the belt to below the left knee and above the right one, respectively. On the right-hand side of the kilt a vertical, abraded area, possibly marking the point of attachment of the hanging right arm. The surface of the stone is abraded. No traces of color.

Description: Fragment of a figure standing with the left leg slightly advanced, the right arm possibly hanging along the side of the body. The figure's thighs are close together.

The man is dressed in a pleated kilt, faint, vertical lines running parallel on the right-hand side of the kilt cloth. Small part of the raised, rounded, lower ridge of the belt preserved.
There is a broad, centrally placed "apron-*devanteau*" with slightly convex sides hanging down from the belt decorated with an apotropaic head, two thin cobras, and a (very abraded) lower horizontal frieze. The vertical edges of the kilt follow the "apron" on both of its sides and are decorated by tiny, rounded rectangles or "beads". On the right-hand side of the kilt cloth there are three sash ends and part of a fourth one, on the corresponding side two sashes and part of a third.

In the figure's back there is no trace of decoration or dress details, except perhaps for a horizontal edge marking the upper border of the belt? Faint outline of the buttocks and legs.

Ornamental details: Right beneath the belt there is a head with broad face, ears placed far up on the sides, an area between the ears coming down in a rounded tip towards the eyes, and a broad nose. The cheeks are rounded, the mouth indicated. From the top of the head thin curls of hair emanate. From the figure's chin hang two thin snakes, their heads characteristically rearing away from one another. Between the creatures, also stemming from the chin of the figure, there is what looks like the thin stalk of a flower where the actual flower (lotus?) seems to be hanging upside down touching the horizontal band or zone which constitutes the lowermost border of the "apron". The decoration of this lower area is very abraded but consists perhaps of faint triangles.

Technical and formal aspects:

Bibliography: Pryce 1931, 21, fig. 14, C 18; Freyer-Schauenburg 1974, 157 n. 276; Wilson 1975b, pl. 18.B; Hermary 1985, 685 n. 92; Sophocleous 1985, 171; Gaber-Saletan 1986, pl. 131; Markoe 1990a, 111 n. 1, 114 n. 19; Reyes 1994, pl. 9; Wriedt Sørensen 1994, 81 n. 18; Tore 1995, 455.

Cat. 16 Torso of a figure wearing kilt with geometrically decorated apron
(*Pls. 4.2–3 & 25*)

H. 17.5 cm, AOH 66 cm
The Cyprus Museum, Nicosia. Inv. no. 1962/V–16/3

Provenance: Lympia

State of preservation: Preserved is the kilt of a figure from just above the belt to above the knees. The left forearm and hand are preserved and attached to the side of the kilt. The surface of the stone is well preserved. No traces of color.

Description: Fragment of a figure standing with the left leg slightly advanced, the left arm hanging along the side of the body. There are no traces of a hanging arm on the other side of the kilt. The muscular thighs are set close together. The left arm is attached to the side of the kilt, but it was detached from the figure's waist from just beneath the belt and upwards. The left hand is clenched around a round object. All fingers are delineated.

The man is dressed in a short kilt coming down to merely the center of the thighs, where the two sides of the cloth overlap and cover the upper part of a slightly trapezoidal apron much in the manner of an Egyptian *shenti*. Around the figure's slender waist there is a broad belt with raised outer ridges. The edges of the kilt cloth are decorated by three thin, parallel, incised lines marking a broad outer band. On each of its sides three sash ends hang down from the belt, the longer sash characteristically placed closest to the center of the kilt. Like the kilt cloth the apron has a plain band running around it, marked by similar incised lines. An additional thin line is running horizontally along its lowermost border.

In the figure's back there is no trace of decoration or dress details, except perhaps for a ridge marking the lower border of the kilt? The buttocks are outlined in the stone.

Ornamental details:

Technical and formal aspects: The figure has an unusual body shape with a very slender waist from which the rest of the body bulges out both frontally and in the back being much broader over the thighs (compare **Cat. 6** and **Cat. 43**).

Dating: Early 6th century B.C.

Bibliography: Unpublished

Cat. 17 Acephalous statue of male figure wearing a plain kilt
(*Pl. 25*)

H. 130 cm, AOH 190 cm
The Cyprus Museum, Nicosia. Inv. no. 1932/no. 20

Provenance: Louroukina (Trachonia)

State of preservation: Figure preserved from the base of the neck to above the ankles (?). Missing is thus the head and the lower parts of both legs. The right leg was broken off at the height of the knee but has been mended. No traces of color.

Description: Male figure standing with the left leg advanced, the left arm hanging along the side of the body and the right one bent, the clenched fist resting on the chest. Both arms are attached to the sides of the body all along. The left arm is unproportionately short, biceps muscle outlined on the upper arm. Both thumbs are long and over-sized, all fingers on the hands delineated. The squarish right-hand side breast muscle is indicated. The legs are separated below the kilt, the left leg has a stylized, almond-shaped knee-cap.

The man is wearing a long and plain kilt held up by a broad belt with broad and rounded outer ridges. The kilt is tripartite, consisting of two long kilt sides which cover only a tiny part of the sides of the central "apron", which has a tapering lower end. On the upper body a short-sleeved garment, the sleeves indicated on each upper arm.

The back of the figure is very rough, it even lacks any vertical differentiation between the body and the hanging left arm. The outline of the buttocks is indicated, however.

Ornamental details:

Technical and formal aspects: The figure's body is plain and has unusual, elongated proportions.

Dating: Early 6th century B.C.

Bibliography: Markides 1916.

Cat. 18 Upper part of body of slightly over-life-size figure wearing broad, decorated collar
(*Pl. 25*)

H. 24 cm, W. 47 cm, AOH 198 cm
The Cyprus Museum, Nicosia. Inv. no. "Potamia no. 130"

Provenance: Potamia, site "Ellines"

State of preservation: Preserved is the uppermost part of a male torso reaching from the shoulders and the base of the neck to the rib cage. There are no remains of the figure's arms, but remains of the left hand are still preserved on the figure's chest, the outline of the knuckles well visible. The left arm was vertically broken off, the right arm more horizontally. The stone surface is well preserved except for a large area on the right-hand side of the bust where there is damage to the stone. No traces of color.

Description: Fragmentary upper part of the body of a male figure. The shoulders are rounded and are markedly broader than the chest. The figure's left arm was bent and the clenched hand placed on the chest, the right arm was most probably hanging along the side of the figure.

The figure is wearing a broad *usekh* collar with three registers of stylized vegetal decoration. The registers are separated by thin bands.

Ornamental details: The upper register of the collar contains four preserved large, rounded shapes, possibly depicting persea fruits? The second register has incised hanging triangles regularly set, while the third consists of a lower row of hanging drops. The row of drops is very neatly carved.

Technical and formal aspects:

Bibliography: Markoe 1990a, 111 n. 1; Karageorghis 1979, 302, 309, pl. 42.130.

Cat. 19 Upper part of body of life-size figure wearing broad, decorated collar
(Pl. 25)

H. 33 cm, W. 51 cm, AOH 168 cm
The Cyprus Museum, Nicosia. Inv. no. 1968/XI–13/1 a–c

Provenance: Potamia, site "Ellines"

State of preservation: Preserved is the uppermost part of a male torso reaching from the shoulders and the base of the neck to the rib cage. The clenched right hand is attached to the figure's chest. The left arm is missing from below the shoulders but most of the right arm is preserved. It is bent and has a triple spiral armring placed around its upper part. The arm was broken off just beneath the shoulder and beneath the elbow, and most of the forearm is missing. The stone surface is well preserved. No traces of color.

Description: Fragmentary upper part of the body of a male figure standing with the right arm bent and the hand clenched on the chest, the left arm probably hanging along the side of the body. The shoulders are rounded, the breast muscles modeled. The rounded shoulders are markedly broader than the chest. The thumb of the preserved hand is over-sized and of even thickness.

The figure is wearing a broad *usekh* collar with three registers of stylized vegetal decoration. The registers are separated by plain, flat bands.

Ornamental details: The upper register of the collar is slightly less broad than the second. It contains thin, hanging triangles overlying two curving, horizontal lines. The second register is the broadest and contains lilies and buds linked with curving loops. The buds fit nicely into the area available between two flowers. The lower register consists of broad, hanging drops. Between their upper parts small, hanging triangles are indicated in the stone.

Technical and formal aspects:

Bibliography: Karageorghis 1969, 452, fig. 34.a–b; Karageorghis 1979, 309 n. 4; Maier 1989, 386 n. 29; Markoe 1990a, 111 n. 1, 115, fig. 9; Wriedt Sørensen 1994, 81 n. 17.

Cat. 20 Life-size figure with helmet-like double crown, kilt, and collar
(*Pls. 5.2–4 & 26*)

H. 127 cm, AOH 178 cm
The John and Mable Ringling Museum, Sarasota. Inv. no. SN 28.1913

Provenance: Golgoi (Ayios Photios), the western site

State of preservation: The statue is complete except for the right arm which is missing from below the shoulder to above the wrist, and the legs from above the knees down. There is a slightly diagonal, horizontal break in the stone along the center of the kilt and just above the left hand, and thus the statue consists of two parts. The front part of the neck has been reconstructed, and the preserved right forearm and hand, and front part of the clenched left hand are damaged. No traces of color.

Description: Male figure standing with the left leg slightly advanced, the left arm hanging along the side of the body, the right arm bent and the clenched hand placed on the chest. The upper part of the body is very plain and of limited width, the shoulders in comparison broad and rounded, the figure's head comparatively large. Just beneath the shoulders the upper torso is of very limited width, while slightly broader, in fact, from below the bent right arm. The upper part of the body was most probably rendered as naked, since there is a large, incised, inverted V-shape marking the lower boundary of the thorax (see **Cat. 26**). The preserved arm is very plain in outline, a faint horizontal modeling marking the crook of the arm.

The figure is wearing a broad belt with raised outer ridges holding up a plain kilt cloth. The two sides of the cloth are drawn apart, revealing the central part of a decorated "apron". Along the vertical kilt edges there are small, rounded "beads", much like corn kernels in shape (see **Cat. Ph1**). Along the center of the "apron" two thin cobras hang down, the better preserved right-hand-side creature has a rounded hood, a small mouth, and remains of a sun disk on its head. Around the figure's neck a broad *usekh* collar with three registers of stylized decoration. On the preserved upper left arm is an armring decorated by a small, central rosette. The figure is wearing a rounded headgear with knob on top, which could perhaps best be described as a helmet-like double crown. The rounded border of the "red crown" is decorated by a band with incised zig-zag lines. The uppermost part of the outer part of the headgear (the "red crown") ends in two stylized lilies placed on each side of the conical knob. Along the forehead, beneath the "crown", there is a row of small, stylized, pearl-like locks of hair. Double spiral earrings in each ear. The face is neatly modeled with thin lips and large, half-moon shaped eyes with sharp outlines. The eyebrows are carved in low relief and are marked with incised, oblique lines creating a "feathered" pattern (see **Cat. 24**, **Cat. 58**, and **Cat. 61**). The nose is long and straight, the lips small and slightly protruding. The figure has a beard with sharp and beautifully curving outline, carved in low relief.

The back of the figure is very rough and plain. There is the outline of the buttocks, however, and the belt runs all around the figure, although plain and slightly irregular in shape in the back.

Ornamental details: The upper register of the broad collar contains large, half-moon-shaped objects separated by plain, vertical bars. The second register has sets of three rectangular bars placed on top of each other placed beside one another in a row. The lower register consists of rectangular, hanging bars rather than drops. Between the tops of certain of them small, hanging triangles are rendered in the stone. Unlike most other broad collars known this one lacks a thin raised ridge between the first and the second register of decoration. There is, however, a large, rounded ridge placed closest to the neck (see **Cat. 30**).

Technical and formal aspects: The stylization of the upper torso is unusual, featuring a large, inverted V-shaped line.

Dating: The first decades of the 6th century B.C.

Bibliography: Cesnola 1877, 129–130; Cesnola 1879, pl. 28.2; Cesnola 1885, pl. 33.212; de Forest 1928, 88–90, no. 346; Gjerstad 1948, 101; Masson 1971a, 317; Maier 1989, 383 nn. 18–19, 386 n. 29; Markoe 1990a, 111 n. 1; Cassimatis 1993, 45; Brönner 1994, 50–51 (l); Wriedt Sørensen 1994, 81 nn. 17, 21; Marangou 2000, 195 (after Doell); Hermary 2001b, 29 n. 23.

Cat. 21 Life-size figure with pleated kilt, floral collar, and double crown
(*Fig. 5, Pls. 6.1 & 26*)

H. 130 cm, AOH 177 cm
The Metropolitan Museum, New York. Inv. no. 74.51.2472

Provenance: Golgoi (Ayios Photios), the western site (?)

State of preservation: The statue is complete except for the legs which are missing from above the knees down, the lowermost part of the "apron", the left hand, the right thumb, and the top of the high crown. Part of the left shoulder and the outer part of the upper left arm have been reconstructed. The stone surface is in excellent condition, details and contours sharp. There is an area of deep cuts in the stone, however, on the bent, right arm, on the right-hand side of the kilt, and on the right-hand side of the figure's face. Several traces of red color: on the "apron", the belt, the nipples, the broad collar, in the nostrils, and on the crown.

Description: Male figure standing with the left leg advanced, the left arm hanging along the side of the body, the right arm bent and the clenched hand placed on the chest. The upper part of the body is plain, cylindrical, and of limited width, but it has breast muscles and even some outline of the abdominal muscles rendered in the stone. The nipples are incised and painted red, the navel is indicated. The upper part of the left arm is attached to the body, and it is massive, with the biceps slightly outlined. The arm is detached from the body from above the elbow to the lower forearm. The bent right arm is comparatively thinner. The neck of the figure is conical, much broader at its base than at the point where it meets the head.

The figure is wearing a broad belt with raised outer ridges decorated by a row of three horizontal bars separated by one vertical bar. The belt is placed around the hips, dipping down noticeably in the front. It is holding up a pleated kilt cloth. The two sides of the kilt cloth overlap, covering the upper part of an "apron" with concave sides, much in the manner of the Egyptian *shenti*. The "apron" is decorated, however, with four "sash ends" hanging on each side of two central cobras. Beneath the serpents there is a broad horizontal ridge and beneath it there is a (damaged) horizontal band with floral decoration. The edges of the kilt cloth have small, rectangular "beads" attached all along. The pleats of the kilt follow the outline of the body, they are not hanging vertically but rather softly following the rounded outline of the figure's thighs. There is some distance between the lowermost part of the "apron" and the recessed right leg. Around the figure's neck a broad *usekh* collar with three registers of stylized decoration. The figure is wearing a double crown, the concave "white crown" placed inside the "red" one. On the front part of the "white crown" the attachment of a cylindrical feature, perhaps the lower part of a cobra? There is red paint on the upper part of the crown. Below the headgear, along the forehead, there is a double row of snail curls, and in the back a single row of much larger, although similar, curls. The symmetrical face has sharp and precise contours, the almond-shaped eyes both have tear ducts. The eyebrows are large and rounded and continue the line of the large, straight nose. Small lips with a slight smile. The figure has a neatly carved beard with snail curls arranged in several rows.

The back of the figure is flat and plain. There are no indications of the figure's dress in the back, but the outline of the buttocks is indicated.

Ornamental details: The cobras hanging down on the "apron" have wide hoods, eyes and open mouths indicated with tongues inside, and sun disks on their heads. Below them the small fragments preserved of the horizontal, floral border shows that it was a frieze of lilies and buds that ended the "apron", perhaps linked with curving loops? There is red paint between the flowers.

The decorated registers of the collar are separated by thin, raised ridges. The upper register contains seven persea fruits beautifully arranged in the available space. Each fruit is attached to the upper

ridge by a thin, vertical ridge, that is, they are depicted as hanging (see **Cat. 48**). Around the fruits red color has been added. The second register has hanging triangles, each with characteristic raised, narrow outline, overlying three slightly curving, horizontal double lines. The three areas between the double lines are painted red. There is a lower row of hanging drops, almost triangular in shape, where every second one is painted red. Between the upper part of the drops there are tiny hanging triangles rendered in the stone.

The belt and the broad collar preserve traces of the application of "color as pattern" (*Fig. 5*). On the belt every second horizontal bar is painted red, and on the floral collar every second large, hanging triangle is painted red, as is every second drop of the lower row.

Technical and formal aspects: The stone surface is very smooth and appears to have been polished.

Dating: Late 6th century B.C.

Bibliography: Colonna-Ceccaldi 1873, pl. 1; Cesnola 1877, 130–131; Cesnola 1879, 109, 407, pl. 21.2; Colonna-Ceccaldi 1882, pl. 4; Cesnola 1885, pl. 43.280; Perrot & Chipiez 1885, 526, 530, fig. 358; de Ridder 1908, 47 n. 7, 67; Myres 1914, 225–226, no. 1363; Myres 1940–1945a, 104, pl. 31; Gjerstad 1948, 99–101; Lewe 1975, 19–20; Markoe 1988a, 17 n. 7; Maier 1989, 383, 386 n. 29; Brönner 1990, 112, pl. 25.2; Hermary 1990, pl. 3; Markoe 1990a, 111 n. 1, 112, fig. 2; Cassimatis 1993, 45; Senff 1993, 50, 53 n. 428, pl. 61.a; Brönner 1994, 50 (i), pl. 15.b–c; Wriedt Sørensen 1994, 81, pl. 22.b; Karageorghis *et al.* 2000, 117, no. 182; Marangou 2000, 44, 195 (after Doell), 224, 345; Childs 2001, 88; Hermary 2001b, 29; Faegersten forthcoming a; Faegersten forthcoming b.

Cat. 22 Torso of a colossal statue with kilt and decorated "apron"
(*Pls. 6.2 & 26*)

H. 84 cm, AOH 365 cm
The John and Mable Ringling Museum, Sarasota. Inv. no. SN 28.1923

Provenance: Golgoi (Ayios Photios), the western site

State of preservation: Torso preserving the lower part of a male body, from below the belt to just below the left knee. The back side has been vertically cut or sawn off. The condition of the well-carved, frontal surface is very good, apart from certain abraded areas like the left leg, the left-hand side of the kilt cloth, and on and around the cobra head and palmette on the same side. No traces of color.

Description: Fragment of a colossal figure standing with the left leg well advanced. There are no traces on the sides of the kilt which reveal the position of the arms. Faint indications of the knee-cap on the advanced left leg.

The figure is wearing a kilt cloth with decorated, vertical edges, each with an outline of a row of semi-circles and inside that a broad, incised meander pattern set within incised, vertical outlines. The two sides of the cloth are drawn apart, revealing the central part of a decorated "apron" with concave sides. Along the center of the "apron" two cobras hang down body to body, beneath the head of each creature a volute-and-palmette flower, and beneath their bodies, in the lower center of the "apron", a Hathoric head. On each side of the cobras, but still on the "apron" itself, are four sash ends with rounded lower ends, hanging down to more than half the length of the central object. Their rounded lower ends taper in the opposite manner from that usually found. At the top of the "apron", but still below the belt, the sash ends and cobras hang down from a plain, slightly convex, horizontal area of unknown identification.

Ornamental details: The better preserved right-hand cobra has a thin body with a separately carved, rounded hood, a round eye with small, parallel lines running from it, a small mouth from which the forked tongue extends (touching the palmette placed beneath), and a sun disk on its head (which covers the lower part of one of the sash ends). The volute-and-palmette flowers each characteristically consists of a short and broad stem ending in two volutes, coiling out- and downwards. In the central depression created between the two there is a tiny paradise flower: two leaves, a rounded, vegetal segment, and a dome rising above connecting the outermost points of the leaves. From the top of this flower, in its turn, nine oblong, rounded leaves emanate, creating the actual "palmette". Underneath the cobras there is the head of a figure with rounded face, cow ears, and a heavy wig held together by sets of thin bands at at least four points. The wig characteristically curls outwards at its lower ends. Beneath the head there is a semi-circular area marking an *aegid* or plain, broad collar. On each side of this Hathoric head there are faint rectangular incisions in the stone, creating a pattern of squares on each side.

Technical and formal aspects: The figure's legs are separately carved underneath the kilt cloth, or rather the "apron".

Bibliography: Cesnola 1885, pl. 22.50; Perrot & Chipiez 1885, 534, fig. 360; Ohnefalsch-Richter 1893, 199, fig. 168, pl. 140.5; de Forest 1928, 99, no. 372; Masson 1971b, 32; Hermary 1981, 71 n. 35; Caubet & Pic 1982, 243 n. 26; Hermary 1985, 676, 681; Sophocleous 1985, 133, fig. 18; Masson & Hermary 1988, pl. 5.5; Markoe 1990a, 111 n. 1, 113, fig. 5; Hermary 1998a, 71.

Cat. 23 Life-size statue with kilt, striped, short-sleeved garment, and broad collar
(*Pls. 6.3–4 & 27*)

H. 137 cm, AOH 190 cm
The John and Mable Ringling Museum, Sarasota. Inv. no. SN 28.1927

Provenance: Golgoi (Ayios Photios), the western site

State of preservation: The statue is complete except for the legs which are missing from above the knees down. Some damage to the right elbow. The surface of the stone is very weathered, especially the face and the central part of the kilt and belt. No traces of color.

Description: Male figure standing with the left leg slightly advanced, the left arm hanging along the side of the body, the right arm bent and the clenched hand placed on the chest. The upper part of the body is very plain and of limited width, the shoulders in comparison broad, flat, and rounded, the figure's head comparatively large. Just beneath the shoulders the upper torso is of very limited width, while slightly broader, in fact, from below the bent right arm. The neck is cone-shaped, being much broader at its base. There is a thin line dividing neck and shoulders, a line which apparently does not coincide with the upper limit of the broad collar, which is placed slightly further down. The hanging left arm is quite plain in outline, the index finger diminutive and rounded within the clenched hand. The bent right arm is less massive than the left one, but the clenched hand is large. Both thumbs are over-sized.

The figure is wearing a broad belt with raised outer ridges holding up a pleated kilt cloth: a set of vertical pleats are preserved on the right-hand side of the cloth. The two sides of the cloth are drawn apart, revealing the central part of a decorated "apron". There are faint traces of vertical sash ends on the left-hand side of the kilt, and at the bottom end of the "apron" there is a very abraded area which may have held a horizontal, decorated frieze. Double, vertical lines along the upper part of the body and sleeves on both upper arms show that the figure was wearing a striped, short-sleeved garment. Around the figure's neck a thin *usekh* collar with only one register of (floral) decoration. The figure is wearing a plain kerchief coming down to the shoulders. Double spiral earrings in each ear. The weathered face has large, superficially set eyes, small and slightly

protruding lips, and the curving outline of a beard carved in low relief.

The back of the figure is rough and plain. There is the outline of the buttocks, however.

Ornamental details: The single register of the broad collar contains large, hanging paradise flowers. Its lower end lacks the characteristic row of hanging drops but ends in a double line.

Technical and formal aspects:

Dating: The first decades of the 6th century B.C.

Bibliography: Cesnola 1885, pl. 2.4; de Forest 1928, 88–89, no. 344; Gjerstad 1948, 100–101; Masson 1971a, 317; Kershaw 1983, 74, no. 201; Hermary 1989a, 52 (text in connection with no. 67, our **Cat. 41**); Wriedt Sørensen 1994, 81 n. 17; Marangou 2000, 195 (after Doell); Hermary 2001b, 31 n. 33.

Cat. 24 Slightly over-life-size figure with kilt and striped, short-sleeved garment
(*Pls. 7.1 & 27*)

H. 136.5 cm, AOH 190 cm
The Metropolitan Museum, New York. Inv. no. 74.51.2467

Provenance: Golgoi (Ayios Photios), the western site

State of preservation: The statue is complete except for the legs which are missing from below the knees down. The head was broken off at the base of the neck but has been put back in place. There is a chunk of stone missing from the figure's right cheek. The surface of the stone is well preserved except for the "apron" which is rather weathered. No traces of color.

Description: Male figure standing with the left leg slightly advanced, the right arm hanging along the side of the body, the left arm bent and the clenched hand placed on the chest. The upper part of the body is very plain and of limited width, the shoulders in comparison very broad and rounded. The neck is similarly very limited in width in comparison to the shoulders. Despite the fact that the figure seems to be wearing a short-sleeved garment the nipples are incised in the stone, and thus visible through the "textile". The hanging right arm is massive, with the biceps muscle of the upper arm indicated. The bent left counterpart is much thinner and rendered as plain. On the forearm there is an incised Cypro-syllabic inscription reading: "Tamigorau" (the genitive form of the name Tamigoras, thus "[I am] of Tamigoras"). Both thumbs are over-sized, the right one has a large, incised nail. Each hand is clenched around an oval or drop-shaped object which is visible not only on the front but also on the back of the figure's hands. Incised, almond-shaped knee-caps on both legs.

The figure is wearing a broad belt with raised outer ridges and a central, incised belt buckle. The belt is holding up a plain kilt cloth. The two sides of the cloth are drawn apart, revealing the central part of an "apron". On both sides of the kilt cloth there are traces of incised sash ends. Along the center of the (abraded) "apron" two thin cobras hang down at a certain distance from each other, both with wide hoods. Double, vertical lines along the upper part of the body and sleeves on both upper arms show that the figure was wearing a striped, short-sleeved garment. The figure is wearing a plain kerchief coming down to the shoulders, hanging down slightly on the back. The face is neatly modeled with thin lips and large, almond-shaped eyes with sharp outlines. The eyebrows are carved in low relief and are marked with incised, oblique lines creating a "feathered" pattern (see **Cat. 20**, **Cat. 58**, and **Cat. 61**). The same pattern is found on the figure's moustache, which is carved in low relief. The nose is broad and straight, the nostrils are indicated. Slight smile on the lips. The figure has a beard with sharp and beautifully curving outline, carved in low relief.

The back of the figure is particularly well carved, even if it is rather plain. The buttocks are rounded and the outline of the thighs well modeled (see **Cat. 49**). The belt is indicated in the back but rendered as plain and not with raised outer ridges. Lower border of the kilt cloth visible as well.

Ornamental details:

Technical and formal aspects: The figure's legs are separately carved underneath the kilt cloth, or rather the "apron". Behind the figure's left thigh there is the rounded upper part of what can only be a support, which seems to have been placed all along the leg down to the statue base, for stabilization.

Dating: The first decades of the 6th century B.C.

Bibliography: Cesnola 1885, pl. 3.5; Myres 1914, 223–225, no. 1361; Perrot & Chipiez 1885, 67, fig. 356; Myres 1940–1945a, pl. 31; Bossert 1951, 4, 17, fig. 45; Masson 1971a, 315, 317, fig. 9; Lewe 1975, 58; Davis 1979, 15 n. 19; Masson 1983, 283, no. 263, fig. 81; Hermary 1985, 685 n. 92; Connelly 1988, 78 n. 38; Markoe 1988a, 17 nn. 6–7; Connelly 1989, 214; Hermary 1989a, 50 (text in connection with no. 64, our **Cat. 61**); Markoe 1990a, 111 n. 1, 120 n. 56; Gubel 1991, 135 n. 38; Senff 1993, 53 n. 426; Wriedt Sørensen 1994, 81 n. 17; Karageorghis *et al.* 2000, 116, no. 181; Marangou 2000, 193, 195 (after Doell); Childs 2001, 88; Hermary 2001b, 31 n. 33; Kourou *et al.* 2002, 24.

*Cat. 25 Statuette with pleated kilt and kerchief
(*Pl. 27*)

H. 32 cm (?), AOH 45 cm
The Metropolitan Museum, New York. Inv. no. ?

Provenance: Golgoi (Ayios Photios), the western site

State of preservation: The statue is complete except for the legs which are missing from below the left knee and from below the right-hand side of the kilt, respectively. According to Myres 1914 (but Cesnola 1885 makes no mention of this) there was red paint on the upper part of the figure's body, one red band placed vertically in the center of what apparently is a short-sleeved garment, and red bands running from the neck along both shoulders down to the edges of the short sleeves.

Description: Male figure standing with the left leg advanced, the left arm hanging along the side of the body, the right arm bent and the clenched hand placed on the chest. The upper part of the body is very plain and of limited width, the shoulders in comparison broad and rounded. Breast muscles are modeled in the stone. Just beneath the shoulders the upper torso is of very limited width, while slightly broader, in fact, from below the bent right arm. Both arms are very plain in outline. There is an incised knee-cap on the left leg.

The figure is wearing a broad belt with raised outer ridges holding up a vertically pleated kilt cloth. The pleats cover the entire cloth and there is no trace of an "apron", except for along the lower border of the kilt which descends centrally in a semi-circular shape. The figure is wearing a plain kerchief coming down to the shoulders. The face has large, superficially set eyes and small and slightly protruding lips curving in a slight smile.

Ornamental details:

Technical and formal aspects:

Dating: Middle of the 6th century B.C.

Bibliography: Cesnola 1885, pl. 26.70; Myres 1914, 154, no. 1036; Davis 1979, 15 n. 19.

Cat. 26 Life-size figure with kilt, broad, decorated collar, and kerchief
(*Pls. 7.2 & 28*)

H. 135 cm, AOH 185 cm
The Princeton Art Museum, Princeton
(Since 1990 on loan from the Metropolitan Museum, New York. Inv. no. 74.51.2470)

Provenance: Golgoi (Ayios Photios), the eastern (temple) site

State of preservation: The statue is complete except for the legs which are missing from below the knees down, the left arm from below the shoulder, the front part of the right hand, the nose, and part of the lips. There are remains of the left hand on the figure's chest. The head and part of the right-hand side of the broad collar were broken off but have been put back in place. Large, vertical block of stone missing on the statue's back, from below the shoulders and all the way down. The frontal stone surface is in excellent condition, details and contours sharp. Red paint preserved on the (damaged) lower lip.

Description: Male figure standing with the left leg advanced, the right arm hanging along the side of the body, the left arm bent and the clenched hand placed on the chest. Both arms were detached from the body all along its upper part. The preserved, hanging right arm is massive, biceps muscle slightly outlined and the crook of the arm softly modeled. Breast muscles are modeled as well and there is even (possibly) some outline of the abdominal muscles: there is a faintly modeled, inverted, V-shaped line or ridge marking the lower boundary of the thorax (see **Cat. 20**). The right thigh muscle is visible, rendered as a ridge above the knee-cap. A similar but less well-preserved rendering on the left leg.

The figure is wearing a broad, plain belt placed around the hips, dipping down in the front. It is holding up a plain kilt cloth. The two sides of the cloth are slightly drawn apart revealing the central part of a rectangular, decorated "apron". On both sides of the kilt cloth there are three long, symmetrical sash ends, reaching to about 2/3 of the cloth. Along the center of the "apron" two large cobras hang down close together, and above them two additional serpents are placed. There is some distance between the lowermost part of the "apron" and the recessed right leg. Around the figure's neck a broad *usekh* collar with three registers of stylized decoration. Spiral armring around the upper part of the preserved right arm. The figure is wearing a plain kerchief hanging down on the shoulders, its lower ends horizontally cut off. The symmetrical face has sharp and precise contours, the almond-shaped eyes both have tear ducts. The eyebrows are broad, flat, and rounded in outline continuing the line of the nose. Small lips with a slight smile. The figure has a beard with a beautiful, curved outline rendered in low relief.

The upper part of the figure's back has rough traces of carving. The armring on the upper right arm is partly indicated in the stone. The rest of the back is damaged.

Ornamental details: The large cobras who hang down centrally on the "apron" have wide hoods, eyes and mouths indicated, and sun disks on their heads. Above them, on each side of their bodies, two smaller serpents hang down, forming perfect loops just above the heads of the larger reptiles. They are hoodless but are similarly rearing. Both have a small mouth indicated.

The decorated registers of the collar are separated by thin, raised ridges. The upper register contains five incised persea fruits beautifully arranged in the available space. The second register has hanging triangles overlying three slightly curving, horizontal double lines. There is a lower row of beautifully arranged, hanging drops. Between the upper parts of the drops there are tiny hanging triangles rendered in the stone.

Technical and formal aspects: The figure's legs are separately carved underneath the kilt cloth, or rather the "apron".

Dating: Middle of the 6th century B.C.

Bibliography: Cesnola 1885, pl. 4.6; de Ridder 1908, 47 n. 7; Meurer 1912, 221, fig. 14 (drawing of the collar); Myres 1914, 225, no. 1362; Gjerstad 1948, 101; Karageorghis 1961, 287 n. 1; Spiteris 1970, 159; Freyer-Schauenburg 1974, 157 n. 276; Hermary 1981, 18 n. 30; Hermary 1985, 685 n. 92; Markoe 1988a, 17 nn. 6–7; Hermary 1989a, 50 (text in connection with no. 64, our **Cat. 61**); Markoe 1990a, 111 n. 1, 115 n. 20, fig. 1; Senff 1993, 50, 53 nn. 426, 428, pl. 61.b; Wriedt Sørensen 1994, 81 n. 17; Hermary 2001b, 31 n. 33; Faegersten forthcoming a.

***Cat. 27 Life-size figure with kilt, broad, decorated collar, and kerchief**
(*Pl. 28*)

H. 119 cm, AOH 173 cm
Present whereabouts unknown.
Bought by R.D. Brixey from the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, in 1928.

Provenance: Golgoi (Ayios Photios), the eastern (temple) site

State of preservation: The statue is complete except for the legs which are missing from below the knees down, and the right arm from beneath the shoulder. Remains of the right wrist are preserved on the side of the kilt. Judging by the published photo it is clear that the head and a tiny part of the right shoulder was broken off. It cannot be stated with certainty that the present head belongs to the figure. Most of the kilt is cut off vertically, a large, frontal block of stone is missing. The remaining surface of the stone seems to be well preserved.

Description: Male figure standing with the left leg advanced, the right arm hanging along the side of the body, the left arm bent and the clenched hand placed on the chest. Both arms were detached from the upper part of the body. The upper torso is plain and of limited width, the shoulders in comparison broad, flat, and rounded.

The figure is wearing a broad belt with raised outer ridges placed around the hips, dipping down in the front. It is holding up a kilt cloth. Judging by the tiny, uppermost part of the kilt which is preserved, the two sides of the cloth are slightly drawn apart revealing a central "apron". Several parallel, vertical lines right beneath the belt indicate the presence of at least two, maybe three, sash ends on each side of the "apron" (see **Cat. 32**, **Cat. 33**, **Cat. 42**, and **Cat. 60**). On the upper right-hand side of the kilt, actually placed on top of the sash ends (?), there is what seems to be a rounded shape indicated in the stone, of unknown identification. Possibly, there are vertical lines on the upper part of the figure's body indicating the presence of a striped, short-sleeved garment; there may be a thin line on the upper left arm marking that sleeve, but it is difficult to tell from the available photo. Around the figure's neck a broad *usekh* collar with four registers of stylized floral decoration. A double spiral armring around the upper part of the preserved left arm, its central part consisting of a rosette. The figure is wearing a plain kerchief hanging down to the shoulders, its lower ends horizontally cut off. The face has sharp contours, the almond-shaped eyes are framed by raised ridges. The eyebrows seem to be broad, flat, and rounded in outline continuing the line of the nose. Small lips with a slight smile. The figure has a beard with a curved outline rendered in low relief.

Ornamental details: The broad belt is decorated by rosettes, at least one petalled flower is visible in the published photograph.

The decorated registers of the collar are separated by plain, flat ridges. The upper register contains five incised persea fruits; it is possible that at least one of the fruits is connected to the upper ridge by a thin, vertical bar. The second register has thin, hanging triangles overlying two incised, horizontal lines. The third row contains hanging paradise flowers, their stems connected to the ridge above.

Finally, there is a lower row of hanging drops. Between the upper part of the drops there are tiny hanging triangles rendered in the stone.

The ends of the double armring with central rosette may have some modeling at the four ends closest to the flower, but this is difficult to discern.

Technical and formal aspects:

Dating: Middle of the 6th century B.C.

Bibliography: Cesnola 1885, pl. 5.7; de Forest 1928, 92–93, no. 354; Freyer-Schauenburg 1974, 157 n. 276; Markoe 1990a, 111 n. 1; Senff 1993, 53 n. 426; Wriedt Sørensen 1994, 81 n. 17; Hermary 2001b, 31 n. 33.

Cat. 28 Male head with kerchief and fragmentary collar
(*Pl. 28*)

H. 35 cm, AOH 190 cm
The Metropolitan Museum, New York. Inv. no. 74.51.2873

Provenance: Golgoi (Ayios Photios), the eastern (temple) site

State of preservation: The head of a figure, cut off at the base of the neck with part of the broad, decorated collar preserved on each side. A very well preserved head, only the lower left-hand side of the nose damaged. The carved surface of the stone is in excellent condition. No traces of color.

Description: The head of a male, bearded figure. The ears are well modeled, the outline of the beard characteristically curving. Thin lips are drawn up in a slight smile. The eyes have sharp contours, each a tear duct. The eyebrows follow the outline of each eye, being flat and broad. Nostrils are indicated.

The figure is wearing a plain kerchief reaching down to the shoulders.

Ornamental details: The preserved parts of the broad collar display two decorated registers separated by thin, flat ridges. In the upper register incised triangles, in the second the upper part of what can be a persea fruit.

Technical and formal aspects:

Dating: Middle of the 6th century B.C.

Bibliography: Cesnola 1877, 141; Cesnola 1879, pl. 30.2; Cesnola 1885, pl. 23.52; Myres 1914, 201, no. 1272; Gjerstad 1948, 114, 362 n. 7; Marangou 2000, 42.

Cat. 29 Life-size statue with tresses, wearing a kilt with "*devanteau*"
(*Pls. 7.3 & 28*)

H. 105 cm, AOH 146 cm
The Metropolitan Museum, New York. Inv. no. 74.51.2471

Provenance: Golgoi (Ayios Photios), the eastern (temple) site

State of preservation: The statue is complete except for the legs which are missing from below the knees down. The stone surface is in excellent condition, details and contours sharp. Red paint is preserved on lips, collar, belt, "*devanteau*", and on two of the sash ends, red and yellow paint is preserved below the figure's neck indicating a broad collar.

Description: Male figure standing with the left leg slightly advanced and both arms hanging along the sides of the body, hands clenched. The arms are slightly detached from the body at the level of the waist. Both arms are modeled, the crook of each arm indicated by a soft, horizontal area. Breast muscles are modeled high up on the upper torso. Both almond-shaped knee-caps are visible. Nails are indicated on both thumbs.

The figure is wearing a broad belt with flat, raised outer ridges, decorated by a row of sets of three horizontal rectangles or "beads" placed on top of each other. There is red paint preserved on some of the "beads". The belt is holding up a plain kilt cloth. From the belt hangs a rectangular object, framed by the elongated bodies of two rearing cobras. The "*devanteau*" is very similar to the belt in its decoration, with rows of three vertcal rectangles or "beads". On each side of the central "*devanteau*" there are four sash ends, the fourth one placed furthest away to the sides, being only faintly outlined. The lower outline of the kilt reflects the lower part of a rectangular "apron" on which the two rearing creatures are placed. The whole lower part of this "apron", that is, the area around each cobra, is painted red. The figure is wearing a short-sleeved garment, indicated through the sleeves on both upper arms. Just below the figure's neck there is a semi-circular area holding red and yellow paint, most probably indicating the broad collar worn by the figure. Spiral armrings around the upper part of both arms with three levels visible in the front. The figure's coiffure is neatly carved and arranged in horizontal and vertical tresses, three and four tresses respectively hanging down on each side of the neck, to the shoulders. Above the forehead are four horizontal ridges of hair, the front one decorated by small, parallel, vertical lines. The figure's neck is slightly conical in shape, the symmetrical face has sharp and precise contours, the almond-shaped eyes both have tear ducts. The eyebrows are quite thin, flat, and rounded in outline continuing the line of the nose. Thin lips with a slight smile. Nostrils are indicated. Quite uniquely the two small, vertical, parallel lines between nose and mouth are indicated.

The back of the figure is flat and only roughly carved. There are no indications of dress, jewelry, or hair in the back. From above the waist a square, vertical block of stone is missing.

Ornamental details: The large cobras who hang down centrally on the "apron" have wide hoods, the front parts of their heads are truncated. They both have eyes and mouths indicated and sun disks on their heads.

There seems to be three registers of decoration in the painted red and yellow collar. The two upper registers are thinner than the bottom one, and both seem to contain rounded shapes.

In each set of four sash ends the second sash from the center is painted red. It is possible that this reflects the application of "color as pattern", where both groups of sashes may have seen alternating colors (blue?–red–blue?) (see **Cat. 1**).

Technical and formal aspects: The figure's legs are separately carved underneath the kilt cloth, or rather the "apron".

On each sash end there is an incised, diagonal line running from top to bottom. Could this be guiding lines for the stone carver which have been left in the stone?

Dating: Late 6th century B.C.

Bibliography: Cesnola 1877, 145; Cesnola 1879, pl. 29.2; Cesnola 1885, pl. 9.11; Perrot & Chipiez 1885, 526–529, fig. 355; de Ridder 1908, 47 n. 6; Deonna 1909, 304; Myres 1914, 219–220, no. 1356; Gjerstad 1948, 319 n. 11, 360 n. 10, pl. 10; Karageorghis 1961, 287 n. 1; Freyer-Schauenburg 1974, 157 n. 276; Lewe 1975, 58; Hermary 1981, 18 n. 30; Hermary 1985, 685 n. 92; Markoe 1990a, 111 n. 1, 113 n. 15; Senff 1993, 29 n. 246, 53 n. 429; Wriedt Sørensen 1994, 81 n. 17; Karageorghis *et al.* 2000, 115, no. 180; Marangou 2000, 195 (after Doell), 224; Hermary 2001b, 33; Jenkins 2001, 170 n. 50; Faegersten forthcoming b.

Cat. 30 Statuette with helmet-like crown, kilt, and broad, decorated collar
(*Figs. 10–11, Pls. 7.4 & 29*)

H. 59 cm, AOH 80 cm
The Metropolitan Museum, New York. Inv. no. 74.51.2603

Provenance: Golgoi (Ayios Photios), eastern (temple) site

State of preservation: The statue is complete except for the bent left arm which is missing from below the elbow, and the legs from the knees down. Large part of the nose is missing as well. Part of the right shoulder has been reconstructed, and the legs have been cut off horizontally (the knee-caps were formerly intact): for the two last statements compare the photographs published in Marangou 2000 and Karageorghis 2000. The head and a small part of the broad collar were broken off but have been put back in place. The head is distinctly differently colored than the rest of the body, but there can be no doubt that it belongs together with the torso since the decoration of the collar corresponds. No traces of color.

Description: Male figure standing with the left leg slightly advanced, the right arm hanging along the side of the body, the left arm bent and originally extended forward. Beneath that arm there is what looks like a short, fragmentary sword with a raised, thin, central line, a weapon which was connected to the double bands placed over the figure's left shoulder. Most probably, the figure was resting his left hand on the handle of the sword (compare **Cat. 35**). The upper part of the body is very plain and of limited width, the shoulders in comparison broad, flat, and rounded. Both arms are freed from the body and this carving has resulted in that the figure has a noticeably slender, almost concave, waist. The upper part of the body was most probably rendered as naked since the navel is indicated. Both arms are quite plain in outline. From the earlier photo of the figure it is clear that the knee-caps were large and lozenge-shaped, almost rounded. The fingers on the preserved right hand are delineated.

The figure is wearing a broad belt with raised outer ridges holding up a pleated kilt cloth. The two sides of the cloth are drawn apart, revealing the central part of a decorated, broad, rectangular "apron". Along the vertical edges of the kilt there is a plain band. The "apron" has an eye with eyebrow, an apotropaic head from which two small coiling snakes hang, and at the bottom what seems to be two large, winged cobras. Its outer edges has a thin, raised border. Around the figure's neck a broad *usekh* collar with three registers of stylized decoration. On both upper arms there are spiral armrings. The figure is wearing a rounded headgear with knob on top, which could perhaps best be described as a helmet-like double crown. The rounded border of the "red crown" is decorated by a band of floral decoration. The uppermost part of the outer part of the headgear (the "red crown") ends in two stylized lilies placed on each side of the conical knob. Along the forehead, beneath the "crown", there is a thin, flat ridge which probably indicates hair (see **Cat. 52**). Double spiral earrings in each ear. The face is neatly modeled with large eyes with sharp outlines. The nose is long, the lips are small and slightly smiling. In the neck hangs a rounded mass of hair, resting on the shoulders. The ears are well carved but placed very low on the figure's head. From a side view it is well visible that they are placed very far back on the head (see **Cat. 37** and **Cat. 52**).

The back of the figure is very rough and plain, and partly damaged. The sword is cut off. No traces of the dress or jewelry, but there are traces of the two bands hanging over the left shoulder. Thin lower border of the kilt visible on the back left thigh.

Ornamental details: The decorated "apron" has four distinct features. Moving from top to bottom we find an eye and eyebrow, recalling the Egyptian "*wedjet* eye". Beneath it there is a grinning face with ears placed high up one the sides of the head, flat nose, wide-open mouth and extended tongue. From the chin of the being hang two thin snakes who each hang down in a curving manner, forming coils from which the rearing heads rise, turned away from one another at slightly different levels. Both serpents have mouths indicated. Right beneath them, at the bottom end of the "apron", there are two large creatures with cobra heads set on rather pear-shaped bodies. The "cobras" are turned away from each other, they have eyes, mouths with extended, forked tongues, and two protectively outstretched wings with simplified indications of horizontal and vertical feathers. On their heads are what look like crescents and disks, not just sun disks.

The broad belt of the figure has a relief decoration which contains a central circle and two X-shaped entities, one on each side. No identification of these features can be made.

The upper register of the broad collar contains thin, hanging triangles overlying two incised, horizontal lines. The second register has hanging, concentric semi-circles of irregular shape. The lower register consists of large, hanging drops. Between the upper part of the drops there are thin, hanging triangles rendered in the stone. There is a large, rounded ridge placed closest to the neck (see **Cat. 20**).

On the helmet-like crown, finally, there is a band of decoration running along the rounded border of the "red crown": seven (truncated) paradise flowers with separate, inner compartments linked with curving loops (*Fig. 10*). Centrally on the "white crown" there is a large rosette rendered in low relief, with nine petals.

Technical and formal aspects:

Dating: The first decades of the 6th century B.C.

Bibliography: Cesnola 1877, 154; Cesnola 1879, 127, 410, pl. 31.1; Cesnola 1885, pl. 42.279; Perrot & Chipiez 1885, 533, fig. 359; Ohnefalsch-Richter 1893, pls. 91.5, 140.7; de Ridder 1908, 47 n. 4; Meurer 1912, 221, fig. 14 (drawing of the collar); Myres 1914, 199–200, no. 1266; Dunand 1946–1948, 97 n. 3; Gjerstad 1948, 112, 114; Karageorghis 1969, 452 n. 5; Wilson 1975b, pl. 18.A; Sophocleous 1985, 170, pl. 40.2; Markoe 1988a, 17 n. 7; Masson & Hermary 1988, pl. 5.7; Maier 1989, 383, 386, nn. 18–19, 29; Markoe 1990a, 111 n. 1, 114 n. 19; Beer 1993, 24 n. 118; Cassimatis 1993, 45; Senff 1993, 53 n. 428; Brönner 1994, 51 (m), pl. 16.c; Wriedt Sørensen 1994, 81 nn. 18, 21; Karageorghis *et al.* 2000, 112–113, no. 176; Marangou 2000, 20, 195 (after Doell); Hermary 2001b, 29 n. 23.

Cat. 31 Slightly over life-size figure with tresses, wreath, and kilt
(*Fig. 11, Pls. 8.1–2 & 29*)

H. 135 cm, AOH 190 cm
The John and Mable Ringling Museum, Sarasota. Inv. no. SN 28.1917

Provenance: Golgoi (Ayios Photios), the eastern (temple) site

State of preservation: The statue is complete except for the legs which are missing from below the knees down, the tips of both thumbs, and large parts of the nose and mouth. There is a horizontal break in the stone beneath the figure's neck, however, and a vertical one running from the left shoulder to the armpit. Thus, the statue was assembled from three pieces. From a side view the head is unproportionately small, but there can be no doubt that it belongs to the figure, judging by the perfect fit visible at the back. The stone surface is in good condition, but the belt and particularly the front of the kilt and the entire face are abraded. No traces of color.

Description: Male figure standing with the left leg slightly advanced and both arms hanging along the sides of the body, hands clenched. The arms are detached from the body along its upper part. Both arms are modeled, the crook of each arm indicated by a soft, horizontal area. The shoulders are rounded and the entire upper torso is massive. Breast muscles are modeled.

The figure is wearing a broad belt with raised outer ridges, decorated by what looks like a central, winged disk. What seems to be a raised, narrow outline around the disk is in fact the hair and beard of a figure, and thus the belt is decorated by a winged head, not a disk. The belt is holding up a plain kilt cloth. The two sides of the cloth are slightly drawn apart revealing the central part of a slightly tapering, decorated "apron". The outer edges of the apron has a thin, raised border. On both sides of the kilt cloth there are faint traces of three long, symmetrical sash ends, reaching to about 2/3 of the cloth. Right beneath the belt there is a face carved in low relief, and from its chin hang two thin cobras, their bodies crossing just beneath the head and then extending almost the entire length of the apron. Due to the abraded state of the stone almost nothing is visible of their heads. Beneath the creatures there is a thin, horizontal ridge and beneath that what looks like a decorated horizontal frieze. Nothing remains of the decoration, however. The figure is wearing a short-sleeved garment, indicated through the sleeves on both upper arms and the edge beneath the neck. Spiral armrings around the upper parts of both arms. The figure's coiffure includes tresses of hair hanging behind the ears and onto the back, four tresses hanging down on each side of the neck. Some of them are held together by thin, horizontal bands. Around the figure's head there is a wreath and beneath it, above the forehead, there are rows of small (abraded) snail curls. The crown of the head is left plain. The much weathered face has eyes with marked outer ridges, eyebrows indicated, the nostrils are preserved, the lips were small and slightly smiling. The figure's beard is rendered in low relief, its upper outline characteristically and beautifully curving.

The back of the figure is flat and only roughly carved. There are no indications of the figure's dress in the back, but both armrings are roughly indicated and the (plain) hair is hanging down to well below the shoulders, ending in a horizontal edge.

Ornamental details: The head placed right beneath the belt has a broad, plain, curving band running between the ears, probably indicating hair. The cheeks are indicated, the eyes, nose, and eyebrows are indicated, teeth are visible in the grinning ("smiling") mouth.

The small, round, winged face on the figure's belt has a ridge of hair and beard running all around it, ears are indicated on its sides, and there are faint traces of the eyes.

Technical and formal aspects: The surface of the beard is decorated by small, symmetrical tool marks. There are broad cuts of a knife or chisel all over the surface of the figure's back.

Dating: Late 6th century B.C.

Bibliography: Cesnola 1885, pl. 7.9; de Ridder 1908, 47 nn. 4–6; de Forest 1928, 101–102, no. 375; Karageorghis 1961, 287 n. 1; Freyer-Schauenburg 1974, 157 n. 276; Hermary 1989a, 52 (text in connection with no. 68); Markoe 1990a, 111 n. 1, 113 n. 15, 114 n. 19; Wriedt Sørensen 1994, 81 n. 17; Jenkins 2001, 171 n. 62.

Cat. 32 Fragment of a richly decorated belt
(*Pls. 8.3 & 29*)

H. 16 cm, AOH 260 cm
The Metropolitan Museum, New York. Inv. no. 74.51.2594

Provenance: Golgoi (Ayios Photios), the eastern (temple) site

State of preservation: Preserved is merely the central part of a broad, decorated belt, the lowermost part of the stomach of a figure, and the uppermost area of what seems to be a kilt. The surface of the stone is quite well preserved, but the left-hand side of the belt (and its decoration) is slightly defaced. No traces of color.

Description: The stomach of the figure is rounded and seems to have been slightly protruding right above the belt. The belt itself is broad and has raised, flat ridges framing a figural scene carved in low relief. Just below the belt there is an area in the stone which is sunk, perhaps an "apron" with the vertical edges of a kilt cloth drawn to the sides to expose it. On the right-hand side of this sunk or recessed area, still right beneath the belt, there are two small, vertical incisions in the stone which possibly mark the uppermost parts of a cobra body and a sash end, or two sash ends (see **Cat. 27**, **Cat. 33**, **Cat. 42**, and **Cat. 60**). On the left-hand side only one similar incision is preserved.

Ornamental details: The belt has a central scene flanked by two paradise flowers set on quite thick stems, of which only the left-hand one is completely preserved. In height both tree-like flowers fit nicely into the area available between the raised outer ridges of the belt. The same is true for the central figural scene which features a striding man turned to the left opposing a lion standing with all four paws resting on the ground. With the left hand the man grasps the creature's front leg, while the right pushes a dagger or a sword into its chest. To fit the composition the outstretched left arm is unrealistically prolonged. The bearded figure has a headcover with a knob on top and something which seems tied around the neck and hanging down on the back, recalling the lion skin of Herakles (perhaps the knob on the head represents one ear of the lion skin?). The body of the opposing lion is schematically – although vividly – rendered, with a lack of correspondence between the different parts of the body. Its legs, particularly the front ones, have awkward positions with the paws as merely rounded lumps. The tail is curved but hangs low behind the animal. Individual teeth can be seen in the open jaws, and there is a ferocious eye.

Technical and formal aspects:

Bibliography: Cesnola 1885, pl. 27.90; Karageorghis 1998a, 82, fig. 37; Tatton-Brown 1984, 173 n. 33; Faegersten forthcoming a.

Cat. 33 Fragment of a richly decorated belt
(*Pls. 8.4 & 30*)

H. 18 cm, AOH 260 cm
The Metropolitan Museum, New York. Inv. no. 74.51.2676

Provenance: Golgoi (Ayios Photios), the eastern (temple) site

State of preservation: Preserved is merely the right-hand side part of a broad, decorated belt, a tiny part of the right-hand side of a figure, and the uppermost area of what seems to be a kilt. The surface of the stone is quite well preserved, but the decoration on the belt, in particular in its center, is slightly defaced. A worn area on the right-hand side of the fragment may be the point of attachment of the hanging arm. No traces of color.

Description: The belt is broad and has raised ridges framing a figural scene carved in low relief. Just below the belt there is an area in the stone with geometric decoration, perhaps an "apron" with the vertical edges of a kilt cloth drawn to the sides to expose it. On the right-hand side of this decorated area, still right beneath the belt, there are three vertical incisions in the stone which possibly mark the uppermost parts of a cobra body and two sash ends, or three sash ends (see **Cat. 27**, **Cat. 32**, **Cat. 42**, and **Cat. 60**).

Ornamental details: On the "apron" (?) there is some geometric (or rather stylized floral) decoration preserved. There seems to be three incised triangles, each with its base placed upwards towards the belt of the figure, set parallely one inside the other, creating a herringbone-like pattern. At the point where the right side of the outer triangle meets the belt, a second set of three incised triangles are begun. Judging by the size of the fragment and the width of the triangles, these two triangular sets may have been enough to constitute the

upper part of the decoration of this "apron". Again from what is preserved, there seem to be traces of a third similar set of triangles placed between and underneath the other two. The two upper triangular sets thus seem to overlap the central one. The actual triangular pattern comes close to the standardized pattern found on papyrus – and other – leaves in Egyptian art.

Within the raised outer ridges of the belt we find a frieze of crouching, winged sphinxes facing right. Two of the sphinxes are well preserved, the third (placed furthest to the right) is fragmentary. Both well-preserved creatures are bearded and wear conical headdresses, each with a bun of hair coming down below it in the neck. The almond-shaped wings of all three creatures were left undecorated. On the second and, especially, third – less well-preserved – creature, long, slightly curving tails are visible.

Technical and formal aspects:

Bibliography: Cesnola 1885, pl. 27.80; Faegersten forthcoming a.

Cat. 34 Statuette with decorated upper garment and kilt
(*Pls. 9.1 & 30*)

H. 71 cm
The Metropolitan Museum, New York. Inv. no. 74.51.2658

Provenance: Golgoi (Ayios Photios), the eastern (temple) site

State of preservation: The statuette is very well preserved. Missing are only the lower part of the left arm, the elbow of the bent right one, and the nose. Parts of the legs are restored, the left leg from above the knee to below the ankle, the right one from the lower calf to below the ankle. The feet, if belonging to the figure, are resting on a square statue base. There is damage to the left-hand side of the kilt where the left hand was once attached, and the lowermost part of the "kilt" is partly worn. For the rest the carved stone surface is in good condition. No traces of color.

Description: Male figure standing with legs parallel, the left arm hanging along the side of the body, the right arm bent and the clenched hand placed on the lower chest. The right forearm is unproportionately short. All fingers on the preserved hand delineated. Breast muscles are indicated, the right one slightly squarish in shape. The rounded knee-cap is modeled on the right leg, the calf muscle well shaped.

The figure is seemingly wearing sandals on his feet. Both feet have slightly raised soles beneath them and on the upper part of the left foot there is a small rectangle representing the central, upper part of the footwear. Around the figure's hips there is a broad belt with raised outer ridges decorated with vertical rectangles which are slightly irregularly placed. The belt is holding up what seems to be a kilt. From the belt two awkwardly shaped "cobras" hang down connected by thin, horizontal lines. On each side of the serpents are two sash ends, their lower ends tapering in the opposite manner from what is usually the case. Below the "cobras" the kilt descends centrally and in that roughly square area there are traces of decoration carved in low relief. The figure is further wearing a decorated, short-sleeved garment. There are broad bands running horizontally and vertically, a central, vertical band overlapping a horizontal band placed right across the chest. The vertical band is itself overlapped by the band which is placed horizontally right above the belt. All these bands or borders have thin, raised outer ridges and a decoration consisting of hanging lilies and buds linked with curving loops. Around the figure's neck there is a similar band, and overlapping it are two identical bands running from the base of the neck along the figure's shoulders reaching to the edge of each short sleeve. These bands and their decoration are all carved in low relief. Above the horizontal floral band placed across the chest, however, there are several large, incised, concentric, semi-circular lines running underneath the central, vertical border. The figure has hair falling down behind the ears on the back. Above the forehead there is a row of snail curls rendered in the stone. The ears are large and roughly made, the face is triangular with a pointed chin, eyes almost lozenge-shaped and the eyebrows following that outline. The lips are drawn up in a marked smile.

The back of the figure is very roughly carved but the hair is visible hanging down there, as is the lower border of the kilt. The outline of the buttocks is indicated.

Ornamental details: The two awkwardly shaped cobras each has a pattern of small, horizontal carved lines decorating their bodies (compare **Cat. 50**). The better preserved right-hand creature has what looks almost like a pointed beak, and an eye is indicated. The square area beneath the serpents has rounded shapes and other traces of what seems to be a vegetal decoration.

Technical and formal aspects: On the figure's back there are very broad and rough, vertical tool marks. Between the body and the hanging left arm there are two rows of distinct, parallel, oblique strokes cut by a chisel (see **Cat. 1**). The figure's legs are at least in part separately carved underneath the kilt cloth, or rather the "apron".

Dating: First decades of the 5th century B.C.

Bibliography: Cesnola 1885, pl. 30.201; Myres 1914, 200, no. 1267; Dunand 1946–1948, 97 n. 3; Gjerstad 1948, 112, 114; Lewe 1975, 58 n. 280; Markoe 1990a, 111 n. 1.

Cat. 35 Warrior statuette with kilt, helmet, sword, and scabbard
(*Pls. 9.2 & 30*)

H. 27 cm, AOH 39 cm
The Metropolitan Museum, New York. Inv. no. 74.51.2600

Provenance: Golgoi (Ayios Photios), the eastern (temple) site

State of preservation: The statuette is complete except for the legs which are missing from below the kilt. The head was broken off at the middle of the neck but has been put back in place. The top knob of the helmet is missing, and so is the right hand. The carved surface is very well preserved, details and contours sharp, the left-hand side of the kilt is slightly abraded. No traces of color.

Description: Figure standing with the left leg advanced, the left arm hanging along the side of the body and the right arm bent across the chest, the right hand resting on the handle of the sword (compare **Cat. 30**). Both arms are attached to the body, and both – but especially the left one – has rounded "biceps muscles". The shoulders are broad and rounded. There is some torsion in the small figure where the lower part of the body is central and the upper noticeably turned to the left.

The figure is wearing a broad belt with very broad and flat, raised outer ridges. It in fact consists of three equally broad, horizontal bands. The belt is holding up a kilt cloth, and centrally from it hang two large cobras set apart, seemingly marking the vertical borders of a "*devanteau*". They are characteristically rearing away from one another, the better preserved right-hand creature has a large eye and a small, straight mouth, both serpents have sun disks on their heads. On each side of their heads there are the slightly concave lines marking the "apron" which descends centrally from beneath the kilt, the edges of the kilt cloth running from above the cobras' heads towards the figure's sides. On each side of the kilt, hanging from the belt, are three broad sash ends. The figure is wearing a short-sleeved garment, the edges of the sleeves are visible on both upper arms. Across the chest there are two parallel, flat bands running from the right shoulder down towards the left armpit. The bands are holding the front part of a squarish sword sheath with a sword inside. The figure is resting his hand on the handle, or, rather, is prepared to draw the sword. The figure's neck is short and broad, the head and chin raised. On the head a tight-fitting helmet with pointed nose

protection and cheek pieces. Below it, in the neck, the hair comes down in a rounded mass. The eyes of the figure are half-moon-shaped and superficially set, the mouth small and delicate.

The back side of the statuette is very well carved. The helmet is indicated, as is the hair beneath it. The double band placed over the right shoulder is well outlined, as is the sword sheath which is modeled with care. The belt continues all around, with the raised ridges continuing well along the figure's right side while being plain in the back. The buttocks are modelled, as is the vertical line between the thighs.

Ornamental details:

Technical and formal aspects:

Dating: Middle of the 6th century B.C.

Bibliography: Cesnola 1885, pl. 42.265; Myres 1914, 157, no. 1049; Karageorghis *et al.* 2000, 113, no. 177; Hermary 2001b, 33.

Cat. 36 Statuette with plain kilt and kerchief
(*Pl. 30*)

H. 17.5 cm, AOH 24 cm
The Metropolitan Museum, New York. Inv. no. 74.51.2567

Provenance: Golgoi (Ayios Photios), the eastern (temple) site

State of preservation: Well-preserved figure, only the legs from below the knees missing and the left arm from beneath the shoulder. The tip of the nose is broken off. On the left-hand side of the kilt an oval, abraded area marking the point of attachment of the hanging arm. No traces of color.

Description: Male figure standing with the left leg well advanced and the left arm hanging along the side of the body, the right arm bent and the clenched hand resting on the lower chest. The legs are placed far apart. Both arms were detached from the body, the area between body and preserved right arm being well hollowed out. The right hand is clenched around a thin, round object which is sticking up from the center of the hand. The chest is flat, the shoulders broad. The right, semi-circular knee-cap is incised.

The figure is wearing a broad belt with broad, raised outer ridges holding up a plain kilt cloth which consists of a broad, central part (an "apron") and the two vertical sides of the kilt cloth. The kilt is short and ends high up on the figure's thighs. On the upper body there is perhaps a short-sleeved garment: no border is visible beneath the figure's neck but on each upper arm there is a thin line (see **Cat. 1**). The figure is wearing a plain kerchief, a headcloth which is less wide at the level of the ears than at its lower end, which is cut off horizontally. The cloth falls characteristically behind the ears, which each has a double spiral earring. The figure's eyes are large and obliquely set, a raised ridge running around each of them. The nose is broad, the lips small and delicate.

The back side of the figure is flat and without much detail, but it is smooth. The belt continues all around, without the raised ridges, however.

Ornamental details:

Technical and formal aspects:

Dating: Middle of the 6th century B.C.

Bibliography: Cesnola 1885, pl. 34.219; Myres 1914, 154, no. 1039; Davis 1979, 15 n. 19; Tore 1995, 455; Marangou 2000, 195 (after Doell).

Cat. 37 Hunter or warrior statuette with lower kilt outline, kerchief, and quiver and arrows hanging on the back
(*Pl. 30*)

H. 11.5 cm, AOH 17 cm
The Metropolitan Museum, New York. Inv. no. 74.51.2589

Provenance: Golgoi (Ayios Photios), the eastern (temple) site

State of preservation: Well-preserved figure where only the legs from above the knees down are missing. The carved surface of the stone is in very good condition. Red color on the rectangular quiver hanging on the figure's back.

Description: Male figure standing with the left leg advanced, both arms hanging along the sides of the body. The shoulders are broad and rounded, the arms are quite plain in outline. The right hand is clenched and the left one open with palm resting on the gear hanging on the figure's back. The fingers on both hands are all outlined with care.

The figure is wearing a plain, broad belt. Below it there is what seems to be a plain kilt cloth, the lower outline is that of a centrally descending "apron" with the lower edges of the kilt cloth on each side. Judging by the rendering of two sidefolds hanging over the belt, however, the garment was pulled up under the belt. The figure's upper body is covered by a short-sleeved garment. There is no line at the base of the figure's neck, but on both upper arms there are short sleeves decorated by thin, double lines. On the sides of the shoulders, running from the base of the neck to the edge of each sleeve, there is a similar double line. Around the left shoulder there is a double band which continues down along the inside of the waist of the figure. It is connected to two separate objects which hang on the figure's back, behind the left arm: one rectangular object which is square in section, which has a raised, rounded edge running around all its edges, and a thin, oblong device of the same length which has a set of vertical lines at its top, perhaps indicating the feathers of arrows sticking out from it. The figure is wearing a plain kerchief which characteristically falls behind the ears onto the back. From a side view one can see that each ear is placed at the far back of the head (see **Cat. 30** and **Cat. 52**). In each ear is a double spiral earring.

The figure's back is well carved. The two oblong objects, of which one the quiver with arrows, are neatly modeled and as mentioned above even has some red color. The double line running horizontally along the right short sleeve is modeled on the back as well. Apart from this, and the fact that the lower outline of the kerchief and the outline of the buttocks is indicated, the back is plain but smooth.

Ornamental details:

Technical and formal aspects:

Dating: Middle of the 6th century B.C.

Bibliography: Cesnola 1885, pl. 57.375; Myres 1914, 158, no. 1052; Marangou 2000, 229.

*Cat. 38 Statuette with plain kilt and kerchief
(*Pl. 30*)

H. ca. 42.5 cm, AOH 82 cm
Present whereabouts unknown.
Bought by Feraguil Galleries from the Metropolitan Museum, New York, in 1928.

Provenance: Golgoi (Ayios Photios), the eastern (temple) site

State of preservation: Well-preserved figure where only the left forearm and the legs from the knees down are missing. However,

judging by the available photo it cannot be safely stated that the over-sized head belongs to the body.

Description: Male figure standing with the left leg advanced, the left arm hanging along the side of the body and the right one bent with the clenched hand placed on the chest. The legs are set far apart, the rounded outline of the left thigh indicated. The arms, on the other hand, both detached from the body, are plain in outline.

The figure seems to be wearing a plain belt holding up a kilt cloth where only a small part of the sides of the cloth are visible, since they have been almost completely drawn to the sides to expose a broad, central "apron" with concave lower end. On both upper arms there are spiral armrings, and there may be horizontal indications marking the sleeves of a garment. The over-sized head has what looks like a plain kerchief coming down to the shoulders. In both ears there are double spiral earrings. The eyes are superficially set, the nose long, and the mouth small.

Ornamental details:

Technical and formal aspects:

Dating: Middle of the 6th century B.C.

Bibliography: Cesnola 1885, pl. 32.210; de Ridder 1908, 47 n. 2; de Forest 1928, 22–23, no. 97; Markoe 1990a, 111 n. 1.

Cat. 39 Statuette with pleated dress and kilt, holding a goat under the left arm
(*Pl. 31*)

H. ca. 20 cm, AOH 38 cm
The Metropolitan Museum, New York. Inv. no. 74.51.2552

Provenance: Golgoi (Ayios Photios), the eastern (temple) site

State of preservation: Well-preserved figure where only the right forearm and both legs from above the knees are missing. It is doubtful, however, whether the head belongs to the figure (on this issue, see also Myres 1914). The carved surface of the stone is quite well preserved. Several traces of red color: on the upper left arm both on the front (a larger area) and in the back, in the armpit, around the figure's neck, and inside the small animal's ears.

Description: Male figure standing with the left leg advanced, the left arm bent and holding a small goat, the animal's fore and hind legs firmly held by the figure's clenched left hand. The right arm is missing from the elbow and judging by the damaged area, and the fact that there are no traces on the right-hand side of the kilt of the hanging arm, it is possible that the forearm was raised.

The figure is wearing a plain belt. Below it there is what seems to be the two edges of a kilt cloth drawn to the sides, exposing a broad and slightly tapering "apron". There are slightly diagonal lines or pleats on the cloth, but the "apron" is plain. Above the belt, however, there is a pleated garment where some indication of an edge coming down towards the belt on the right-hand side, an edge which coincides with the right-hand-side edge of the "kilt cloth". The entire pleated garment, with sleeves reaching down to the elbows, seems like a mix between the striped, belted garment worn by Herakles Melqart figures, and the Egyptian-type kilt. Around the figure's neck there is a broad band painted red, either indicating the broad upper border of the short-sleeved garment or a collar of limited width. The animal held under the left arm has two rounded ears, two horns, and a small goat's beard.

The back of the figure is plain but there is the outline of the buttocks, some pleats on the back and below the plain belt which continues all around. The hind part of the goat is indicated.

Ornamental details:

Technical and formal aspects:

Dating: Late 6th century B.C.

Bibliography: Cesnola 1885, pl. 16.23; Myres 1914, 163, no. 1066.

*Cat. 40 Statuette with kerchief and the lower outline of a kilt
(*Pl. 31*)

H. ca. 18 cm, AOH 35 cm
The Metropolitan Museum, New York. Inv. no. ?

Provenance: Golgoi (Ayios Photios), the eastern (temple) site

State of preservation: Well-preserved figure missing only the legs from above the knees down.

Description: Male figure standing with the left leg advanced and both arms hanging along the sides of the body. The arms are attached to the body all along, seemingly quite plain in outline. The figure seems to be wearing a plain belt holding up a plain kilt, where the lower outline is that of a centrally descending, rectangular "apron" with the lower edges of the cloth tapering on both sides. The almost vertical lines between shoulders and upper arms may be taken to indicate the presence of a short-sleeved garment. The figure is wearing what looks like a plain kerchief where the left-hand side of the headcloth hangs down in front of the shoulder, the right-hand side characteristically behind. Eyes, nose, and mouth indicated.

Ornamental details:

Technical and formal aspects:

Dating: Middle of the 6th century B.C.

Bibliography: Cesnola 1885, pl. 57.363.

*Cat. 41 Statuette with plain kilt
(*Pl. 31*)

H. 53 cm, AOH 102 cm
The Louvre, Paris. Inv. no. AM 3443

Provenance: Athienou *Malloura*

State of preservation: The head and neck of the figure is missing and so are both legs from below the knees. The surface of the stone seems quite well preserved, an abraded area on the right hand and some damage to the lower center of the kilt and the left thigh.

Description: Figure standing with the left leg advanced, the left arm hanging along the side of the body and the right one bent with the clenched hand placed on the chest. Both arms are attached to the sides of the body, and both are plain in outline, the elbow of the right hand, however, pointed and sharp. There is a faint, horizontal line marking the crook of the left arm. The thumb nail is indicated on the left hand. On the left leg there is a large, semi-circular, incised knee-cap.

The figure is wearing a plain broad belt holding up a plain kilt. The lower outline of the cloth shows the edges of a centrally descending "apron" with tapering sides, and on each side of it there are the lower edges of the kilt cloth running towards the sides of the legs. On the upper part of the body there is a short-sleeved garment, both sleeves modeled in the stone on the upper arms.

Ornamental details:

Technical and formal aspects:

Dating: Early 6th century B.C.

Bibliography: Hermary 1989a, 52, no. 67; Wriedt Sørensen 1994, 81 n. 18.

Cat. 42 Life-size statue with kerchief and broad belt with raised outer ridges
(*Pl. 31*)

H. 76 cm, AOH 132 cm
The District Museum, Larnaka. Inv. no. MLA 639

Provenance: Arsos

State of preservation: The figure is preserved from the crown of the head to just beneath the belt. Both arms are missing from the shoulders. The nose and chin are missing as well. Much damage or rather deep cuts to the face and the headcloth, and on the right ear. There are remains of the clenched left hand below the figure's chest. No traces of color.

Description: Male figure standing with the left arm bent and the clenched hand placed on the lower chest, the right arm most probably hanging along the side of the body (judging by the angle of the break beneath the shoulder). The shoulders are very broad and rounded, the neck in comparison of limited width. The plain upper torso is also comparatively limited in width, at least just beneath the shoulders, while it is broader and slightly rounded further down towards the belt (see **Cat. 47**). Both arms were detached from the body, the right arm seemingly to the level of the belt. The rounded outline of the knuckles of the left hand are preserved in the stone. Breast muscles are modeled.

The figure is wearing a broad belt with thin, raised outer ridges. Just below the belt, on the left-hand side of the kilt, there are three tiny, vertical incisions in the stone which possibly mark the uppermost parts of a cobra body and two sash ends, or three sash ends (see **Cat. 27**, **Cat. 32**, **Cat. 33**, and **Cat. 60**). The neck is slightly convex, the face has marked cheek bones, large, superficially set eyes, and small, slightly protruding lips. The figure's beard is rendered in low relief with a characteristic, curving upper outline. On the figure's head a plain kerchief which is convex from a side view.

The figure's back is plain and smooth. The lower edge of the kerchief rests of the shoulders, the belt is indicated all around but left plain, without the raised outer ridges.

Ornamental details:

Technical and formal aspects: On the left-hand side of the face the beard has small carvings decorating its surface.

Dating: Early 6th century B.C.

Bibliography: Lewe 1975, 29 n. 128, 57–58 n. 279; Hermary 2001b, 31, pl. 2.2–3.

Cat. 43 Intact statuette with kilt, belt with buckle, and kerchief
(*Pls. 9.3 & 31*)

H. 52.5 cm
The British Museum, London. Inv. no. 1910.6–20.12

Provenance: Tamassos (Pera-Phrangissa)

State of preservation: The statuette is intact, apart from the missing right hand and the lower part of the face where both nose and mouth are gone. It was assembled from several pieces, however: the upper part of the body and the left arm; the right arm; most of the kilt and the left leg; the right leg; the right foot; the left foot. The feet are resting on a thin, square statue base. The surface of the stone is in quite good condition apart from the kilt and belt which are partly worn. No traces of color.

Description: Male figure standing with the left leg advanced, the left arm hanging along the side of the body and the right arm bent across the chest. The missing right hand was most probably clenched. Both arms are attached to the sides of the body, the left one has slight indications of biceps muscles on its upper part. The preserved left hand is clenched, the thumb large and with nail indicated. The shoulders are almost squarish in shape, the chest very flat.

The figure is wearing a belt placed high up around the waist. It consists of two horizontal, double bands, the upper one broader, and it has a plain belt buckle placed centrally. The belt is holding up a short kilt. Centrally there is a large, incised, triangular object which descends to above knee level, and on its sides the lower edges of the kilt come down obliquely towards the sides of the thighs. The waist is slender, the point at the lower part of the thighs being the figure's broadest, apart from the shoulders (see **Cat. 16**). The figure is wearing a short-sleeved garment: no edge is visible at the base of the neck but the sleeves are indicated on both upper arms. The figure's face is round, almost squarish, with large, half-moon-shaped eyes set quite far apart, each surrounded by a thin, raised ridge. On the head a kerchief, characteristically hanging down behind the (slightly protruding) ears onto the shoulders. The kerchief dips down somewhat in front of each ear. Between the ears, around the figure's head, runs a vertical, incised line and behind it, on the right-hand side of the head, there is a set of thin, incised, almost horizontal lines which (strange enough) seem to indicate strands of hair.

The figure's back is damaged, the back of the head, the back, and the buttocks missing.

Ornamental details:

Technical and formal aspects: On the back sides of the calfs there are broad, vertical tool marks.

Dating: Early 6th century B.C.

Bibliography: Pryce 1931, 21, fig. 15, C 19; Markoe 1990a, 111 n. 1; Senff 1993, 50 n. 404; Wriedt Sørensen 1994, 81 n. 18; Tore 1995, 455; Buchholz & Untiedt 1996, 51, fig. 68.c; Hermary 2001b, 31 n. 34; Jenkins 2001, 174 n. 86.

*Cat. 44 Statuette with richly decorated kilt and broad collar
(*Book cover, Pls. 9.4 & 31*)

H. 25 cm, AOH 48 cm
The Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto. Inv. no. 958.61.242

Provenance: Tamassos (Pera-Phrangissa)

State of preservation: The statue is preserved from the base of the neck to just above the knees. The left arm is missing from the shoulder to the wrist, the right forearm is gone from below the elbow. The left hand is attached to the figure's chest. The stone surface is in excellent condition, details and contours sharp. Red paint preserved on two of the sash ends, on the belt buckle, and on the broad, decorated collar.

Description: Male figure standing with the left leg well advanced, the right arm hanging along the side of the body, the left arm bent and the clenched hand placed on the chest. Both arms were detached from the body all along its upper part. The shoulders are very broad and rounded, the chest is flat. The preserved part of the right arm is plain in outline. In contrast to the shoulders the upper part of the body is very slender and of limited width. The breast muscles are faintly modeled.

The figure is wearing a broad belt with raised outer ridges placed around the hips. In its center there is an oval belt buckle painted red. The belt is holding up a plain kilt cloth where the two sides of the cloth are slightly drawn apart, revealing the central part of a rectangular, decorated "apron". On both sides of the kilt cloth there are three long, symmetrical sash ends, reaching to about 2/3 of the cloth. The two sash ends placed closest to the "apron" are both painted red. Right below the belt, at the top of the "apron", there is winged eye and eyebrow rendered in low relief, very similar to the Egyptian "*wedjet* eye" or "Eye of Horus". From beside the eye two thin serpents hang down to about 2/3 of the length of the "apron", their thin bodies forming perfect loops before their heads are rearing away from each other in the characteristic manner. Around the edges of the rectangular "apron" and along the vertical edges of the kilt cloth there is a raised, flat band. Around the figure's neck a broad *usekh* collar with three registers of decoration.

Ornamental details: The "*wedjet* eye" has a thin, raised ridge around it, the eyebrow characteristically follows its outline. There are what looks like two wings hanging from it.

The two serpents on the "apron" have no hoods. They both have eyes and mouths indicated, however.

The decorated registers of the collar are separated by thin, raised ridges; unlike what is usually the case there is even such a ridge running along its lowermost edge. The upper register contains hanging triangles, seemingly with raised, narrow outlines. They are all painted red. The second register has a row of 12 persea fruits, each fruit fitting nicely into the available space. Between the upper part of each fruit and the above ridge there is red paint. The third and last register has no relief decoration, but is painted red in its entirety.

The sash end closest to the "apron" on each side is painted red. If the other sashes were painted in different, but ephemeral, colors then there could have been the decorative, alternate application of paint referred to in this book as "color as pattern".

Technical and formal aspects: The surface of the stone seems to be in particularly fine condition; perhaps it was polished?

Dating: Middle of the 6th century B.C.

Bibliography: Buchholz 1991, 6, 9, 10, 15, pls. 5.a, 6.b; Buchholz 1993, 199, no. 18, pl. 54.1; Buchholz & Untiedt 1996, 49–50, fig. 65.c; Faegersten forthcoming b.

Cat. 45 Kilt-wearing figure with wreath carrying a goat under the left arm

(*Pls. 10.1 & 32*)

H. 40.5 cm, AOH 59 cm
The Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm. Inv. no. K.188 + 154

Provenance: Kition *Bamboula*

State of preservation: The figure is preserved from the crown of the head to the knees. It is put together by four separate fragments, horizontal breaks running just beneath the belt, obliquely right above the belt, and at the base of the neck. The entire right arm is missing, only the hand is preserved, attached to the side of the kilt. The left hand is missing as well. The figure's chin is cut off. No traces of color.

Description: Male figure standing with the left leg advanced, the right arm hanging along the side of the body, hand clenched, the left arm bent and holding a goat pressed against the body. The figure's shoulders are tapering, the entire body flat from a side view.

The figure is wearing a broad, plain belt holding up a plain kilt cloth. The edges of the cloth emanate from the same point at the bottom end of the belt but they fall to the sides exposing a centrally placed, rectangular "apron". There is some distance between the lowermost part of the "apron" and the recessed right leg. The goat carried by the figure has a tall neck, a delicately shaped head with ears, horns, and eyes indicated. Its bent front legs were firmly held together by the now missing left hand. The animal's body is elongated and stylized, the thin legs hanging down along the side of the kilt. The figure's neck is broad, the face is oval with large, superficially set eyes, a straight nose, and broad mouth. The figure's hair is arranged in a row of faint curls above the forehead. Around the head there is a wreath consisting of oblong leaves. The uppermost part of the head has broad, parallel strands of hair.

The back of the figure is flat and rough. The outline of the buttocks is indicated but there are no traces of the dress. Unlike what is often the case, however, the legs are separated at the back as well.

Ornamental details:

Technical aspects:

Dating: Around 500 B.C.

Bibliography: Gjerstad *et al.* 1937, 35.

Cat. 46 Kilt-wearing statuette

(*Pls. 10.2 & 32*)

H. 25.5 cm, AOH 49 cm
The Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm. Inv. no. Acc. 629

Provenance: Kition *Bamboula*

State of preservation: The figure is preserved from the base of the neck to above the left knee and just below the kilt on the right thigh, respectively. The left arm is missing from the shoulder, the left hand is preserved, however, and attached to the figure's chest, only the tip of the thumb missing. The carved stone surface is well preserved. No traces of color.

Description: Male figure standing with the left leg advanced, the right arm hanging along the side of the body, hand clenched, and the left arm bent with the clenched hand placed on the chest. The shoulders are broad and rounded, the body is voluminous. The preserved right arm has the biceps muscle slightly modeled, and a slightly U-shaped line marking the crook of the arm. The upper part of the body is seemingly naked, breast muscles are indicated in the stone.

The figure is wearing a broad, plain belt which dips down in the front. It is holding up a plain kilt cloth where the two edges of the cloth have been drawn to the sides exposing most of a broad, tapering "apron". There is some distance between the lowermost part of the "apron" and the recessed right leg.

The figure's back seems to have been well carved but is much damaged. The lower edge of the kilt cloth possibly continued all around.

Ornamental details:

Technical aspects:

Dating: Middle of the 6th century B.C.

Bibliography: Unpublished

*Cat. 47 Torso of male figure wearing a broad, decorated collar and belt with buckle

(*Pls. 10.3–4 & 32*)

H. 64 cm, AOH 240 cm
The Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid. Inv. no. 2634

Provenance: Larnaka? Said to have been found by a grave in 1871.

State of preservation: Preserved is the upper part of a male body from the base of the neck to just below the broad belt. Both arms are missing, but the clenched left hand is attached to the figure's chest. The tip of the thumb, and a small, lower part of the belt are missing as well.

Description: The torso of a male figure standing with the left arm bent and the clenched hand placed on the chest, the right arm most probably hanging along the side of the body (judging by the angle of the break in the stone). The shoulders are very broad and rounded, the chest is flat. The width of the figure's neck, indicated through an abraded area in the stone, must have been unproportionately limited in comparison to these over-sized shoulders. Breast muscles are slightly indicated in the stone. The left hand is large, the over-sized thumb resting on top it. The plain upper torso is comparatively limited in width, at least just beneath the shoulders, while it is broader and slightly rounded further down towards the belt (see **Cat. 42**). Both arms were detached from the body, the right arm seemingly to below the level of the belt.

The figure is wearing a broad belt with raised outer ridges, decorated with a row of three horizontal rectangles interspersed by three thin, vertical ones. Centrally on the belt there is a plain belt buckle. In addition, the figure is wearing a beautifully decorated broad collar around its neck, a collar with four registers that covers most of the upper part of the torso.

The back of the figure is entirely flat and roughly carved. There is a certain (plain) outline of the broad belt, however.

Ornamental details: The decorated registers of the collar are separated by flat, raised ridges, a similar ridge even placed as its lowermost border, framing the lower row of hanging drops. The upper register contains large and small paradise flowers linked alternatively with curving loops; the smaller flowers fit nicely into the space available between two larger ones. The second register has eight persea fruits beautifully arranged in the available space. The third register has plain, thin, hanging triangles overlying three slightly curving, horizontal double lines. There is a lower row of beautifully arranged, large, hanging drops. All these features are carved in low relief.

Technical aspects:

Dating: Early 6th century B.C.

Bibliography: Faegersten forthcoming c.

Cat. 48 Fragmentary upper part of a torso with broad, decorated collar

(*Pls. 11.1 & 32*)

H. 34.5 cm, W. 43 cm, AOH 150 cm
The District Museum, Limassol. Inv. no. AM 79? 72?

Provenance: Amathus (the so-called agora)

State of preservation: Preserved is the upper torso of a male figure from the top of the neck to below the thorax. The right-hand side of the figure is entirely broken off along a vertical line, the left arm is missing from below the shoulder. The front of the figure is very abraded, only few details of dress and anatomy can be discerned. The figure's back is severely damaged but on a small area on its uppermost part the surface of the stone is well preserved. No traces of color.

Description: The upper torso of a male figure which possibly had the left arm bent and the clenched hand placed on the chest (judging by the angle of the break below the shoulder). In the front, on the better preserved left-hand side, there are faint traces of a modeled breast muscle. There are faint and abraded traces of a broad, decorated collar.

The lower part of the figure's back is damaged, with large, deep cuts in the stone. Around the figure's neck, however, there is a broad, decorated collar with stylized floral decoration.

Ornamental details: The decorated registers of the collar are separated by flat, raised ridges. The upper register contains three intact persea fruits beautifully arranged in the available space. Each fruit is attached to the upper ridge by a triangular area, that is, they are depicted as hanging (see **Cat. 21**). The second register has hanging triangles overlying three slightly curving, horizontal double lines. There is a lower row of beautifully arranged, hanging drops of almost triangular shape. Between the upper part of the drops there are tiny hanging triangles rendered in the stone.

Technical and formal aspects: It is something unique within the Cypriote Egyptianizing material that the broad, decorated collar is rendered in low relief on the back of a statue as well.

Bibliography: Unpublished

Cat. 49 Statuette with tressed wig, collar, and kilt with painted sash ends

(*Pls. 11.2 & 32*)

H. 12.5 cm, AOH 17 cm
The Metropolitan Museum, New York. Inv. no. 74.51.2571

Provenance: Amathus

State of preservation: Well-preserved figurine where the legs are missing from the knees down along with both arms from below the shoulders. The clenched right hand is preserved, however, attached to the figure's chest. There is an abraded area on the left-hand side of the kilt marking the point of attachment of the hanging left arm. Similar damage on the lower right-hand side of the kilt has nothing to do with the attachment of the right arm, which was bent. The surface of the stone is in excellent condition. With few exceptions, all details and contours are sharp, and color is preserved on the piece in a remarkable manner. The figure's skin is covered with red paint, both on the front and in the back. Lips, nipples, and navel have additional red color marking them. The hair or wig has traces of black paint, and so have the eyes and eyebrows. The belt and the kilt preserve several traces of red and black.

Description: Male figure standing with the left leg advanced, the left arm hanging along the side of the body, the right arm bent and the clenched hand placed on the chest. The breast muscles are rounded and well modeled, the painted nipples are modeled in low relief as well. The upper torso is triangular in shape in a naturalistic manner, the waist is slender. Below the right hand there are indications of the vertical or slightly diagonal borders of the abdominal muscles, in the center the red navel. The thumb of the preserved right hand is over-sized. Traces of the upper parts of the knee-caps on each leg.

The figure is wearing a broad belt with raised outer ridges and two horizontal, rounded bands inbetween. The belt is holding up a kilt cloth. The edges of the cloth emanate from the same point at the bottom end of the belt but they fall to the sides exposing a centrally placed, rectangular "apron". The edges of the cloth are marked by a broad band containing black and red paint, and on the left-hand side of the cloth there is what seems to be one sash end indicated only with red color. The "apron" has two thin serpents hanging down centrally, their heads rearing away from one another in the characteristic manner. There are traces of black paint on these "cobras". The figure is wearing a broad collar seemingly consisting of separate, drop-shaped beads arranged together in two horizontal rows. There is a thin, raised band or ridge closest to the neck, constituting the uppermost part of the collar. The figure's neck is broad and

slightly cone-shaped, the face is oval with protruding chin and has delicate features: quite large, superficially set eyes with a ridge around them, painted eyebrows, a straight nose, and a small, slightly smiling mouth. The ears are large and behind them fall the tresses of the hair or rather the wig, which all emanate at a point on the crown of the head. The tresses are broad and have rounded lower ends and all have horizontal, incised lines at different levels most probably marking thin, horizontal bands which hold the tresses together (see **Cat. 7** and **Cat. 51**). The wig is rounded and continues all around the head, and is cut off horizontally above the shoulders.

The back of the figure is remarkably well carved and well preserved. The muscular buttocks and thighs are modeled in the stone: from a side view they are rounded and protruding (compare **Cat. 24**). There is a vertical line separating the thighs. The belt continues all around, but it is plain. Along the figure's spine there is a recessed area in the stone. The wig is well carved also in the back, the vertical tresses are indicated but the small, incised, horizontal lines are missing. There is red color on the figure's back, and black color on the wig.

Ornamental details: The upper, horizontal, rounded band of the belt has small, double, vertical lines painted on it. Along the vertical edges of the kilt cloth there is a similar, painted pattern. The better preserved right-hand side shows a broad band framed by thin, black lines. Inside the band there are rectangular areas filled with red paint, separated by square areas which were seemingly left unpainted. Around each rectangle and square there is a black, painted outline. There is the possibility that what was originally rendered was the alternate application of paint, or "color as pattern".

Technical and formal aspects:

Dating: Early 6th century B.C.

Bibliography: Cesnola 1885, pl. 34.215; Myres 1914, 152–153, no. 1033; Gjerstad 1948, pl. 6; Hermary 1981, 16–17, no. 2; Sophocleous 1985, pl. 45.1; Markoe 1988a, 17 n. 4; Markoe 1990a, 113 n. 5, 118 n. 41; Tore 1995, 452, pl. 25; Karageorghis *et al.* 2000, 114, no. 179; Hermary 2001b, 28, 30–31 n. 34, pl. 2.1; Kourou *et al.* 2002, 73.

Cat. 50 Statuette with kilt and decorated apron-*devanteau*
(*Fig. 11, Pls. 11.3 & 33*)

H. 37 cm, AOH 71 cm
The Metropolitan Museum, New York. Inv. no. 74.51.2605

Provenance: Amathus

State of preservation: Preserved is the torso of a male figure from the base of the neck to the right knee and just below the kilt on the left leg, respectively. Both forearms are missing from the elbows. There are remains of both arms along the sides of the figure's body. On the right-hand side of the kilt cloth there is a deep cut in the stone. No traces of color.

Description: Male figure standing with the left leg advanced and both arms hanging along the sides of the body. Both arms are attached to the body all along. The shoulders are tapering, the shape of the upper body cylindrical and plain. The figure's thighs and thus the kilt area seem unproportionately elongated. Tiny part of the incised right knee-cap preserved.

The figure is wearing a plain, broad belt. From it a large, decorated, triangular device hangs down, reaching to just above knee level. It has an apotropaic head placed right beneath the belt, two winged cobras, and at its bottom end a square area featuring a figural scene in low relief. Along its three sides there is a raised, rounded outline. From below it, on each side, the lower edges of the kilt cloth continue down towards the sides of the figure's legs. The figure seems to be wearing a short-sleeved garment, judging by the border at the base of the neck and the two parallel, incised lines running along the center of the upper torso, set at a certain distance from each other. On each upper arm a double spiral armring.

The back of the figure is entirely flat and roughly carved with no indications whatsoever.

Ornamental details: The face carved right beneath the belt is full and rounded. The hair – divided by vertical incisions – is placed like a horizontal band directly connected to the lower edge of the belt. The figure has a full beard decorated by vertical grooves which follows the entire contour of the face, being connected to the hair of the figure on both sides of the face. Round, incised eyes, a broad nose, and thick, straight lips give the face its character. On each cheek three vertical incisions radiate from the eye. From the cheeks two flat and broad cobra bodies emanate, extending down almost the entire length of the triangular device. Their bodies are crossing each other at a point right beneath the apotropaic head. Both creatures have awkwardly shaped, triangular wings with feathers indicated by vertical lines. On their heads there are sun disks. On the serpents' bodies there is a pattern of crossing, oblique lines (compare **Cat. 34**).

Beneath the "cobras" there is a square area marked by a thin, raised, rounded outline containing a figural scene. Depicted are two animals carved in low relief: a stag (?) is lying down, facing left, the long front leg bent underneath the body. On its back, turned the same way but with the face rendered frontally, is a lion, squatting and sinking its teeth into the neck of the herbivor. The rounded line of the mane of a male lion is barely visible in the stone. Behind the head of the stag there is what looks like either a large ear or a horn protruding horizontally, and in the limited area in front of the creature's neck something is indicated in the stone. Both animals have thin tails hanging down behind them.

Technical and formal aspects:

Dating: Around 500 B.C.

Bibliography: Cesnola 1885, pl. 54.347; de Ridder 1908, 47 n. 4; Myres 1914, 153–154, no. 1035; Wilson 1975b, 100, pl. 18.C; Davis 1979, 15 n. 19; Hermary 1981, 22–23, no. 12; Sophocleous 1985, 171; *LIMC* III (1986), 108–112 s.v. Bes (Cypri et in Phoenicia) (A. Hermary), pp. 89, 111, no. 36.a; Markoe 1990a, 114, fig. 8; Beer 1993, 24 nn. 118, 122–125; Hermary 1995, 25 n. 15; Tore 1995, 454, fig. 28; Faegersten forthcoming b; Faegersten forthcoming c.

Cat. 51 Head with tressed, Egyptian-type wig
(*Pl. 33*)

H. 5 cm, AOH 40 cm
The Curium House, Episkopi. Inv. no. C.R.M., R.R. 711

Provenance: Kourion, the sanctuary of Apollo Hylates

State of preservation: The head of a figure, cut off at the center of the neck. The tressed hair or wig is well preserved, the entire surface of the stone including both wig and the figure's face is very worn, however. Nose and mouth are missing. No traces of color.

Description: The head of a male figure with plaited hair or wig. The tresses all emanate from a central point on the crown of the head, each plait held together by several thin, horizontal bands, the bands creating a pleasing, alternating pattern (see **Cat. 7** and **Cat. 49**). The hair, or the wig, falls in front of the ears entirely covering them, and is cut off straight above the shoulders. The crown of the head is very flat, giving quite a squarish shape to the small head.

The much abraded face is rounded with softly modeled cheeks. Eyes and possibly eyebrows are indicated.

Ornamental details:

Technical and formal aspects:

Dating: Middle of the 6th century B.C.

Bibliography: Markoe 1988a, 17 n. 5, pl. 5.4; Hermary 2001b, 31 n. 34.

Cat. 52 Kilt-clad figure with double crown
(*Pl. 33*)

H. 130 cm, AOH 186 cm
The District Museum, Paphos. Inv. nos. KA 3, KA 248, and KA 280

Provenance: Palaepaphos

State of preservation: The statue of a male figure preserved from the (broken-off) top of the headgear to just below the knees. The entire right arm is missing, and so is the left forearm from below the elbow. The figure is assembled from three larger fragments: the head (KA 3), the upper (KA 248) and the lower (KA 280) part of the body, the horizontal breaks running at the base of the neck and just below the broad belt. The left arm was in fact assembled from several smaller fragments. On the arm and at the base of the neck there are smaller, reconstructed areas. The head is very large in comparison to the body from a side view. Is it possible that it does not belong together with the body? There is some additional damage to the piece: the nose and the upper lip are missing, as is part of the left shoulder. There are diagonal scratches on the left cheek, a deep cut on the back of the head, both ears are damaged, especially the left one. Two worn-off areas on both sides of the kilt seemingly mark the points of attachment of the hanging arms. The surface of the stone is abraded, especially on the front of the kilt and along its lower border. No traces of color.

Description: Male figure standing with the left leg advanced and both arms hanging along the sides of the body. The arms were detached from the body down to the level of the belt. The shoulders are broad, the preserved left arm is well modeled with muscles indicated, breast muscles modeled as well. There is a somewhat soft, central area of the stomach, in the center of which the navel is indicated. The border between thigh muscles and knee-caps seems to be indicated on both legs but the surface of the stone is very abraded. There is a vertical ridge visible in the stone underneath the missing right arm, indicating that the front and the back of the figure were carved separately, the ridge marking the border between the two surfaces.

The man is wearing a broad belt with raised, rounded outer ridges. The belt is holding up a finely pleated kilt cloth with two very thin and elongated cobra bodies hanging down along the front, at a certain distance from each other. On each of their sides are three long, symmetrical sash ends extending almost 4/5 of the cloth. The lower edge of the kilt cloth descends centrally and on it the cobras' heads are rearing away from one another. The cobra bodies end in a rounded shape just beneath the head, the hoods are separately carved. The better preserved right-hand cobra may have an eye indicated, and a sun disk on its head. The pleats of the kilt are indicated on both sides of each serpent. There is a broad collar outlined in the stone by a single, incised line running on the figure's chest. Plain armring on the upper left arm; it is closed and thus not of the spiral type. The figure is wearing a double crown, the "red crown" being low in the front and rising in the back, rather squarish, behind the "white" counterpart. Above the forehead, right beneath the crown, there is a plain, flat, sharp ridge running from ear to ear probably indicating hair (see **Cat. 30**). In the neck a rounded mass of hair hangs down from beneath the crown, resting on the figure's shoulders. From a side view it is clearly visible that the ears of the figure are placed at the far back of the head (compare **Cat. 30** and **Cat. 37**). A double spiral earring in the better preserved right ear. The face is oval, the facial features are symmetrically and precisely cut, with almost metal sharp contours. The almond-shaped eyes are marked by ridges, the eyebrows decorated with incised, inverted chevrons continue the line of the nose.

The figure's back is very well carved. The outline of the buttocks and of the muscles of the thighs are beautifully modeled, and unlike what is usually the case both the broad belt with raised outer ridges and the fine, vertical pleats of the kilt cloth continue all around.

Ornamental details:

Technical and formal aspects: The figure's legs are separately carved underneath the kilt cloth, or rather the "apron-*devanteau*". The separate carving of the front and the back side of the upper torso of the figure (see above) may explain the slightly disturbed correspondence between the front and back side of the belt, which meet at this very spot.

Dating: Middle of the 6th century B.C.

Bibliography: Wilson 1974, 140; Lewe 1975, 57 n. 279, 76 n. 403 ("Ktima KA 673"); Wilson 1975a, 448–449; Maier & Karageorghis 1984, 185–186, fig. 172; Maier 1985, 21, 72, pl. 9.7; Markoe 1988a, 18 n. 15; Maier 1989, 383, fig. 40.5; Markoe 1990a, 111 n. 1, 112–113, 115, 118–119, fig. 3; Reyes 1992, 254 n. 61; Senff 1993, 34 n. 282, 53 nn. 426–427; Brönner 1994, 49, 51 (variant 1.b); Karageorghis 1994, 11, pl. 2.a; Tatton-Brown 1994, 72, pl. 20.b; Wriedt Sørensen 1994, 81 nn. 17, 21; Maier 1996, pl. 15; Hermary 2001b, 29.

Cat. 53 Torso of a figure with pleated kilt with cobras
(*Pl. 33*)

H. 53 cm, AOH 195 cm
The Kouklia Museum, Kouklia. Inv. no. KA 620

Provenance: Palaepaphos

State of preservation: Preserved is the lower part of a kilt-clad statue, from the upper edge of the broad belt to below the knees. The lower left forearm is preserved, as are both hands (except the left thumb), all three being separate pieces. Part of the right-hand side of the belt and the upper kilt are missing. There are cuts and scratches on the front part of the kilt, the back side has been vertically cut off and is missing. No traces of color.

Description: Male figure standing with the left leg advanced and both arms hanging along the sides of the body. The bulging borders between the thigh muscles and the knee-caps are indicated on both legs. There is a slightly Y-shaped modeling in the crook of the left arm.

The figure is wearing a broad belt with raised, rounded outer ridges, where only the lower ridge is preserved. The belt is holding up a finely pleated kilt cloth with two very thin and elongated cobra bodies hanging down along the front, at a certain distance from each other. On each of their sides are three long, symmetrical sash ends extending almost 4/5 of the cloth. The lower edge of the kilt cloth descends centrally and on it the cobras' heads are rearing away from one another. The cobra bodies end in a rounded shape just beneath the head. Unlike what was the case in **Cat. 52**, the cobras' bodies, hoods, and heads are rendered without any separation. Both cobras have eyes and mouths indicated, and sun disks on their heads. The vertical pleats of the kilt are indicated on both sides of each serpent. Between the cobras, along the lowermost edge of the "apron-*devanteau*", there is a thin, incised line. There is some distance between the lowermost part of the "apron" and the recessed right leg.

The back of the figure is missing, but it is clear from the left-hand side of the figure that the fine, vertical pleats cease at about the level of the left hand.

Ornamental details:

Technical and formal aspects: This torso comes very close to the former statue, **Cat. 52**, in all but the exact rendering of the cobras and the presence or absence of vertical kilt pleats in the figures' backs.

Dating: Middle of the 6th century B.C.

Bibliography: Mitford & Iliffe 1951, 61, pl. 9.d; Karageorghis 1969, 452 n. 5; Wilson 1974, 140 n. 4; Lewe 1975, 29 n. 129; Wilson 1975a, 447–448 n. 32; Maier 1974a, 29–30, fig. 2; Hermary 2001b, 29.

Cat. 54 Upper part of a male figure with broad belt

H. 49 cm, AOH 184 cm
The Kouklia Museum, Kouklia. Inv. no. KA 302

Provenance: Palaepaphos

State of preservation: The upper part of a male figure preserved from just above the base of the neck to the lower edge of the broad belt. Both arms are missing from below the shoulders. No traces of color.

Description: Male figure seemingly standing with both arms hanging along the sides of the body (judging by the fact that there is no indication of the attachment of a clenched hand on the chest). At the base of the neck there is a border or line indicated in the stone, but since the navel is indicated the upper torso seems to have been naked.

The figure is wearing a broad belt with raised outer ridges. Of the hypothetical kilt nothing is preserved, however.

The back of the figure is well carved. The belt continues all around, but at a much higher level than in the front: in fact, the lower belt ridge on the back roughly corresponds with the upper one in the front (see **Cat. 10**).

Ornamental details:

Technical and formal aspects:

Dating: Middle of the 6th century B.C.

Bibliography: Unpublished (Tatton-Brown forthcoming)

Cat. 55 Upper part of a male figure with broad belt and pleated kilt

H. 58 cm, AOH 203 cm
The Kouklia Museum, Kouklia. Inv. no. KA 4172? 4173?

Provenance: Palaepaphos

State of preservation: The upper part of a male figure preserved from the center of the neck to just beneath the broad belt. Both arms are missing from below the shoulders. Some damage to the lower right-hand side of the torso. No traces of color.

Description: Male figure seemingly standing with both arms hanging along the sides of the body (judging by the fact that there is no indication of the attachment of a clenched hand on the chest). At the base of the neck there is a thin line indicated in the stone.

The figure is wearing a broad belt with raised outer ridges. Beneath it, on the right-hand side, there is a small part of the finely pleated kilt cloth preserved.

The back of the figure seems to be well carved. The belt continues all around, as do the vertical pleats of the kilt.

Ornamental details:

Technical and formal aspects:

Dating: Middle of the 6th century B.C.

Bibliography: Unpublished (Tatton-Brown forthcoming)

Cat. 56 Lower part of a male figure with broad belt and pleated kilt

H. 46 cm, AOH 170 cm
The Kouklia Museum, Kouklia. Inv. no. KA ?

Provenance: Palaepaphos

State of preservation: Preserved is the lower part of a kilt-clad statue, from the center of the broad belt to below the knees. The right hand is preserved (although badly worn) and attached to the side of the kilt. The carved surface of the stone is very abraded and there is a large fragment missing from the lower front of the torso. No traces of color.

Description: Male figure standing with the left leg advanced and the right arm (perhaps both?) hanging along the side of the body.

The figure is wearing a broad belt of which not much is preserved. The belt is holding up a finely pleated kilt cloth with two very thin and elongated cobra bodies hanging down along the front, at a certain distance from each other. On each of their sides are the remains of three sash ends. Judging by indications preserved on the right-hand side of the kilt the lower edge of the kilt cloth descends centrally. Of the lower part of the sash ends and the cobras nothing is preserved.

Ornamental details:

Technical and formal aspects:

Dating: Middle of the 6th century B.C.

Bibliography: Unpublished (Tatton-Brown forthcoming)

Cat. 57 Lower part of a male figure with broad belt and pleated kilt

H. 51 cm, AOH 189 cm
The Kouklia Museum, Kouklia. Inv. no. KA 621 (1949–IV–19)

Provenance: Palaepaphos

State of preservation: Preserved is the lower part of a kilt-clad statue, from the center of the broad belt to the knees. The carved surface of the stone is quite well preserved. No traces of color.

Description: Male figure standing with the left leg advanced. A tiny part of the right, rounded knee-cap is preserved.

The figure is wearing a broad belt with raised, rounded outer ridges, where only the lower ridge is preserved. The belt is holding up a finely pleated kilt cloth with two very thin and elongated cobra bodies hanging down along the front at a certain distance from each other. On each of their sides are three long, symmetrical sash ends extending to about half the length of the cloth. The lower edge of the kilt cloth descends centrally and on it the cobras' heads are rearing away from one another. The cobra bodies end in a rounded shape just beneath the head. Both cobras have sun disks on their heads. Along the horizontal lower border of the kilt cloth, on the left-hand side, there is a thin, plain band.

The back of the figure is damaged but it is clear that the outline of the buttocks is visible. On the right-hand side of the figure the

vertical pleats cease, and thus do not continue on the back of the statue.

Ornamental details:

Technical and formal aspects:

Dating: Middle of the 6th century B.C.

Bibliography: Unpublished (Tatton-Brown forthcoming)

*Cat. 58 Head with double crown with scale pattern and winged cobra on the brim
(*Pl. 33*)

H. 30 cm, AOH 145 cm
The Meyerside County Museums, Liverpool. Inv. no. KA 730

Provenance: Palaepaphos

State of preservation: The head of a figure, cut off at the base of the neck. The curly hair hanging down in the neck is preserved, and so is the entire headgear. The bearded face is well preserved, apart from the missing nose and the lowermost part of the beard. The condition of the carved stone surface is remarkable.

Description: The head of a male, bearded figure with moustache. He is wearing a Cypriote version of the double crown, where the "red crown" tightly encircles the convex "white crown" which ends in a flat knob. The back part of the "red crown" characteristically comes up behind the knob in a squarish form. The "white crown" is covered by large scales placed in rows on top of each other in an alternate manner. On the broad brim of the "red" counterpart there is a winged cobra.

Beneath the crown there is a row of beautiful snail curls, two larger curls placed closest to each ear. In the neck, beneath the crown and behind the ears, a rounded mass of hair hangs down with large, regular snail curls arranged in three rows. The beard emanates in front of the ears from the first row of curls. It consists of beautifully arranged curls of the same type as those of the hair, arranged in three horizontal rows. In common for all the curls is their patterning, all having thin, parallel, raised lines. The moustache of the figure follows the upper outline of the slightly smiling lips and dips down towards the beard at each outer end. It is decorated by three parallel, horizontal rows of small dots or circles carved in low relief. The eyes of the figure are almond-shaped and have sharp, raised contours. Both eyes have tear ducts. The eyebrows are carved in low relief and are marked with incised, oblique lines creating a "feathered" pattern (see **Cat. 20**, **Cat. 24** and **Cat. 61**). The ears are very well modeled.

Ornamental details: Centrally on the brim of the "red crown" there is a rearing *uraeus* of characteristic shape: a slightly triangular body where the lower, thinner part protrudes a bit from the crown, and a small head with a sun disk on top. The creature has broad, feathered wings attached, spreading all along the front of the brim, taking up its entire width. Closest to the cobra's body there are the thin, plain, almost vertical feathers to which the horizontal "flight feathers" are attached. Each wing consists of three feathered parts, the lower outline of each part being beautifully curved.

Technical and formal aspects:

Dating: Around 500 B.C.

Bibliography: Maier 1967a, 313, fig. 15; Maier 1967b, 40, pl. 8.1; Karageorghis 1971a, 18 n. 27; Karageorghis 1979, 310 n. 3; Maier & Karageorghis 1984, 186–187, 189, 203, fig. 175; Hermary 1985, 688–689, 694, fig. 35; Maier & Wartburg 1985a, pl. 6.3; Maier 1985, 21, pl. 10.1; Markoe 1987, 121, pl. 41.3–4; Maier 1989, 380, 383, 385, figs. 40.1–2; Hermary 1990, pl. 1; Markoe 1990a, 115 n. 22; Given 1991, pl. 17; Brönner 1993, fig. 4; Senff 1993, pl. 56.a; Brönner 1994, 49 (d); Tatton-Brown 1994, 72, pl. 20.d; Wriedt Sørensen 1994, 81 nn. 17, 21; Maier 1996, pl. 18.1; Hermary 2001b, 29, 33.

Cat. 59 Statuette with pleated kilt, belt buckle, and broad, decorated collar
(*Pls. 11.4–12.1 & 34*)

H. 40 cm, AOH 77 cm
The Cyprus Museum, Nicosia. Inv. no. 1934/III–16/1

Provenance: Kazafani

State of preservation: Male figure preserved from the base of the neck to the knees. The entire right arm is missing. The left arm was detached from the base of the neck to the elbow. It has been put back in place, but part of the elbow is restored. A worn-off area on the right-hand side of the kilt indicates the point of attachment of the right arm. The carved stone surface is well preserved, apart from small cuts in the stone on the upper left arm, and an abraded area on the lower parts of the left-hand-side sash ends. No traces of color.

Description: Male figure standing with the left leg advanced, the right arm hanging along the side of the body, the left arm bent and the clenched hand placed on the chest. Both arms were detached from the figure's upper body. The clenched hand has fingers delineated with an over-sized thumb placed on top, its nail indicated. The shoulders are broad and rounded, the chest is flat, breast muscles are barely indicated in the stone. The upper part of the body seems to be naked; there is what looks like the outline of a nipple high up on right breast. On the right leg there is an almond-shaped and sharply outlined knee-cap.

The man is wearing a kilt with broad, vertical pleats. It is held up by a belt with broad, flat outer ridges which are decorated by incised double, vertical lines placed at intervals. In the center of the belt, taking up its whole height, is a belt buckle, a slight concavity in its center. From the belt hangs a decorated apron-*devanteau*, but the area of attachment is overlapped by two centrally hanging serpents, hanging down body to body along the device, and three standardized sash ends set tightly on each side of the "cobras". Below the serpents are two horizontal, rectangular areas containing floral decoration. Seemingly, the pleated kilt cloth does not cover the upper part of the apron-*devanteau* but hangs down on each of its sides. If this is the case then the central device is slightly trapezoidal, its lower end being the broader. Around the figure's neck a broad, incised collar with five concentric lines creating four bands. The lower band, and the third band counting from below, are decorated in a similar manner as the flat ridges of the belt: by double, vertical lines set at intervals.

The back of the figure is flat and undecorated, and has no traces of the figure's dress.

Ornamental details: The lower end of the apron-*devanteau* has two horizontal, rectangular areas with decoration carved in low relief. In the lower register are five hanging drops or petals set closely together, and in the upper one a row of alternating lilies and buds linked with curving loops; the edges of the lily leaves almost meet above the buds. Below the drop relief is a plain ridge, marking the lower border of the apron-*devanteau*, and between the two rectangular reliefs, as well as above the flower relief, are double, horizontal lines. From the belt two serpents hang down body to body, curving away from each other at a certain point in rearing positions. The creatures have no hoods. The lowermost, curved part of their bodies overlap the upper, double horizontal line, constituting the upper frame of the lily relief. The better preserved left-hand creature has a square head and slightly open mouth.

Technical and formal aspects: The figure's legs are separately carved underneath the kilt cloth, or rather the "apron".

The snakes and sash ends belong to an outer plane in the carving of the figure, making the eye perceive the overlapping snakes and sash ends as having been added to the dress, a dress which in the lower plane consists of a kilt cloth and apron-*devanteau* with relief decoration (compare **Cat. 6**). This in contrast to the majority of the Cypriote Egyptianizing figures, where the cobras are an integrated part of the decoration of the apron-*devanteaux*.

Dating: Middle of the 6th century B.C.

Bibliography: Karageorghis 1978c, 165, 184, pl. 23.53; Karageorghis 1979, 309 n. 5; Markoe 1990a, 111 n. 1; Cassimatis 1993, 46; Wriedt Sørensen 1994, 81 n. 18; Tore 1995, 455.

Cat. 60 Torso of a colossal statue wearing decorated collar and belt

(Pls. 12.2–3 & 34)

H. 65 cm, AOH 220 cm
The Nationalmuseum, Stockholm. Inv. no. Sk NM 1550

Provenance: Unknown

State of preservation: Preserved is the upper part of a male figure from the shoulder to right beneath the broad belt. The right forearm is missing from the elbow. There is a vertical break running roughly along the center of the upper torso, and thus only the right-hand side of the upper body is preserved. A triangular area on the right-hand side of the figure, at the level of the broad belt, seemingly indicates the point of attachment of the hanging arm. At about the same spot there are two deep holes cut in the stone, possibly modern ones for the arrangement of the piece. The carved surface of the stone is very well preserved except for a few spots where small parts of the surface have fallen off in thin flakes. No traces of color.

Description: Male figure standing with the right arm hanging along the side of the body. The shoulders are very broad and rounded, the upper right arm well modeled. The arm was detached from the body all the way down to the level of the belt. The right breast muscle is rounded and modeled, its lower, curving outline starting from the center of the right arm. The upper part of the body is slender, the belly rounded and slightly protruding, almost resting on the broad belt.

The figure is wearing a broad belt with raised outer ridges. The belt is placed around the figure's hips and dips down centrally. It has a figural decoration carved in low relief. Right beneath the belt, on the right-hand side of the kilt, there are four incised, parallel, vertical lines most probably marking the presence of a thin cobra body and two sash ends, or three sash ends (compare **Cat. 27**, **Cat. 32**, **Cat. 33**, and **Cat. 42**). Around the figure's neck there is a broad collar with three decorated registers containing stylized, floral decoration.

The back of the figure is flat and slightly concave. There are no traces of dress or decoration.

Ornamental details: Decorating the broad belt is an animal frieze. A goat, a lion, and a four-winged scarab are set neatly within the raised outer ridges of the belt; paws and hooves rest softly on the lower border while the tip of the scarab's wing touches the upper one. The position of the legs indicates that the goat is moving forward at a good pace. Its horns are curved back parallel to the line of the neck and the ear, its neck is broad and strong. It has a small beard and a stubby tail. The lion leans forward slightly, its tail raised alertly and its jaws open. Its neck is massive, in contrast to its slender body, where the contour from the chest over stomach and groin down to the tip of the right hind paw is virtually one single, beautifully curved line. The four-winged scarab is only partially preserved: of the right pair of wings and its right front foot, only a fraction can be seen. The body is characteristically tripartite, consisting of a main body, a slightly triangular area to which the front feet are attached, and the head. There is a raised, vertical division along the body, meeting a horizontal dividing line at the bottom. The two preserved wings are feathered.

The decorated registers of the collar are separated by thin, flat, incised ridges; there is even one below the lower row of drops. The upper register contains two persea fruits with characteristic raised, narrow outlines. The second register has broad, plain hanging triangles overlying a broad, horizontal line. The line is in turn decorated by small, vertical lines set tightly all along. There is a lower row of beautifully arranged, hanging drops. Unlike what is usually the case the drops are recessed into the stone, while the area around them is at the same level as the rest of the body surface.

Technical and formal aspects:

Dating: Middle of the 6th century B.C.

Bibliography: Faegersten forthcoming a; Faegersten forthcoming c.

Cat. 61 Almost intact statuette with kilt, winged cobras, and kerchief

(*Pls. 12.4 & 34*)

H. 30 cm, AOH 32 cm
The Louvre, Paris. Inv. no. MNB 408 (acq. 1872)

Provenance: Unknown

State of preservation: Male statuette which is intact, apart from the missing feet and nose. The head was broken off at the base of the neck but put back in place. It is quite large in comparison to the body, however, and there is a possibility that it does not belong to the figure (see Hermary 1989). The surface of the stone is in excellent condition. Red paint on the lips (and on the kilt, according to Hermary 1989).

Description: Male figure standing with the left leg advanced, the right arm hanging along the side of the body, the left arm bent and the clenched hand placed on the chest. All fingers delineated. Both arms are detached from the body, the right one down to the level of the belt. The right hand is clenched around a circular object, the thumb unusually bent and placed underneath the hand (thumb nail indicated: Hermary 1989). A thin ridge marks the crook of the arm. The upper part of the body is naked, breast muscles are well outlined and modeled, as are both nipples and the navel. The upper torso is triangular in shape in a naturalistic manner, the waist is slender. Thighs and calfs are modeled, the calf muscles and the shin bones indicated in the stone. The knee-caps are almond-shaped.

The figure is wearing a broad belt with incised outer edges. It is holding up a kilt cloth and a centrally placed, decorated, trapezoidal device: a "*devanteau*". On the "devanteau" there are two cobras hanging down at a certain distance from each other, rearing away from one another in the characteristic manner. The cobra bodies end in a rounded shape just beneath the head, the hoods are separately carved. Between them, connecting them, are six thin, horizontal bars and one plain, incised line, at the bottom. Both serpents have "feathered wings" hanging down almost perpendicular from the lower parts of their bodies. On each side of the central, trapezoidal object there are three thin sash ends rendered in low relief. The bottom edges of the kilt cloth are marked by an incised band and by double, incised vertical lines. The figure is wearing a plain kerchief, the lower end of the headcloth horizontally cut off above the shoulders. The ears are large, as is the broad nose, the chin is protruding. The eyes are large and each surrounded by a thin ridge. The mouth is small and delicate and has a slight smile. The eyebrows are carved in low relief and has the characteristic sets of oblique lines creating a "feathered"

pattern (see **Cat. 20**, **Cat. 24** and **Cat. 58**). Double spiral earrings in both ears.

The back of the figure is quite unique. The figure's spine creates one long, sunk, vertical line together with the division of the buttocks. There is thus no trace of the kilt or belt on the back of the statuette. Below the lower edge of the kerchief there is a rough, rectangular chunk of stone.

Ornamental details: The double, incised vertical lines placed along the lower horizontal borders of the kilt create a characteristic pattern consisting of one horizontal rectangle followed by two squares, and so on.

Technical and formal aspects:

Dating: Early 6th century B.C.

Bibliography: Perrot & Chipiez 1885, 593–594, fig. 405; Hermary 1989a, 50, no. 64; Caubet *et al.* 1992, 122, no. 149; Wriedt Sørensen 1994, 81 n. 18; Hermary 2001b, 30–31 n. 34; Kourou *et al.* 2002, 10; Faegersten forthcoming b; Faegersten forthcoming c.

*Cat. 62 Statuette of man with pleated kilt and a goat (?) under his arm
(*Pl. 34*)

H. 29 cm, AOH 55 cm

Sold to the art dealer N. Koutoulakis – since then on the art market (A. Caubet, personal communication, 2000).
Present whereabouts unknown.

Provenance: Unknown

State of preservation: The statuette is preserved from the base of the neck to the knees. The right arm is missing from below the shoulders, the left forearm and the front part of the animal held under the left arm are missing as well. The lower part of the descending "*devanteau*" is damaged. The surface of the stone is abraded.

Description: Male figure standing with the left leg advanced and the left arm bent holding an animal. The right arm may have been hanging along the side of the body or, perhaps, bent and the forearm raised? The modeled breast muscles are placed high up on the upper torso and are rounded. Compared to the lower part of the body the upper part is limited in length.

The man is wearing a broad belt with raised outer ridges. The belt is dipping down centrally, but it is placed in the figure's waist. It is holding up a pleated kilt cloth. Centrally from the belt there are two thin cobras hanging down at a certain distance from one another, a plain area between them indicating the "*devanteau*". The bodies of the cobras are very elongated, and the "*devanteau*" descends far beneath the level of the kilt. At the bottom end the serpents are rearing away from one another. The better preserved right-hand-side creature seems to be hoodless. It has a sun disk on its head. On each side of the cobras' heads there is a vertical border marking the outer edges of the frontal "*devanteau*", or rather apron-*devanteau*. From the belt, on each side of the cobras' bodies, hang three short sash ends, descending to only about 1/4 of the "*devanteau*". The kilt cloth is long and has broad, raised, diagonal pleats modeled in the stone. On the upper left arm there are the remains of a double armring with a centrally placed rosette. The figure was holding an animal under the left arm, the (much worn) creature is hanging along the left-hand side. The head and both front and hind paws are missing, preserved is the body of the creature.

Ornamental details:

Technical and formal aspects:

Dating: Middle of the 6th century B.C.

Bibliography: de Ridder 1908, 46–47, pl. 4.10; Lewe 1975, 56 n. 279, 58 n. 285.

Cat. 63 Statuette with kerchief, kilt, and painted belt and collar
(*Pls. 13.1–2 & 34*)

H. 27.5 cm, AOH 40 cm
The Pierides Collection, Larnaka. Inv. no. MLA 863

Provenance: Unknown

State of preservation: The statuette is intact except for the legs which are missing from the knees down. The nose and mouth are missing, two holes indicate (modern?) mending, and a small, wedge-shaped fragment of the left arm is gone. Several traces of red color on the belt and around the figure's neck.

Description: Male figure standing with the left leg advanced, the left arm hanging along the side of the body, the right arm bent and the clenched hand resting on the chest. The right arm is slightly detached from the body, the left arm attached to it all along. The knuckles of the right hand are tapering, the thumb over-sized. All fingers are delineated. The shoulders are rounded, the chest flat. The arms are plain in outline but the left arm has a slightly modeled biceps muscle and an inverted V marking the crook of the arm.

The figure is wearing a broad belt with painted, red, vertical striped set at intervals. The belt is holding up a plain kilt cloth where the two sides of the cloth are drawn to the sides exposing a centrally hanging "apron" with concave lower (vertical) sides. Around the figure's neck there are several traces of red color marking the presence of a broad collar. On the figure's head there is a plain kerchief. The ears are protruding, the face is rounded with large and superficially set eyes placed at slightly different levels.

The back of the figure is flat and only roughly carved. The vertical line between body and left arm is indicated, as is the small finger on the left hand. The recessed right leg is outlined in the stone.

Ornamental details:

Technical and formal aspects:

Dating: Middle of the 6th century B.C.

Bibliography: Unpublished. Referred to in Hermary 2001b, 31 n. 34.

Cat. 64 Statuette torso wearing a plain kilt, holding two objects
(*Pls. 13.3–4 & 34*)

H. 12.5 cm, AOH 24 cm
The Cyprus Museum, Nicosia. Inv. no. B.61

Provenance: Unknown

State of preservation: Male figure preserved from the base of the neck to below the right knee and above the left one, respectively. The frontal part of the long, curved object held in the figure's left hand is missing, and there is a small abraded area inside the right hand. The stone surface is well preserved. In the figure's back there is red color preserved on the broad belt.

Description: Male figure standing with the left leg slightly advanced, both arms bent, the left arm and hand holding a curving, oblong object, the right hand placed on the chest. The fingers of this hand are delineated. Both arms are attached to the side of the body, the right breast muscle is indicated in the stone.

The figure is wearing a broad, plain belt placed in the waist. It is holding up a plain kilt cloth, the edges of the cloth emanating from the same point at the bottom of the belt but they fall to the side (slightly assymetrical) exposing an almost rectangular "apron" with massive lowermost end which is almost square in section. The curving, unidentified object held in the left hand and over that forearm is hanging down along the right-hand side of the kilt, reaching (at least) to the level of the knee. The abraded area in the right hand indicates that the figure was holding a small object there, too.

The figure's back is carved with some care. The broad belt is indicated all around the waist, and there is red paint on it. The figure's spine is indicated by two incised, parallel, vertical lines. The area of the shoulder blades is modeled in quite a unique manner, giving the profile of the upper back of the figure a naturalistic appearance. The kilt is well outlined in the back, as is the right arm.

Ornamental details:

Technical and formal aspects: Broad, vertical tool marks are visible on the left-hand side of the body.

Dating: Late 6th century B.C.

Bibliography: Unpublished

Cat. 65 Statuette torso wearing a plain kilt
(*Pls. 14.1–2 & 35*)

H. 15.5 cm, AOH 67 cm
The Cyprus Museum, Nicosia. Inv. no. B.227 A

Provenance: Unknown

State of preservation: Figure preserved from below the belt to the knees. The lower part of each forearm and the hands are attached to the sides of the kilt. The left hand is much worn but part from this the carved stone surface is quite well preserved. No traces of color.

Description: Fragment of a male figure standing with the left leg advanced and both arms hanging along the sides of the body. The fingers on the better preserved right hand are delineated. On both legs there are the upper parts of incised, almond-shaped knee-caps. The figure is quite flat and board-shaped. The legs are only separated by a vertical groove.

The figure is wearing a long kilt cloth where the vertical edges of the cloth are drawn to the sides exposing a trapezoidal "apron".

The figure's back is rough. The outline of the buttocks is slightly indicated but there are no traces of the lower border of the figure's kilt. On the right hand the little finger is indicated in the stone.

Ornamental details:

Technical and formal aspects: Broad, vertical tool marks on the figure's back.

Bibliography: Unpublished

Cat. 66 Head with double crown decorated with winged feature/creature
(*Pl. 35*)

H. 16.5 cm, AOH 80 cm
The Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Inv. no. 1992.3

Provenance: Unknown

State of preservation: The head of a figure, cut off at the base of the neck. The hair hanging down in the neck is preserved, and so is the entire headgear, apart from the uppermost part of the "white crown" which is missing. The nose, the upper lip, the chin, and most of the left ear and the left-hand side of the rounded mass of hair hanging in the figure's neck are missing. The surface of the stone is partly abraded (brim of the crown), partly well preserved. No traces of color.

Description: The head of a male, bearded figure. He is wearing a Cypriote version of the double crown where the "red crown" tightly encircles the convex "white crown" which ends in a flat knob. The back part of the "red crown" characteristically comes up behind the knob in a squarish shape.

Beneath the crown there is a row of semi-circular curls of hair running between the ears. In the neck, beneath the crown and behind the ears, a rounded mass of hair hangs down. On its sides there is a pattern of small lozenges marking the outline of hair. From in front of the well-shaped right ear and the abraded left one the beard emanates, connected to the row of hair placed beneath the crown. There is an unusually wide, plain area in front of each ear, before the outline of the beard descends. The beard is limited in width at this point but widens on the cheeks, consisting of three rows of snail curls arranged within an incised, chequered pattern. The eyes of the figure are large and superficially set, the cheek bones are modeled and the small mouth is smiling.

The back of the head is plain, there is a ridge between the crown and the hair hanging down on the shoulders but here the hair lacks any decoration.

Ornamental details: The relief carving on the brim of the "red crown" is defaced. The two wings that extend from a centrally placed feature or creature are each characteristically shaped, with two separate sets of horizontal feathers indicated.

Technical and formal aspects:

Dating: Around 500 B.C.

Bibliography: de Ridder 1908, 64, 67, no. 21; Wilson 1974, 140 n. 11; Maier 1989, 383 nn. 18, 20; Senff 1993, 50 n. 404; Brönner 1993, 60–61, figs. 1–3; Brönner 1994, 47–48, 52, pl. 13.a–d; Brehme *et al.* 2001, 136–137, no. 144; Hermary 2001b, 29 n. 23.

Cat. 67 Statuette head with double crown
(*Pl. 35*)

H. 9 cm, AOH 49 cm
The Cyprus Museum, Nicosia. Inv. no. 1975/XI–20/3

Provenance: Unknown

State of preservation: The head of a figure, cut off at the base of the neck. The hair hanging down in the neck is preserved, and so is the entire headgear. The face is well preserved, apart from a large part of the right cheek which is missing. The stone surface is abraded. No traces of color.

Description: The head of a male figure. He is wearing a Cypriote version of the double crown, where the "red crown" tightly encircles the triangular "white crown" which ends in a broad and flat knob. The back part of the "red crown" characteristically comes up behind the knob in a squarish shape.

Beneath the crown, above the forehead, there is a row of roughly carved curls of hair, larger at the sides of the head in front of each ear. In the neck, beneath the crown and behind the ears, there is a plain, slightly rectangular area indicating the hair hanging down. The ears and the eyes of the figure are placed at very different levels: the schematically shaped right ear, which is also larger than the left one, is placed lower than its counterpart, while the right eye is placed higher

than the left eye. Both eyes are large and superficially set, the lower left eye being more oval in shape, the right one more rounded. The small face is thus very assymetrical. The nose is broad, the lips small and smiling, the chin pointed.

In the figure's back there is no clear border between crown and hair.

Ornamental details:

Technical and formal aspects:

Dating: Around 500 B.C.

Bibliography: *ARDAC* 1976, fig. 72; Karageorghis 1976a, 846, fig. 10; Maier 1989, 383 n. 15; Brönner 1994, 49 (e), pl. 14.b.

***Cat. 68 Statuette head with double crown**
(*Pl. 35*)

H. 15 cm, AOH 68 cm
The Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden. Inv. no. I 1925/12.14

Provenance: Unknown

State of preservation: The head of a figure, cut off at the base of the neck. The hair hanging down in the neck is seemingly preserved, and so is the entire headgear. The face is well preserved, apart from the missing tip of the nose and a deep cut on the side of the right eye.

Description: The head of a male figure. He is wearing a Cypriote version of the double crown where the "red crown" tightly encircles the convex "white crown" which ends in a knob. The back part of the "red crown" characteristically comes up behind the knob in a squarish shape.

Beneath the crown there is a row of rounded curls of hair running between the ears. In the neck, beneath the crown and behind the ears, a rounded mass of hair hangs down. The face is oval and quite delicately carved, the nose is straight and the lips slightly smiling. The eyes, however, are plain and superficially set.

Ornamental details:

Technical and formal aspects:

Dating: Around 500 B.C.

Bibliography: Brönner 1994, 49–50 (f), pl. 14.c.

***Cat. 69 Male head with double crown**
(*Pl. 35*)

H. 12 cm, AOH 38 cm
Present whereabouts unknown

Provenance: Unknown

State of preservation: The head of a figure with long beard preserved from the top of the crown to the lowermost part of the beard, where only the tip is missing. The face is well preserved, apart from some damage to the nose and the lower part of the beard. According to de Ridder 1908 there were traces of red color on the "white crown" (compare **Cat. 21**).

Description: The head of a male, bearded figure with moustache. He is wearing a Cypriote version of the double crown where the "red crown" tightly encircles the convex "white crown" which ends in a flat knob. The back part of the "red crown" characteristically comes up behind the knob in a squarish shape.

Beneath the crown, above the forehead, there is a row of large snail curls running between the ears. The beard is very long and has a chequered pattern. Its lower outline is rounded. The moustache of the figure follows the upper outline of the slightly smiling lips and dips down towards the beard, connecting with it at each outer end. The eyes of the figure are almond-shaped and have flat ridges around them. Tear ducts are rendered on both eyes.

Ornamental details:

Technical and formal aspects:

Dating: Around 500 B.C.

Bibliography: de Ridder 1908, 68, pl. 8.23; Brönner 1994, 50 (g), pl. 14.d; Hermary 2001b, 29 n. 23.

***Cat. 70 Male head wearing double crown**
(*Pl. 35*)

H. 13 cm, AOH 61 cm
Present whereabouts unknown (formerly Collection Christian Bastis)

Provenance:

State of preservation: The head of a figure preserved from the (broken-off) top of the crown to the lowermost part of the beard. The head is well preserved, apart from the knob of the headgear and the tip of the nose which are missing. The carved surface of the stone is abraded.

Description: The head of a male, bearded figure with moustache. He is wearing a Cypriote version of the double crown where the "red crown" tightly encircles the convex "white crown" which ends in a (broken-off) knob.

Beneath the crown there is a row of curls of hair running between the ears. The beard has almost a squarish outline. The moustache of the figure follows the upper outline of the slightly smiling lips and dips down towards the beard, connecting with it at each outer, curving end. The eyes of the figure are almond-shaped and superficially set.

Ornamental details:

Technical and formal aspects:

Dating: Around 500 B.C.

Bibliography: Brönner 1994, 50 (h), pl. 15.a; Hermary 2001b, 29 n. 23.

Cat. 71 Male head with double crown
(*Pl. 35*)

H. 35 cm, AOH 154 cm
The Cyprus Museum, Nicosia. Inv. no. 1955/IV–21/1

Provenance: Unknown

State of preservation: The head of a figure, cut off at the base of the neck. The rows of locks of hair in the neck and along the forehead are preserved, and so is the entire headgear. The face is well preserved, only the tip of the nose is missing. The surface of the stone is very abraded, however. No traces of color.

Description: The head of a male figure. He is wearing a Cypriote version of the double crown, where the "red crown" tightly encircles the concave "white crown" which unlike what is usually the case ends

in a pointed tip. The back part of the "red crown" characteristically comes up behind the pointed tip in a squarish shape.

Beneath the crown, above the forehead, there is a thick, almost angular ridge which has indications of locks of hair. It is running between the ears. In the neck, beneath the crown and behind the ears, there is another broad, angular ridge marking hair. Here as well there are indications of locks of hair. The figure's cheek bones are indicated. From in front of the well-shaped but abraded ears the beard emanates, connected to the ridge of hair placed beneath the crown. It is limited in width at this point but widens on the cheeks and reaches the chin in a rounded tip. The beard has a decoration of small, schematized curls. The eyes of the figure are almond-shaped and have sharp, raised contours (now much abraded). The eyebrows are merely thin ridges continuing the line of the straight nose with nostrils indicated, the lips are thin and beautifully modeled.

Ornamental details:

Technical and formal aspects:

Dating: Early 5th century B.C.

Bibliography: Spiteris 1970, 170; Brönner 1994, 50 (j), pl. 16.a.

ADDENDUM 1
Heads which may have belonged to limestone statues and statuettes clad in Egyptian-type dress

No. 1 Colossal head wearing kerchief

H. 28 cm
The British Museum, London. Inv. nos. 1873.3–20.2 and 1917.7–1.167

Provenance: Idalion, "Lang's sanctuary"

State of preservation: The head of a male figure, cut off at the base of the neck. Lower left part of the headgear is missing, as is much of the nose. Abraded vertical area over the left eye and cheek. Red color on the upper lip.

Description: The head of a male, bearded figure with moustache, wearing the plain kerchief which dips down slightly in front of each ear. Double, horizontal incisions on the kerchief, in front of both ears. Large, half-moon-shaped eyes (with tear ducts), well-carved ears, slightly smiling lips. Ridged eyebrows continue the line of the nose. Curving outline of beard raised and rounded, the moustache is plain with rounded ends. Neatly arranged, schematized snail curls in the beard (see **Cat. 2**).

Bibliography: Lang 1878, 58 (Poole's account), pl. 5.4; Pryce 1931, 19, fig. 12, C 14; Lewe 1975, 20; Gaber-Saletan 1986, pl. 116; Senff 1993, 13, 51–53, 82, pl. 34.a–c; Hermary 2001b, 30 n. 30.

No. 2 Statuette head wearing kerchief

H. 10 cm
The British Museum, London. Inv. nos. 1873.3–20.53 and 1917.7–1.196

Provenance: Idalion, "Lang's sanctuary"

State of preservation: The head of a male figure, cut off at the base of the neck. Small part of the right shoulder preserved. No traces of color.

Description: The head of a male figure wearing a plain kerchief which dips down slightly in a square tip in front of the ears. Oval-shaped face with large, roughly shaped, obliquely set eyes and broad nose with nostrils. Slightly smiling lips. Ridged eyebrows continue the line of the nose.

Bibliography: Pryce 1931, 98, fig. 161, C 251; Gaber-Saletan 1986, 17, 29, pl. 49; Senff 1993, 51, 53, pl. 35.g–i.

No. 3 Statuette head wearing kerchief

H. 11 cm
The British Museum, London. Inv. no. 1873.3–20.78

Provenance: Idalion, "Lang's sanctuary"

State of preservation: The head of a male figure, cut off below the neck. A lime crust covers the piece. Points of the nose and chin damaged. A section of the left side of the face and the *kerchief* is missing, including the left ear. Right eye slightly damaged. According to Pryce 1931: traces of black paint on the wig and eyes, red paint on the lips.

Description: Head of a figure wearing a plain *kerchief*, convex in the back and not flat. The small face is full and rounded, the thin lips drawn up in a smile. Almond-shaped, elongated eyes bulging out from within the eyelids. The eyebrows are mere ridges reaching far towards the ear on the preserved right-hand side. Small nose with shallow nostrils.

A thin, incised line at the base of the neck indicates a garment of some kind. The small part of the shoulders that is preserved indicate that they were tapering. The preserved right ear is delicately modeled.

Bibliography: Pryce 1931, 98, fig. 162, C 252; Gaber-Saletan 1986, 29, pl. 48; Senff 1993, 51, 53, pl. 35.j–l.

No. 4 Male head with plain kerchief

H. 38 cm (34 cm?)
The Cyprus Museum, Nicosia. Inv. no. 1963/X–11/2

Provenance: Idalion

State of preservation: The head of a male figure, cut off at the base of the neck. Most of the nose and mouth are missing, deep, diagonal scratches across the center of the face. Otherwise the surface of the stone is well preserved. No traces of color.

Description: The head of a male, bearded figure with moustache wearing the plain kerchief which dips down slightly in front of each ear. Large, half-moon-shaped eyes surrounded by thin ridges. Broad, flat eyebrows continue the line of the nose. Curving outline of beard raised and rounded. Neatly arranged, schematized snail curls in the beard. Cone-shaped neck.

Bibliography: Karageorghis 1964, 303, fig. 21.a–b; Senff 1993, 4 n. 24.

No. 5 Male, flute-playing figure with kerchief

H. 40 cm
The Metropolitan Museum, New York. Inv. no. 74.51.2517

Provenance: Golgoi (Ayios Photios), the western site

State of preservation: Preserved is a male figure from the crown of the head to just above the waist. Most of the nose is missing but otherwise the surface of the stone is well preserved. No traces of color.

Description: The torso of a male figure playing the double flute or *aulos*. Both arms are bent holding the instrument, the fingers on each hand delineated. Both arms are detached from the body. Judging by the edges on each upper arm the figure is wearing a short-sleeved garment. The kerchief is plain, its lower end rounded and resting on the shoulders. The face is oval, the eyes are each surrounded by a ridge. A broad band placed across the face and covering the mouth is connected to the flute.

Bibliography: Cesnola 1885, pl. 13.15; Myres 1914, 198, no. 1264; Gjerstad 1948, 103; Masson 1971a, 317; Markoe 1988a, 17 n. 6; Senff 1993, 52, pl. 61.c; Karageorghis *et al.* 2000, 133, no. 199; Marangou 2000, 105, 195 (after Doell).

No. 6 Male lyre-playing figure with kerchief

H. 45.2 cm
The Metropolitan Museum, New York. Inv. no. 74.51.2509

Provenance: Golgoi (Ayios Photios), the western site

State of preservation: Preserved is a male figure from the crown of the head to just below the waist. Most of the nose is missing but otherwise the surface of the stone is well preserved. No traces of color.

Description: The torso of a male figure playing the lyre. Both arms are bent, the left is holding the large, stringed instrument while the right has a rounded object used for striking the strings. The fingers on each hand are delineated. Both arms are attached to the body. The kerchief is plain, its lower end rounded and resting on the shoulders. The face is oval, the eyes are each surrounded by a ridge.

Bibliography: Cesnola 1885, pl. 12.14; Myres 1914, 198, no. 1265; Gjerstad 1948, 103; Masson 1971a, 317; Masson 1971b, 30–31; Markoe 1988a, 17 n. 6; Karageorghis *et al.* 2000, 132, no. 198.

*No. 7 Male head with kerchief and fragmentary collar

H. 29.5 cm
The Metropolitan Museum, New York. Inv. no. 74.51.2874

Provenance: Golgoi (Ayios Photios), the eastern (temple) site

State of preservation: The head of a male figure, cut off at the base of the neck. Part of the right shoulder is preserved. The tip of the nose is missing, the surface of the stone abraded.

Description: The head of a male, bearded figure wearing a plain kerchief. A thin ridge marks the border of the headcloth, above the forehead. Almond-shaped eyes with thin ridges around them, well-carved ears, small mouth. Ridged eyebrows continue the line of the nose. The outline of the beard is characteristically curved. Cone-shaped neck.

Bibliography: Cesnola 1885, pl. 23.56.

*No. 8 Male head wearing kerchief

H. ? cm
The John and Mable Ringling Museum, Sarasota. Inv. no. SN 28.1747

Provenance: Golgoi (Ayios Photios), the eastern (temple) site

State of preservation: The head of a male figure, cut off at the base of the neck. The nose is missing, but apart from that the surface of the stone seems to be in excellent condition.

Description: The head of a male, bearded figure wearing a plain kerchief. The eyes are almond-shaped and have tear ducts, the ears are well carved, the lips are slightly smiling. Flat eyebrows continue the line of the nose. The outline of the beard is beautifully curved.

Bibliography: Cesnola 1885, pl. 23.53; Myres 1914, 201, no. 1271; de Forest 1928, no. 323; Gjerstad 1948, 114, 362 n. 7; Hermary 1989a, 51 (text in connection with no. 65).

*No. 9 Male head with kerchief

H. 31 cm
The Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, University of Michigan. Inv. no. Acc. 29108

Provenance: Golgoi

State of preservation: The head of a male figure, cut off at the base of the neck. The chin and the area around it is are missing, as is the tip of the nose. The surface of the stone is slightly abraded.

Description: The head of a male, bearded figure wearing a plain kerchief. The eyes are almond-shaped, the ears are well carved, the thin lips drawn up in a smile. Ridged eyebrows continue the line of the nose. The beard is rendered in low relief.

Bibliography: Albertson 1991, fig. 1.a–b.

No. 10 Colossal head wearing a plain headcloth (or tripartite wig?)

H. 49 cm
The Cyprus Museum, Nicosia. Inv. no. B.144

Provenance: Arsos

State of preservation: The head of a male (?) figure, cut off at the base of the neck. The left-hand side of the headcloth is missing, together with a tiny bit (the tip) of the nose. The surface of the stone is in excellent condition. No traces of color.

Description: Colossal head wearing a plain headcloth which hangs down in front of the right shoulder. The edges of the cloth dips down in a rounded tip in front of each ear. The face is oval and has delicate features: slightly angular eyes, broad eyebrows, a straight nose with deep nostrils, and a small, delicate mouth. From a side view the headcloth is convex and massive.

Bibliography: Gjerstad *et al.* 1937, 587–588, pl. 189.1; Gjerstad 1948, 103, pl. 6; Dikaios 1961, pl. 19.2; Hermary 1996c, 141; Hermary 2001b, 28 n. 5, 29, pl. 1.3–4.

No. 11 Male head wearing a plain kerchief

H. 30.5 cm
The Cyprus Museum, Nicosia. Inv. no. 1962/XI–23/1

Provenance: Arsos

State of preservation: The head of a male figure, cut off at the base of the neck. The tip of the nose is missing but otherwise the surface of the stone is in excellent condition. No traces of color.

Description: The head of a male figure with moustache wearing a plain kerchief. The cheek bones are indicated, the eyes almond-shaped. Ears are well carved (tear duct in the left eye) and the small mouth has an almost V-shaped form from its smile. Above the

mouth, following its outline, is a moustache carved in low relief, looking rather like a stylized bird in flight. The eyebrows are carved in low relief and has the characteristic "feathered" pattern. Double spiral earrings in both ears. The neck is cone-shaped.

Bibliography: Karageorghis 1963, 335, fig. 16.a–b; Hermary 1991b, pl. 39.3–4; Hermary 2001b, 33.

*No. 12 Male head wearing a plain kerchief

H. ? cm
The Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm. Inv. no. ?

Provenance: Unknown. Suggested by A. Westholm, on stylistic grounds, to come from Arsos (*SCE* III, p. 600)

State of preservation: The head of a male figure, cut off at the base of the neck. The surface of the stone is in good condition.

Description: The head of a male figure wearing a plain kerchief. The eyes are almond-shaped with thin ridges around them and are slightly obliquely placed. Ridged eyebrows continue the line of the nose, the lips are thin. The back of the head seems to be entirely flat.

Bibliography: Gjerstad *et al.* 1937, 600, pl. 207.1–3.

*No. 13 Fragmentary head of statue wearing a kerchief

H. 18.3 cm
Museum ? Inv. no. ?

Provenance: Kourion, the sanctuary of Apollo Hylates

State of preservation: The head of a male figure, cut off just below the chin at the level of the lower edge of the headcloth. The head was vertically cut in half and what is preserved is in fact only the left-hand side of the face. No facial features are preserved. The left ear is indicated in the stone but badly abraded. This goes, in fact, for the entire stone surface.

Description: The head of a male figure with rounded face wearing a plain kerchief (?).

Bibliography: Hermary 1996c, 140–141, pl. 34.1.

*No. 14 Head with plain kerchief

H. 25 cm
The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Inv. no. Acc. 72.319

Provenance: Golgoi

State of preservation: The head of a male figure, cut off at the base of the neck. The tip of the nose is missing. The surface of the stone is very abraded.

Description: The head of a male figure wearing a plain kerchief. The eyes are almond-shaped, the ears are well carved, the thin lips drawn up in a smile. Flat eyebrows continue the line of the nose. There are double spiral earrings in both ears.

Bibliography: Vermeule 1974, 289 n. 7, pl. 62.5–6.

No. 15 Male bearded head with plain kerchief

H. 32 cm
The Cyprus Museum, Nicosia. Inv. no. 1934/IV–27/21

Provenance: Unknown

State of preservation: The head of a male figure, cut off at the base of the neck. The surface of the stone is in excellent condition. No traces of color.

Description: The head of a male, bearded figure wearing a plain kerchief. The eyes are almond-shaped, the ears are well carved and placed far back on the head, when viewed from the side (see **Cat. 30**, **Cat. 37**, and **Cat. 52**). Thin lips drawn up in a slight smile, the nose is pointed and has traces of nostrils. Faint eyebrows continue the line of the nose. The beard is rendered in low relief and is slightly curving. The back side of the head is only roughly carved.

Bibliography: Unpublished

*No. 16 Male head with a plain kerchief

H. 21 cm
The Louvre, Paris. Inv. no. AM 2757

Provenance: Unknown

State of preservation: The head of a male figure, cut off at the base of the neck. The tip of the nose is missing but apart from that the surface of the stone seems to be in excellent condition.

Description: The head of a male figure wearing a plain kerchief. The eyes are almond-shaped and are each surrounded by a thin ridge, the ears are well carved, the thin lips beautifully outlined. Ridged eyebrows continue the line of the nose.

Bibliography: Hermary 1989a, 51, no. 65.

No. 17 Male head with a plain kerchief

H. ? cm
The John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, Sarasota. Inv. no. ?

Provenance: Unknown

State of preservation: The head of a male figure which most probably does not belong to the male, mantle-wearing body to which it is now attached. Most of the nose is missing together with the tip of the chin, and the entire surface of the stone is very abraded. No traces of color.

Description: The head of a male, bearded figure wearing a plain kerchief. The eyes are almond-shaped and slightly obliquely placed, the thin lips drawn up in a smile. Thin, ridged eyebrows continue the line of the nose. The beard is rendered in low relief and has the characteristic, curving outline.

Bibliography: Cesnola 1885, pl. 6.8; de Forest 1928, 84, no. 332; Kershaw 1983, 54, no. 91; Senff 1993, 34 n. 286.

*No. 18 Male head with plain kerchief

H. 31 cm
The *Antikensammlung*, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Inv. no. Sk 1794

Provenance: Unknown

State of preservation: The head of a male figure, cut off at the base of the neck. Only the lowermost, right-hand side of the headcloth is

missing. All features are well preserved but the entire stone surface is badly abraded.

Description: The head of a male figure wearing a plain kerchief. The eyes are almond-shaped, the ears seem well carved, the thin lips are drawn up in a smile. The eyebrows are mere ridges continuing the line of the nose.

Bibliography: Brönner 1990, no. 25; Brehme *et al.* 2001, 135–136, no. 143.

ADDENDUM 2
Egyptianizing figures and figurines of materials other than limestone

*No. 1 Male figurine wearing kilt

H. 20.7 cm
The Cyprus Museum, Nicosia. Inv. no. B.2612 (1935)

Material: Bronze

Provenance: Lefkoniko

State of preservation: Intact.

Description: Slender, male figure standing with the left leg advanced. The left arm hangs along the side of the body, the right arm is bent, clenched hand on the chest. Hair splaying on the shoulders. A thin, rounded belt is holding up a kilt with a broad, undecorated apron. Thin, very long legs with calf muscles outlined. Feet connected by a U-shaped tenon.

Bibliography: Myres 1940–1945b, 58, 68, no. 598, pl. 12.1; Dikaios 1961, 144–145, no. 1; Masson 1968, 409, fig. 30; Acquaro 1988, 423; Reyes 1992, 248, no. 21 (group B).

No. 2 Figurine with white crown (?), kilt, and broad, decorated collar

H. 21.3 cm
The British Museum, London. Inv. no. 1873.3–20.339

Material: Bronze

Provenance: Idalion, "Lang's sanctuary"

State of preservation: Intact.

Description: Male figure standing with left leg slightly advanced, right arm placed along the side of the body, left arm bent with clenched hand placed on chest, rounded thumb on top. Breast muscles indicated, stylized knee-caps, toes, and fingers delineated (nail on big toe). Inner calf muscles delineated. The head is unproportionately large, large eyes, broad nose, ears placed low on the sides of the head.

The figure is wearing a kilt with central, rectangular device with double outline which overlaps the left-hand side of the kilt cloth while being overlapped by the right-hand side of the cloth. Broad belt with raised outer ridges. Broad collar with upper and lower double outline and incised triangles in the (single) main register. Double spiral armrings on both upper arms, right beneath the shoulders. On the head a helmet-like "white crown" ending in a knob.

Bibliography: Tatton-Brown 1987, 16; Falsone 1989, 185, fig. 16; Reyes 1992, 247–248, pl. 16.c, no. 18 (group B); Hermary 2001b, 31 n. 36.

No. 3 Bronze figurine with helmet with central, parallel vertical lines

H. 12.7 cm
The British Museum, London. Inv. no. 1873.3–20.341

Material: Bronze

Provenance: Idalion, "Lang's sanctuary"

State of preservation: Intact except for the right leg which is missing from below the knee, and the left foot.

Description: Male figure standing with the left leg slightly advanced, the right arm hanging along the side of the body, the left arm bent and hand clenched on the chest. Both arms attached to the body.

The figure is wearing a broad belt with three horizontal ridges holding up a kilt where the vertical edges meet in the center, covering the upper part of an "apron" with an incised band as its outline. On each side of the kilt cloth incised, vertical lines either indicating the pleated cloth or the presence of sash ends. Two incised, concentric lines just below the neck indicate either a collar or a garment on the upper part of the body. Spiral armrings or short sleeves on each upper arm. The figure is wearing a conical helmet with a small knob on top. The helmet has three parallel, incised vertical lines dividing it in front. Large nose, slightly worn-off facial features. A V-shaped incision marks the crook of the right arm.

Bibliography: Falsone 1989, 185, fig. 17; Reyes 1992, 247, pl. 16.b, no. 17 (group B); Reyes 1994, pl. 11.a; Hermary 2001b, 31 n. 36.

No. 4 Bronze figurine with white crown (?)

H. 10.2 cm
The British Museum, London. Inv. no. 1873.3–20.343

Material: Bronze

Provenance: Idalion, "Lang's sanctuary"

State of preservation: Intact except for the legs from the knees down, which are missing.

Description: Male figure standing with the left leg advanced, the right arm hanging along the side of the body, the left arm bent and hand clenched on the chest. Both arms are detached from the body.

The figure is wearing a broad belt with two large, horizontal ridges holding up a vertically pleated kilt. The central part of the kilt descends, marking the lower outline of an "apron". Below the neck an incised, broad collar with beads. The figure is wearing a conical helmet with a tall, straight knob on top. Large, rounded nose, large eyes, protruding ears, slightly worn-off facial features.

Bibliography: Falsone 1989, 185, fig. 18; Reyes 1992, 248, pl. 17.a, no. 19 (group B); Reyes 1994, pl. 11.b; Hermary 2001b, 31 n. 36.

*No. 5 Bronze figurine with helmet with two horn-like protrusions

H. 14.4 cm
The British Museum, London. Inv. no. 1872.8–16.96

Material: Bronze

Provenance: Idalion, "Lang's sanctuary"

State of preservation: Intact apart for the left forearm and the right hand, which are missing.

Description: Slender, male figure standing with the right leg slightly advanced, the right arm bent and the forearm raised, the left arm also bent, the forearm in an unknown position. Shoulders are broad and rounded, calf muscles are indicated. Toes indicated on the feet.

The figure is wearing a broad, incised belt which is holding up a kilt with central, parallel lines, of which the ones on the right-hand side are curving. Around the figure's neck a collar decorated with small triangles. On the head a helmet-like headgear with two thin, protruding objects. Is there a floral ornament in the center of the "helmet"? Below the headgear a row of short, vertical incised lines indicating hair.

Bibliography: Masson 1968, 394, fig. 21.i; Reyes 1992, 249, pl. 17.d, no. 28 (group C); Reyes 1994, pl. 11.c; Hermary 2001b, 31 n. 36.

No. 6 Intact bronze figurine with white crown (?)

H. 12.4 cm
The British Museum, London. Inv. no. 1872.8–16.89

Material: Bronze

Provenance: Idalion, "Lang's sanctuary"

State of preservation: Intact.

Description: Male figure standing with the left leg slightly advanced, the right arm hanging along the side of the body, the left arm bent and the clenched hand placed on the chest. The right arm is detached from the body at the level of the waist. Toes indicated on both feet.

The figure is wearing a broad belt placed in the waist, decorated by vertical double lines alternating with small circles. The kilt has two rounded, vertical edges with a central, plain area inbetween (an "apron"?). On each side of the cloth hang three curving sash ends. Around the figure's neck there is an incised semi-circle with small incised dots underneath marking the collar. On the head a helmet-like "white crown" with tall, straight knob. The face is rounded, lips straight.

Bibliography: Masson 1968, 394, fig. 18.c; Reyes 1992, 247, pl. 16.a, no. 16; Hermary 2001b, 31 n. 36.

No. 7 Bronze figurine with white crown

H. 8 cm
The British Museum, London. Inv. no. 1872.8–16.92

Material: Bronze

Provenance: Idalion, "Lang's sanctuary"

State of preservation: Intact, except for the outer part of the right arm which is missing. The surface is corroded.

Description: Male figure standing with the left leg advanced and both arms hanging along the sides of the body, hands clenched. The arms are detached from the body at the level of the waist. The legs are attached to one another all along, a small base beneath the figure's feet. Broad shoulders, navel indicated.

Faint traces of the lower outline of a centrally descending "apron". On the head a white crown with rounded knob. Facial features corroded.

Bibliography: Masson 1968, 394, fig. 19.f; Seeden 1980, pl. 113.1807; Reyes 1992, 245, pl. 15.a, no. 1 (group A); Hermary 2001b, 31 n. 36.

No. 8 Intact bronze figurine with white crown

H. 9 cm
The British Museum, London. Inv. no. 1872.8–16.94

Material: Bronze

Provenance: Idalion, "Lang's sanctuary"

State of preservation: Intact.

Description: Male figure standing with the left leg slightly advanced and both arms hanging along the sides of the body, hands clenched. A small, shallow hole in the right hand between thumb and other fingers. Navel indicated. Both arms are attached to the body all along, the legs are attached to one another to the level of the knees.

The figure is wearing a broad belt with double horizontal bands. Beneath it a kilt cloth where the left-hand side of the cloth overlaps the right-hand one, covering the upper part of a rectangular apron – in the manner of the Egyptian *shenti*. On the figure's head what looks like the Egyptian white crown with upper knob. Ears large and protruding.

Bibliography: Masson 1968, 394, fig. 20.g; Seeden 1980, pl. 113.1806; Reyes 1992, 245, pl. 15.b, no. 2 (group A); Hermary 2001b, 31 n. 36.

No. 9 Bronze figurine with collar and kilt with *devanteau*

H. 12 cm
The British Museum, London. Inv. no. 1873.3–20.340

Material: Bronze

Provenance: Idalion, "Lang's sanctuary"

State of preservation: Intact except for the right leg from above the ankle, the left foot, and the right elbow which are missing.

Description: Male figure standing with the left leg advanced, the left arm hanging along the side of the body, the right arm bent and the clenched hand placed on the chest. Shoulders extremely rounded and broad in comparison to the upper torso which is very limited in width. Navel indicated.

The figure is wearing a broad belt holding up a kilt cloth. The edges of the kilt cloth seem to partly overlap a central "apron" which descends to the level of the knees. On the sides of the cloth are parallel, vertical lines either indicating pleats or hanging sash ends. The lower outline of the kilt has a broad, incised band with parallel, vertical incisions. Around the figure's neck are four incised, concentric semi-circles, that is, a broad collar with registers: there are small circles between the two lower lines, triangles between the second and third. On the figure's head a conical helmet (?), incised, vertical lines running from the top of the headgear to its brim. Oval face with features corroded.

Bibliography: Reyes 1992, 247, pl. 15.c, no. 15 (group B); Hermary 2001b, 31 n. 36.

No. 10 Bronze figurine with white crown

H. 12.5 cm
The British Museum, London. Inv. no. 1873.3–20.342

Material: Bronze

Provenance: Idalion, "Lang's sanctuary"

State of preservation: Intact except for both legs which are missing from the knees down.

Description: Male figure standing with the left leg slightly advanced, the right arm hanging along the side of the body, the left arm bent and the clenched hand placed on the chest.

The figure is wearing a broad belt holding up a plain kilt cloth (?). Around the figure's neck a thin, incised line, either indicating the upper border of a garment or a broad collar. On the figure's head the white crown of Egypt with circular knob. Oval face, almond-shaped eyes, eyebrows rendered in low relief. Is there the outline of a beard?

Bibliography: Reyes 1992, 247, pl. 15.d, no. 14 (group B); Hermary 2001b, 31 n. 36.

No. 11 Bronze figurine with flat, rounded headgear

H. 7.2 cm
The British Museum, London. Inv. no. 1873.3–20.346

Material: Bronze

Provenance: Idalion, "Lang's sanctuary"

State of preservation: Intact except for both legs which are missing from the ankles.

Description: Male figure standing with the left leg slightly advanced, the left arm hanging along the side of the body, the right arm bent and the clenched hand placed on the chest. The right arm is slightly detached from the body.

The figure is wearing a broad belt holding up a diagonally pleated kilt cloth. From the belt hangs a central, rectangular object which is rounded at its bottom end and incised with short, horizontal lines: a "*devanteau*". The neck is broad and short, the figure's mouth is open. On the figure's head a flat headgear which follows the outline of the head. On the figure's back the pleats of the kilt cloth continue all around.

Bibliography: Reyes 1992, 248, pl. 17.b, no. 20 (group B); Hermary 2001b, 31 n. 36.

No. 12 Bronze figurine with kilt and hat-like "helmet"

H. 10 cm
The British Museum, London. Inv. no. 1873.3–20.344

Material: Bronze

Provenance: Idalion, "Lang's sanctuary"

State of preservation: Intact except for both legs which are missing from above the ankles.

Description: Male figure standing with the left leg slightly advanced, the right arm bent and the forearm raised with the palm of the hand turned outwards, the left arm bent and the clenched hand placed on the lower chest. All fingers delineated on the right hand.

The figure is wearing a broad belt holding up a diagonally pleated kilt cloth. From the belt hangs a central, rectangular object which is rounded at its bottom end and longer than the rest of the kilt: a "*devanteau*". Possibly a short-sleeved garment indicated by a sleeve and an incised line at the bottom of the neck. The face is oval, a slight smile on the figure's lips. On the figure's head a hat-like headgear with flat bottom end and a conical "knob" on top.

Bibliography: Reyes 1992, 249, pl. 18.a, no. 29 (group C); Hermary 2001b, 31 n. 36.

No. 13 Bronze figurine with kilt

H. 11.6 cm
The British Museum, London. Inv. no. 1873.3–20.345

Material: Bronze

Provenance: Idalion, "Lang's sanctuary"

State of preservation: Both forearms of the figure are missing, as are the right leg from above the knee and the left foot.

Description: Male figure standing with the right (?) leg slightly advanced, well separated from the left leg. Both arms were extended from the body but their exact position can not be reconstructed. Tall and broad neck, the upper torso is triangular, the rounded belt placed in the figure's waist. From the belt hangs what looks like a kilt where a central, trapezoidal object seems to be indicated (a "*devanteau*"). The head is turned slightly upwards, the eyes are almond-shaped and slightly obliquely placed, nostrils are rendered in the nose, the ears are protruding. Hair is hanging down in the neck. On the figure's head what looks like a conical helmet with a small knob on top. In the figure's back the spine is indicated by a groove.

Bibliography: Reyes 1992, 250–251, pl. 18.b, no. 35 (group D); Hermary 2001b, 31 n. 36.

*No. 14 Bronze statuette with kilt and helmet (or white crown)

H. 25.6 cm
The Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Inv. no. Misc. 8142.756

Material: Bronze

Provenance: Tamassos

State of preservation: Intact except for the missing right foot and knob of the headgear. The surface of the statuette is in excellent condition. There is part of a tenon under the left foot.

Description: Male figure standing with the left leg advanced, the left arm hanging along the side of the body and the right arm bent with the forearm raised. The right hand is open, the palm turned outwards, all fingers indicated. Both arms are detached from the upper part of the body, the right arm in fact freestanding. Rounded shoulders and flat chest, the width of the upper torso is in contrast very limited. Muscles of the left arm are modeled, breast muscles slightly indicated. Calf muscles indicated, as are the toes on the preserved foot.

The figure is wearing a plain, broad belt holding up a plain kilt cloth which is only indicated through the vertical, right-hand-side edge of an "apron" and the lower outline of the kilt cloth which is tapering from the upper part of that edge. On the figure's head a conical headgear with a tall, straight (broken-off) knob. The face is oval, eyes sharply outlined each surrounded by a thin, raised ridge, the nose is broad, the ears and mouth naturalistically rendered.

The belt continues in the figure's back.

Bibliography: Ohnefalsch-Richter 1893, 10; Gjerstad 1948, 109; Masson 1964, 210 n. 4, 211–212; Masson 1968, 402–407, figs. 27–28; Karageorghis 1970a, 255 n. 115; Buchholz 1973, 340 n. 90; Buchholz 1978, 210–214, fig. 55.b; Buchholz & Untiedt 1996, fig. 46, 63.b–c; Brehme *et al.* 2001, 173–174, no. 187.

*No. 15 Bronze figurine wearing kilt

H. 10 cm
The Cyprus Museum, Nicosia. Inv. no. B.2613 (1935)

Material: Bronze

Provenance: Tamassos

State of preservation: Intact.

Description: Male figure standing with the left leg advanced, the left arm hanging along the side of the body, the right arm bent and the clenched hand placed high on the figure's chest. Both arms are detached from the body, the shoulders are very broad and rounded and the width of the upper torso is very limited, in comparison. The outlines of the arms are plain. Toes delineated on both feet.

The figure is wearing a broad belt with double, horizontal ridges holding up a plain kilt cloth (?). The head is rounded, the large eyes superficially set and with thin raised ridges around them. Small mouth.

Bibliography: Ohnefalsch-Richter 1893, 10; Masson 1964, 210–212; Masson 1968, 404, 407, fig. 29; Buchholz 1978, 210–215, fig. 55.c; Reyes 1992, 248, no. 23 (group B); Buchholz & Untiedt 1996, fig. 62.b.

No. 16 Part of a colossal terracotta statue decorated with two "cobras"

H. ? cm
The Cyprus Museum, Nicosia. Inv. no. B.276

Material: Terracotta

Provenance: Tamassos (Pera-Phrangissa)

State of preservation: The lower part of a male figure preserved from above the belt to the ankles. Large part of the kilt cloth, including its upper half and the upper parts of the "cobras'" thin bodies, is reconstructed. No traces of color.

Description: Male figure standing with the feet placed beside each other. The lower legs have modeled knee caps. The calf muscles are modeled as well and are further indicated by three concentric, semi-circular ridges on both sides of each leg.

The figure is wearing a plain belt holding up a garment decorated around its lower border and vertically along the sides. In the front two thin serpents hang down, their heads rearing away from one another in the characteristic manner at the bottom end of the cloth. Both creatures have eyes, mouths or rather beaks, and small beards. They are hoodless. From the eye of the right-hand serpent run three thin, curving lines (see **Cat. 22**). On their bodies, right beneath their heads, there are two incised, double lines. Along the sides of the "kilt" a border of incised zig-zag patterns interspersed by small, round, button-like devices which are rendered in low relief.

Bibliography: Buchholz 1991, 9, 14, no. 9, pl. 5.a; Karageorghis 1992, 17, pls. 1.2, 2; Karageorghis 1993, no. 72, pl. 19.5, fig. 18; Buchholz & Untiedt 1996, text in connection with fig. 66 (plan of sanctuary), no. 9.

*No. 17 Faience figurine with pleated *shenti* and back-pillar support with Egyptian hieroglyphs

H. 4.5 cm

Material: Faience

Provenance: Kition (*Kathari*)

State of preservation: Preserved is the lower part of a male figurine, from the waist to above the right knee. The lower left forearm and hand and the right hand are preserved, attached to the sides of the figure. Along the figure's back a broad back-pillar support with hieroglyphic inscription.

Description: Male figure standing with the left leg advanced and both arms hanging along the sides of the body. Both hands are each clenched around a circular object. The figure's waist is slender, the navel indicated.

Around the figure's hips there is broad, plain belt dipping down centrally. It is holding up a pleated kilt, where the left-hand side of the cloth is overlapping the right one. From below the left-hand side cloth, thus asymmetrically placed, descends a slightly triangular apron. The sides of the kilt cloth are vertically pleated, the apron has horizontal pleats, thus they are decorated in the manner of the Egyptian *shenti*. The kilt pleats continue in the figure's back, where the figure is leaning against a broad, rectangular back-pillar support. From a back view the sides of the support are marked by an incised, vertical line and between these two lines legible hieroglyphs are arranged in a vertical manner.

Bibliography: Karageorghis forthcoming, pl. 24.4844.

*No. 18 Bronze figurine with kilt

H. 5 cm
Larnaka Fort Museum, Larnaka. Inv. no. ?

Material: Bronze

Provenance: Kition (*Kathari*)

State of preservation: Intact.

Description: Male figure standing with the left leg advanced and both arms hanging along the sides of the body. Both arms are attached to the body, the shoulders are broad and rounded, the chest triangular. The feet are merely rounded lumps. Around the figure's waist a plain belt holding up a kilt cloth with incised vertical edges, the right-hand side overlapping the left-hand one. On the figure's head what looks like a conical headgear. The face is very broad across the cheeks, the eyes large and superficially set.

Bibliography: Karageorghis 1970a, 255, fig. 109; Karageorghis 1976b, pl. XIX; Tatton-Brown 1979, 85, no. 260; Seeden 1980, 124, no. 1802; Caubet 1986, 160 n. 22; Falsone 1989, 153, 179, fig. 1; Markoe 1990a, 119 n. 53; Reyes 1992, 245, no. 5 (group A).

*No. 19 Bronze figurine with kilt, helmet (?), and raised right forearm and hand

H. 10 cm
Larnaka Fort Museum, Larnaka. Inv. no. ?

Material: Bronze

Provenance: Kition (Kathari)

State of preservation: Intact. The surface is corroded. Beneath the figure's feet a tenon.

Description: Male figure standing with the left leg advanced, the left arm hanging along the side of the body, the right arm bent and the forearm raised, the palm of the open hand turned outwards. The legs are joined down to the level of the knees. In the figure's waist a broad, plain belt holding up a kilt cloth (?). A conical or almost triangular headgear with a rounded knob on the figure's head. The ears are large and protruding, the facial features obliterated.

Bibliography: Karageorghis 1970a, 235; Karageorghis 1976b, pl. 89; Tatton-Brown 1979, 85, no. 261; Acquaro 1988, 422; Falsone 1989, 154, 179, fig. 2; Markoe 1990a, 119 n. 53; Reyes 1992, 250, no. 31 (group C).

***No. 20 Faience statuette with striped kilt, papyrus staff, and lotus flower**

H. 9.5 cm

Material: Faience

Provenance: Kition (*Kathari*)

State of preservation: Preserved is a male figure from the base of the neck to above the knees, or rather the lower end of the kilt.

Description: Male figure standing with the right arm hanging along the side of the body holding a lotus flower which is placed on the side of the kilt. The left arm is bent across the chest and the left hand is holding a tall staff crowned by what looks like a stylized papyrus umbel. Both arms are detached from the figure at the height of the waist. The waist is slender, the figure's hips are broad. The figure is wearing a plain belt holding up a vertically pleated kilt. The pleats of the cloth continue on the back side of the figure, where there is also a flat, slightly triangular back-pillar support.

Bibliography: Karageorghis 1967a, 323, fig. 119; Karageorghis 1976b, pl. XX; Clerc *et al.* 1976, 139, Kit. 439, pls. 12–13.

No. 21 Head of a male terracotta figurine wearing *atef* crown with *uraeus

H. 10 cm
The British Museum, London. Inv. no. A 153

Material: Terracotta

Provenance: Amathus (Tomb 83)

State of preservation: The head and headgear of a figure. A small part of the shoulders on each side of the neck are preserved as well. Said to have traces of yellow and blue paint preserved.

Description: Male figure with oval face, broad neck, and ears placed high up on the sides of the head. Traces of the upper border of a garment of some kind visible at the base of the neck. The figure is wearing the Egyptian *atef* crown which characteristically ends in a rounded knob and has an ostrich feather on each of its sides. Centrally on the brim of the crown a rearing *uraeus* with sun disk on its head is rendered in low relief.

Bibliography: Walters 1903, 28; Hermary 1996b, 17, 20, pl. 4.2.

***No. 22 Bronze statuette head wearing double crown**

H. 5 cm
Museum ? Inv. no. 77.331.1

Material: Bronze

Provenance: Amathus

State of preservation: Head and high headgear of a male figure, preserved from the top of the crown to the base of the figure's neck. The facial features are mostly corroded.

Description: Statuette head with protruding ears, nose, and lips indicated that is wearing a tall double crown, the white crown characteristically placed inside the red counterpart.

Bibliography: Aupert 1978, 946–947, fig. 14; Aupert 1986, 378, pl. 38.4; Petit 1995, 139–140.

No. 23 Serpentinite figurine with kilt and wig

H. 4.2 cm
The District Museum, Limassol. Inv. no. M555 CM/S 102

Material: Serpentinite

Provenance: Kourion, the sanctuary of Apollo Hylates

State of preservation: Intact except for the legs from above the knees down which are missing. The surface of the stone is in excellent condition.

Description: Miniature, male figure standing with the left leg advanced, the right arm hanging along the side of the body, the left arm bent and the clenched hand placed on the chest. The fingers on each hand are delineated. Both arms are attached to the side of the body. Broad shoulders, slender waist, the breast muscles are both modeled and incised, and the nipples are indicated. The navel is indicated, as is the crook of the right arm. Around the figure's hips a broad belt with a thin, raised ridge along the bottom end. The belt is holding up a kilt cloth with double outline where the right-hand side edge overlaps the left one, covering the upper part of an apron with rounded lower end, in the manner of the Egyptian *shenti*. The neck is broad and short, the face is rounded, eyes modeled with a ridge around them, the nose is broad and has nostrils indicated. Small mouth. The figure has hair or a wig which has vertical strands of hair running from the forehead all around to the lower edge cut off horizontally above the shoulders. It is parted on the crown of the head by an incised, vertical line running between the ears.

The back of the figure is well carved, the lower border of the kilt continuing all around and the outline of the buttocks indicated.

Bibliography: Markoe 1988a, 17–18, pl. 5.1–3; Hermary 2001b, 31 n. 34.

No. 24 Acephalous faience statuette with *shenti* kilt

H. 6.2 cm

Material: Faience

Provenance: Marion (Polis-Peristeries)

State of preservation: Male figure preserved from the waist to just above the knees.

Description: Male figure standing with the left leg advanced and both arms hanging along the sides of the body. Both arms are attached to the body all along. The waist is slender, the navel indicated. Around the figure's hips a broad, plain belt which dips down centrally. It is holding up a plain kilt cloth where the left-hand side of the cloth is overlapping the right-hand one. The edge of the cloth forms a curving line. The back of the statuette has both the buttocks and the belt indicated.

Bibliography: Unpublished

***No. 25 Bronze figurine wearing kilt and helmet with flat knob**

H. 9.5 cm
The Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm. Inv. no. AI 2029

Material: Bronze

Provenance: Ayia Irini

State of preservation: Intact.

Description: Male figure standing with the left leg advanced and both arms hanging along the sides of the body. The shoulders are angular, the arms are unproportionately short, the hands indistinguishable. A broad, rounded belt in the figure's waist is holding up a plain kilt cloth, which has a small dent in its lower edge indicating the division between kilt cloth and apron (?). On the figure's head a conical headgear with broad, flat knob. The eyes are mere horizontal lines, the nose is straight, the mouth very broad.

Bibliography: Gjerstad *et al.* 1935, 749, 791, no. 2029, pl. 240.5; Gjerstad 1948, 336; Borda 1948, 137; Bossert 1951, 11, pl. 53.159; Masson 1968, 409, fig. 34–35 (e); Karageorghis *et al.* 1977, 47, pl. 40.1; Seeden 1980, 124–125, pl. 113, no. 1804; Reyes 1992, 245, no. 3 (group A).

***No. 26 Bronze figurine wearing kilt and *atef* crown (?)**

H. 9.8 cm
The Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm. Inv. no. AI 1479

Material: Bronze

Provenance: Ayia Irini

State of preservation: Intact.

Description: Male figure standing with the left leg advanced, the left arm hanging along the side of the body, the right arm bent and forearm raised, the palm of the hand turned outwards. The shoulders are angular, the arms are unproportionately short. The legs are connected to one another until below the knees. Large feet. A rounded belt in the figure's waist is holding up a plain kilt cloth, which has a small dent in its lower edge indicating the division between kilt cloth and apron (?). On the figure's head a conical headgear with broad, flat knob and stylized ostrich feathers on the sides, thus similar to an *atef* crown. Beneath the headgear, on each side of the neck, a rounded mass of hair comes down. The face is wide over the cheeks, eyes, large nose, and broad mouth are modeled.

Bibliography: Gjerstad *et al.* 1935, 726, 791–792, no. 1479, pl. 240.6–7; Gjerstad 1948, 336; Borda 1948, 137; Bossert 1951, 11, pl. 53.160–161; Masson 1968, 409, fig. 32–33 (d); Karageorghis 1970a, 255 n. 115; Karageorghis *et al.* 1977, 47, pl. 40.2; Maier 1989, 383 n. 17; Reyes 1992, 250, no. 30 (group C).

No. 27 Bronze figurine with kilt and *atef* crown (?)

H. 9.2 cm
The Cyprus Museum, Nicosia. Inv. no. AI 2758

Material: Bronze

Provenance: Ayia Irini

State of preservation: Intact, but the metal surface is very corroded.

Description: Male figure standing with the left leg advanced and both arms hanging along the sides of the body. The shoulders are angular, the arms are unproportionately short, the hands indistinguishable. There seems to be a belt and a short kilt with a small dent in its lower edge indicating the division between kilt cloth and apron (?). The legs are attached to one another. The head is unproportionately large in comparison to the body. On the figure's head a conical headgear with broad, flat knob and (seemingly) stylized ostrich feathers on the sides, thus similar to an *atef* crown. Beneath the headgear, on each side of the neck, a rounded mass of hair comes down.

Bibliography: Gjerstad *et al.* 1935, 773, no. 2758; Gjerstad 1948, 336; Borda 1948, 137; Dikaios 1961, 113, no. 1; Masson 1968, 409, fig. 36 (f); Maier 1989, 383 n. 17; Reyes 1992, 245, no. 4 (group A).

No. 28 Bronze statuette with *shenti* and *nemes* headcloth with lotus flower on top

H. 14.5 cm
The Cyprus Museum, Nicosia. Inv. no. 1977/VIII–23/13

Provenance: Unknown

State of preservation: Intact. The figure's feet are attached to a small statuette base. The metal surface is corroded.

Description: Male figure standing with the left leg advanced and both arms hanging along the sides, hands clenched. Both arms are detached from the upper body at the level of the waist. Breast muscles are indicated, as is the navel. Around the figure's hips a broad, plain belt holding up a finely pleated kilt cloth. It is an Egyptian-type *shenti* with vertical pleats on the sides of the kilt cloth, horizontal pleats on the apron. The figure is wearing a tripartite striated wig, or perhaps a striped *nemes* headcloth. Centrally on the brim of the headcloth what seems to be a rearing *uraeus*. On top of the head a large lotus flower, at the back of which there is a ring for attachment. The figure's face is full and rounded, from the chin a characteristically Egyptian, ceremonial beard.

Bibliography: *ARDAC* 1978, fig. 45; Karageorghis 1978a, 881–885, fig. 10.

***No. 29 Bronze statuette with striped *shenti*, collar, and wig**

H. ? cm
Present whereabouts unknown (formerly Collection Julien Gréau)

Material: Bronze

Provenance: Unknown

State of preservation: Intact.

Description: Male figure standing with the left leg advanced, the left arm hanging along the side of the body, the right arm bent and the clenched hand placed on the chest. In the right hand the figure seems to be holding a rounded object. A broad belt with double horizontal lines is holding up a pleated kilt cloth, a *shenti* with overlapping kilt cloth covering the upper part of an apron. Characteristically, the kilt cloth is vertically pleated, the apron has horizontal pleats. Around the figure's neck a broad, decorated collar, on its head a rounded wig or coiffure.

Bibliography: Reyes 1992, 249, fig. 27 (drawing).

***No. 30 Bronze statuette wearing kilt**

H. ? cm
Present whereabouts unknown (formerly Collection Julien Gréau)

Material: Bronze

Provenance: Unknown

State of preservation: Intact.

Description: Male figure standing with the left leg advanced, the left arm hanging along the side of the body, the right arm bent and the clenched hand placed on the chest. A belt is holding up a plain kilt cloth where a broad, centrally descending apron is visible, together with the tapering right-hand side of the kilt cloth. The figurine seemingly has no hair, that is, its head is clean-shaven.

Bibliography: Reyes 1992, 249, fig. 26 (drawing).

***No. 31 Bronze statuette with kilt and white crown and *uraeus*, with right forearm raised**

H. 8.8 cm
The Louvre, Paris. Inv. no. AO 2037

Material: Bronze

Provenance: Unknown

State of preservation: Intact.

Description: Male figure standing with the left leg advanced and both arms bent. The right forearm is raised, the palm of the hand turned outwards, while the left forearm is extended with the hand clenched as if holding an object or a staff. Both arms are freestanding. The breast muscles are outlined by diagonal lines, the nipples indicated. The calf muscles are modeled, and the large feet have toes indicated. Around the figure's hips there is a broad, plain belt holding up a kilt cloth. There seems to be a small dent in its lower edge indicating the division between kilt cloth and apron (?). On the figure's head a conical headgear, possibly a crown, with a rearing *uraeus* placed centrally on the brim. Ears are protruding, eyes and nose are indicated. The figure has a long beard and a moustache.

Bibliography: Perrot & Chipiez 1885, 515, fig. 351; Reyes 1994, pl. 20.a.

***No. 32 Bronze statuette with kilt and helmet (?)**

H. 7.7 cm
The Louvre, Paris. Inv. no. AM 1186

Material: Bronze

Provenance: Unknown

State of preservation: Intact. Beneath both feet traces of tenons. The metal surface is corroded.

Description: Male figure standing with the right leg advanced, the left arm hanging along the side of the body, the right arm bent and the clenched hand placed on the chest. The breast muscles are slightly indicated. The lower outline of a kilt with centrally descending apron is visible on the figure. On its head a conical headgear.

Bibliography: Courtois 1971, pl. 6.

No. 33 Bronze statuette head wearing a double crown

H. 6 cm
The Cyprus Museum, Nicosia. Inv. no. 1939/IX–27/1

Material: Bronze

Provenance: Unknown

State of preservation: The head of a male figure preserved from the top of the headgear to the base of the neck. The nose and part of the mouth are missing. The metal surface is corroded.

Description: Male figure wearing a squat double crown. The "red crown" is characteristically tightly placed around the convex, white counterpart which ends in a flat but rounded knob. The central part of the brim of the "red crown" is slightly widened in height and may have held some decoration or emblem. The area is abraded, however. Beneath the crown and behind the figure's ears a rounded mass of hair comes down on each side of the neck. The eyes are large and almond-shaped, the mouth seems to have been slightly smiling.

Bibliography: Dikaios 1961, 144 (1.c), pl. 25.1; Lewe 1975, 76 n. 403; Maier 1989, 383 nn. 18, 20, figs. 40.6–7; Reyes 1992, 254, no. 45 (group G).

***No. 34 Bronze figurine with kilt and helmet**

H. 14.5 cm
The Badisches Landesmuseum, Karlsruhe. Inv. no. 73/108

Material: Bronze

Provenance: Unknown

State of preservation: Intact.

Description: Male figure standing with the left leg slightly advanced and both arms hanging along the sides of the body. The arms, which are unproportionately short, are detached from the body at the level of the waist. Broad, rounded shoulders and flat chest. The legs are detached from the knees down. A broad belt placed high up around the figure's waist is holding up a long, plain, tripartite kilt cloth. The two vertical incisions probably mark the edges of the kilt cloth, and the apron inbetween. On the figure's head a conical headgear or helmet, beneath it in the neck a rounded mass of hair hangs down. Small, delicate facial features, the iris of each eye is slightly hollowed out.

Bibliography: Schürmann 1984, 53, 107, pl. 216.a–c; Zwicker 1987, 68, no. 127; Reyes 1992, 246, no. 8 (group A).

***No. 35 Bronze figurine with kilt and wig (?)**

H. 6.3 cm
The Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Inv. no. 1968.89

Material: Bronze

Provenance: Unknown

State of preservation: Intact except for the legs from below the knees which are missing. The right forearm seems to be missing as well.

Description: Male figure standing with the left leg slightly advanced, both arms bent and extended forward from the body. The figure is wearing a broad belt placed around the waist, holding up a plain kilt cloth. The right-hand-side edge of the cloth overlaps the left-hand

one, both covering the upper part of a centrally descending apron. The figure has hair or a wig which rests on the shoulders and has vertical strands of hair indicated in the front, all seemingly emanating from a point on the crown of the head. Large ears, the facial features are partly abraded.

Bibliography: Brown & Catling 1975, 54, pl. 22; Moorey 1984, 88, no. 43; Reyes 1992, 250, no. 33 (group C).

No. 36 Bronze figurine with *shenti* kilt and broad collar

H. 14.5 cm
The Cyprus Museum, Nicosia. Inv. no. 1949/IX–7/2

Material: Bronze

Provenance: Unknown

State of preservation: Male figure preserved from the base of the neck to the level of the knees.

Description: Male figure standing with the left leg well advanced, the right arm hanging along the side of the body, the left arm bent and the clenched hand resting on the chest. The body is very proportionate and well made. The right arm is slightly detached from the body at the level of the waist, the right hand is clenched around a small, circular object. The breast muscles are modeled, the waist of the figure slender. Around the hips a broad, plain belt holding up a plain *shenti*: the edges of the cloth characteristically overlap and cover the upper part of an apron with tapering sides. Around the figure's neck are three incised, concentric lines indicating a broad collar.

Bibliography: Dikaios 1961, 144 (1.b), pl. 25.4; Reyes 1992, 248, no. 24 (group B).

*No. 37 Terracotta figurine with kilt and wig

H. 25 cm
The Louvre, Paris. Inv. no. AM 336

Material: Terracotta

Provenance: Unknown (?)

State of preservation: Intact. Is part of the statuette restored?

Description: Male figure standing with the left leg advanced, the left arm hanging along the side of the body, the right arm bent and the clenched hand resting on the chest. The breast muscles are modeled, the calf muscles of the legs as well. The figure seems to be wearing a kilt, judging by a rectangular lower outline which is descending centrally (the apron). The figure has a small, rounded face with delicate features: a straight nose and small mouth. It seems to be wearing a rounded wig or coiffure, with vertical strands of hair indicated. Behind the figure seemingly a back-pillar support.

Bibliography: Pottier 1894, pl. 17.1; Gubel 1991, 135 n. 39, pl. 35.a.

*No. 38 Terracotta figurine with kilt and wig

H. 20 cm
The Louvre, Paris. Inv. no. AM 337

Material: Terracotta

Provenance: Unknown (?)

State of preservation: Intact. The surface of the statuette is abraded.

Description: Male figure standing with the left leg advanced, the left arm hanging along the side of the body, the right arm bent and the clenched hand placed on the chest. Both arms are attached to the body all along. The breast muscles are indicated. There seems to be a plain belt around the figure's waist, and hanging from it a plain kilt with a centrally descending, slightly tapering apron. On each of its sides the lower outline of the two sides of the kilt cloth. Parallel, hanging lines on the figure's left leg seem to indicate the presence of an additional, transparent piece of garment (?). The figure's face is small and rounded, the facial features hardly discernible. On its head a large, rounded wig or coiffure.

Bibliography: Pottier 1894, pl. 17.4; Gubel 1991, 135 n. 39.

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Chronological table of Egypt

selected rulers relevant to this work

Predynastic period (5300–3000 B.C.)		
Protodynastic 3200–3000 B.C.	Dynasty "0"	Narmer
Early dynastic 3000–2686 B.C.	Dynasties 1–2	
Old Kingdom (2686–2125 B.C.)		
	Dynasty 3	Djoser (2667–2648)
	Dynasty 4	Mykerinos (2532–2503)
	Dynasty 6	Pepi II (2278–2184)
	Dynasties 7–8	
First Intermediate Period (2160–2055 B.C.)		
	Dynasties 9–10, 11	
Middle Kingdom (2055–1650 B.C.)		
	Dynasty 11	Mentuhotep II (2055–2004)
	Dynasty 12	Sesostris I (1956–1911) Amenemhet II (1911–1877) Amenemhet III (1831–1786) Nofrusobek (1777–1773)
Second Intermediate Period (1650–1550 B.C.)		
	Dynasties 15–17	
New Kingdom (1550–1069 B.C.)		
	Dynasty 18	Ahmose (1550–1525) Amenhotep I (1525–1504) Tuthmosis III (1479–1425) Hatshepsut (1473–1458) Amenhotep II (1427–1400) Tuthmosis IV (1400–1390) Amenhotep III (1390–1352) Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten (1352–1336) Tutankhamun (1336–1327) Horemheb (1323–1295)
	Dynasty 19	Seti I (1294–1279) Ramesses II (1279–1213) Seti II (1200–1194) Tausert (1188–1186)
	Dynasty 20	Sethnakht (1186–1184) Ramesses III (1184–1153) Ramesses IX (1126–1108) Ramesses X (1108–1099)

Third Intermediate Period (1069–664 B.C.)		
	Dynasty 21	Psusennes I (1039–991)
	Dynasty 22	Shoshenq I (945–924) Osorkon I (924–889) Shoshenq II (ca. 890) Osorkon II (874–850) Shoshenq III (825–773)
	Dynasty 23 (818–715 B.C.)	Pedubast I (no date) Osorkon III (no date)
	Dynasty 25 (Kushite period) in part contemporaneous with Dynasties 23–24	Shabako (716–702) Taharqa (690–664)
Late Period (664–332 B.C.)		
	Dynasty 26 (Saïte period)	Psammetichus I (664–610) Necho II (610–595) Psammetichus II (595–589) Apries (589–570) Amasis (570–526) Psammetichus III (526–525)
	Dynasty 27 (First Persian period)	Cambyses (525–522)

The chronological table is based on *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, I. Shaw (ed.), Oxford 2000.

Concordance of collections

The Cypriote statuary

Inv. No.	Cat. No.
Canada	
Toronto, the Royal Ontario Museum	
958.61.242	**Cat. 44**
Cyprus	
Episkopi, the Curium House	
C.R.M., R.R. 711	**Cat. 51**
Famagusta, the District Museum	
EMA 2	**Cat. 3**
Kouklia, the Kouklia Museum	
KA 302	**Cat. 54**
KA 620	**Cat. 53**
KA 621 (1949–IV–19)	**Cat. 57**
KA 4172 (4173?)	**Cat. 55**
KA ?	**Cat. 56**
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MLA 639	**Cat. 42**
Larnaka, the Pierides Collection	
MLA 863	**Cat. 63**
Limassol, the District Museum	
AM 79 (72?)	**Cat. 48**
Nicosia, the Cyprus Museum	
B.61	**Cat. 64**
B.227 A	**Cat. 65**
Potamia no. 130	**Cat. 18**
1932/no. 20	**Cat. 17**
1934/III–16/1	**Cat. 59**
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1962/V–16/3	**Cat. 16**
1968/XI–13/1 a–c	**Cat. 19**
1975/XI–20/3	**Cat. 67**
Paphos, the District Museum	
KA 3, KA 248 & KA 280	**Cat. 52**
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Paris, the Louvre Museum	
AM 3443	**Cat. 41**
MNB 408	**Cat. 61**
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Misc. TC 6682.3, Sk 7873	**Cat. 13**
Misc. 6682.7	**Cat. 14**
Sk 508	**Cat. 12**
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Leiden, the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden	
I 1925/12.14	**Cat. 68**
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Madrid, Museo Arqueológico Nacional	
2634	**Cat. 47**
Sweden	
Stockholm, the Medelhavsmuseet	
Acc. 629	**Cat. 46**
K.188 + 154	**Cat. 45**
Stockholm, the Nationalmuseum	
Sk NM 1550	**Cat. 60**
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1873.3–20.48 & 1917.7–1.149	**Cat. 5**
1873.3–20.206	**Cat. 10**
1884.12–10.307	**Cat. 15**
1910.6–20.12	**Cat. 43**
1917.7–1.143	**Cat. 7**
1917.7–1.144	**Cat. 9**

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74.51.2472	**Cat. 21**
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74.51.2552	**Cat. 39**
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Cat. 48	Limassol, the District Museum, Inv. no. AM 79 (72?)
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Cat. 50	New York, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Inv. no. 74.51.2605
Cat. 51	Episkopi, the Curium House, Inv. no. C.R.M., R.R. 711
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Cat. Ph32	Paris, the Louvre Museum, Inv. no. AO 4401
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Cat. Ph34	Paris, the Louvre Museum, Inv. no. AO 4400
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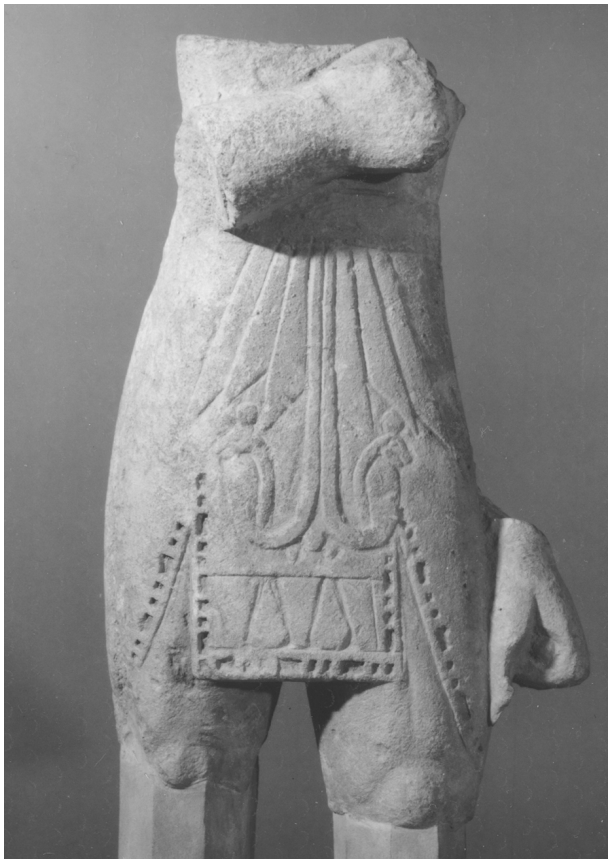
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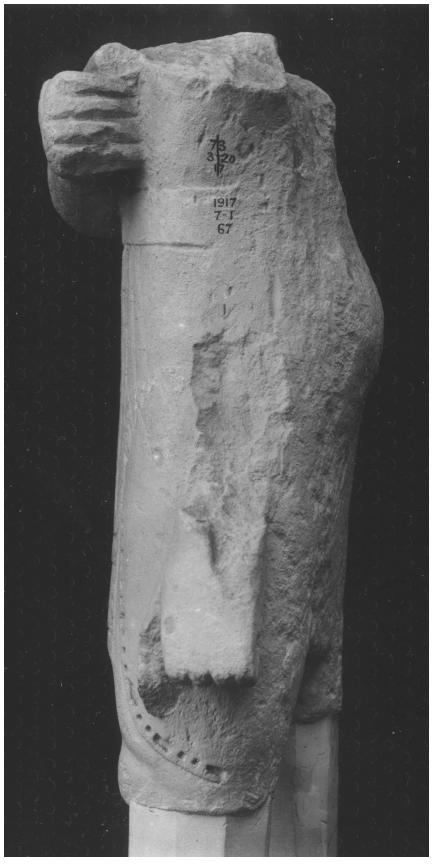
1. **Cat. 1**, from the Karpasia peninsula (?). H. 40 cm, Approximate Original Height 56 cm.



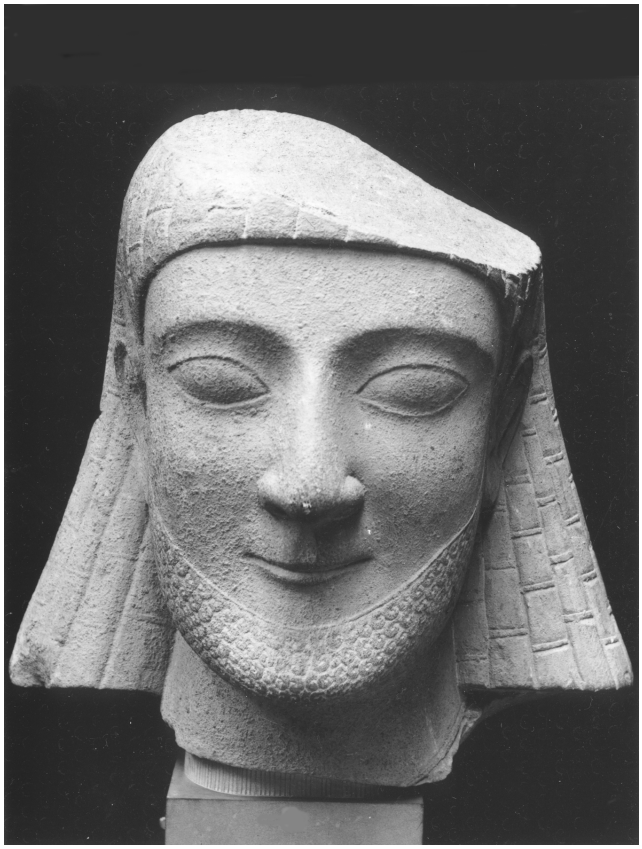
2. **Cat. 5**, from Idalion. H. 30.5 cm, AOH 96 cm.



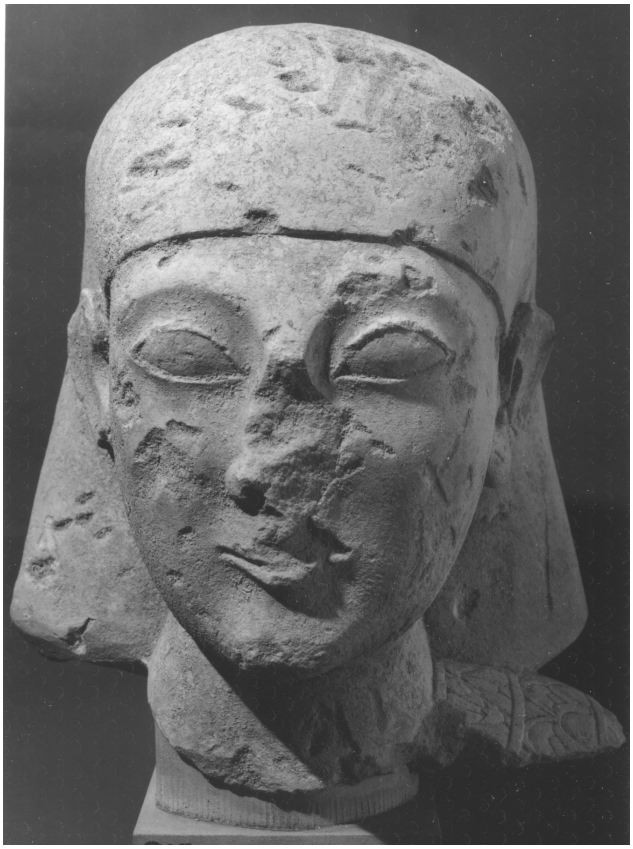
3. **Cat. 6**, from Idalion. H. 25 cm, AOH 75 cm.



4. **Cat. 6**, from Idalion.



1. **Cat. 7**, from Idalion. H. 39 cm, AOH 235 cm.



2. **Cat. 8**, from Idalion. H. 29 cm, AOH 157 cm.



3. **Cat. 9**, from Idalion. H. 40 cm, AOH 215 cm.



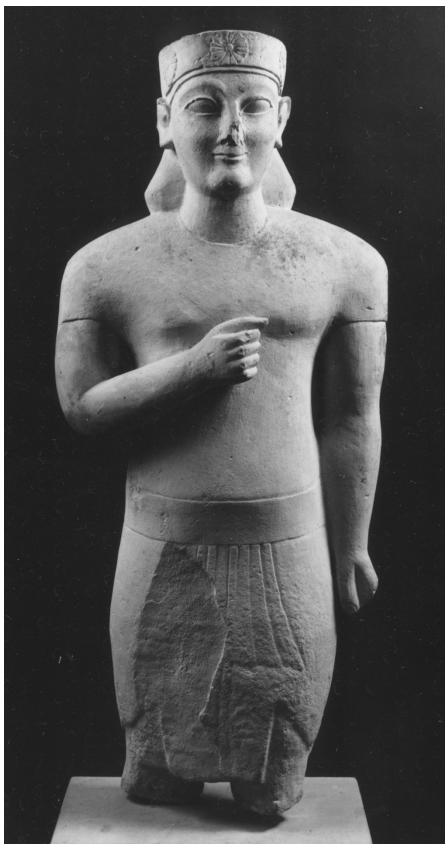
4. **Cat. 10**, from Idalion. H. 13 cm, AOH 25 cm.



1. **Cat. 12**, from Idalion. H. 71 cm, AOH 212 cm.



2. **Cat. 12**, from Idalion.



3. **Cat. 13**, from Idalion. H. 104 cm, AOH 145 cm.



4. **Cat. 13**, from Idalion.



1. **Cat. 14**, from Idalion. H. 32 cm, AOH 163 cm.



2. **Cat. 16**, from Lympia. H. 17.5 cm, AOH 66 cm.



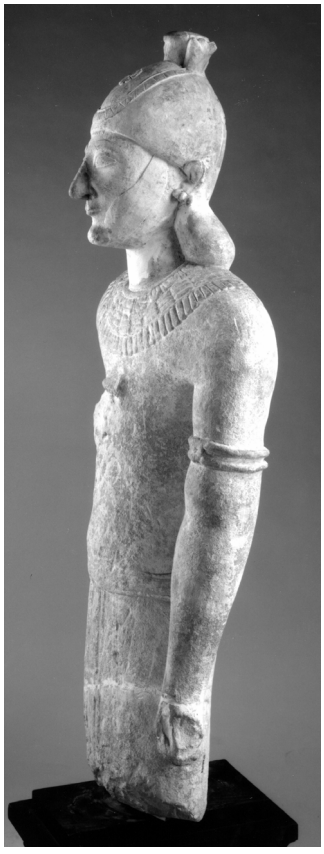
3. **Cat. 16**, from Lympia.



1. **Cat. 15**, from Idalion. H. 18.5 cm, AOH 71 cm.



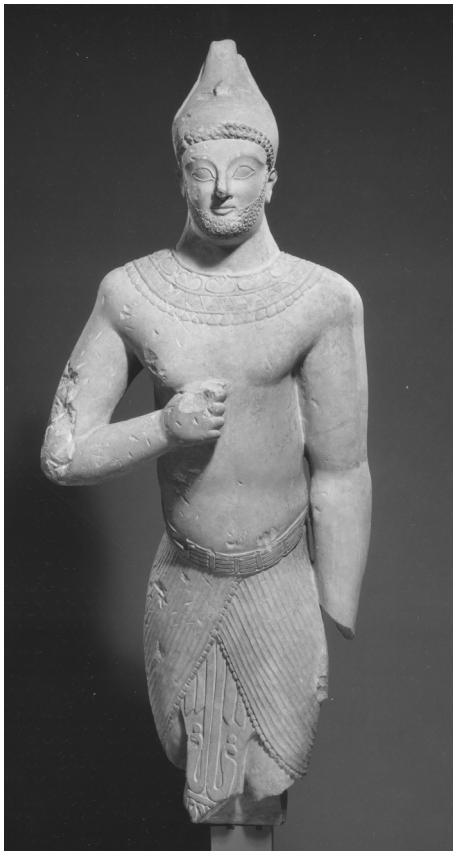
2. **Cat. 20**, from Golgoi (Ayios Photios). H. 127 cm, AOH 178 cm.



3. **Cat. 20**, from Golgoi (Ayios Photios).



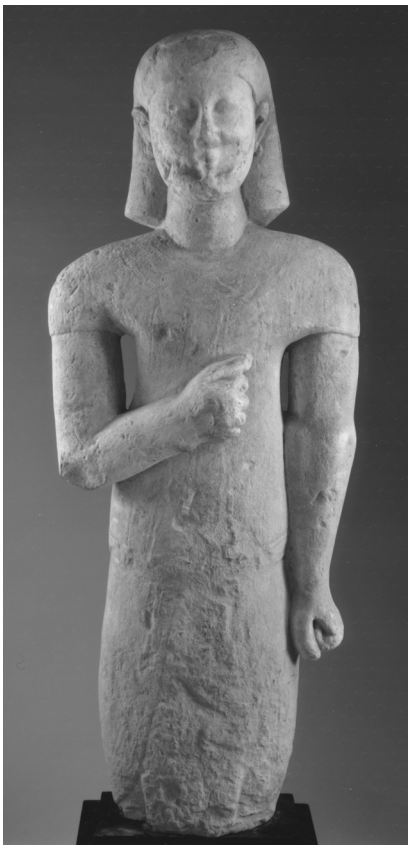
4. **Cat. 20**, from Golgoi (Ayios Photios).



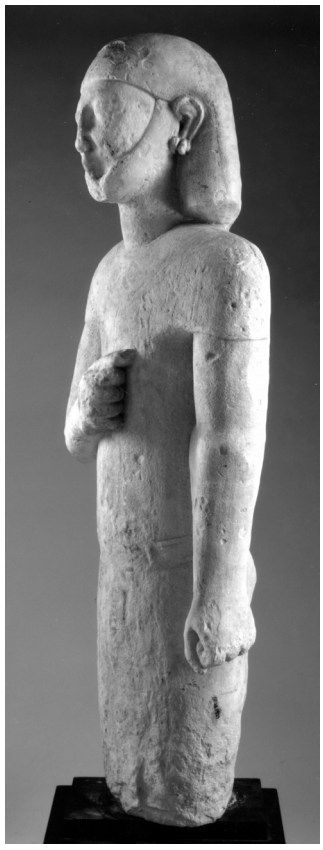
1. **Cat. 21**, from Golgoi (Ayios Photios). H. 130 cm, AOH 177 cm.



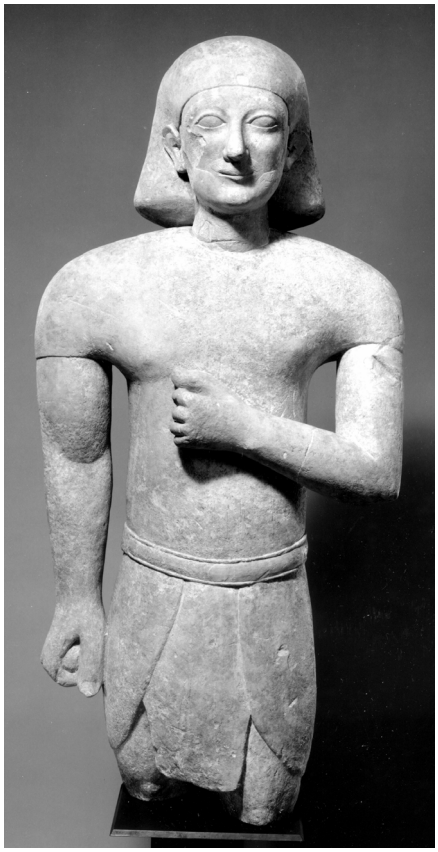
2. **Cat. 22**, from Golgoi (Ayios Photios). H. 84 cm, AOH 365 cm.



3. **Cat. 23**, from Golgoi (Ayios Photios). H. 137 cm, AOH 190 cm.



4. **Cat. 23**, from Golgoi (Ayios Photios).



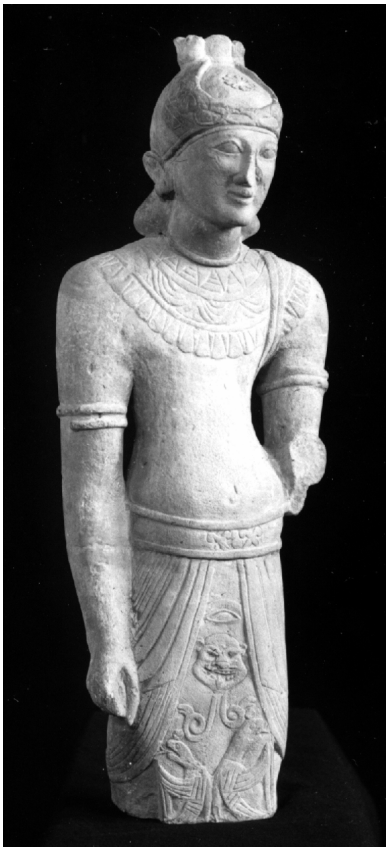
1. **Cat. 24**, from Golgoi (Ayios Photios). H. 136.5 cm, AOH 190 cm.



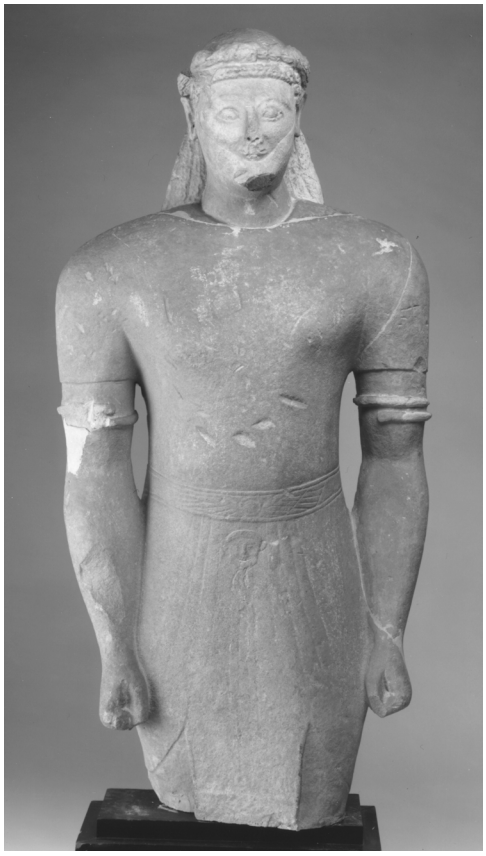
2. **Cat. 26**, from Golgoi (Ayios Photios). H. 135 cm, AOH 185 cm.



3. **Cat. 29**, from Golgoi (Ayios Photios). H. 105 cm, AOH 146 cm.



4. **Cat. 30**, from Golgoi (Ayios Photios). H. 59 cm, AOH 80 cm.



1. **Cat. 31**, from Golgoi (Ayios Photios). H. 135 cm, AOH 190 cm.



2. **Cat. 31**, from Golgoi (Ayios Photios).



3. **Cat. 32**, from Golgoi (Ayios Photios). H. 16 cm, AOH 260 cm.



4. **Cat. 33**, from Golgoi (Ayios Photios). H. 18 cm, AOH 260 cm.



1. **Cat. 34**, from Golgoi (Ayios Photios). H. 71 cm.



2. **Cat. 35**, from Golgoi (Ayios Photios). H. 27 cm, AOH 39 cm.



3. **Cat. 43**, from Tamassos. H. 52.5 cm.



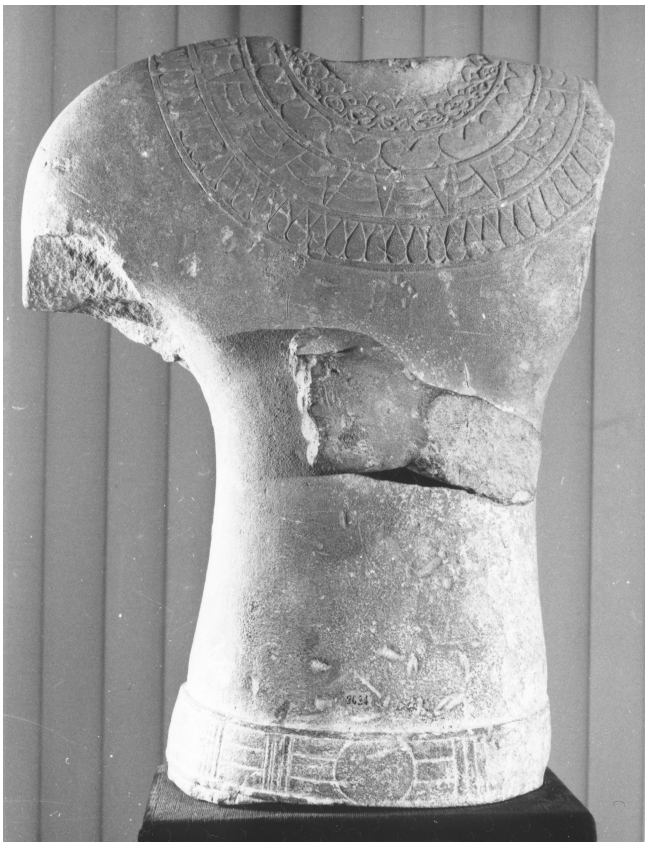
4. **Cat. 44**, from Tamassos. H. 25 cm, AOH 48 cm.



1. **Cat. 45**, from Kition *Bamboula*. H. 40.5 cm, AOH 59 cm.



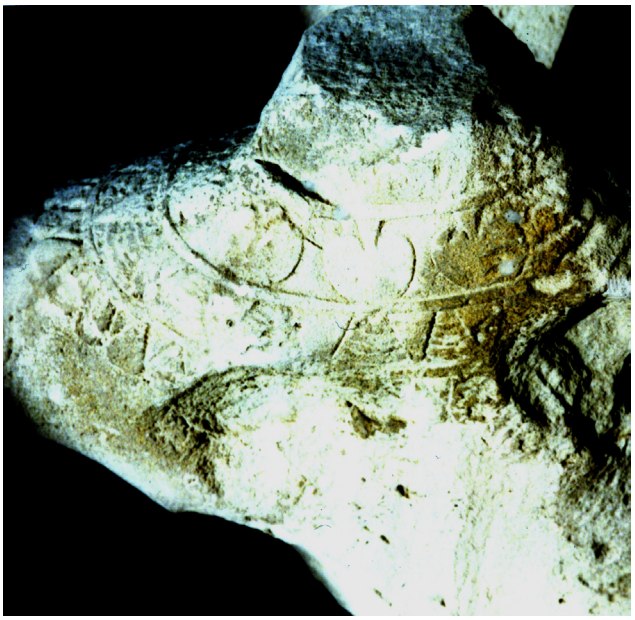
2. **Cat. 46**, from Kition *Bamboula*. H. 25.5 cm, AOH 49 cm.



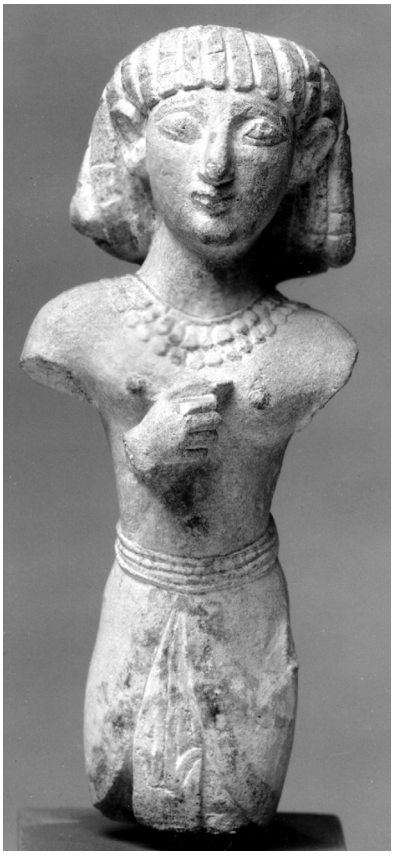
3. **Cat. 47**, from Larnaka (?). H. 64 cm, AOH 240 cm.



4. **Cat. 47**, from Larnaka (?).



1. **Cat. 48**, from Amathus. Back view. H. 34.5 cm, AOH 150 cm.



2. **Cat. 49**, from Amathus. H. 12.5 cm, AOH 17 cm.



3. **Cat. 50**, from Amathus. H. 37 cm, AOH 71 cm.



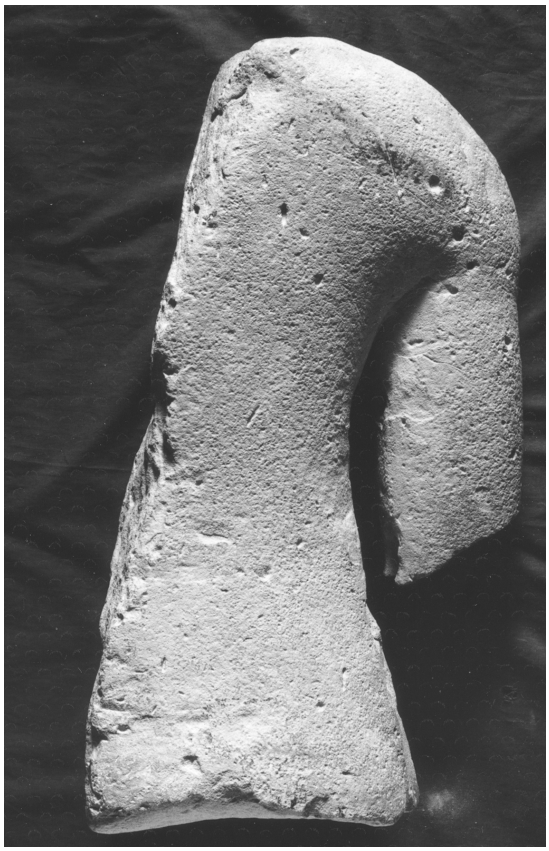
4. **Cat. 59**, from Kazafani. H. 40 cm, AOH 77 cm.



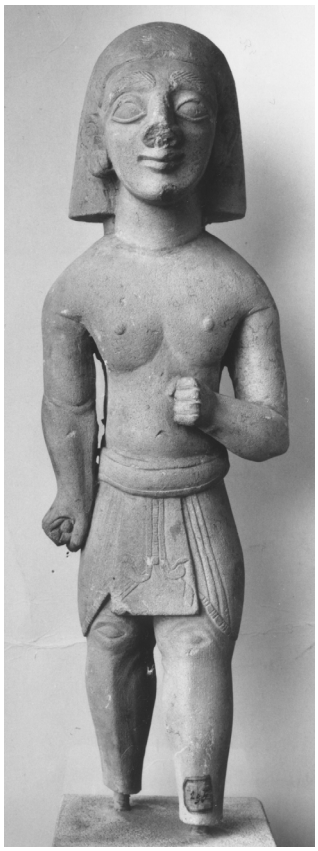
1. **Cat. 59**, from Kazafani.



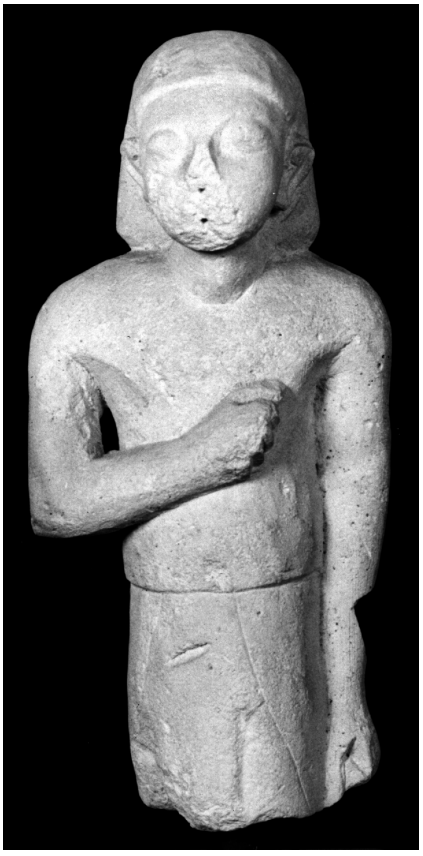
2. **Cat. 60**, of unknown provenance. H. 65 cm, AOH 220 cm.



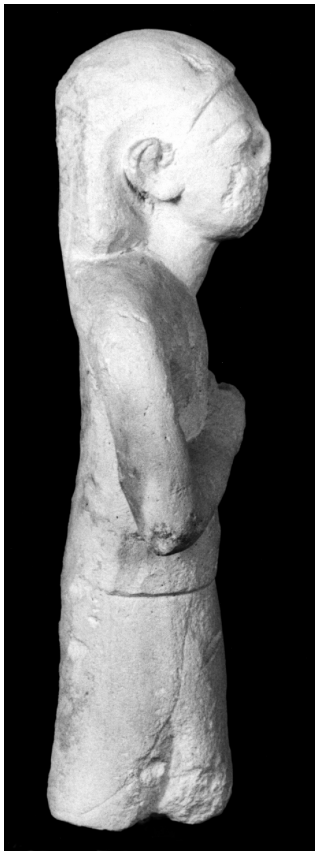
3. **Cat. 60**, of unknown provenance.



4. **Cat. 61**, of unknown provenance. H. 30 cm, AOH 32 cm.



1. **Cat. 63**, of unknown provenance. H. 27.5 cm, AOH 40 cm.



2. **Cat. 63**, of unknown provenance.



3. **Cat. 64**, of unknown provenance. H. 12.5 cm, AOH 24 cm.



4. **Cat. 64**, of unknown provenance.



1. **Cat. 65**, of unknown provenance. H. 15.5 cm, AOH 67 cm.



2. **Cat. 65**, of unknown provenance.



3. **Cat. Ph1**, from Amrit. H. 86 cm, AOH 249 cm.



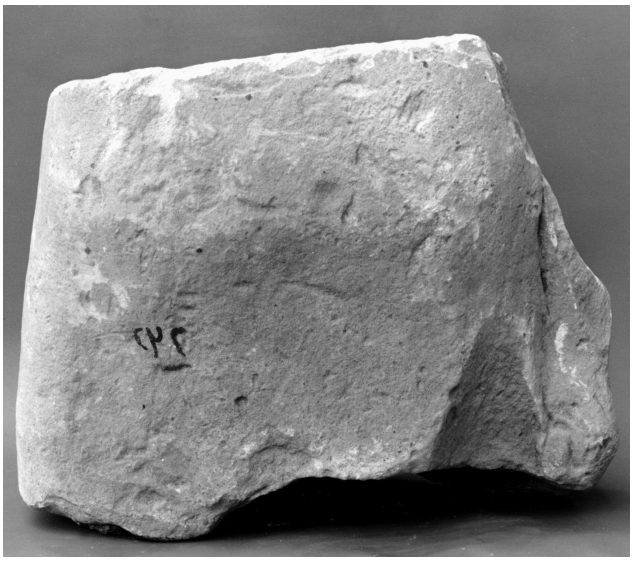
4. **Cat. Ph4**, from Amrit. H. 82 cm, AOH 184 cm.



1. **Cat. Ph5**, from Amrit. H. 59 cm, AOH 224 cm.



2. **Cat. Ph6**, from Amrit. H. 31 cm, AOH 140 cm.



3. **Cat. Ph6**, from Amrit.



4. **Cat. Ph7**, from Amrit. H. 17 cm, AOH 55 cm.



1. **Cat. Ph7**, from Amrit. Back view.



2. **Cat. Ph7**, from Amrit.



3. **Cat. Ph8**, from Amrit. H. 43 cm, AOH 83 cm.



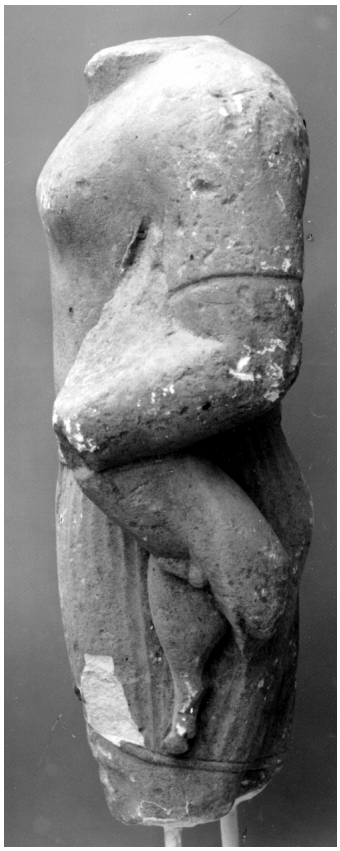
4. **Cat. Ph8**, from Amrit.



1. **Cat. Ph9**, from Amrit. H. 34 cm, AOH 66 cm.



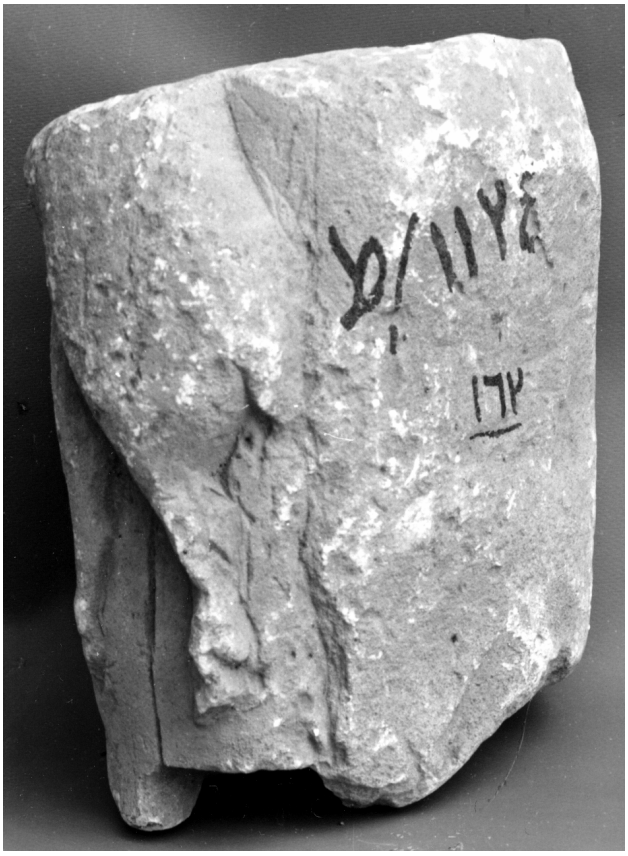
2. **Cat. Ph9**, from Amrit.



3. **Cat. Ph9**, from Amrit.



4. **Cat. Ph11**, from Amrit. H. 22.5 cm, AOH 85 cm.



1. **Cat. Ph11**, from Amrit.



2. **Cat. Ph12**, from Amrit. H. 23 cm, AOH 87 cm.



3. **Cat. Ph12**, from Amrit.



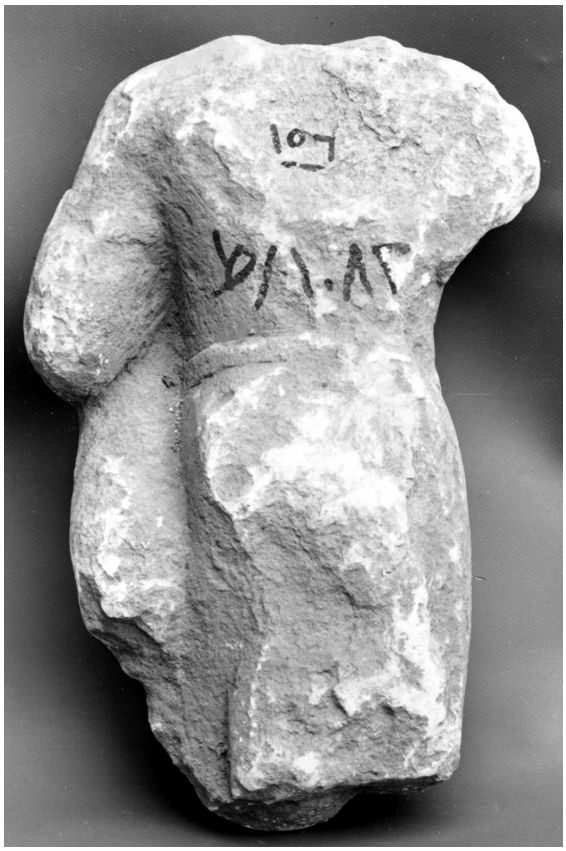
4. **Cat. Ph14**, from Amrit. H. 46 cm, AOH 87 cm.



1. **Cat. Ph14**, from Amrit.



2. **Cat. Ph15**, from Amrit. H. 34.5 cm, AOH 67 cm.



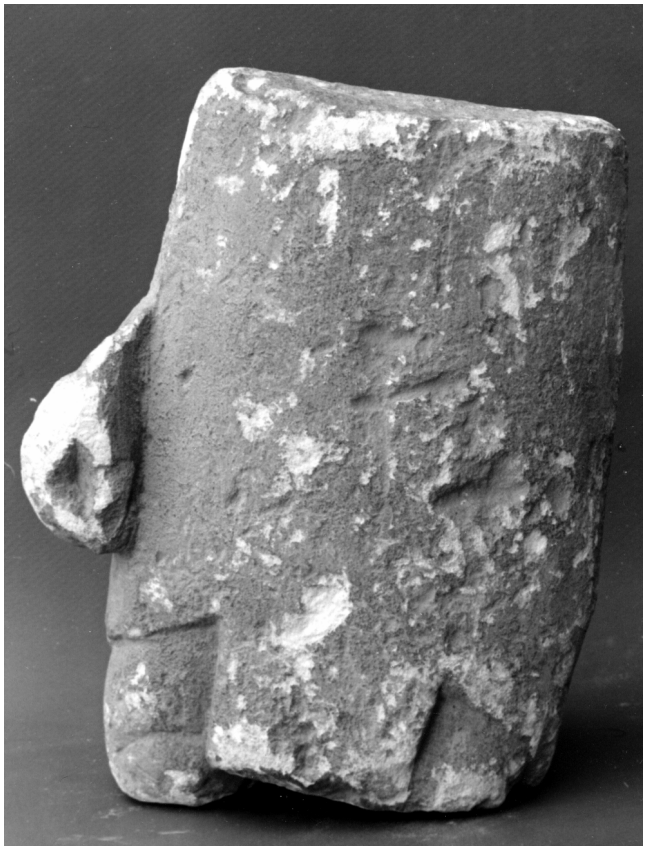
3. **Cat. Ph15**, from Amrit.



4. **Cat. Ph17**, from Amrit. H. 8 cm, AOH 35 cm.



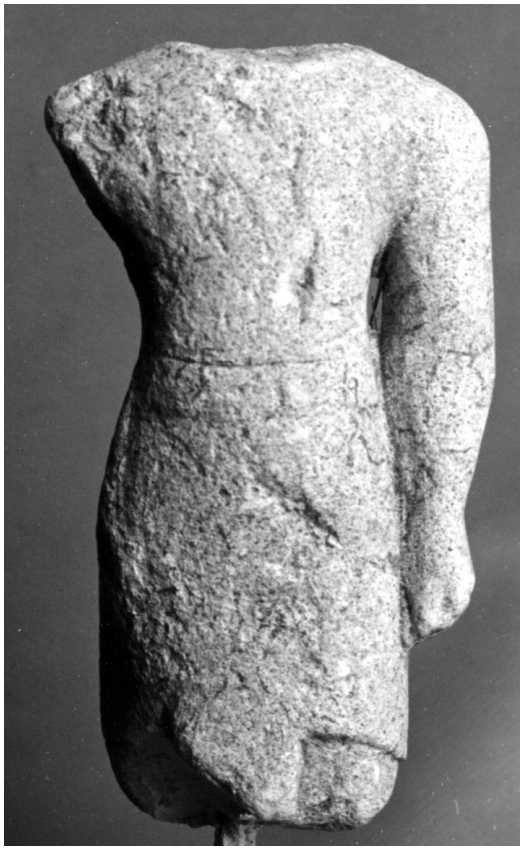
1. **Cat. Ph17**, from Amrit.



2. **Cat. Ph18**, from Amrit. H. 17 cm, AOH 74 cm.



3. **Cat. Ph18**, from Amrit.



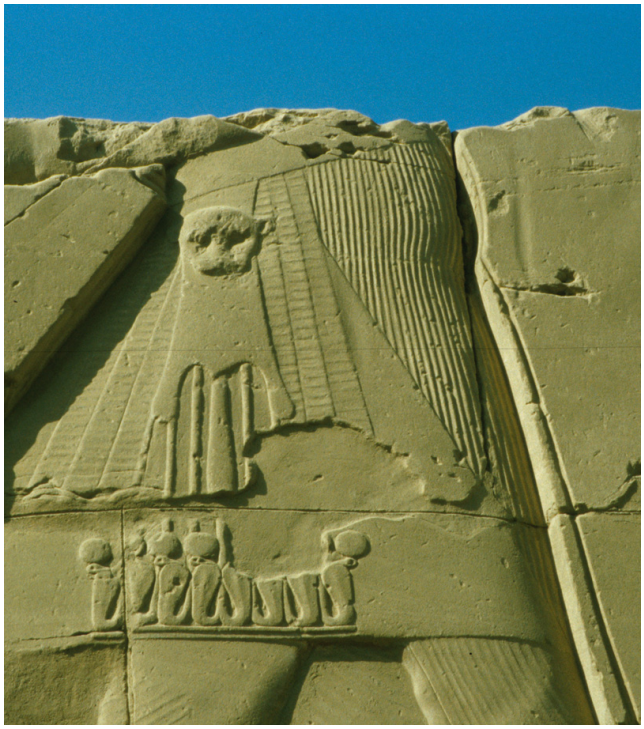
4. **Cat. Ph19**, from Amrit. H. 10 cm, AOH 19 cm.



1. Ivory plaque from Nimrud. H. 14 cm, W. 6.3 cm. *Cloisonné* inlay. Many traces of red and blue survive. 8th–7th centuries B.C.



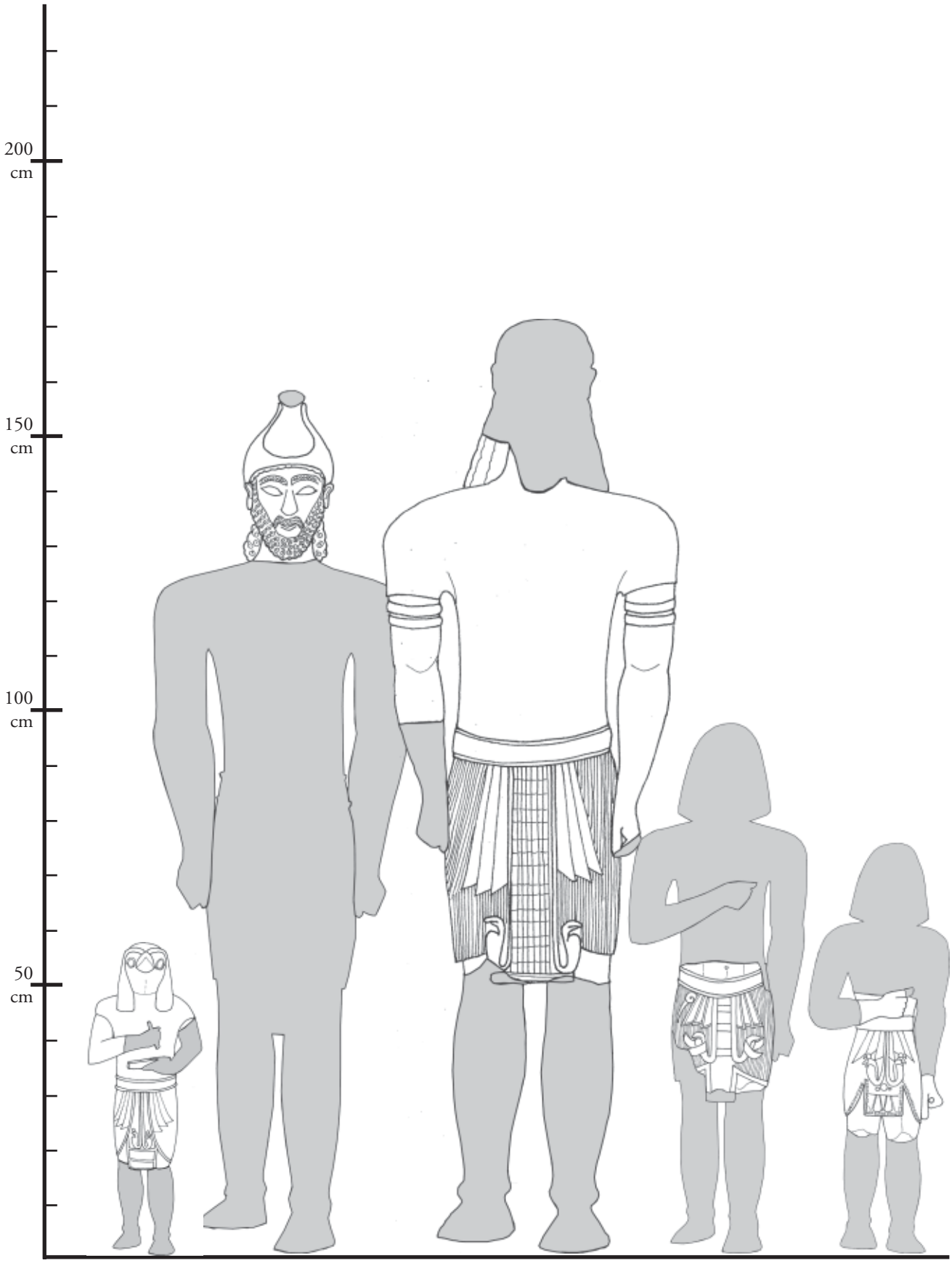
2. Steatite statuette of Pharaoh Amenhotep III, Eighteenth Dynasty, ca. 1350 B.C. H. 25 cm.

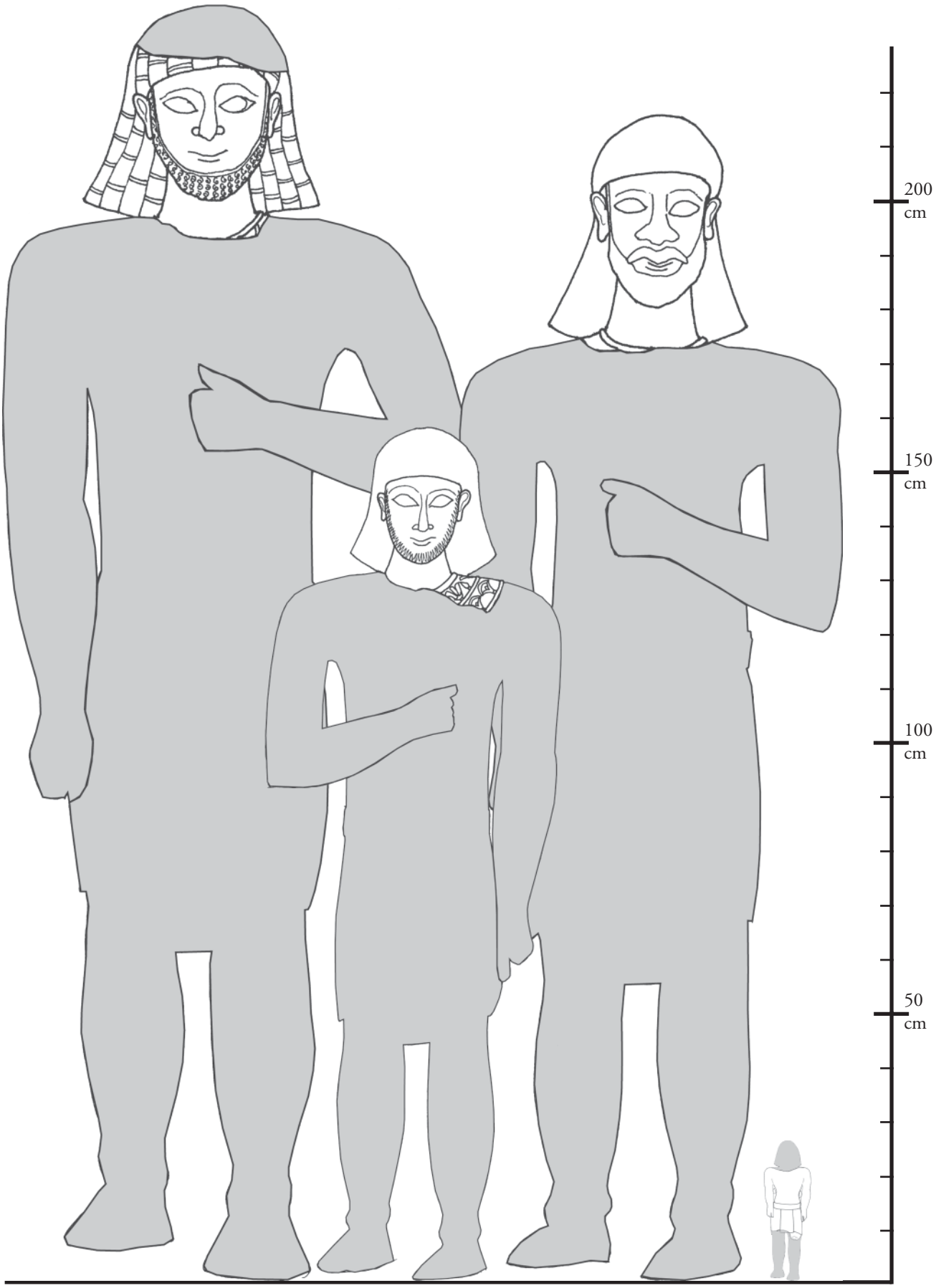


3. Detail of a wall relief from the third pylon at Karnak, depicting Pharaoh Amenhotep III. Eighteenth Dynasty, ca. 1350 B.C.



4. Tomb painting from the tomb of prince Amunherkhepchef, son of Ramesses III. The Valley of the Queens, Thebes. Twentieth Dynasty, ca. 1150 B.C.


200 cm
150 cm
100 cm
50 cm
Cat. 1 the Karpasia
Cat. 2 Aloda
Cat. 3 Krina
Cat. 5 Idalion
Cat. 6 Idalion

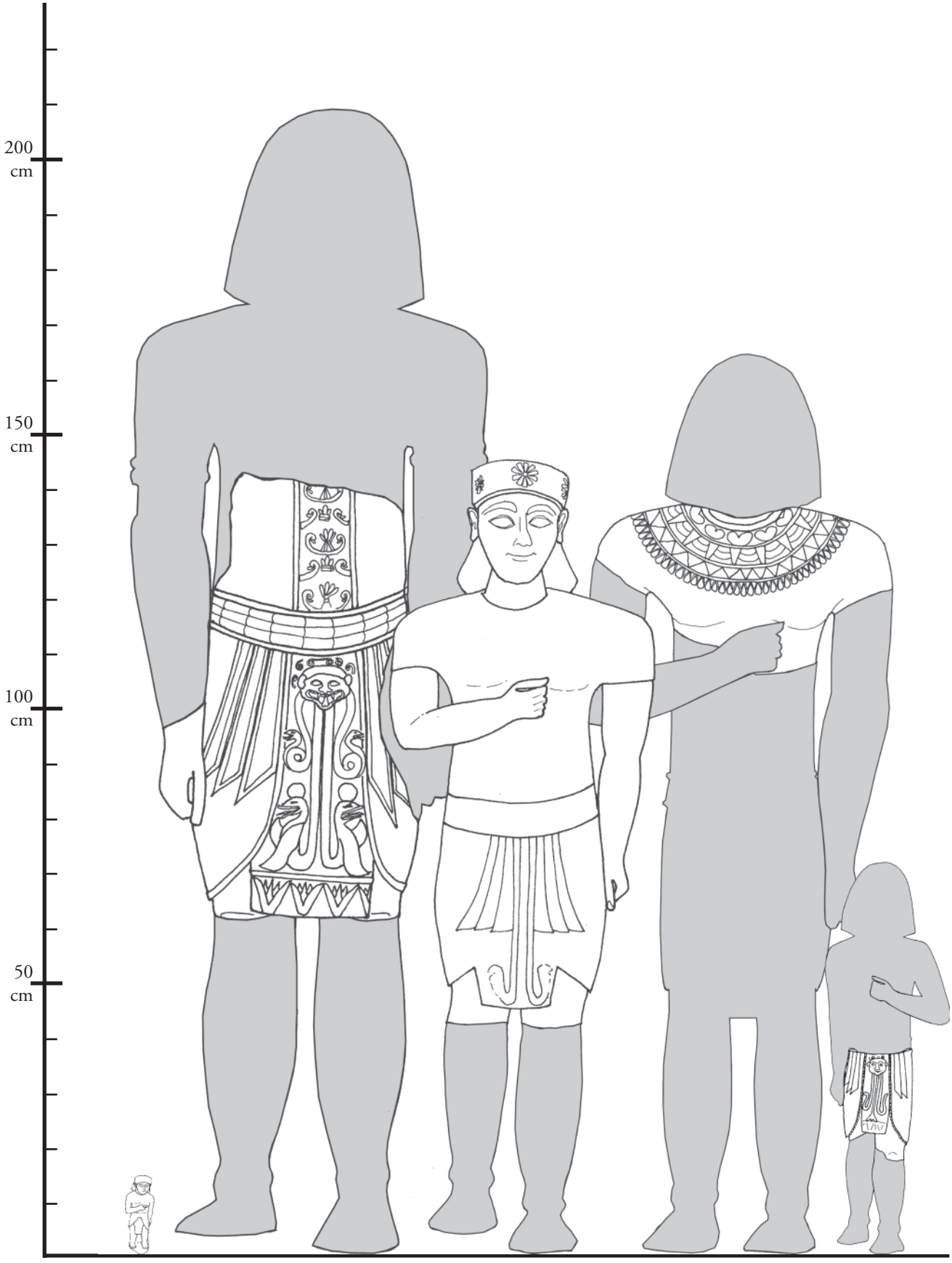


Cat. 7
Idalion

Cat. 8
Idalion

Cat. 9
Idalion

Cat. 10
Idalion



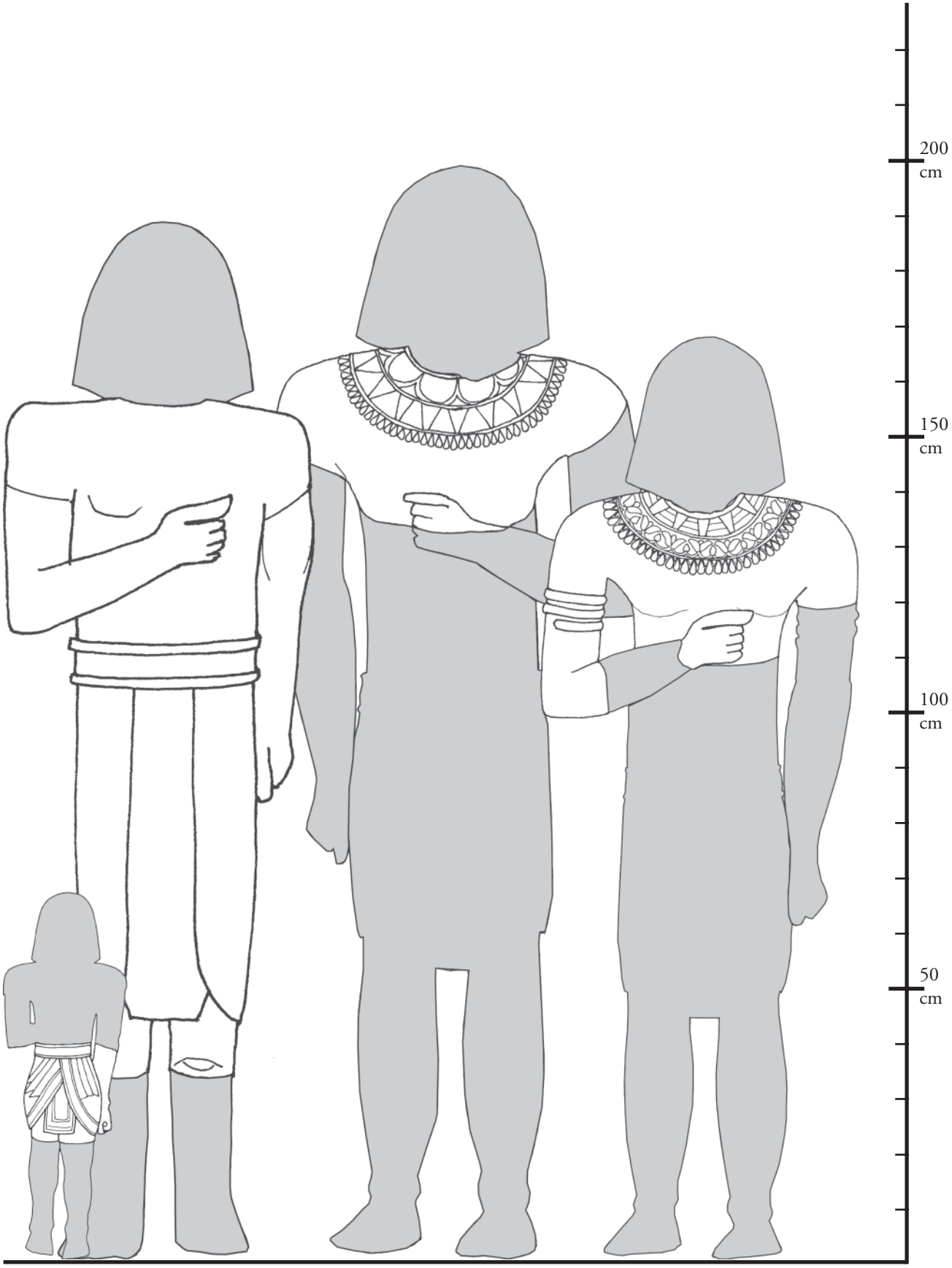
Cat. 11
Idalion

Cat. 12
Idalion

Cat. 13
Idalion

Cat. 14
Idalion

Cat. 15
Idalion



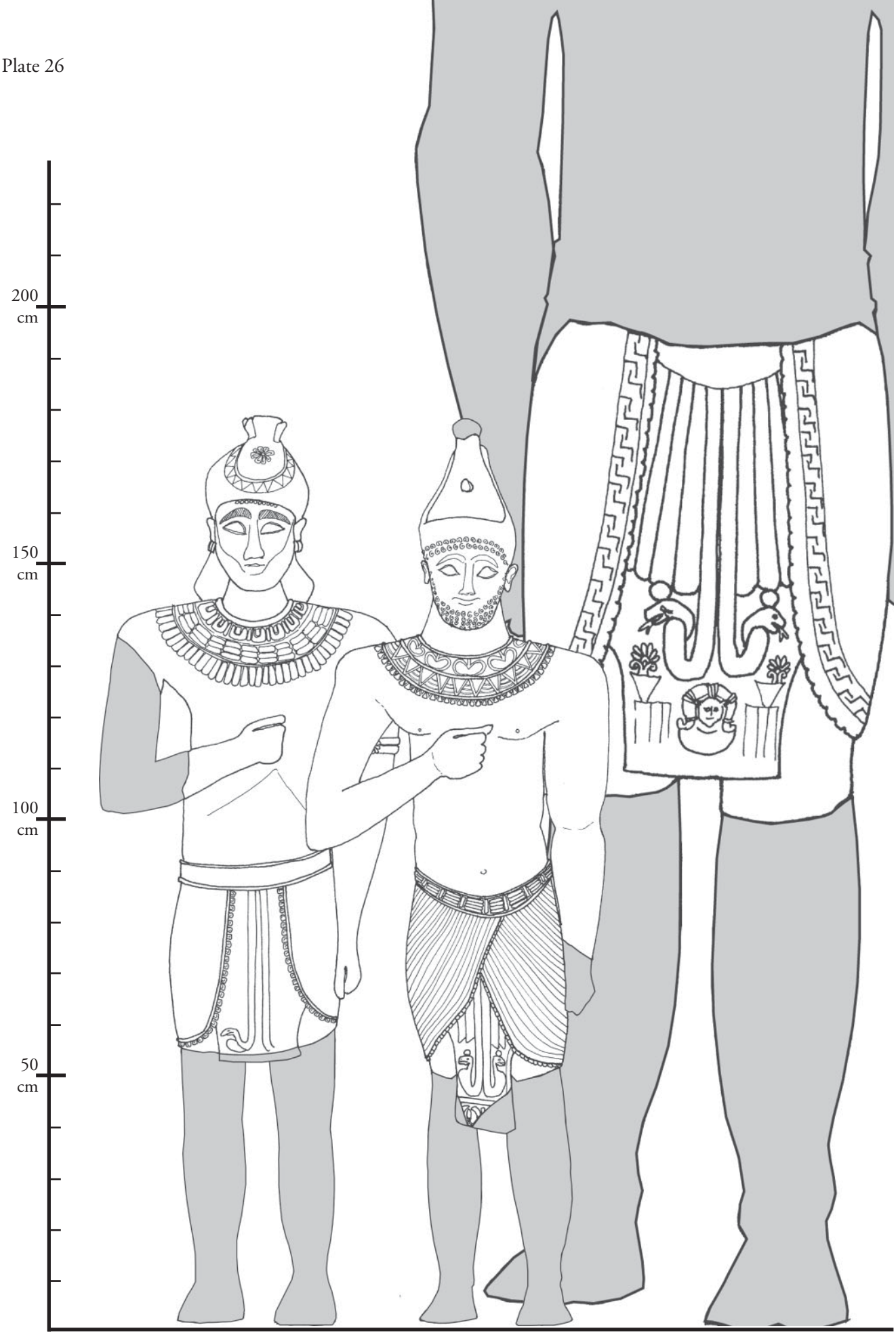
Cat. 16 Lympia

Cat. 17 Louroukina

Cat. 18 Potamia

Cat. 19 Potamia

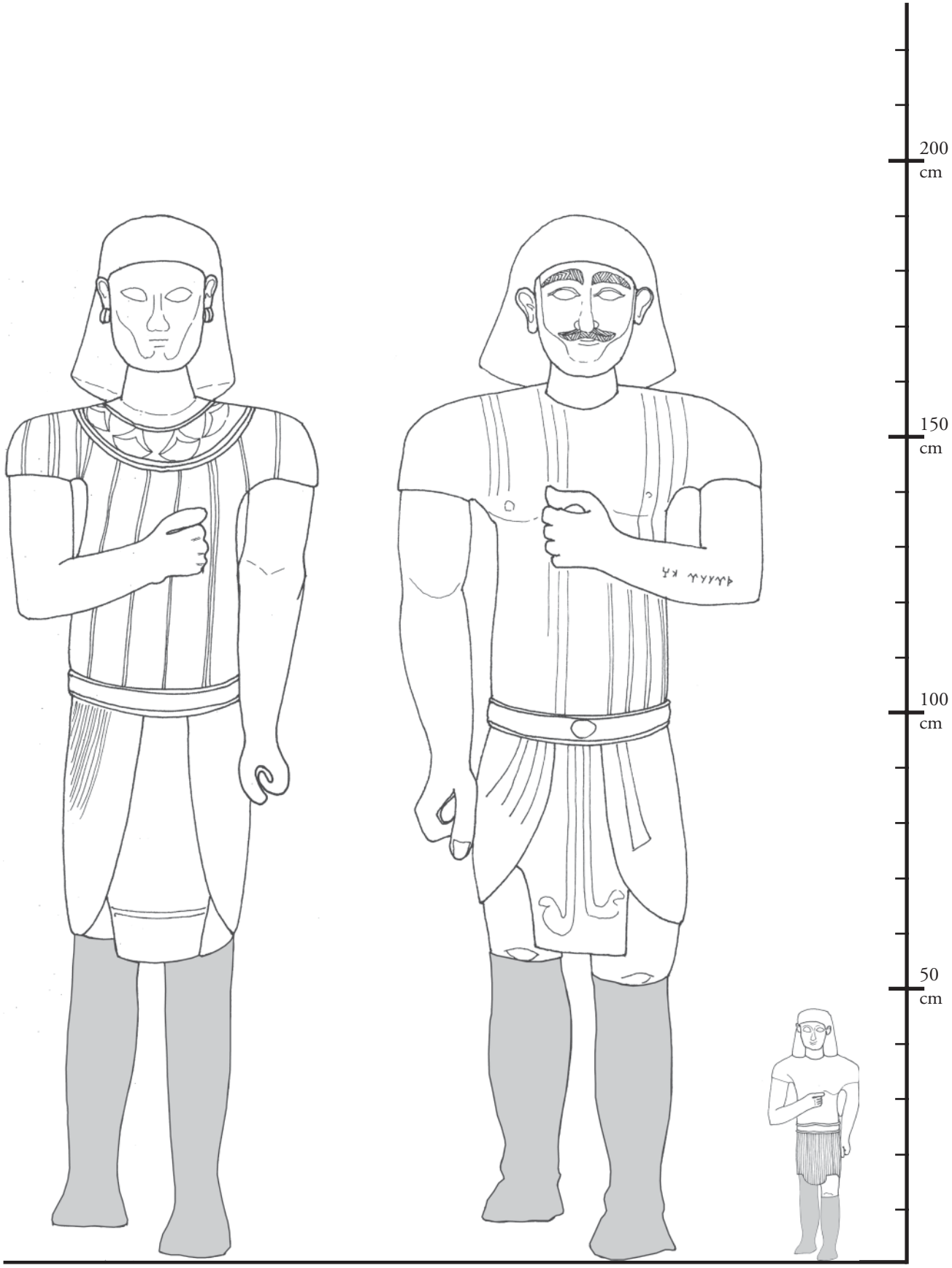
Plate 26



Cat. 20
Golgoi

Cat. 21
Golgoi

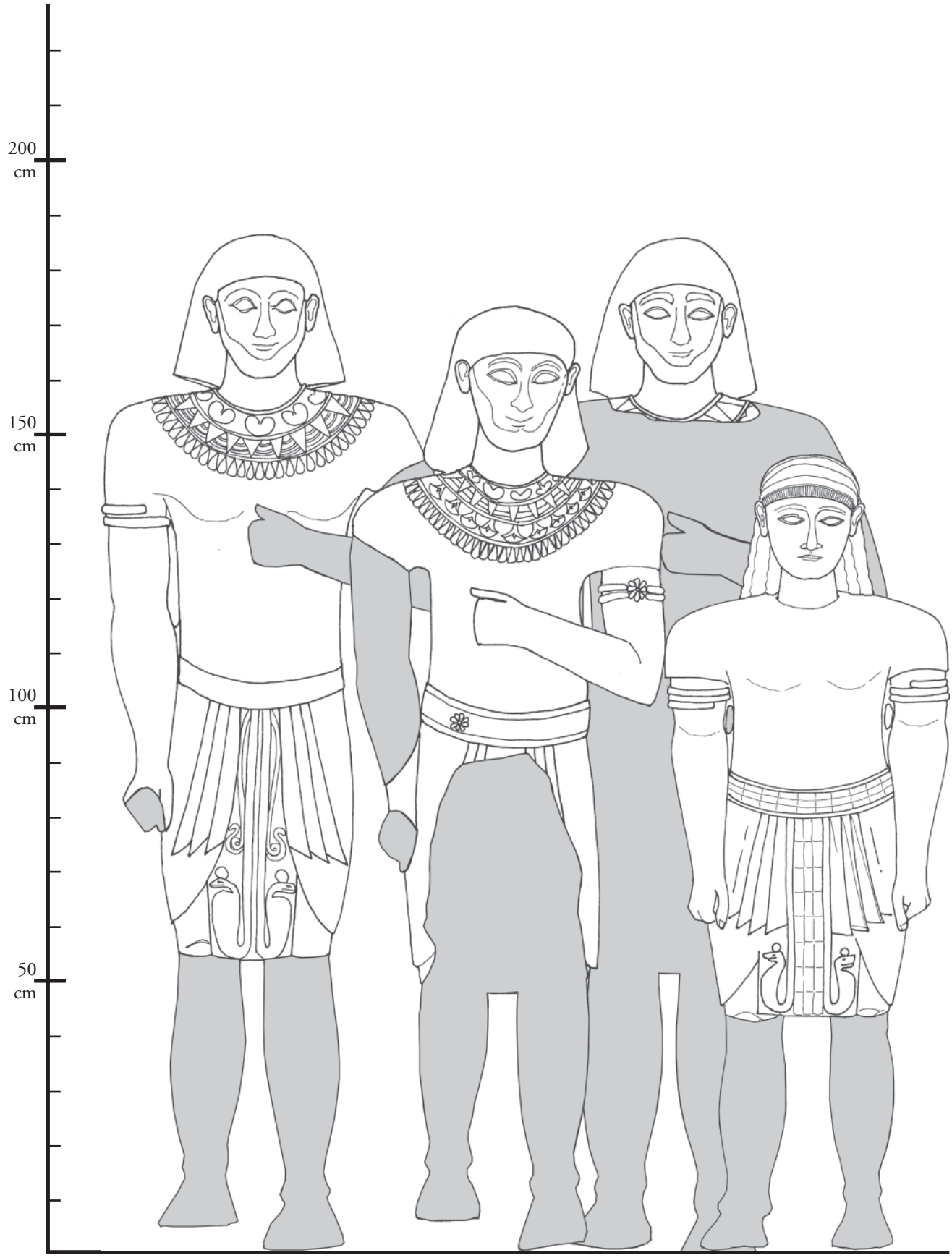
Cat. 22
Golgoi



Cat. 23
Golgoi

Cat. 24
Golgoi

Cat. 25
Golgoi

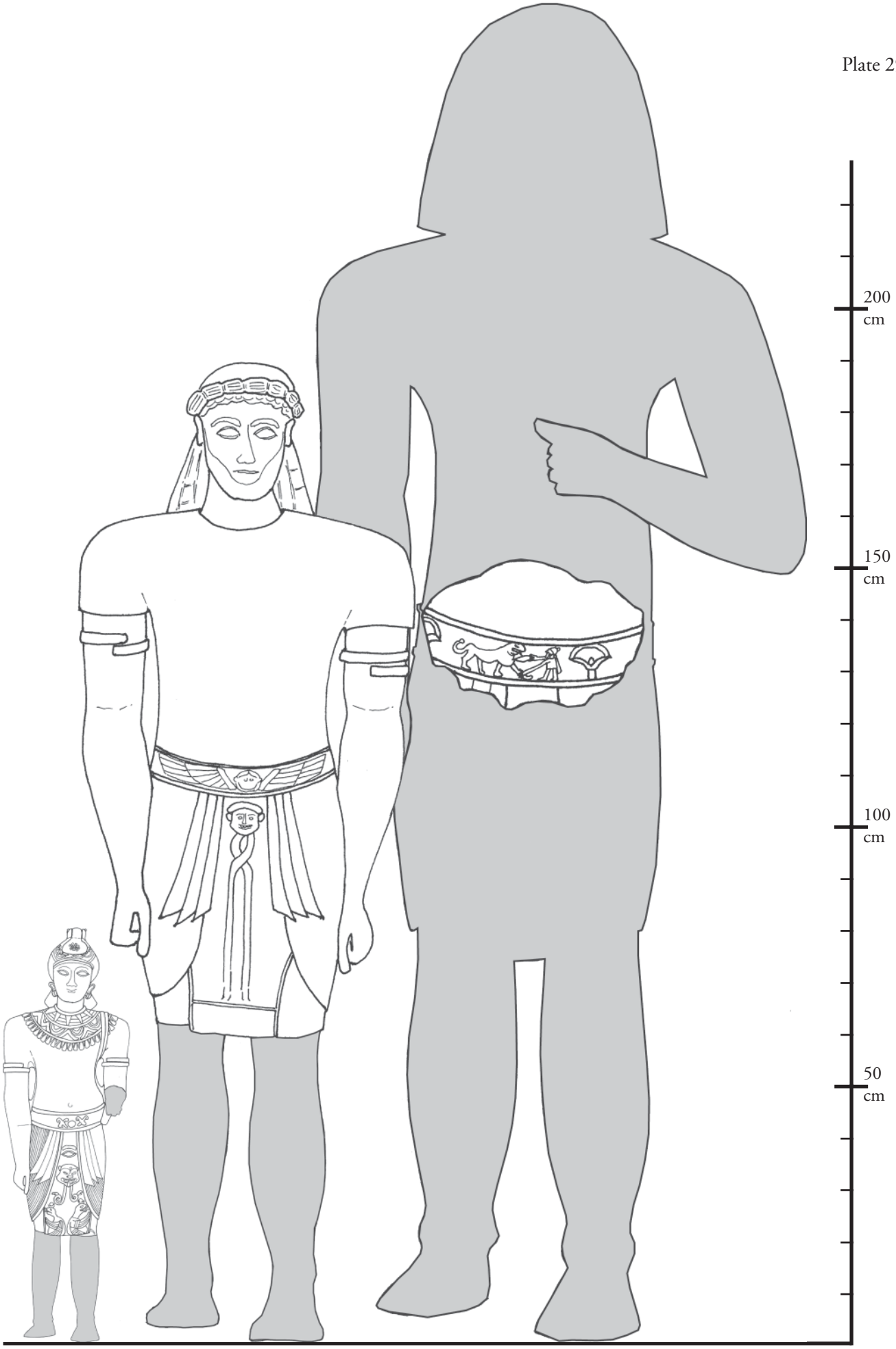


Cat. 26
Golgoi

Cat. 27
Golgoi

Cat. 28
Golgoi

Cat. 29
Golgoi

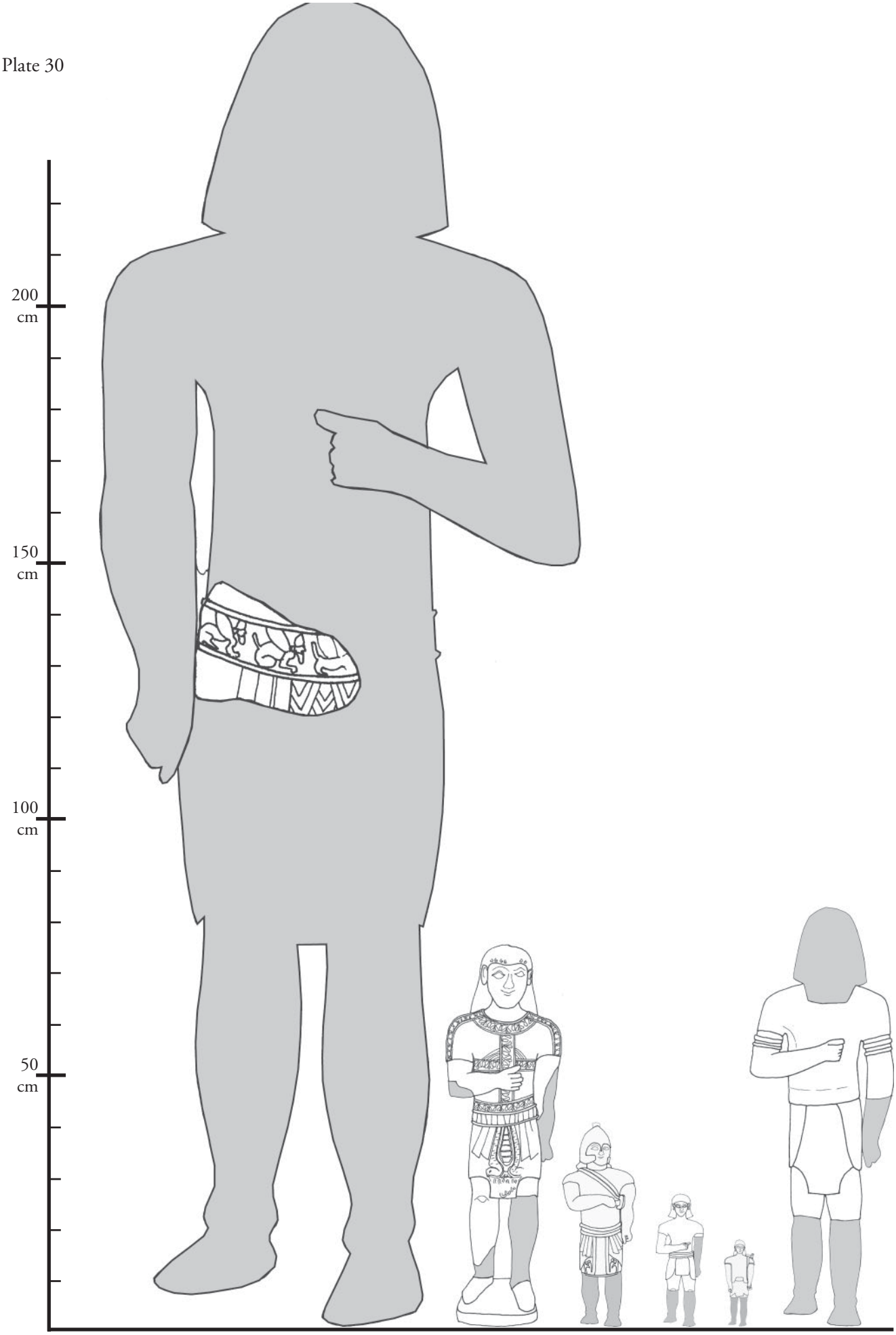


Cat. 30
Golgoi

Cat. 31
Golgoi

Cat. 32
Golgoi

Plate 30



Cat. 33
Golgoi

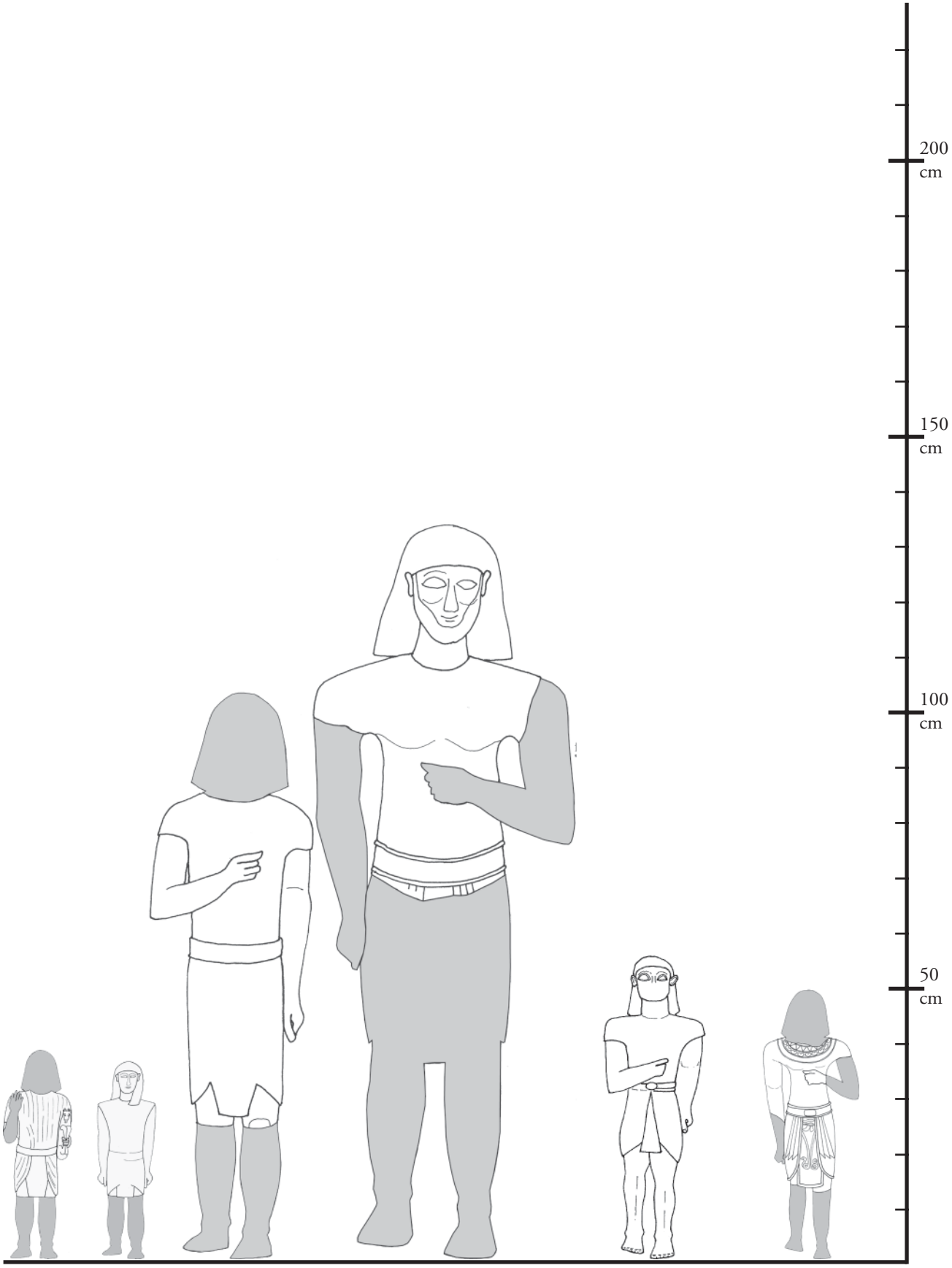
Cat. 34
Golgoi

Cat. 35
Golgoi

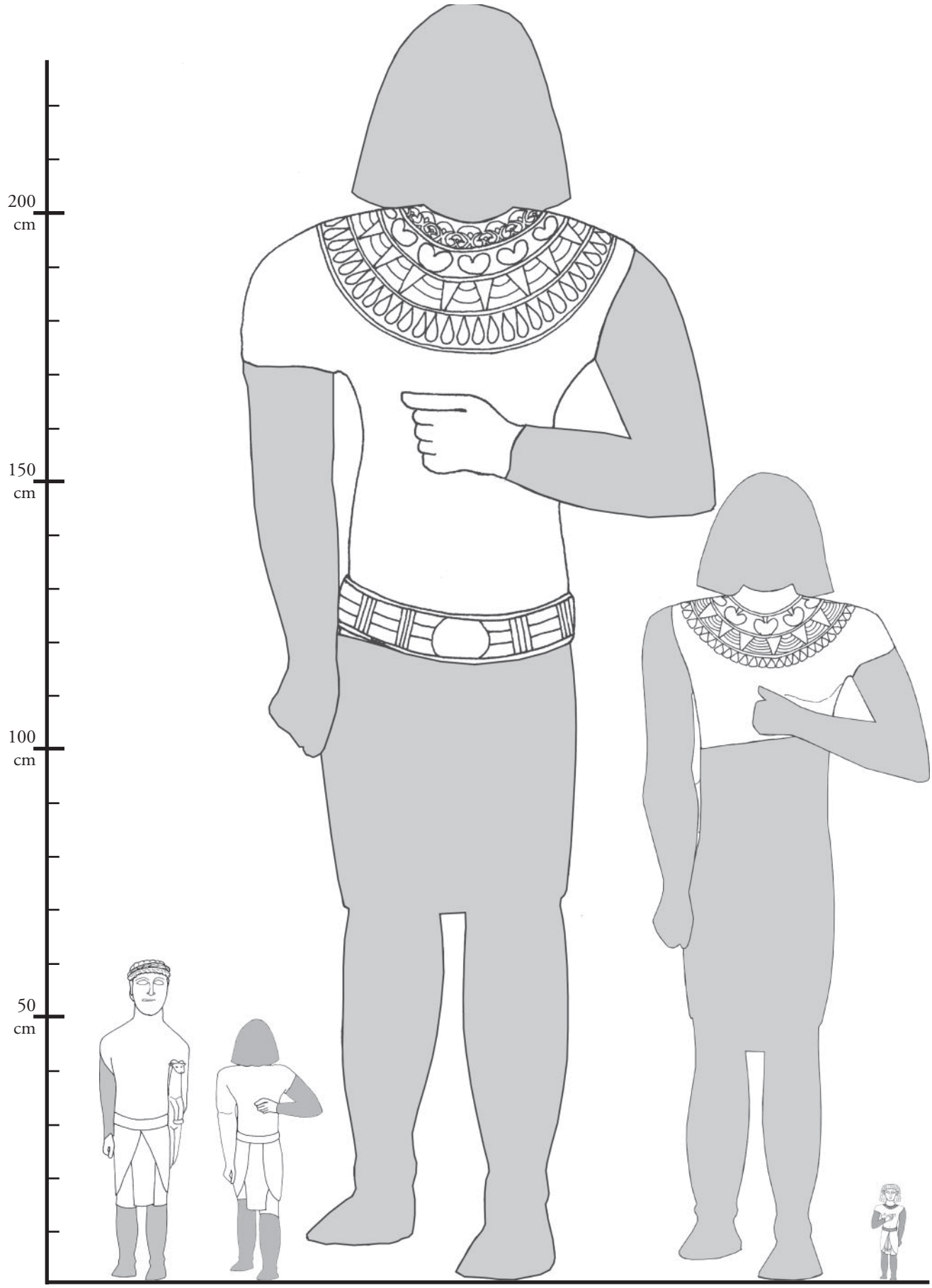
Cat. 36
Golgoi

Cat. 37
Golgoi

Cat. 38
Golgoi



Cat. 39 Golgoi
Cat. 40 Golgoi
Cat. 41 Athienou *Malloura*
Cat. 42 Arsos
Cat. 43 Tamassos
Cat. 44 Tamassos



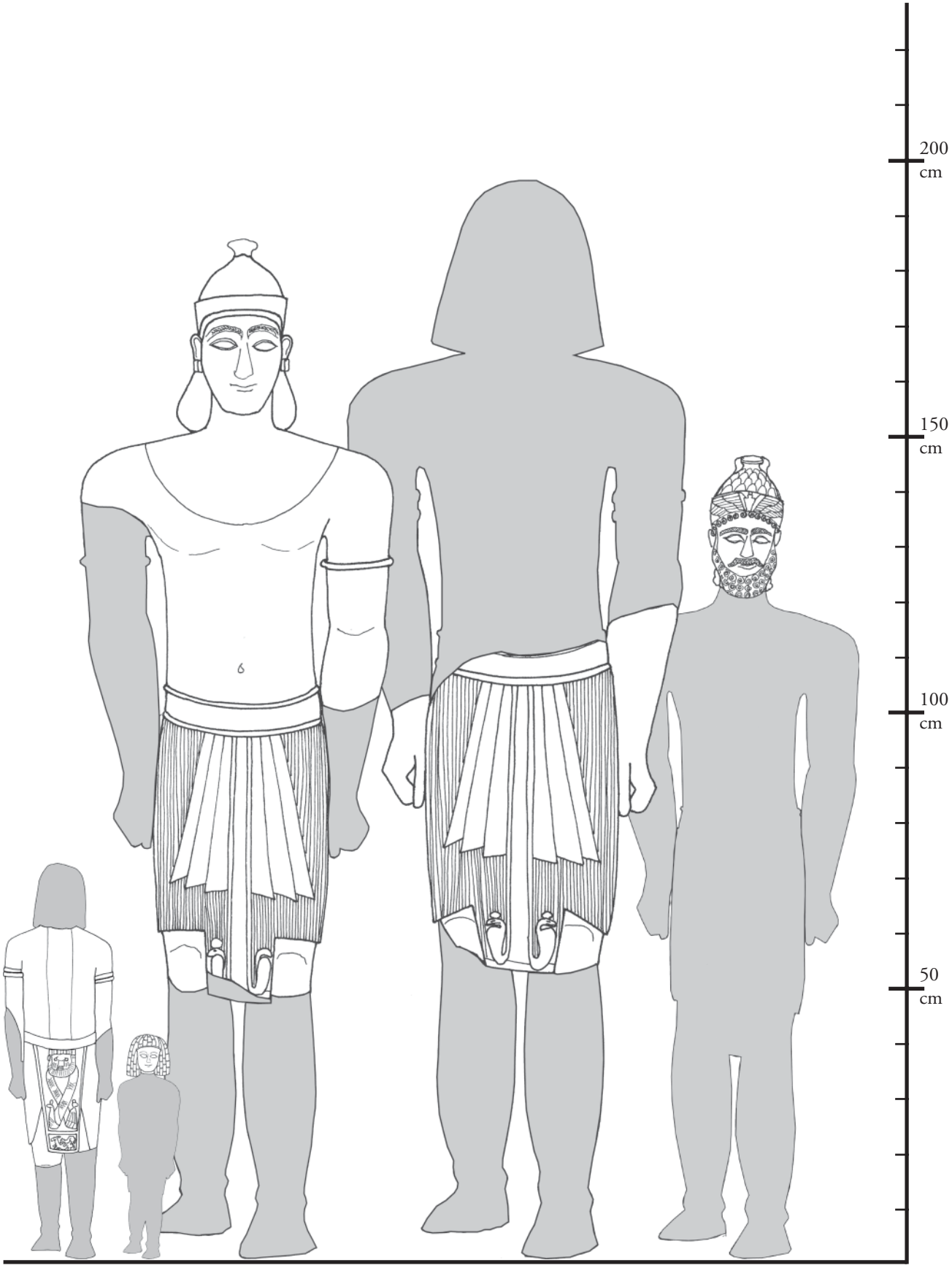
Cat. 45 Kition

Cat. 46 Kition

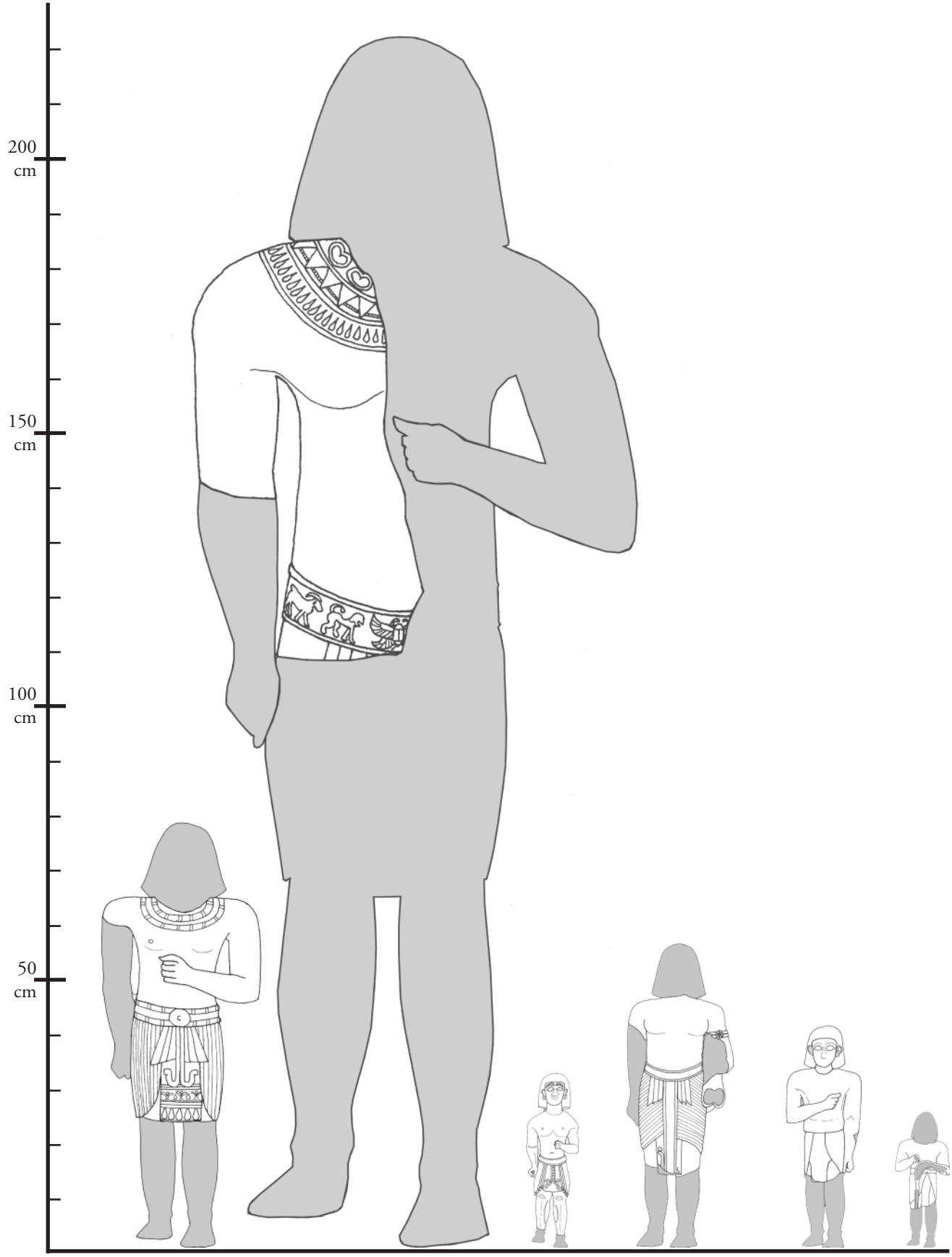
Cat. 47 Larnaka?

Cat. 48 Amathus

Cat. 49 Amathus



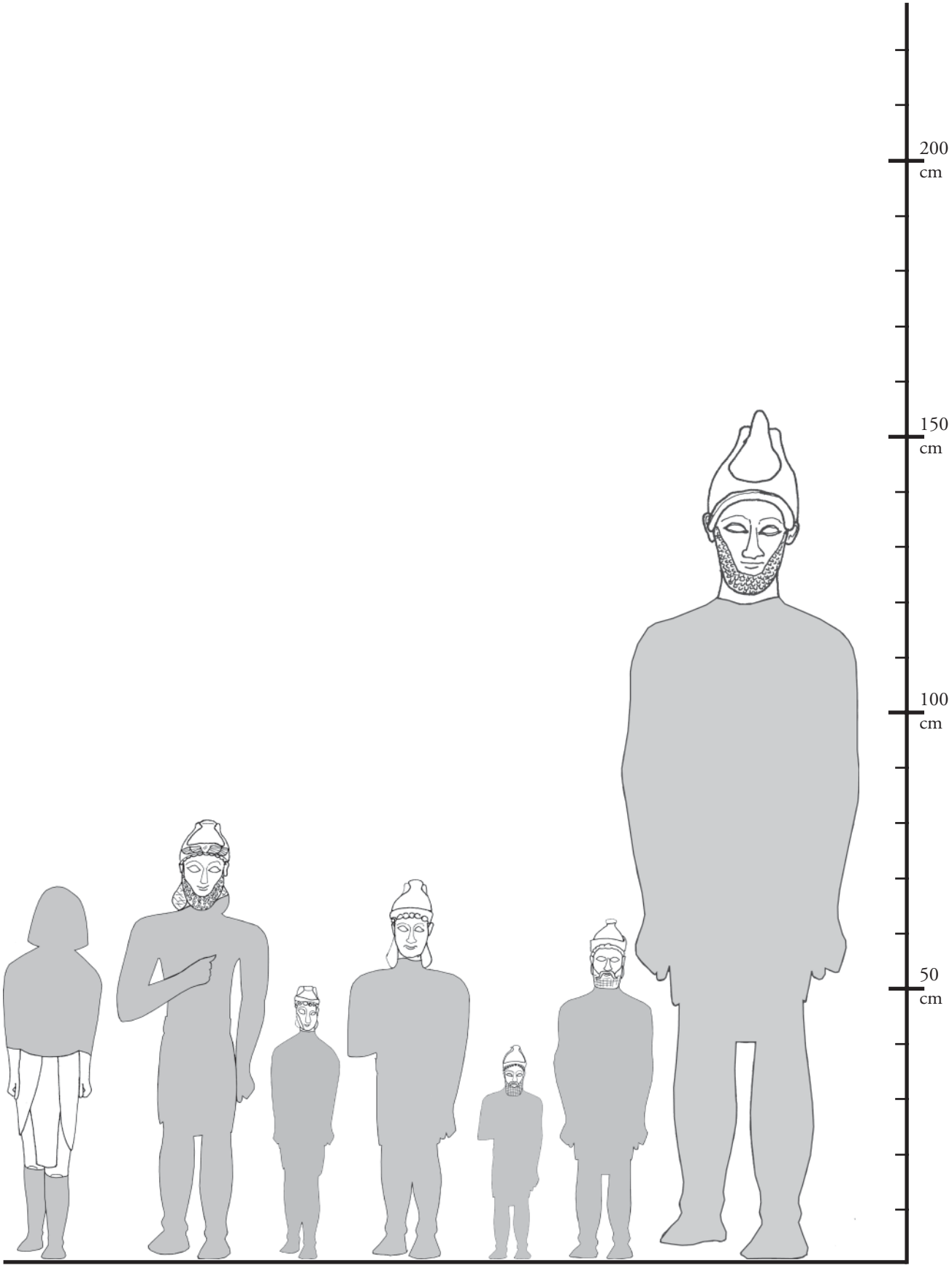
Cat. 50 Amathus **Cat. 51** Kourion **Cat. 52** Palaepaphos **Cat. 53** Palaepaphos **Cat. 58** Palaepaphos



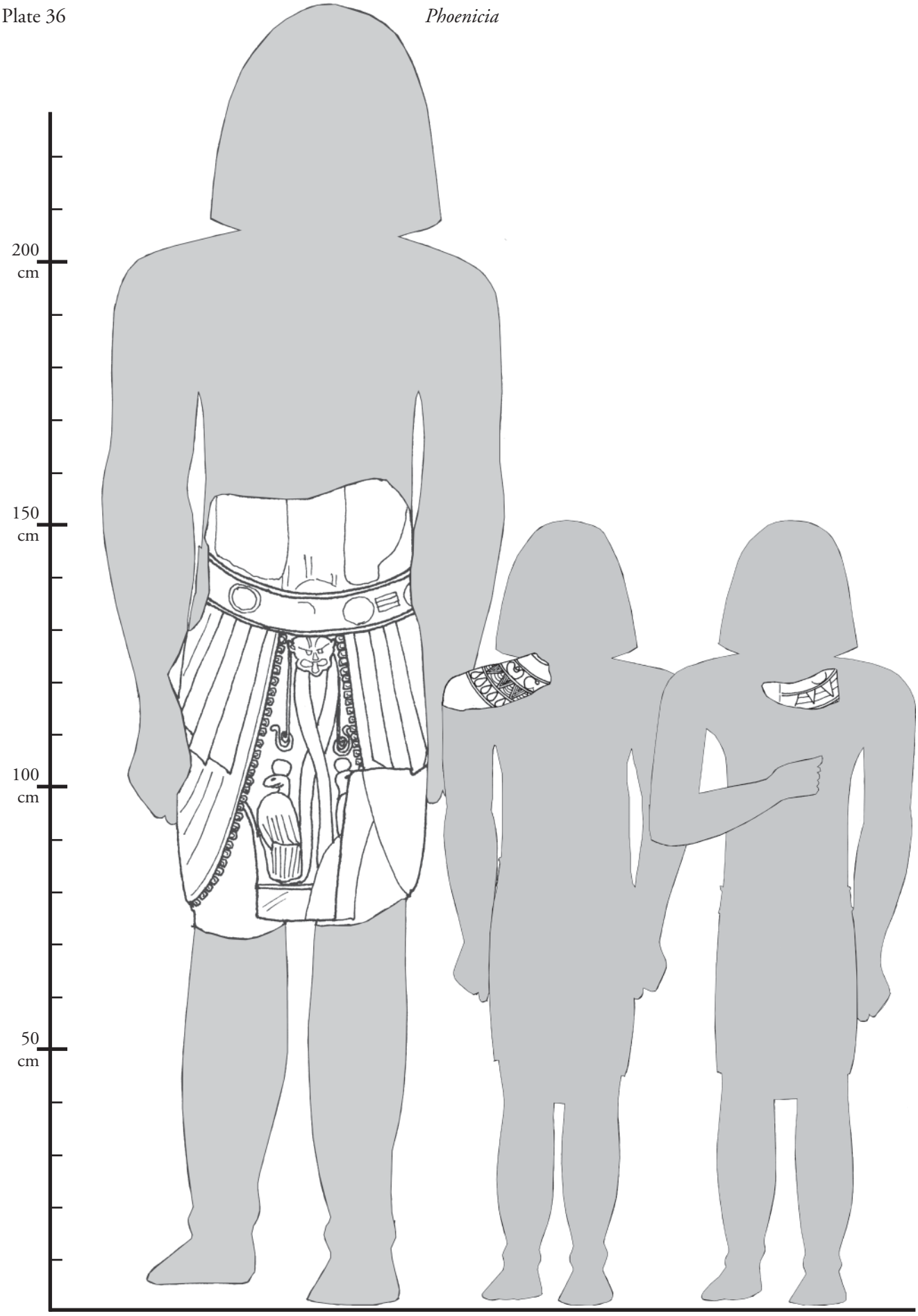
Cat. 59 Kazafani

Cat. 60

Cat. 61 **Cat. 62** **Cat. 63** **Cat. 64** Unknown provenance: **Cat. 60–64**



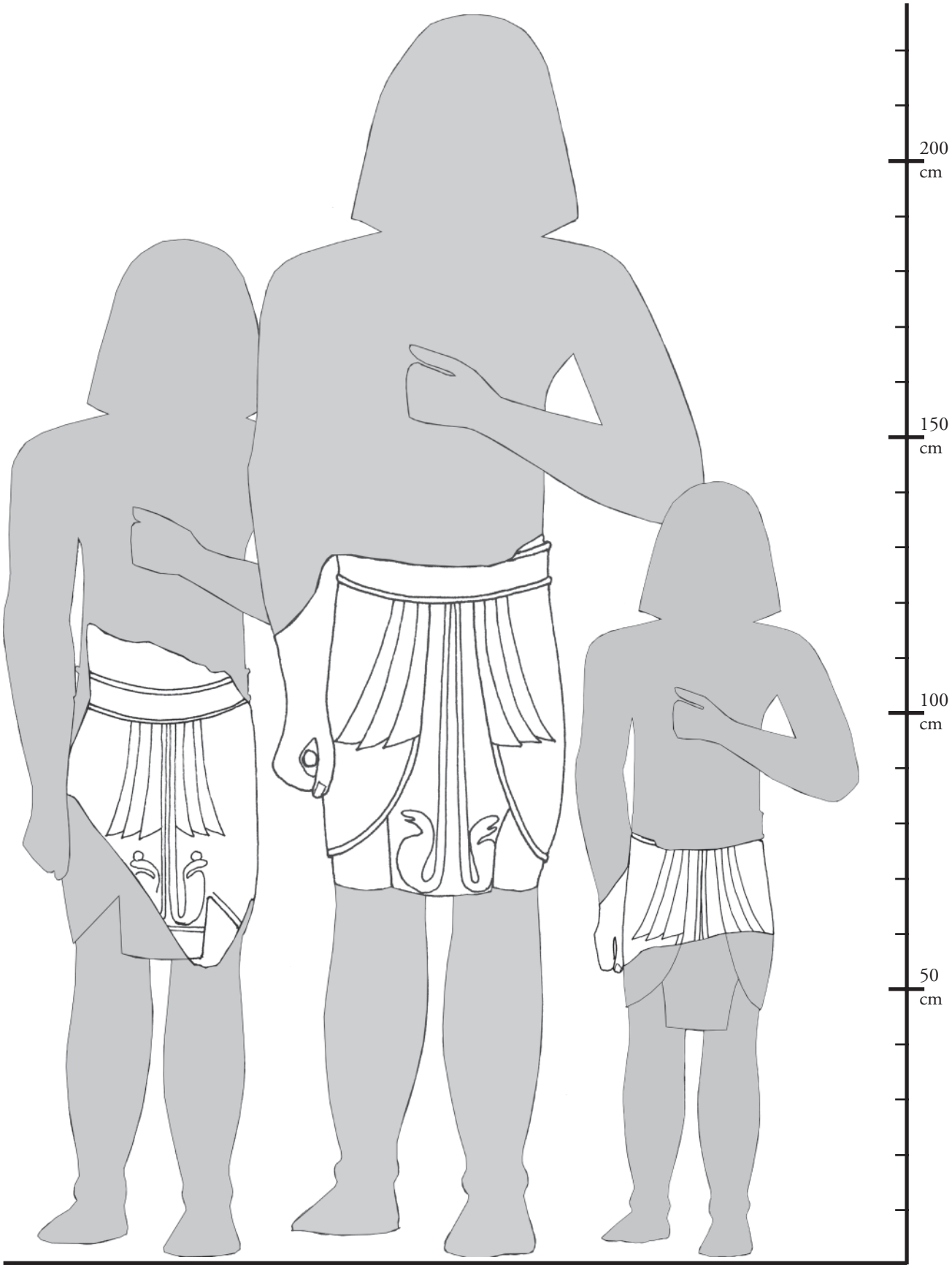
Unknown provenance: **Cat. 65–71**



Cat. Ph1
Amrit

Cat. Ph2
Amrit

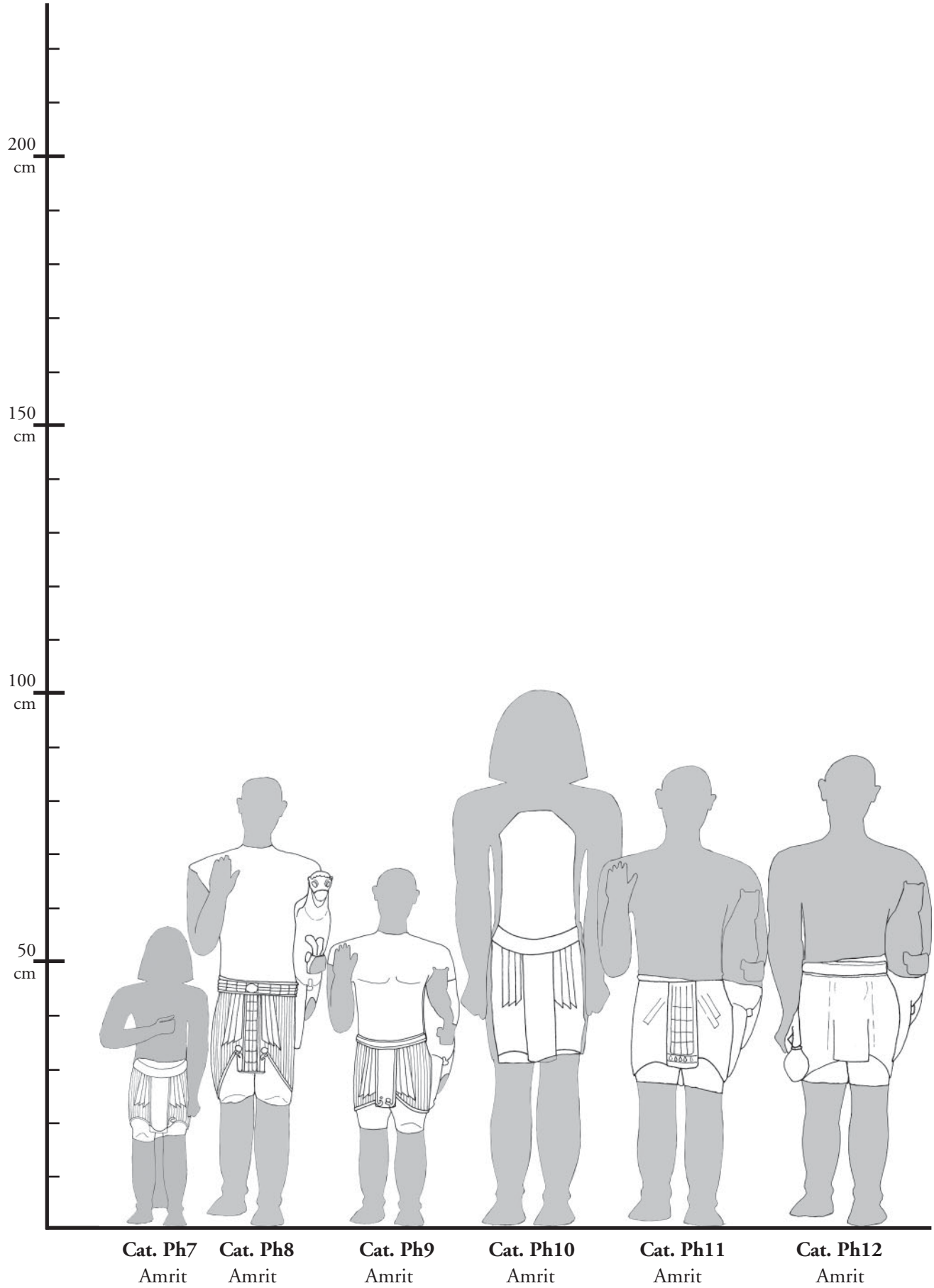
Cat. Ph3
Amrit

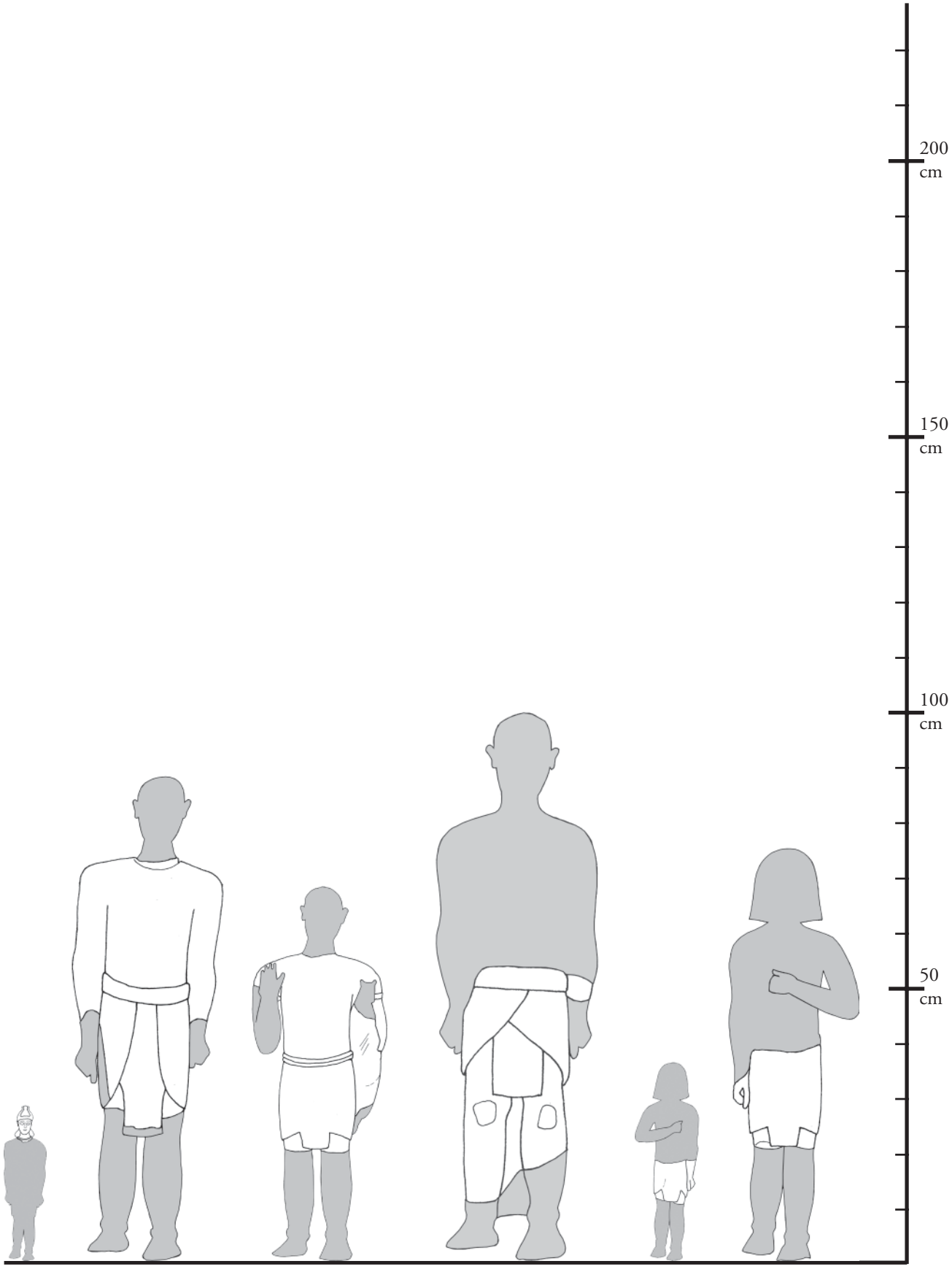


Cat. Ph4
Amrit

Cat. Ph5
Amrit

Cat. Ph6
Amrit


200 cm
150 cm
100 cm
50 cm
Cat. Ph7 Amrit
Cat. Ph8 Amrit
Cat. Ph9 Amrit
Cat. Ph10 Amrit
Cat. Ph11 Amrit
Cat. Ph12 Amrit



Cat. Ph13 Amrit

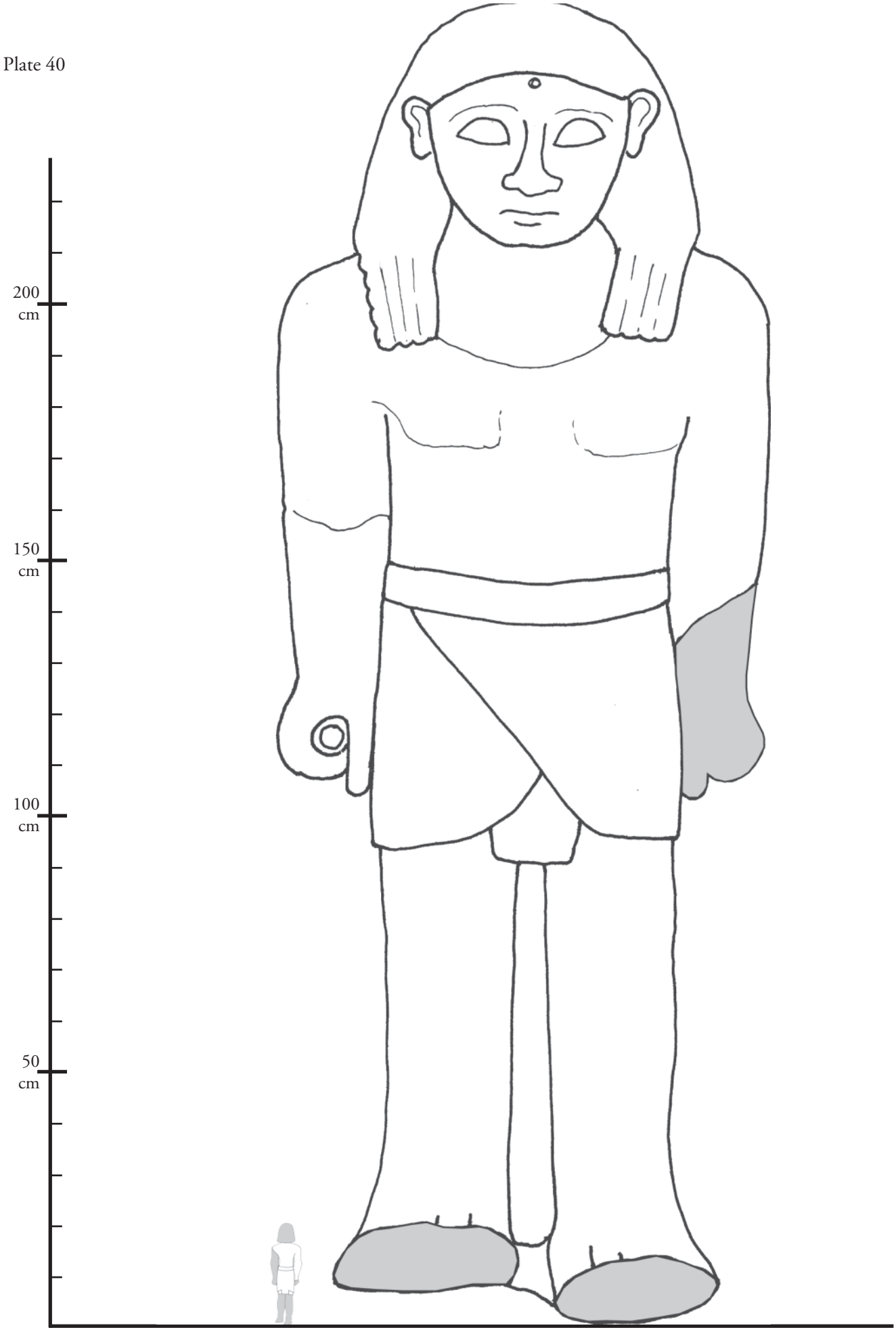
Cat. Ph14 Amrit

Cat. Ph15 Amrit

Cat. Ph16 Amrit

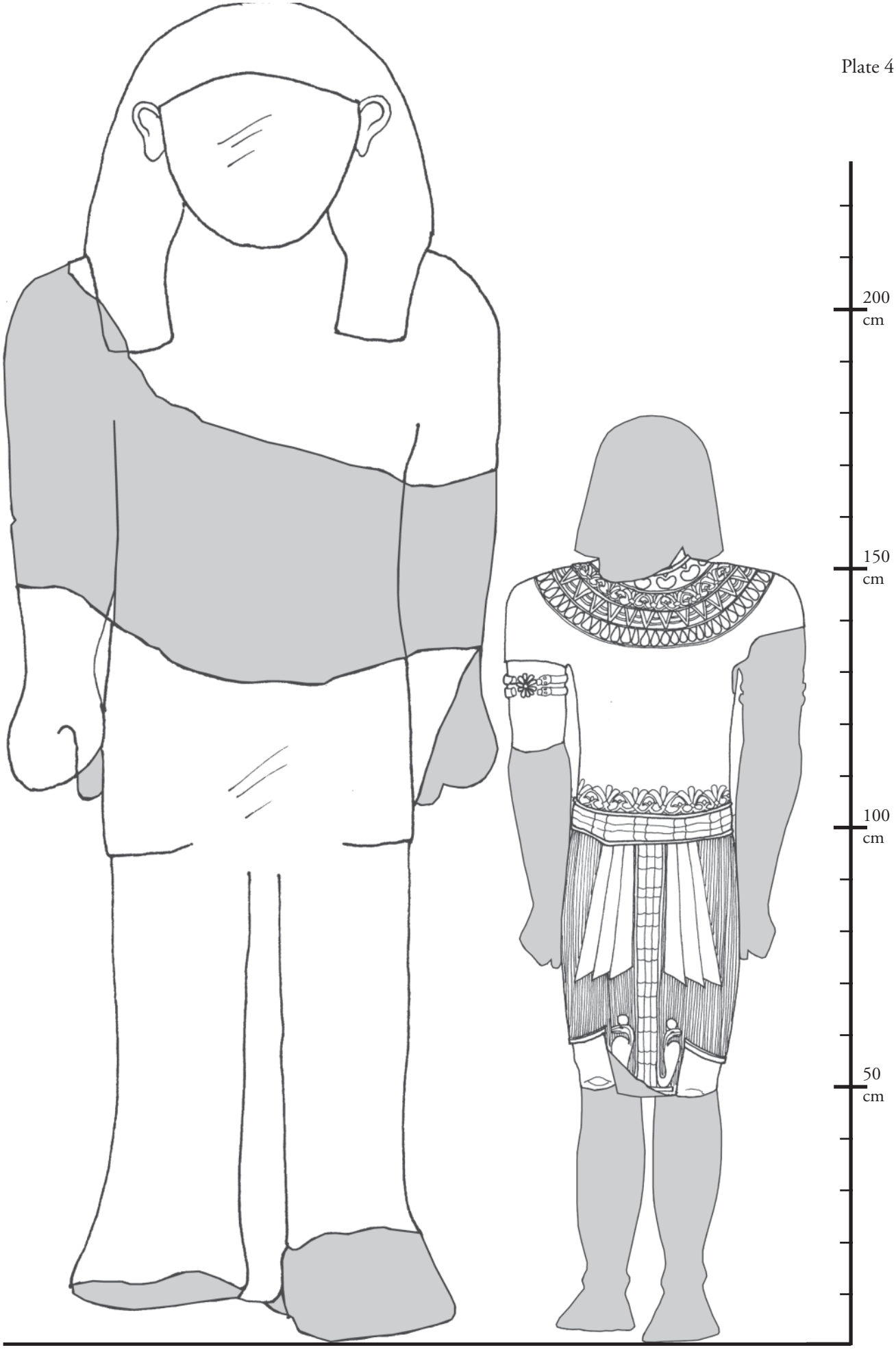
Cat. Ph17 Amrit

Cat. Ph18 Amrit



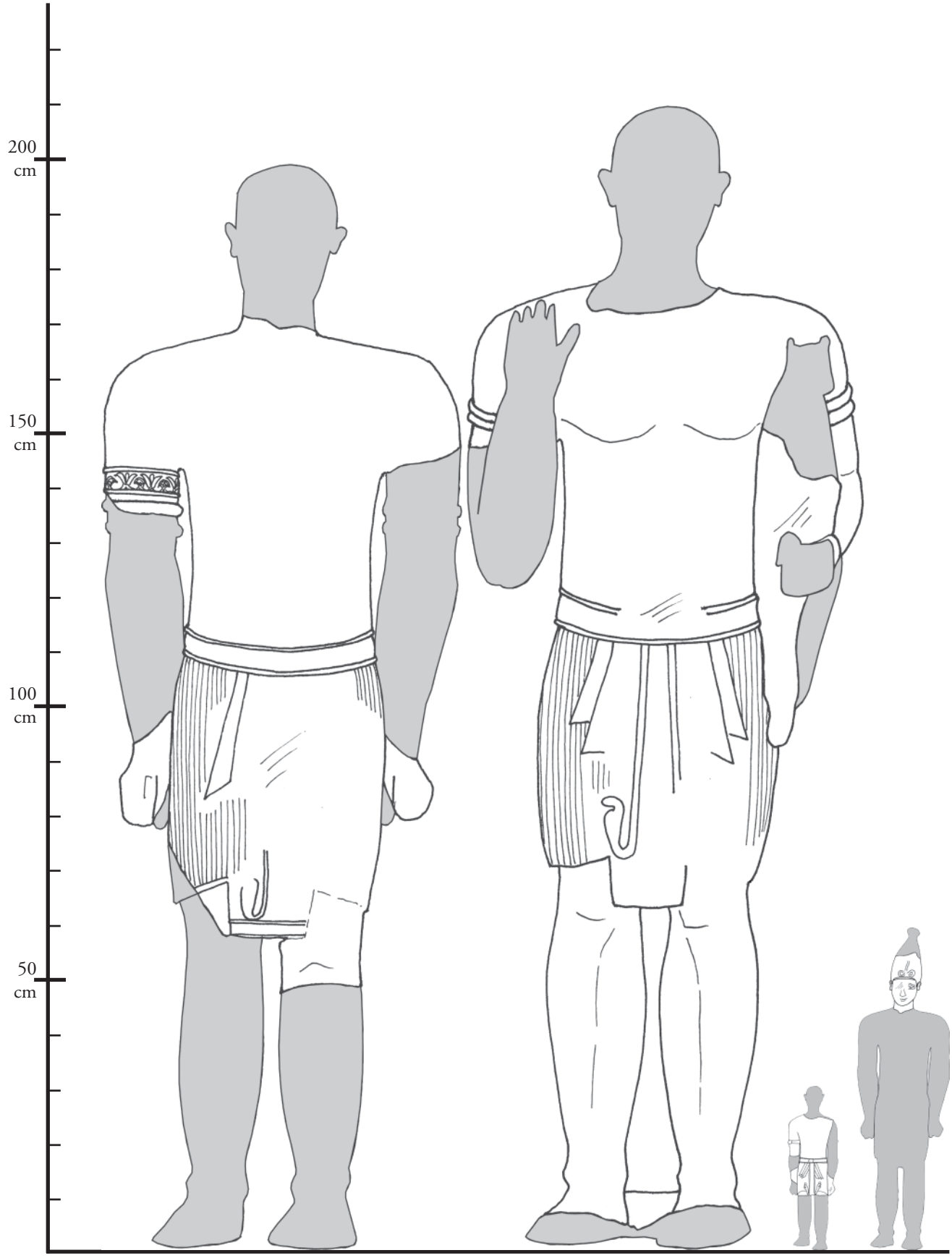
Cat. Ph19
Amrit

Cat. Ph20
Byblos



Cat. Ph21
Byblos

Cat. Ph22
Sidon

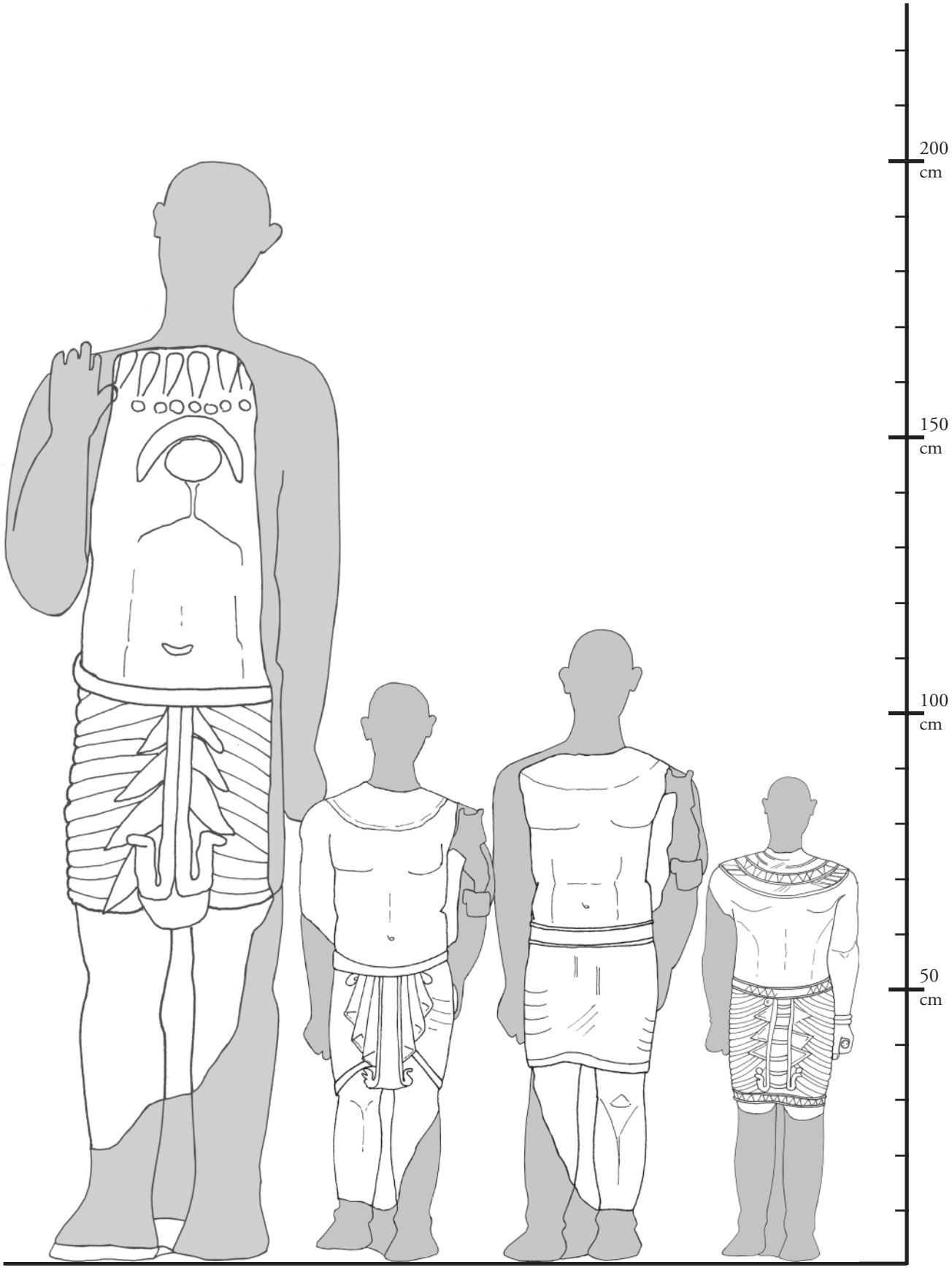


Cat. Ph23
Sidon

Cat. Ph24
Sidon

Cat. Ph25
Sidon

Cat. Ph26
Sidon

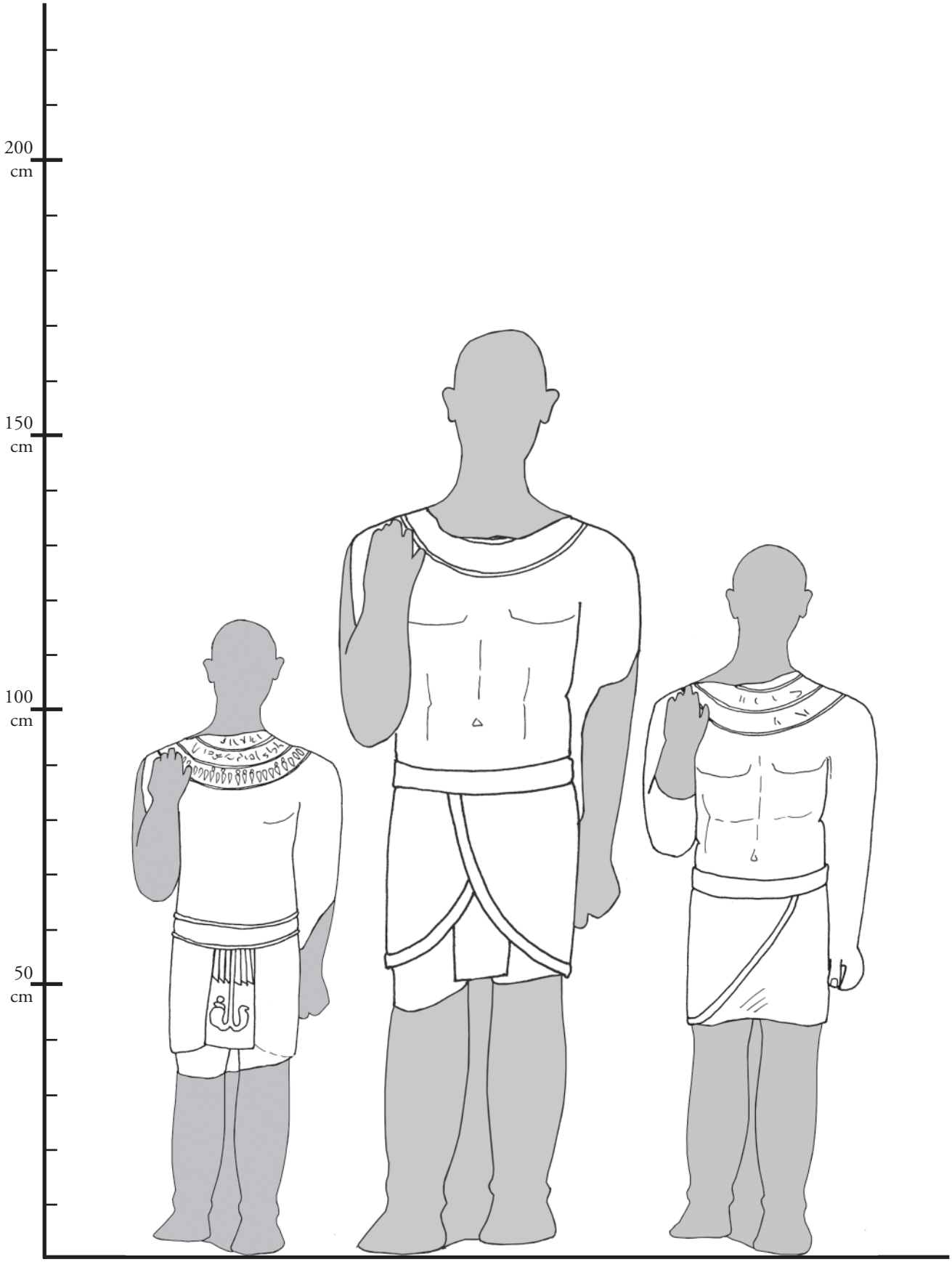


Cat. Ph28
Sarepta

Cat. Ph29
Kharayeb

Cat. Ph30
Kharayeb

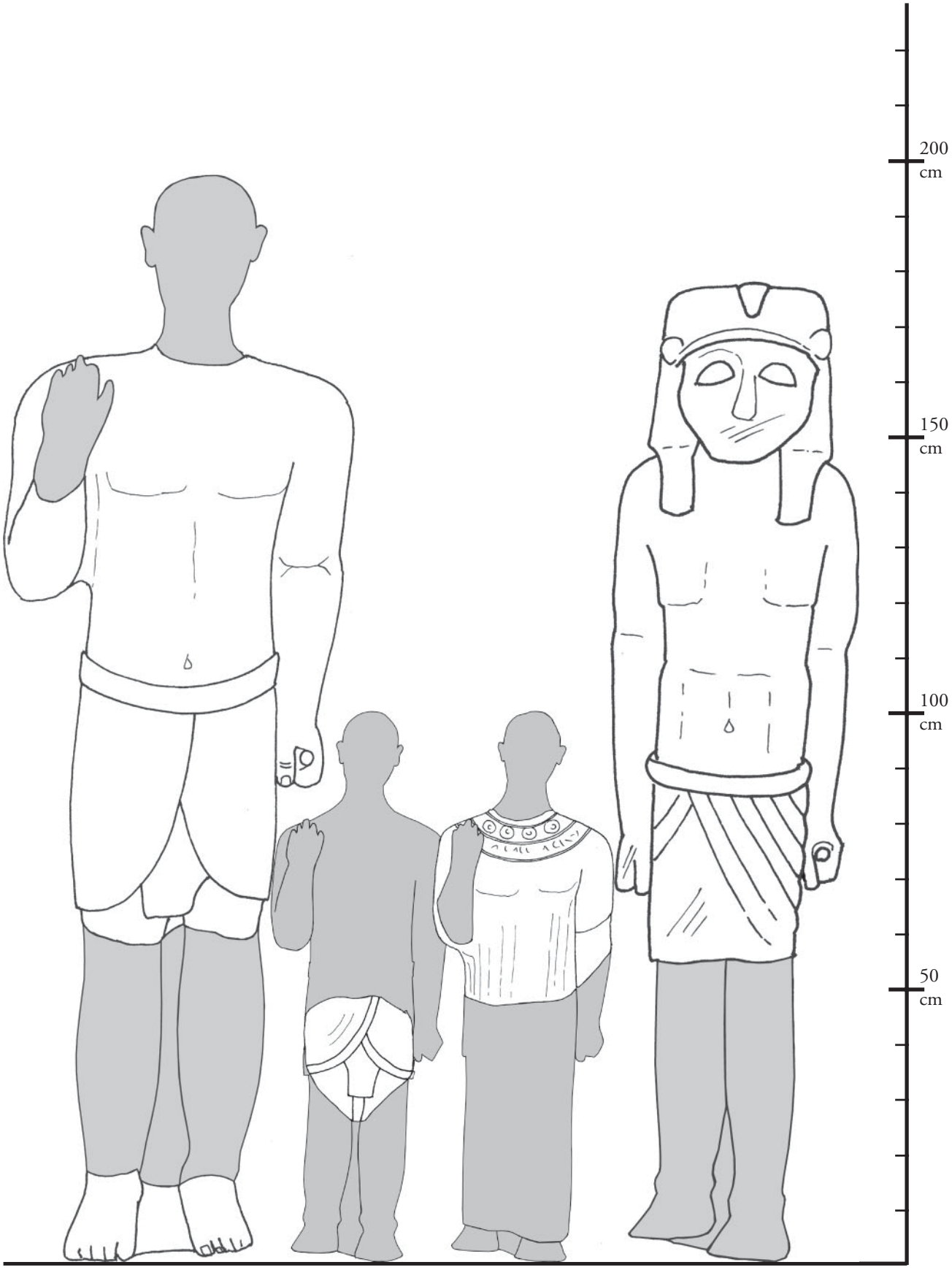
Cat. Ph31
Tyre



Cat. Ph32
Umm el-Amed

Cat. Ph33
Umm el-Amed

Cat. Ph34
Umm el-Amed



Cat. Ph35
Umm el-Amed

Cat. Ph36
Umm el-Amed

Cat. Ph37
Umm el-Amed

Cat. Ph38
Unknown provenance