

MEDelhavs MUSEET

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FOCUS ON THE MEDITERRANEAN



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The journal "Medelhavsmuseet. Focus on the Mediterranean" is aimed at audiences working with museological, archaeological, historical and modern questions and issues in the Mediterranean, seeking also to arouse interest in material cultural heritage in this region among a wider audience. The first part of this second volume contains scientific studies in the collections while the second part highlights some of the major activities which the Medelhavsmuseet has undertaken in recent time.

The Medelhavsmuseet is a state museum founded in 1954. It houses ancient and historical collections mainly from Greece, Italy, Cyprus, Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Syria, and Turkey, a large portion of which stems from Swedish archaeological excavations undertaken in the early 20th century. Since 1999, the Medelhavsmuseet, together with the Ethnographic Museum, the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities in Stockholm and the Museum of World Culture in Gothenburg form the organization the National Museums of World Culture, the purpose of which is to provide a perspective on world cultures to wider audiences.

Cover illustration: Foreman Hikmat Ta'ani (Jordan) and archaeologist Christian Frebutte (Belgium) in discussion. Photo: Craig Mauzy.

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A CYPRIOTE LIMESTONE TORSO IN THE NATIONALMUSEUM, STOCKHOLM – APPROACHING THE SO-CALLED EGYPTIANIZING GROUP IN CYPRIOTE SCULPTURE

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In 1890 the Nationalmuseum in Stockholm received a donation of objects from the British Consul on Cyprus, Mr. Charles Watkins. Among the 82 pieces of antiquities found on the island – all of unknown provenance – was one single stone object, a fragmentary limestone torso of a man. This interesting piece deserves a closer study.

Starting from the torso, we will take the opportunity to discuss the group of Cypriote sculpture to which it belongs. Its interesting ornamental details will invite us to go into detailed analysis, leading up to a discussion of artistic influences in Cypriote Archaic art. But let us first enter upon a formal description of the piece.

The sculpture, Inv. no NM Sk 1550, represents the torso of a man (Fig. 1), rendered in slightly over life-size. It is preserved from the base of the neck to just below the hips, where it has been cut off straight with a saw; the maximum preserved height is 65 cm, width 30 cm.¹ The torso is broken approximately in half along the vertical axis so that only the right part of the body is preserved. It is executed in yellowish limestone.² While the front of the sculpture was worked with care in low relief, the back was

left flat and undecorated, although slightly concave (Fig. 2). The garment rendered on the front of the sculpture thus finds no continuation on the back.

Along the side of the sculpted body are several holes, cut into the stone (Fig. 3).³ Another hole is found underneath the torso, on the horizontally cut surface; in it are traces of iron.⁴ These holes are seemingly modern, being results of the efforts of arranging and exhibiting the sculpture.

The right arm, which is broken off obliquely just above the elbow, hangs free, but we may assume that it was attached to the body at the level of the hips.⁵ There is a soft transition between the arm and the right breast muscle, in the form of an S-shaped line, that renders plasticity to the piece. So does the belly which is resting on the broad decorated belt. The characteristically rounded and massive shoulder area is found in many Cypriote votive sculptures.

The broad belt, 8 cm in width, hangs on the hips of the figure. It is decorated by three creatures, carved in low relief: a goat and a lion facing right, and a winged scarab (Fig. 4). The belt is holding up a garment covering the lower part of the man's

body. The garment itself is only witnessed by four parallel grooves, of which one is barely traceable. These grooves most probably constitute the outlines of the uppermost part of the three sashends found on each side of the centrally pendant device (the so-called *devanteau*) of Egyptian-type kilts (cf. Fig. 6).⁶

The upper part of the body is naked,⁷ except for a broad collar – an Egyptian *usekh*⁸ – hanging round the man's neck. The *usekh* is richly decorated, too, consisting of three concentric registers or bands of decoration (Fig. 5): closest to the neck we find loop-shaped patterns, followed by a row of triangles – placed tip down – overlying a thin, vertically striped cable. The border of the collar displays a pattern of hanging drops. All details on the sculpture are performed in low relief, except the drops in the outer register of the collar and the cable running underneath the triangles, which are recessed.

The sculptural group and its dating

The broad collar and the traces of the sashends of the Egyptian-type kilt tell



Fig. 1. Limestone torso of a male figure, from Cyprus. Exact provenance unknown. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, Inv. no. NM Sk 1550. Hl. 65 cm. (Photo Hans Thorwid, Nationalmuseum, Stockholm.)



Fig. 2. The back side of NM Sk 1550.



Fig. 3. Side view of NM Sk 1550.



Fig. 4. Detail of the decorated belt of NM Sk 1550, featuring a goat, a lion, and a four-winged scarab.



Fig. 5. Detail of the broad collar of NM Sk 1550.

us that the torso, NM Sk 1550, belongs to a group of male Cypriote limestone votives that are characterized by their Egyptian dress and ornaments.⁹ Sanctuary sites from several different parts of Cyprus, and occasional graves, have provided finds of sculptures and statuettes clad in this type of outfit, most frequently executed in local limestone.¹⁰ One or several of the following elements may be present in a sculpture: the kilt with a centrally placed apron, sometimes adorned by two cobras (*uraei*) with sun-discs on their heads,¹¹ the broad collar, the double crown of Egypt and the plain head cloth (the Egyptian kerchief) or plaited wig. The stance of the figures, although characteristically Egyptian – left leg advanced and both arms parallel along the sides of the body, alternatively one fist clenched on the chest – is shared by a large part of the Archaic votive sculpture from the island and is thus nothing unique that singles out this particular group.¹² Only very rarely do the votive figures in Egyptian dress carry animals or items.¹³ There are but few – and uncertain – examples of figures holding a cylindrical object with rounded ends, recalling the emblematic staves so characteristic of Egyptian statuary.¹⁴

It is worth pointing out that, apart from the stance, the figures with Egyptian dress share other characteristics of the Cypriote votive sculpture in general. The flatness of the back is ever-present,¹⁵ and the increased influence from Greek sculpture towards the end of the 6th century B.C., in both the rendering of face and body form, is evident in the Egyptianizing figures as well.

The group of Egyptian-clad

votive figures is merely one of several categories of objects expressing a taste for Egyptian iconography, witnessed on Cyprus from the early 7th through to the 5th century B.C.¹⁶ We encounter Egyptian divinities in Cypriote form,¹⁷ and grave monuments featuring resting sphinxes wearing Egyptian plain head cloths or even the royal *nemes* and double crown.¹⁸ Egyptian ornaments – such as the lotus flower and bud, and the winged sun-disc¹⁹ – are found decorating ceramics,²⁰ terracotta objects,²¹ coins,²² and metal-work of the period.²³

Understandably, early scholarship connected the phenomenon of Egyptian dress on figures of Cypriote manufacture with ancient sources speaking of an Egyptian political domination of the island.²⁴ Both Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus report how Pharaoh Amasis of the 26th Dynasty (*ca.* 569–545 B.C.) subdued Cyprus and had close connections with the East-Greek world.²⁵ There is nothing, however, in the archaeological record that would confirm such an Egyptian impact on the island.²⁶ Even if this explanation partly has prevented new perspectives on the Egyptianizing group,²⁷ the last decades have seen interesting work being done. In her dissertation from 1975, B. Lewe examined the relationship between Archaic Cypriote sculpture and the neighbouring contemporary art centres. The Egyptianizing figures were dealt with in discussing both the relationship with Egypt and with the Phoenician cities. Not only did Lewe present an excellent, if short, evaluation of the group,²⁸ she also considered similar Cypriote material found in sanctua-

ries on the Phoenician mainland. Several Phoenician sanctuary sites have provided finds of limestone sculpture of a distinct Cypriote style, including figures clad in Egyptian dress.²⁹ It is highly interesting to note that alongside this limestone material, figures carved from local sandstone have been found.³⁰ This fact emphasizes the importance of taking the Phoenician material into consideration, in order to better understand the Cypriote.

Missing in Lewe's work was an actual interpretation of the Egyptianizing figures. In recent years, though, several attempts at understanding the phenomenon have been put forward. In 1989, F.G. Maier argued that figures with elaborate double crowns represent Priest Kings from Paphos.³¹ Shortly afterwards, G. Markoe set out to discuss the possible relation of the Egyptianizing dress to a Cypro-Phoenician population.³² He thereby based himself on the fact that this type of costume recalls the elaborate New Kingdom dress code rather than contemporary (26th Dynasty) Egyptian preferences which reintroduced the austere Old Kingdom type of dress.³³ A taste for Egyptian New Kingdom dress is characteristic of much of the Phoenician ivory and engraved metal objects of the Archaic period. Using this as an indication of indirect Phoenician rather than direct Egyptian influence in these particular sculptures, Markoe went on to argue that the Egyptianizing figures are evidence of a Cypro-Phoenician population seeking to manifest itself on the island.³⁴

In a 1994 conference paper, L. Wriedt Sørensen expressed reservations about this last interpretation.³⁵

By pointing towards a well-known falcon-headed figure clad in an Egyptian kilt,³⁶ she argued that the Egyptianizing figures reflect religious rather than political/ethnic preferences.³⁷ In her paper, Wriedt Sørensen undertakes a limited analysis of the Cypriote votive figures according to types, where "Male dressed in a *shenti*" (royal Egyptian kilt) makes out one of seven subgroups.³⁸ Her method of study, confronting the various types found within the Cypriote votive statuary and discussing them according to the same criteria, is remunerative.³⁹

If the early view of an Egyptian domination over Cyprus long dictated the scholarly perspective on the Egyptianizing figures, the same is true for their dating. By routine, they were all ascribed to the period 569–545 B.C., when the Cypriotes were believed to seek to display loyalty to the new Egyptian regime.⁴⁰

It was not until 1974 that this restricted dating was seriously challenged, and indeed overturned. In an often-cited article, C. Vermeule argued that stylistic analogies with the facial features of Greek mainland sculpture would place a large part of the allegedly early Cypriote votive sculpture, including the Egyptianizing examples, within the years 520–480 B.C.⁴¹ Many have followed in this, arguing that several traditional datings were misleading, established to fit the alleged periods of Assyrian and Egyptian domination of the island.⁴² Recent datings that can be well argued for have placed individual Egyptianizing figures in the early 6th century B.C.⁴³ In his analysis of the sculptural material from Idalion, R. Senff proposes that the

particularity of belt resting on the hips of figures was introduced in the second quarter of the 6th century B.C., providing an upper limit for the dating of several Cypriote figures in Egyptian dress, including our Stockholm torso.⁴⁴ The interesting material from the Late Archaic sanctuary at Kouklia-Palaepaphos includes figures in Egyptian dress. The so-called Priest King, wearing a double crown decorated by a winged *uraeus*, has been ascribed – together with several other pieces – to the late 6th century B.C.⁴⁵ Taking all the above-mentioned views into consideration, it seems clear that figures in Egyptian attire were produced on Cyprus during at least the entire 6th century B.C.⁴⁶

We seem to be dealing with a group of figures that is well spread in the sanctuaries of the island during the 6th century B.C.,⁴⁷ but which is restricted in number and in material preference.⁴⁸ Although these figures are stylistically very diverse, there is a remarkable homogeneity as to the details of their outfit.⁴⁹

The torso and the ornamental details of its dress

The closest parallels for the Stockholm torso are two well-preserved statues from the Cesnola collection in New York, both found at Golgoi (Ayios Photios), in the central part of the island (Figs. 6 and 7).⁵⁰ Just like NM Sk 1550, the Cesnola sculptures wear the Egyptian *usekh* embellished with three concentric registers containing loop-shapes, triangles and hanging drops, and they wear the Egyptian kilt held up by a broad belt.⁵¹ Their head-dresses are the

Egyptian plain kerchief and the double crown, respectively. The kilt of Inv. no 74.51.2470 seemingly consists of a piece of kilt-cloth that – wrapped around the hips – covers the sides of a centrally placed apron (Fig. 6).⁵² The apron is decorated by cobras with sun-discs on their heads, hanging down from the top of the kilt, in this resembling an Egyptian *devanteau*.⁵³ On each side of the apron are the three sashends of equal shape, all with tapering ends.⁵⁴ The second figure is quite unique among large-scale Cypriote sculpture in Egyptian dress, in that the pleated kilt-cloth overlaps in the front, covering the upper part of the decorated apron (Fig. 7).⁵⁵ The traces of the sashends of our Stockholm torso indicate that its garment most probably belonged to the former, more common type of Cypro-Egyptian kilt.

When confronting the Stockholm torso with the two New York figures, we note that all three sculptures share the large format.⁵⁶ The pronounced shoulder area, and the soft transition between the arm and breast muscle is evident in all three sculptures,⁵⁷ as is the general lack of indication of further anatomic details on the upper part of the body.⁵⁸ All three figures wear belts which are placed on the hips. The elaborate figural decoration of the belt of NM Sk 1550 is unequalled, however, both in comparison to the well-preserved Golgoi figures, but also – as we shall see – in the whole corpus of Cypriote Archaic sculpture.

We have seen how the collar of NM Sk 1550 consists of three concentric bands of decoration. Two of them are preserved in their full width, the third is fragmentary (Fig. 5). Given the proximity of the inner-



Fig. 6. Sculpture found at Golgoi, Cyprus, wearing Egyptianizing dress. The Metropolitan Museum, New York, Inv. no. 74.51.2470. H. 135 cm. (Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Cesnola Collection: Purchased by subscription, 1874-76.)



Fig. 7. Sculpture found at Golgoi, Cyprus, wearing Egyptianizing dress. The Metropolitan Museum, New York, Inv. no. 74.51.2472. H. 130 cm. (Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Cesnola Collection: Purchased by subscription, 1874-76.)

most register to the presumed neckline of the figure, we can assume that there was no additional register close to the neck, but only a thin band constituting the inner border of the collar. Four thin bands accordingly acted as separators of the three registers, as well as outlines of the collar.

The two loop-shaped devices in the inner-most register can be identified as reproductions of mandrake or perseia fruits.⁵⁹ This much appreciated Egyptian vegetal ornament has given rise to some controversy regarding its exact botanical identification.⁶⁰ It is not an uncommon motif on Cypriote figures clad in Egyptian dress.⁶¹ A certain number of these Cypriote occurrences display an attachment between the fruit and the thin band bordering the frieze,⁶² encouraging us to consider what objects and materials served as models for the stone sculptors who produced the Egyptian-dressed figures.

The hanging triangles of the second register, and the outer row of drops, shall be understood as stylized vegetal forms as well. We have seen how the row of triangles, placed tip down, overlies a vertically striped cable recessed into the stone, while recessed drops, bordered by a thin band, constitute the outline of the collar. As on so many other Cypriote Egyptianizing sculptures, the triangle ornaments found on the collar of NM Sk 1550 most probably reflect the actual leaves knit onto Egyptian broad collars, or the reproduction of these leaves in more durable materials.⁶³ Underneath the triangles, that is the stylized leaves, one can trace the components of the collar, in the case of NM Sk 1550 a striped cable; we

can only hypothesize as to what it is supposed to reflect.⁶⁴

To seek the model for this vegetal or floral collar, we shall have to go back to the New Kingdom Egyptian dress, and the elaboration that can be witnessed in sculpture and relief work from Amenhotep III (18th Dynasty) onwards. The general elaboration taking place in the art of the period involved the introduction of vegetal broad collars in reproductions of Pharaohs, noblemen and -women.⁶⁵ The collars were made of actual flowers, leaves, and fruits, knit onto semicircular sheets of papyrus. More durable variants were the collars made out of mould-made beads of polychrome faïence, glass, semiprecious stones, or precious metals that repeated the shapes of the most well-known and appreciated vegetal forms.⁶⁶ Indeed we have preserved ancient Egyptian collars of both types.⁶⁷

As for the outer row of drops, it is the standard border element on unadorned, broad collars from the Old Kingdom onwards and it continues to be such throughout Egyptian history.⁶⁸ Note, however, that the floral collar is a New Kingdom phenomenon, and that in the Late Period – that is contemporary with the manufacture of the Cypriote figures in Egyptian dress – the broad collar virtually has ceased to exist in three-dimensional Egyptian representations.⁶⁹

While discussing the two above-mentioned sculptures from the Cesnola collection in New York, we learned that the ornaments of the collar of NM Sk 1550 are not uncommon among Cypriote sculptures in Egyptian dress. The same applies to

the placing of the belt, low on the figure's hips, which distinguishes several of these figures – and indeed makes up a characteristic of Egyptian male statuary. The decoration of the belt, however, a goat, a lion, and a four-winged scarab,⁷⁰ is foreign to Egyptian art. Moreover, close parallels for this constellation of creatures are, as mentioned, altogether lacking in the Cypriote material in general. A more detailed description and analysis is required for this uncommon motif. It must be emphasized that this analysis, and the following attempts at tracing possible models for the frieze, are complex and difficult matters. An attempt will be made, though, within the limited frame of this article.

The three animals – a horned goat, a roaring lion, and a four-winged scarab – form part of an animal frieze (Figs. 4 and 8). They are neatly fit into the frame of the belt, occupying the entire width of it. Paws and hooves are resting softly on the lower border, while the tip of the scarab's wing touches the upper one. The disparate scale between the beetle and the two mammals seemingly was no cause of concern to the artist. The three creatures are placed at regular intervals from one another, the tiny distance between the left front hoof of the goat and the right hind paw of the lion more or less equalling that between the lion's muzzle and the scarab's upper wing. The fact that the hind legs of the goat and the lion have different positions is a simple but refined means of adding to the impression of movement.⁷¹ We can only hypothesize as to the continuation of the frieze.⁷²

The position of the legs indicates

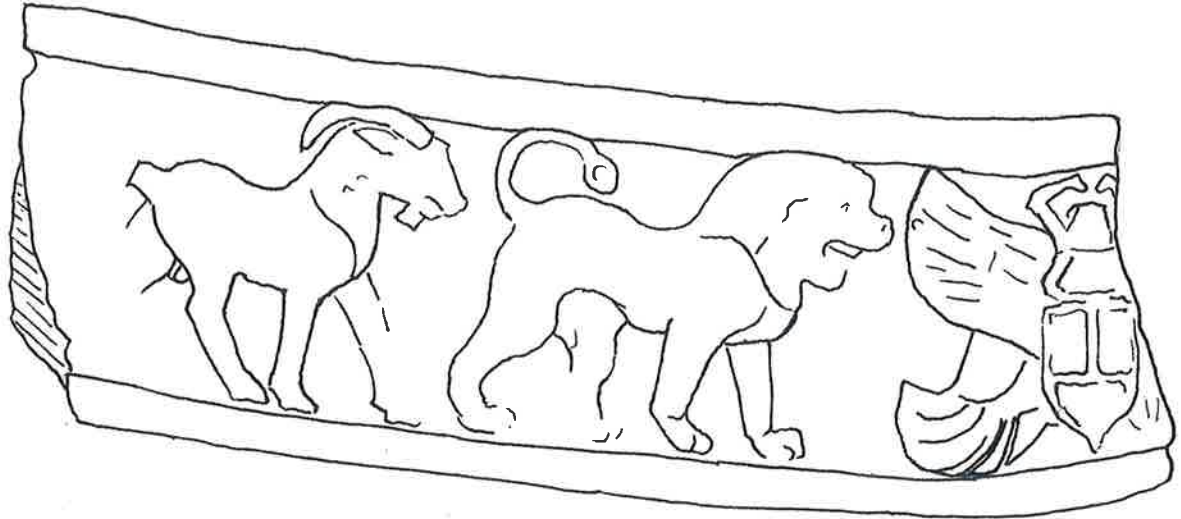


Fig. 8. Drawing of the animal frieze depicted on the belt of NM Sk 1550. (Drawing by the author.)

that the goat is moving forward at a good pace. Its horns are curved back parallel to the neck line and the ear, and reach half way down to the withers. The neck is broad and strong, the shoulder line marked by incision. The muzzle, mouth, and beard are clearly rendered, the eye, though, only faintly preserved. The goat's tail is stubby. Between the hind legs the genitals can be seen.

The lion is slightly leaning forward, its tail alertly raised and jaws wide open. The outline of the mane is marked by incised lines, its lower border coinciding with the rounded shoulder line. Unfortunately, the details of the head are blurred by erosion. Some details of the front right paw can be distinguished, while the other paws are mostly worn off. Individual toes on the well-preserved paw are evident, and a tip-toe stance is possible to distinguish on the right front and back paws. The neck of the lion is massive, in contrast to its slender body, where the contour from

the breast over stomach and groin down to the tip of the right back 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, merely 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. The main body has a pointed end, a tip which almost reaches down to the lower border of the belt. The body is not only characteristically vertically divided by a central line, here rendered in low relief,⁷³ but also has a horizontal edge that, when meeting the borders of the body, continues down towards the pointed end, making the main body in itself tripartite. Its front feet are raised and drawn together above the head, almost touching it. There is no sign of the solar disc, often held – or rather pushed – by the creature in ancient

iconography. While the upper left wing stems from the scarab's body, the lower seems to be attached mainly to the former. Both wings are feathered. It is difficult to interpret the area between the lower wing and the lower part of the scarab's body. We can see two pointed devices touching the lower border of the belt, and since they differ from the rounded lower outline of the wing itself, they may represent back feet of the creature, alternatively constituting a vague mix of the creature's back foot and an elaboration of the lower wing.

Before evaluating possible parallels for this animal frieze, let us initially limit our concern to the general feature of belts carrying decoration on Cypriote figures. Several outfits of the Archaic Cypriote votive statuary require a belt, whether long garments resting on the feet, or short tunics, both types held together in the waist by the named belt.⁷⁴ Primarily, though, we find belts on kilt-wearing Egyptianizing figures,

as well as on statues of the so-called Herakles-Melqart type. Belts with decoration have, as far as we know, exclusively been found on these two last groups of figures.⁷⁵ Admittedly, we know of only two examples of Cypriote Herakles-Melqart figures wearing decorated belts (Fig. 9),⁷⁶ but figures in Egyptian dress are repeatedly furnished with this characteristic.⁷⁷ Most relevant when discussing the decorated belt of NM Sk 1550 are two Cypriote limestone fragments in the Metropolitan Museum in New York, both found at Golgoi (Figs. 10 and 11).⁷⁸ These two interesting pieces are the only additional examples known to us of statuary from the island which display figural decorations on belts. Both fragments deserve thorough analyses of their own, but here they are merely presented as parallel phenomena to NM Sk 1550. The pieces thus constitute parts of the belts of figures where tiny bits of the garments below the belts are visible, just as in the case of the Stockholm torso. Seemingly, both fragments once belonged to kilt-clad Egyptianizing sculptures, since remains of the lateral sashends are visible in both objects,⁷⁹ and since the edges of the two belts are raised.⁸⁰ One of the belt fragments contains a frieze of crouching winged sphinxes facing right, placed at regular intervals from each other (Fig. 10).⁸¹ Two of the sphinxes are well-preserved, the third is fragmentary. Both well-preserved creatures are bearded and wear conical head-dresses, their almond-shaped wings left undecorated. On the second and, especially, third – less well-preserved – creature, long tails are visible.⁸² The other belt fragment displays a figural scene



Fig. 9. Statuette of the Herakles Melqart type, with decorated belt. Museo Barracco, Rome, Inv. no. 63. H. ca. 30 cm. (Courtesy of the Museo Barracco, Rome.)



Fig. 10. Fragment from the belt of a kilt-clad figure, decorated by crouching winged sphinxes. From Golgoi, Cyprus. The Metropolitan Museum, New York, Inv. no. 74.51.2676. H. 18 cm. (Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Cesnola Collection: Purchased by subscription, 1874-76.)



Fig. 11. Fragment from the belt of a kilt-clad figure, decorated by man fighting lion. From Golgoi, Cyprus. The Metropolitan Museum, New York, Inv. no. 74.51.2594. H. 16 cm. (Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Cesnola Collection: Purchased by subscription, 1874-76.)

flanked by two seemingly identical floral ornaments, so-called paradise flowers, of which only one is completely preserved (Fig. 11).⁸³ This ornament seems to be a Phoenician development of the Egyptian papyrus flower,⁸⁴ and is found in abundance in Phoenician ivory-carvings from the first half of the 1st millennium B.C. It is well-known in Cypriote art as well, indeed also from the collars and crowns of Egyptianizing figures.⁸⁵ The scene which is seemingly the central feature of the belt depicts an encounter between a man and a roaring lion. With the left hand, the man grasps the creature's front leg, while the right pushes a dagger or sword into its breast.⁸⁶ To fit the composition, the outstretched left arm is unrealistically prolonged.⁸⁷ The bearded figure wears a headcover and something that seems tied around the neck and hanging down on the back, recalling the lion skin of Herakles.⁸⁸ The body of the opposing lion is schematically – although vividly – rendered, with lack of correspondence between the different parts of the body. Its legs, particularly the front ones, have awkward positions, the paws are merely rounded lumps. The tail is curved, but hangs low behind the animal. Surprisingly, individual teeth can be seen in the wide-open jaws, and the ferocious eye adds to the impression of aggressiveness. Indeed, the lion of the New York fragment bears no close stylistic resemblance to the lion on the belt of the Stockholm torso.⁸⁹

Tracing artistic influences

These are the Cypriote parallels for the general feature of belt carrying

figural decoration. As we shall see, though, the triad on the belt of NM Sk 1550 is unique. We do not know of any parallels for this constellation of creatures, neither in sculpture nor in any other material category from the island. When we widen our perspective to reach outside the island as well, the correspondence with animal friezes of Corinthian pottery is immediately obvious.⁹⁰ A Late Protocorinthian *olpe* in the British Museum, furnished with one single band of parading animals, provides a parallel in this respect (Fig. 12).⁹¹ Apart from stag, bulls, panther, and boar, a roaring lion, a horned goat, and a (winged) siren fill the frieze. The siren is not satisfactorily corresponding to the winged scarab; indeed, the scarab or winged scarab is completely unknown in Corinthian art.⁹² However, the typological parallels between the goat and lion in the BM *olpe*, and the counterparts on the Cypriote torso under study, are

obvious: the direction of movement and position of the legs of both set of creatures,⁹³ the marked shoulder lines, the general absence of body details, the Hittite-type lions,⁹⁴ with their tip-toe stance, individual toes, alertly raised tails, and wide open jaws, and the goats' long horns, beards, stubby tails, and genitals, are all strikingly similar. Naturally, the several divergences need to be stressed: the massive necks of both goat and lion on NM Sk 1550 are not repeated in the Protocorinthian animals, and the direction of the goats' horns, the groins of the lions, as well as the ear rendered on the BM lion but missing on the Cypriote counterpart, are all different.

Few examples of Corinthian ceramics have been found on Cyprus,⁹⁵ and apart from this fact, we would be at a loss regarding the inspiration for the stone sculptor behind the torso under study; a sculptor copying in stone from a

beautifully painted, imported wine jug seems a far-fetched idea.

Imported metal objects may have played a decisive rôle as inspiration for Corinthian Archaic pottery,⁹⁶ as for much of the other Greek material which has been categorized as Orientalizing; new vase-shapes, the black-figure technique with engraved details, alongside a predilection for continuous animal friezes are often held to exemplify this.⁹⁷ To judge by the delicate, low relief of the animals on the present belt, along with their sharp, precise contours, it does not seem impossible to imagine a metal belt being rendered in stone.⁹⁸ Indeed, such metal belts, decorated in the *repoussé* technique, are known to us through the archaeological material record.⁹⁹

In this context, it is highly interesting to note that the closest parallel for the winged scarab of the NM Sk 1550 animal frieze comes from a frieze on a metal vessel, the

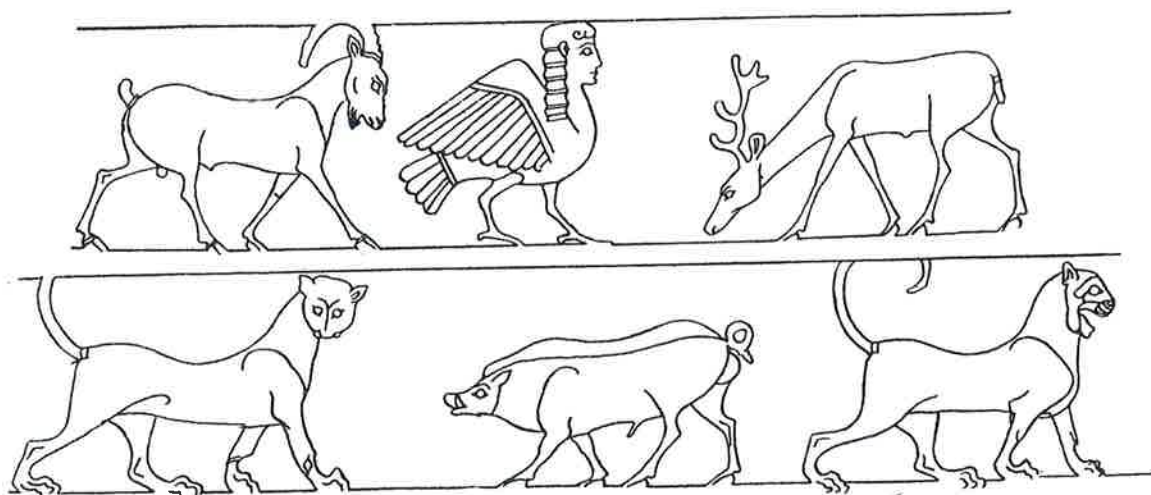


Fig. 12. Part of a frieze from a Protocorinthian *olpe*, ca. 630 B.C. Provenance unknown. The British Museum, inv. no. A 1009. (After Payne 1931, pl. 10.5-6.)



Fig. 13. Drawing of the so-called Amathus bowl, a silver bowl decorated in the repoussé technique. From the necropolis at Amathus, Cyprus, ca. 660–650 B.C. The British Museum, London, Inv. no. WA 123053. Diameter: 18.5 cm. (After Cesnola 1879, pl. 51.)

so-called Amathus bowl (Fig. 13). This 7th century Cypro-Phoenician silver bowl decorated in the *repoussé* technique was found in a grave in the necropolis at Amathus, on the southern coast of Cyprus.¹⁰⁰ The fragmentary bowl, 18.5 cm in diameter, displays three registers of decoration containing a variety of scenes, one of which contains crouching figures apparently paying homage to a four-winged scarab, all set onto low but wide pedestals.¹⁰¹ The scarab is strikingly similar to the creature on the NM Sk 1550 belt frieze, displaying the same characteristics rendered with the same (low) degree of stylization. The proportions of the beetles are nearly identical, as are the shape and placing of the feathered wings. The main bodies of the creatures differ slightly, in that the scarab engraved on the silver bowl has a “normal”, vertically divided body which lacks the odd horizontal partition present in the lower part of the main body of the limestone beetle. This, and the fact that the scarab on the silver bowl grasps two solar discs with the front and hind pair of feet respectively, does not alter the fact that the two creatures are typologically very close.

The scarab on the silver bowl from Amathus is one of very few renderings of the creature that have been found on Cyprus.¹⁰² With its four wings, it differs – together with the creature on NM Sk 1550 – from the two-winged scarab beetle encountered in Egyptian art.¹⁰³ In his analysis of the iconography of the “Amathus bowl”, A. Hermary suggests that while the two-winged scarab is of Egyptian origin, beetles with four wings indicate the spread

and transfiguration of the type.¹⁰⁴ 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.¹⁰⁵

The two fragmentary belts presented above (Figs. 10 and 11) provide the closest parallels for the phenomenon of figural decoration on belts of Egyptianizing figures from the island. The motifs known from the three belts are thus: an animal frieze, including a winged scarab; a man draped in a lion skin who – grabbing it by its front paw – stabs a lion with a sword, “paradise flower” ornaments on both sides of the scene; and crouching winged sphinxes. It seems more than a coincidence that all these motifs are repeatedly found in the registers decorating Cypro-Phoenician metal bowls.¹⁰⁶ Not only is there an obvious thematic correspondence of motifs, the typological similarities between certain incised metal figures and the sculpted stone counterparts are also clear. We saw above the parallels between the two winged scarabs, and similarly, the lion on the belt of NM 1550 indeed resembles the incised lion on a silver bowl found at Idalion.¹⁰⁷

The core of the Cypro-Phoenician metal bowls has been dated more than half a century earlier than any of the Cypriote figures in Egyptian dress known to us.¹⁰⁸ The fact that there seems to be a correspondence between the iconography favoured by 7th century B.C. metal artisans, and that applied by 6th century B.C. stone sculptors to the belts of large-sized figures, is challenging.¹⁰⁹ For the time being, we can present no satisfying explanation for this.

To get any further, we need to take a step back and recollect. We have a situation, where a limited part of the Cypriote patrons are ordering votive figures in Egyptian New Kingdom dress, adorning them with well-known ornaments from an Egyptianizing repertoire that since long had been an expression of an upper class taste or fashion in and around Cyprus.¹¹⁰ To simply ascribe the large-scale Egyptianizing votive figures made out of limestone to a similar expression of fashion proves difficult. First, figures of all sizes have been found at several different sanctuary sites from around the island. Details of their dress and ornaments are remarkably homogeneous,¹¹¹ and they seem to have been manufactured during a limited time-span. There seems to be a stronger driving force behind these similarities than mere aesthetics. Second, the New Kingdom dress of the Cypriote figures rather suggests an indirect Phoenician influence than a direct Egyptian, an hypothesis based on the assumption that the elaborate New Kingdom dress would have continued to signal what was “typically Egyptian” in an artistic tradition placed outside Egypt itself, all the way down through the Archaic period. An indirect influence is further indicated by the frequent misunderstandings of the details of the Egyptian dress – mainly the kilt – found in several of the Cypriote figures.¹¹² The ornaments of these figures rather reflect a Levantine than an Egyptian source of inspiration,¹¹³ not least evidenced by the decoration found on the belts of Egyptianizing figures, presented here. Further, Cypriote-style figures in Egyptian dress have been found in

large quantities in at least two sanctuaries on the Phoenician mainland.¹¹⁴ These sculptures may have been imported from Cyprus or manufactured locally by Cypriote sculptors.¹¹⁵

All the above rather suggest to us that the Cypriote Egyptianizing figures represent a religious structure, that indeed seems to have been common to certain sanctuaries in Cyprus, and others along the Phoenician coast. We need a common background to explain these faithfully rendered but frequently misunderstood details of dress and jewellery repeated over time and across space. To explore the contents of such a structure, if at all possible, would require a thorough and systematic analysis of all the available evidence, both archaeological and iconographical.

Conclusion

We have seen how the torso under study belongs to a group of Cypriote votive sculpture which has been termed the Egyptianizing group.¹¹⁶ The figures are set apart from other Archaic sculpture produced on the island by their shared characteristics of Egyptian dress and jewellery, and make out a comparatively small group among the rich Cypriote votive sculptural tradition. The figures were produced mainly during the 6th century B.C.

The broad collar worn by the torso in Stockholm shares the vegetal ornaments with basically all other Cypriote figures furnished with the same dress element. The mandrake or perseae-fruits, the stylized leaves, and the outer row of petals are faithfully echoing the standard set of decoration

on Egyptian New Kingdom floral collars. It has previously been shown, that the type of kilt worn by the Cypriote figures – and by NM Sk 1550, if we are to judge by the traces of the sashends – is a kind of dress in vogue in Egypt during the same early period.¹¹⁷ The low placing of the belt, so characteristic of Egyptian statuary, can be found in several examples of Cypriote figures clad in this kind of dress.¹¹⁸

The winged scarab on the belt of our torso is indeed an Egyptian ornament, but its four wings most probably testify to a transfiguration of the motif taking place outside Egypt. The closest parallel comes from a metal bowl of Cypro-Phoenician manufacture found at Amathus, and this fact taken together with the appearance of the figural relief lead us to propose a metal belt serving as model for the sculptor behind the frieze. Correspondingly, depictions of crouching winged sphinxes, men fighting lions, and the paradise flower ornament have been found on both the belts of Egyptianizing figures and on Cypro-Phoenician metal bowls, respectively. It is suggested that the figurally decorated belts of the Egyptianizing figures – including that of NM Sk 1550 – are (Cypriote) versions in stone of an iconography we know mainly from (Phoenician) metal artefacts. The constellation of creatures in NM Sk 1550 is unique, however, and we cannot present any close parallels for the triad goat, lion, and scarab neither from the island nor outside it. The two objects that have been discussed in connection with the frieze – a Protocorinthian *olpe* and an engraved silver bowl – can both be dated to around or slightly later than

650 B.C. The soft modelling of the fragmentary male body would, on the other hand, be difficult to conceive before the middle of the 6th century B.C.

The torso in Stockholm was thus made from Cypriote limestone during the second half of the 6th century B.C. Its dress recalls the New Kingdom outfit, found in Egypt almost a millennium earlier. We are faced with a task of explaining not only why the New Kingdom iconography remained in vogue in the art of the Phoenician or south Levantine area down to the 9th and 8th centuries B.C., but also how this style came to be transmitted to Cyprus during the 6th century B.C. Tentatively, we have argued that the homogenous group of figures in Egyptian dress is too wide spread – on the island in general and in its sanctuaries in particular – to be explained simply by taste or fashion. We have emphasized the possibility of a religious context, elusive to us, lying behind a continuity (or reawakening) of this kind, and explaining the faithfully rendered but frequently misunderstood details of dress and jewellery. The interesting question how the ideas behind the Egyptianizing style changed or evolved through time, and from area to area, is indeed a difficult one, but we do believe that much new knowledge can be gained through a thorough analysis of these Cypriote figures – with the Phoenician material taken into consideration.

NOTES

1. The approximate original height of the figure would have been around 200–220 cm.
2. Flakes have come off on several parts of the torso, revealing the porous material underneath the worked surface of the stone.
3. The upper hole on the side of the body (2.5 cm at the deepest), which is placed at the level of the breast, has counterparts on the inner side of the arm. Of these two holes, one is shallow, while the other – placed in the crook of the fragmentary arm – is 3 cm deep. On the sculpture's right hip, just where the belt ends up, two holes are placed obliquely one above the other. Diameter of the lower hole: 2 cm. The upper one measures 1.5 cm in diameter, 1 cm in depth. The lower one is placed centrally on the highest point of the hip. It is bigger and deeper than its counterpart and has caused more damage: cracks radiate from it. In it are traces of an iron peg.
4. Diameter: 4 cm. No depths can be given for the holes containing traces of iron.
5. In fact, there is a rough triangular area on the hip, just underneath the belt, which is probably the point of attachment.
6. The male Egyptian dress referred to here is described and explained in footnote 11. Similar traces of the sashends – or indeed sashends and the thin body of a vertically hanging cobra – can be seen on a life-size figure from Golgoi (formerly part of the Cesnola collection at the Metropolitan Museum in New York), where large part of the sculpted surface of the kilt is worn off, (Cesnola 1885, pl. V:7). We know of no examples from Cyprus where a votive sculpture wears the Egyptian broad collar but not the kilt. Several examples of the contrary are at hand; note however that collars may have been rendered in ephemeral paint on these figures.

7. There are no traces of nipple or navel. However, we find no short sleeve on the arm that would indicate a tight-fitting tunic.

8. This is the commonly used French version of the transcription of the Egyptian word for "broad", *wsh*.

9. This group of figures is referred to as "Egyptianizing" in literature on Cypriote votive sculpture, a term that needs to be discussed and defined before being used. See the thought-provoking article by C. Lilyquist (1998), and also Lewy (1975, 40 and 106, note 167). For an in-depth study of the Cypriote sculptures in Egyptian dress: Fagersten 2003.

10. Although limestone is, by far, the material most commonly used, figures in bronze (several statuettes), terracotta (two statuettes and one colossal figure), and serpentinite (one miniature statuette) have been found. See respectively *Bronze*: Dikaios 1961, pl. XXV, 4; Reyes 1994, pl.

11 a-c; *Terracotta*: Pottier 1894, pl. XVII:1 and 4); The Louvre, Inv. nos AM 336 and 337; Karageorghis 1993, pl. XIX:5 (also figs. 18-19); *Serpentinite*: Markoe 1988, pl. V:1-3. A certain amount of Egyptianizing faïence figurines and amulets have been found, see for example Clerc, Karageorghis et al. 1976, 139, pl. XII-XIII (Kit. 439).

11. In ancient Egyptian iconography, we find several types of kilts. The royal *shenti* consists of a piece of kilt-cloth, often pleated, which overlaps in the front. Underneath the overlapping cloth hangs a centrally placed, partially visible, apron. From the Middle Kingdom onwards – and particularly during the New Kingdom – the kilt-cloth supplemented by a much-decorated centrally placed device, a so-called *devanteau*, is very common. The *devanteau*, as is obvious from its French name, hangs in front or on top of the kilt-cloth, as opposed to the apron. These two devices – the Egyptian plain apron, partially covered by the kilt-cloth, and the frontally placed *devanteau* decorated by hanging cobras – are confused in Cypriote

iconography, see below note 55. Accompanying the New Kingdom kilt with *devanteau* are virtually always elaborate textile sashes whose ends hang down on either side of the device, covering part of the kilt. The standard number of ends is three on each side. See Vogelsang-Eastwood 1999, 58-62, and fig. 6:9, p. 103 for a beautiful reconstruction drawing.

12. E. Gubel discusses the divine and hence royal attitude of arm bent across the chest (Gubel 1991, 135). See below, note 33.

13. We know of a statuette holding a small, round object in one hand, while an oblong item – maybe a piece of cloth or animal skin (?) – hangs over the other arm (the Cyprus Museum, Nicosia, Inv. no. B. 61). Yet another statuette of unknown provenance presses a small lion under the left arm (de Ridder 1908, pl. IV:10). H.-G. Buchholz identifies an Egyptian *ankh*-sign in the right hand of a limestone statuette from Tamassos wearing kilt and *usekh*, (Buchholz 1993, 199 #18, tav. LIV:1). Finally, a tiny soldier dressed in a decorated kilt rests his right hand on the grip of his sword, rendered as if attached to a band that hangs from his right shoulder diagonally over the chest (Cesnola 1885, pl. XLII:265, but for a clearer picture see Myres 1914, 157, no. 1049). Related is Cesnola 1885, pl. XLII:279. Interestingly, the Egyptianizing figures found at Phoenician sanctuary sites almost invariably carry an animal under one arm.

14. Hermary 1989, 50, no. 64. the Cyprus Museum, Nicosia, Inv. no. 1962/V-16/3.

15. There are no known examples of Cypriote figures in Egyptian dress with the back-pillar support so characteristic of Egyptian statuary.

16. The remarkable "royal tombs" at Salamis, dating to the late 8th/early 7th centuries B.C., give ample witness to this taste (Karageorghis 1974). The Cypro-Phoenician metal bowls, engraved with Egyptianizing motifs, belong to the late

8th but mainly 7th century, (Markoe 1985, 149-156). It is, however, during the 6th century B.C. that the phenomenon is the most wide spread, and expressed in a wide variety of media.

17. The Hathor capitals of limestone are characteristic, but have not as yet been exhaustively treated. They have been dealt with, though, in various articles, see for the most thorough analysis Hermary 1985. We find Hathoric heads in several other media as well, for example embossed in metal and painted on ceramics (Pierides 1971, pl. XIII:2; Shefton 1989, figs. 8a-b). The same is true for the Bes-figures that we find in three dimensions (a limestone figure of colossal size wearing a decorated Egyptian-type kilt), in stone relief, as well as in the form of a plastic lamp holder, see respectively Hermary 1995, pl. III:1-2; V. Tatton-Brown, in: Hermary 1981, 74-83, no. 80, pl. 15; Masson 1971, fig. 13. Both Hathor and Bes heads are found on the aprons/*devanteaux* of Egyptian-type kilts, (Cesnola 1885, pl. XXII:50 and pl. LIV:347). There is further a group of falcon-headed figures which recall the Egyptian god Horus, of which one, a statuette found at Amathus, wears an Egyptian-type kilt with decorations (Cesnola 1885, pl. XXIV:58). A. Hermary treats these figures as priests wearing masks, (Hermary 1989, 290). There are further the so-called Baal Hammon figures, seated on miniature thrones, sometimes flanked by sphinxes, (Hermary 1989, 484, #999. For a general survey see Sophocleous 1985, 162-182 ("Les divinités égyptiennes").

18. For sphinxes wearing plain head-dresses or kerchiefs, see, for example, Karageorghis 1976, 870, fig. 61 and Karageorghis 1987, 666, fig. 6. See further the recumbent limestone sphinxes and lions which were discovered in Tamassos in January 1997 (Karageorghis 1998, pl. XXX:2 reproduces one set of creatures).

19. These ornaments, indeed originally to be found in Egyptian iconography, are among the most wide-spread during the Iron Age. (Parayre 1990, 269-270).

20. Gjerstad 1948, fig. XLIX, 12, 9 b and L:11, 3 b.
21. Sophocleous 1985, pl. XLV:2 (the British Museum, Inv. no. A 149).
22. Masson 1982, fig. 4.
23. Gjerstad 1948, fig. 24:2, 3 and 8.
24. Myres 1914, 134–135, and Pryce 1931, 7 and 11. See also Gjerstad 1948, 357.
25. Hdt. 2.182 and Diod. Sic. 1.68.6. Diodorus writes: “He (Amasis) also reduced the cities of Cyprus and adorned many temples with noteworthy votive offerings”. A sculpture in New York which is wearing the Egyptian double crown (Inv. no. 74.51.2472, see fig. 7) was considered by Myres to represent Amasis himself; Pryce followed in this (Myres 1914, 135 and 226; Pryce 1931, 16).
26. South 1987, 78. See the remark by Reyes (1994, 4): “Inherent also in Gjerstad’s understanding of the Cypriote Archaic period was a belief in an essential enmity between Cyprus and the different foreign powers with which the island was in contact. Indeed, his vocabulary seems suspiciously derived from the experience of two World Wars”. Of course, much remains to be said on the historical background of the period. This is evident not least in Haider (1987). See also Edel (1978), commented upon by Leahy (1988).
27. It must not be overlooked, however, that a parallel acknowledgement of a possible intermediary role played by the Phoenician cities has been there all along; (Cesnola 1885, text in connection to pl. VII:9; and Gjerstad 1948, 356–357).
28. Lewe 1975, 57–61, 75–78.
29. Dunand 1944–1948, pls. XV:4, XVI:6–9, XVII:10–13 and Dunand & Saliby 1985, pls. XLIII:1 and XLIV, sculptures from the sanctuary or Ma’abed at Amrit, just outside Tartus on the Syrian coast; Stucky 1993, Taf. 6:112–113, 7:115–116, sculptures from the Eshmun sanctuary outside Sidon, modern Saïda in Lebanon; and Doumet Serhal et al. 1998, 67, no. 26, another figure found at Sidon. There are examples of figures in Egyptianizing dress from the area which do not display the same recognizable Cypriote style. See two figures found at Kharayeb, south-east of Sidon (Kaoukabani 1973, pl. XVI:1–2, and a limestone statuette found at Tyre (Doumet Serhal et al. 1998, 65, no. 24).
30. Eric Gubel, personal communication, 1998. There is, however, local limestone as well. The need for petrographic analyses to distinguish local from imported stone has been put forward by Jourdain-Annequin (1993, 72). For such a study, carried out on the highly interesting Amrit sculptural material, see Lembke 2004.
31. Maier 1989, 385–386.
32. Markoe 1990.
33. Markoe 1990, 113–116. The pleated kilt with a centrally placed *devanteau* decorated by hanging cobras is a characteristic of both Middle and New Kingdom statuary. However, the addition of three pendant sashends on each side of the *devanteau*, of a small feline head placed on the *devanteau* just underneath the belt, as well as an ornate broad collar covering the shoulders are all reflecting the increased elaborateness of dress found from Amenhotep III onwards (18th Dynasty) (Vander 1958). Even the position of the arms of the Cypriote figures is held by Markoe (p. 115) to be a pose introduced during the New Kingdom period, ca. 1500–1150 B.C.; see Vandier 1958, 322–323. A. Hermary notes that this is not a canonical stance in Late Period (contemporary) Egyptian sculpture, see Hermary 1981, 16 notes 8–11.
34. Markoe 1990, 118–119. The argument put forward in 1990 was partly preceded in Markoe 1987, 125.
35. Besides the fact that the Greek facial features of the figures would contradict an ethnical manifesto being made, Wriedt Sørensen found difficulties in Markoe’s evaluation of the political reality during the late 6th century B.C. on Cyprus (Wriedt Sørensen 1994, 81–82).
36. Cesnola 1885, pl. XXIV:58: the Metropolitan Museum, New York, Inv. no. 74.51.2516. This figure, recalling the Egyptian god Horus, is identified by Wriedt Sørensen – as well as by A. Hermary – as a priest wearing an animal’s mask (Hermary 1981, 17–18). Hermary interprets the limited group of similar figures the same way, see note 17.
37. Wriedt Sørensen 1994, 82.
38. The groups are essentially based on the classification presented by A. Hermary in his 1989 Louvre publication, (Hermary 1989). The term *shenti* is avoided in this paper, but see note 11 for a short explanation of the garment as such.
39. The need for a similar – although large-scale – analysis of the Cypriote votive sculpture has been put forward by, among others, Reyes (1994, 36).
40. Pryce 1931, 16. See, in addition, notes 24–25.
41. Vermeule 1974. Vermeule’s dating is restricted, as well; at least too restricted for the wide-ranging types and forms of the figures clad in Egyptian dress.
42. Gaber-Saletan 1986, 57–62; Markoe 1990, 112. Whereas P. Gaber-Saletan (p. 62) stresses that: “...figures in Egyptian dress occur in virtually all periods of Cypriote sculpture production”, G. Markoe (pp. 118–119) argues that the Egyptianizing group belongs within the restricted time span 525–475 B.C.
43. Hermary 1981, 16–17; Hermary 1989, 50, no. 64; Senff 1993, 51–52, Taf. 34:a–c, 34:d–f, and 36:a–c.
44. Senff 1993, 53.
45. Maier & Wartburg 1985, 156–157, with full bibliography – to date. For the “Priest King”, see pl. VI:3.

46. It is interesting to note that a local production of large-size stone sculpture with Egyptian dress continues on the Phoenician mainland, at least if we are to trust the Hellenistic date of the material found at Umm el-'Amed, outside Tyre; (Dunand & Duru 1962, pls. XXX:1 and LXXXIII:2-3).

47. Note that an emphasis can be seen towards the southern and eastern parts of the island. However, since sites like Kazaphani in the northernmost part of Cyprus has rendered elaborately decorated Egyptianizing pieces, it seems fair to restrict the perspective too much.

48. We currently know of about 110 examples – figures and fragments – from the island. Of course, this number is dependant on how the group is being defined.

49. The kilts of the figures present good examples of correspondences in detail, for example the presence, number, and shape of the sashends, and the presence of vertically hanging cobras. Further, as will be evidenced below, of the seventeen elaborate Cypro-Egyptian floral collars known to us, as many as ten share the same three distinct features which are found on the Stockholm torso; mandrake or persea fruits, triangles, and hanging drops.

50. Cesnola 1885, pls. IV:6 and XLIII:280: the Metropolitan Museum, New York, Inv. nos. 74.51.2470 and 74.51.2472.

51. As mentioned above, we avoid using the term *shenti*, since – strictly speaking – this royal Egyptian garment is not found on any of the known Cypriote figures, but only variants or partly misunderstood hybrids thereof. See notes 11 and 55.

52. This is the most common appearance of the Cypriote Egyptianizing kilt.

53. See note 11. There is further an extra pair of coiling snakes decorating the apron.

54. Elaborate textile sashes with multiple

ends were tied around the waists of Egyptian kilt bearers. On top of the textile belt or sash was often placed a metal counterpart. Since the ends of these sashes are not rendered together with *devanteaux* in Middle Kingdom art, while practically always accompanying the device in the New Kingdom period, we shall have to view them as part of the general enrichment or elaboration of dress taking place during this influential period of Egyptian history – and art history. See note 33.

55. A kilt-cloth overlapping in the front, partly covering an apron with concave sides, are indeed characteristics of the Egyptian royal kilt called a *shenti*, see above note 11. However, since the apron of fig. 7 is decorated by hanging cobras – and even with four “sashends” – we are instead witnessing another Cypriote mix of different Egyptian dress elements, in this case combining the elements of a *shenti* with an apron that has the characteristic decoration of a *devanteau* – topped by a misunderstanding of the sashends, both as regards function and placing!

56. The preserved height of the two figures from Golgoi are 135 and 130 cm respectively; originally they may have reached about 185 and 175 cm.

57. The shoulders are most notably pronounced in NM Sk 1550 and Inv. no. 74.51.2470, that is our Figs. 1 and 6.

58. We saw above (note 7) how the upper part of the body of NM Sk 1550 most probably is naked, and the same seems to be true for the two Golgoi figures.

59. A similar identification has already been proposed by C. Doumet Serhal regarding identical ornaments on an Egyptianizing sculpture found at Sidon, mentioned above, presumably of Cypriote manufacture. (Doumet Serhal 1998, 28). See note 29.

60. The mandrake plant (*Mandragora officinalis* L.) and the persea tree (*Mimusops schimperi* Hochst.) both carry a fruit which is oval, yellowish, and about 3 cm

in length. While the mandrake is mildly narcotic and was celebrated as an aphrodisiac in ancient times, the persea fruit is edible with a sweet taste. These fruits are standardized when depicted in Egyptian art, to a point which makes it quite impossible to separate them. While no actual mandrake fruit or plant has ever been found in an Egyptian tomb, the persea fruit has been found repeatedly, and leaves from its tree were one of the main elements used for making garlands and bouquets for the dead. See Germer 1985, 148–149 and 169–171; Germer 1989, 9–12, and Schoske et al. 1992, 59–62. For more on the ancient Egyptian ideas connected with these fruits, see Derchain 1975, 72, 84–86.

61. Apart from the two New York-figures, and the sculpture from Sidon mentioned above (notes 29 and 59), we know of eight Cypriote figures with elaborate collars displaying similar fruits. Note that the mandrake or persea ornament is found decorating the broad collars of sphinxes, as well. See, for a Cypriote example, a fragment of the body (and wing) of a sphinx from Amathus, (Cesnola 1885, pl. XXVII:82, but for a better picture: Comstock & Vermeule 1976, 268, no. 426). For a Phoenician one, see the collars of two sphinxes flanking a stone throne found in the Hellenistic sanctuary at Umm el-'Amed, on the Phoenician coast (Dunand & Duru 1962, pl. LXVII:1–3). See above, note 46.

62. Cesnola 1885, pl. XLIII:280: the above-mentioned New York figure Inv. no. 74.51.2472, fig. 7. (Brönnert 1994, pl. XV:b–c, provides a better picture); Comstock & Vermeule 1976, 268, no. 426).

63. Wilson 1986, nos. 46–47, provides instructive drawings of the arrangement of the leaves. See also Germer 1988, 4, for a garland made of persea- and lotus leaves. For depictions in art, see, for example, the famous bust of queen Nefertiti from Tell el-Amarna (Leclant 1979, 173, fig. 159), and a statuette of Pharaoh Amenhotep III, (p. 161, fig. 149). The vegetal qualities are even more

evident on a small glazed bowl, also from the 18th Dynasty, that has a painted floral decoration, 246, fig. 249. Markoe uses the Amenhotep III statuette to make similar comparisons, (Markoe 1990, 120, note 20).

64. On an Egyptian counterpart, a string of pearls could have been indicated in this way. In the few cases we know, the floral collars consisting of real flowers and leaves had pearls and beads for decoration and stabilization, see below note 67.

65. The phenomenon is well known; examples abound in both wall-painting and sculpture, see *i.a.* Leclant 1979, 62, fig. 52, a wall-painting from the Tomb of Nefertari, and p. 173, fig. 159, the bust of queen Nefertiti again. See also note 33.

66. Beside mandrake or persea fruits, we find cornflowers, dates, olive leaves, lotus petals, poppy petals, and willow leaves among the favoured, (Aldred 1971, 231). Wilson (1986, nos. 48–50) once again provides instructive drawings, in this case of some mould-made shapes.

67. The tomb of Pharaoh Tutankhamun provided finds of both categories; apart from eight bead-collars of the imitative floral type found in wooden boxes in the antechamber of the tomb, the young king's mummy was equipped with twelve additional collars, kept in place by various layers of bandaging. On top of the third and innermost coffin was the most spectacular one: an intact floral collar with the actual flowers beautifully preserved, interspersed by strings of blue glass beads. In the sixth row, we find eleven mandrake or persea fruits, sliced in half lengthwise and their chalices cut away; they were then sewn onto the collar. (Carter 1927, pl. XXXVI). Germer (1989, 11–12) reports how the initial identification made by Carter ("mandrake") was corrected by Boodle ("persea"). Since then, the fruits of this unique collar have unfortunately decomposed, rendering any further botanical analyses impossible.

68. Aldred 1971, 145, pls. 19–20 (Old Kingdom), pls. 7–8 (Middle Kingdom), and pl. 146, a rare example of a Late Period miniature collar of inlaid gold.

69. There is some continuation in Egyptian relief art, although sparse; divine beings and kings are rendered in certain ceremonial reliefs and wall-paintings dressed in outfits belonging to the New Kingdom period, including elaborate broad collars. See, for example, Bothmer 1960, pl. 33, fig. 77. The same is true for certain bronze statuettes.

70. See below for a discussion on the four-winged scarab as opposed to the Egyptian two-winged counterpart.

71. At the same time, it gives the lion an erroneous way of moving – compared to its relatives of flesh and blood – making it amble. Maybe it can be put down to just that, that is, a will to enliven the composition, when sometimes only certain animals in a group are depicted as being amble. See Fig. 12 in this article for a Greek example, and Barnett 1961, pls. 35 and 102, for one of several Assyrian.

72. The scarab – seen characteristically from above – is centrally placed on the belt. If the intervals between the creatures were respected on the part of the belt now missing, we could await two more creatures on the belt. We can either picture parading animals continuing their path on the other side of the winged beetle, or maybe two animals facing the centre of the belt. These could either be mirroring the preserved lion and goat, giving us goat-lion-scarab-lion-goat, or could of course be a set of totally different creatures, depending on the source of inspiration and/or the imagination of the Cypriote sculptor.

73. The two sections of the main body are the beetle's *elytrae*, or protective shields; thus a raised vertical line hardly corresponds to the appearance of that of an actual dung beetle (*Scarabaeus sacer* L.). The triangular area to which the front feet are attached is termed *pronotum*, see Ward 1994, 194.

74. The Cyprus Museum, Nicosia, Inv. no. B.21, wears a long garment and a belt, under which concentric grooves are created. See Gjerstad, et al. 1935, pl. CCXII:4–5, nos. 1010 and 1030 for a terracotta figure wearing a similar dress. For short garments, see Gjerstad, et al. 1935, pls. CCI–CCIII and Karageorghis, et al. 1977, pl. XXXI:2, Ajia Irini nos. 1054, 1325, and 1049.

75. Figures wearing what has been termed "Cypriote belts" are not included here, since the shape of these belts differs so much from the "ordinary" belts carried by Cypriote figures. The girdle-like devices are sometimes adorned by rosettes, though, see, for example, Ergülec 1972, pl. XXIII (C 20) and Wilson 1974, 140.

76. We further know of a Herakles statuette from Idalion (the British Museum, Inv. no. 1872.8-16.44/1917.7-1.109, C 210) which has five incised circles on its belt. The statuette depicted in Fig. 9 is today in the Museo Barracco, Rome, Inv. no. 63, see Borda 1948, fig. 18. It has a belt with relief decoration: circles alternating with sets of parallel horizontal lines. Note that this belt has the same decoration as that of a Herakles-Melqart figure found in the *favissa* of the Ma'abed (temple) of Amrit, on the Phoenician coast, (the Tartus Museum, Inv. no. 809) – Dunand & Saliby 1985, pl. XL). Whether or not the Herakles-Melqart figure found in Amrit is of Cypriote manufacture has yet to be established, but see above note 30. The same goes for the colossal Egyptianizing figure from the same site, which is similarly wearing a belt decorated by circles (Dunand 1944–1948, pl. XVI:9 (the Tartus Museum, Inv. no. 1328).

77. Decorated belts are found on the following Cypriote Egyptianizing figures: Cesnola 1885, pls. V:7 (rosettes), VII:9 (a winged human (?) face), XXVII:80 and 90 (figural decorations, see below – and figs. 10 and 11), and XLII:279 (unidentified). For geometrical decorations on belts, see, for instance Cesnola 1885, pls. IX:11, XXX:201, XLIII:280 (Fig. 7 in this article).

In this case, we do not include figures whose belts have what looks like belt buckles, plastically rendered on the central part of the belt, see, for example, Karageorghis 1978, pl. XXIII:53; Buchholz 1993, Taf. LIV:1, and a well-preserved statuette in the British Museum, Inv. no. 1910.6-20.12, C19. Two Cypriote Egyptianizing limestone statuettes have painted geometrical belt decoration (the Pierides Collection, Larnaka, Inv. no. 863 and the British Museum, Inv. no. 1873.3-20.206, C 21, and there are bronze figurines with incised versions (the British Museum, Inv. nos 1872.8-16.89 and 1873.3-20.346).

78. Inv. nos 74.51.2676 and 74.51.2594, see above, (Cesnola 1885, pl. XXVII:90 and 80). I thank J.R. Mertens of the Metropolitan Museum who provided me with excellent photographs of the two fragments.

79. Both fragments display well-preserved traces of sashends (cobras and sash-ends?), much like NM Sk 1550 (see note 6). Note that already Cesnola ascribed Inv. no. 74.51.2676 as coming from a kilt-clad figure, while making no such statement regarding the second fragment; see text in connection to pl. XXVII:80. There is indeed an irregularity, in that the recessed area visible in this fragment, probably corresponding to the apron/*devanteau* of the figure, is seemingly not focused in the centre of the belt – if we are to judge by the floral motifs surrounding the main scene with man fighting lion.

80. On Cyprus, these raised outer edges are indeed characteristic of belts found only on Egyptianizing and Herakles-Melqart figures. For one possible explanation for the edges, see an article by J. Boardman where a Ionian metal belt with perforated borders is presented. It is proposed that a textile backing was sewn onto the belt, its ends rolled over the borders of the belt, creating two (comfortable) raised belt edges (Boardman 1961/62, 179–180).

81. The decoration of the centrally placed

apron evidenced by the fragment – a chevron pattern – is not equalled in the Cypriote Egyptianizing sculptural material known to us. This ribbed chevron design is found repeatedly, though, in Phoenician ivories carved two centuries earlier, alongside other Egyptianizing motifs; it there seems to represent standardized papyrus leaves. See, *i.a.*, Barnett 1957, pl. IX:D9; Herrmann 1986, pls. 202:781, 306:1165 and 325:1254.

82. The third fragmentary creature is much defaced, but there is clearly a plain wing rising from its back. Cf. Myres 1914, 235–236, no. 1370.

83. Inv. no. 74.51.2594.

84. Shefton 1989, 97–98. Shefton argues that the conventionally used term “papyrus flower” is incorrect, and introduces the name “paradise flower” for the ornament, which is suggested to be an amalgamation of a lily flower and a papyrus sedge. Cesnola erroneously identified the preserved papyrus/paradise flower ornament as a tree, and the fragmentary counterpart as a bow and arrow belonging to the hero fighting a lion, see the text in connection to pl. XXVII:90. Myres similarly saw a bow and arrow belonging to an attacker coming from behind the lion (Myres 1914, 236, no. 1371).

85. For general examples, see Shefton 1989, figs. 6–10. See Cesnola 1885, pl. V:7 (collar) and pl. XLII:279 (squat crown or helmet). For the last piece, a much better picture is provided in Karageorghis et al. 2000, 112, no. 176. A well-preserved limestone head from Idalion, now in the British Museum, has part of a broad collar preserved, its two preserved bands of decoration occupied by lilies and buds, and so-called paradise flowers (the British Museum, Inv. no. 1873.3-20.4 (1917:7–1.174), C 15). The Egyptianizing statue found in Sidon, referred to above, not only has “paradise flower” ornaments alternating with lilies in one of the four bands of its well-preserved collar, but uniquely displays a similar frieze in relief placed

horizontally just above the belt, where the short-sleeved garment covering the upper part of the body meets the belt (Doumet Serhal 1998, 30, fig. 3).

86. For a short treatment of this traditional Oriental motif on Cyprus, see Markoe 1988. See also Ciafaloni 1992, 47–65, and Cecchini 1996.

87. For a related scene, where the position of the arms have been rendered in a similar – although slightly different – way, see the relief decoration on the kilt of a Geryon figure, also found at Golgoi (the Metropolitan Museum, New York, Inv. no. 74.51.2591; Karageorghis et al. 2000, 128–129, no. 193).

88. Cesnola identified the scene as depicting Herakles fighting the Nemean lion, see – again – the text in connection to pl. XXVII:90. See also Myres 1914, 236, no. 1371.

89. There is, however, a parallel to a creature found on one of the shields of the Geryon figure, mentioned above. The awkward position of the legs of the lion on the New York belt is mirrored in the depiction of a centaur (?) on the Geryon shield (Karageorghis et al. 2000, 129, “193-Detail”). There are, indeed, general stylistic affinities between the two belt scenes and the decoration of the Geryon figure – all three found at Golgoi (Ayios Photios).

90. I am very grateful to C. Neef of the University of Amsterdam, who generously helped in analyzing the animal frieze from the point of view of Corinthian vase-painting. Dr. Neef would place the lion on NM Sk 1550 within the Late Proto-corinthian tradition, ca. 640–630 B.C.

91. Payne 1931, 272, pl. 10:5–6 (the British Museum, Inv. no. A 1009). The *olpe* lacks a reported provenance. Payne noted the uniqueness of the frieze which contains nine animals of eight different types.

92. C. Neef, personal communication, 1998.

93. The he-goat of the *olpe* also seems to be moving at a good pace, if we are to judge by the position of its legs. Note, however, that the BM goat has its left front and right hind hoof meeting, indeed indicating that it is amble – as is the lion in the same frieze. In that respect, the goat's walk is not identical to its Cypriote counterpart, which is rendered as if moving in a correct manner. We saw above that the lion of NM Sk 1550 has an erroneous way of walking, as well (note 71).

94. Unlike its Assyrian counterpart, the Hittite-type lion is characterized by its square head, the short distance of the curve between the point where the mane emanates and the tip of the muzzle, and the long straight distance from tip of muzzle to chin, (Payne 1931, 67–68).

95. Gjerstad et al. 1977.

96. Materials like textile and wood should not be overlooked.

97. See, for example, Gjerstad et al. 1977, 34; Amyx 1988, 364; Boardman 1991, 11–12, fig. 15.

98. A similar delicate, low relief is found in a Persian limestone carving, connected to the manufacture of metal relief plaques, see Frankfort 1950, pl. III. If we choose to continue this thought, we can picture a metal belt with decoration rendered in the *repoussé* technique, alternatively a leather belt with attached, thin metal figures.

99. See Browne 1981, figs. 8.1 and 8.2, for a fragmentary bronze belt from Kourion on Cyprus, bearing indeed a figural decoration rendered in the *repoussé* technique (lions attacking a winged (?) griffin). Stylistically, the lions of the Kourion belt are far from the creature depicted on the belt of NM Sk 1550, however. Further, several decorated Achaemenid metal belts have been found, see for example, Moorey 1967, pls. 1:a–d, and Dussaud 1949, figs. 10 and 12, as well as Boardman 1961/62 (Ionian belts). Note that a *repoussé* gold belt from Aliseda displays bands of decoration along its outer edges – where one of the motives

repeated is that of a man fighting a lion. See Moscati 1968, fig. 95.

100. See, for an excellent analysis, Hermary 1986. Hermary dates the bowl to ca. 660–650 B.C. (p. 193). Markoe places it earlier, between 710–675 B.C. (Markoe 1985, 155–156).

101. For this motif on metal bowls in general, see Welten 1970, 286 (note 42). We encounter the venerated four-winged scarab in Phoenician glyptic art as well. It must be put down to chance, however, when we find it – indeed – in connection to a register containing goat and lion? See Gubel 1993, 116–118, figs. 34–36 (limestone scaraboids of the 8th century B.C.).

102. Apart from highly stylized two-winged scarabs depicted on the rear sides of small-scale (imported?) scarab seals found in Kition, the “royal tombs” at Salamis have yielded a pair of schematic four-winged scarabs rendered in metal relief, adorning a chariot. See Clerc et al. 1976, 49 (Kit. 482–483), 105 (Kit. 1918), and 111 (Kit. 3365); Karageorghis 1974, pls. CXXI and CCLXXIII. Further, a cubical stamp – said to have been found on Cyprus – displays sharp-contoured, Egyptian-style motifs. One of them is a four-winged scarab with solar discs between each pair of feet (Gubel 1987, fig. 13:3).

103. Leclant 1979, figs. 251 and 229. In Egyptian art, the two-winged scarab (Khepre) is the emblem of the rising of the reborn sun, a symbol of resurrection, so central in Egyptian religion (Assmann 1975, 935). See Ward 1994, 186–188, on the origin of and reason for the veneration of the scarab beetle.

104. Hermary 1986, 188. Ward places the origin of the motif in Syria, where it would have been created under the influence of Hurrian art (Ward 1994, 192).

105. One of the beautiful Cypro-Phoenician silver bowls found in the Bernardini tomb in Praeneste displays a pair of four-winged falcon-headed scarabs being

worshiped by crouching Harpocrates figures on reed boats: (Markoe 1985, 274–277 (E1)). Markoe dates the vessel to the same period as the Amathus bowl, ca. 710–675 B.C., p. 155–156. Engraved metal objects from the Western Mediterranean also display four-winged scarabs, (Hölbl 1979, 315; Hölbl 1986, I: 341; II: 3, Taf. 158. See Herrmann 1986, pls. 49:230 and 55:255, for examples among the so-called Nimrud ivories. These are four-winged scarabs with feathered wings, occasionally rendered with a falcon's head. There is even one ivory fragment which seems to depict a winged scarab as part of the decoration of a belt – or indeed maybe a broad collar. See Herrmann 1986, pl. 87:381.

106. See Markoe 1985, Cy1, Cy2, Cy8, E3, and E12 for man fighting lion (pp. 242, 244, 256, 286, and 307). The male figure repeatedly depicted in Cy2, a gold-plated silver bowl found at Idalion, indeed wears an animal skin. Crouching winged sphinxes are found in Cy4 (the “Amathus bowl”) while Cy2 provides walking, not crouching, sphinxes. See E3 for plant ornaments separating scenes in general, and Cy1 – another bowl found at Idalion – for “paradise flowers” in particular.

107. Markoe 1985, Cy2; but see for a better picture Jourdain-Annequin 1993, pl. XI. The lions' massive necks and slender bodies, and the marked shoulder lines and the curve and tip of the tails, are all closely parallel. For lions on Phoenician metal bowls, see Llewellyn Brown 1960, 29 (note 2). Note, however, that the bearded sphinxes with conical head-dresses rendered in limestone (fig. 10) differ distinctly from the two-winged counterparts engraved on the metal bowls.

108. We saw above how C. Neeft placed the goat and lion around 640–630 B.C., on stylistic grounds, and A. Hermary similarly dates the “Amathus bowl” to ca. 660–650 B.C. (see above notes 90 and 100).

109. We should keep in mind the obvious problems that arise when confronting

such separate artistic traditions as stone- and metal work.

110. The "royal tombs" at Salamis provide early examples of these preferences, see above notes 16 and 101.

111. All dress features, including the sashends, and all ornaments – like the mandrake or perseia fruit, the hanging triangles interspersed by horizontal lines, and the outer row of drops of the collars, alongside the cobras of the kilts – are faithfully repeated throughout. See above, note 49.

112. See note 55 for a description of one of many examples. For an evaluation of these misunderstandings, and a short discussion of their implications, see Faegersten (forthcoming).

113. Both the four-winged scarab and the "paradise flower" are transfigurations of common Egyptian motifs. More tangible indications against seeing a direct Egyptian influence in these figures, like the absence of the Egyptian back-pillar support, deserve to be brought up again. See note 15.

114. The sanctuary at Amrit is the richest single site where Cypriote-style sculpture have been found outside the island. The votive figures include, among other types, male figures draped in mantles, figures of Herakles-Melqart, and figures clad in Egyptian(izing) dress. A high percentage of them carry votive gifts or animals. The Eshmun sanctuary outside Sidon has provided finds of several Cypriote-style figures in Egyptian dress. See above notes 29 and 30.

115. See note 30.

116. We have not had the chance here to discuss the term any further – or rather the processes behind it – but acknowledge that this has to be done in any study of these figures that wishes to be more profound. The term chosen for this group of figures ought to mirror the way we view them in relation to material on Cyprus, in Egypt, and in Phoenicia.

117. Markoe 1990, 113–116, see note 33.

118. Such an enlivened body modelling is argued by Senff to have been introduced just before the middle of the 6th century B.C., see note 44.

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