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## Ivory, wood, and stone

some suggestions regarding the Egyptianizing votive sculpture from Cyprus

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## **Crafts and Images in Contact: Studies on Eastern Mediterranean art of the first millennium BCE**

Edited by: Suter, Claudia E. ; Uehlinger, Christoph

**Abstract:** The production, diffusion and exchange of luxury goods have always played a major role in the symbolic communication of human societies, be it among various segments within societies or across geographical distance and cultural boundaries. In this volume, historians and archaeologists look at so-called minor art from the Near East and the eastern Mediterranean, particularly ivory carvings of the early first millennium BCE, in their triple function as artifacts, visual media and reflections of cultural contact and artistic emulation. Objects and images are considered as material culture, i.e. products of craftsmen, workshops and schools drawing on various styles and iconographic repertoires; and in iconological terms as media vehiculating culturally encoded messages and as symbolic expressions of particular traditions, worldviews and beliefs. What happened to images and styles when they moved from one place to another within larger contexts of cultural exchange and socio-political and economic relationships? Before trying to address such a question, one must determine the origin and date of the material objects and object groups. The coherent classification of the primary evidence is one of the most basic research issues. What are the assumptions and criteria that scholars apply when they define groups according to material, function, style or iconography? Is it possible to relate such categories to historical entities (such as 'workshops' or 'schools') and to locate these more specifically in space and time? Such were the basic questions of an international workshop held at the University of Fribourg in February 2001, the proceedings of which are published in the present volume. Several contributions concentrate on typology, classification, terminology and method, from the point of view of the practitioner or in more theoretical terms. As an epigrapher used to long-established criteria of phenotypical classification, A.R. Millard examines script on artifacts. G. Herrmann and I.J. Winter expound on the classification of ivories in general. Taking the so-called "roundcheeked and ringletted" style group of ivory carvings as an example, D. Wicke asks whether and how it is possible to identify and to locate specific regional styles. Horse trappings, a particular class of objects that were predominant on the Phoenician coast, are discussed by E. Gubel, while E. Rehm investigates the depiction of another class of objects, royal furniture in Assyrian monumental art. Ch. Uehlinger reassesses ivory carvings found at Samaria and raises questions about ivory craftsmanship in Iron Age Israel. Further classes of objects looked at include North Syrian pyxides and bowls made of stone (S. Mazzoni) and Cypriote stone statuary of Egyptianizing style (F. Faegersten). Two studies concentrate on iconography, exploring particular motifs that occur in various media and across cultures: the winged disc (T. Ornan) and the Egyptianizing figure carrying a ram-headed staff and a jug (S.M. Cecchini). Crete is the focus of two contributions: one reviews its orientaling metalwork and vase painting (H. Matthäus), whereas the other scrutinizes present interpretations of imports and borrowings, raising the question how to define cultural identity from material culture (G. Hoffman).

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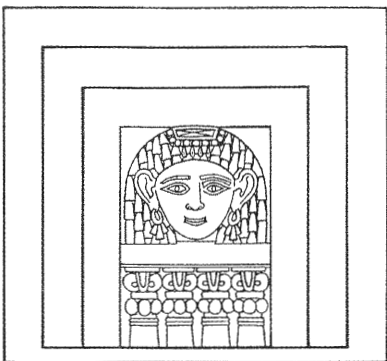
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Claudia E. Suter,  
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# Crafts and Images in Contact

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## Contents

Preface	VII
Abbreviations	XI
<i>Claudia E. Suter &amp; Christoph Uehlinger</i>	
Introduction	XVII
<i>Alan Millard</i>	
Makers' marks, owners' names and individual identity	1
<i>Georgina Herrmann</i>	
Naming, defining, explaining: A view from Nimrud	11
<i>Irene J. Winter</i>	
Establishing group boundaries: Toward methodological refinement in the determination of sets as a prior condition to the analysis of cultural contact and/or innovation in first millennium BCE ivory carving	23
<i>Stefania Mazzoni</i>	
Pyxides and hand-lion bowls: A case of minor arts	43
<i>Dirk Wicke</i>	
"Roundcheeked and Ringletted": Gibt es einen nordwestsyrischen Regionalstil in der altorientalischen Elfenbeinschnitzerei?	67
<i>Eric Gubel</i>	
Phoenician and Aramean bridle-harness decoration: Examples of cultural contact and innovation in the Eastern Mediterranean	111
<i>Christoph Uehlinger</i>	
Die Elfenbeinschnitzereien von Samaria und die Religionsgeschichte Israels: Vorüberlegungen zu einem Forschungsprojekt	149
<i>Ellen Rehm</i>	
Assyrische Möbel für den assyrischen Herrscher!	187
<i>Tallay Ornan</i>	
A complex system of religious symbols: The case of the winged disc in Near Eastern imagery of the first millennium BCE	207



<i>Serena Maria Cecchini</i>	
The ‘suiwant du char royal’: A case of interaction between various genres of minor art	243
<i>Fanni Faegersten</i>	
Ivory, wood, and stone: Some suggestions regarding the Egyptianizing votive sculpture from Cyprus	265
<i>Hartmut Matthäus</i>	
Toreutik und Vasenmalerei im früheisenzeitlichen Kreta: Minoisches Erbe, lokale Traditionen und Fremdeinflüsse	291
<i>Gail L. Hoffman</i>	
Defining identities: Greek artistic interaction with the Near East	351
<i>Claudia E. Suter</i>	
Discussion and future perspectives	391

Ivory, wood, and stone:  
Some suggestions regarding the Egyptianizing  
votive sculpture from Cyprus

Fanni Faegersten

This contribution will deal with the transference of iconography. In focus is a limited body of sculpture made of Cypriote limestone and dating to the sixth century BCE, of which Egyptian-type costume and ornamentation are the main characteristics. On the basis of comparison, the Cypriote statues are connected to Phoenician ivories dating to the eighth and early seventh century BCE. To account for certain close correspondences between the two categories of objects separate in time and social sphere, an intermediary body of material is assumed. Hypothetically, it is proposed that wooden sculpture served as an intermediary in the transference of the elaborate Egyptianizing iconography from Phoenicia to Cyprus.

The Phoenician ivories themselves seem to provide a suitable starting point for the article, not least because they were a focal point of the Fribourg workshop.

*The Nimrud ivories and the Egyptianizing tradition*

Students of Phoenician art owe very much to the thorough scholarly work that has been carried out on the ivories from Nimrud.<sup>1</sup> It is through the publication and analyses of this vast and unique group of material that we have gained a better understanding of Phoenician iconographical preferences, artistic style, and of the level of craftsmanship of the Phoenician artisans. When compared to examples of the so-called North Syrian style, the Phoenician style ivories display a stronger reliance on Egyptian iconography, a taste for symmetry within the single plaque, slender proportions of the figures, attention to detail, and a high level of technical skill.<sup>2</sup> The well known paucity of the Phoenician material record in general makes the ico-

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<sup>1</sup> See, for example, Barnett 1935, 1957, Mallowan 1966, Mallowan & Herrmann 1974, Winter 1976a, 1976b, 1981, Herrmann 1986, 1992.

<sup>2</sup> See Winter 1976b: 6-9, 20-21 and Winter 1981: 103-109.

nography of the ivories almost awkwardly outstanding. However, just like the North Syrian style could be identified through comparisons with extant stone reliefs and sculpture from sites like Carchemish, Zincirli, and Tell Halaf, the Phoenician style ivories most probably testify to a rich artistic tradition – now mostly lost to us –, which was expressed in various materials and in all different sizes, in the Phoenician workshops. The material record available to us, albeit limited, does corroborate this.<sup>3</sup>

It is mainly the royal iconography of Egypt's New Kingdom that is perpetuated by the Phoenician ivory carvers.<sup>4</sup> Despite the wide range of religious themes displayed<sup>5</sup> and the high level of craftsmanship, the ivory carvings are characterized by misunderstandings and reinterpretations of the Egyptian motifs. When hieroglyphs are depicted, they are rather used as decoration, at times completely deprived of meaning.<sup>6</sup> Some scholars have emphasized a general lack of understanding of the original Egyptian features imitated in Phoenician art,<sup>7</sup> while others have suggested indications of a deeper acquaintance with at least some of the religious iconography.<sup>8</sup> The Phoenician style ivories were manufactured during the eighth and early seventh centuries BCE.<sup>9</sup> It has been pointed out that mistakes and reinterpretations of formerly well known motifs, including hieroglyphic writing, occur even in contemporary Egypt itself, namely in the Third Intermediate Period.<sup>10</sup> The relationship between Egyptian and Phoenician material culture during this formative period is perhaps impossible to grasp

<sup>3</sup> Cf., for example, motifs carved in stone: Bisi 1971: figs. 1:b and 7 (a female statue with protectively outstretched wings, holding lotus flowers), Perrot & Chipiez 1885: 131, fig. 76 (griffins nibbling on stylized tree), and 129, fig. 73 (recumbent, winged sphinx with Egyptian *nemes* and double crown), with very similar ones within the ivory corpus, Herrmann 1986: pls. 10-11, 324-326, and 157-158. For parallels in glyptic, see Gubel 1993: 107-108, figs. 10-17. A general Egyptianizing taste is further witnessed in religious architecture, see Wagner 1980. The Phoenician Egyptianizing anthropoid sarcophagi are generally of a later date, from the fifth century BCE, see Ferron 1992: 392. For examples, see Jidejian 1971: figs. 18, 27-28, and 89 (stone sarcophagi), and Lembke 1998: 121-122 (no. 5), pls. 24:d and 25:b (terracotta).

<sup>4</sup> See below for slightly more on the relationship of later Egyptian Dynasties to the art of the New Kingdom period, and on the period of possible transference of this particular iconography to Phoenicia.

<sup>5</sup> For a limited but very useful account of some of the motifs, see Ciafaloni 1995.

<sup>6</sup> Kitchen 1986: 40.

<sup>7</sup> See, for example, Leclant 1991: 17, who states that neither heart scarabs nor *ushabtis*, so essential for a proper Egyptian burial, have ever been found in Phoenicia (despite the large number of Egyptianizing anthropoid sarcophagi discovered). See Kitchen 1986: 41-42.

<sup>8</sup> See Gubel 2000a: 73 (and 77); see also the article by E. Gubel in the present volume. An emphasis on the understanding of Egyptian magical rituals and practices, witnessed through Egyptian amulets and iconography, is found, i.a., in De Salvia 1991: 337-338 and 343, De Salvia 1993: 66-67 and 70, and Hölbl 2000: 156-157.

<sup>9</sup> See Winter 1976b: 15-16.

<sup>10</sup> See Kitchen 1986: 40, and Tait 1963: 118-119, pl. 19, and 130, pl. 24:6.

other than in general terms of mutual enrichment.<sup>11</sup> It serves, however, as a background when we approach other groups of Egyptianizing material from the eastern Mediterranean.

One such group is the limited Cypriote repertoire of male votive statues made of limestone that wear Egyptian dress and jewelry.<sup>12</sup> In these pieces datable to the sixth century BCE, we recognize mistakes and reinterpretations of Egyptian dress elements and ornaments.<sup>13</sup> The contact and association between Phoenician and Cypriote material culture is well known, albeit surprisingly little studied. One shared aspect is indeed the use of Egyptianizing iconography.<sup>14</sup> It is most probably against the Phoenician artistic and socio-religious background that we should view the Egyptianizing material encountered on Cyprus. Within the limits of this article, I shall seek to compare the group of Cypriote male votive statues to the relevant Phoenician material and consider how the Egyptianizing iconography was perpetuated and transmitted from workshop to workshop. Further, I shall briefly focus on the indigenous development that took place on Cyprus once this elaborate iconography had been introduced into the local workshops.<sup>15</sup>

Starting out with the indigenous examples, we will have to go into the details of the Cypro-Egyptian dress. It will then become necessary to introduce the relevant Egyptian background and terminology for the dress elements and ornamental details encountered on the Cypriote statues.

<sup>11</sup> Barnett 1939: 16, Winter 1976b: 8-9, and Ciafaloni 1992: 19-24, have all pointed to Egyptian openwork jewelry in precious metals, with *cloisonné* inlay, as a possible source of inspiration for the Phoenician ivories. Tait 1963: 136-138, postulated contact between Phoenician ivory carvers and the makers of the Egyptian relief chalices, where the latter would have been inspired by the tools and precision of the ivory workers, implying that an Egyptianizing iconography was given back to Egypt itself. See further below, note 70.

<sup>12</sup> Egyptianizing Cypriote statues in bronze do occur, along with single examples in terracotta and serpentinite, but we choose not to deal with them here.

<sup>13</sup> See Faegersten forthcoming b for a limited study on the typological mix witnessed in the Egyptianizing Cypriote kilts and their equipment.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. note 3. For Cypriote renderings of griffins nibbling on stylized tree, and recumbent winged sphinxes, see, for example, Markoe 1988: pl. 1:1 (fragment of decorated terracotta "cuirass"), Karageorghis 1976: fig. 61 and Karageorghis 1987: 666, fig. 6 (sphinxes on grave stelae), and Karageorghis 1990: pl. 22 (painted decoration on *amphoriskos*: sphinxes with broad decorated collars and double crowns). Imported material displaying Egyptianizing motifs are, for example, the beautifully decorated ivories from tomb 79 at Salamis, and the elaborately decorated bronze and silver bowls worked in the *repoussé* technique, see Karageorghis 1974 and Markoe 1985.

<sup>15</sup> These and other aspects of the Egyptianizing Cypriote group are dealt with in Faegersten 2003. In the study, the limited group of sculptures are treated within their Cypriote context and further related to material found outside the island. The present article is based on the latter part of the study.

*The Egyptian original and the Cypriote version:  
the kilt and the broad collar*

The main feature of the male dress of the New Kingdom was the kilt (*pl. XXXVII:1* and *fig. 1*).<sup>16</sup> It consisted of a piece of cloth – mostly linen – that was wrapped around the waist. In royal depictions, the cloth was kept in place by one or several woven sashes, the ends of which were depicted in a soon enough standardized manner, hanging down along the sides of the kilt.<sup>17</sup> A metal belt was placed over these textile sashes. In front of the kilt there was a device made of beads or metal plaques that was suspended from the belt probably by means of tiny hooks. This sporran or *devanteau*<sup>18</sup> was in most cases provided with laterally pending cobras or *uraei* made of metal. In the example depicted in *fig. 1*, vertically arranged beads are kept in place by horizontal space bars. The lower end of the *devanteau* was equipped with tiny weights in order to keep it perpendicular. These weights are most often shaped like drops or, rather, flower petals.

This elaborate royal kilt was usually accompanied by a broad collar or *usekh*. The collar formed an important part of male and female official dress in Egypt ever since earliest times. In the New Kingdom, however, it became particularly elaborate. Both depictions in art and archaeological finds make it clear that the rich floral or vegetal collar, which consisted of real flowers, fruits, and leaves, was a novelty in this period.<sup>19</sup> A unique example is the floral collar found in the tomb of Pharaoh Tutankhamun.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>16</sup> During the New Kingdom period, and particularly during the time of Pharaoh Amenhotep III, novelties were introduced in male and female Egyptian royal dress. The textile sashes tied around the royal waists and the panther's head placed atop the *devanteau* are features introduced during this period, see Vandier 1958: 327. Virtually all subsequent Dynasties looked back upon the New Kingdom art for inspiration, with regard to both the stylistic rendering of the human body and the appearance of costume and jewelry. See, for example, Aldred 1980: 123-124, 126 and 140, *fig. 106*. Here, we use the New Kingdom dress as the correctly rendered reference material for subsequent Egyptian, Levantine, and Cypriote imitations.

<sup>17</sup> The steatite statuette of Amenhotep III depicted in *pl. XXXVII:1* is very unusual in that it depicts the ends of the sashes – two thin and two broader ones, on each side of the *devanteau* – in a more naturalistic and not yet standardized manner. In virtually all subsequent Egyptian renderings in two as well as in three dimensions, the sashes are depicted hanging close together and are directly connected to the *devanteau*.

<sup>18</sup> We avoid using the term “apron” for this device, since we differentiate between the central apron made of textile which is partly overlapped by the kilt in the royal Egyptian *shenti* kilt and the royal bead or metal *devanteau*, which – as its name implies – is hanging in front of the kilt.

<sup>19</sup> Collars like these were, of course, manufactured in more durable materials such as mould-made beads shaped like fruits and leaves that were made out of faience or glass and were strung together. See, for example, Aldred 1971: *fig. 125*.

<sup>20</sup> Carter 1927: 191-192, *pl. 36*. On top of the third (innermost) coffin the collar was placed around the neck of the king.

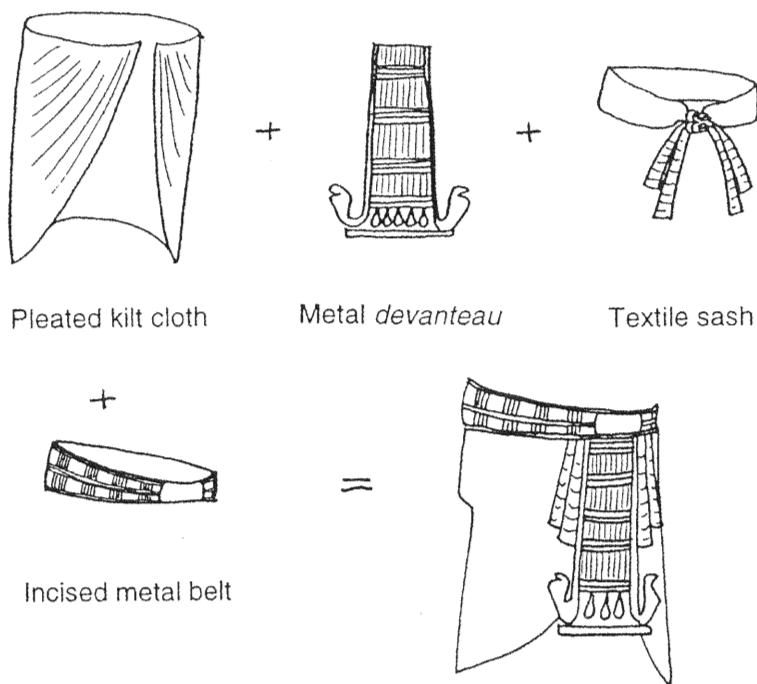


Fig. 1 The different components of the Egyptian royal dress of the New Kingdom [drawings by author].

It consists of a semicircular sheet of papyrus, onto which olive leaves, blue lotus petals, and persea fruits – among other things – had been sewn.<sup>21</sup> They are indeed the standard components of the collars of the period. Their standardized pattern is repeated over and over again in contemporary royal art (fig. 2). Olive or persea leaves and lotus petals bound together create the characteristic triangular shapes overlaying thin, slightly curving, horizontal bands,<sup>22</sup> while the persea or mandrake fruits<sup>23</sup> are rendered with or

<sup>21</sup> The collar further contained strings of papyrus-pith carrying faience rings and berries of withania nightshade, cornflowers, ox-tongue, olive and willow leaves, and blue lotus petals. Eleven half persea fruits with their chalices removed had been sewn onto the young king's collar. See Hepper 1990: 9-10.

<sup>22</sup> Germer 1988: 3-4, saw leaves of the persea tree and petals of blue lotus flowers depicted in the garland (originally a Schweinfurth drawing) reproduced in fig. 2.

<sup>23</sup> Both the mandrake plant (*Mandragora officinalis* L.) and the persea tree (*Mimusops schimperi* Hochst.) 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 and has a sweet taste. When depicted in Egyptian art, these fruits are stylized to a point that 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 of its tree were one of the main elements

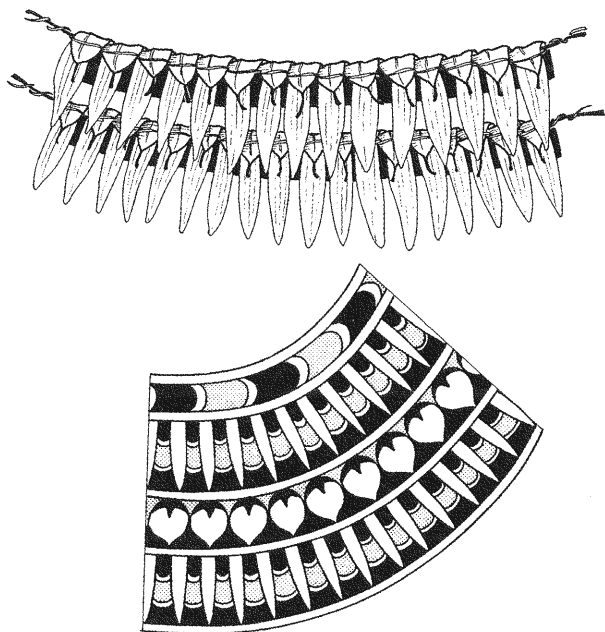


Fig. 2 Above: a garland composed of leaves of the olive or persea tree and blue lotus petals and secured by strips of papyrus-pith. Below: the broad collar worn by Queen Nefertiti on the limestone bust in Berlin, which consists of two such garlands of leaves and a row of persea fruits [after Wilson 1986].

without their green, pointed chalices.<sup>24</sup> In most contemporary depictions, the floral collar is bordered by a row of drop-shaped flower petals.

The Egyptianizing Cypriote statues wear versions of this royal outfit of the New Kingdom. We find different renderings of the royal kilt, in which the thin pending cobras and the ends of the sashes are nearly always included (*pls. XXXVII:2-XXXIX:5*). We even find the head of a grinning demon or gorgon placed at the top of the “*devanteaux*”, most probably inspired by the head of a panther placed in this position on Egyptian royal kilts (*pls. XXXVII:1, XXXVIII:4* and *fig. 4*).<sup>25</sup> And the broad collars worn by the Cypriote limestone statues correspond to a surprisingly high degree

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used for making garlands and bouquets for the dead. See Germer 1985: 148-149 and 169-171, Germer 1989: 9-12, and Schoske, Kreißl et al. 1992: 59-62. For more on the ancient Egyptian ideas connected with these fruits, see Derchain 1975: 72, 84-86.

<sup>24</sup> In the collar of queen Nefertiti (*fig. 2*), the three (out of four) pointed leaves of the chalice of each persea fruit are visible. In the Cypriote examples, as we shall see below, these chalices are never rendered. It is worth noting that the Enkomi *usekh* collar with its persea fruits with chalices is a Bronze Age object imported from contemporary Egypt. See Murray, Smith et al. 1900: pl. 5, and Courtois, Lagarce et al. 1986: 110-111.

<sup>25</sup> The correspondence was noted by Markoe 1990: 114.

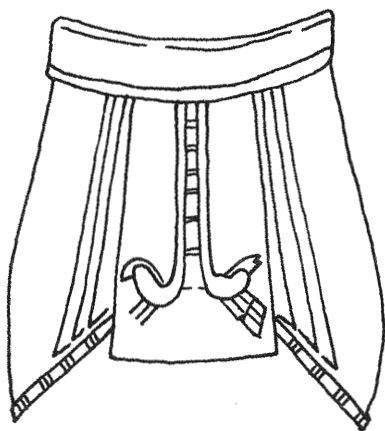


Fig. 3 The kilt of the Louvre statuette reproduced on *pl. XXXVIII:3* [drawing by author].

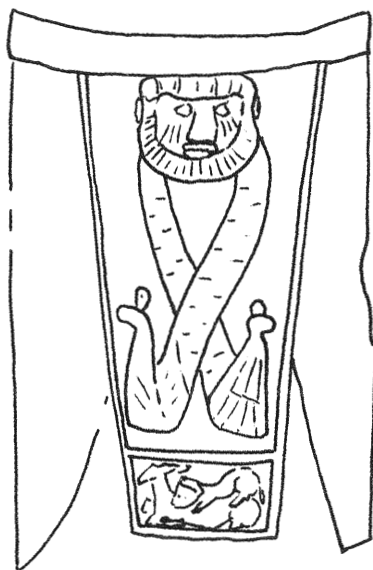


Fig. 4 The kilt of a male limestone statuette found at Amathus, Cyprus, Ht. 37 cm (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 74.51.2605) [drawing by author].

with the New Kingdom floral version. There are several Cypriote statues whose collar is either undecorated or badly abraded or faintly rendered in paint. But out of the seventeen decorated collars preserved in relief, as many as eight contain the perseia fruits and the standardized leaves alongside an outer row of flower petals, all arranged in this very order (*pls. XXXIX:6, XL:7, XL:8*).<sup>26</sup> If there is a close correspondence in the appearance of the Cypriote floral collars, the kilts of the statues display rich alterations, like variations on a common theme.<sup>27</sup> I believe that it is possible to trace a certain degree of indigenous development in the Cypriote workshops regarding the kilt.

On a fragmentary statuette from Idalion, sturdy cobras hang down from the belt at a certain distance from each other and curve away from one another in their characteristic way (*pl. XXXVII:2*). Between the bodies of the winged cobras and connecting them at intervals are three broad horizontal bands. These bands most probably echo the horizontal space bars

<sup>26</sup> When considering that two statues display “triangles”, perseia fruits, and drops, and that two further ones have “triangles” and drops in their collars, the consistency is made even clearer. The limestone torso which is partly depicted in *pl. XL:8* will be published in Faegersten forthcoming a. I thank V. Karageorghis for drawing my attention to the Madrid torso depicted in *pl. XXXIX:6*.

<sup>27</sup> See above, note 13.



found on Egyptian *devanteaux*. The bars originally served to keep either the beads or the metal plaques of the *devanteau* in place.<sup>28</sup> A second statuette of unknown provenance displays a kilt bordered by a typical Egyptian pattern, in front of which hangs a slightly trapezoid *devanteau* (pl. XXXVIII:3 and fig. 3). On either side of the *devanteau* are the ends of three thin, standardized sashes, while two winged cobras hang down in its center. Were it not for the central placing of the cobras, the statue's kilt would make quite a faithful replica of the Egyptian dress. But there is another deviating detail: six thin horizontal bands are between the bodies of the snakes, while a plain line is incised between their hoods. This clearly indicates that the sculptor had the Egyptian *devanteau* in mind. Here, too, the parallel horizontal bands most probably reflect the space bars of the Egyptian *devanteau*. In this case, we end up with a *devanteau* consisting of the cobras and the horizontal bands between them placed on another *devanteau* consisting of the trapezoid device hanging in front of the plain kilt.<sup>29</sup>

The two statuettes presented here in general and the appearance of the kilt of the latter statue in particular invite us to formulate a hypothesis regarding the placing of the cobras on the Cypro-Egyptian kilts. We know by now that cobras made up the lateral borders of Egyptian *devanteaux*. On the Cypriote statues this is rarely the case. Rather the cobras are placed in the center of the "*devanteaux*," quite frequently body to body (pls. XXXVIII:4 and XXXIX:5). The cobras on pl. XXXVIII:3/fig. 3 are connected by horizontal bands, just like in the normal *devanteau*, but the creatures are treated not as the outer components of a dress, but rather as ornaments decorating the "*devanteau*" of the statue. This may be a key to understanding why a majority of the Cypriote sculptors depicted the cobras close together. In these statues, the memory of the original horizontal space bars was gone for good and what remained were cobras belonging together and, therefore, placed centrally – often body to body – on the kilt.

Furthermore, it seems that once the Cypriote cobras have taken this central position, they can come to life and even interact with one another. On a fragmentary life-size statue from Idalion the cobras are vividly rendered with wide-open mouths and protruding tongues (pl. XXXVIII:4). On some statues, the freedom of the cobras is further highlighted by their interplay, their bodies overlapping (fig. 4).<sup>30</sup> This is indeed far from the metal counterparts placed as vertical decoration on Egyptian *devanteaux*.

<sup>28</sup> We noted this above in connection with the drawing of fig. 1.

<sup>29</sup> See Faegersten forthcoming b.

<sup>30</sup> We find this in a second Egyptianizing Cypriote statue found at Golgoi (Ayios Photios). See Cesnola 1885: pl. 7:9 (today in the John and Mable Ringling Museum, Sarasota, Inv. SN 28.1917). Note that there is a parallel from the Phoenician sanctuary at Amrit, a colossal torso with demonic head and overlapping cobras reproduced in Dunand 1944-48a: pl. 16:9 (the Tartus Museum, Inv. 1328). We believe that this is an indication of the fact that the Cypriote element in this repertoire of statues is decisive. For more on

Another possibly indigenous Cypriote development is exemplified by two statues from Idalion (*pls. XXXVIII:4* and *XXXIX:5*). There are several instances, in which the lower borders of the Cypriote "*devanteaux*" consist of a row of drops or petals, echoing the tiny weights placed along the lower ends of Egyptian counterparts. On the Idalion statuette on *pl. XXXIX:5*, there are only two drops. Note that triangular areas are created between and beside the two drops. On the second statue from Idalion (*pl. XXXVIII:4*), the triangular areas between the drops have been interpreted in a new way and turned into three blue lotus flowers. What could have been three drops was turned instead into three-and-a-half lotus flowers. This, too, indicates that the flowers were a misinterpretation rather than a well planned feature of this rectangular area.

The Cypriote cobras gradually coming to life and the transformation of the drops into blue lotus flowers possibly exemplify indigenous developments within this category of objects, developments that seem to have taken place in the workshops on Cyprus.

#### *The Phoenician evidence*

It can be stated that the Egyptianizing Cypriote statues have far more in common with Egyptianizing material excavated on the Phoenician mainland than with contemporary Egyptian statuary.<sup>31</sup> It is not merely the reinterpreted New Kingdom dress<sup>32</sup> and the character and disposition of its ornamentation that separate them from contemporary Egyptian sculpture in the round,<sup>33</sup> but also the lack of the characteristic back-pillar support and the entirely Cypriote character in the rendition of face and body form. We find closely related, contemporary material on the Phoenician mainland: large-size stone sculpture exhibiting versions of the reinterpreted New Kingdom dress. We even have examples with back-pillar supports as, for example, a limestone statuette from Tyre, the kilt of which is depicted in *fig. 5*. At first glance, this statue may represent a group of material providing a fitting link between Egyptian and Egyptianizing Cypriote material. The statuette from Tyre has a broad decorated collar and a *devanteau* with horizontal space bars on top of a pleated kilt.<sup>34</sup> The *devanteau* is not ren-

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the possible interrelatedness between Cypriote and Phoenician Egyptianizing sculpture, see below.

<sup>31</sup> See Faegersten 2003 (see above note 15).

<sup>32</sup> Markoe 1990: 113-116, pointed out the New Kingdom character of the Cypro-Egyptian dress.

<sup>33</sup> Bothmer 1960 remains the standard volume on Late Period Egyptian sculpture.

<sup>34</sup> It has been suggested that the statue is wearing a panther skin, see Gubel 1983: 28-29, and Warmenbol 1985: 168-170 (who suggests that the head of the animal is also present). Here, we merely consider the shape of the kilt and its details.

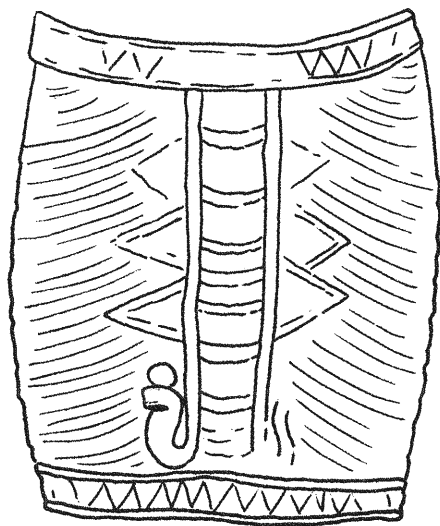


Fig. 5 The kilt of a male limestone statuette found at Tyre, Ht. 53 cm (The National Museum, Beirut, 2265) [drawing by author].

dered as a separate device here, but rather seems to be part of the decoration of the kilt. This is indicated by the fact that the kilt has a unified lower border with an incised zigzag pattern. These zigzags – or hanging triangles (or standardized leaves) – also decorate the broad collar of the statue.<sup>35</sup> It is worth noting that the ends of the sashes on either side of the “*devanteau*” have been turned into triangular shapes placed almost horizontally on the kilt.<sup>36</sup>

Apart from this and a few other single finds,<sup>37</sup> the bulk of the Egyptianizing Phoenician sculpture in the round comes from two large coastal sites: the sanctuary dedicated to the young healing-god Eshmun, which is situated at Bostan esh-Sheik just outside Sidon,<sup>38</sup> and the so-called

<sup>35</sup> The three preserved registers of the collar are partly abraded, but seem to contain zigzags/triangles and a centrally placed, winged device in the outermost register. If so, then this constellation is unparalleled in the Cypriote material.

<sup>36</sup> A similar rendering of the ends of the sashes is found in the well known torso from Sarepta (Louvre AO 4805, acq. 1857), once probably incorporated into an architectural structure, see Spycket 1981: 424.

<sup>37</sup> Two stone statues found at Kharayeb wear the Egyptianizing kilt and broad collar, see Kaoukabani 1973: 51, pl. 16:1-2 (both have a back-pillar support, and both seem to be carrying an animal under one arm). See further the material from Umm el-'Amed, dated by the excavator to the fourth century BCE: Dunand & Duru 1962: 156-158, pls. 30:1-2, 81:2-3, and 83:2-3 (here, too, broad collars, back-pillar supports, and traces of carried animals occur).

<sup>38</sup> See, for example, Stucky 1993: pls. 6:12-13 and 7:15-16.

Ma'abed at Amrit just southeast of modern Tartus.<sup>39</sup> In contrast to the statue from Tyre, the dating of which is disputed,<sup>40</sup> a large part of the votive objects from these two sites have been dated to the second half of the sixth century BCE.<sup>41</sup> While the Egyptianizing statues from Amrit lack the characteristic back-pillar support, there are some statues from the Sidonian sanctuary that display this feature.<sup>42</sup> Furthermore, the material from the two sanctuaries share the large format and the free interpretation of the Egyptian elements of dress and ornamentation with the Cypriote statues.

When setting out to compare the Egyptianizing statues found on Cyprus with those excavated in Phoenicia, however, problems arise. The two Phoenician sanctuaries concerned here both contained large groups of stone objects carved in Cypriote style.<sup>43</sup> This concerns not only Egyptianizing statues, but also other types of votive statues as, for example, the mantle-wearing male carrying a votive animal or gift and the so-called Herakles-Melqart. In his analysis of the votive statuary from the Sidonian site, R. Stucky distinguishes between the soft Cypriote limestone and the so-called *ramleh*, a local sandstone.<sup>44</sup> A local Phoenician limestone also seems represented in the material from the sanctuary. At Amrit, an important step has been taken by carrying out petrographic analyses on parts of the excavated stone material.<sup>45</sup> The evidence from both sites point to a presence of both local and imported stone. It thus seems as if Cypriote votive sculpture found its way to Phoenician sanctuaries. Or Cypriote craftsmen or Cypriote stone found their way to Phoenician workshops.<sup>46</sup> This situation adds, of course, to the difficulties for a comparative study. It

<sup>39</sup> See, for example, Dunand 1944-48a: pls. 15:4, 16:6-9, 17:10-13, and 22:28. Further, see Dunand & Saliby 1985: pls. 44 and 46.

<sup>40</sup> See, for example, Parrot, Chéhab et al. 1975: 96-97, fig. 101 (eighth century BCE in the text accompanying the picture, sixth century BCE in the main text); Gubel 1983: 28-30, fig. 2 (eighth century BCE); Markoe 1990: 117-118, fig. 16 (sixth-fifth centuries BCE); and Doumet Serhal, Maïla-Afeïche et al. 1998: 65 and 170, no. 24 (eighth-seventh centuries BCE).

<sup>41</sup> Stucky 1993: 16.

<sup>42</sup> See Stucky 1993: 69 (no. 13), pl. 6:13 (a statue with back-pillar support wearing a pleated kilt and carrying an animal under the left arm). R. Stucky includes this statue in his Cypriote group. Hermary 1996: 570, has pointed out the non-Cypriote character of the statue's back-pillar support. A fragmentary alabaster statuette from the same site displays a back-pillar support as well (with an unknown and unpublished Phoenician inscription placed on it). The statuette is treated as an Egyptian import, see Stucky 1993: 68, pl. 4:1.

<sup>43</sup> Cypriote-style stone and terracotta material has been found at several other sites along the Levantine coast, see, for example, Bliss & Macalister 1902: pl. 75 (from Tell es-Safi), and Stern 1975: pls. 19-20. Nowhere in such abundance as in the two Phoenician sanctuaries referred to above, however.

<sup>44</sup> Stucky 1993: 15.

<sup>45</sup> The analyses of the Amrit material were carried out by K. Lembke and geologist C. Xenophontos, see Lembke 2004: 144-148 and 219.

<sup>46</sup> See, again, Stucky 1993: 15 and Lembke 2004.

seems possible, however, to state that large-scale Egyptianizing statuary was produced in workshops on Cyprus as well as in workshops in Phoenicia. The material used in the Cypriote workshops was the soft, local limestone, while both local sandstone and local limestone was carved in the Phoenician ones. There was possibly also a certain degree of imported stone reaching craftsmen working in Phoenicia. If we choose to confront the general Cypriote limestone statuary with the general Phoenician sandstone one, we can make out two differences that may or may not be suggestive: first, a majority of the Egyptianizing statues found in the two Phoenician sanctuaries carry an animal – generally a goat – under the left arm. This is something we do not encounter in the Egyptianizing statues excavated on Cyprus.<sup>47</sup> Second, most Phoenician statues lack the elaborate New Kingdom floral collar carved in relief, a feature that is characteristic of the Cypriote statues.<sup>48</sup>

Despite the reinterpretations of the Egyptian-type costume, there is a high degree of homogeneity among the Cypriote statues in regard to the outfit. The ends of the sashes and the apotropaic cobras are nearly always there and, as mentioned before, there is a rather fixed order of arrangement of the ornaments in the broad floral collars found on the statuary excavated in different parts of the island. The Cypriote craftsmen thus seem to have been studying and imitating works of art that were quite consistent in ornamentation and quite “correctly” rendered when it comes to the kilt. It is difficult to accept the limestone statuette from Tyre, for example, with its unified border of the kilt and its deformed ends of the sashes as a representative of the common point of reference for the craftsmen of the Cypri-

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<sup>47</sup> We know of one such example only, a statue of unknown provenance published in de Ridder 1908: 46-47, pl. 4:10, and said to be carrying a lion under the left arm. The present whereabouts of this statuette are unknown (A. Caubet, personal communication 2000). K. Lembke notes that the presence of animal-bearers in Egyptianizing dress at Amrit indicates that this type was a local adaptation, manufactured locally (possibly by Cypriote craftsmen) to fit local demands. See Lembke 2001: 20.

<sup>48</sup> A statue found in the vicinity of Sidon indeed wears an elaborate floral collar alongside its New Kingdom-type kilt. However, on iconographical, stylistical, but also technical grounds, it can be strongly suggested that this statue is a Cypriote import. See Doumet Serhal 1998: 30, figs. 3-6 (and Doumet Serhal, Maïla-Afeiche et al. 1998: 103, for an excellent color photograph). The collar of the Tyre statue partly depicted in our *fig. 5* does display “standardized leaves”. However, it can neither be said to be of a Cypriote type nor to be closely related to the Cypriote collars. Two fragments of broad, decorated collars were indeed found at Amrit, see Dunand 1944-48b: 86 (no. 99), pl. 42:66 (the number has been reversed and should be 99 instead), and Dunand & Saliby 1985: pl. 54:5 (the Tartus Museum, Inv. 1178). The former fragment has a particular rendering of the triangles, which consist of four gradually smaller triangles placed one inside the other rather than being plain. This kind of rendering is entirely unknown in the Cypriote material, that is, we find it neither in broad collars placed on male votive statues nor in the decorated collars found on sphinxes.

ote statues.<sup>49</sup> Moreover, a majority of the Phoenician votive statues carry an animal under the arm, something we do not find in the Egyptianizing material from Cyprus.<sup>50</sup> It thus seems that Phoenician stone sculpture alone cannot account for the features encountered in the Egyptianizing Cypriote limestone statuary.

*A possible means of transfer*

What, then, was the primary source of inspiration for the Cypriote craftsmen? What objects did the sculptors of the island have in front of them to imitate when they started applying Egyptian features to their local votive statuary? We can but return to the rich and varied Egyptianizing iconography encountered on the Phoenician style ivories of the eighth and early seventh centuries BCE.<sup>51</sup> Manufactured around 200 years earlier than the Cypriote limestone statues, the small-scale ivory plaques and occasional statuettes provide striking parallels in terms of costume and ornamentation.<sup>52</sup> On a male figure depicted on an ivory plaque from Nimrud (*pl. XLI:9*), we can see the New Kingdom kilt with its ends of the sashes, the *devanteau* with drops at the bottom and rearing cobras on the sides, and the inlaid metal belt.<sup>53</sup> We encounter the decorated broad collar. On other figures, the collar is more clearly equipped with the perseae fruits and the

<sup>49</sup> It is indeed true that the pleated cloth of the kilt, the cobras with sun-discs on their heads, and the space bars between the bodies of the reptiles are similar to what we find in the Cypriote statues. So is, in a general manner, the broad collar and the fact that the statue does not carry any votive gift or animal.

<sup>50</sup> Generally, the Egyptianizing statues found at Amrit carry animals under the arms, while lacking broad collars and back-pillar supports. The Tyre and Kharayeb statues seem stylistically related and share, instead, broad collars and back-pillar supports. The Umm el-'Amed statues rather belong to the latter group of statues. Could these idiosyncrasies testify to different traditions (and/or materials?) serving as main sources of inspiration?

<sup>51</sup> G. Falsone has also related the Egyptianizing Cypriote stone material to the Phoenician ivory counterpart, as well, see Falsone 1989: 157-164. However, he offers no explanation as to how the Cypriote craftsmen got hold of these decidedly earlier ivory plaques and figurines.

<sup>52</sup> Remarkable similarities occur in single figures. See, for example, the general typological and stylistical correspondences between a Cypriote stone statuette from Amathus, and an ivory statuette found at Nimrud: see Karageorghis, Mertens et al. 2000: 114, no. 179, and Barnett 1957: pl. 96 (S 313). These two figurines are approximately equal in size.

<sup>53</sup> We further note that this figure is wearing a thin garment with decorated borders, falling down over the arms and reaching down far below the edge of the kilt, in the back. The royal Egyptian animal tail hanging from the belt at the back and the two streamers hanging down from the neck of the figure testify to the presence of some kind of head-gear, possibly a crown. See Herrmann 1986: 209, pl. 278:1063 (who notes that several traces of red and blue inlays are preserved in the figure), and pls. 2 and 4 (for examples of male figures wearing Egyptian Double crowns, with streamers hanging down in their necks).

flower petals known from Cypriote statues.<sup>54</sup> As was noted at the beginning of this article, the characteristic Levantine freedom in interpreting Egyptian motifs and features is evident in this material. In general, however, the Egyptianizing costume evidenced on Phoenician ivory carvings comes decidedly closer to the Egyptian original than the costume in Cypriote and Phoenician statuary.<sup>55</sup> Every single element of the Egyptianizing dress *and* ornament encountered in the Cypriote stone statuary of the sixth century has a model or forerunner in the figurative repertoire of Egyptianizing Phoenician ivory carvings.

It is surprising that the parallels between ivory and stone remain even when we go into details. On the torso from Idalion described above (*pl. XXXVII:2*), the sturdy cobras hang down from the belt. On either side of them are the characteristic ends of the sashes. On the right hand side of the kilt, however, there is a loop and a pointed end seemingly coming from underneath the belt and the sashes, which looks like the tail of one of the cobras.<sup>56</sup> Turning back to the ivory plaque (*pl. XLI:9*), we find a similar loop and end. Here, the loop is correctly rendered as coming out from one of the sashes made of woven textile that is tied into a loop and then falls down along the side of the kilt.<sup>57</sup> The original Egyptian device is a recurrent feature in two- and three-dimensional depictions of the New Kingdom (*pl. XLI:10*): additional sashes – often rendered in gay colors – are hanging down along the sides of royal kilts. It seems, indeed, as if the Cypriote sculptor misinterpreted this additional end of the sash and turned it instead into the coiling tail of one of the cobras.<sup>58</sup> Where could he have seen such a detail in order to misinterpret it in this way?

Another torso from the same site exhibits square and rectangular holes cut into the stone along the lower edge of the kilt: one rectangular hole followed by two square holes and so forth (*pl. XXXIX:5*).<sup>59</sup> This pattern closely imitates the lower border of garments inlaid with pieces of colored

<sup>54</sup> See, for example, Winter 1981: pl. 14:b (a winged sphinx with broad, decorated collar), and Herrmann 1986: pls. 113:508, 114:514, 115:515, 122:539, and 123:538 and 540 (all are broad collars worn by sphinxes). It must be noted, however, that we find neither an abundance of close “prototypes” for the Cypriote floral collars with their closely corresponding standardized leaves and persea fruits nor close examples in collars worn by human figures on the preserved ivory carvings.

<sup>55</sup> Cf. Stucky 1993: 16, and Parrot, Chéhab et al. 1975: 96-98.

<sup>56</sup> Pryce 1931: 20, already suggested this.

<sup>57</sup> There are parallel renderings of such loops of sashes on several Nimrud ivory plaques and statuettes. See, for example, Barnett 1957: pl. 96 (S 314), and Herrmann 1986: pls. 287:1104, 338:1292, 340:1293, and 341:1294.

<sup>58</sup> Just like the Cypriote cobras come to life and interact, and just like certain misinterpretations occur, like the drops turned into three-and-a-half lotus flowers, so does this “cobra tail” indicate that Cypriote craftsmen experimented with, added to, and re-arranged an imported concept.

<sup>59</sup> Note that the Louvre statue on *pl. XXXVIII:3/fig. 3* has a similar pattern along the lower border of its kilt cloth.

glass or semiprecious stone we encounter so often on ivory plaques and figurines (*pl. XLI:9*).<sup>60</sup> There was no sense in adding this row of holes to a stone statuette, which most probably was not meant to be inlaid. But one could argue that in this detail the Cypriote stone sculptor reveals his source of inspiration for the statue in general and for its dress and ornamentation in particular. Similarly, the double frames or raised narrow outlines of the six ends of the sashes on two statues from Idalion (*pls. XXXVII:2* and *XXXVIII:4*)<sup>61</sup> can tentatively be interpreted as an echo of the raised borders so characteristic of ivory carvings that were to contain inlays (*pl. XLI:9*).<sup>62</sup>

Another very important feature which connects the Phoenician ivory carvings with the Cypriote stone statues is the manner in which paint was applied. Some of the Egyptianizing Cypriote statues have traces of red and black paint that once highlighted parts of their dress and jewelry.<sup>63</sup> Common to the traces we have preserved is a clear preference for alternate highlighting, that is, only every other feature – whether drops, standardized leaves/triangles, or other – is covered with paint.<sup>64</sup> The effect is jewel-like and concurs with the simulated *cloisonné* technique mentioned above.<sup>65</sup> If we widen the perspective slightly to include Cypriote sphinxes with broad, decorated collars and double crowns, we find the very same type of rendering, the same preferences for alternate coloring.<sup>66</sup> On Phoenician ivory

<sup>60</sup> Falsone 1989: 162, noted this correspondence.

<sup>61</sup> Indeed, raised narrow outlines are a recurrent feature in Cypriote statues. For another example among the material presented here, see the persea fruits on *pl. XL:8*.

<sup>62</sup> It is worth noting that here, we could be dealing with the echoes of two different techniques of applying inlay. In the first case (*pl. XXXIX:5*), the filling of excavated sockets would be imitated, while the raised narrow outlines (*pls. XXXVII:2* and *XXXVIII:4*) – if at all echoing inlay work – would rather imitate the technique of filling raised *cloisons*. See Barnett 1957: 157, and Herrmann 1986: 58-59.

<sup>63</sup> A common enough fact in Cypriote sculpture in general.

<sup>64</sup> The best photos showing this, where indeed some of the coloring is partly visible, are found in Karageorghis, Mertens et al. 2000. See 117, no. 182, for a statue from Golgoi, where every second triangle of the broad collar is red, and where the same is true for the drop-shaped “petals” of its outer row. The belt of this statue has a characteristic Egyptian pattern, where horizontal “beads” are kept in place by vertical “space bars” (cf. the belt on our *pl. XXXIX:6*). The spacers and every second horizontal bead are painted red. On 115, no. 180, a statue from the same site displays ends of the sashes with alternating red color, and the hem of the kilt of a statuette from Amathus, presented on 114, no. 179, displays the hem of a kilt with alternating areas of red paint, bordered by black lines. See Faegersten 2003 for additional examples.

<sup>65</sup> In Orchard 1978: 10-12, the decorative principles guiding Phoenician ivory carvers and painters are most clearly laid out. Evident is the will to emphasize detail with clarity, resulting, for example, in blue painted details separated by unpainted zones.

<sup>66</sup> One of the broad, fragmentary (sphinx?) collars found at Palaepaphos on Cyprus displays rich traces of color (this fragment is very similar to KA 1994, see Maier 1974: fig. 4, but cannot belong to the same statue). The hanging triangles or standardized leaves found in one of its registers are painted blue and red, alternatively. The effect once achieved must have been stunning. The same goes for a pair of (sphinx) wings from the same site, where the feather pattern has well preserved, alternating color in blue and red



carvings areas tainted or stained in red alternate with undecorated ones, thus giving a very similar effect.<sup>67</sup> Inlaid pieces of colorful glass or stone must have had a more or less identical appearance.<sup>68</sup> A similar jewel-like quality is indeed a hallmark of Egyptian iconography of the New Kingdom.<sup>69</sup> Whether this taste for the colorful was introduced into the Levant from Egypt,<sup>70</sup> or whether the contrary applies,<sup>71</sup> cannot be safely stated. In any case, we have here another characteristic New Kingdom feature which is perpetuated in the Phoenician workshops throughout the Iron Age only to reappear in archaic Cypriote stone statuary.

Further connected to this issue is the choice and arrangement of motifs exhibited by the Egyptianizing Cypriote statues.<sup>72</sup> Not only do we find single ornaments which are in them transformations of common Egyptian motifs and which are encountered in this transformed state in the Phoeni-

(both objects are in the Kouklia Museum, I do not know their Inv. nos.). The Palaepaphos material will be published by V. Tatton-Brown, whom, together with F. G. Maier, I thank for the permission to study material in the store rooms of that museum. We can further mention the sphinxes discovered at Tamassos in January 1997, see Solomidou-Ieronymidou 2001. Both sphinxes have elaborate traces of coloring and display double-crowns with red vertical stripes and a wing-feather pattern with a beautiful effect of alternating blue and uncolored spaces. (Cf. Herrmann 1986: pl. 301:1156-1157, two ivory fragments where every second wing feather has been hollowed out for inlay).

<sup>67</sup> See, for example, Winter 1981: 109, pl. 14:a-b (a fragment from Arslan Tash, depicting a winged sun-disc with *uraei*, and a horse blinker found at Nimrud and decorated by a winged sphinx). See also Herrmann 1986: pl. 320:1234 and 1236.

<sup>68</sup> For beautiful reproductions of this colorful effect of inlaid ivory, see, for example, Uberti 1988: 411, and Moscati 1988: 515. The parallels between the blue lapis lazuli inlays of the wings of the ivory griffins and the wings of the limestone sphinxes from Tamassos mentioned in note 66 are striking. See also the frontispiece of Barnett 1957, for a third color picture, this time of the well known "O.1".

<sup>69</sup> For a general example of this well established fact, see Robins 1997: 137, fig. 155 (a color picture showing a detail from a wall-painting from the tomb chapel of Anen, showing Amenhotep III and Tiy seated in a kiosk): "The effect of the whole color scheme is to give an opulent and jewel-like quality to the scene". One should remember the underlying, intricate system of Egyptian color symbolism, see Wilkinson 1994: 104-125, and for general remarks on the Egyptian "rhythm" of coloring, see Evers 1929: 5-7 (§18-29).

<sup>70</sup> R. D. Barnett noted that a gay polychrome effect was first introduced in high quality Egyptian Middle Kingdom *cloisonné* jewelry. He suggested that Egyptian craftsmen soon applied the technique to woodwork, while it was a Phoenician idea to attempt *cloisonné* work in ivory. See Barnett 1957: 156. See above, note 11.

<sup>71</sup> C. Lilyquist has emphasized the difference between the general plainness of Egyptian Middle Kingdom material culture and the joy of color introduced from around Thutmosis III onwards – not least regarding textile and clothing. She postulates that this taste for the colorful may have been introduced from the Levant in materials like textile, wood, and jewelry. See Lilyquist 1999: 213-215 and 217-218. See also Kitchen 1986: 40-41 (regarding the technique of "alternate inlay"), and Lilyquist 1998: 29.

<sup>72</sup> Shefton 1989: 98, suggests that the so-called paradise flower ornament referred to below was created with inlay work in mind.

cian ivory repertoire.<sup>73</sup> But the Cypriote statues also exhibit these Egyptianizing motifs in particular arrangements that are paralleled in the ivories. The limestone torso reproduced on *pl. XXXIX:6* shows so-called paradise flowers<sup>74</sup> in the innermost register of its broad collar. The flowers, which by themselves make up another example of a transformation of an Egyptian form,<sup>75</sup> are arranged with large and small flowers alternately set on a pliant stem. One small flower perfectly fits into the small space between and beneath two larger flowers.<sup>76</sup> A similar arrangement of floral elements is recurrent on eighth and seventh century BCE ivories.<sup>77</sup> We find it also on the ivory panels decorating the furniture found in tomb 79 at Salamis, which reveals the presence and availability of this elaborate iconography and this particular floral arrangement on the island from at least around 700 BCE on.<sup>78</sup>

In the examples presented above, we point to certain affinities between ivory carved mainly during the eighth century BCE and stone sculpture manufactured around 200 years later. It seems as if the Cypriote sculptors were imitating images very similar to those depicted on the ivories, that is, figures which already were Egyptianizing in regard to both dress and or-

<sup>73</sup> The four-winged scarab is such an ornament, displayed on the belt belonging to the Cypriote torso partly depicted in *pl. XL:8* (see Faegersten forthcoming a). The four-winged creature is a probable Phoenician transfiguration of an original Egyptian type, see Hermary 1986: 188. See also Ward 1994: 192, who places the origin of the four-winged scarab in Syria, where it would have been created under the influence of Hurrian art.

<sup>74</sup> The term "paradise flower" introduced by Shefton has been used by several scholars discussing the motif; it is convenient as a common denominator.

<sup>75</sup> See 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". Note, however, that we have evidence from the time of Osorkon II of the presence of this floral shape in Egypt (on a granite Hathor capital from the Bubastis temple, today in the courtyard of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo). See Habachi 1957: pls. 18-19. This was noted already by E. Gubel in 2000b: 198 note 27. We further find the ornament in the broad, decorated collar of a twentysixth Dynasty basalt sarcophagus from Lower Egypt, see Buhl 1959: 31-33, 156, and 196-198, fig. 7 (C, a 4).

<sup>76</sup> For a very similar rendering, see the above mentioned, beautifully decorated Egyptianizing statue found at Sidon, which is suggested to be a Cypriote import. One of the registers of the broad collar contains large lily flowers and smaller paradise flowers set on a common, pliant stem. An identical border is placed right above the belt and along the lower edge of the short-sleeved garment of the statue. See, again, Doumet Serhal 1998: 30-31, figs. 3-6.

<sup>77</sup> See, for example, Herrmann 1986: pls. 224:856-857, 225:861, and 320:1234 (lotus flowers and buds); pls. 224:866 (lilies and buds) and 320:1236 (volute-palmettes and buds).

<sup>78</sup> See Karageorghis 1974: pl. E (color photograph) and pls. 70 and 241:148 (where the alternating palmettes and paradise flowers are set on intertwining stalks). See also pls. 33:2 and 240. C. Lilyquist has pointed out that the earliest linked chains with alternating floral elements occur *outside* Egypt, see Lilyquist 1988: 20.

namentation, yet of a quite homogenous quality and appearance. The form, the coloring, as well as the very arrangement of certain imitated motifs seem to have displayed a clearly Egyptianizing character and not a contemporary Egyptian one.

The problems are the period of time and the differences in size that separate these two categories of objects. We have no ivory carvings in the round to bridge the gap between the two. In addition, the ivory plaques and the votive statues made of stone belong to different social spheres. While the former decorated high-quality wooden furniture, the latter were displayed in temples and sanctuaries to honor divinities.

A possibility to consider is the wooden sculpture that was probably manufactured in all sizes and for all purposes parallel to the ivory carving in Iron Age Phoenician workshops. The Phoenician artisans were famous for their skills in woodworking and the carving techniques as well as the methods of applying, for example, gold overlay and *cloisonné* inlay were very similar in the two crafts.<sup>79</sup> To suggest that wooden versions of Egyptianizing male figures, sphinxes and other figural types were being manufactured is perhaps not so contentious<sup>80</sup> when one considers the elaborate Egyptianizing style with all its possibilities of colorful inlay and intricate carving in minute areas, which is indeed suitable for woodwork. Could wooden sculpture, then, possibly provide a missing link? If so, we should imagine a decorative repertoire very similar to the one of the ivory carvings, although carried out in larger sizes, as well.<sup>81</sup> Local artisans on Cyprus then copied these wooden statues not only in wood, but also in the material they mastered so well: the soft local limestone. This hypothetical corpus of wooden material could have made up the relatively homogeneous, but still Egyptianizing category of material that served as the main source of inspiration for Cypriote artisans manufacturing Egyptianizing votive statues.

Such an hypothesis provides explanations. The presence of Egyptianizing wooden sculpture could account for the gap of time of around 200 years or more between the manufacture of ivory carvings and stone statues,

<sup>79</sup> In his 1935 article, R. D. Barnett referred to the first Book of Kings, where there is mention of the woodworks carried out by Phoenician craftsmen during the construction of the Temple of Jerusalem. The text explicitly mentions the skill with which the Phoenician masters gilded wood, a technique also well known from ivory work. See Barnett 1935: 200 (especially note 2). The technique and tools for carving and the method of assembling several pieces into one figure are common to wood and ivory. See, for example, Barnett 1957: 175.

<sup>80</sup> Consider the large wooden *cherubim* of Phoenician manufacture that guarded the innermost part of the Temple of Jerusalem. See, for example, Trokay 1986: 112, and Keel & Uehlinger 1998: 168-169.

<sup>81</sup> Large scale ivory statues were indeed produced during the eighth and seventh centuries BCE, perhaps assembled in combination with wood. See Herrmann 1986: 24, pls. 334:1285 (a fragmentary head, preserved height 15.4 cm), 342:1308 (an ear, 6.8 cm in height). See also pls. 332:1284 and 337:1290.

given that a strong and proud tradition of Phoenician wood-carving was maintained when the production of high-quality Phoenician ivory objects ceased. It could possibly also account for the constant and faithful repetition of the persea fruit, the standardized leaves, and the flower petals in the collars of the Cypriote statues. The repetition of this exact arrangement in eight out of seventeen Cypriote statues indicates if not a common source of inspiration, at least a very stable or static one as, for example, a group of homogenous wood-carvings with similar New Kingdom-type floral collars.

An intermediary wooden material could also account for the coiling tail of the cobra; the echoed inlaid area along the border of one of our Cypriote torsos; the raised outlines found on certain statues; and the application of alternate coloring alongside Egyptianizing motifs and arrangements. All these features could have been similarly present in inlaid wooden sculpture and then copied to limestone in Cypriote workshops.

Once introduced into the workshops (and the sanctuaries) of the island, the Egyptianizing votives<sup>82</sup> testify to an indigenous development in stone in the Cypriote workshops, where gradual misunderstandings were bound to take place, but where dynamic changes and reinterpretations took place, too, and where skilled Cypriote stone masters added their own heritage to the statues and the style.<sup>83</sup> Continuing this chain of thoughts, we can imagine that patrons and dedicators of Phoenician coastal sanctuaries – among other Bostan esh-Sheik and Amrit – had access to both local stone and wood carvings. Maybe the style developed on Cyprus was attractive enough as to account for some imports and exchanges between workshops. Maybe the Phoenician sculptors never reached the same confidence and skill as their Cypriote colleagues and perhaps stone was not their preferred material.

The hypothesis that wooden sculpture was a possible means of transfer does, however, raise questions. Besides the obvious shortcomings of an *argumentum ex silentio*, one problem inherent in our suggestion stands out: we need to postulate a difference in appearance between contemporary Egyptianizing wooden statuary from Phoenicia – which we suggest was closely related to ivory carvings from the eighth to seventh centuries BCE – and Phoenician stone statues, which generally are deprived of broad collars, supported by back-pillars, and which carry animals under their arms.

<sup>82</sup> Including not only male statues, but most probably sphinxes and other types, as well.

<sup>83</sup> The male Egyptianizing votive statues are admittedly a limited group within Cypriote material culture. As hinted to in the previous note, however, this group is part of quite a large array of material of Egyptianizing character. It could indeed be suggested that the joy of color and the joy of decorative detail in certain Archaic Cypriote stone material may echo inlaid oriental woodwork. See, for example, the so called Amathus sarcophagus in Karageorghis, Mertens et al. 2000: 201-204, no. 330, and the frontispiece of that book. Adjacent to rounded shapes with thin, narrow outlines colored alternatively red and blue and stylized vegetal forms with alternate blue coloring are found lilies and buds connected to a common pliant stem, another possible “ivory element.”

No satisfying explanation can be offered here. What can be noted is a correspondence between wood and ivory figures on the one hand and the Cypriote group of statues on the other: both lack back-pillar supports. Whether or not the Phoenician stone statues needed their supports for technical reasons, they seem to have conserved in this at least a limited part of the Egyptian sculptural tradition, while relying on New Kingdom iconography in regard to dress and equipment. The latter was perpetuated by indigenous ivory carvings among other categories of evidence.

Clearly more work is needed in this area. The Cypriote statues seem to testify, however, to a continuous production of high-quality polychrome objects of an Egyptianizing style in the Eastern Mediterranean after the production of elaborate ivory plaques, panels, and figurines had ceased in the Phoenician workshops. Whether one can explain this with a continued production of related objects made of wood is but a mere hypothesis.

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## *Summary*

The production, diffusion and exchange of luxury goods have always played a major role in the symbolic communication of human societies, be it among various segments within societies or across geographical distance and cultural boundaries. In this volume, historians and archaeologists look at so-called minor art from the Near East and the eastern Mediterranean, particularly ivory carvings of the early first millennium BCE, in their triple function as artifacts, visual media and reflections of cultural contact and artistic emulation. Objects and images are considered as material culture, i.e. products of craftsmen, workshops and schools drawing on various styles and iconographic repertoires; and in iconological terms as media vehiculating culturally encoded messages and as symbolic expressions of particular traditions, worldviews and beliefs.

What happened to images and styles when they moved from one place to another within larger contexts of cultural exchange and socio-political and economic relationships? Before trying to address such a question, one must determine the origin and date of the material objects and object groups. The coherent classification of the primary evidence is one of the most basic research issues. What are the assumptions and criteria that scholars apply when they define groups according to material, function, style or iconography? Is it possible to relate such categories to historical entities (such as 'workshops' or 'schools') and to locate these more specifically in space and time? Such were the basic questions of an international workshop held at the University of Fribourg in February 2001, the proceedings of which are published in the present volume.

Several contributions concentrate on typology, classification, terminology and method, from the point of view of the practitioner or in more theoretical terms. As an epigrapher used to long-established criteria of phenotypical classification, A.R. Millard examines script on artifacts. G. Herrmann and I.J. Winter expound on the classification of ivories in general. Taking the so-called "roundcheeked and ringletted" style group of ivory carvings as an example, D. Wicke

asks whether and how it is possible to identify and to locate specific regional styles. Horse trappings, a particular class of objects that were predominant on the Phoenician coast, are discussed by E. Gubel, while E. Rehm investigates the depiction of another class of objects, royal furniture in Assyrian monumental art. Ch. Uehlinger reassesses ivory carvings found at Samaria and raises questions about ivory craftsmanship in Iron Age Israel. Further classes of objects looked at include North Syrian pyxides and bowls made of stone (S. Mazzoni) and Cypriote stone statuary of Egyptianizing style (F. Faegersten). Two studies concentrate on iconography, exploring particular motifs that occur in various media and across cultures: the winged disc (T. Ornan) and the Egyptianizing figure carrying a ram-headed staff and a jug (S.M. Cecchini). Crete is the focus of two contributions: one reviews its orientalizing metalwork and vase painting (H. Matthäus), whereas the other scrutinizes present interpretations of imports and borrowings, raising the question how to define cultural identity from material culture (G. Hoffman).