

## THE ICONOGRAPHY OF SOME PHOENICIAN SEALS AND SEAL IMPRESSIONS

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The purpose of this paper is twofold: firstly, to publish a number of seals and seal impressions and secondly, to discuss the iconography of these and their relatives within the wider context of Phoenician glyptic art and religion. Many of the seals published here have details closely comparable to examples already known.

Phoenician seals, mostly of green jasper and carnelian, but with occasional examples in chalcedony, and sharing many common techniques of gravure, are particularly well represented from the Phoenician colonies in the West Mediterranean. Most of the published examples come from Tharros in Sardinia<sup>1</sup> but they are well known at Carthage,<sup>2</sup> Utica<sup>3</sup> and from Spain, where Ibiza,<sup>4</sup> Villaricos<sup>5</sup> and Gibraltar<sup>6</sup> have provided examples. There is an early find of imprints of these seals from Selinunte in Sicily,<sup>7</sup> but otherwise they are rare in the Phoenician colonies of Sicily, Motya having provided a few examples,<sup>8</sup> and none is recorded from Malta.

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1. H. B. Walters, *Catal. Engraved Gems and Cameos etc. in the British Museum*, 1926; many are included in A. Furtwängler, *Die Antiken Gemmen*, 1900 (afterwards "Furtwängler"). Many of the seals illustrated by Alberto della Marmora's *Sopra alcune antichità sarde* (Memorie della Reale Accad. di Scienze, Torino, 1854) were originally published by Canon B. Spano in various volumes of *Bull arch. sardo*; C. Mansell, *Gaz. arch.*, 1877, pp. 74-76; 1878, pp. 35-40, 50-53, discusses individual motifs from Tharros scarabs.
  2. J. Vercoutter, *Les objets égyptiens et égyptisants du mobilier funéraire carthaginois*, Paris, 1945, where all previous literature is cited.
  3. J. Moulard, "Fouilles à Utique en 1925," *Bull. arch.*, 1926, p. 225 ff.
  4. A. Vives Escudero, *La necropoli de Ibiza: estudio de arqueología cartaginesa*, Madrid, 1917.
  5. M. Astruc, *La necropoli de Villaricos (Informes y Memorias*, 22, 1951).
  6. Ashmolean Museum numbers: 1964. 383-9. There are others in the Gibraltar Museum.
  7. A. Salinas, "Dei sigilli di creta rinvenuti a Selinunte," *Notizie d. scavi*, 1883, p. 287 ff.
  8. A. Ciasca *et al. Mozia I, II*; J. Whitaker, *Motya*, gives no examples but mentions carnelian scarabs, p. 338.

The place of manufacture is unknown. Relatively few have been found in the Phoenician homeland, and since in style and technique they are closely allied to archaic Greek and Etruscan scaraboids, the term "Greco-Phoenician" is commonly applied to them<sup>9</sup> and it has been conjectured that Phoenician and "Classical" scaraboids were manufactured in related workshops.<sup>10</sup> Certainly many such gems with purely Greek motifs have turned up on Phoenician sites and appear to be contemporaneous there with gems of purely Phoenician design. Green jasper is the most common material for both these Phoenician and classical gems; and of this the most likely source was Egypt, where it was worked in antiquity.<sup>11</sup>

The recorded specimens of these seals from the Syro-Palestinian region are largely purchases or isolated finds. The Collection de Clercq includes a number of jasper scaraboids from Tortosa, Amrit and elsewhere on the Syrian coast;<sup>12</sup> specimens in the Ashmolean Museum were donated by the Rev. Greville Chester, who purchased them in Beirut.<sup>13</sup> Very few excavated specimens come from the confines of Phoenicia proper, but these include a few fine examples from Byblos: M. Dunand, *Fouilles de Byblos*, I, No. 2423, pl. CXXVIII; II, Nos. 16930, 16983, 19200, pl. CCI.<sup>14</sup> C. N. Johns found them in Phoenician graves of the Persian period at 'Atlit.<sup>15</sup> These were mostly Greek in style; two with representations of Herakles, but one with the typically Phoenician motif of Bes between lions. The 'Atlit seals are reproduced here (Plate I) for comparative purposes as displayed with others in the Palestine Museum.<sup>16</sup> There are two published examples from Tell Abu-Hawam<sup>17</sup> and a further one in the Palestine Museum (Plate I, 2). Another seal from a clear Persian context was excavated at Kamid el-Loz in the northern Beqa', again depicting Bes.<sup>18</sup>

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9. M.-L. Vollenweider, *Catal. raisonné des sceaux et intailles*, 1966, p. 153.
  10. Walters, *op. cit.*, p. xxix. For a gem with classical motif and Phoenician inscription *Ars Antiqua* (Lucerne), Auktion 5, 1964, No. 143.
  11. J. R. Harris, *Lexicographical Studies in Ancient Egyptian Minerals*, pp. 102, 130, 232.
  12. A. de Ridder, *Collection de Clercq II: Les pierres gravées*, Nos. 2502-2805 (afterwards, *Collection de Clercq*).
  13. *PEFQ*, 1886, pp. 43-49, "from Amrit, Arad and Beirut". One of these is reproduced by J. H. Middleton, *Ancient Gems* (1891); others by D. B. Harden, *The Phoenicians*, pl. 108.
  14. Nat. Mus. Beirut, Nos. B 14727, B 14728, B 14730.
  15. "Excavations at 'Atlit," *QDAP*, II, p. 41 ff.
  16. I am grateful to G. Lankester Harding for the photograph.
  17. R. W. Hamilton, "Excavations at Tell Abu-Hawam," *QDAP*, IV, p. 1 ff, Nos. 47, 48.
  18. R. Hachmann and A. Kushke, *Kamid el-Loz 1963-4* (Saarbrüchener Beiträge zur Altertumskunde Bd. 3), Bonn, 1966, p. 84 ff, fig. 22.

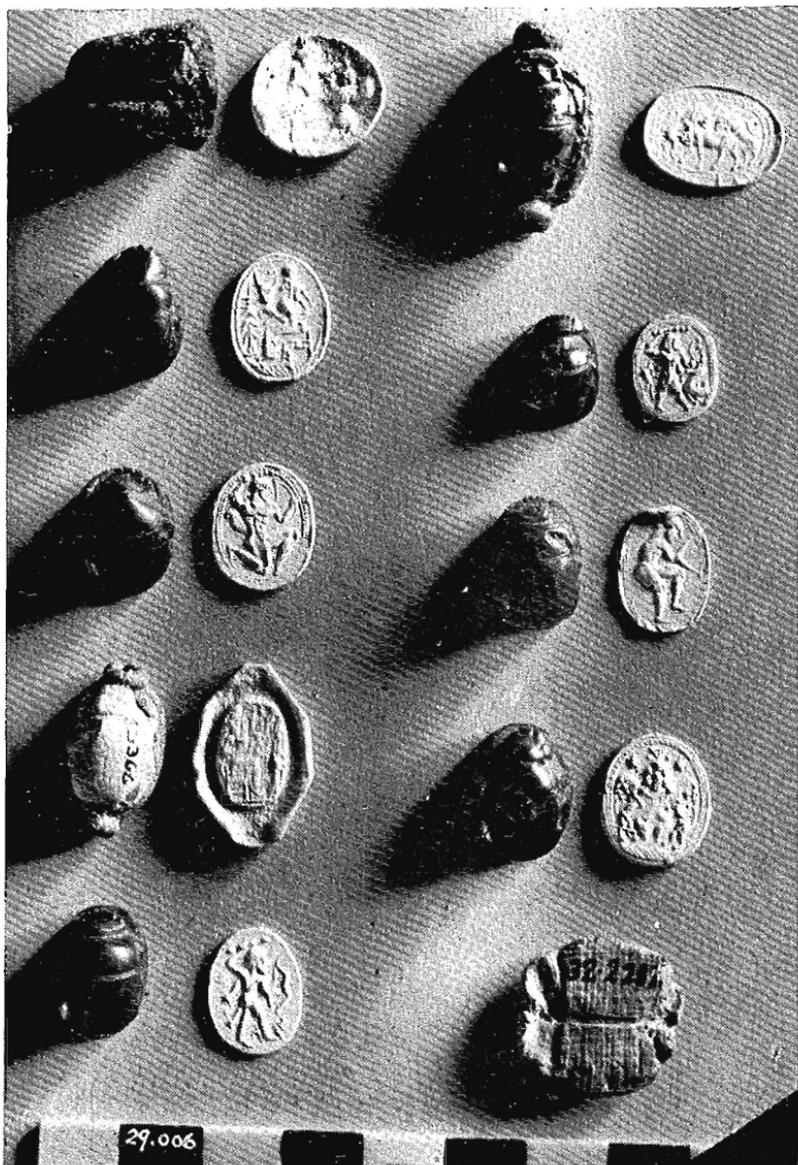


PLATE I: Seals in the Palestine Archaeological Museum

Top: 1. Dark blue conoid, Samaria, Pal. Mus. 767; 2. Carnelian Tell Abu Hawam, Pal. Mus. 757. 2nd: 3. Dark green jasper, 'Atlit, Pal. Mus. 758, Johns *QDAP*, II, No. 649; 4. Green jasper, 'Atlit, Pal. Mus. 759, *ibid.*, No. 496. 3rd: 5. Green jasper, 'Atlit, Pal. Mus. 760, *ibid.*, No. 497; 6. Carnelian, 'Atlit, *ibid.*, No. 629. 4th: 7. Blue paste in swivel mount, 'Atlit, *ibid.*, p. 67, fig. 24; 8. Green jasper, 'Atlit, *ibid.*, No. 935. 5th: 9. Carnelian, 'Atlit, *ibid.*, No. 552; 10. Clay bulla, Samaria, Pal. Mus. 32, 2282, Crawford and Kenyan, *Samaria-Sebaste*, III, pl. XV, No. 42.

Cyprus is said to have been the source of a number of examples in collections, but recorded examples are few. Even though the intermingling of Greek and Phoenician religious and artistic ideas might be more significant in Cyprus than elsewhere, the existence of crude copies in local black steatite suggests that it was not the place of manufacture of these seals. Six examples are listed as part of the "Curium Treasure," now partly in the Metropolitan Museum's Cesnola Collection.<sup>19</sup> A scarab of Bes of green jasper from Tamassos is listed by Furtwängler No. 19, p. 34 (see note 52) and there is a notable haematite seal from Larnaka mounted on a ring<sup>20</sup>: the motif of Isis suckling Horus and the workmanship strongly suggests that it belongs to this group. A dated specimen with a representation of "Baal enthroned" was found with 5th century jewellery. There are three other examples in the Cyprus Museum.<sup>21</sup>

Whilst it is generally admitted that these Phoenician scarabs belong to the Persian period, closely dated specimens are rare and do not permit precision for the beginning of the style. Besides the Italian contexts provided by Furtwängler, p. 171, their currency in the 5th century is established by two contexts containing Greek material: there is a carnelian scarab of Bes set in a gold swivel ring from a grave at Ialysos, Rhodes<sup>22</sup>, which contained an Attic Black Figure amphora of about 500 B.C. Another export, a seal with the very typical motif of a cow suckling her calf, turned up in a kurgan at Nymphaea (Bosphorus), together with Greek material ranging 470-430 B.C.<sup>23</sup> No single example can in fact be dated before 500 B.C. and Vercoutter notes that at Carthage green jasper and red carnelian seals become very common in the 5th-4th centuries,<sup>24</sup> though there appear to be earlier examples at Carthage: Vercoutter's No. 624 comes from grave 96 of Gauckler's excavations in the Dermech cemetery<sup>25</sup> which may be claimed as of 7th century date, but these contexts are too uncertain. Likewise at

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19. L. di Cesnola, *Cyprus, its Ancient Cities, Tombs and Temples*, pls. XXXVI, XXXVII.

20. J. N. L. Myres, *JHS*, XVII, 1897, p. 158, fig. 11.

21. Cyprus Mus., Nos. A1-2657; A1-2707; 1946—VIII-13-4.

22. *Clara Rhodos*, III, p. 271, fig. 267, with amphora fig. 263.

23. L. F. Silantiyeva, *Necropoli Bosporskikh Gorodov*, 1959, p. 56 ff, pl. 24. There is another seal of this group from the Crimea: S. Reinach, *Antiquités du Bosphore cimmérien*, pl. XVI, No. 13, a carnelian engraved with lotus tree and hawks.

24. *Op. cit.*, p. 344.

25. P. Gauckler, *Necropoles puniques de Carthage*, p. 31. The tomb contains a gold finger ring and an earring of very archaic type.

Utica, it is in the 4th century that jasper and carnelian scarabs become common,<sup>26</sup> but a red carnelian scaraboid occurs there in a tomb for which a late 6th century date is claimed.<sup>27</sup> Nevertheless, it is perhaps likely that the tradition of working scaraboids in green jasper was transmitted to Etruria and Greece from a Phoenician source. A date in the third quarter of the 6th century is accepted for the beginning of the Etruscan green jasper series,<sup>28</sup> and although the anteriority of the Phoenician jasper seals cannot be proved, it is reasonable to assume that the Phoenicians were the transmitters of the scarab form. They are rare on sites in inland Palestine:<sup>29</sup> only a fragment of a seal from Samaria, of "green stone," appears to belong to the series.<sup>30</sup>

Other jasper and carnelian scarabs of unrecorded provenance exist in a number of collections, notably the Hermitage<sup>31</sup> and Geneva.<sup>32</sup>

### *Characteristics*

The design of the seals of the purely Phoenician class (i.e., excluding those of Greek theme) is marked by the presence of one or more of the following characteristics. With few exceptions the exergue beneath the scene represented on the face of the seal is arc-shaped and cross-hatched. In older descriptions this exergue was interpreted as the Egyptian *nb* sign or as "corbeille

26. J. Moulard, *loc. cit.*, 1926, pp. 225-235.

27. J. Moulard, "Fouilles et découvertes à Utique," *Bull. arch.*, 1924, pp. 150-151.

28. P. Zazoff, "Zur ältesten Glyptik Etruriens," *JDAI*, 81, 1966, p. 93 ff.

29. An interesting seal which might belong stylistically to the group is that from Tell Zakariyah, *PEFQ*, 1899, p. 187, pl. VII, seal ix. The scene is a lion hunt by two figures in a chariot. There is a small figure behind the chariot and a disc-with-crescent in the background. It is of scaraboid form and said to be made of blue glass. It is likely that it belongs with the other Persian-period material from the site. The form of the chariot wheel shows that it cannot be of the Bronze Age.

30. J. Crowfoot and K. Kenyon, *Samaria-Sebaste III; The Objects from Samaria*, pl. XV, No. 22.

31. M. I. Maximova, *Antichnyie Reznnye Kamni Ermitaja*, 1926, p. 48, pl. 1, 3rd row onwards.

32. M.-L. Vollenweider, *op. cit.*, Nos. 149-162; also Bibliothèque Nationale and Louvre, Chabouillet (see n. 33) and E. Ledrain, *Notice sommaire des monuments phéniciens etc.*, Nos. 413, 433, etc.

egyptienne."<sup>33</sup> Whilst this interpretation appears to be without direct support, the interpretation of the exergue as a mere filling device is not entirely a happy one either, even though engravers may have treated it as such. Basically it represents terrain and, in one case, the gem Furtwängler, pl. VII, 29, a small mountain grows out of it. When we recall the treatment of the exergue in the tondo design of the Phoenician bowl from the Regolini-Galassi<sup>34</sup> tomb at Caere, which is covered with "mountain" design and yet supports a papyrus-thicket housing the cow-and-suckling calf motif, we may perhaps wonder if the hatched exergue does not in fact denote "celestial terrain," the mountainous dwelling of the gods, indicating that the scene represented is cosmic or celestial. Mountain exergues are also to be seen in the medallions of the "serpent bowl" from the Bernadini tomb and a bowl from the Regolini-Galassi tomb.<sup>35</sup>

Be this as it may, there can be little doubt about the celestial symbolism of the star and disc-and-crescent motifs which are further common characteristics of these seals and are frequently engraved above representations of divinities. The star usually has six or eight points: the disc is usually contained within the upward-curving points of a thick crescent. This latter motif is a common feature of Phoenician cultic representation and is presumably derived from its use as a deity-accompanying symbol in Old Babylonian and Syro-Hittite Seals.<sup>36</sup> Ronzevalle has rightly argued that it is not exclusively associated with Astarte.<sup>37</sup> It appears on the weather-god stela from Amrit above the figure of the god and below the winged disc. On the silver "Huntsman

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33. e.g., J. Chabouillet, *Catal. gén. etc. des camées et pierres gravées de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, 1858, No. 1058, *passim*. The status of the hatched semicircular base on representations of the Paphos temple is difficult to decide, since no single representation is demonstrably pre-Roman. G. Hill has suggested that it invariably represents the semi-circular paved yard which appears in front of the temple on Roman coins, and there has a surrounding fence. In *Catal. of the Greek Coins of Cyprus*, he gives a number of gem-representations of the temple. See particularly C. Blinkenberg, *Le temple de Paphos*, Copenhagen, 1924. Important representations on non-gem or coin material are L. di Cesnola, *Salamina*, p. 44, fig. 52 (a mirror in which the hatched exergue is particularly prominent).

34. L. Pareti, *La Tomba Regolini-Galassi*, No. 322.

35. Randall-MacIver, *Villanovans and Early Etruscans*, pl. 38, 2, and L. Pareti, *op. cit.*, No. 323.

36. e.g., E. Porada, *Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in N. American Collections*, I., e.g., No. 397, 3.

37. "Le prétendu char d'Astarté," *Mélanges de l'Univ. St. Joseph*, XVI, p. 52. A full discussion by J. Ferron, "Le caractère solaire du dieu de Carthage," *Africa*, I, 1966, pp. 45-46, points out the lack of precise association.

bowl" from the Bernadini tomb, discussed below, it again appears, together with the winged disc,<sup>38</sup> above the divine figure. This duplication of celestial symbols thus appears to go back at least to the 7th c. B.C. In the same century there appears a similar combination of winged-disc and disc-and-crescent accompanying the baetylic image on a group of gold medallions<sup>39</sup> which pre-date the appearance at Carthage of the distinctive group of Phoenician scaraboids under discussion here (as opposed to Egyptianising scarabs decorated with hieroglyphs).<sup>40</sup> It appears then that we have here a combination of symbols peculiar to metropolitan Phoenicia and absent from the decoration of the 8th c. Phoenician ivories. The wings of the winged discs of the gold medallions, like those of the scaraboids, have peculiarities which distinguish them from their Egyptian prototypes. The wings droop (to fit the rounded space available) and are made up of closely set feathers separated by two horizontal bars of double notch drawn along the length of the wing. Usually three-pointed rays are drawn proceeding from below the orb.<sup>41</sup> These are sometimes flanked by two curled lines originally representing the Egyptian *uraei*.

Egyptian motifs pervade the entire style, but the peculiarities listed above are valuable aids to identification and permit fair certainty about certain early engravings of such seals as that described by Sir Richard Worsley, No. 3, p. 135, of *Museum Worsleyanum*, 1824 (here reproduced, fig. 1). A minor borrowing from Egyptian scarabs is the "rope" or "ladder" border with which many of these seals are provided. This we find on Egyptian scarabs of the XX Dynasty, derived from the rope-border of the cartouche. Whether the borrowing was intentional and well-informed on the part of the Phoenicians is impossible to say; but again we would be in danger of superficiality if we were to suppose that the "ladder" border was merely decorative.

The technique of engraving is based upon that of the cylinder seals of Babylonia and Assyria, beginning in the late 9th or early 8th c. B.C. In these the design appears to be first mapped out by drilling shallow circular depressions into the surface of the seal and then channelling out of these to form the shallow-cut figures.<sup>42</sup>

38. On the dating of this stela see *BASOR*, 87, p. 30, not later than 6th-5th c.

39. See note 114.

40. See Vercoutter, *op. cit.*, pp. 62-65.

41. Drooping wings are, of course, common on Egyptian scarabs and monuments but comparison shows small distinctive traits of the "Phoenician" version, of which the best examples are the gold medallions, *Catal. Mus. Lavignerie*, I, pl. XXXII, 6, 7, which have rays above and below the orb.

42. E. Porada, *op. cit.*, p. 83 ff.



Fig. 1.

Seal with Isis in the solar barque, after *Museum Worsleyanum*.

Green jasper seal from Marium.

Ht 1.5 cm. Cyprus Museum.



Fig. 2.

### SEAL IMPRESSIONS OF BAAL AND ASTARTE ENTHRONED

The practical use of seals of this class is illustrated by a number of surviving clay sealings for papyrus documents. These are usually small roundels of clay which were placed over the string binding the document and lay directly upon the papyrus, so that the impression of both string and papyrus surface is found on the underside. This method of sealing documents was used in the Persian period in Egypt<sup>43</sup> and appears to have been used by Phoenician officials also. Small numbers have turned up on Palestinian sites:<sup>44</sup> there is an example in pale grey clay from Samaria bearing the imprint of an Achaemenid seal.<sup>45</sup> The papyrus and string impression can be clearly seen on the underside (Plate I, 10). Another example from Samaria, described as "burnt-grey," bears the imprint of a Phoenician seal with a sphinx and *ankh* design.<sup>46</sup> Whilst an example from Lachish appears to be earlier, having been found in a room thought to have been burnt during the Assyrian campaign of 700 B.C.<sup>47</sup> For Achaemenid sealings of similar shape cf. L. Speelers, *Catal. des intailles et des empreintes orientales*, p. 200, No. E. 3077. Seals of exactly this type were used for sealing Carthaginian documents<sup>48</sup> and therefore we can be virtually certain that it was the sealing-type

43. E.g., the sealings of the Elephantine papyri, A. H. Sayce, *Aramaic Papyri etc.*, frontispiece; G. R. Driver, *Aramaic Docs.*, pl. XXIII; C. Kraeling, *The Brooklyn Mus. Aramaic Papyri*, pl. XXI.

44. J. Reisner, *et al.*, *Harvard Excavations at Samaria*, II, p. 378; R. Braidwood, *Syria*, XXI, 1940, p. 195, fig. 7; E. Wright, *Biblical Archaeology*, fig. 128.

45. J. Crowfoot and K. Kenyon, *op. cit.*, p. 88, pl. XV, No. 42.

46. *Ibid.*, No. 43.

47. O. Tuffnell, *Lachish IV*, pl. 44a, No. 172 = *PEQ*, 1941, p. 103, No. 3.

48. P. Gauckler, *Nécropoles puniques de Carthage*, pl. CXXVII top left; Vercoutter, *op. cit.*, p. 257 ff.

commonly used on documents belonging to the Persian administration in Phoenicia. It appears that the group of burnt clay sealings from Carthage, like that from Selinunte, which contains a number of Greek seal-impressions along with Punic, were found together in a single spot, probably indicating the place where a library or archive had been burned.<sup>49</sup> The same condition almost certainly applies to a set of sealings in the collection of Mr. Fouad A. Karam, Beirut. These do not in fact precisely conform with the sealings described above, but are rather to be described as bullae, or small cones of clay through which the end of the string binding a document was passed and then pressed down into the wet surface of the clay.<sup>50</sup> They come from an unrecorded site in Lebanon and are of burnt and blackened clay. They all bear the impression of one or other of two seals and I have selected the clearest impression of each group for illustration and discussion here.

The first (Plate II, A and C) shows an enthroned god with his attendant acolyte. The god sits on a slope-back throne whose sides are formed by two winged sphinxes—a throne type common in Phoenicia.<sup>51</sup> He holds up his right hand in blessing and holds a broad-bladed spear vertically in the left. His dress is noteworthy for the low mitre-like headdress with its apex towards the back. The acolyte appears to be a young man, wearing (if the surface has not been eroded at this point) a low folded hat. He wears a wide-sleeved upper garment of light crimped material and a folded kilt, a swathe of which possibly extends down the back of the legs, but the impression is not clear. He holds aloft in his right hand a curved wand and holds down in his left a jug, the top half of which is broken away. Above the scene is the disc-and-crescent, and above this a winged-disc with two curved "uraei" flanking three short rays on the underside. In relation to the foot-level of the god, it appears that the attendant must stand on a pedestal.

The scene on the second bulla impression (Plate II, B), though more archaic in style, is similar in layout. Here the seated figure is that of Isis suckling the infant Horus. The attendant wears a tall, pointed cap. His torso is naked and he wears a horizontally striated kilt. The crook or sceptre which he carries terminates in a ram's head and will be discussed below. A tall

49. Vercoutter, *loc. cit.*; A. Salinas, *loc. cit.*, pl. XV; cf. S. Gsell, *Hist. ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord*, IV, p. 94.

50. A bulla from Samaria, Reisner, *loc. cit.*, No. 1, appears to be of the type with string hole.

51. For sphinx-thrones see the list compiled by H. Seyrig, *Syria*, XXXVI, 1959, p. 51, to which should be added an archaic example recently found by M. Dunand in the piscina of the temple of Eshmun at Sidon.

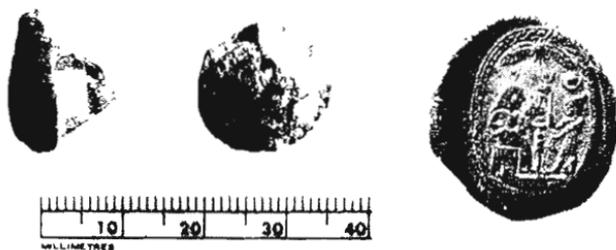
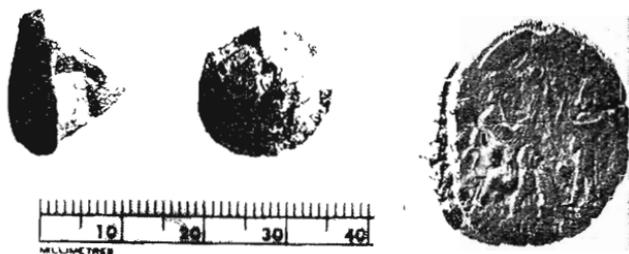


PLATE II

- A. Clay bulla, Fouad A. Karam Coll., Beirut. Face enlarged.
- B. Clay bulla, Fouad A. Karam Coll., Beirut.
- C. Enlargement of A.

incense stand is placed before the goddess. Noteworthy differences from the first seal impression are the absence of full-sleeved garments and the simple box-like Egyptian throne. In general, the seal impression of the goddess is more Egyptian than that of the enthroned god.

The cultic scene depicted on the first bulla is closely similar to that of a considerable group of Phoenician seals which I have previously discussed.<sup>52</sup> The excellent example in Kassel has now been more fully published by Zazoff<sup>53</sup> and the example from Cyprus<sup>54</sup> is here illustrated (fig. 2). No seal representation can be dated before the Persian period, and the wide-sleeved dress worn by the god on a number of seal representations<sup>55</sup> (as on the bulla here under discussion) suggests that he wore the Persian *kandys*. Some examples do, however, have Egyptian features; on the example in University College, London,<sup>56</sup> the *kandys*-wearing god sits on an Egyptian throne, similar to that on the bulla of the goddess. On a seal in the Bibliothèque Nationale<sup>57</sup> the god has a naked torso and sits upon a similar Egyptian throne (fig. 3).

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52. W. Culican, *Abr Nahrain*, II, pp. 41-53. Further examples should now be added: M. Dunand, *Fouilles de Byblos*, II, No. 6950, pl. CXCVIII (haematite); M. G. Amadasi, *Monte Sirai* II, pl. XLVIII, 4 (poor example in green jasper). An excellent example in red carnelian with enthroned goddess and mounted in a gold ring has been found at Ain el-Hilwy near Sidon and will be published by Emir M. Chéhab. Cf. *Collection de Clercq*, Nos. 2756-60; M. Ohnefalsch Richter, *Kypros der Bibel u. Homer*, p. 324, figs. 236-9; M. Astruc, "Catalogue descriptivo de los intalles procedentes de los Baleares" *Memorias de los Museos Provinciales*, pl. LXI, 3. Perhaps a debased version is that of the crude scarab in the Peritié Coll., G. Colonna-Ceccaldi, *Monuments antiques de Chypre*, 1882, p. 100 ff. There are three examples in which the seated figure has the head of a cow or a bull: Walters, *Catal. Gems etc. Brit. Mus.*, No. 358; M. G. Amadasi, *op. cit.*, pl. XLVIII, No. 3, Bibliothèque Nat.; *Les pierres gravées: Guide du visiteur*, p. 8, No. 1055. To seals portraying the standing god of the same type with axe or spear such as that from Ibiza, Culican, *loc. cit.*, pl. I, fig. 1b, should be added Furtwängler, pl. LXI, 11, said to be from Cyprus.
53. *Arch. Anz.*, 1965, Heft 1, pp. 2-115, No. 20; Culican, *loc. cit.*, p. 45.
54. J. L. Myres, *A Catalogue of the Cyprus Museum*, 1899, No. 4581, *JHS*, 1890, p. 54, fig. 1; P. Dikaios, *Guide to the Cyprus Museum*, p. 144.
55. Cf. A. Moret, "Catal. des scarabées et des intailles du Mus. Alaoui," *Bull. arch.*, 1911, No. 88, p. 166.
56. Culican, *loc. cit.*, p. 45, fig. 2.
57. J. Chabouillet, *op. cit.*, p. 166, No. 1056. Green jasper. This appears to be the same seal as is illustrated in drawing by A. della Marmora, *op. cit.*, p. 232, No. 27, after Lajard's *Culte de Mithra*, but note that this drawing is inaccurate since the god carries a spear, not a staff with trefoil terminal. The same illustration is given by M. Ohnefalsch Richter, *op. cit.*, fig. 239.



Fig. 3. Impression of a seal in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Photo, Bibliothèque Nationale), x 2.

Did the Persian dominance in Phoenicia bring about a revitalisation of that religious contact ever present between the two countries and a higher degree of religious syncretism? This question cannot, of course, be fairly answered because of the absence of Phoenician religious art of the seventh century, but the art of the eighth century Phoenician ivories, although there are plenty of Egyptian themes, presents a less severe Egyptianism than that of the seal impressions, and the consequent possibility of an Egyptian re-emphasis in Phoenician religion is something we must bear in mind in discussing certain aspects of seal iconography.

To return to the identity of this divine seated figure and his attributes, the archaic semicircular fenestrated axe carried by him in the seal in the *Collection de Clercq*, No. 2757 ("from Tyre") and in the Tharros seal, Furtwängler, pl. XV, 4 appears to connect him with the huntsman-god on the Bernardini bowl discussed below. On the Melqart stela from Aleppo and on numerous Carthaginian representations in terracotta, the semicircular axe appears as an identificatory attribute.<sup>58</sup> A number of seals show the seated god holding an upright spear, <sup>59</sup> e.g., the Cyprus Museum example. Ohnefalsch Richter, *op. cit.*, fig. 236, shows the god standing and holding a spear and a "flower". Spear and flower can also be associated with representations from the Phoenician West. The Semitic deity worshipped at Hierapolis and identified by the Greeks

58. Culican, *loc. cit.*, p. 42; *Cahiers de Byrsa*, 5, 1955, pl. LXXVIII; *Catal. Mus. Lavignerie*, I, pl. XVI, 2.

59. This spear can be seen most clearly on Dunand's *Fouilles de Byblos*, II, No. 6950, "fer allongé au talon large, une boule à sa basse, et à l'autre, boule de la hampe". This is typical of the Archaemenid spear butt; cp. the Univ. College seal, Culican, *loc. cit.* But Cintas' observation that the enthroned god on the gold ring of Utica, "Deux campagnes de fouilles à Utique", *Karthago*, II, holds a piece of vegetation (a corn stalk?) is borne out by Walters, *op. cit.*, No. 376, where the top of the spear is "thyrsos like".

as Apollo is also described as seated, carrying a spear and an object resembling a flower.<sup>60</sup>

*The "Khnum Sceptre"*

The object held by the acolyte on both bullae (for we may safely restore the details to the first bulla, since considerable indications survive) has attracted considerable attention recently. It is a curved wand ending in a ram's head and is a recognized but little understood piece of Phoenician liturgical apparatus. It appears on ivories from Arslan Tash and Nimrud and is there noted by Mallowan,<sup>61</sup> who found an example of the instrument itself in the throne room of the Ezida temple. It is also the object carried by the personage who follows the chariot-borne figure on the Persian coinage of Sidon<sup>62</sup> and has been studied in this connection by P. Naster, "Le baal de Sidon", *Festschrift Bossert (Jahrbuch für Kleinasiatiscbe Forschung II)*, 1965, pp. 327-332. In almost all cases the acolyte who carries the ram-headed sceptre also carries a jug and Naster has connected both these objects with the Egyptian cult of Khnum,<sup>63</sup> the Egyptian ram-god, whose name is written with the "hieroglyphs 'jug' and 'hawk'", and pointed to a surviving plain example of a Khnum sceptre in the Turin Museum. In two examples quoted by Naster a ram-headed wand was also used as a symbol of Ea in the time of Esarhaddon (as seen on the well-known Esarhaddon stela from Senjirli)<sup>64</sup> and these lead Naster to the conclusion that a Khnum-Ea-Baal syncretism had taken place by the Persian period in Phoenicia, consequent upon the rise to prominence of the cult of Khnum in XXVI, Dynasty Egypt.

As a symbol of Ea, the short ram-headed crook was already in use in Babylon in the 12th century B.C. A Babylonian kudurru

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60. Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, I, XVII. The origin and significance of the spear are obscure. A XIX Dyn. Egyptian stela depicting a Syro-Palestinian god named Qsr-ti (Kushor?) might be significant. He is seated and carries both axe and spear, J. Leibovitch, "Un nouveau dieu égypto-cananéen", *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*, XLVIII, 1949, p. 43.
61. *Nimrud and its Remains*, p. 506, and ivories Nos. 412, 460, 470; F. Thureau-Dangin, *Arslan Tash*, pl. 32.
62. For a valuable study of this figure see H. Seyrig, "Antiquités syriennes VI", *Syria*, 36, 1959, p. 53 ff.
63. See also Naster's article, "Le suivant du char royale sur les doubles statères de Sidon", *Revue numismatique belge*, CIII, 1957, pp. 1-20. There appears to be no explanation of the association of the jug with Khnum's name. The jug was still associated with the cult of Khnum at Esna in Roman times, cf. S. Sauneron, "Les querelles impériales vues à travers les scènes du temple d'Esné", *Bull. de l'Inst. du Caire*, LI, 1952, pp. 111-121.
64. J. B. Pritchard, *ANEP*, 447.

from Susa in the Louvre shows it resting on the altar supported by the goat-fish of Ea. In the time of Sennacherib, it had become longer: we see on one of his reliefs at Bavian the symbols of the gods displayed with the three tiaras of Ashur, Bel and Ea at their head. Next to these and closely placed to the third tiara is a thin ram-headed sceptre standing upon a small cavetto altar of Egyptian type.<sup>65</sup>

The theory that the use of this cultic object is a result of a syncretism of the Egyptian, Phoenician and Assyrian creator gods Khnum, Baal and Ea is a very attractive one and some of its iconographic implications will be explored here. That the ram-headed sceptre or "Khnum sceptre" was adopted in Phoenicia before the Persian period is shown not only by the evidence of the 8th century ivories from Nimrud, but also by the famous "El stela" from Ras Shamra,<sup>66</sup> which is attributed to the 13th century B.C. and which we may regard as the Canaanite prototype of the specifically Phoenician iconography of our first bulla. On the stela from Ras Shamra an acolyte approaches El holding aloft a horn-like wand terminating in what appears to be a ram's head:<sup>67</sup> in his left hand he holds down a jug. The presence of the winged-disc above this scene strongly suggests that the seated god is indeed the supreme sky divinity, hence the suggested identification as the bearded god as El, the head of the Ugaritic pantheon. Thus, though some 800 years separate this stela and our bulla, the iconographic relationship is certain. Though details of dress show that the El stela is purely Canaanite work,<sup>68</sup> Egyptian influence appears not only in the use of the winged-disc but also in the headdress of El, the horns of Khnum topped by the *atef* feathers. It is also of interest to note that on Nimrud ivory No. 481<sup>69</sup> the Khnum

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65. For the Susa kudurru, *Treasures of the Louvre* (Weidenfeld and Nicolson, publ.), p. 98; for Bavian, Roscher's *Lexikon der Mythologie*, IV, p. 554. Cp. clay tablet, H. A. Layard, *Monuments of Nineveh*, pl. 95a, fig. 13. For the symbol, A. Deimel, *Pantheon Babylonicum*, p. 554.

66. C. F. A. Schaeffer, *Syria*, XVIII, 1937, pl. 14.

67. The head is indistinct, but appears most plausibly on all photographs as a ram with horns curled below the head: cf. Pritchard, *ANEP*, 493, "with animal's head". Naster takes it as a Khnum sceptre. El holds what appears to be an incense cone in his hand. It does not seem likely that this cone, held within a dish, has anything to do with the semi-circular appendage of the Khnum sceptre discussed below—as suggested by M. Dunand, and R. Duru, *Oumm el-'Amed*, 1962, p. 171.

68. The date of the stela is somewhat uncertain, but the dress of El is comparable with the 13th-century Megiddo Ivory, G. Loud, *The Megiddo Ivories*, No. 4, which is clearly Canaanite.

69. M. Mallowan, *op. cit.*

sceptre and jug are used by attendants of the sacred tree and this surely explains the carrying of jugs in the low down position by sacred tree attendants on the Bichrome IV vases of Cyprus, which adopt certain Phoenician motifs.<sup>70</sup> Here, however, sceptres are not used, but this may be because the Cypriot artist misunderstood the Phoenician cultic scene he was copying.

It is impossible to say where these sceptres originated, but L. Keimer, "Remarques sur quelques divinités béliers et sur un groupe d'objets de culte conservés au Musée du Caire," *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*, XXXVIII, pp. 297-331, published a number of bronze finials in the shape of rams' heads, which are most likely the terminals of such sceptres. We may here note an almost exactly similar object from Byblos, a surface-find which was, incidentally, labelled by Dunand "tête de scèptre."<sup>71</sup> Keimer, *loc. cit.*, also illustrates several of wood and sheep's horn, horns of *ovis longipes palaeoegyptiacus* (the form of ram under which Khnum was worshipped) or wooden copies, which terminate in miniature carved heads of *ovis platyra aegyptiaca* (the form under which Amun was worshipped). That such wands were cultic (and also that they are probably late) is now indicated by an example pictured together with cult apparatus on the reliefs of the Roman period temple at Esna,<sup>72</sup> one of the chief centres of Khnum worship.

But we must now comment on an outstanding difference between the Khnum sceptre as it appears on the El stela and on the Nimrud ivories and its form on our bullae and on the Sidonian coins. On those former, the ram's head is either undecorated or wears the crown of Isis (disc in horns) but on our bulla and the coins it has a semicircular appendage with a fringe of dots or short lines below it. Whilst these accoutrements of the ram-headed sceptre are not invariably used in the late period,<sup>73</sup> they are frequently added in representations of this object on Phoenician seals of the Persian period. In some cases the work may have been too small for the gem-cutter to show them, but the seals, in any case, provide abundant evidence for the use of the jug and

70. M. Ohnefalsch Richter, *Kypros der Bibel u. Homer*, II, pl. XIX, 3; *CVA*, France fas. V (Louvre fasc. IV), pl. 336, 8; *Bull. Corr. Hell.*, LXXXVIII, 1964, p. 297, fig. 2.

71. *Fouilles de Byblos*, II, p. 85, fig. 72. This has sockets for attachments.

72. S. Sauneron, *Quatre campagnes à Esna*, Cairo, 1959, p. 161, fig. 6, 2nd register.

73. I have examined the two sceptres carved on the sides of the naiskos from Sidon, *Syria*, VII, p. 127 f., pl. XXXII, 2, now in the collection of Mme Chiha, Beirut. These ram heads have crowns but no appendages. They have thick necks rather like the wand on the ivory Mallowan, *op. cit.*, No. 412.

Khnum sceptre, with or without appendages, in Phoenician cult.<sup>74</sup> We may instance two drawings of Tharros seals from Alberto della Marmora (figs. 4 and 5)<sup>75</sup> where the acolyte is shown with his cultic apparatus and where a complete shrine of Baal is depicted flanked by acolytes with undecorated crooks and jugs. On the carved Phoenician Astarte shrine of the 3rd-2nd centuries B.C. from Memphis<sup>76</sup> the seated goddess is approached by two attendants,



Figs. 4 and 5. Drawings of seals from Tharros (after Alberto della Marmora).

one with a jug and Khnum sceptre: this is the largest and most detailed representation that we have of this object. On the Wadi 'Ashour relief, which greatly resembles the Memphis naiskos, the work is badly damaged and it is not possible to make out clearly the sceptre terminals; but on the lintel of the eastern Temple at Oumm El-'Amed, near Tyre, the Khnum sceptre in the hands of one of the two attendants has some kind of object hanging below the head of the ram.<sup>77</sup> All these sculptured representations of the Hellenistic period are, however, insufficiently detailed to allow us to identify the semicircular appendage precisely, even though they further establish the importance of the sceptre and jug in Phoenician liturgy.

74. P. Gauckler, *op. cit.*, pl. CLXXXI, second from left in second row, depicts the acolyte only. He carries the jug low down in his right hand and the Khnum sceptre vertically in his left. Cp. *Catal. Mus. Lavignerie*, I, pl. XXXIV, No. 48; M. A. Moret, "Catal. des scarabées et intailles du Mus. Alaoui", *Bull. arch.*, 1911, p. 165, pl. XIII, 82, and *Catal. Mus. Alaoui, Supplément*, pl. CIV.

75. *Sopra alcune antichità sarde*, pls. A, 22, B77; some allowances must be made here for the inaccuracy of "antiquarian" drawing.

76. N. Aimé-Giron, *Bull. de l'Inst. français d'archéologie orientale*, XXV, 1924, pp. 191-211, pl. I; M. Dunand and R. Duru, *Oumm el-'Amed*, pp. 170-173, pl. LXXVI.

77. For the Wadi 'Ashour and Oumm el-'Amed reliefs, *ibid.*, pls. LXIV, LXXV.

Cultic fetishes of many kinds were used in Egypt. Many of these were portable and held up before the image of the deity. The object known to Egyptologists as an "aegis" does in fact consist of a head, be it human or animal, with a semicircular collar-like attachment and often with crown. Also it is known that these aegises had handles;<sup>78</sup> but no known object of Egyptian cult exactly resembles this consistently portrayed Phoenician sceptre. The Egyptian aegises do not normally have a hanging fringe; a fringed aegis of faience from Tell Abu-Hawan is most probably Phoenician work,<sup>79</sup> for evidence that the fringed aegis or *Kragenprotome* with hanging tassels was used in Phoenician cult is provided by one of bronze bowls from Nimrud,<sup>80</sup> on which is depicted a Phoenician shrine, a canopy held up by pillars and holding the cult object. This is a *Kragenprotome* of Horus-Harpocrates atop a slender papyrus stem; and here there is a distinct fringe hanging from the semicircular collar. The meaning of this fringe is not difficult to imagine, for on certain seal representations, as on our second bulla, the fringe appears as detached dots rather than an appendage and probably this is by fusion with the Egyptian sign for gold—*nub*, which will be referred to a number of times in this discussion of seals. Indeed the exact combination of the terminal of the Khnum sceptre is to be seen on the seal from the 4th-5th century Ard-el-Kheraïb graveyard at Carthage Vercoutter, *op. cit.*, No. 587, which shows us in exact combination the ram-head topped by the Isis crown and resting on the *nub* sign with its pendant pompons. It is likely that this palladium had some meaning in its own right.

There is, however, a further iconographic problem concerning the representation of the Khnum sceptre. In the Egyptian aegis, the head is partly incorporated into the semicircular collar; but the semicircular appendage of the Khnum sceptre hangs below the head of the ram without a firm means of attachment. It is possible therefore that this semicircular collar was a non-essential addition to the older form of the Khnum scepture and was considered to be the gold sign *nub*, borrowed by the Phoenicians from Egypt to indicate the presence of divinity (see below p. 79), and that this dressing of the Khnum-head was a specific symptom of Persian period syncretism. Probably we are to understand the collar as a crescent of

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78. Hans Bonnet, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte*, pp. 8-11. Aegises with ram heads appear to be rare, but they are often shown to adorn the prow and stern of the solar barque, Bonnet, *op. cit.*, p. 79. For a surviving example, Dows Dunham, *El Kurru, the Royal Cemeteries of Kush*, pl. A2771. For the aegis with handle, K. Parlasca, *MDAI*, 68, 1953, pp. 128-131, pl. 45.

79. R. W. Hamilton, *loc. cit.*, No. 51, pl. XXXV.

80. A. H. Layard, *Monuments of Nineveh*, II, pl. 63.

precious metal suspended from the ram-head by a chain or cord, moving to and fro and reflecting that very light which the Egyptian use of *nub* implied, the light which effulgated from the sky-god. Be that as it may, into the discussion of the shape and purpose of these sceptres, as well as of their origin, must be brought certain horn-shaped objects depicted in Egyptian wall paintings and reliefs of Syrian tribute. The most commonly illustrated is a pair featured amongst the Syrian booty of Ramses II on the walls of Karnak—two horns, narrowing and sharply curved over at the ends and terminating one in an elaborate head of Bes, the other in a head of Astarte. Both are elaborately adorned and coiffured and round the head of Astarte hangs a large medallion on a cord. They appear far too elaborate to be interpreted as oil-horns and P. Montet<sup>81</sup> (following the drawing of Prisse d'Aviennes, *Histoire de l'art égyptienne*, pl. 87) regards them as “harpés” with gold terminals. Again, unfortunately, the matter cannot be decided; but there remains the distinct possibility that these objects, whose shape so closely resembles the Khnum-sceptre of the El stela and of the Phoenician seals, and which appear too sharply curved to be oliphants made from horns or tusks, are these same cultic wands, for which a Syrian origin is implied.

The addition of the appendage and Isis crown to this simpler form of Khnum sceptre probably reflects the renewed influence of Egypt on Phoenician religion in the Persian period and, more specifically perhaps, the renaissance of the Khnum cult in the Saite Period. In Phoenicia, its association with the enthroned Baal as well as with Isis-with-Horus on our second bulla and with Isis on the Memphis shrine, suggests that it was an attribute of the supreme Phoenician divine pair. But this iconographic association is not strictly exclusive, for as well as being associated with the sacred tree as noted above, a well-preserved chalcedony seal in the Collection Pauvert de la Chapelle shows two acolytes holding Khnum



Fig. 6. Seal in the Collection Pauvert de la Chapelle, Bibliothèque Nationale. Ht. 1.4 cm.

81. P. Montet, *Byblos et l'Égypte*, p. 136, pl. CLXV: for these objects see conveniently H. Bossert, *Alt Syrien*, 961 (Ramses II) and 941 (Seti I), who regards them as oil horns.

sceptres above the Horus-Harpocrates child seated on the *Djed* pillar,<sup>82</sup> fig. 6. Direct evidence that the head of the Phoenician pantheon was worshipped in the form of a ram is lacking both in the Phoenician homeland and at Carthage. The sheep not infrequently represented on Carthaginian stelae of the 5th-3rd centuries<sup>83</sup> may be sacrificial animals, but a stela from Sulcis shows a beautifully carved ram accompanied by the disc-and-crescent:<sup>84</sup> possibly here a symbol of a deity is intended. But we may see in a small group of incense stands or kernoï from Carthage and other Phoenician colonies an association of the ram's head with liturgy.<sup>85</sup> These come from Carthage, Tharros, Monte Sirai and Ibiza<sup>86</sup> and are made up of seven small cups mounted on a central pottery stem. In all examples there is a plastic ram's head inserted between the cups. Significantly on a kernos of related kind the head of a goddess together with that of a cow is inserted between the cups.<sup>87</sup> The well-known Astarte-cow association on this kernos implies a ram-Baal association on the others.

The persistence of this association of the ram's head with Punic cult may be instanced by the use in the late Punic period of libation jugs with ram-head spouts. Besides a surviving pottery example in Cagliari Museum (from Cagliari)<sup>88</sup> they are depicted on grave stelae.<sup>89</sup> These are, however, very marginal connections. More central is the association of the ram with the Libyan ram god Amon (the Greek "Zeus Ammon") whose cult was certainly established in Cyprus.<sup>90</sup> There is however some doubt as to the precise grounds of the relation between Amon and the Baal-Hammon, the head of the pantheon at Carthage, since independently in Syria and Phoenicia there existed a Baal-Hamman, whose

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82. E. Babelon, *Collection Pauvert de la Chapelle; intailles et camées*, Paris, 1899, pl. IV, No. 27.
83. *CIS*, 398, 419, 786, 1199, 3022, 3014, 3028; E. Vassel, *Études puniques XI: Le Bélier de Baal Hammon*, Paris, 1921.
84. G. Pesce and F. Barreca, *Mostra della civiltà punica in Sardegna*, Cagliari, 1959, frontispiece.
85. The only dated example appears to have been found in a tomb in the Juno cemetery with two Protocorinthian cups, see Saumagne, "Notes de topographie carthaginoise". *Bull. arch.*, 1931, p. 650.
86. P. Cintas, *Céramique punique*, pl. XLVIII, nos. 70-72; Roman y Calvet, *Los nombres e importancia arq. de las Islas Pityusas*; pl. XI, 3; M. G. Amadasi, et al., *Monte Sirai II*, p. 110, No. 18/174, pl. XXXVII; R. Crespi, *Catalogo Raimodo Chessa*, pl. E, 4 (Tharros).
87. Cintas, *op. cit.*, pl. XLVIII, No. 73.
88. Cagliari Mus., No. 19610.
89. C.-G. Picard, *Catal. Mus. Alaoui*, NS, Cb-I and Cb-701 (3rd century B.C.).
90. G. Hill, *Catal. Coins in Brit. Mus. Phoenicia, Cyprus*, p. 46, p. 70, pl. XIII, 9-10.

etymology appears to stem from the word for "brazier". Naturally the Libyan cult of the ram-god Amon would affect Carthage and can be shown to have affected Phoenician Cyprus; but it was never at Carthage important iconographically. As the terracottas show, the most common represented divinity is the enthroned Baal of our bullae and the seals.<sup>91</sup>

As for representation of the female head of the pantheon, Punic terracottas give no clues. However, the relief naiskos shrine from Memphis represents the Phoenician cult of Isis. The central enthroned goddess, attended by two acolytes (one with a jug and Khnum sceptre) wears the Isiac vulture headdress topped by the horns and disc. Evidence is plentiful, both iconographic and inscriptional, that the Phoenicians identified Isis with Astrate.<sup>92</sup> The second bulla inscription provides further evidence that a cult existed in Phoenicia of the icon of Isis suckling Horus-Harpocrates. The cult image is frequently found on seals from the Phoenician West,<sup>93</sup> and an excellent example from Phoenicia herself can be seen on the plasticene impression of a green jasper seal (Plate III, A5, B5), one of a group of impressions taken from seals in commerce at Beirut by Dr. H. Seyrig, who kindly allowed me to study them. On this impression, as on the second bulla, a tall incense stand of the type sometimes called "petal-candelabrum" stands before the goddess. Since these objects are clearly of Phoenician origin,<sup>94</sup>

91. See note 58. One statuette of "Baal-Amon" is known to come from Carthage and shows the ram-headed god seated on a throne, the arms of which are formed of sheep or goats, *Gaz. arch.*, 1819, p. 138. It is, however, of Cypriot type: cp. L. Heuzey, *Catal. des terres cuites du Louvre*, No. 17 (Longpérier, *Mus. Napoléon*, III, pl. XXIII, 3, with human head), and also statues from Amathus in the Brit. Mus., N. Price, *Catal. Sculpture*, I, pt. 2, pp. 89-90. I am unable to check a similar piece to which I have a reference: Froehner, *Coll. Albert Barre*, No. 161.

92. A statuette of Isis nourishing Horus-Harpocrates, Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik*, II, p. 169, bears a Phoenician dedication to Ashtart; also M. Clermont Ganneau, *CRAI*, 1904, p. 472, also *ibid.*, III, p. 158, inscription jointly to Isis and Ashtart. The Yehewmilk stela clearly indicates that the "Lady of Gebal" was conceived in Isis form.

93. A. della Marmora, *op. cit.*, pl. A, 41, is one of dozens of examples in Cagliari Museum.

94. A number of representations of this type of incense stand on Punic seals are illustrated by M. Almagro, *Las Thymiaterias Ilamados Candelabros de Lebrija (Trabajos de Preistoria, XIII, 1964)*. To my list, *Abr Nahrain*, II, p. 51, should be added newly published examples: G. R. Meyer, *Altorientalische Denkmäler im vorderasiatischen Museum zu Berlin*, p. 92, pl. 93, "vermutlich aus Nordsyrien"; also *Auktion*, XXXIV, No. 3 (*Kunstwerke der Antike, Münzen und Medaillen* A.-G. Basel, 6 May, 1967); also *Annual Report Cyprus Mus.*,

Footnote continued on next page.



PLATE III

Impressions of Phoenician Green Jasper Seals. Collection M. Henri Seyrig.  
 Actual size maximum diameters: 1, 17 mm; 2, 26 mm; 3, 13 mm; 4, 32 mm;  
 5, 17 mm. Photographs and line drawings.

there can be little doubt that an expressly Phoenician cultus is represented.

The cult of the Isis-Harpocrates image among Phoenicians is shown by two particularly interesting seal representations. Vercoutter, *op. cit.*, No. 560 is a green jasper seal illustrating the cult image placed between Phoenician petal-candelabra upon the solar barque. An unpublished seal in Cagliari shows the cult-image in a naiskos shrine supported by a pair of candelabra-shaped pillars in a manner foreign to Egyptian cult (fig. 7). For the throne supported on the backs of lions we have a surviving example shown in the exhibition of the *Burlington Fine Arts Club*, 1895, pl. 16. 7. In Phoenician art Astarte is frequently shown supported by lions and in this seal we appear to have a convenient fusion of Egyptian and Phoenician concepts.



Fig. 7. Seal from Tharros, National Mus. Cagliari.  
x 2.

1966, fig. 45, purchased in Nicosia. An older find: the example *Kunstbesitz eines bekannten norddeutschen Sammlers IV, Bronzen und Keramik, Katalog*, 679, pl. 9. No example of such a candelabrum can be dated before the 6th century, but attention should be drawn to the ivory plaque from Samos, B. Freyer-Schauenburg, *Elfenbeinen aus dem samischen Heraion*, p. 51, a 7th century ivory carved with two seraphim flanking a central object which, although the upper part is broken away, appears from its concave columnar base and the visible lower edge of a row of lily petals, to be a candelabrum of this type, substituted for the *Djed* pillar which usually occupies this position between the seraphim (cf. J. Crowfoot, *Early Ivories from Samaria*, pl. III, 1). Vercoutter, *op. cit.*, *passim*, interprets the petal-candelabrum summarily drawn on seals as a misunderstood *Djed* pillar. This mistake arises from the drawing of triple lines on top of the candelabrum. These are intended to represent a double saucer, see Culican, *loc. cit.*, and note 135 below. Pairs of candelabra were placed before shrines: the relief from Motya, G. Ciasca *et al.* *Mozia II*, pl. LXV, No. 55, shows such a usage and, incidentally, is one of the few sculptural representations which agrees with all surviving examples in having three-pronged holders on the top. On seals with naiskoi, such as figs. 4 and 7, the candelabrum and supporting pillar become confused, as noted by Albright, *loc. cit.* in note 133.

We may add another representation in a different medium: the gold finger ring in the Victoria and Albert Museum, listed as Egyptian<sup>95</sup> is undoubtedly Phoenician or Punic. Not only do the stirrup shape of the ring and the lentoid bezel conform to a Punic 5th c. finger-ring type,<sup>96</sup> but also the engraved Isis and Harpocrates figure is provided with the flanking star symbol which is part of the Phoenician iconography, and with other details which diverge considerably from Egyptian style. That there was at Carthage the equivalent iconographic fusion to that of Isis and Astarte between Isis and the Carthaginian Tanit (Tennet), whom the Romans identified with Juno Coelestis, is abundantly testified. The sculptured "Priestess of Tanit" from Carthage<sup>97</sup> has her wings wrapped around her body in the style of Isis, as have the numerous *idoletti* found together with an inscriptional dedication to Tanit in the Cueva d'es Cuyram in Ibiza.<sup>98</sup> The reverse of the razor illustrated fig. 14 shows Tanit-Isis weaving the vulture headdress.

It appears then reasonable that the iconography of both the god and goddess on our two bullae is that of the supreme sky divinities in Phoenicia, both of whom were honoured by the Khnum sceptre. To them were applied other attributes of Egyptian solar cult: the solar barque and the falcon attendant. As noted, Vercoutter, *op. cit.*, 560 shows the Isis-Horus icon between petal-candelabra mounted on the solar barque:<sup>99</sup> a seal in Cagliari depicts the same icon in a boat among reeds.

The earliest point at which the specific iconography of the enthroned god with the spear is attested is on two Phoenician finger rings from the Aliseda Treasure in Spain dating to the middle of the 7th c. B.C.<sup>100</sup> In one of these rings is mounted an amethyst

95. C. C. Oman, *Catalogue of Finger Rings* (Victoria and Albert Mus.), pl. 1, no. 11.

96. C. N. Johns, *loc. cit.*, No. 713 ('Atlit); Cintas, *Karthago*, II, p. 53, fig. 20, and *Bull. arch.*, 1924, p. 157, fig. 3 (both Utica); Gauckler, *op. cit.*, I pl. CCVI, 1. See also notes 167, 220.

97. Heron de Villefosse, *Mon. Piot*, XII, pp. 96-99, pl. VIII; *Catal. Mus. Lavignerie*, Supp. I, pp. 15-18, pl. III.

98. The fullest treatment in J. M. Mañá de Angulo, "Las figuras acampanadas de la Cueva d'es Cuyram", *Memorias de los Museos Provinciales*, VII, p. 461 ff, pls. IX, X. These figures were also known at Carthage, (R.P.) A. Delattre, *La nécropole punique etc. Ste Monique; second mois des bijoux*, Paris, 1890, fig. 28. For the inscription, J. M. Sola Solé, *Sefarad*, XV, 1955, p. 49 ff, *Semitica*, IV, 1951, p. 25 ff.

99. Cp. M.-L. Vollenweider, *op. cit.*, No. 155, pl. 63.

100. Menendez-Pidal, *Historia de España*, I, 2, fig. 239; J. Melida, *Tesoro de Aliseda*, figs. 12, 16. A. Blanco Freijeiro, *Archivo español de Arqueología*, XXIX, figs. 52, 53. For the date see W. Culican, *PEQ*, 1958, p. 100 ff.

scarab engraved with two such seated figures facing inwards,<sup>101</sup> one male and like to the "Baal enthroned" figure, the other animal (?) headed. The second ring is a gold ring with an oval bezel, a type found in the earliest graves at Carthage.<sup>102</sup> On this the enthroned deity is shown seated in a boat,<sup>103</sup> accompanied by an attendant. The work is rough and it is not possible to be more precise about these figures; the fish, marsh plant and water bird which complete the scene suggest the Egyptian celestial marsh, but there is little doubt that the type is Phoenician rather than Egyptian.

On a number of representations, the solar-cult imagery is expressed by the presence of a falcon-headed attendant. On the seal, Vercoutter, *op. cit.*, No. 559<sup>104</sup> the falcon-headed figure attends the enthroned Baal with jug and Khnum sceptre. A seal and a gold ring in the Southesk Collection<sup>105</sup> represent the enthroned deity as himself falcon-headed and sitting behind a petal-candelabrum. On other seals the falcon attendant accompanies the Isis-with-Horus icon.<sup>106</sup> Finally on seal 2504 of the *Collection de Clercq*, an enthroned falcon-headed deity has a falcon attendant bearing the Khnum sceptre. It seems reasonable to assume that the ringing of these limited changes stems from a relatively well established iconography of the Phoenician male and female manifestation of the supreme sky divinity.

### *The Baetylic Image.*

In order to develop further the solar and celestial imagery of Phoenician seals of the Persian period, consideration should be given to the representations of baetyls. A well-known seal of chalcedony from the so-called "Curium Treasure"<sup>107</sup> depicts what has been taken to be a cone-shaped baetylic stone over which two uraeus serpents crawl. The surface of the cone is covered with a reticulation of cross-hatching. Below the cone is the *nub* sign, and above it the *atef* crown centred on a small orb which rests on the apex of the cone. At each side stand falcon-headed attendants and

101. D. B. Harden, *The Phoenicians*, p. 213, fig. 81, pl. 98.

102. P. Gauckler, *op. cit.*, pl. CCV.

103. For the Phoenician type of the boat, see R. D. Barnett, *Antiquity*, XXXIII, p. 228 ff. There is a significant representation of a male enthroned deity in an Egyptian-type boat on an Assyrian (?) seal in Lyons, L. Delaporte, *Mélanges Dussaud*, II, No. 42.

104. = *Catal. Mus. Lavignerie*, XXXIV, No. 48, p. 249.

105. H. Carnegie, *The Southesk Coll. of Antique Gems*, 1908, Nos. .05 and .06.

106. See note 99 for a comparable seal.

107. L. Palma di Cesnola, *Cyprus, its Ancient Cities, Tombs and Temples*, pl. LXXX, 10; also J. L. Myres, *Handbook to the Cesnola Coll.*, No. 4150, and M. Ohnefalsch Richter, *op. cit.*, pl. CXXII, 8.

above the scene flies the winged-disc. It is difficult to see any interpretation of these symbols other than that the hatched object is a baetyl, a miniature cosmic mountain on which the sky god dwells, literally the *beth-el*. Clearly, it is the orb of the sun which is of prime importance in interpreting the scene: its basis is the solar mountain seen in a very similar representation in a very Egyptianizing yellow sard seal of Cyprus, on which the orb of the sun is supported by a support shaped somewhat like the "mountain" hieroglyph.<sup>108</sup> The uraei which crawl upon the cone of the Curium seal are surely the uraei which normally accompany the solar-disc. But at the same time, the hatched cone is the largest and most significant object in the design. By association with the sun's orb, and possibly indeed by being so placed as to capture the rays of the rising sun at certain times of day or days of year, the baetyl itself was adored as the place where the sun god "dwelt". Another seal from Cyprus, A. di Cesnola, *Salaminia*, p. 43, provides valuable evidence that the hatched cone or dome was by association the embodiment of the sky god, for here it is carried aloft by the solar barque. The *Collection de Clercq* contains four examples of seals related to the Curium seal: No. 2757 in which the hatched baetyl is bell-shaped and is topped by a pair of serpents whose tails cross to form a crescent above the beetle, in which is placed a small orb; also Nos. 2571, 2572 and 2575—the latter of green paste, the rest of jasper. The baetyl of 2751 ("from Byblos") is topped by the *hemhem* crown, is flanked by uraei, and stands on the *nub* sign. In these and other seal engravings of this type the baetyl varies from circular to dome-shaped or trapezoidal and in almost all cases is covered with cross-hatching.<sup>109</sup> The orb above the baetyl is never prominent and sometimes is entirely absent. Possibly allied in meaning is a group of seals on which a hawk and cobra, or hawk

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108. H. B. Walters, *Catal. Engraved Gems etc. in Brit. Mus.*, No. 153. The "mountain symbol" forms a socle as Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, sign N.27, which in turn rests upon the *nub* sign. The orb is crowned with the *atef* crown and has on it the eye of Horus: cp the ivory from Nimrud, Mallowan, *op. cit.*, No. 468, for the orb-with-eye on solar barque. If this scarab from Cyprus is genuine Egyptian work (which is doubtful) it provides the prototype for the Phoenician series; but note that on the Phoenician seals as on the circular gold medallions (see note 114) the orb is duplicated, once as a "winged-disc" above the scene; once either as the baetyl itself (as on the gold medallions) or as resting on or above the "hatched mound". This duplication strongly suggests that the object which receives the adoration of the celestial acolytes is a secondary manifestation of the sky god.

109. Cf. Perrot and Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art, III, Phénicie-Chypre*, figs. 188, 189, with cross-hatched mounds topped by uraei and *hemhem* crown: 189 has a disc-and-crescent above the scene.

alone, stand on a reticulated mound.<sup>110</sup> The hawk, with crook and flail, is the composite Horus-Osiris figure of the sun, but the iconography here is less explicit, being without the additional symbols which usually accompany the "baetyl" on Phoenician seals.

We must include here one of the most curious seals with baetylic images, the seal inscribed *Bn'ad* of the Baron Stosch collection, first widely made known by the engraving in Gesenius' *Scripturae Linguaeque Phoeniciae Monumenta*, 1887, pl. 31, fig. LXX. Gesenius claims to give an accurate picture taken from a new ectype of this seal, which had previously been published by Winckelmann.<sup>111</sup> There appears in the centre of the seal a cross-hatched bottle-shaped object standing on the *nub* sign and flanked by two falcon attendants and two kheper beetles. The most remarkable feature is the elaborate topping to the central object which consists of four rams' heads dressed with an elaborate uraeus crown. Gesenius describes it: "Figurae ad unam omnes ad cultum Aegyptiacum spectant et satis perspicuae sunt. In medio est enim hydria Canobum referens . . . cynocephalis et capitibus arientinis ornata, a dextera et sinistra duae figurae capitibus falconis niseive insignes Horum referentes, supra vultur, lanula, duo scarabei". Whilst there is general accord, the details of the central object are represented slightly differently in the drawing given by R. Pietschmann, *Geschichte der Phoenizier*, 1889, p. 273, which is copied here as fig. 8. The base of the "baetyl" appears here to have small feet and, whilst it has the same bottle shape, is interpreted as a god with four rams' heads. We must, of course, since this seal appears to be no longer extant,<sup>112</sup> be careful of forcing any interpretation; but on three features both sources are in agreement: That the central object is hatched, that it is topped by four rams and rests upon the *nub* sign. This latter is badly drawn in Gesenius, looking rather like an overflowing dish or fountain of water, but his footnote leaves no doubt that he took it to be the *nub* sign. Pietschmann's interpretation of the central object as a "figure" is based on its possession of "feet" and "hands holding cynocephali", but there is a major discrepancy here between our

110. Vercoutter, *op. cit.*, Nos. 555, 556, 558, the latter with crook and flail, presumably the origin of the owl with crook-and-flail motif on the earliest coinage of Tyre.

111. *Description des pierres gravées du Cabinet de Stosch*, to which I have not had access. An earlier and less detailed engraving is that of *Tassie's Gems* (1791) No. 35, pl. VII, where the four rams' heads above the baetyl are not clear.

112. It is stated in Pietschmann's caption to have been then in the königliche Museen. I am grateful to Dr. N. Kunisch of the Staatliche Museen for having made thorough enquiries on my behalf.

two sources, since Gesenius shows neither "hands" nor "feet" and we must here remember that whilst it is tempting to take Pietschmann's drawing as the more accurate, the reversed direction of the inscription would indicate that it is made from the face of the seal, whereas Gesenius' is taken from the imprint, which usually is the clearer image. Whatever the case, it is difficult to accept Pietschmann's interpretation that it is a crouching figure: certainly it has not the shape of an Egyptian crouching *double* figure, though undoubtedly this *was* the origin of this curious pastiche. But at the same time the hatching suggests that it was a *baetyl*.



Fig. 8. Seal from the Stosch collection, after Pietschmann.

That a certain "bottle-" or "urn-shaped" object was worshipped somewhere in the Phoenician world we have plenty of evidence. Representations of it occur commonly at Carthage and two of particular significance should be mentioned here.

The first is a stela from the Tanit Precinct at Carthage which shows the "bottle" or "urn" (—it is always handleless) placed upon a stool or wooden dais: it is accompanied by the disc-and-crescent symbol.<sup>113</sup> It is important because it is well executed, probably early, and free from the anthropomorphic accretions inevitably added to many other representations of this shape. A second significant representation of the "bottle-baetyl" is on a gold medallion from a grave in the Dermech necropolis at Carthage which belongs to a group of medallions with baetylic motifs referred to above<sup>114</sup> (page 53). On this example the baetyl is bottle-shaped, flanked by uraei, topped by a small disc (—others have winged-

113. C. Picard, *Catal. Mus. Alaoui*, NS, I, p. 20 ff.

114. (R.P.) A. Delattre, *CRAI*, 1907, p. 232; see also another P. Gauckler, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 44-45 (*Catal. Mus. Alaoui*, pl. LVII, 6), both from tombs containing late 7th-century Corinthian ware. The baetyl stands on an altar with a cavetto top. Other examples: from Tharros, Marshall, *Catal. Jewellery in Brit. Mus.*, No. 1547, with winged-disc above; Delattre, *Quelques tombeaux de la nécropole punique de Douïmès* (Cosmos, 1897), p. 16, and *Nécropole punique de Douïmès: fouilles 1893-4*, fig. 47. The baetylic shrine is most completely shown on the medallion, Delattre, "Fouilles dans la colline de

Footnote continued on next page.

discs—) and covered with a fine reticulation of granulation. As can be seen for instance in a carved representation from Nora representing the bottle in a naiskos flanked by petal candelabra,<sup>115</sup> there can be no doubt that this shape represents high divinity. A stela representation discovered at Achzib and dating from the 4th-5th centuries now shows us that this sacred shape was known in the Phoenician homeland.<sup>116</sup>

Nothing is known of the origins of this shape. In Punic iconography it became confused with the Tanit symbol and like it acquired a human face. On the two early examples noted here, however, the bottle-shaped baetyl with its narrowing shape and rounded top appears in its primitive simplicity. It is here suggested that the central object of the Stosch seal is a fusion the bottle-baetyl and the four-headed ram god Khnum. At any rate, the addition of the ram's heads proves without doubt that the Phoenicians borrowed the trappings of the pantheistic Khnum cult. Already in the XXI Dynasty the syncretism of the Khnums seems to have taken place and was represented as a squatting double figure with two pairs of superimposed rams' heads. The *hypocephali* or circlets of linen or papyrus of inscribed magical texts placed over the heads of mummies in the Saite period frequently have this Khnum type as their central design,<sup>117</sup> flanked by baboons (hence the "cynocephali" of the Stosch seal, unless these are misunderstood uraei). As the symbol of the sun-at-zenith the four-headed ram figure is pictured as the supreme orb at the top of the Metternich stela<sup>118</sup>

Bordj-Djedid", *CRAI*, 1908, p. 599, fig. 4, on which the complete naos with its supporting pillars and uraeus frieze contains a figure 8-shaped baetyl on a stool-like base. The material in this tomb was mixed, but it is likely that this medallion belongs to the earlier phase along with such early items as the crux-ansata and "lantern" earrings recorded. The related circular gold medallions have circular granulated baetyls or orbs flanked by uraei: T. Peet, *JHS*, XXXII, fig. 2 (from a tomb on Malta containing a 7th-century Protocorinthian cup); Delattre, *Mémoires des Antiquaires de France*, LVI, p. 281, fig. 14, and p. 359, fig. 67; *Catal. Mus. Lav.*, I, pl. XXXII, 6, 7, 8.

No such medallions are recorded from sites in the Phoenician homeland, but note *Collection de Clercq*, 2573, "Médaille d'or avec bélière, le champ entouré d'un rebord et orné d'un dessin gravé, le reverse convexe comme celui d'un scaraboïde. En haut du champ le globe ailé, avec trois appendices haute et bas; au dessous peut-être le globe et le fleur de lotus entre deux uraeus".

115. G. Pesce and F. Barreca, *Mostra della civiltà punica in Sardegna*, 1959, p. 49.
116. *Christian News from Israel*, Dec., 1968, pp. 18-19.
117. H. Bonnet, *op. cit.*, p. 389; W. M. F. Petrie, *Amulets*, pl. XX.b.
118. A. Lexa, *La Magie dans l'Égypte antique etc.*, 1925, p. 338 f. See also the figure in the medallion of a Sebennytic period statue in the Louvre, *Encyclopédie phot. de l'art*, I, p. 139.

and well before the date of this (—in the 6th c. according to Vercouter, *op. cit.*, p. 238) appears a number of times in the gold amuletic sheets with magical inscriptions at Carthage, so that the iconography must have been well-known there.<sup>119</sup> The religious ideology of Khnum as the union of the four *Ba's*—Ba of Ra, Ba of Shou, Ba of Osiris and Ba of Geb—which gave rise to this four-headed ram figure<sup>120</sup> placed him above all deities and regarded him as the author of all creation, “the Ba of all the Gods”.<sup>121</sup>

Syncretism with the forms of the creator god Amun and the sky god Horus was a natural outcome of this pantheistic tendency which centred round Khnum. By the Persian period association of Khnum and other deities and the Horus falcon appears to have taken place; in the late period at Denderah (fig. 9) and elsewhere Khnum in the form of the Amun-ram wearing the additional horns of the original Khnum ram (*ovis longipes palaeoegyptiacus*) is depicted in falcon form standing on the *nub* sign. This then appears to have been the formative Egyptian background to the Phoenician theology which associated Baal and the baetyl with Khnum.



Fig. 9. Horus Khnum from Denderah, after Mariette, *Denderah*, IV, pl. 83.

Presumably the reticulated pattern of baetyls on Phoenician seals has the same significance as the hatched exergue, denoting celestial transmontane terrain. On baetyls it is of ancient significance. The omphaloi of Apollo at Delphi and at Byzantion are represented in classical art as covered with network, whether sculptured or made of a woollen net.<sup>122</sup> And it is particularly

119. Band II, Vercouter, *op. cit.*, fig. 35, comes from the Dermeh necropolis at Carthage (Gauckler, *op. cit.*, I, p. 29, pl. XXVII, and II, p. 429) and is said to be of the late 7th c. On this the four-headed ram god features several times, once with Horus tail (in the first register).

120. H. Bonnet, *op. cit.*, p. 135 ff.; p. 870; H. Badawi, *Der Gott Khnum*, p. 53 ff.

121. A. Erman, *Die Religion der Ägypter*, p. 325.

122. A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, II, p. 167 ff. See especially the reticulated conoid omphalos on which Apollo sits on the coins of Antiochus I, G. McDonald, *Catal. Coins Hunterian Coll.*, p. 13, pl. LXIII, 23.

suggestive that the omphalos at Delphi, sacred to Apollo, is associated with eagles and serpents as the Phoenician baetyl is associated with uraei and falcons. A surviving Neolithic baetyl from Khirokhitia, Cyprus, has carefully demarcated rectangular segments.<sup>123</sup> No suggestions about the meaning of this pattern appear absolutely convincing,<sup>124</sup> but its associations strongly suggest its purposive use to depict "the heavens".<sup>125</sup>

There remains to be added a clarification concerning the use of the *nub* symbol beneath baetyls on seal representations and (possibly) beneath the ram head of the Khnum sceptre. The use of this symbol in Egypt beneath the falcon to denote the "Horus of Gold"<sup>126</sup> appellation is surely equally appropriate under the composite Khnum-Horus divinity as we see it at Denderah. "So mag denn der Name Gold auf den Charakter des Gottes als Lichtträger zugespißt sein".<sup>127</sup> The symbol is primarily associated with Hathor, mother of Horus, and there is an established palladium of the head of Hathor resting upon the *nub* sign.<sup>128</sup> Its use at Carthage with composite Egyptian divinities is seen in the excellent seal illustrated by A. Delattre, *La nécropole punique de Douïmès, Fouilles, 1895-6*, (Cosmos, 1897), p. 111-112, fig. 69, in the composite Horus-Kheper-Bes. For another example see p. 66. The placing of Phoenician cult objects and divinities upon this symbol appears

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123. E. de Mandeville, "Le bétyle de Malte", *Mélanges Dussaud*, II, p. 895, pl. II, fig. 4.
124. Clark Hopkins has connected the reticulated pattern of baetyls with that of the aegis of Zeus and Athena in Greek vase painting, *Bucknell Review*, XII, 3, Dec., 1964, p. 1 ff. The addition of serpents and the Gorgon's head to the aegis certainly suggests that it was a sky symbol, but the importance of the reticulation remains obscure. But it is perhaps worth remarking that the skirt of Baal on these seals (see p. 55) is reticulated. Is a heavenly garment intended? Compare the Baal figure on the tondo of the bowl from the Curium, L. P. di Cesnola, *op. cit.*, p. 329, where the clothing of the god appears to bear "mountain design". There is a parallel to this usage in Mycenaean art: the ivory pyxis lid from Minet el-Beida shows the *potnia therōn* feeding goats, *Syria*, X, 1929, pl. 56. The circumference of the lid and the back of her skirt are decorated with mountain design.
125. The statement of Herodian *Hist.*, V, 3.5, concerning the baetyl worshipped as El Gabel and Jupiter Sol at Emesa, does not imply that it was reticulated as Hopkins *loc. cit.* suggests, but *shaped* like a (pine?) cone. It did, however, have knobs and excrescences. For the "celestial" interpretation of crossed beams see E. Baldwin Smith, *The Dome*, 1950.
126. As also significantly, M.-L. Vollenweider, *op. cit.*, No. 158, and *Collection de Clercq*, No. 2730.
127. H. Bonnet, *op. cit.*, p. 217.
128. Mariette, *Denderah*, IV, p. 25. For a XVIII Dyn. example, Wrezinski, *Atlas I*, p. 370.

therefore highly appropriate and certainly must have been more theologically informed than that idle copying of Egyptian motifs of which the Phoenicians are often accused.

*The Phoenician Supreme Sky Divinity.*

The iconographic evidence of the seals and seal impressions hitherto discussed confirms in a striking way W. F. Albright's thesis that quasi-monotheistic tendencies were manifest in Phoenician religion in the first millennium B.C., bringing to the fore the cult of Ba'al-Shamem, earliest attested in Syria.<sup>129</sup> It is also significant that the surviving literary evidence suggests that aspects of Phoenician cosmology had been worked out in terms of Egyptian theology.<sup>130</sup> Almost certainly Ba'al-Shamem fulfilled the rôle of sky-god, sun-god, and creator, whose powers were expressed under aspects of the rôle and iconography of Horus-Harpocrates and Khnum-Amun. Horus-Harpocrates in the lotus (the birth of the sun-god) is, as we have noticed on the Pauvert de la Chapelle seal referred to above, adored by two acolytes bearing Khnum sceptres and jugs. We may also call attention to a beautiful red jasper seal in the Bezalel Museum included by J. Leibovitch in his "Un choix d'antiquités au Musée Bezalel", *Eretz Israel*, VI, 1960, p. 4, pl. XLI, No. 2. Here the child Harpocrates, wearing the Double Crown is seated on a small lotus. He is flanked by two falcon-headed attendants wearing short kilts and holding curved sceptres *downwards*. That this is Phoenician rather than Egyptian work is suggested by the disproportionate sizes of the Harpocrates figure and the lotus as well as by the double disc-and-crescent placed on each side of the Harpocrates figure. We may add as a further



Fig. 10. Scaraboid seal of blue glass paste, Cyprus Museum. Ht. 1.7 cm.

illustration of the Harpocrates cult the unusual unpublished seal in the Cyprus Museum fig. 10,<sup>131</sup> made of blue glass, on which we see him crouched between two petal-candelabra of Phoenician

129. W. F. Albright, *Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan*, 1968, p. 201.

130. *ibid.*, p. 196.

131. Cp. M. Dunand, *Fouilles de Byblos*, II, No. 7482, pl. CCI.

type. It is probable that these candelabra, with burning braziers placed on top of them, played an important role marking the spot in the temple where, in the absence of an icon, the god was conceived to dwell—the spot to which ceremony was directed, Baal Hammon, “Lord of the Brazier” was the name of the chief divinity at Carthage.<sup>132</sup> Is anything more intended by this name than that his image or “presence”, as we see in the case of the Baal Enthroned images on seals, was accompanied by one of these braziers or by a pair of them? As Albright has suggested,<sup>133</sup> this particular Phoenician form of brazier-stand or incense-stand with its drooping floral corollae, whether in the Palestinian and Phoenician pottery versions<sup>134</sup> or in the bronze “petal-candelabra”, has a meaning in its own right, possibly connected with that of the Osirian Djed pillar,<sup>135</sup> itself some form of stylized plant, or the lily on which the Horus-Harpocrates child is shown to sit in both Phoenician and Egyptian art. There is, therefore, another important association in which the brazier represents by its heat and light the presence of the sun god. Attention is drawn to a seal from Ibiza illustrated by M. Almagro<sup>136</sup> on which the falcon-headed attendants adore an orb which is placed between them and which is topped by uraei, Below the orb stands a small brazier.

One can speak, then, of two tendencies in the iconographic expression on Phoenician seals of this class: either the sky deity is

132. On the nature of the *hammanim* in Biblical usage, H. Ingholt has presented persuasive arguments, *Mélanges Dussaud*, I, p. 785 ff.

133. *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel*, pp. 146, 215.

134. For tall incense stands of pottery with petals see the excellent example from Tell Amal, *Christian News from Israel*, XIV, I, 1963, pl. II. See also M. G. May, *Material Remains of the Megiddo Cults*, pl. XX. A number of similar stands from the Phoenician tombs at Achzib, south of Tyre, are in the Palestine Museum. At Carthage rather similar stands have been found in early tombs, but none with lily petals: P. Cintas, *Céramique punique*, p. 185, No. 67; (R.P.) A. Delattre, *Nécropole punique de St. Louis de Carthage*, pp. 33 and 39; P. Vernaz, *Rev. arch.*, 1887, II, p. 156, fig. 17; P. Blanchère, *Mélanges de Rossi*, 1892, pp. 237-243. A rather similar Cypriot example *CVA, Great Britain*, 2, pl. 6.1. A pair of terracotta *hammanim* have recently been found together with a cult statue of an enthroned god, bearded and horned, in a Cypro-Phoenician sanctuary at Meniko in Cyprus, *JDAI, Anz.*, 1963, p. 559. The “bronze altars” in the temple of Melqart at Cadiz, on one at least of which a perpetual flame was maintained, may have been of petal-candelabrum form: for the classical sources see D. van Berchem, “Sanctuaires d’Hercule-Melqart”, *Syria*, XLIV, 1967, p. 84.

135. Albright, *loc. cit.* Vercoutter interprets the petal candelabrum on the seals from Carthage as the Djed pillar: the misleading triple lines drawn on top of it are intended, however, to represent the *lampe à soucoupe* of the type from Idalion, *Report Dept. Antiqs Cyprus*, 1965, fig. 25.

136. *op. cit.*, pl. VI, 6.

shown, on the one hand, according to the local tradition enthroned on the sphinx-throne or, on the other, by the baetyl image, orb or Horus-Harpocrates figure. Both these approaches were coupled with a strong aniconographic tendency. The sphinx throne was already in use in the Canaanite Bronze Age as a royal throne, but during the late second millennium we can document fully the appearance on Syrian cylinder seals of the adoration of an empty throne or stool held up to the sky by two weather daemons and surmounted by the winged-disc of the sun. From these it must be concluded that the empty throne was especially associated with the sky god and that there was a tendency to avoid a specific anthropomorphic icon. H. Danthine<sup>137</sup> has collected the evidence for the continuance of this empty throne imagery in the first millennium at Tell Halaf, etc., in the general region where, according to the inscriptional evidence, Ba'al-Shamem was worshipped. The worship of empty sphinx thrones (and of others carrying a baetyl—see note 145) was established in Phoenicia in the Hellenistic period, but I am inclined to believe the empty<sup>138</sup> throne recently discovered by M. Dunard in the Temple of Eshmun at Sidon much more archaic. B. Mazar<sup>139</sup> has stressed the connection between the establishment of the cult of Ba'al-Shamem at Tyre in the 10th c. B.C. and the participation of Hiram I of Tyre in the construction of Solomon's Temple of Yahweh at Jerusalem. For Hiram's temple we have the evidence of Josephus, *Against Apion*, I, 117 (taken from Menander and Dios) that it was dedicated to "Olympian Zeus". Was such an empty throne provided for Ba'al-Shamem in Hiram's temple at Tyre? Certainly in the Solomonic temple such an empty sphinx throne was provided: Yahweh is referred to as "He who is enthroned upon the cherubim".<sup>140</sup> There was, however, no place in the Hebrew religion for the female counterpart of the sky god, and indeed even in Phoenicia, no local iconographic tradition may have been strong enough to withstand the assimilation of the supreme sky goddess with Isis. That we are to understand her as Astarte is quite clear. Her late Phoenician title "Queen of Heaven" is also attested in the *nbt pt* of Egyptian dedications<sup>141</sup> to Astarte and in the Greek

137. "L'imagérie des trones vides, etc." *Mélanges Dussaud* II, p. 857; on Syro-Hittite glyptic see G. Contenau, *La glyptique syro-hittite*, No. 285. Cf. W. F. Albright, *Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan*, p. 197 ff.

138. By "empty" is meant that not only is no image found but also that the thrones have rounded backs and seats preventing the sitting posture. In other cases, the back of the throne is carved with a symbol—which would have been hidden by a sitting figure.

139. *Proceedings, Israel Academy of Sciences Humanities* I, No. 7, p. 19 ff.

140. E. Wright, *Biblical Archaeology*, p. 141.

141. W. M. F. Petrie, *Memphis*, I, p. 19, pl. XV, 37; A. Erman, *Die Religion der Ägypter*, p. 77.

*Ouranié* of Herodotus I, 105, 131. Jeremiah 7, 18; 44, 19 complains of the practice by women of offering cakes to the "Queen of Heaven".

As evidence for the Phoenician cult of the baetyl, the coin representations of the baetyl-bearing wagon on the Roman coins of Elagabalus are often quoted. Difficulty in interpreting the small marks surrounding the central circular or spherical baetylic object has led to a considerable breadth of interpretation of its nature. On certain coins it appears, not circular, but rather bottle shaped;<sup>142</sup> on others it can be more clearly seen that the objects flanking the baetyl are the foreparts of a pair of sphinxes, supporting the arms of a throne, the back of which, on certain coins, can be seen to extend above the back of the baetyl.<sup>143</sup> Within its wheeled naos, therefore, the baetylic stone, possibly that sacred meteorite worshipped at Sidon according to Philo Byblius,<sup>144</sup> is enthroned. As evidence of this, M. Seyrig has published a model miniature sphinx throne of bronze which holds a baetyl of basically spherical body, but with two flat disc-like "folds" on top.<sup>145</sup> The model, therefore, suggests that a baetyl shaped by nature into an odd form was worshipped in Phoenicia and that it was regarded as the presence of the sky divinity enthroned.

#### FOUR SEAL-IMPRESSIONS OF LION SLAYERS

Four seal-impressions in Dr. Seyrig's collection depict deities in combat with lions. The first of these, the important seal Plate III A, 1, B, 1, shows the bearded god about to strike a lion with a semicircular axe. He wears a domed mitre and a long ankle-length "split skirt" over a short kilt, and carries a bow-case at his waist. The lion turns back with bristling mane to meet his blow; whilst the hunter's dog bounds away from his master (on the far right of the field). Above the scene there is the disc-and-crescent.<sup>146</sup> This figure we meet in other seals of the same type, notably Furtwängler, pl. VII, 16, a green jasper from Tharros on which the god raises his axe to strike a hairy dwarf-like creature. The Tharros seal, *ibid.*, pl. XV, 10, shows exactly the same scene.<sup>147</sup>

We appear here to have encountered parts of the cycle of

142. G. F. Hill, *Brit. Mus. Catal. Phoenicia*, p. cxiii.

143. P. Ronzevalle, *Mem. Univ. St. Joseph*, XV, 1930, p. 163 ff. pl. XXXIII; XVI, 1932, p. 51 ff. pl. VIII-X; especially *Syria*, XXXVI, 1959, pl. X, 4.

144. Euseb., *Pr. Ev.* i. 10.

145. *Syria*, XXXVI, 1959, p. 48 ff., pl. X, 3, 5.

146. There is a small damaged area surrounding the left foot.

147. Other seals with this theme show the crescentic axe less clearly, e.g., Perrot and Chipiez, *op. cit.*, III, fig. 194.

hunting adventures depicted in the well-known Phoenician "Huntsman's Day" bowl from the Bernardini tomb at Palestrina.<sup>148</sup> On this bowl a hero is shown in continuously narrated adventures whilst he hunts deer from his chariot and on foot in a mountainous country landscape. At a certain stage in the hunting he is shown resting and taking a meal.<sup>149</sup> During the meal, a hairy dwarf or troll comes out of a cave in the mountainous terrain which lies in front of the huntsman and snatches the food, both the wine bowl and the hams.<sup>150</sup> He is shown brandishing them in the hills. As the "day" proceeds, the huntsman is spared the hazard of having to cross this mountainous territory in order to return to his city: a winged figure, a sky goddess with Hathoric locks, lifts the chariot and its occupants and transports them through the sky. On being set down, the huntsman fights the troll and returns safely to his city.

A number of commentators on this bowl have agreed that the scenes illustrate a Phoenician legend concerning a possibly divine figure: a straightforward interpretation of the theme as a royal hunt<sup>151</sup> seems unlikely in view of the elaborate "sacrifice" and "flying chariot" episodes. Clark Hopkins in a recent discussion has given it an astrological interpretation,<sup>152</sup> and although I do not necessarily agree with Hopkins' treatment of individual details,<sup>153</sup> I believe his approach to be a valid one: undoubtedly the "Huntsman" is a divine figure. The crux of any interpretation must be the scene where the Huntsman sits at his meal. He sits on a throne and holds the crescentic axe upon his shoulder: before him are two stands, one an altar with burning viands, the other a stand with a cauldron and ladle. Above this scene is the winged-disc and a disc-and-crescent which Hopkins has interpreted as a solar eclipse: the crescent appears to be cut out of one side of the disc. Does it have any more

148. C. Densmore Curtis, *Memoires of the Amer. Acad. in Rome*, III, 1919, p. 38, No. 25, pl. 20.

149. See note 153 below.

150. Various interpretations of the encounter with the hairy monsters are possible. I base my interpretation that the two objects held in the hand of the troll are hams on their similarity to those on a cylinder seal in the Brit. Mus., Walters, *op. cit.* No. 109.

151. As R. L. Alexander, *Archaeology*, XVI, 1963, pp. 243-50.

152. "Astrological Interpretation of some Phoenician Bowls", *JNES*, 24, 1965, pp. 28-36.

153. I differ from Clark Hopkins in the interpretation of the sacrifice. Admittedly the "meal" taken by the huntsman is set out on a sacrificial altar, as a meal for a god should be. I do not think, therefore, that the huntsman is sacrificing to some superior deity, but is himself the sky deity accompanied by the winged disc and disc-and-crescent symbol. The goddess who lifts the chariot to safety might well be Shapash, the female sun goddess, as Hopkins suggests, but a parallel identification as Astarte "protectress of chariots" might well have been in the artist's mind.

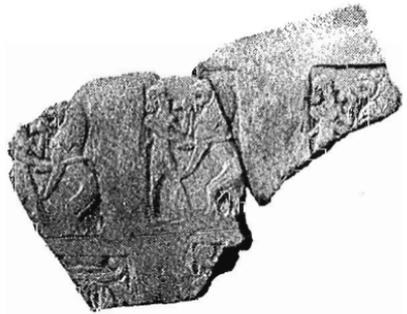
PLATE IV



A. Phoenician silver bowl, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden. (Photo Rijksmuseum.)



C. Terracotta with reliefs, Mines Kazaphani, Cyprus. (Photo Cyprus Mus.)



B. Stone relief, National Museum, Beirut. Approximately actual size. (Photo Nat. Mus., Beirut.)

meaning than the disc-and-crescent on our seals, symbolising simply the divine presence? Should we not simply see this particular representation of the god as the "icon position", the god at the height of his power?

But apart from this, we can at least say, especially by taking into account the existence of an almost identical bowl in the Cesnola Collection<sup>154</sup> and representations of part of the same cycle on a Phoenician bowl in Leiden,<sup>155</sup> Plate IV A, that the adventure story of the god with the mitre and skirt was well established. Certain Phoenician seal motifs appear to be taken from it.

A seal in Cagliari Museum (Inv. no. 19805)<sup>156</sup> depicts a god smiting a grotesque figure in mountainous territory with a tree in the background. The "bird" placed by Furtwängler above the scene is the blade of the crescentic axe held above the god's head. "Der Fliehende umfasst einen baum, der auf felsigem Boden steht: von der anderen seite erhebt ein Löwe." Another seal illustrated by Furtwängler, pl. LXI, 12, shows both lion and bald-headed troll fleeing from the god towards a mountain slope. Two details in the background are a hawk in front of the god (equivalent to that above Baal scenes on the Phoenician bowls) and an elliptical object behind Baal interpreted by Furtwängler as a shield (?). This same seal is No. 9 (pl. 2) of J. D. Beazley's, *The Lewes House Collection of Antique Gems*, where a cartouche-like detail appears behind the god. There are a number of Phoenician seals portraying the smiting by this same god of the troll-like enemy; on two green jasper seals from Tharros, (A. H. Smith, *Brit. Mus. Catal. Gems*, pl. C, 215 = Furtwängler, pl. VIII, 16; pl. XV, 10) the depiction resembles that of the Bernardini bowl: the semi-circular axe is clearly seen. But ranking above all others in its similarity to the theme of the Bernardini bowl is the green paste seal 2706, pl. XVIII, of the *Collection de Clercq*. On this the god shoots from a chariot at the crouching dwarf figure which flees to a mountain topped by a tree.

Who, then, is this adventurous god? Is he the same as the enthroned or standing god with skirt and mitre, who, as we have

154. J. L. Myres, *Handbook*, 4556. Note that more clearly than on the Bernardini bowl the troll, when attacked, flees to a mountain.

155. W. van Wijngaarden, "Een phoenicische zilveren Schaal uit de 8ste of 7de eeuw voor Chr.", *Archiv für Ethnographie*, 46, 1947 (Oudheidkundige Mededelingen) p. 1 ff.

156. Furtwängler, I, pl. XV, 9; II, p. 71. This same seal is reproduced by G. Pesce, *La Sardegna punica*, fig. 131, who described it: "Combattimento fra un re e un leone in un paesaggio con monti, alberi, il dio Bes, un volatile, segni astrali."

seen, sometimes carries the crescentic axe? Is he also Ba'al-Shamem? This cannot be answered with certainty: it is possible, as I have before suggested, that he was Melqart,<sup>157</sup> but perhaps this does not necessarily exclude the syncretistic association of the two gods. Certainly the attributes of the Huntsman god and of Baal enthroned are interchangeable. Not only does the enthroned Baal sometimes carry the crescentic axe, but the seal from Cyprus, Furtwängler, pl. LXI, 11, shows the same or a similar god standing, carrying both axe and spear.

### *Robe, Mitre and Dog*

The dress of the divine figure of the Bernardini bowl and on the seal under discussion here consists of an ankle-length skirt open at the front and worn over a short kilt. This was worn in Phoenicia and Assyria in the 8th-7th c. B.C. and is frequently worn by attendants and other figures on ivories from Arslan Tash, Nimrud, etc. There are slight variations: the style worn on Phoenician bowls and seals frequently has one end squared and the other rounded off as on certain of the Nimrud ivories of the "Syrian" group.<sup>158</sup> At Carthage this form of skirt is shown in the engravings of "razors" of the 5th-4th c. date,<sup>159</sup> of which the most notable is razor 907 of Vercoutter, *op. cit.*, pl. XXVII,<sup>160</sup> which depicts our divine figure wearing the split-skirt, the high-domed rounded mitre and carrying the semi-circular axe over his shoulder. His iconography goes directly back to the hero of the Bernardini bowl and to Melqart of the Aleppo stela, although indeed there are some differences in the dress of the latter on the one hand and the unified style of the hero of the Bernardini bowl, the Carthaginian razor and the Phoenician seals on the other. This may be due to differences in dates of the examples or else to variation of fashion, the Aleppo stela representing more Syrian dress, the bowls and seals that of metropolitan Phoenicia. Representations of the split-skirt and domed mitre from Carthaginian razors and seals leave little doubt that a specifically Phoenician type of dress is

157. W. Culican, *loc. cit.*, because of the attributes of the Melqart stela from Aleppo. See the discussion on the iconography of these seals, Furtwängler, p. 109.

158. M. Mallowan, *op. cit.*, No. 539.

159. A. Merlin and P. Drappier, *La nécropole punique d'Ard El-Khéraib*, pp. 51-52, figs. 14, 24, 32 give other "razor" engravings of the split-skirt and domed mitre; *Catal. Mus. Alaoui*, Supp. I, p. 127, No. 81, pl. LXIII, from the Bordj Djedid cemetery at Carthage, which is mostly 4th c. The purpose of these objects is clearly votive.

160. Vercoutter's opinion "Bien qu'il n'y soit parvenu que rarement, on a l'impression que l'artisan punique avait l'intention d'imiter le mieux possible un sujet phénicien" (p. 308), can scarcely apply to this form of dress.

depicted. Its clearest representation is on a small stone carving of the early first millennium B.C. from Byblos in the National Museum of Lebanon (Plate IV, B) on which the hero figure stands opposite a figure in a more Egyptian form of dress (Dunand, *op. cit.*, I, pl. CVII).

For the exact form of the mitre on this seal (Plate III, A 1), as on the first bulla impression, with its crown or peak placed towards the back of the head, see the bronze statuette from Cyprus, Perrot and Chipiez, *Histoire de l'art*, III, fig. 515.<sup>161</sup> A variety of tall, rounded mitres appear in Phoenician seal engravings and may perhaps all ultimately be derived from the type of head-dress worn by Phoenician clergy or nobility in the famous Assyrian relief which shows the inhabitants of Sidon fleeing in their ships from the attack of Sennacherib.<sup>162</sup> The regularly domed mitre of the Aleppo stela is not found amongst the Phoenician ivories, and, apart from the seal representations, there are no examples of it in the East except for one possibly very significant example on a Bichrome IV jug from Cyprus now in Boston's Museum of Fine Arts.<sup>163</sup> This is a piriform jug which clearly copies an established form of Red Slip II (III) ware. Below the midriff there is a painted decoration of a winged disc with two protruding male heads wearing domed mitres. It is also found on Punic terracottas of "Baal Enthroned" (see above, note 58) and on another seal impression in Dr. Seyrig's collection (Plate III, A3, B3).

But before leaving the discussion of seal A1, there are one or two other points. Firstly, the hero's fleeing dog is a remarkable link with the fleeing dog of Herakles on the green jasper seals of Greek type. Attention is drawn to the 'Atlit seal Plate I, 4, where the dog is shown in similar position. There are many other examples.<sup>164</sup> The iconographic tradition of the "dog of Baal" appears to go back to the 2nd millennium (see note 170) and is represented on Phoenician bowls aiding the lion-slaying hero.<sup>165</sup> Another noteworthy item is the *gorytos* with which the hunter is equipped. This Persian-type bow case is also part of the equipment

161. W. Froehner, *Coll. Eugène Piot*, No. 34. It is also worn by archers on the Phoenician bowl from Amathus, J. N. Myres, *JHS*, LIII, 1933, p. 25 f.

162. Layard, *Monuments of Nineveh*, I, pl. 71. Priests with rounded mitres attend the sacred tree on the seal, L. Cesnola, *op. cit.*, pl. VIa; see also the Hellenistic relief from the temple of Eshmun at Sidon, v. Landau, *MDVG*, IX, 1905, pl. XIII.

163. W. Fairbanks, *Catal. Greek and Etruscan Vases*, No. 187, pl. XIV.

164. Cp. *Collection de Clercq*, No. 2499.

165. C. Densmore Curtis, *Memoires Amer. Acad. Rome*, III, pl. 17, 4. Dogs aid the heroes in the tondo of the "Huntsman's Day" bowl from the Bernadini tomb.

of the naked Herakles on Greek-type Phoenician seals (e.g., that from 'Atlit, Plate I, 5) and its use on the Persian version of the leontomachy is well illustrated by the satrapal coin, De Luynes, *Numismatique des satrapies*, pp. 40-41 (Perrot and Chipiez, *op. cit.*, II, fig. 10).

Before discussing the significance of our second and third leontomachies, a final point should be made concerning both the "Baal Enthroned" and "Huntsman Baal" iconography. In all examples the artist has shown the hair curling up behind the mitre, a unique style and one which may be derived from the long, curling locks of the weather god as he appears at Ugarit and on numerous Syrian cylinder seals. The nearest in style is the hair of the weather god of the Amrit stela. Heads of this same style with back-curl and mitre were occasionally painted on Bichrome IV jugs from Cyprus,<sup>166</sup> and a gold finger-ring from Carthage<sup>167</sup> is engraved with an identical head. It is a small detail, but one which may not be without significance among the mounting indications that the gods in our bulla and seal representations are the sky gods of the Persian period in Phoenicia.

#### *The Old and Young Baals*

On the seal Plate III, A3, B3, an elderly, bearded hero combats a rearing full-maned lion. He grasps the forepaw of the lion in his left hand and holds in his right a rather inadequately small club with a knob end. In similar scenes on Phoenician bowls, the hero attacks the lion with a short sword (see below, p. 91): we are particularly reminded of the bearded, winged god who struggles with a lion in the tondo of the bowl from Curium.<sup>168</sup> But there are some ready parallels to the use of the small club or truncheon in this combat. Noteworthy is the recently published seal in the Burton Y. Berry Collection, Indiana University,<sup>169</sup> reproduced here, fig. 11. Two others from Tharros: an old find illustrated by A. della Marmora, *op. cit.*, pl. B, 83, and another, Perrot and Chipiez, *op. cit.*, III, fig. 195. On the Berry seal the work is poor, but a point of interest is the apparent attempt to depict the crenulated Achaemenid headdress as in the Perrot and Chipiez seal. Note the star and tree in the field, as on the Tharros seals.

166. *Atlas of the Cesnola Collection*, pl. CXVIII, 711.

167. P. Gauckler, *op. cit.*, I, pl. CCVII, 4th row from bottom, second from right.

168. J. N. L. Myres, *Handbook*, No. 4554.

169. *A Collection of Ancient Gems from the Collection of Burton Y. Berry*, (Indiana Univ. Art Mus.) Bloomington, 1965, No. 11. Cf. also Vercoutter, *op. cit.*, No. 550.



Fig. 11. Seal in the Burton Y. Berry Collection.  
Ht. 1.4 cm.

The encounter of a young hero with a lion or a griffin is too well known in Canaanite and Phoenician art to need documentation here. However, our third leontomachy seal (Plate III, A2, B2) has unusual points of iconography, especially the kilt with hanging tassels, which is a late Bronze Age form of dress attested on cylinder seals from the Levant coast. One of the most significant examples is in the National Mus. Beirut and is reproduced by Pierre Demargue, *La Crète dédalique*, pl. IV. On this, two figures are engaged in single combat with rearing animals: a bearded figure wearing a pileus is engaged with a winged griffin; a young man, bare-headed, is engaged with a lion. Filling the scene are two leaping ibex, suggesting a hunting motif. Both figures appear to be naked except for a broad belt with hanging tassels. Both fight with spears. Another seal of the same period comes from



Fig. 12. Impression of a Syro-Levantine cylinder seal, after *Syria*.

Tripoli,<sup>170</sup> fig. 12; on it two figures with short, tasselled kilts attack a lion with sword and javelin. One appears to be bearded, the other beardless; but on the 14th c. gold bowl from Ras Shamra, two similar heroes are both young.<sup>171</sup>

These second millennium examples provide the prototypes for the lion and griffin slayers on Phoenician seals and bowls of the first

170. *Syria*, XL, 1963, pl. XXI, 2.

171. *Syria*, XV, 1934, pp. 124-5.

millennium. On the bowls the young hero attacks the lion at close quarters, pointing his short sword upwards into the soft of the lion's belly.<sup>172</sup> His hair is thick and falls to his shoulders. But sometimes this slim personage is bearded, representing an older man. The seal, J. L. Myres *Handbook* No. 4403 (= *Cesnola Coll. Atlas*, III, pl. xxxii, i), shows the scene almost exactly as a terracotta relief from Mines Kazaphani in Cyprus (Plate IV, C)<sup>173</sup> and very similar to that on a bowl from the Barberini tomb at Palestrina.<sup>174</sup> Another iconographic tradition provides the young hero with a spear, as in the Seyrig seal under discussion: a pink agate from Cyprus, Furtwängler, pl. VII, 29, and a seal of probable Phoenician origin in Stockholm, *Medelhavsmuseet Bulletin*, I, 1961, p. 34, No. 27. The archaism of seal A2 certainly suggests that it is older than the Phoenician seals of the Persian Period and the evidence of the iconography is substantiated by the pre-6th c. forms of the script in the exergue of the seal.<sup>175</sup>

What is the connection between the young hero and the old hero in these lion combats? Are they different deities or are they different iconographic manifestations of the same? Certainly the different iconographic traditions of both young and old figures are securely established: on the Leiden bowl (Plate IV, A) they appear in the same frieze, the old huntsman shooting with his bow, the young hero fighting the lion with his sword. On a bowl from Idalion in the Louvre, the animal combats of both heroes alternate round the inner frieze.<sup>176</sup> Although the surviving iconographic sources indicate that *never* does the young hero use the semi-circular axe or wear the mitre or appear enthroned, the remaining details overlap. The relationship is further obscured by the occurrence of scenes in which the old and young hero together attack the lion. There is a sculptured scene from Sakçegözü in which the two hunt together in a chariot and dismount to attack a lion, the young hero with a *bipennis*, the old man with a spear. Anton Moortgat writes of the relief, "Bei der später schon assyrisierenden

172. Cf. the tondo of the bowl in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore (*Handbook, Walters Art Gall.*, p. 24); silver cauldron Bernardini tomb, C. Densmore Curtis, *Mem. Amer. Acad. Rome*, III, pl. 17-4. According to F. Brommer, *Herakles*, 1953, p. 8 ff., the earliest Greek representation of Herakles on a clay tripod from the Karameikos follows this prototype.

173. *Report of the Cyprus Mus.*, II, 1934, pl. 2, fig. 4.

174. C. Densmore Curtis, *Mem. Amer. Acad. Rome*, V, No. 20, p. 22, pl. 7.

175. For an example of archaism on another Phoenician seal showing a hero and lion combat, see R. Righetti, "Gemme del Museo Naz. Romano delle Terme Diocleziane", *Rend. d. Pontif. Accad. Rom. di Arch.*, 59 (1958), p. 214, fig. 4. For the position of the spear on the seal under discussion: L. Delaporte, *op. cit.*, No. 643.

176. Perrot and Chipiez, *History of Art in Phoenicia*, fig. 272.

Löwenjagd bei Sakschegözü zeigt die Flügelsonne, die über die Szene schwebt, deutlich dass der Kampf mit dem Löwen hier kein profanes Jagderlebnis ist, sondern ein mythisches Ereignis sein muss.<sup>177</sup> It was a theme also known to the seal of such seals as Furtwängler, pl. VII, No. 11.

The seal A2, here under discussion, was owned by *Mkal*, the name set off by the double line of the exergue. Both the script and the curious combination of a looped triangle and an *ankh* to left and right of the field correspond to features of a Phoenician seal which is discussed by Lidzbarski and which is engraved with a four-winged standing figure wearing a pseudo-Egyptian head-dress. The script of seal A2 suggests a date not later than the 7th century<sup>178</sup> and, although the letter forms are not absolutely conclusive in this instance, both the style of the double-line exergue and the script itself have distinct links with Phoenician and Hebrew seals of the 8th-7th centuries B.C., a period when it is not possible to differentiate clearly between the seals of these two regions except by the forms of the owners' names. In this instance the name suggests a possible Hebrew origin: "Mikal" was the name of one of Saul's daughters and is thus an attested Hebrew personal name. But also, a Reshef Mkl was worshipped by Phoenicians (particularly in Cyprus) in the later period and therefore a Phoenician usage of the name is possible. Mikaël, like Padael on No. 29 of A. Reifenberg's *Ancient Jewish Seals* (1949), is another possibility—both Phoenician and Hebrew. I leave judgment to linguists. The use of Phoenician motifs on Hebrew seals of the 8th c. is well attested: No. 13 of Reifenberg instances the use of the youthful griffon-slayer, certainly less archaic than A2, on an 8th c. seal which both in script and ownership (Jekamjahu) is clearly Hebrew. Since the script on seal A2 is not clearly Hebrew, we must tentatively conclude that it belongs to the limited group of Phoenician jasper seals dating to well before the Persian period, probably to the 8th c.<sup>179</sup>

177. A. Moortgat, *Tammuz*, pp. 107, 102.

178. *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik*, I, p. 137.

179. The letters themselves are not particularly crucial to dating, but the angularity of the *lamed* suggests a date comparable to the "seal of Jezebel" published by N. Avigad, *IEJ*, 14, 4, 1964, pp. 274-6 and also to his "Three Ornamented Hebrew Seals" *IEJ*, 4, p. 236, pl. 21, 1 and 2. On the latter seal (2) the form of winged-disc is virtually identical with that on our seal. Compare also the letter forms of A. Reifenberg's *Ancient Jewish Seals*, Nos. 2 and 17 for the lettering and 16 and 17 for the double line setting off the exergue. All these examples date to the 8th-7th c. B.C. See also Avigad "Notes on Some Inscribed Syro-Phoenician Seals," *BASOR*, 189, 1968, p. 49. For Reshef Mikal, G. Cooke, *Textbook of North Semitic Inscriptions*, pp. 75-76, 89.

*Bes and Lion*

Bes played a prominent role in the art of the Phoenician gem-cutter in the Persian Period and his popularity extended to Achaemenid art perhaps through Phoenician intermediary. The treatment of Bes on Achaemenid seals suggests that he was cast in a cosmic role: on seals in the British Museum, for instance, we see him supported by lions and placed under the winged disc.<sup>180</sup>

Evidence of the popularity of Bes among the Phoenicians is plentiful. To the impressive list of occurrences of his effigy in Phoenician art given in Roscher's *Lexikon*<sup>181</sup> must be added the monumental statues from Fordongianus in Sardinia,<sup>182</sup> another large statue discovered in Cagliari during the Second World War, a temple with a statue of Bes in Bithia,<sup>183</sup> Sardinia, and another at Sabratha in Libya.<sup>184</sup> "Sardus Pater" on the Sardinian coinage of Atius Balbus and the "Baal of Thinissut" in Tunisia were given the plume crown of Bes.<sup>185</sup> Bes himself was a long-lasting motif on the Punic coins of Ibiza. These sculptural and monetary effigies leave no doubt that the Western Phoenicians had made their own adaptations of the traditional Egyptian Bes image.

Graf von Baudissin long ago suggested that the Phoenicians equated Bes with their god of healing, Eshmun, who was worshipped at Sidon and Berytus.<sup>186</sup> That Eshmun was equated by the Greeks with Aesculapius is borne out by the Pauli Gerrei inscription (*CIS*, I, 143) and, further, the frequent usage of the wand of Aesculapius (the caduceus with a pair of intertwined snakes) alongside the Tanit sign on Carthaginian gravestones

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180. D. J. Wiseman, *Cylinder seals of W. Asia*, pp. 103, 106. On a seal, H. Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, p. XXXVII, h, lion-bearing Bes accompanies the victorious Persian king, perhaps in the rôle of the Bes of the Tyszkiewicz bowl (note 198).
181. Cf. "Besa".
182. *Not. d. Scavi*, 1903, p. 469 ff.
183. A. Taramelli, "Bithia, città punica della Sardegna," *Mediterranea*, VIII, 1934, pp. 3-10.
184. *Libya Antiqua*, I, 1964, pl. LXVI. See also R. Bartocinni, "La necropoli punica di Sabratha e il culto della divinità egiziane in Tripolitania", *Annali dell' Istituto Universitario di Napoli*, NS., III, 1949 (= *Mélanges Béguinot*).
185. G. Picard, *Le monde de Carthage*, pl. 35. The coins: E. Bircocchi, *Studi Sardi*, XII-XIII, I, 1952, pp. 519-573.
186. *Adonis und Eshmun*, p. 231 ff. For association with snakes see M. Babelon, *CRAI*, 1904, p. 231 ff; who compares the Eshmun figure on the Roman coins of Africa and Berytus. There is no clear link of Bes with Eshmun iconographically, except possibly the razor published by Delattre *CRAI*, 1905, p. 327, in which a figure in a feather crown slays an enemy with a rod or spear with what appears to be a caduceus finial.

strongly suggests that it referred to Eshmun<sup>187</sup> who was third in the Punic triad. Furthermore, the great temple complex at Sidon, dedicated to Eshmun by the evidence of numerous votive inscriptions, has recently been discovered to have been built round a piscina or healing bath supplied by an elaborate conduit system. Significantly, too, the two statues of Bes from Fordongianus, noted above, were found in the vicinity of a thermal spring and bath. The healing function of Bes is in all probability responsible for one direction taken by his iconography on Phoenician seals—that which shows him in profile, walking and preceded by a single snake<sup>188</sup> or else (either in profile or partly frontally) carrying a combination of snakes/lions/gazelle/wild boar.<sup>189</sup> In this latter pose, he is the master of noxious animals: his role is reminiscent of, and probably connected with, that of the Horus-Harpocrates figure of the Egyptian "Horus stelae",<sup>190</sup> where the head of Horus often has that of Bes placed above it. The gazelle and lions are common to both Bes seals and Horus stelae, but the latter also have scorpions, which are absent from Phoenician Bes seals. In Phoenicia there was probably a different emphasis, drawn from local mythology, which gave to the wild boar (later, the slayer of Adonis) an important place among baleful animals. A purely Phoenician version of the Bes figure, in which he faces frontally, wearing the split-skirt, can be seen on the silver diadem from Poh-tis-Chrysokhou in Cyprus in the British Museum,<sup>191</sup> identical with the representations on a seal from Tharros in Cagliari (Inv. No. 35112) and on Furtwängler, pl. VII, 21 (Berlin).<sup>192</sup> The origins of the Egyptian Bes iconography are obscure, but one of the strands going to make up this complicated god was that already represented on magical wands

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187. The association of the caduceus with Bes is shown by a bronze disc from Gortys on which Bes is shown, in the manner of his type on the Ibizan coinage, brandishing a hammer and holding a snake. To the side of the figure the caduceus is shown. Metzger, who published it in *Bull. corresp. hell.*, LXVII, 1943, p. 312 ff., regarded it as a copy of a cult idol of Phoenicia.
188. *Collection de Clercq*, 2769; J. L. Myres, *Handbook*, No. 4196; with two snakes, *Bull. arch.*, 1893, pl. XVII (Sousse).
189. Frequently reproduced is the Louvre example, E. Ledrain, *Notice sommaire, etc.*, p. 175, No. 443; cf. "The God in the Feather Crown", *Bull. Metr. Mus. Art.*, XXXII, 1937, I, p. 176 ff.
190. H. Bonnet, *op. cit.*, p. 317.
191. J. Marshall, *Catal. Jewellery*, No. 1576. Seal: A. Taramelli, *Guida del. Mus. arch. naz. Cagliari*, fig. 63, 3rd row, left.
192. Cp. Vercoutter, *op. cit.*, Nos. 544, 653, 654, 665.

in the XVIII Dynasty—a frontal figure with lion's mane and ears, lion's tail and brandishing two snakes.<sup>193</sup>

We can therefore be fairly certain that the robust figure on seal Plate III, A4, B4, with the lion's ears on top of his head, is intended to be Bes.<sup>194</sup> There are many variants in this Bes-fights-lion theme on Phoenician seals;<sup>195</sup> and it constitutes the second important direction taken by Bes iconography. In this case, however, it is a purely Phoenician direction without Egyptian antecedents. The striking characteristic of the design is its plasticity of forms, closer to the technique of Greek gem cutting than to the rigid designs of the other seals described here. In composition, especially in the backward turning lion, it is close to the seal from Tharros, Furtwängler, I, pl. XV, 16; II, p. 71, and to *Collection de Clercq*, 2784,<sup>196</sup> but on these Bes wears the more conventional feather crown. These and other items, notably the simplified winged-disc, suggest the influence of the Greek artist.

The connection of this Bes-and-lion type with that of the Baal-and-lion combat is obscure, but a silver bowl from Idalion<sup>197</sup> in the Louvre represents in its outer frieze a series of animal combats in which the young Baal and a dwarf-like figure clad in a lion-skin take part together, engaging in parallel activities. We meet this skin-clad figure again on the tondo of the Phoenician bowl from Salerno in the Tyszkiewicz Collection.<sup>198</sup> Here he stands behind the victorious pharaonic figure, seen in a number of the bowls vanquishing his enemies, and holds the royal fan and a captive woman.<sup>199</sup> Now Bes was not only himself partly feral and leonine,

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193. Bes appears with goat-horns on Hellenistic figurines from Kharayeb, Lebanon, M. Chehab, "Les terres cuites de Kharayeb," *Bull. Mus. Beyrouth*, X-XI, pl. VII, 3, but this is probably due to late syncretism with Pan. In these figurines he holds two serpents before his stomach, as in the Bithia statue.

194. These are two important Bes/Heracles figures, M.-L. Vollenweider, *op. cit.*, Nos. 149, 157 where Bes has club and bow and wears lion's skin over the head, which strongly indicate a connection between the iconography of the two gods. On certain seals the ears appear as tiny "horns" on the head. For the short knobbed club see *ibid.*, No. 158, pl. 64.

195. The Philisto-Arabian mint, which borrowed other Phoenician motifs, has a Bes *dompteur des lions* type, C. Lambert, *QDAP*, II, p. 8, No. 45.

196. Cp. also Furtwängler, pl. XV, 16, but here, as commonly, Bes wears the feather crown as well as the lion-skin. For the turned-back lion of similar style on Achaemenid seals, Walters, *op. cit.*, No. 432, and for style Furtwängler, pl. VII, No. 31.

197. Perrot and Chipiez, *History of Art in Phoenicia*, fig. 270.

198. W. Froehner, *Collection Tyszkiewicz*, No. 220, pl. XXIV.

199. For the captive bearer see B. Grdseloff, "Un emprunt au sémitique pour désigner la femme captive de guerre", *Annales du Service*, LI, 1951, pp. 163-166.

but wore a lion's or leopard's skin down his back, tied round his shoulders and hips so that the lion's mask hung on his breast like a pendant.<sup>200</sup> And insofar as there is security in these matters, it seems safe to suggest that this figure on the bowls is Bes (or Eshmun) accompanying the triumphant Baal. At any rate, both these figures appear in Phoenician art as the vanquishers of lions and griffons<sup>201</sup> and both almost certainly had an astrological significance which associated them in some way. In Egypt, in the late period, Bes had been assimilated to the solar cult<sup>202</sup> and is represented as winged. We must also remember his association with Horus on the Horus magical stelae. The precise nature of his solar association escapes us. The least we say is that Bes appears to have been understood by the Phoenicians in the late period as a manifestation of the sky deity. Attention has already been drawn to a composite Horus-Kheper-Bes on a seal from Carthage: another seal from the Ste Monique graveyard at Carthage shows us a four-winged Bes standing upon the *nub* sign, holding aloft, not arms, but the forelegs of a beetle.<sup>203</sup> But perhaps it is not only by association with the Horus and Kheper that this sky association of the healing deity came about; it was not only part of a general tendency towards sky-god syncretism in Phoenicia, but also perhaps a specific theological speculation in Sidon, the cult centre of Eshmun. Probably also, as Furtwängler and others long ago suggested, the iconography of Bes-Eshmun in his parallel role to that of Baal entered into the Greek iconography of the skin-clad Herakles.<sup>204</sup>

A difficult but intriguing question arises out of the complex connections of these three leontomachy seals. Since we see the deities hunting, combating the dwarfs, slaying griffons and lions, did there exist in Phoenician mythology a cycle of "Labours" relating to a particular sky-god manifestation, beyond what is said of Baal in Ugaritic mythology? Did this series of Labours play a part in the well-established identification of Melqart with

200. Cf. the figure *Ancient Egypt*, 1917, p. 76; G. Daressy, *Statues de divinités (Catal. gén. du Mus. du Caire)*, No. 38-738, pl. XLI.

201. Bes fights a griffon on *Collection de Clercq*, 2777.

202. H. Bonnet, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

203. (R.P.) A. Delattre *CRAI*, 1900, p. 505, gives a detailed drawing (= Vercoutter, *op. cit.*, No. 551, who wrongly describes Bes as holding aloft two snakes). But there is a more suggestive seal, Furtwängler, pl. XV, 73, where Bes is 4-winged and holds what Furtwängler identifies as "two fishes" by the tail—surely the winged orb. But lack of detail prevents discussion. Cf. 4-winged Bes, G. Lippold, *Gemmen und Kameen*, pl. 75.

204. Roscher's *Lexikon*, "Herakles", pp. 2143-2146, for earlier discussions see Seyrig, *Syria*, XXV, p. 219.

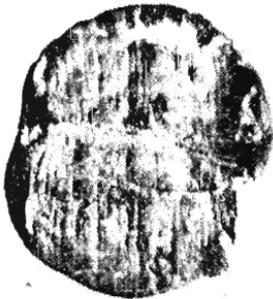


PLATE V

- A. Clay bulla, Lefkovitz Collection, Akko. Approximately x 2.
- B. Clay bulla, Lefkovitz Collection, Akko. Approximately x 2.
- C. Impression of seal in Zeno Pierides Collection, Larnaca. Approximately x 4.  
(Photo Cyprus Mus.)



Herakles? Albright is positive that Melqart had such adventures<sup>205</sup> slaying monsters and there was nothing inapposite according to Philostratus,<sup>206</sup> that sculptures of the Labours of Hercules were exhibited in the Temple of Hercules-Melqart at Gades, which even in Roman times had preserved the Phoenician cultus.

#### A SEAL IN THE ZENO PIERIDES COLLECTION

Another—and much rarer—iconography of the Phoenician sky deity is instanced by an unusual seal in the possession of Mr. Zeno Pierides of Larnaca<sup>207</sup> (Plate V, C). The engraving represents a bearded and winged deity carrying the winged orb of the sun. I have no explanation for the second motif (two winged horses flanking a star and a basket) beyond suggesting that it may be a misrepresentation of the chariot of Phoebus. A scaraboid from the Danicourt Collection with this same winged and sun-bearing deity is reproduced by Perrot and Chipiez, *L'histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité: III Phénicie-Chypre*, fig. 495 (here reproduced fig. 13 A), and a very similar design is found on a red carnelian scaraboid in the *Wyndham Cook Collection*, pl. II, 49<sup>208</sup> (here fig. 13 B). It has not been possible to discover whether these are one and the same seal (face and impression): slight differences suggest that they are not. But, in any case, the type of the winged-orb bearer is established by a seal from Tharros in the British Museum, Walters, *op. cit.*, No. 281, where the *nub* sign is placed beneath the figure. Of the Danicourt seal, Perrot and Chipiez remark, "The helmet is Greek and the rest of the subject is frankly Asiatic"; but there are parallels in Phoenician art to this close-fitting helmet with its crest of rays.<sup>209</sup> It is not necessary to adduce Greek influence in the composition of this figure, though it is present on the Pierides seal in the winged horses. The Philisto-Arabian mint, which drew on Phoenician iconographic sources, used a very similar figure<sup>210</sup> and the Punic coinage of Malta uses a four-winged figure flying with bent knees. He wears a vaguely Egyptian headdress and carries the crook and flail of Osiris. C. Seltman<sup>211</sup> has discussed the political reasons for Malta's alignment with the Ptolemies in the mid-2nd c. B.C. and sees in

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205. W. F. Albright, *Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan*, p. 212. For the assimilation of Melqart to Herakles, W. Baudissin, *op. cit.*, pp. 296-299.
206. In *Apoll. Tyran*, V.5, see also Silius Italicus' *Punica*, III, 32-44.
207. The seal cannot now be located. I am grateful to the Cyprus Museum for the photograph and to Mr. Pierides for permission to publish the seal impression.
208. By C. H. Smith and C. A. Hutton, 1908.
209. Worn by soldiers on the Phoenician bowl, C. Densmore Curtis, *Mem. Amer. Acad. Rome*, III, No. 23, pl. 18, I.
210. G. F. Hill, *B. M. Catal. Coins, Palestine*, p. LXXXVI, pl. XLII, 2.
211. "Ancient Coinage of Malta", *Num. Chron.*, VI (1946), pp. 81-87.

the four-winged Osirian figure a borrowing of an Egyptian motif. For it, however, there is no known Egyptian prototype and it appears possible to suggest an alternative origin, whereby the motif is a descendant of earlier Phoenician sky-god imagery incorporating the Harpocratic attributes of crook and flail. This does not, of course, deny any immediate political reason for the adoption of such motifs, but it must be stressed that this tendency to express late Punic religion in terms of Egyptian theology and iconography in the 2nd c. B.C. had had a consistent background, not only in the use of very similar figures to that on the Maltese coinage, but without crook and flail,<sup>212</sup> but also in the sky-god who bore a single pair of wings but carried, in addition, a winged-disc.



Fig 13. A, Seal in the Wyndham Cook Collection. B, Seal in the Danicourt Collection (after Perrot and Chipiez).

In classical art, a bearded, winged deity holding a disc (sometimes plain, sometimes stellate) occurs on the coins of Mallos in Sicilia<sup>213</sup> at the beginning of the late 5th c. B.C. Although in aspect purely Greek, the theme, as R. D. Barnett suggested, is Oriental<sup>214</sup> and is connected with the iconography of the sky-god. There appears nothing to warrant the recognition of this deity as Iris. These coins and their forerunners are discussed by A. B. Cook in Vol. I of *Zeus*, p. 297 ff, where he gives additional reasons for regarding the imagery as that of the sky-god Kronos. It will be noted also that in the example reproduced by him on p. 297 (fig. 220) the young god wears a long, curled lock of hair behind his head, derived perhaps from the hair-curl of the Semitic weather god.

The existence of this iconography of Ba'al-Shamem among the Phoenicians in the Persian period throws a light on a much-

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212. M. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik*, I, p. 137.  
 213. B. Head, *Historia Numorum*, p. 605; Perrot and Chipiez, *op. cit.*, III, fig. 289. See especially the example illustrated by U. Zanotti-Bianco, *Heraion alle Foce del Sele*, II, 1954, fig. 54, and the discussion, pp. 244-249. It is doubtful that the iconography is in origin that of Iris. Here there is reproduced in fig. 52 a related motif on a seal of the classical period from Cyprus.  
 214. R. D. Barnett, "Oriental Influences in Archaic Greece", *The Aegean and the Orient: Essays presented to Hetty S. Goldman* (ed. S. Weinberg), p. 266.

discussed minor monument of Biblical archaeology—the coin in the British Museum inscribed *Yhd* and considered to be the earliest Hebrew coin.<sup>215</sup> On it a bearded figure sits upon a winged wheel and in his outstretched hand holds a hawk. There is strong classical influence in this type, both in this figure (once thought to represent Yahweh from the false reading of the script as *Yhu*) and the helmeted head on the reverse, but a direct borrowing of a Zeus type or of the iconography of the winged chariot of Triptolemus, as has been suggested, offers no complete explanation, either of the iconography itself or of the reasons for such crude plagiarism from Gentile religious imagery. The use of such foreign iconography by the Jews in the early 4th c. can only be explained if the imagery itself was assimilable to Jewish ideas. The nearest cult was that of Ba'al-Shamem, the "Olympian Zeus" of Tyre. The sun was commonly represented as a wheel by Near Eastern peoples<sup>216</sup> and I suggest that the imagery on the *Yhd* coin is that of the sky-god, borne in the winged wheel of the sun and holding the solar falcon. But there is a further reason for suggesting that a Phoenician iconography lies behind this coin image. In front of Baal, in the right-hand corner of the square incuse, is a gigantic face of Bes in profile, representing the cultic deity of Sidon. For the intruding head of Bes in this position we find our only parallels on Phoenician seals of the class with which we have been concerned in this paper. The central field on a number of examples is occupied by a frontally facing (solar?) lion, to the side of which intrudes the head of Bes.<sup>217</sup>

## TWO BULLAE FROM AKKO

The Phoenician site of Akko is a conspicuous mound situated some two kilometres from the enceinte of Acre of the Crusades. Though unexcavated, the site has yielded to fossickers a number of minor antiquities, including a few seals of Phoenician type. In a private collection at Akko are two bullae with seal impressions.<sup>218</sup> Unlike the two bullae previously discussed, they are of the same type as that from Samaria illustrated on Plate I, 10. On both, the impressions are damaged. They are made of the same gritty grey clay as the examples from Beirut.

The first (Plate V, A) has a remarkable motif: a figure wearing the long Phoenician split-skirt, but wearing a Phrygian

215. G. F. Hill, *B. M. Catal. Coins, Palestine*, p. lxxxvii, pl. XIX, 29.

216. R. D. Barnett, "The Gods of Zinjirli", *Compte Rendu, Ile Rencontre Assyriologique*, Leiden, 1964, p. 59 ff.

217. Walters, *op. cit.*, No. 280; Furtwängler, pl. VII, 34; Vercoutter, *op. cit.*, 540, 541.

218. I am grateful to Max Prausnitz of the Israel Dept. of Antiquities who kindly arranged to have photographs taken.

helmet holds aloft over his head a bipennis and in front of him a round shield with a lion-head umbo. The butt and head of a spear can be made out, held in the same hand as the shield. The edge of a cape of cloth makes a continuous line joining his wrists, after the fashion of capes seen on the Phoenician bowls.<sup>219</sup> I am unable to identify or explain this figure and especially to account for the use of the lion-umbo shield (an 8th-7th c. feature in Urartu the Aegean and Italy) in a context of 5th c. features. But there is a unique gold finger-ring from the Bordj Djedid cemetery at

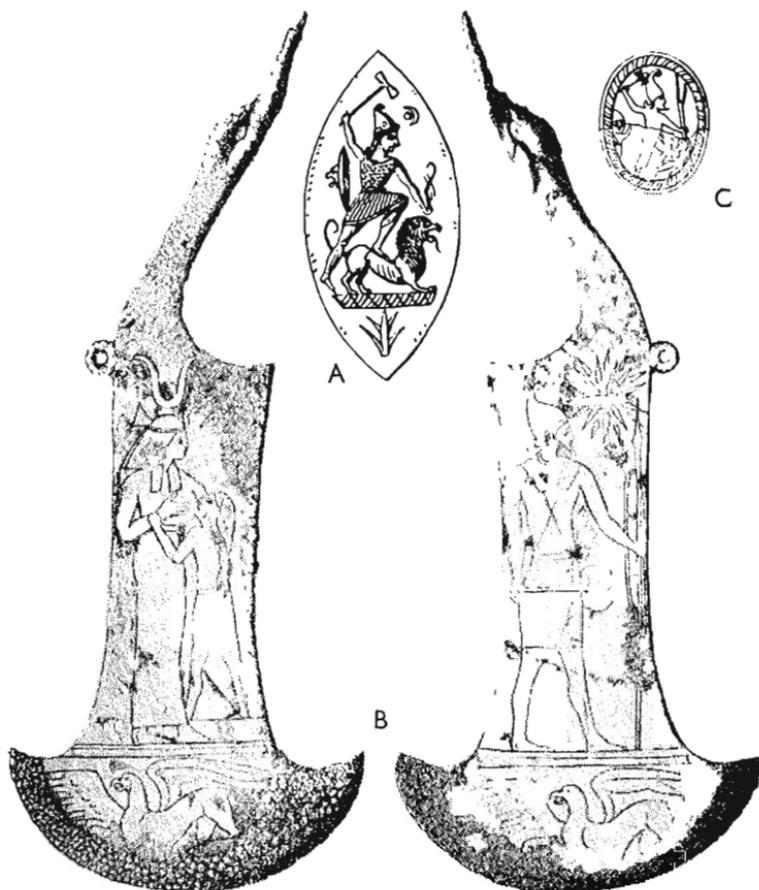


Fig. 14. A, Engraving on a finger-ring, Carthage (after Gauckler); B, engraved razor, Carthage; C, Seal from Tharros (after A. della Marmora).

219. The figure stands on a short piece of "tramline" and there are faint traces of a single-line border in the lower left.

Carthage<sup>220</sup> (fig. 14 A), which shows a hero likewise equipped with bipennis and lion-headed shield. This can hardly be dated before the beginning of the 5th c.<sup>221</sup>

Whilst I know of no shield with lion-head umbo which would be contemporary, a parallel may be given to the basic type of shield here represented with a low-domed tympanum and short outward-sloping rim. Phoenician warriors are shown with such shields on the silver cauldron from the Bernardini tomb.<sup>222</sup> This appears to be the earliest representation. The hero's weapon, the double axe (bipennis), has perhaps some cultic significance in view of its use by the hero of the Sakçegözü relief (see above, p. 91) and its use in Punic religious symbolism.<sup>223</sup> Further, two seals from Tharros reproduced by Alberto della Marmora<sup>224</sup> show the Phrygian hat—one (fig. 14B) worn by a figure equipped with a double axe. Finally, we may draw attention to that important source of Phoenician religious iconography, the Punic "razor". On one of these an armed figure holds the double axe at waist level. He wears a thorax and Phrygian helmet and holds the shield and spear in front of him<sup>225</sup> (fig. 14C). The razor is illustrated by A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, II, p. 631, who gives little comment upon it but includes it in his section on the "pontifical axe".

No ordinary soldier is intended: he is accompanied by the rayed sun; on the reverse is Isis suckling Horus, accompanied by the moon. A manifestation of a male sky divinity is surely intended. The cosmic griffons placed beneath both deities on the razor add point. That the razor gives us a Hellenistic version of the figure on the Akko bulla we can have little doubt.

Whilst his identity remains strictly unknown, the iconographic tradition of this "hero with Phrygian helmet and the double axe" appears consistent enough for us to suggest that it had a specific

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220. P. Gauckler, *op. cit.*, II, p. 157. This is a finger-ring of the type referred to above, note 96.

221. Belonging possibly to this same Baal iconography is the black scaraboid from the Nabu temple at Khorsabad, G. Loud, *Khorsabad* II, pl. 58, 1, No. 112 where a god in a tall Phoenician mitre holds bow and arrows over the head of a lion and carries additional weapons on his back. His split skirt covered with reticulation also suggests Phoenician influence.

222. C. Densmore Curtis, *Mem. Amer. Acad. Rome*, III, pl. 18, I.

223. Especially associated with the Tanit symbol on amphorae handles: M. Cazzuro, *Annuari d'Estudis Catalans*, fig. 14; carved between two jugs on a punic stela, *CIS*, 1595.

224. *Op. cit.*, pl. B, 80, 81.

225. (R.P.) A. Delattre, *CRAI*, 1900, p. 501, Vercoutter, *op. cit.*, fig. 26, p. 309, where the drawing is inaccurate.

reference among Phoenicians East and West.<sup>226</sup> The only possible more concrete identification is Nergal. The identification by the Greeks of Melqart of Tyre with Herakles appears to have had a parallel identification in Mesopotamia of Melqart with the Babylonian Nergal, god of the underworld and war. A bilingual Greek-Phoenician inscription from Athens (*CIS*, I, 119) attests that Nergal had a recognized priesthood amongst the Phoenicians in the 4th c. The basis of the identification is obscure, but there are certain points of confluence: Nergal was, like Melqart and Tammuz, a god revived by spring rites; and there is a little evidence that he was also assimilated with sun-cult.<sup>227</sup> Unfortunately the iconography of Nergal is poorly established; but there is enough to suggest that he was associated with lions both in combat and in the adornment of the lion-headed sceptre which was his symbol. M. Seyrig has collected the evidence for the identity of a Herakles-Nergal syncretism at Palmyra, where the god is associated with the double axe and a lion.<sup>228</sup> The scaraboid seal from Khorsabad described in note 221 and the seal impression on the bulla from Akko in all probability represent an earlier form of this Nergal-Melqart-Herakles syncretism, drawing upon Persian or Greek sources for the Phrygian helmet.

There is a further seal-impression from Akko, badly worn and difficult to photograph (Plate V, B). The central figure is that of Isis flanked by two uraei and two lion-headed Sekhmet figures, who hold up their hands towards her in adoration. No direct parallel is known to me, but a triad of Sekhmet figures is shown on della Marmora's seal, *op. cit.*, pl. A.53, and we are reminded of the importance of the Sekhmet figure in Punic art by the lion-headed goddess from Thinissut, Tunisia. This large terracotta statue of the Roman period on which the clothing is derived both from Roman and Egyptian sources and which is swathed in the wings of Isis, demonstrates the deep-rooted influence of Egyptian syncretism on the iconography of the Carthaginians.

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226. The bearing of a double axe does not in itself constitute evidence for the identification of a specific divinity. In Roman times two Middle Eastern pre-Roman cults were represented by soldier divinities bearing *bipennes*: these were Sandas, who appears on the coin of the early 2nd c. B.C., comparable in aspects to the figures from the Phoenician sphere, since he stands upon a lion and is equipped with a number of weapons; secondly Jupiter Dolichenus whose iconography, beginning in the 3rd c. A.D. connects with the Phoenician figures in being armed with various weapons and wearing a Phrygian bonnet (Cook, *Zeus*, p. 599 f., for Sandas and for Dolichenus).
227. A. Jeremias, *Altorientalische Geisteskultur*, p. 379; W. F. Albright, *Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan*, p. 211 for Nergal-Melqart-Heracles syncretism.
228. "Antiquités syriennes: Héracles-Nergal", *Syria*, XXIV, pp. 62-73.
229. G. Picard, *op. cit.*, pl. 61A.