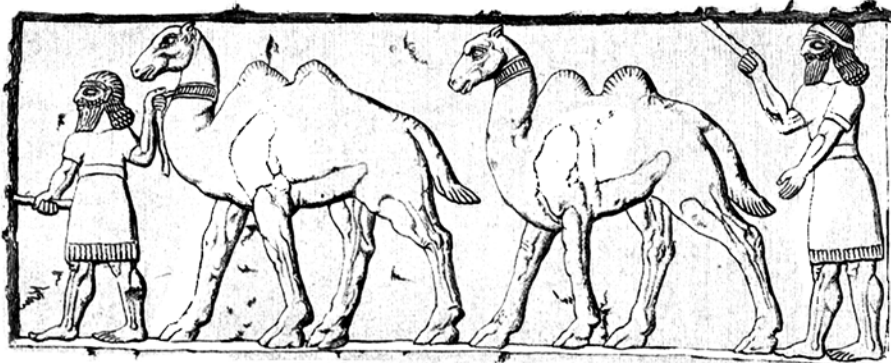


ASSYRIA TO IBERIA

at the Dawn of the Classical Age





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Edited by Joan Aruz,
Sarah B. Graff, and Yelena Rakic



The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

Distributed by Yale University Press, New Haven and London

This catalogue is published in conjunction with the exhibition “Assyria to Iberia at the Dawn of the Classical Age,” on view at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, from September 22, 2014, through January 4, 2015.

The exhibition is made possible by The Hagop Kevorkian Fund, the Stavros Niarchos Foundation, and Dorothy and Lewis B. Cullman.

Additional support is provided by an Anonymous Foundation and the Friends of Inanna.

It is supported by an indemnity from the Federal Council on the Arts and the Humanities.

This publication is made possible by The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, The Hagop Kevorkian Fund, and the A. G. Leventis Foundation.

Published by The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

Mark Polizzotti, Publisher and Editor in Chief
Gwen Roginsky, Associate Publisher and General Manager of Publications
Peter Antony, Chief Production Manager
Michael Sittenfeld, Managing Editor
Robert Weisberg, Senior Project Manager

Edited by Dale Tucker with Marcie Muscat and Margaret Donovan

Designed by Bruce Campbell

Production by Christopher Zichello

Bibliography and notes edited by Jean Wagner and Amelia Kutschbach

Image acquisitions and permissions by Fiona Kidd, Jane S. Tai, and Ling Hu

Translations from the French by Jean-Marie Clarke and Jane Marie Todd;
from the German by Russell Stockman; from the Spanish by Philip Sutton;
from the Greek by Eleni Drakaki; from the Italian by Lawrence Jenkins; and
from the Arabic by Eriksen Translations Inc.

Maps by Anandaroop Roy

Photographs of works in the Metropolitan Museum’s collection are by The Photograph Studio, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, unless otherwise noted. Additional photography credits appear on page 422.

Typeset in Monotype Sabon, Monotype Gill Sans, and Linotype Frutiger by Duke & Company, Devon, Pennsylvania

Printed on 135 gsm Satimat

Separations by Professional Graphics, Inc., Rockford, Illinois

Printing and binding coordinated by Ediciones El Viso, S.A., Madrid, Spain

Jacket illustration: Bronze cauldron with siren and griffin attachments. Salamis, Tomb 79. Cypro-Archaic period. Cyprus Museum, Nicosia (T.79/202, 202[b]) (detail of cat. 76a)

Endpapers: engravings of drawings of the Black Obelisk (see pp. 62–64) from Austen Henry Layard, *The Monuments of Nineveh from Drawings Made on the Spot* (1849), pls. 53–56. The New York Public Library, Asian and Middle Eastern Division, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations

Frontispiece: Syrian-style ivory openwork plaque with striding sphinx. Nimrud, Fort Shalmaneser. Neo-Assyrian period. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Rogers Fund, 1964 (64.37.1) (see fig. 3.32)

Other illustrations: pp. xxviii–1, Gypsum alabaster relief showing ships transporting cedar logs from Tyre. Khorsabad, palace of Sargon II, Neo-Assyrian, reign of Sargon II. Musée du Louvre, Paris (AO 19889); pp. 12–13, Stone relief with battle between Egyptians and Sea Peoples. Medinet Habu, Temple of Ramesses III. Dynasty 20; pp. 50–51, Gypsum alabaster relief with king and queen banqueting in garden. Nineveh, North Palace. Neo-Assyrian, reign of Ashurbanipal. The Trustees of the British Museum, London (ME 124920) (detail of cat. 22); pp. 110–11, Gypsum alabaster relief showing Sennacherib’s siege of Lachish. Nineveh, Southwest Palace. Neo-Assyrian, reign of Sennacherib. The Trustees of the British Museum, London (ME 124906, 124907); pp. 246–47, Bronze tympanum with Assyrianizing imagery. Cave of Zeus, Mount Ida. Orientalizing. Archaeological Museum, Heraklion, Greece (X9) (detail of fig. 3.5); pp. 330–31, Ishtar Gate as reconstructed in the Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin. Neo-Babylonian, reign of Nebuchadnezzar; pp. 350–51, *Tower of Babel*, Flemish School, late 16th century. Pinacoteca Nazionale di Siena (N.534) (detail of fig. 6.5)

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First printing

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The Metropolitan Museum of Art

1000 Fifth Avenue

New York, New York 10028

metmuseum.org

Distributed by

Yale University Press, New Haven and London

yalebooks.com/art

yalebooks.co.uk

Cataloguing-in-Publication Data is available from the Library of Congress.

ISBN 978-1-58839-538-2 (The Metropolitan Museum of Art)

ISBN 978-0-300-20808-5 (Yale University Press)

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Director's Foreword

Cross-cultural interaction and global communication are hallmarks of contemporary society and continue to shape our world. Yet the roots of such internationalism lie deep in our ancient past, alluded to in epics such as Homer's *Odyssey*, a tale composed at a time when the kings of Assyria built vast empires and the legendary Phoenician sailors took to the seas. It is this interconnected world, whose networks of trade and exchange reached across the Mediterranean to the eastern shores of the Atlantic Ocean, that is the subject of the exhibition "Assyria to Iberia at the Dawn of the Classical Age."

The exhibition opens in the final years of the second millennium B.C.—the end of the Bronze Age—a period when the palatial societies of the eastern Mediterranean and the major territorial states of western Asia succumbed to conquest and collapse. What emerged in the first millennium was a new, decentralized world in which iron, widely available but difficult to work, replaced bronze as the material of choice for tools and weapons. We glimpse some of the complex, international flavor of this era in biblical stories such as that of the joint ventures of Solomon and Hiram of Tyre, who supplied cedar wood for the temple in Jerusalem; the queen of Sheba's visit to Solomon, surely via the Arabian spice route; and the diplomatic marriage of the Phoenician princess Jezebel to the Israelite king Ahab, whose capital city was Samaria.

Although the Assyrian onslaught changed the political landscape of western Asia, land and sea trade proliferated, as did colonization, and major advances were made in navigation and shipping. In addition to the exchange of raw materials such as silver and gold, ivory tusks, and the famous Phoenician purple dye, new technologies and innovative ideas were introduced—none more outstanding than the use of the alphabet—as well as new forms of visual expression. Together, they laid the foundations for many cultural and artistic traditions in the Western world, which, as the works in this exhibition make clear, have deep roots in the interaction between the ancient Near East and the lands along the shores of the Mediterranean.

The Near East in antiquity was, as it is today, a diverse and complicated milieu of distinct polities, states, and empires that cannot be fully understood without focusing on the cross-currents of their interaction. Joan Aruz, Curator in Charge of the Department of Ancient Near Eastern Art, has compelled us to take just such a broad perspective in this exhibition and those that preceded it: "Art of the First Cities: The Third Millennium B.C. from the Mediterranean to the Indus" (2003) and "Beyond Babylon: Art, Trade, and Diplomacy in the Second Millennium B.C." (2008). In order to realize this vision, she has navigated the intricacies of our own contemporary international landscape with the assistance of the many people she names in the acknowledgments to this volume. We are extremely grateful to the impressive group of international scholars who contributed to this comprehensive catalogue, and to the major institutions throughout Europe, the Middle East, and North Africa that demonstrated their commitment to this project by generously lending treasures from their national collections.

Fitting for an exhibition of such broad scope and scale, there are a number of equally diverse funders whose generous support has made this project possible. Our deep thanks go to: The Hagop Kevorkian Fund, and especially Ralph Minasian, for demonstrating an early and unwavering dedication to this project; the Stavros Niarchos Foundation, whose commitment to ancient Greek culture has enriched our institution and so many pursuits of global cultural exchange; Dorothy and Lewis B. Cullman, whose endowment support has made numerous other scholarly exhibitions on the ancient world possible; Friends of Inanna, the dedicated support group for the Department of Ancient Near Eastern Art, and an Anonymous Foundation for their generosity; the Federal Council on the Arts and the Humanities for providing significant assistance in the form of an indemnity to the exhibition; The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation and the A. G. Leventis Foundation for their commitment to this publication; Raymond and Beverly Sackler for their contributions to the related scholarly programs; and finally, the American Institute of Iranian Studies for supporting the research found in these pages.

Thomas P. Campbell
Director, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

Sponsors' Statements

It is a great pleasure for The Hagop Kevorkian Fund to contribute to the historic exhibition “Assyria to Iberia at the Dawn of the Classical Age.” From the time of his arrival in New York City in the late nineteenth century, Hagop Kevorkian formed a close relationship with the Metropolitan Museum, particularly in the areas of his collecting interests—ancient Near Eastern, Islamic, and Byzantine art. An Armenian archaeologist, connoisseur, and collector, Kevorkian was a generous supporter of the Museum, making regular gifts from his exquisite collection. In 1951 Kevorkian established The Hagop Kevorkian Fund, which has continued to support the Museum’s fellowships, publications, acquisitions, and The Hagop Kevorkian Fund Special Exhibition Gallery in the Galleries for the Art of the Arab Lands, Turkey, Iran, Central Asia, and Later South Asia.

It is with great pleasure and pride that the Stavros Niarchos Foundation continues its long and productive collaboration with The Metropolitan Museum of Art by providing major support for the Museum’s landmark exhibition “Assyria to Iberia at the Dawn of the Classical Age.” This presentation once again manifests the extraordinary ability of the Metropolitan Museum to narrate and articulate complicated historical and social stories through works of art.

While the public may be familiar with the pre-classical Mediterranean and Near Eastern worlds as separate entities,

Mr. Kevorkian’s interest in the art of the ancient Near East can be traced back to his work as an archaeologist in Syria and Iran. From those years until his death, he consistently supported research within the field and acquired significant examples of Near Eastern art for his collection. His Foundation has continued these interests, especially at the Metropolitan, where grants to the Museum’s Department of Ancient Near Eastern Art have provided support for its galleries, exhibitions, and fellowships. During these challenging times in the Middle East, we are especially proud of Curator in Charge Joan Aruz and the efforts she has made to bring to fruition this superb publication and the groundbreaking exhibition it accompanies.

Ralph D. Minasian
President
The Hagop Kevorkian Fund

the story of the significant and extensive cultural and commercial interactions and interconnections that dominate and define the landscape right before the emergence of the classical age is mostly known only to experts.

Joan Aruz, Curator in Charge of the Museum’s Department of Ancient Near Eastern Art and the exhibition’s curator, has done a masterful job in resurrecting this critical period for the viewer to see and understand through crucial loans from museums around the world, emphasizing at the same time the importance of the collections of some of Greece’s smaller and lesser-known regional museums.

The Board of Directors
Stavros Niarchos Foundation



Acknowledgments

“Assyria to Iberia at the Dawn of the Classical Age” focuses attention on the intense commercial and cultural interaction throughout the Near East and the Mediterranean during the first millennium B.C. In the midst of the growing power of the Assyrian empire and the Phoenician expansion, the complexity of exchange—in times of both war and peace and in the context of trade, travel, and migration—creates a compelling picture of the origins and developments of artistic traditions that would profoundly shape the history of the Mediterranean world.

The challenges of capturing the dynamics of the age and putting together an exhibition of this magnitude have required an immense effort from many individuals and institutions, to whom we are extremely grateful. Forty-one lending institutions in Europe, the Middle East, Africa, and the United States generously contributed to the project, and authors from sixteen countries generously shared their expertise to help create this comprehensive catalogue. Their names and affiliations are cited in the List of Contributors.

Certain individuals deserve special thanks for their belief in the significance of the exhibition and for their efforts on our behalf. First, much gratitude goes to Thomas P. Campbell, Director of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, for his unwavering support, and to Jennifer Russell, Associate Director for Exhibitions, who assisted and advised throughout the formulation of the project. Philippe de Montebello, Director Emeritus, was a source of encouragement from the outset. In the Department of Ancient Near Eastern Art, I would like especially to thank Michael Seymour, Research Associate, who for the last three years has worked closely with me for countless hours on all aspects of the project, demonstrating extreme dedication, sharing bright and fresh ideas, and always displaying good humor and collegiality. I would also like to extend the highest praise to my two expert co-editors, Yelena Rakic, Associate Curator, and Sarah B. Graff, Assistant Curator, whose contributions to the catalogue cannot be overstated. Both worked tirelessly and meticulously, with great skill and fortitude, and also helped with the development of the exhibition and its didactic materials. Tim Healing, Senior Administrator, provided invaluable administrative support, displaying his ability to

unravel the most complex negotiations and to ensure that all matter of logistics, from loan contracts and government paperwork to educational and other special events, proceeded seamlessly. Other members of the department must also be singled out: Kim Benzel, Associate Curator, contributed to the catalogue and to the exhibition, and ensured, in collaboration with Joanna Prosser, that we were properly represented in the shops; Ira Spar advised on matters relating to ancient texts and the biblical dimension of the show; Fiona Kidd, Assistant Curator, worked to obtain comparanda photography for the catalogue and acted as a liaison with the Digital Media Department; Elizabeth Knott and Anne-Elizabeth Dunn-Vaturi provided expert assistance with historical and textual references and provenance research, respectively, and both were instrumental in the production of the maps for the catalogue and exhibition; Blair Fowlkes-Childs worked diligently on the catalogue, and Anne Hunnell-Chen provided essential assistance with research; Laetitia Raiciulescu performed crucial work on the exhibition database, particularly with regard to the indemnity application; and Helen Malko assisted with translation and correspondence with our colleagues from Iraq. Special thanks also go to Cristina Velasquez, Associate for Administration, who took over many projects from her predecessor, Susanna Lee, and also made sure the educational events ran smoothly, and to W. Shawn Osborne, whose skillful work as an art handler is, as always, invaluable.

This complex and lavish catalogue was produced by the Editorial Department of the Metropolitan Museum. Mark Polizzotti, Publisher and Editor in Chief, paid special attention to the project and provided guidance, assembling a wonderful team of editors, led by Dale Tucker, whose deft touch enhanced the voices of our numerous individual authors. Dale’s careful attention to our texts is much appreciated and his efforts were shared with the very capable and helpful Marcie M. Muscat and Margaret Donovan. The production of the volume was in the most accomplished hands of Christopher Zichello, whose excellent handling of all matters relating to the book’s design and photography was coupled with great understanding and patience. We also thank Steve Chanin for his unflappable assistance. Jean Wagner and Amelia Kutschbach skillfully

compiled the bibliography and ensured the accuracy of the footnotes. Bruce White, exhibiting resourceful approaches to often very challenging circumstances, must be singled out for his wonderful photographs, which have gained him the admiration of curators and conservators throughout the Mediterranean. Bruce Campbell, despite the many constraints imposed by the nature of this book, demonstrated his creativity in designing a most attractive layout and, as always, was a pleasure to work with.

Anandaroop Roy paid great attention to producing the maps that illustrate the catalogue. We also thank Elizabeth Zechella, Jane S. Tai, Briana Parker, and Robert Weisberg.

In the Design Department, we are grateful to Susan Sellers, Head of Design, and her team. We are particularly fortunate to have had the expert skills of Michael Batista, Exhibition Design Manager, and Sophia Geronimus, Graphic Design Manager, whose combined efforts and dedication allowed them to capture our vision for the exhibition with elegance and beauty. Additional thanks go to Lighting Design Managers Clint Ross Collier and Richard Lichte.

Many other departments at the Museum helped us to realize the exhibition. We are indebted to the Departments of Egyptian and Greek and Roman Art, led by Lila Acheson Wallace Curator in Charge Diana Craig Patch and Curator in Charge Carlos A. Picón, respectively, for loans from their collections and, in particular, to curators Marsha Hill and Joan R. Mertens, who generously shared their expertise. We are also grateful to George R. Goldner, Drue Heinz Chairman, and curators Constance McPhee and Nadine M. Orenstein for loans from the Department of Drawings and Prints, as well as to Keith Christiansen, John Pope-Hennessy Chairman, for a loan from the Department of European Paintings. Linda Sylling, Manager, and Patricia Gilkison, Associate Manager, Special Exhibitions and Gallery Installations, deserve special thanks, as do Martha Deese, Senior Administrator for Exhibitions and International Affairs, and Maria Fillas, Assistant for Administration in the Exhibitions Office. Much appreciation also goes to Emily Kernan Rafferty, President; Carrie Reborra Barratt, Deputy Director for Collections and Administration; Sharon H. Cott, Senior Vice President, Secretary, and General Counsel; Amy Lamberti, Counsel's Office; and Nina McN. Diefenbach, Vice President for Development and Membership, and her staff, including Christine S. Begley, who helped with funding initiatives, Kristin M. MacDonald, Elisa Cheslak, and Nicole E. Weindling. We also thank Harold Holzer, Senior Vice President for Public Affairs; Cynthia Round, Senior Vice President, Marketing and External Relations;

and Elyse Topalian, Jennifer Oetting, and Egle Žygas in the Communications Department. In the Education Department, Sandra Jackson-Dumont, Frederick P. and Sandra P. Rose Chairman, and her team developed a variety of programs to accompany the exhibition; particular thanks go to Joseph Loh, Jacqueline Terrassa, William B. Crow, Marcie J. Karp, Jennifer Mock, Vivian Wick, Alice W. Schwarz, Marianna Siciliano, Brittany Prieto, Rebecca McGinnis, Claire E. Moore, Nicole Leist, Erica Lohe, and Jessica Bell. We also thank Christopher A. Noey, Paul Caro, and Robin Schwalb for work on the digital media component of the show, and Staci Hou and Grace Tung, who produced the Audio Guide. In Objects Conservation, it was a pleasure to collaborate with Jean-François de Lapérouse, who shared his expert advice on conservation matters and contributed to the catalogue and Audio Guide, as well as with preparators Frederick J. Sager, Matthew Cumbie, Warren L. Bennett, and Shoji Miyazawa. We also thank Taylor Miller for his careful attention to the construction of the exhibition area and Crayton Sohan and his team of riggers. Meryl Cohen, Exhibitions Registrar, deserves special gratitude for the challenging task of coordinating the packing and transportation of the loans.

Outside the Metropolitan Museum, we are indebted to numerous colleagues, including those in foreign lending institutions, whose cooperation and collegiality have made this exhibition possible.

In CYPRUS, we thank Despina Pilides, Acting Director, Department of Antiquities—whose support is demonstrated in the extraordinary loans from the royal tombs at Salamis—as well as Vassos Karageorghis, Sophocles Hadjisavvas, and Maria Hadjicosti, all former directors of the Department of Antiquities. The impressive contributions from Cyprus to the exhibition have inspired the A.G. Leventis Foundation to assist with funding for this catalogue, for which we are especially grateful.

In DENMARK, at the Nationalmuseet, Bodil Bundgaard Rasmussen, Keeper, was very attentive to our requests; she was assisted by John Lund, Senior Researcher; Barbara Berlowicz, Conservator; and Peter Pentz, Curator.

In FRANCE, we are grateful to Jean-Luc Martinez, President-Director, Musée du Louvre, and especially to Béatrice André-Salvini, Conservateur Général du Patrimoine, Département des Antiquités Orientales; and Curator Elisabeth Fontan, to both of whom we are particularly thankful for providing essential support, expert advice, and contributions to the catalogue. We also thank curators Agnès Benoit and Sophie Cluzan and other members of

the department who contributed to the catalogue. Special mention must be made of Annie Caubet, Conservateur Général Honoraire du Patrimoine, who rose to the occasion numerous times to supply needed essays and entries to the catalogue, often on the shortest of notice. Much administrative assistance came from registrars Norbeil Aouici, Jorge Vasquez, and Arnaud Trochet as well as Nora Belkebla. Thanks also go to Eric Delpont and Djamilia Chakour of the Institute du Monde Arabe, who provided us with illustrations of Tunisian objects.

In GERMANY, we thank Markus Hilgert and Beate Salje, Director and former Director, respectively, of the Vorderasiatisches Museum, and especially Deputy Director Lutz Martin and Research Associate Nadja Cholidis, whose support for the loan of the Tell Halaf sculptures and help with other matters are deeply appreciated. We also thank colleagues Ralf-Bernhard Wartke and Joachim Marzahn. From the Max Freiherr von Oppenheim Foundation, we are grateful to Christopher Freiherr von Oppenheim and to Wolfgang Röllig, Chairman of the Board of Trustees, for approving the loan of the Tell Halaf pieces.

In GREECE, special thanks goes to the following colleagues and friends: Maria Andreadaki-Vlazaki, Director General of Antiquities and Cultural Heritage; Nikos Stampolidis, Director of the Museum of Cycladic and Ancient Greek Art, Athens, and Professor of Archaeology, University of Crete, who was on constant call, sharing his expertise and advice as well as access to materials from his outstanding excavations at Eleutherna; and Lena Papazoglou-Manioudaki, former Head of the Prehistoric Collection, National Archaeological Museum, Athens, who facilitated much communication and access to ancient sites. Additionally, Eleni Drakaki did a masterful job translating the Greek texts for the catalogue. We are also extremely grateful to Lina Mendoni, General Secretary of Culture, Ministry of Culture and Sport; Ioanna Adamopoulou, Directorate of Museums, Exhibitions, and Educational Programs, for her help with the administration of loans; as well as many directors of the Ephorates of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities throughout Greece: Athanasia Kanta (Heraklion) and Anastasia Tzigounaki (Chania and Rethymnon) on Crete; Maria Michailidou along with archaeologists Pavlos Triantafyllidis and Vassiliki Patsiada (Rhodes); Panagiotis Chatzidakis (Cyclades and Samos); Kalamara Paraskevi and archaeologist Maria Kosma (Euboia); and Athanasia Psalti (Delphi). Thanks also goes to Georgios Rethymiotakis, Director of the Archaeological Museum, Heraklion, along with Nota Dimopoulou; Nikos Kaltsas, former Director, and George Kakavas, Director,

National Archaeological Museum, Athens, and curators Anastasia Gadolou and Nomiki Palaiokrassa, for their collegiality and support; Wolf-Dietrich and Barbara Niemeier for sharing their expertise on the finds from the Heraion on Samos; and photographer Antonis Manetas, who came to the rescue on the island, in Vathy. Nikos Marangoudakis offered invaluable assistance with the Eleutherna finds.

In ISRAEL, we thank James S. Snyder, Director, Israel Museum; curators Eran Arie, Haim Gitler, and Michal Dayagi-Mendels; and Henk van Doornik, Loans and Shipping Officer. Irit Ziffer, Curator, Eretz Israel Museum, provided wonderful assistance in Tel Aviv, and at the Israel Antiquities Authority we are grateful to Hava Katz, former Chief Curator of National Treasures, and Helena Sokolov, Head of the Foreign Exhibitions Department. Jacob Fisch also facilitated loans from Israel and a special lecture, funded in part by the Israel Antiquities Authority.

In ITALY, Alfonsina Russo, Soprintendente, and Patrizia Aureli, of the Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici dell'Etruria Meridionale deserve many thanks for agreeing to lend spectacular works from the Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia in Rome. In addition, we are extremely grateful for the help and support from other colleagues at the Villa Giulia, including Luca Mercuri and Maria Laura Falsini. Daniel Berger, Consigliere del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali, was instrumental in helping us to secure loans in Rome. Our colleague Sebastiano Soldi in the Museo Archeologico di Firenze must be singled out for his dedication to helping us obtain works from Florence and for always being available to solve problems, both scholarly and administrative. Thanks also go to Andrea Pessina, Soprintendente, Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici della Toscana, Florence, and Giuseppina Carlotta Cianferoni, Director of the museum, as well as to Margherita Viola, who helped with administering the loans, and Stefano Anastasio, who helped with images for this catalogue. We also thank Maria Gabriella Scapatucci, Director, Museo Archeologico Nazionale Tarquinense. Colleagues Judith Weingarten and Anna Margherita Jasink also provided invaluable assistance in Tuscany. In Sardinia, Edoardo Minoja, Soprintendente, and Mariella Maxia, in the Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici per le Province di Cagliari e Oristano, Sardinia, were especially helpful, as were Donatella Mureddu, Director, and Donatella Salvi, former Director, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Cagliari. Gratitude also goes to the late Giuliano De Marinis and to Nora Lucentini, Soprintendenti, and to Serenella Giangiacomi, Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici delle Marche, Ancona. From Siena, Mario Scalini, Soprintendente, and Laura

Martini in the Soprintendenza per i Beni Storici, Artistici ed Etnoantropologici per le Province di Siena e Grosseto, deserve thanks. I would also like to thank our former Metropolitan Museum colleague Elisabetta Valtz-Fino for help with contacts in Italy and Renato Miracco, Cultural Attaché, Embassy of Italy, Washington, D.C., who assisted with the Guarantee of Return process for Italian museums.

In LEBANON, we remain grateful for the assistance of Gaby Layoun, Minister of Culture, for his help and support for this project, and to Anne-Marie Maïla-Afeiche, Curator, National Museum, Beirut, for her efforts to secure loans.

In the REPUBLIC OF ARMENIA, we thank the wonderful Anelka Grigorian, Director, History Museum of Armenia; Iveta Mkrtychyan, Vice Director; and photographers Armen Ghazaryan and Zaven Khachikyan.

In SPAIN, our dear colleague and friend Pedro Azara, Curator, Centre de Cultura Contemporània de Barcelona, and Professor of Aesthetics and Art Theory, Escola Tècnica Superior d'Arquitectura de Barcelona, provided invaluable advice regarding potential loans and assistance in securing them. He must be celebrated along with Concha Gómez, whose energy, generosity, and extraordinary efforts on our behalf made travels in Spain a pleasure and a success. For the loans from Seville, I would like especially to thank Ana Navarro Ortega, Director, Museo Arqueológico de Sevilla, along with Concepción San Martín Montilla and Pablo Quesada Sanz for their dedication to the idea that the Metropolitan Museum was the ideal venue for the first exhibition outside Spain of the spectacular Carambolo Treasure; thanks also go to Juan Ignacio Vallejo Sánchez, Curator, Museo Arqueológico de Sevilla. During memorable visits to the Museo Nacional de Arqueología Subacuática (ARQUA), Cartagena, Rocío Castillo Belinchón, Curator, and Milagros Buendía Ortuño, Conservator, must be singled out for offering enormous assistance and warm hospitality, as did Soledad Pérez Mateo, Ana Miñano Domínguez, and Luis Angel Torres Sobrino. We also thank Mark Polzer, excavator of the Bajo de la Campana shipwreck, for arranging visits to the extraordinary conservation facilities that hold the vast collection of ivory tusks and other materials from the site and for his assistance with photographs and excavation footage to be shown in the exhibition. At ARQUA, we are also deeply grateful to Director Iván Negueruela Martínez and Xavier Nieto Prieto, former Director. We are indebted to many additional people in Spain who shared our vision and supported our efforts to gain important loans: Eduardo Cabrera Jiménez, Head of the Department of Archaeology, Museo Arqueológico de Almuñécar; Juan Alonso de la

Sierra Fernández, Director, and María Dolores López de la Orden, Museo de Cádiz; Pablo Santiago Guisande Santamaría, Director, and Enrique Carlos Martín Rodríguez, former Director, Museo de Huelva; Isidro J. Toro Moyano, Director, and Curator Rafael Gómez Benito as well as María de los Ángeles González Barroso, Museo Arqueológico y Etnológico de Granada.

In TUNISIA, I would like to give special thanks for the encouragement and assistance provided by Adnan Louhichi, former General Director, L'Institut National du Patrimoine, Ministère de la Culture, Tunis, and Nabil Kallala, present General Director, along with Ridha Boussofara, Directeur de la Programmation, de la Coopération, de la Formation et de la Publication. I am indebted to Moncef Ben Moussa, Director, National Bardo Museum, Tunis, for his major assistance with many aspects of the loan process and to former Director, Soumaya Gharsallah-Hizem, who initially showed much support for our project.

In the UNITED KINGDOM, Sir John Boardman served as an inspiration and a mentor, sharing his wisdom in a memorable visit to Oxford, participating in the catalogue, and agreeing to be our inaugural lecturer. Much gratitude, as always, also goes to our dear colleagues at the British Museum. We thank Neil MacGregor, Director, who encouraged and supported our vision from an early stage. We also thank Jonathan Williams, Deputy Director, and Jill Maggs, Head of Loans, for their aid in helping us navigate contracts. Our extreme gratitude goes to Jonathan Tubb, Keeper, Department of the Middle East, whose constant backing and help with the selection of the loans was crucial, as was the support of his departmental team: Irving Finkel, St. John Simpson, Nigel Tallis, and Jonathan Taylor, Assistant Keepers; Dean Baylis, Senior Administrator and Loans Coordinator; Angela Smith, Administrator; and John Curtis, Keeper of Special Middle Eastern Projects. From our colleagues in the Department of Greece and Rome, I would like to thank in particular J. Lesley Fitton, Keeper; Judith Swaddling, Senior Curator; Trevor Coughlan, Senior Administrator; and Alex Truscott, Senior Museum Assistant. From the Department of Ancient Egypt and Sudan, our special thanks go to Neal Spencer, Keeper. We are also very grateful to Lamia al Gailani Werr and Georgina Herrmann for stepping in at the last minute to help us secure images of objects in the Iraq Museum, Baghdad. We also enjoyed visits with Philip Beale, captain of the "Phoenicia," a modern Phoenician ship re-created using ancient methods, along with Paul Bayly, who have shared their ideas about how the Phoenicians traveled long distances, and we also thank Angus Vail.

In the VATICAN, Maurizio Sannibale, Director, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco, Musei Vaticani, showed his commitment and support of the show throughout, evidenced by the wonderful loans from his institution. We are also grateful to Antonio Paolucci, Director, Direzione dei Musei del Governatorato, Musei Vaticani, as well as Isabella di Montezemolo and Rosanna Di Pinto, who helped with photography for the catalogue.

Finally, in the UNITED STATES, special mention must be made of Professor Sarah Morris at UCLA for stimulating discussions regarding the concepts we hope to convey in this exhibition and for giving much welcome advice. Many thanks also go to our generous lenders. We thank Christina Olsen, Class of 1956 Director, Williams College Museum of Art, Williamstown, Massachusetts, along with her colleagues Lisa B. Dorin, Deputy Director of Curatorial Affairs, curators Kathryn A. Price and Elizabeth Gallerani, and Diane Hart, Registrar, as well as Benjamin Rubin, Assistant Professor of Classics, Williams College. We are also grateful that Donald Sanders, President, Institute for the Visualization of History, was able to adapt his digital reconstruction featuring the Williams College relief to the needs of the exhibition. From the Hispanic Society of America in New York, we appreciate the support of Constancio del Álamo, Curator of Sculpture, Textiles, and Archaeology. At the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Philadelphia, thanks go to Julian Siggers, Director, Anne M. Brancati, Registrar, and especially Richard Zettler, Department Chair, Associate Professor and Associate Curator-in-Charge, Near Eastern Section of the University Museum. At the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, we thank Gil Stein, Director; Jack D. M. Green, Chief Curator; Helen McDonald, Registrar; John A. Larson, Archivist; and Laura D'Alessandro, Head Conservator. In the Museum of Fine Arts Boston, we thank Rita E. Freed,

Chair, as well as curators Lawrence M. Berman and Denise Doxey in the Department of Ancient Egyptian, Nubian, and Near Eastern Art; Yvonne Markowitz, Curator of Jewelry; and Anna Siezik, Registrar. At the Morgan Library and Museum, New York, we thank William M. Griswold, Director, with special gratitude to Sidney Babcock, Curator, and John D. Alexander, Registrar. At the Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, Maryland, we thank Gary Vikan, former Director, and Barbara Fegley, Associate Registrar for Loans and Exhibitions. Cemal Pulak, Frederick R. Mayer Faculty Professor of Nautical Archaeology, Institute of Nautical Archaeology, Texas A & M University, provided invaluable assistance in connection with loans from the Bajo de la Campana shipwreck. We are also extremely grateful to Richard Keresey and his team at Sotheby's for their aid in preparing the government indemnity.

Finally, I would like to offer my profound thanks to Ralph Minasian, whose unwavering belief in our department and its initiatives has been expressed once again in the extraordinary support from The Hagop Kevorkian Fund. The Metropolitan is greatly indebted to the Stavros Niarchos Foundation for its generous endorsement of this project and of so many others that have had an immeasurable global impact on the scholarship of ancient Greece. Deep gratitude also goes to Raymond and Beverly Sackler, whose vision led to the creation of the Raymond and Beverly Sackler Gallery for Assyrian Art, which truly sets the stage for the exhibition, and whose continuing commitment is greatly appreciated. Dorothy and Lewis B. Cullman, an Anonymous Foundation, and the Friends of Inanna, our loyal support group, have also helped to make this exhibition possible. Lastly, we thank The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation for its contribution to the catalogue and the American Institute of Iranian Studies, and especially Erica Ehrenberg, for partially supporting the research that made this publication possible.

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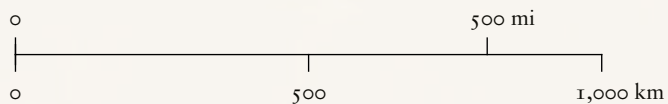
The Ancient Near East and the Mediterranean in the First Millennium B.C.

With Distribution of Raw Materials Mentioned in this Catalogue
and Select Second Millennium B.C. Sites

Archaeological site names correspond with those used in this catalogue.

• Archaeological site ◻ Modern city

✕ Shipwreck *Raw materials*



Robinson projection centered on 20°E

*Ivory
Ostrich Egg*



30°E

45°E

Black Sea

Caucasus Mountains

Caspian Sea

Gold

Marmara Sea

Istanbul

Copper

Copper

Lake Sevan

Troy

Karmir Blur Yerevan

E E C E

Aegean Sea

ANATOLIA

Lefkandi

Ankara

Hattusa

Toprakkale Van

Delphi

Eretria

Sardis Silver Gold

Lake Van

Corinth

Samos

Ephesos

Aras

Athens

Miletos

Olympia

Knidos

Rhodes

Sparta

Cyclades

Dodecanese

Eleutherna

Crete

Knossos

Ida Cave

Cyrene

Cyprus

Nicosia

Kition

Byblos

Beirut

Sidon

Tyre

Megiddo

Tel Aviv

Lachish

Naukratis

Sais

Cairo

Herakleopolis

Tell el-Amarna

Medinet Habu (Thebes)

Edfu

Amara West

Kawa

el-Kurru

Jerusalem

Samaria

Amman

Damascus

Ugarit

Salamis

Carchemish

Aleppo

Marash

Arslan Tash

Tell Halaf

Musasir

Nineveh

Mosul

Nimrud

Ashur

Kirkuk

Baghdad

Babylon

Uruk

Ur

Hasanlu

Tehran

Kangavar

Susa

Haft Tepe

Choga Zanbil

Uruk

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Jerusalem

Amman

Damascus

Iron

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Cedar

Ostrich Egg

Ivory?

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Red Sea

Tridacna (sq.) Shell (also from Indian Ocean)

Gold Ivory Ebony

ARABIA

Ostrich Egg

Riyadh

Frankincense Myrrh

Sana'a

Persian Gulf

Elburz Mountains

Dasht-e Kavir

Zagros Mountains

Tigris

MESOPOTAMIA

Euphrates

Babylon

Uruk

Ur

Assyria

Nineveh

Mosul

Tell Halaf

Arslan Tash

Carchemish

Aleppo

Marash

Arslan Tash

Tell Halaf

Musasir

Nineveh

Mosul

Nimrud

Ashur

Kirkuk

Baghdad

Babylon

Uruk

Ur

Assyria

Nineveh

Mosul

EGYPT

Herakleopolis

Tell el-Amarna

Medinet Habu (Thebes)

Edfu

Amara West

Kawa

el-Kurru

Jerusalem

Amman

Damascus

Ugarit

Salamis

Carchemish

Aleppo

Marash

Arslan Tash

Tell Halaf

Musasir

Nineveh

Mosul

Nimrud

Ashur

Kirkuk

Baghdad

Babylon

Uruk

Ur

Assyria

Nineveh

Mosul

Tell Halaf

Arslan Tash

Carchemish

Aleppo

Marash

Arslan Tash

Tell Halaf

Musasir

Nineveh

Mosul

Nimrud

Ashur

Kirkuk

Baghdad

Babylon

Uruk

Ur

Assyria

Nineveh

Mosul

Tell Halaf

Arslan Tash

Carchemish

Aleppo

Marash

Arslan Tash

Tell Halaf

Musasir

Nineveh

Mosul

Nimrud

Ashur

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Arslan Tash

Carchemish

Aleppo

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Arslan Tash

Tell Halaf

Musasir

Nineveh

Mosul

Nimrud

Ashur

Kirkuk

Baghdad

Babylon

Uruk

Ur

Assyria

Nineveh

Mosul

Tell Halaf

Arslan Tash

Carchemish

Aleppo

Marash

Arslan Tash

Tell Halaf

Musasir

Nineveh

Mosul

Nimrud

Ashur

Kirkuk

Baghdad

Babylon

Uruk

Ur

Assyria

Nineveh

Mosul

Tell Halaf

Arslan Tash

Carchemish

Aleppo

Marash

Arslan Tash

Tell Halaf

Musasir

Nineveh

Mosul

Nimrud

Ashur

Kirkuk

Baghdad

Babylon

Uruk

Ur

Assyria

Nineveh

Mosul

Tell Halaf

Arslan Tash

Carchemish

Aleppo

Marash

Arslan Tash

Tell Halaf

Musasir

Nineveh

Mosul

Nimrud

Iberia



Greece and Western Anatolia





Central Mediterranean



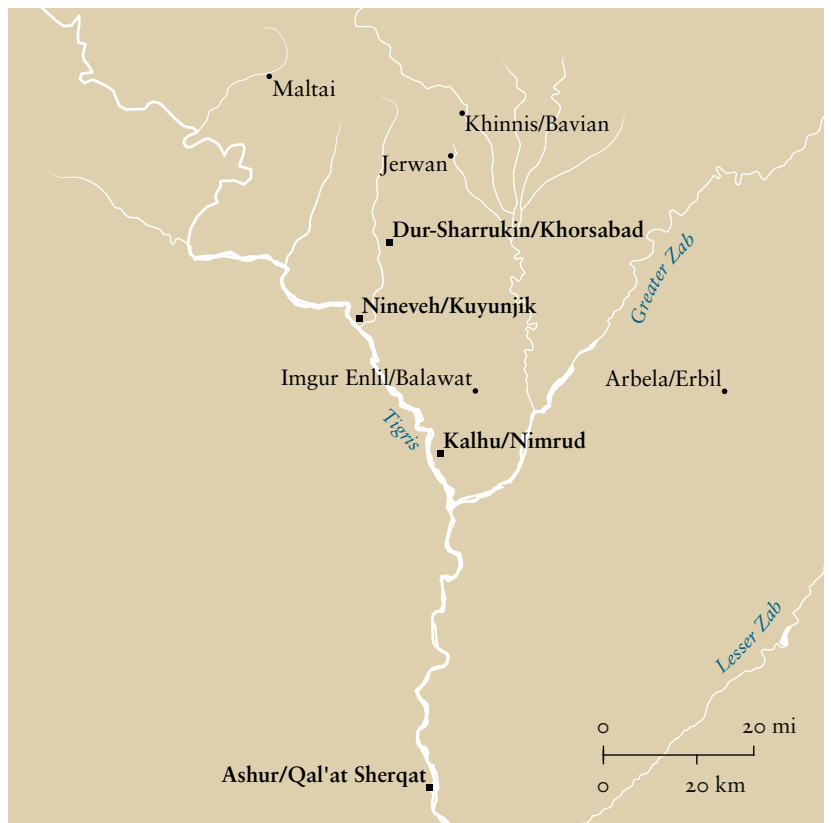
Urartu and the Syro-Hittite States



Levant, Cyprus, and the Nile Valley



Assyrian World



Assyrian Heartland

CHRONOLOGY, 1200–400 B.C. (all dates are approximate)

| | Mesopotamia | Iran | Syria and the Levant | Anatolia/North Syria |
|------|---|---|--|--|
| 1200 | BABYLONIA Nebuchadnezzar I (1125–1104) ASSYRIA Tiglath-Pileser I (1114–1076) | Iron Age II, 1250–800 | Iron Age I, 1200–900 Sea Peoples incursions | Syro-Hittite and Aramaean kingdoms, 1200–800 Traditional date of Trojan War, 1184 |
| 1100 | | | | |
| 1000 | Neo-Babylonian period, 1000–539 Neo-Assyrian empire, 911–612 Adad-nirari II (911–891) | Neo-Elamite period, 1000–539 | Philistine city-states founded in 10th century | |
| 900 | ASSYRIA Ashurnasirpal II (883–859) Assyrian capital moved to Nimrud/Kalhu, 878 Shalmaneser III (858–824) | | Iron Age II, 900–700 Battle of Qarqar, 853 Hazeal of Aram-Damascus (843–806) | Sarduri I (840–830) founds royal dynasty of Urartu |
| 800 | Assyrian rule in Babylonia, 729–625 ASSYRIA Tiglath-Pileser III (744–727) Sargon II (721–705) Assyrian capital moved to Khorsabad/Dur-Sharrukin, 717 BABYLONIA Marduk-apla-iddina II, 721–711 ASSYRIA Sennacherib (704–681) Assyrian capital moved to Nineveh/Kuyunjik, 704 | Iron Age III, 800–550 | Assyria conquers Samaria, 722 Assyria conquers Philistine city-states, 714–712 Assyrian sieges of Lachish and Jerusalem, 701 | URARTU Argishti I (785/780–756) Sarduri II (756–730) Rusa I (730–714/713) PHRYGIA Midas (contemporary with Sargon II of Assyria) Assyrian sack of Haldi Temple, Musasir, 714 |
| 700 | Sennacherib destroys Babylon, 689 ASSYRIA Esarhaddon (680–669) Ashurbanipal (668–627) War between Ashurbanipal and Shamash-shuma-ukin, 652–649 Fall of Nineveh, 612 BABYLONIA Nabopolassar (626–605) Neo-Babylonian kingdom, 626–612 Neo-Babylonian empire, 612–539 Nebuchadnezzar II (604–562) | Battle of Til Tuba, 653 Assyrian sack of Susa, 646 Median empire, 625–550 | Iron Age III, 700–550 Babylonian rule, 605–539 | URARTU Rusa II (first half of 7th century) LYDIA Mermnad dynasty, 680–546 Battle of Carchemish, 605 |
| 600 | Nabonidus (555–539) Persian conquest of Babylon, 539 Achaemenid rule, 539–330 | Achaemenid dynasty, 559–330 Bisutun relief of Darius I, 521 | Babylonian sack of Jerusalem and destruction of Temple, 587 Achaemenid rule, 550–330 | LYDIA Croesus (560–546) Achaemenid rule, 546–330 |
| 500 | | | | Ionian Revolt, 499–498 |

| Egypt | Cyprus | Greece | Western Mediterranean |
|---|--|---|--|
| Rameses III (1184–1153) | Late Bronze Age, 1600–1050 | Late Helladic (LH) III C period on mainland/Late Minoan (LM) III C period on Crete, 1200–1125 | SPAIN Middle and Later Bronze Age, 1500–700 |
| Third Intermediate Period,* 1070–712 Dynasty 21, 1070–945 | Phoenician colonies on Cyprus, ca. 1100 Cypro-Geometric period, 1050–750 | Submycenaean period on mainland/Subminoan period on Crete | |
| Libyan period/Dynasty 22, 945–712 Sheshonq I (945–924) Osorkon I (924–889) | | Protogeometric period, 1000–900 Lefkandi “heroon,” 950 Tekke bowl, late 10th–early 9th century | ITALY Iron Age, 1000–750 |
| Osorkon II (874–850) | Phoenician colony at Kition founded, mid-9th century | Geometric period, 900–700 | ITALY Villanovan culture, 900–500 SARDINIA Earliest possible date for Nora stele (see cat. 98) NORTH AFRICA Traditional date of foundation of Carthage, 814 |
| Kushite period/Dynasty 25, 712–664 Late period, 712–332 | Salamis “royal” tombs, 8th–7th century Cypro-Archaic I period, 750–600 Cypriot kings pay tribute to Sargon II, 707 | <i>Iliad</i> and <i>Odyssey</i> composed, 8th–7th century Olympic games established, 776 Orientalizing period, 750–600 | SPAIN Tartessian rule, 800–540 ITALY Etruscan culture, 750–90 Orientalizing period, 750–575 Nestor’s cup inscription, 750–725 |
| Taharqo (690–664) Assyria invades Egypt, 671–663 Saite period/Dynasty 26, 664–525 Greek settlement at Naukratis, second half of 7th century Necho II (610–595) | | | SPAIN Iron Age, 700–200 Mazarrón shipwrecks, second half of 7th century Bajo de la Campana shipwreck, late 7th–early 6th century |
| Amasis (Ahmose II) (570–526) Achaemenid rule, 525–404 | Cypro-Archaic II period, 600–480 Egyptian rule, 570–526 Achaemenid rule, 526–333 | Archaic period, 600–480 Polykrates of Samos (538–522) | ITALY Archaic period, 575–490 |
| | Cypro-Classical period, 480–310 | Classical period, 480–323 | ITALY Classical period, 490–300 |

*For an alternate view of this period’s chronology, see “Egypt in the Neo-Assyrian Period” in this volume, pp. 198–201.





ASSYRIA TO IBERIA

Introduction

JOAN ARUZ

The Roman poet Ovid, elaborating on Hesiod's Ages of Man, describes the Age of Iron as a low point when men

set sails to the wind . . . and the ships' keels that once were trees standing amongst high mountains, now leaped through uncharted waves. The land that was once common to all, as the light of the sun is, and the air, was marked out, to its furthest boundaries, by wary surveyors. Not only did they demand the crops and the food the rich soil owed them, but they entered the bowels of the earth, and excavating brought up the wealth it had concealed in Stygian shade. . . . And now harmful iron appeared, and gold more harmful than iron. War came, whose struggles employ both, waving clashing arms with bloodstained hands. (Metamorphoses 1.132–43)¹

Bronze to Iron: Interpreting the Ancient Sources

Both archaeological and literary evidence testify to the fundamental transformations that took place in the wake of the widespread collapse of Bronze Age palatial societies in the eastern Mediterranean, the demise of the Hittites, and Egypt's loss of its dominant cultural and political position in the region. Among the most evocative images signaling the onset of this transitional period is the sea battle between the Egyptian fleet and ships from the "peoples of the sea" carved on the facade of the mortuary temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu (see ill. pp. 12–13). The scene is portrayed as the culmination of an attack by "the foreign countries [who] conspired in their islands," destroying empires and cities from Hatti in Anatolia to Alashiya (Cyprus) at the eastern end of the Mediterranean (see "Sea Peoples and Philistines" in this volume, pp. 38–42). This account is corroborated in part by archaeological evidence, and Philistine cities emerged with aspects of material culture bearing a striking resemblance to that of a now disintegrated Mycenaean Greece (see cat. 11a, b). The cities of the Levant that came to be

known as Phoenician survived, however, and, along with Cyprus, revived and revitalized trading networks and became flourishing centers for cultural and commercial interaction.

Despite Ramesses's proclamation of victory over the Sea Peoples, the realities of the new order are abundantly clear just a century later in the report of Wenamun's ill-fated voyage to Byblos to secure cedarwood for the sacred barque of Amun, under the auspices of the high priest in Thebes.² In a fragmented Egypt with diminished royal authority, it appears that the Delta region, bordered by the Mediterranean, became the focus of international activity. The prince of Byblos recounts to Wenamun the number of ships in Phoenician harbors that traded with the Egyptian city of Tanis for gold and silver, garments of royal and fine linen, oxhides, and ropes as well as sacks of lentils and baskets of fish.³ It is also possible that a masterfully worked Tanite gold bowl found its way into the Levant and was eventually buried in the tomb of an eighth-century B.C. royal woman at Nimrud (see fig. 3.1).

In this decentralized new world, in which smaller city-states emerged, the biblical story of an alliance between Hiram of Tyre and Solomon may provide a recollection of diplomatic and mercantile arrangements that provided cities on the sea with access to the agricultural produce of states farther inland in exchange for nautical and other technological expertise as well as materials from the coast. Such relationships resulted in access to new sea routes to obtain incense and spices and an expanding network to obtain metals that eventually reached beyond the Pillars of Hercules, in the western Mediterranean.⁴

Another notable visit to the Phoenician coast probably not long before Wenamun's journey adds a different dimension to the picture of interaction in the centuries that marked the transition from the Bronze to Iron Ages. Assyrian texts describe an expanding Assyrian territorial state under Tiglath-Pileser I (1114–1076 B.C.), who "marched to Mount Lebanon. I cut down [and] carried off cedar . . . I received tribute from the lands Byblos, Sidon, [and] Arvad. I rode in

boats of the people of Arvad . . . I killed at sea a *nahiru*.”⁵ As no hostilities are mentioned, scholars have interpreted “tribute” as trade and the ruler’s catch of a sea creature during a sail on the Mediterranean Sea as the highlight of the trip.⁶ Tiglath-Pileser also is reported to have crossed the Euphrates River numerous times to pursue the Aramaeans, whose infiltrations in the Near East were of constant concern to Assyrian rulers.

After a brief “Dark Age” lacking historical and archaeological data, an Assyrian state reemerged with expansionist ambitions under Ashurnasirpal II (883–859 B.C.). His travels, like those of his predecessor, took him to “the Great Sea of the land of Amurru”—the Mediterranean—and the (Phoenician) cities of the seacoast as well as the slopes of Mount Amanus to collect cedar logs and tribute of other precious material.⁷ Access to the sea and to the metal resources of Anatolia became a focus of future campaigns under Shalmaneser III (858–824 B.C.), whose monumental Black Obelisk commemorates the extension of Assyrian power and influence eastward to Iran and westward to the cities of the Levant (see fig. 2.8).

In the Greek world, a “Dark Age” marked the transition from the Bronze Age, glorified by Homer, to the Iron Age, decried by Hesiod. It has traditionally been characterized as a time of great decline in the wake of invasions and migrations following the collapse of the Mycenaean palace system. The arts of civilization were said to have been lost, and trade halted, at a time of scarce resources (see “Crisis in the Eastern Mediterranean and Beyond” in this volume, pp. 14–23). Such views have been modified over time as a result of archaeological evidence and newer interpretations that consider the Sea Peoples a manifestation as much as a root cause of decentralized maritime trade. As expressed by Cyprian Broodbank, the destruction of the palaces of the Bronze Age enabled the birth of a new social and economic order, with a “shift from the institutionalized, centrally organized command economies . . . and the elaborate royal ideologies and culture that pervaded them, to more flexible, uncentralized and freelance trading practices . . .”⁸

Susan Sherratt, writing about globalization at the end of the second millennium B.C., attributes the initial opening up of the Mediterranean—both in terms of distances traveled and peoples directly engaged in commercial activities—to Cypriot maritime traders, who “cut through the segmented route structure of earlier centuries to forge a direct link with the central Mediterranean,” undermining “elite political control,” and who “paved the way for the Phoenician commercial expansion.”⁹ She also refers to the widespread circulation and

subsequent devaluation of bronze, which enhanced the worth of worked iron, a material that required special expertise for its manufacture (see below).¹⁰

Testimony concerning revitalized Greek contacts with Cyprus and the Levant in the early first millennium B.C. comes from the rich burials at Lefkandi on Euboea (see “Lefkandi and the Era of Transition” in this volume, pp. 33–37) and, in particular, from a shaft grave within a long, apsidal building, its ruins covered by a tumulus, often referred to as a “heroon” in allusion to Homeric associations with heroic burials. Here the cremated remains of a male warrior were discovered inside a Late Bronze Age Cypriot bronze amphoroid krater with a decorated lid and handle, found with a “killed” (intentionally bent) iron sword. The urn was placed next to the inhumation burial of a richly adorned woman who had an Old Babylonian pendant among her gold jewelry. As part of the burial ritual, four sacrificed horses, some with iron bits, were placed in a second shaft, in an arrangement recalling the description of the funeral of Patroklos in the *Iliad*.¹¹

Subsequently, in the ninth century B.C., members of the local elite were buried close to the heroon, with Near Eastern jewelry and metalwork among their grave goods. Notable among these objects are the first Levantine bronze bowls known to have circulated in the Mediterranean (see fig. 3.4) and a faience necklace, with amulets of Sekhmet/Isis nursing Horus, that bears a close resemblance to one discovered with a Phoenician or Egyptian faience vase in a tomb in Etruria (see fig. 4.28, cats. 186, 187). It has been noted that Lefkandi prospered because of its geographic position on a northern route that enabled traders to obtain high-value materials, such as silver, from the Lavrion mines, and that Euboian imports also circulated in Cyprus and along the Levantine coast at sites such as Al Mina.¹²

The Landscapes of Empire

The “Land of Ashur,” in northern Mesopotamia, consisted of hilly terrain, watered by the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers, bound on the north by the mountains of Urartu and Anatolia, with the flat floodplains of Babylonia to the south. With impressively built and furnished royal palaces, it formed the core of the expanding Assyrian empire, which came to encompass a vast territory of client states and vassal kingdoms, referred to as a halo around the heartland, the “Yoke of Ashur.”¹³ Under the leadership of Tiglath-Pileser III (744–727 B.C.) and his successors, the Assyrian army crossed the Euphrates and the vast Syrian Desert to exact tribute and to conquer city-states, which were eventually incorporated

into provinces directly controlled from the center.¹⁴ Tiglath-Pileser defeated Aram-Damascus in 732 B.C., and Israelite Samaria was turned into a province around a decade later, during the reign of Sargon II. Judah retained its vassal status, although it was battered by Sennacherib at strongholds such as Lachish (see ill. pp. 110–11). Judah’s capital at Jerusalem developed into a major city, absorbing Israelite refugees and achieving international status, serving as an intermediary in the Arabian spice trade.¹⁵

A policy of territorial expansion brought the Assyrian empire to the height of its power, and the varied landscapes it embraced themselves expressed the abundance of imperial potency, both outside and within the Land of Ashur. In fact, Sennacherib (704–681 B.C.) built massive canals that directed water from the mountains down onto the plains in the area of his new capital at Nineveh, not only to fertilize agricultural land but apparently also to bring water to parks and gardens fashioned to evoke the exotic settings that were part of the empire: “Sennacherib simulated the forests of the Amanus Mountains of Anatolia in a park just beyond the city wall, and he arrested the flow of the Khosr River to create a Babylonian marsh, complete with reeds and pigs.”¹⁶

Beyond the anti-Lebanon and Lebanon mountain ranges, with their verdant cedar forests, Phoenician cities such as Tyre—itsself divided between an offshore island and a narrow strip of seacoast—thrived through a vast Mediterranean trading network that provided the means for the land-based Assyrians, who had no navy, to reap profits in the form of enormous amounts of tribute from Tyre’s burgeoning wealth.

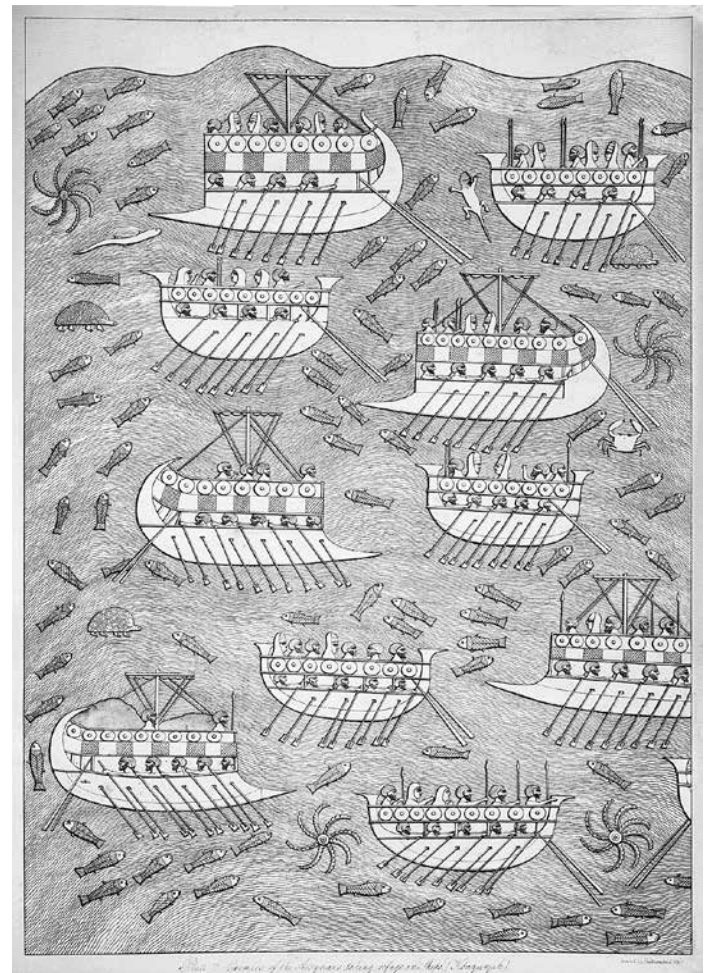
The Inland Sea: Navigating the Mediterranean

“Mediterranean” seas are defined by oceanographers as inland basins—those in the midst (*medi*) of the land (*terra*).¹⁷ Surrounded by mountains, inlets, and long stretches of desert, the dramatic and varied landscape of the sea that stretches from the Levant to the Atlantic was formed by the clash of tectonic plates, with the heavier African plate sliding under the Eurasian one, “raising and shattering it into fragments” and resulting in “the Mediterranean’s generally straight, smooth southern shore (the diving plate) and the phenomenal complexity of its centre and north (the upthrust, broken plate).”¹⁸ Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell caution that despite generalized descriptions of “coastal plains of intermittent fertility backed by wooded mountains and desert plateaux, mixed cultivation, sporadic settlement,” we cannot speak of a “Mediterranean-wide human or physical landscape” without awareness of the

“enormous variety and diversity of environments within the basin of the sea.”¹⁹

While the great diversity encompassed by the region created numerous individual cultures and civilizations, it was in fact activity on the sea itself—initiated across its entire length by the Phoenicians—that connected them in an unprecedented manner during the early first millennium B.C. Exploring the factors that created this breakthrough, even before Assyrian demands drove incentive to amass enormous wealth from trade, Broodbank notes that the essential elements of nautical technology for long-distance travel had already been formulated in the Late Bronze Age and cites as a motivating factor the “‘fantastic cauldron of expanding cultures and commerces’ . . . in the central and western Mediterranean, that was already simmering by the opening centuries of the 1st millennium B.C.”²⁰

In antiquity, the art of navigating the Mediterranean followed land formations, as well as winds, waves, currents, cloud



Engraving of drawing of Assyrian relief depicting Phoenician ships. Nineveh, Southwest Palace of Sennacherib. Neo-Assyrian. Drawing: from Austen Henry Layard, *The Monuments of Nineveh from Drawings Made on the Spot* (1849), pl. 71 (“Enemies of the Assyrians taking refuge in ships”)



Assyrian relief with Phoenician warship. Nineveh, Southwest Palace of Sennacherib. Neo-Assyrian. The Trustees of the British Museum, London (124772)

patterns, and flights of birds, and also relied on observations of stars and constellations at night. Much depended on the seasons and the weather. John Pryor notes, “Out to sea away from the coasts, the prevailing wind directions . . . are from the north-west to the north-east across the entire length and breadth of the sea. At the same time the counter-clockwise circulation of the currents and the geographically hostile and dangerous nature of the southern coasts meant that voyages from east to west . . . could be made more safely and quickly along the northern coasts of the sea.” He cites a preferred route following the island chains and the northern shores, with limited stretches of open sea.²¹ Broodbank believes that “mastery of the navigational technique of latitude sailing” became the “key to direct passage through the basin’s maritime heart” along the “route of the isles,” with the “bypassing of intervening coasts” allowing for faster and safer travel, although diminishing opportunities for contacts in the littoral zones.²²

Artistic representations and underwater archaeology have provided insights into the history of shipbuilding and the refinements in nautical technology that eventually allowed the Phoenicians, “famed for their ships,”²³ to travel vast distances and carry large quantities of cargo. They have also offered a glimpse into the complexity of local colonial routes, such as the one that carried more than fifty ivory tusks along the southern coast of Spain (see “The Bajo de la Campana Shipwreck and Colonial Trade in Phoenician Spain” in this volume, pp. 230–42). Depictions in Assyrian art introduce us to various types of Levantine sailing vessels, used for a variety of purposes. Earliest is the ninth-century B.C. rendering on the Balawat Gates of crafts with raised stem- and stern-posts terminating in horse heads; they are laden with Phoenician tribute for the Assyrian king and are being rowed from the island of Tyre to the mainland (cat. 44a, b). Referred to as *hippoi* (horses) in ancient texts, these utilitarian

vessels were used for transporting goods over relatively short distances. Among the commodities carried was timber, as depicted on the large panels that adorned the palace of Sargon II at Khorsabad (see ill. p. 1). The timber, felled from cedars in the Lebanese mountains, is thought to have been carried to a port south of Tyre and loaded onto the Phoenician *hippoi*, which then sailed northward to the mouth of the Orontes River for overland transport to the Assyrian capital.²⁴

Phoenician merchant ships, rounded vessels with raised stem- and stern-posts, were called *gauloi* (tubs) by the Greeks and later *naves rotundae* by the Romans, but according to Philip King and Lawrence Stager, “in the harbors of the Phoenicians and the Israelites, they would have been proudly known as ‘ships of Tarshish.’”²⁵ Some scholars believe this designation refers to the travels of such vessels to their farthest destination, the area of southern Iberia known as Tartessos. These merchantmen appear to have been spacious and sturdy in order to carry large cargoes, including quantities of metals, over vast distances. Two such “rounded and beamy” ships, measuring 16 by 6 meters, succumbed perhaps to a storm in the second half of the eighth century B.C., and their wreckage was discovered in deep waters 50 kilometers west of the southern Levantine city of Ashkelon. They carried enormous cargoes of transport vessels filled with wines possibly destined for the cellars of Egypt or Carthage.²⁶

A lost Assyrian relief from the palace of Sennacherib at Nineveh, known only from a drawing, depicted these “big-bellied freighters . . . dependent for their motive power almost entirely on sail,” although neither masts nor sails

are shown, with “oarsmen . . . used exclusively for manoeuvring” (ill. p. 4).²⁷ These vessels are accompanied by a flotilla of warships with long, pointed prows in a scene that shows the escape of the Phoenician king Luli to Cyprus, an event recorded also on a prism of Sennacherib (cat. 14): “On my third campaign . . . Fear of my lordly brilliance overwhelmed Luli . . . and he fled afar into the midst of the sea and disappeared.”²⁸ A fragment from another relief in the palace depicts a Phoenician warship, a bireme with oarsmen staggered in two tiers, below an elevated fighting platform protected by rows of shields hanging along the raised deck (ill. p. 5).²⁹ This breakthrough in naval construction led to great advances in Mediterranean shipbuilding, with the additional bank of oarsmen and other innovations increasing speed and ease of movement.³⁰

Homer and other ancient sources offer further invaluable details about Greek and Phoenician ships. But the most vivid description is Ezekiel’s poetic vision of the Ship of Tyre:

Your domain was on the high seas; your builders . . . made all your timbers of pine trees . . . they took a cedar from Lebanon to make a mast for you. Of oaks from Bashan they made your oars; of cypress wood from the coasts of Cyprus they made your deck, inlaid with ivory. Fine embroidered linen from Egypt was your sail . . . your awnings were of blue and purple . . . soldiers in your army . . . hung their shields and helmets on your walls, bringing you splendor. (Ezek. 27:4–7, 10)



View of the Rio Tinto, Spain

Mediterranean Encounters

The Phoenician presence on the islands of Cyprus, Crete, Malta, Sicily, and Sardinia, along with Tyre's founding of Carthage, paved the way for deepened contacts with Greece—competitors and cohorts on the seas—and with Etruria, as well as for the intensive exploitation of the mineral resources of Andalusia in southern Spain. With the establishment of trading posts and colonies, Mediterranean encounters reached far beyond mercantile exchanges to encompass new ideas and beliefs, as demonstrated in the visual arts and alluded to in the literary records. In Iberia, at the offshore island colony of Gadir (Cádiz)—a day's journey by sea to Huelva, near the silver, zinc, and copper mines of the Río Tinto and the Guadalquivir River (ill. p. 6)—a Phoenician temple of Melqart, the “deified form or theological exaltation of the king of Tyre,” was built. A western counterpart to the god's temple at Tyre, which may be depicted in views of the island on Assyrian reliefs (see ill. p. 1), the sanctuary at Gadir provided political and economic protections for traders in the context of Phoenician religion, essentially “converting the colony into an extension of Tyre.”³¹

Beyond the numerous images of Phoenician divinities that made their way to the farthest reaches of the Mediterranean (cat. 106), many aspects of eastern artistic and literary imagery were absorbed and reinterpreted. In addition, the sharing of new metallurgical technologies introduced an Iron Age throughout the entire ancient world, where perishable goods (wine, olive oil, and other foodstuffs) and the famous Phoenician purple and purple-dyed textiles circulated,³² as did, undoubtedly, the greatest of all Phoenician contributions to the peoples of the Mediterranean, the alphabet.

Merchants and Metallurgy

The Greek poet Hesiod was the first to emphasize the significance of metals—gold, silver, bronze, and iron—in defining the Ages of Mankind. While he glorifies the more precious materials, iron signifies his own time, in which “men never rest from labour and sorrow . . . and the gods shall lay sore trouble upon them” (*Works and Days* 176–78).³³ The pursuit of metals, a major impetus for trade in the Phoenician era, also drove commerce in previous centuries, as vividly illustrated by the enormous cargo of copper and tin ingots in the wreck of the Uluburun ship off the southern Turkish coast in the late fourteenth century B.C.³⁴ In addition to bronze, the desire for iron is also evident, as we see in a letter sent by the Hittite king Hattusili III to the Assyrian king Shalmaneser I

in the thirteenth century B.C.: “As for the good iron about which you wrote to me, there is no good iron in my storehouse in *Kizzuwatna*. The iron [ore] is [of] too low [a grade] for smelting. I have given orders and they are [now] smelting good iron [ore], but up until now they have not finished [the iron]. When they have finished I shall send [it] to you. Meanwhile I am sending to you a blade of iron for a dagger.”³⁵

With the collapse of Bronze Age palatial societies, the impulse to manufacture iron weapons and tools required innovations in metallurgy, which first appear in the twelfth century B.C. on the copper-producing island of Cyprus. Many, often contradictory, circumstances have been cited for the change from bronze to iron—ranging from too little available bronze owing to tin shortages to an overabundance of bronze scrap circulating³⁶—but there can be no doubt that once the technology to smelt and strengthen iron was achieved, this resource became the material of choice for armies and agriculture.³⁷ Its utility for shepherds and ploughmen, its hardness, likened to that of a cold human heart, and the difficulty in manufacturing it—“iron wrought with toil”—are all alluded to in the Homeric epics, as are the processes involved: “when a smith dips a great axe or an adze in cold water to temper it and it makes a great hissing—for from this comes the strength of iron.”³⁸ As described by P. R. S. Moorey, the metallurgy of iron is complicated: “wrought iron . . . soft and malleable” has to be “‘steeled’ by the addition of carbon, hardened by quenching, and heat-treated by tempering to reduce brittleness and induce strength.”³⁹

Rich iron ores were available in various parts of the Near East and the Mediterranean, but this was apparently not true for Assyria prior to its territorial expansion.⁴⁰ Considering the lack of evidence for processing iron in Mesopotamia, scholars believe that bloom (already smelted) iron was supplied to Assyria from mines in the highlands to fuel its huge military machine, which required weapons and both human and horse armor.⁴¹ Approximately 160 tons of iron ingots were discovered in a storeroom in Sargon's palace at Khorsabad, along with iron tools, weapons, and armor scales.⁴²

Metalworking technologies were also shared for the production of the elite goods found in wealthy tombs and sanctuaries. The reappearance of goldworking techniques, such as granulation on the Greek mainland and on Crete, and the production of the impressive bronzes found in the Ida Cave (see fig. 3.5) and at Eleutherna in the company of Near Eastern imports (cats. 155, 157) suggest to some scholars the tutelage of Levantine master craftsmen.⁴³



Syrian-style ivory furniture leg with animal combat scenes. Nimrud, Fort Shalmaneser. Neo-Assyrian period. Iraq Museum, Baghdad

Arts and Letters: The Fruits of Interaction

Legend has it that Kadmos, his name signifying a “man of the east,” was the son of the Phoenician king of Tyre (or the son or brother of Phoenix, the eponym of the Phoenicians). His sister Europa was abducted by Zeus in the form of a bull and carried to Crete, where she gave birth to Minos (see fig. 6.8). In his travels to find her, Kadmos went on to establish the Boiotian city of Thebes and to introduce the art of

writing and the Phoenician alphabet—the “Phoenician” or “Kadmian” letters—to the Greek world.⁴⁴ As Nicolas Coldstream notes, “Of all the skills which the Greeks learned from the Phoenicians, immeasurably the greatest is the mastery of alphabetic writing after four centuries of illiteracy.”⁴⁵ He makes the point that this skill could not have been learned through casual contacts but rather through sustained interactions with literate Phoenicians (see “The Cuneiform Scribal



Ivory plaque with animal combat scene from shaft of Tomb of Ahiiram. Royal Necropolis, Byblos. Late Bronze Age. Directorate General of Antiquities, Beirut (2461)



Ivory plaque with animal combat scene found in a 7th-century B.C. context in the Artemision on Delos. Late Bronze Age. Archaeological Museum, Delos, Greece (B 07075)

Tradition and the Development of the Alphabet” in this volume, pp. 46–49). It is of interest that two of the most important early Phoenician alphabetic texts were inscribed on bronze bowls recovered from tombs at great distances from each other—one in the Tekke cemetery, near Knossos, on Crete (see fig. 1.9), and the other found with tenth- to ninth-century artifacts at Kefar Veradim in northern Israel.⁴⁶ Another bowl, a late eighth-century B.C. Euboian clay drinking vessel from a tomb at Pithekoussai on Ischia, with an inscription in hexameter that identifies it as “Nestor’s cup” (see fig. 1.10), provides early evidence for the use of the Greek alphabet and suggests that the desire to write down centuries of oral poetry, rather than simply to record business transactions, was a factor in its adoption.⁴⁷ As Walter Burkert (see “The World of Odysseus” in this volume, pp. 255–57) and other scholars have shown, Greek literature and letters were infused with strands of eastern thought—both in the use of the alphabet itself and in the many literary

allusions originating in the Canaanite Bronze Age, a likely vehicle of transmission suggested to be the “immigrant, bilingual poet.”⁴⁸

The Canaanite legacy is also vividly illustrated in the visual arts, and striking parallels can be drawn between elite metalwork, such as the gold bowls from Ugarit (see fig. 3.53) as well as ivory carvings from Cypriot and Levantine sites (cat. 9), and the objects produced in the Syrian and Phoenician artistic traditions that emerged in the early first millennium B.C. (cat. 52, ill. p. 8). One outstanding monument spans the transition between the Bronze and Iron Ages: the stone sarcophagus of Ahiiram (see fig. 3.19). Discovered at Byblos, it has been assigned both to the thirteenth century B.C.—the date of its closest iconographic parallels and of finds in the tomb shaft—and to the tenth century, the date of its Phoenician inscription and possibly the figures on the lid, interpreted as the deceased king and his son mentioned in the text.⁴⁹ The images of the king on a sphinx throne on the sarcophagus

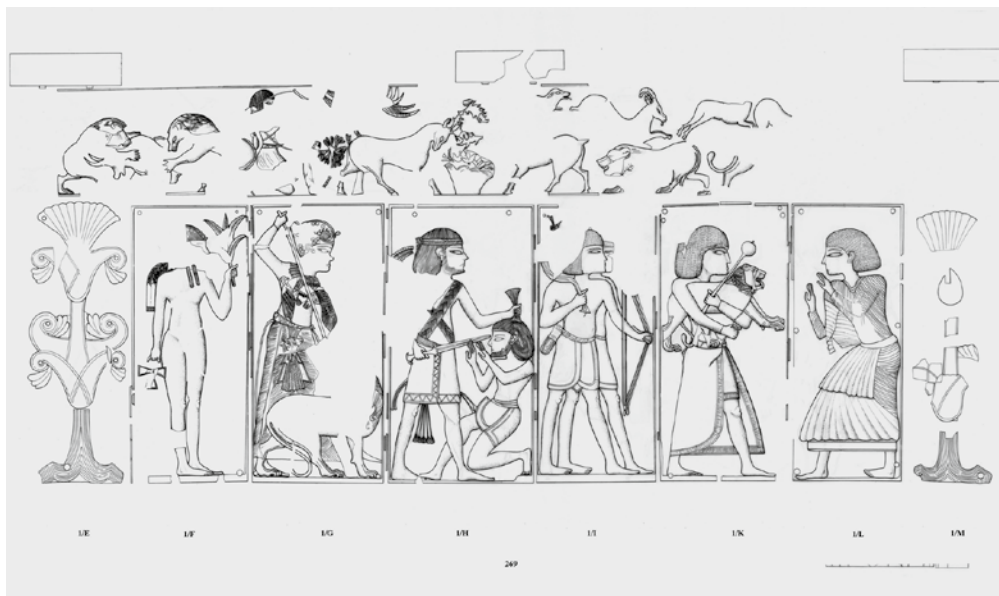


Bronze plaque with Mistress of Animals and fantastic creatures. Olympia. Orientalizing. National Archaeological Museum, Athens (6444)

itself and of lotuses, held either upright or drooping, have been understood as allusions to rituals meant to ensure the deceased soul's passage to the afterlife—illustrating a belief that survived the transition to the Iron Age.⁵⁰

There was also continuity in the arts. One Late Bronze Age ivory plaque found in the Ahirom tomb shaft depicts a ferocious griffin attack on a bull (ill. p. 9, top), and another ivory, from the fourteenth to thirteenth century B.C., showing the confrontation of two predators—a lion and a griffin—was discovered in a seventh-century B.C. context on the island of Delos (ill. p. 9, bottom).⁵¹ These finds indicate the survival of ivories bridging the transition from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age, which helped to stimulate a revival in ivory carving centuries later (see ill. p. 8).⁵² Fierce attack scenes, in both the Bronze and Iron Ages, involve predatory felines—lions, griffins, and sphinxes—as well as depictions of royal and divine hunters (see figs. 3.36, 3.37). The domination over powerful lions and supernatural creatures also continues to be expressed in symmetrical compositions that show a heroic, royal, or divine Master of Animals (see cat. 3, fig. 4.19) or Mistress of Animals (ill. p. 10, top) controlling a pair of beasts, a scheme shared across the Near East and the eastern Mediterranean.

While both individual ivories and powerful royal and divine imagery survived the Bronze Age collapse, the ivory bed panel discovered in the ruins of Ugarit (ill. p. 10, bottom) may hint that pieces of furniture also survived intact, as North Syrian chair backs from Nimrud share a similar composition: rectangular plaques with figural imagery framed by horizontal strips depicting animal combats (see figs. 3.28–3.30).



Drawing of carved ivory bed panel; at right, detail showing divine nursing scene. Ugarit, Royal Palace, Room 44. Late Bronze Age. National Museum, Damascus (RS 16.056+28.031, 3599)

Arguably the most arresting image on the Ugarit bed is the depiction in an elegant Egyptianizing style of a standing goddess nursing two pharaonic figures—an adaptation of the motif of the divine wet nurse suckling an individual pharaoh on Egyptian reliefs of the New Kingdom (ill. p. 10, bottom right).⁵³ Such scenes are said to have become even more significant during the Third Intermediate Period (see “Egypt in the Neo-Assyrian Period” in this volume, pp. 198–201), with more prominent cultic roles for women and female divinities and “an intensified identification of the king with the divine child, especially Horus,”⁵⁴ who at this time is often depicted in Egyptian and Phoenician art as an infant on a lotus (cats. 65d, 66, fig. 3.61). On Phoenician bowls, Isis nursing Horus may take a central position, or both themes may be shown together in a band of figures, as on a Phoenician bowl from Etruria (ill. p. 11, left). At the southeast Anatolian site of Karatepe (ill. p. 11, right), a strikingly different stylistic rendering of the nursing motif was carved on an orthostat, along with other Phoenician-inspired motifs as well as Phoenician and Luwian inscriptions identifying the ruler who initiated the site’s building program.⁵⁵

The transmission of images, ideas, and technologies across millennia, even in the wake of societal collapse, is testimony to the resilience of cultural processes. Their dissemination through cross-cultural encounters in lands extending from Assyria to the farthest reaches of the Mediterranean Sea during the Iron Age—an era of conquest, remarkable commercial expansion, migration, and colonization—testifies to an unprecedented complexity of interaction in societies that developed beyond the shores and on the islands of



Drawing of detail of silver Phoenician bowl with child on lotus and nursing scene. Bernardini Tomb, Praeneste. Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia, Rome (61574)

this inland sea. Along with traveling or immigrant specialists and imported elite objects, a profusion of works integrated Near Eastern elements into local traditions, among them the spectacular shields and tympanum (cat. 157, fig. 3.5) discovered on Crete and the monumental bronze cauldrons with animal attachments found in the sanctuaries and tombs of Cyprus, Greece, and Etruria (see “Cauldrons” in this volume, pp. 272–73). The term “Orientalizing” has been considered inadequate by some scholars to encompass the depth and breadth of the circumstances under which aspects of the art and culture of western Asia were widely adopted in regions to the west (see “Beyond ‘Orientalizing’” in this volume, pp. 248–53). Yet it is undeniable that these intercultural encounters, with their diverse sources of inspiration and varied manifestations, were defining aspects of the human experience of the time and were instrumental in extending local cultural trajectories.⁵⁶

The interactions that helped to shape ancient civilizations have been the focus of a series of exhibitions at the Metropolitan Museum that have presented a new perspective on the arts of the ancient Near East. We initially explored this subject in “Art of the First Cities: The Third Millennium B.C. from the Mediterranean to the Indus” and then examined the first international age of artistic interaction in “Beyond Babylon: Art, Trade, and Diplomacy in the Second Millennium B.C.” The present exhibition crosses the boundary from the Bronze to the Iron Age and traverses continents, from Mesopotamia to the western edges of the Mediterranean, in the era of Phoenician expansion—the dawn of the Classical age.



Basalt orthostat with depictions of winged creature and nursing scene. Karatepe. Syro-Hittite. Karatepe-Arslantaş National Park, Turkey





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THE AGE OF
TRANSITION

Crisis in the Eastern Mediterranean and Beyond: Survival, Revival, and the Emergence of the Iron Age

ELIZABETH CARTER AND SARAH MORRIS

Crisis, Collapse, or Game Change? From the Bronze to the Iron Age

During the Late Bronze Age (ca. 1600–1200 B.C.), political and cultural communities around the eastern Mediterranean evolved and interacted in dynamic networks based on exchange partners, diplomacy, and cultural interaction.¹ These contacts supported centers of artistic production active in seaborne trade. Linked as well by royal intermarriage, exchange of craftsmen, capture of slaves, mass deportations, and mercantile relocations, these diverse cultures also shared in the widespread collapse that terminated, shrank, or displaced major powers in Egypt, Mesopotamia, the Levant, and Anatolia after 1200 B.C.

Current scholarship attributes this process partly to sustained climatic and environmental stresses on resources and populations² as well as human instability beyond the control of states and monarchs. In royal letters and inscriptions, rulers in Egypt, Syria, the Hittite empire, and Mesopotamia (Assyria, Babylonia, and Elam) struggled to resist marauders by sea and land, feed their subjects, and maintain transregional states. New methods of infantry warfare may have intensified the disintegration of centralized powers. In the coastal regions of Cilicia, Cyprus, the Nile Delta, and the Aegean, spear-wielding foot soldiers in massed ranks and in great numbers joined archers and light-armed troops crowded on seagoing vessels (figs. 1.1., 1.2, and ill. pp. 12–13). Many were mercenaries or opportunists in service to large states who developed a tactical role and social impact that soon overwhelmed the traditional powers that employed them.³ Thus, the combination of a destabilized natural environment, persistent warfare, and internal power struggles overwhelmed centralized states and led to the widespread disintegration of multiple Bronze Age systems. The historical details and consequences of this patchwork of disasters vary greatly in nature and in their aftereffects, both of which determined a new way of life in the Iron Age. The east saw the dissolution

of the Hittite empire, the collapse of Kassite Babylonia, and the rise of Assyrian imperial power; the Aegean experienced the destruction and abandonment of most of its palaces, citadels, and settlements.⁴

Hittite to Neo-Hittite

Environmental stresses, population movements, and political tensions led to the protracted abandonment of Hattusa, the old capital city and administrative center of the Hittite empire, around 1180 B.C.⁵ Between about 1200 and 1000 B.C. the regions south of Hattusa fragmented into smaller city-states (polities or kingdoms), some of which consciously tied themselves to an earlier imperial Hittite past. These polities left a record of linguistic diversity, urban life, and commercial activity. At the very end of the second millennium and beginning of the first millennium B.C., local North Syrian rulers asserted their independence by building or rebuilding towns.⁶ These new centers featured fortified citadels, imposing gateways, and public buildings decorated with carved orthostats (stone slabs) depicting animals, people, mythological beings, and contest scenes. Public inscriptions were written in Hieroglyphic Luwian,⁷ a picture-writing system employed in Hittite imperial monuments of the thirteenth century B.C. The texts carved on orthostats and accompanying statues often celebrated the new rulers' ancestry, achievements, and alliances. Residents who were part of the Hittite imperial diaspora from south central and western Anatolia first introduced the writing system of the plateau and used it to underscore the imperial background of the new states.⁸

The backbone of the Hittite imperial successor states ran to the east of Hattusa across the Taurus Mountains along the Euphrates River. A new kingdom centered on Malatya (classical Melitene; modern Arslan Tepe) housed a dynasty



Fig. 1.1. Ceramic krater known as the Warrior Vase. Mycenae. Late Helladic IIIc. National Archaeological Museum, Athens (Pl.426)



Figure 1.2. Detail of stone relief showing Sea Peoples taken as Egyptian prisoners. Medinet Habu, Temple of Ramesses III. Dynasty 20

that linked itself to Kuzi-Teshub, son of the last imperial vice-regent of Carchemish. Farther south along the Euphrates lay the kingdom of Kummuh, likely centered on the now-flooded ancient city of Samsat (Samosata), and to the west of Kummuh was Gurgum, centered on Marash. The largest and most important of the Euphrates kingdoms was Carchemish, once the Hittite imperial vice-regal seat. The city of Carchemish profited from its strategic position on a key river crossing and its junction with the east-west road running along the foothills of the Taurus Mountains linking northern Mesopotamia to the Mediterranean. Trade in metals (copper, gold, iron) and timber from Anatolia and in ivory from the elephants of the Balikh and Khabur Valleys made the city rich and a likely center of metal and ivory manufacture.⁹

From the mid-twelfth to the early tenth century B.C., the kings of Carchemish appear to have controlled significant territory along the Euphrates, but their dominance did not last. Ini-Teshub, the first of the Archaic kings of Carchemish (ca. 1150–1000 B.C.), is mentioned by the Assyrian king Tiglath-Pileser I (1114–1076 B.C.), whose annals record that he moved unopposed as far as the Mediterranean and on his return “became lord of the entire land Hatti (and) imposed upon Ini-Teshub, king of the land Hatti, tax, tribute, and (impost consisting of) cedar beams.”¹⁰ Later rulers of the “house of Suhis” (ca. 1000–875 B.C.) at Carchemish employed less grandiose titles, such as “Ruler” or “Country-Lord,” rather than “Hero” or “Great King” used by their predecessors in emulation of the Hittite kings. The diminished scale

of local political authority, however, does not seem to have led to a significant decline in wealth, since the tribute received by the Assyrian rulers Ashurnasirpal II (883–859 B.C.) and Shalmaneser III (858–824 B.C.) in the ninth century is impressive in its quality, quantity, and diversity.

To the southwest of Carchemish, Taita, “the Hero, King of the land of PaDasatini or Palistin/Walistin,”¹¹ restored the temple of the (Hittite?) storm god in Aleppo in the eleventh to tenth century B.C. (fig. 1.3). Luwian inscriptions from the Aleppo temple and fragments from the area around Hamath and Kunulua (Tell Tayinat) suggest that Taita ruled over a kingdom that included the Amuq Plain and extended east to the territory of Aleppo and south to Hamath. David Hawkins links the Luwian term “Palistin” etymologically with the Egyptian term “Peleset” (Palast in Assyrian; Philistines in Greek and biblical sources) found in the early twelfth-century inscriptions of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu, which list the Peleset among the defeated Sea Peoples.¹²

In the northern Orontes Valley, the Bronze Age capital of Alalakh (Tell Atchana) was superseded by a new foundation built nearby at Kunulua, resettled in the Early Iron Age (or early twelfth century B.C.). Its levels include intrusive Aegean-style (Late Helladic IIIC:1) ceramics, loom weights, and signs of a nonlocal diet. The *bit bilani* complex of the Second Building Period, decorated with carved orthostats and Luwian Hieroglyphic inscriptions, was built in the ninth to eighth century B.C.¹³ The convergence of Luwian, Aegean, and Syrian Bronze Age peoples in the Orontes Valley saw the formation



Figure 1.3. Basalt orthostats with the Storm God of Aleppo (left) and king Taita (right), Aleppo Citadel, temple of the Storm God, east wall of cella



Fig. 1.4. Inscribed stone sculpture of a storm god riding a bull chariot. Çineköy. Iron Age. Adana Archaeology Museum, Turkey

of a new state centered at Kunulua stretching from Aleppo to Hamath. Later Assyrian sources indicate that these regions belonged subsequently to the kingdoms of Patin (Assyrian Unqi), Arpad (Bit-Agusi), and Hamath.

South-southeast of Hattusa, the former imperial territories split into a number of city-states known collectively as Tabal. Assyrian sources dated between the ninth and seventh century B.C. and a small number of Luwian texts document the consolidation of small polities into larger kingdoms in Tabal by the middle of the eighth century B.C.¹⁴ Similarly, in Cilicia, the smaller states of Adanawa (Que) and Hillaku formed in the region of the kingdom of Kizzuwatna, a former appanage of the empire. Centered in the Ceyhan Valley, Adanawa was home to Luwian, Phoenician, Hurrian, and Greek populations in the Early Iron Age. There is the possibility that the

“Dnyn” in the list of the Sea Peoples should be identified with the people of Adanawa.¹⁵

Within Adanawa, several bilingual inscriptions in Hieroglyphic Luwian and Phoenician provide important information about the rulers of this period. For example, such inscriptions document the history of Azatiwataya (modern Karatepe), a mountain outpost of Adanawa.¹⁶ A chance find at Çineköy, 30 kilometers south of the modern city of Adana, is a large freestanding sculpture of the storm god riding his bull chariot (fig. 1.4).¹⁷ He carries a bilingual Hieroglyphic Luwian–Phoenician inscription of a ruler of Adanawa named Awarika (in Luwian) or Urikki (in Phoenician), who describes himself as a descendant of Mopsus (a legendary Greek seer from Kolophon) and a “Hiyawa” man (Hittite Ahhiyawa), possibly some of the new populations from the west. The inscription also informs us that “the Assyrian king and all the house of Assur became father and mother to me, and Hiyawa and Assyria became one house,” which indicates that Awarika enjoyed a client relationship to the Assyrian king, probably Tiglath-Pileser III (744–727 B.C.).¹⁸

Aramaeans

Peoples writing in Luwian and living along the Syro-Anatolian frontier encountered not only indigenous West Semitic and Hurrian populations but also Aramaeans. These tribally organized folk, thought to have come from the steppelands south and west of Assyria, ruled a number of small states in the Khabur triangle and within the former territory of Hatti, west of the Euphrates, by 1100 B.C. These included Bit-Adini along the Middle Euphrates, south of Carchemish; to the west of Carchemish, Bit-Agusi, with its later capital of Arpad (Tell Rifa‘at); and Sam‘al (Zincirli).

Aramaean tribes were a continual threat to Assyrian westward expansion. Tiglath-Pileser I records that he crossed the Euphrates twenty-eight times (twice in one year) in pursuit of the *ahlamu*-Arameans. The presence of fortified citadels constructed at Sam‘al and Guzana (Tell Halaf) by Aramaean dynasties points to the acculturation of these tribal groups by the tenth century B.C. in some of the major city-states of North Syria. From the time of Ashur-dan II (ca. 934–912 B.C.) to the middle of the eighth century B.C., the Assyrians fought mainly Aramaean states to establish imperial control over the west. The numerous alliances made by the North Syrian city-states regardless of their ethnic backgrounds show the flexibility of these small kingdoms in the face of Assyrian threats to their independence.

Assyria Revived

After the Hittites took control of the Mitanni kingdom in the mid-fourteenth century B.C., the Assyrians, once vassals of the Mitanni, began to transform the city-state of Ashur into a larger territorial entity. Their core territory formed a rough quadrangle, with its corners at Ashur and Nineveh on the Tigris, and Erbil and Kirkuk at the edge of the Zagros piedmont.¹⁹ The Middle Assyrian rulers of the thirteenth century pushed the northern and eastern frontiers of their kingdom north toward the Taurus Mountains and then moved west into the rich agricultural territory of the Khabur River. These kings instituted an effective administrative system, focused on the development of lands in the Khabur and Balikh river valleys. The stability of Assyrian rule and their investments in agricultural infrastructure transformed the economic structure of the steppelands and led to the settlement and assimilation of some of the Aramaean folk they encountered.²⁰

After a brief decline in the twelfth century B.C., perhaps owing to drought that weakened the Assyrian agricultural base, Tiglath-Pileser I was able to move north into Anatolia, where he encountered the ancestors of the Urartians near Lake Van (the “Upper Sea”).²¹ This king also moved his border southward and captured Babylon. But Aramaean tribes were a continual threat to Assyrian expansion and Babylonian survival.²² By the mid-tenth century, Assyrian territory had shrunk to the core Tigris Valley area, but from about 950 B.C. until an outbreak of civil war in 826 B.C., Assyrians were on the move, reestablishing their earlier boundaries and expanding their influence in every direction. It was this phase of expansion that brought them into contact with Greek mercenaries and, eventually, to the Mediterranean.

Ashurnasirpal II and Shalmaneser III despoiled and controlled the North Syrian states through effective diplomacy, deportations, and unrelenting campaigns;²³ booty from these cities sometimes ended up in Greek sanctuaries (cat. 165).

Ashurnasirpal II paired his conquests with the construction of a new capital, Kalhu (Nimrud). Massive fortifications and gates, an impressive citadel, and a palace decorated with orthostats shaped a new city, which, like those of the Iron Age rulers of North Syria, manifested royal power and authority to local residents and visitors. Kalhu’s strategic location, 65 kilometers north of Ashur and near the juncture of the Tigris and Greater Zab Rivers, as well as the investments in regional infrastructure, transformed the area into a viable capital district.²⁴

At the edges of the empire, Shalmaneser III pushed Assyrian rule across the Amanus Mountains as far west as Cilicia, opening up new ports for maritime trade with Cyprus and Greece and gaining access to sources of iron for the Assyrians. Along the eastern frontier, the Assyrians of the ninth century B.C. moved across the Zagros into northwestern Iran, where they encountered Medes and local elites, such as those of Hasanlu, south of Lake Urmia. At the end of Shalmaneser III’s reign, civil war broke out in Assyria, but once settled, the Assyrians consolidated their earlier gains in the west and eventually turned their attention to the northeast. The Urartians, whom Shalmaneser had defeated (fig. 1.5), seized the opportunity offered them by unrest in Assyria to expand west toward the Euphrates and south into the mountains separating them from Assyria. But they were pushed back, both by Tiglath-Pileser III and by Sargon II (721–705 B.C.).

The Assyrian Empire

Tiglath-Pileser III introduced a system of direct rule in the conquered territories of Syria and of tightly controlled client states such as Kummuh, Sam’al, and Que. In slightly more than forty years, Tiglath-Pileser III and Sargon II transformed Assyria into a world power as they annexed western Syria, the Palestinian coast, southeastern Anatolia, western Iran,



Fig. 1.5. Detail of lower register of bronze band, showing Assyrian attack on a Urartian town. Balawat. Neo-Assyrian, reign of Shalmaneser III. The Trustees of the British Museum, London (ME 124662)

and central and southern Mesopotamia, including Babylonia. Assyrian influence reached Cyprus under Sargon (cat. 74), and in 680 B.C. Esarhaddon (680–669 B.C.) defeated and annexed Egypt. His son, Ashurbanipal (668–627 B.C.), occupied Elam to the east (cat. 21) and northern Arabia to the south. He further extended his political influence to the west, as far as Lydia in western Anatolia. Assyrian expansion was not sustainable, however, and was met with varying types of confrontation, from overt military actions and heavy tribute payments to more circumspect forms of resistance.²⁵ Nevertheless, Assyrian expansion brought the Greeks and Assyrians into direct contact in the eastern Mediterranean, with lasting effects on diverse aspects of many cultures.²⁶

Babylonia

In the late thirteenth century B.C. Babylonia, like much of the ancient Near East, faced both environmental difficulties and political strife.²⁷ Under the Kassites, Babylonia had been a member of the “great powers” club, but at the end of the Late Bronze Age, they were caught between the Assyrians to the north, the Elamites to the east, and the Aramaeans and Sutilian tribal groups to the north and northwest. The Elamites brought an end to a weakened Kassite dynasty in around 1157 B.C. But in 1104 B.C., Nebuchadnezzar I, king of the Second Dynasty of Isin, regrouped Babylonian forces and defeated the Elamites. Under his successors Babylonia had some success against Assyria until Tiglath-Pileser I sacked

Babylon. By that time Aramaean agro-pastoralists had moved into the intensively cultivated regions of Babylonia, perhaps motivated by the loss of grazing lands in the marginal steppe-lands they once exploited. In the early first millennium the Aramaean attacks in the vicinity of Babylon became so intense that the New Year’s festival of 970–971 B.C. could not be celebrated and sand deposits filled the Ekur, the temple of Enlil in Nippur.²⁸ A rapid succession to the Babylonian throne of weak native kings left the door open for Assyrian intervention in Babylonian affairs.

In the late ninth century Shalmaneser III honored a Babylonian treaty and aided the Babylonian king Marduk-zakirshumi I when the latter’s brother revolted against him. The event is commemorated in the throne base found in the arsenal, or *ekal masharti*, of Shalmaneser III at Nimrud (fig. 1.6). Despite military actions, mass deportations, and various diplomatic offensives carried out by the Assyrians, the Babylonians continued to resist them whenever possible. From the eighth century onward the Chaldean tribes had settled in walled towns along the southern course of the Euphrates and prospered, raising dates and cattle. Less fractious than the Aramaeans, these tribes, under Assyrian pressure, came to unify and make alliances abroad, which led them to become a major force in Babylonian political life, ready to take control at the first sign of Assyrian weakness.²⁹

The great cities of Babylonia were seats of provincial governments, courts, and important temples, and the focus of Assyrian interest. These local centers had long-established



Fig. 1.6. Limestone throne base. Nimrud, Fort Shalmaneser, throne room (T1). Neo-Assyria, reign of Shalmaneser III. Iraq Museum, Baghdad (65574)

roles in trade, governance, and religion and were thus of great symbolic and practical value to the Assyrians. Consequently, Assyrian control led to economic and cultural prosperity in Babylonia. The Chaldeans, Assyria's rivals, eventually allied themselves with their neighbors to the east, the Elamites, and to the south, the Arabs. These forces continued to battle the Assyrians and wore them down until a Chaldean dynasty under Nabopolassar (626–605 B.C.) finally formed the new Neo-Babylonian dynasty (626–539 B.C.) that once again led and unified the country.³⁰

The Aegean: Bronze Age Collapse and the Regeneration of Greece

Palatial centers on Crete (2000–1500 B.C.) and mainland Greece (1400–1200 B.C.) never became great powers on the scale of the monarchies of Hatti, Egypt, and Kassite Babylonia. Yet Aegean elites controlled staple resources and luxury industries and had specialized skills that linked them to international exchange under the rubric of “Keftiu” (Minoan Crete?) in Egypt and “Ahhiyawa” (Achaeans) in Hittite historical texts. Internal records kept on clay in a syllabic writing system (invented on Crete for a non-Greek language, then adapted by Greek-speaking mainlanders) document a complex internal economy of commodities, industries, offices, land, and labor in a hierarchy controlled by priestly or elite leaders. While largely outside the full diplomatic sphere of Near Eastern potentates, Aegean centers were sought for the specialized skills of their craftsmen and warriors, which transcended and survived the collapse of palatial systems and kept them linked to Near Eastern cultures.³¹

Moreover, Aegean seafaring skills and craft made Mycenaean mariners pioneers in their design and deployment of the oared galley.³² Invented in the Late Helladic IIIB (LH IIIB) period, such seacraft proliferated in the art of the LH IIIC, or postpalatial, period, with its images of major sea battles that match those carved into Egyptian monuments (fig. 1.7).³³ These mobile forces were to play a leading role in the survival of Bronze Age life and the emergence of an Iron Age. Both on land and on sea, armed forces that once supported and served palatial power grew in strength as centralized control and stability declined. These newly empowered forces developed “alternate power centers” in coastal zones linked by maritime networks outside former palatial nodes of power and controlled vital sea routes, for example, along the gulf separating Euboea from central Greece. At Mitrou, a new postpalatial elite installed itself at a vital coastal site in large buildings, establishing a new regional center.³⁴ On Euboea,

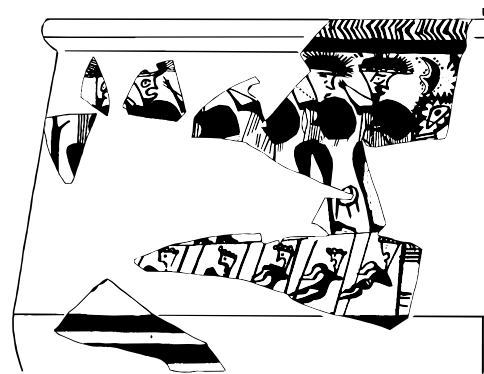


Fig. 1.7. Drawing of fragmentary ceramic krater with ships and naval battle. Bademgediği Tepe (ancient Metropolis). Late Helladic IIIC

Lefkandi flourished in the LH IIIC period, turning Bronze Age palatial symbols into playful images (cat. 5). Cemeteries such as Perati on the coast of Attica show the portable wealth and long-distance connections still enjoyed by these mobile agents, and new warrior burials indicate “heroes” now based on Cyprus, Crete, and Euboea.³⁵

How many soldiers and sailors of Aegean origin formed some of the forces described in Egypt as “Peoples of the Sea” is hard to estimate, but their participation in events that ended the Late Bronze Age, as both agents and victims, is likely. Among those named in Egyptian texts as aggressors against the pharaoh, several ethnic collective names indicate regions and peoples to the north and west. In the Great Karnak inscription, Merneptah (ca. 1213–1203 B.C.) records an invasion of Libyans accompanied by “foreigners across the sea,” naming Peleset, Eqwesh, Teresh, Tjeker, Lukka, Shardana, and Shekelesh, and “northerners coming from all lands,” terms commonly understood as Ahhiyawa (Achaeans, or Mycenaean Greeks), Tyrrhenians (from Italy?), Lycians (from southwest Anatolia), Sardinians, and Sicilians from the central western Mediterranean.³⁶ While these documents proclaim victory, a long hymn celebrating the defeat of the Libyans also describes the devastation of Hittite Anatolia, Syria, Canaan, and Israel.

From a later, Levantine perspective, the Hebrew Bible describes one of these groups, the Peleset, or Philistines, as coming from “Caphtor” (biblical Keftiu), an identification that seems to agree with the Aegean style of decorated pottery found at Philistine sites in the southern Levant during the Iron Age I period.³⁷ However, these new intrusive settlers may also have been peoples who had already been displaced multiple times, including Aegean refugees previously relocated east in Anatolia (Cilicia), Cyprus, or the

northern Levant. Moreover, similar phenomena outside biblical Philistia suggest multiple ethnic survivors of the chaos behind the Sea Peoples (e.g., in the northern Levant).³⁸ By 1100 B.C., some had formed their own polities, as at Kunulua (see above). Iron Age levels at Kunulua and in the Orontes Valley were dominated by pottery close to Mycenaean III C:1 styles.³⁹ While this Aegean-like pottery resembles Philistine types (cat. 11a, b) in the southern Levant, strong material ties to the Aegean do not mean that the Late Bronze Age Levant was overrun by Greeks. Instead, survivors of the great sea and land battles of the thirteenth through the twelfth century, acculturated to Aegean life and reproducing Aegean forms as their own, reinvented themselves in new homelands abroad.

It is difficult to pin the cause of disaster in the Near East on the Aegean, which signaled its own impending crisis by expanding defenses and storage facilities in Mycenaean citadels. Written records, later and literary, tell a different story. Rather than aggressive and universal action against Aegean

fortified centers, Greeks remembered a single heroic adventure abroad by a multitude of ships and leaders (a Greek sack of Troy). In the Levant, Egyptian occupation of Canaan in the Late Bronze Age is reversed in Hebrew memory as the Exodus, a story of Israelite exile from and return to Canaan.⁴⁰ Elements of this narrative or its aftermath may ring true: the dispersal of Greeks to Cyprus (Teucer to Salamis) and Cilicia (in the story of Mopsus), where Greek names appear at Tarsus.⁴¹ The fiction of “return” (whether as *bene yisrael* from Egypt or “sons of Herakles” who came back to Greece) turns a story of displacement or replacement into a more satisfying tale of continuity and sustains the survival into the Iron Age of lasting traditions in culture and memory.

In the Aegean, some palaces and citadels, rebuilt or reshaped as shrines,⁴² survived as the nuclei of smaller, short-lived elite communities, but most inhabitants fled inland, upland, or overseas to new, safer sites. On Crete and the Cycladic islands, isolated peaks attracted survivors;⁴³ new settlements on islands such as Salamis in the Saronic Gulf harbored



Fig. 1.8. Ceramic krater with funerary scene and naval battle. Greece. Geometric. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Fletcher Fund, 1934 (34.11.2)

refugees from the mainland;⁴⁴ shallow, protected waters and coastal areas welcomed settlers, new and returned (at Mitrou in Lokris, Perati in Attica, and Lefkandi on Euboa; see above). Across the Aegean in coastal Anatolia, islands and peninsulas sheltered new occupants in Bronze Age–style forts and tombs (e.g., in Caria).⁴⁵

The postpalatial era in the Aegean contains the seeds of regeneration, in exuberant pictorial pottery reflecting active (or imagined) military exploits on land and sea, athletic events, and heroic chariots. Many of these symbols either survive or are revived in the next phase of Greek pictorial art, the Geometric style (fig. 1.8). Potent symbols of Near Eastern origin such as the Bronze Age Master of Animals (cat. 3) reappear in both poetic and pictorial (cat. 4) formulas, and luxury arts stimulated by eastern contact become a defining feature of Greek Geometric culture (cats. 6, 7). Many of these survivor communities maintained strong contacts with the east, through objects cherished and curated for their links to the past and to power. New inhabitants interred themselves and their heirlooms in prehistoric tombs (at Lefkandi, Knossos, and Elateia, in inland Phokis), as new agents of the Early Iron Age maintained contact, both deliberate and accidental, with the Bronze Age. Active memories of Aegean culture strongly shaped and were shaped by these reconstituted societies, whose leaders styled themselves after past titles, cults, and privileges (as Neo-Hittite rulers did in southeast Anatolia)⁴⁶ or imagined past events in heroic narratives (as Greek elites did through Homeric epic and heroic imagery) in poetry and art. In the Aegean, new forms of communal life were literally built on older walls, as at Tiryns (Building T) or Mitrou (Building B, refitted as an Early Iron Age apsidal structure), and the dead were buried in prehistoric tombs with older, Mycenaean objects (at Elateia).⁴⁷ By the Early Iron Age, prehistoric artifacts and exotica became cult objects or formed foundation deposits in transregional sanctuaries (cat. 1), whether salvaged from tombs or curated as heirlooms.⁴⁸

Eventually, by the early first millennium B.C., new urban centers and communities formed at fresh locales throughout the eastern Mediterranean under newly diverse and fragmented conditions that never fully recaptured the international nature of the Bronze Age. Smaller ethnic aggregates positioned themselves as regional powers in Anatolia, the Aegean, and the Levant, while Egypt and Assyria, alone, once more rose as royal powers, recruiting armies and campaigning beyond their territories. Iron replaced copper as a material with broad new functional applications to shape a new kind of maritime network spread more widely across the Mediterranean.

This process of urban reconsolidation took place over several stages. Syro-Anatolia at the end of the second millennium B.C. saw the formation of small city-states of Luwian or Aramaean background. The Assyrian campaigns of the ninth century led to the absorption of this territory during the eighth century and facilitated Assyrian moves into western Anatolia and Egypt. In the Aegean, a postpalatial afterlife ended, after one hundred years, in a dramatic decline in visible settlements and cemeteries between 1100 and 900 B.C., before revival in the ninth century. While this period is no longer viewed as a “Dark Age,” archaeology offers few settlements and cemeteries in the eleventh and tenth centuries B.C.⁴⁹ Some burial sites abandoned a century earlier came back into use in the ninth century (as at Elateia, Tomb L), suggesting strong ties to the past through kinship and memory. Improved climatic conditions leading to increased resources, along with a revival in human health, may have assisted demographic recovery by the eighth century B.C. In this process, new language groups (visible in later inscribed dialects) trace the relocation and migration of communities attested in ancient (Thucydides 1.12) and modern sources.⁵⁰ Speakers of a dialect close to Mycenaean Greek moved to the heart of the Peloponnese (Arkadia) and the island of Cyprus, while speakers of Ionic, Doric, and Aeolic Greek played a leading role in settling the coasts and cities of a new circum-Mediterranean landscape and soon developed new relationships with eastern partners. Across these regions, fresh networks soon developed around local conflicts that drew in foreign mercenaries, reactivated trade routes in new directions (west to Africa and Spain) for new resources, and led to mixed settlements around the Mediterranean coasts that shared ritual spaces and promoted cultural exchange. The regeneration of new communities also stimulated novel forms of civic self-governance and collective identity, as the Greek world developed forms of communal power that endured in Western Europe as democracy. One form of this new network spanned Cyprus, Crete, Euboa, Italy, Sicily, and Spain with merchants and mariners, who established new constellations of exported skills and traditions in the eleventh and tenth centuries B.C.⁵¹ Signs of this dynamic network include the rich heroon burial at Lefkandi, on Euboa, with its imported objects and dramatic funeral rites. By the ninth century, this network evolved from elite initiatives into more widespread and stable interactions that inspired new settlements and intellectual traditions in cult, burial, and ideology. Leaders of these new urban nuclei controlled trade networks, displayed wealth at international sanctuaries and in prestige burials, and built transregional power connections through local patrons.⁵²

Homer, Hittites, and Afterward in Western Anatolia

Western Anatolia shared in both the cataclysmic events ending the Bronze Age and the reconsolidation of smaller communities in close contact with the Near East. While the Hittites disappeared from history and memory (except as “Keteioi,” Trojan allies in Homer [*Odyssey* 11.516–21], and as [Neo-] “Hittites” in the Hebrew Bible), many names and titles from Bronze Age Anatolia survived in Greek legend (Myrtilos, Motylos, etc.). Speakers of Luwian in western Anatolia were replaced by diverse ethnic groups, such as Lycians (Lukka), Lydians (Homer’s “Maeonians”), and Mysians in the former Arzawa land, while migrants from European Thrace (Bryges) occupied the Troad and the central highlands as Phrygians. These non-Greeks soon became major agents between east and west in both politics and culture. The Phrygians (called Mushki in cuneiform sources) interacted with Assyria, sent artifacts to Olympia and Delphi (Herodotos 1.14), and learned the alphabet from either east or west. The Lydian kings invented the world’s first coinage (see fig. 2.35), patronized Greek sanctuaries (Herodotos 1.50–55), and, by attacking Persia in 546 B.C., set into motion the chain of events that would eventually bring the Achaemenid empire to Greece. For Greek colonists had founded (or refounded) cities along the Aegean coast from Troy to Knidos, enhanced by largely fictional accounts of Ionian, Dorian, and Aeolian “migrations.” Their new international sanctuaries in Anatolia and on nearby islands (Ephesos, Miletos, Samos, and Rhodes) attracted dedications from Greek and foreign clientele.

The Legacy of a Brave New World

The centuries that witnessed these developments (900–600 B.C.) saw active traffic in luxury goods, poetic formulas, and hybrid forms of art and architecture at trade colonies and diaspora communities around the shores of the inland sea. Traditions in language, writing, worship, and manufacturing often fused into new satellite industries and “communities of style” across the Mediterranean. The most lasting and influential aspect of this intimacy was the Greek adoption of Phoenician letters, the origin of the modern alphabet (fig. 1.9). This innovation appeared in multiple locales, including Italy (fig. 1.10), making places such as Cyprus, Crete, Euboia, and central Italy all potential breeding grounds for the Hellenic alphabet. The spread of alphabetic writing converged with new collective forms of government, such that the first use of *phoinikizein* and *poimikastas* as verbs and nouns for writing and scribes, respectively, appear in texts from Crete that address

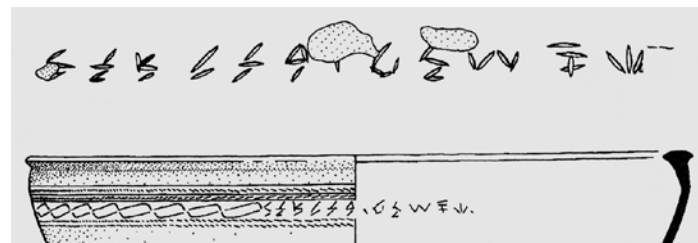


Fig. 1.9. Bronze bowl with Phoenician inscription. Tekke, Chamber Tomb J. Archaeological Museum, Heraklion, Crete, Greece (4346)

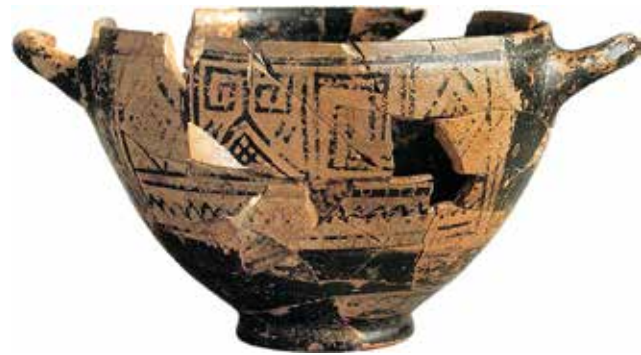


Fig. 1.10. Ceramic kotyle with Greek inscription, known as the Cup of Nestor. Ischia, Pithekoussai, necropolis of San Montano, cremation grave 168. Late Geometric. Archaeological Museum, Pithekoussai, Ischia, Italy (166788)

issues of democratic offices and governance.⁵³ These networks and the exchanges they sponsored resulted in lasting relationships that spanned the Mediterranean as far as Spain and reshaped the ancient world around still-active cultural constructs, such as epic poetry, democratic governance, the Hebrew Bible, the Semitic alphabet, and metal coinage.

HOMER AND THE LEGACY OF THE AGE OF HEROES

John Boardman

The Greeks, of Indo-European origin, entered their eventual homeland from the north. Their northern boundary was north of the Thessalian plain, marked by Mount Olympus, which they would come to regard as the home of their gods, on the border of their new homeland (like Valhalla). Farther north other related peoples were to settle, Macedonians and Thracians, speaking languages related to the Greek but mutually incomprehensible. The south was rugged, with few fertile plains apart from Thessaly, and offering only small enclaves often dominated by a major city—Thebes, Gla, Athens, Corinth, Mycenae, Tiryns, Sparta—rather than presenting the appearance of the homeland of a nation united under a single leader. The cities were well fortified, an indication of their mutual antagonism, which was to be a feature of Greek history for years to come, and a recipe for the creation of a heroic tradition. To the south lay the great island of Crete, with an already flourishing and apparently peaceful civilization—Minoan—its palaces unfortified, its arts brilliantly colorful and dependent much on the examples of Anatolia and Egypt. It was also a ready mentor, and prey, for the Greeks (Mycenaeans), whose arts gradually abandoned the relative austerity of pattern common to much of European art for the color and figure decoration of the Minoans. From the Minoans the Greeks learned to write (Linear B), but what survives of it attests to their organizational and marketing skills, not their heroic stories, history, or literature.

The relative poverty of the country led the Greeks, in the Bronze Age but also, more conspicuously, later, to look farther afield for resources. Archaeology attests a Mycenaean presence on various parts of the coast of western Anatolia, to the east, and on the intervening islands.¹ Farther east, Cyprus in particular seems to have attracted Greek attention. To the west there are connections to be traced across the Adriatic and on islands (Sardinia). In the east, however, there is reason to believe that there was some belligerence, attested by Hittite records.² We are invited to give names and describe details of their history by later Greek myths, and the picture they offer is on the whole plausible—pacts and jealousies between the kings at home, and war in western Anatolia, notably at Troy. And we are also invited to believe that the names recorded in later myth are authentic—Agamemnon, Achilles, Menelaos, Helen.

For their religion, the Greeks' largely nonfigurative art is of little help. There are generic scenes of fighting and of worship and nothing to suggest that there was not the hierarchy of gods that characterizes Indo-European peoples: a major weather god (Zeus with his thunderbolt), a Mother Goddess (Hera), and other specialist divinities alongside royal families that might aspire to divinity and local heroes with superhuman powers (Herakles). The land of Greece itself, its geography and natural phenomena, were an inspiration for the generation of other stories of the divine, or at least supernatural. It may not be good method to translate back into prehistory the religious and superstitious practices of later days, however well they are attested, but it is certainly plausible, and the people are the same, however much their circumstances and political order may have changed.

Minoan Crete fell to Greek rule in about 1450 B.C.,³ and although its peaceful palaces were not immediately turned into fortresses, Crete was now the southernmost extremity of the Greek "nation" and its kingdoms. But the whole structure of Greek society collapsed in the twelfth century B.C. Fortresses were abandoned, towns deserted or diminished in their size and wealth, communication with the non-Greek world interrupted. The cause remains obscure. It seems more a matter of decay and abandonment than invasion and destruction, and there may have been natural causes we can merely imagine (plague, drought). Further, there is record of other Greeks (the Dorians) arriving into the Peloponnese at the south. All the palatial aspects of the Greek world disappeared, to be replaced by smaller, largely agricultural communities. Writing was forgotten, to be revived only locally in Cyprus (in a syllabic script) about 1000 B.C., and not in Greece itself until near the end of the eighth century B.C. (in an alphabetic script), and then as a result of new Greek ventures to the east. Yet these "Dark Ages" must have been productive, and its peoples were clearly well aware of their more distinguished "heroic past," since its ruins lay all around them. It is from their memory, imagination, and observation of the world that preceded them that a picture of their Age of Heroes was formed in Greek minds, recalling the evidence of a power whose ruins were visible and whose personnel was familiar from memory, not texts, and little influenced by the heroic ages and peoples of other cultures to the east or south.⁴

One site provides us with much of the physical evidence for this period and the heritage of the heroic age: Lefkandi, on Euboea, the island whose cities seem to have been the first to reopen relations with Syria, Cyprus, and the eastern world (see “Lefkandi and the Era of Transition” in this volume, pp. 33–37). Here and on the mainland across the straits are palatial buildings and a heroon whose graves tell of contacts with the east, wealth, and some aspiration to heroic status. Its artifacts, too, include the stuff of myth: a centaur (see fig. 1.11). The Bronze Age Greeks had used figure-of-eight shields (cat. 1), and their Iron Age successors used comparable but lighter weapons, but the Bronze Age imagery around them was evocative. Eastern and Bronze Age subjects—the Master of Animals (cat. 3)—were being rediscovered, soon to be enhanced by other heroic imagery, largely eastern but readily adjusted to that of Greece.⁵

Oral tradition remained paramount, however. We must imagine a relatively poor but ambitious society with strong recollections of a mighty and “heroic” past to which they were the heirs (not, it seems, in direct line of descent). Thus it was natural to seek links with such a glorious past and to embroider whatever historical truth survived about the Greek Bronze Age with appropriate personnel, events, successes, and feuds. It was a way of preserving, even if not deliberately, communal or group identity. This was the realm of the bards, traditionally elders and sometimes blind (seeing an inner past closed to the sighted), who could recite descriptions and events of the “epic” past of their peoples. Oral memory is powerful; there is nothing unusual about committing to memory and teaching others hundreds of lines of verse, although we now live in an age little used to such valuable skills.

Memory and the physical remains of Bronze Age Greece provided the background and detail to the names and deeds of poets. The historical elements were naturally embellished, sometimes explained, by appeal to divine or heroic intervention, and though we know so little about Greek Bronze Age religion, we can be sure that many of the familiar Olympian names were current and associated with places, people, and events. Imagination completes the stories, and though we may be sure on other grounds that there had been some Greek military activity in northwestern Anatolia, we need not take as historically accurate the grounds for the conflict or the names and homes of the participants at Troy. This weaving of fact and fiction is a feature of most early societies, especially those lacking contemporary written sources for the events described.

The transmission of the stories of these events was oral, but before the end of the eighth century B.C. the Greeks of

the homeland had learned to write again, a product of their renewed relations with the Near East, Syria in particular, resulting in two Homeric epic poems about Troy and the aftermath as well as a series of minor epics about other “heroic” (once royal) characters.⁶ These texts seem to be the product of around the mid-seventh through the sixth century B.C., enhanced by the work of other poets, lyric and narrative.

The process was abetted by art. The illiterate “Dark Ages” of Greece saw the development of an art that was primarily dependent on geometry, including use of the compass, not figurative.⁷ The end of the ninth century B.C. saw the arrival in Crete of artists from the east who introduced semirealistic figure arts, but the subjects remained eastern in appearance and content, not Greek. By the same time figure drawing had been admitted into the native Geometric arts of the rest of Greece—mainly generic scenes, often of battle or civic occasions. Before the end of the eighth century B.C. (roughly contemporary with the introduction of writing but probably not connected) narrative scenes were introduced, and we can recognize events of myth—of Herakles, of battles on sea and land, but with “heroic” chariots, not used in Geometric Greece. And it was in the further development of this native style that serious depiction of myth as well as everyday life developed, on both the Proto-Attic and the more Orientalized Proto-Corinthian vases of the seventh century B.C. (cats. 137, 138). The phenomenon was by no means confined to homeland Greece and was as apparent in Greek colonial areas in the west.⁸ Thus we find scenes recognizable from Homeric epic on, for instance, the East Greek cup (fig. 1.10), which was carried west by Euboians to their colony on Ischia, in the Bay of Naples, and inscribed with verses alluding to epic (it is “Nestor’s cup,” and the drinker will be “seized by desire of fair-wreathed Aphrodite”).⁹

The Homeric poems themselves were unusual in that they did not present simple narratives of heroic/historical events, like their Near Eastern counterparts (the epic of Gilgamesh in Mesopotamia), but concentrated instead on themes. Thus the *Iliad* does not describe the whole war at Troy, although much is revealed by allusion, but rather a brief episode dominated by the results of “the wrath of Achilles” (as stated in its first line). The *Odyssey* describes the journey home of one of the heroes after the war, incidentally narrating much of the antecedents to the war and its progress. This is very sophisticated. Describing an Age of Heroes, Greek epic poets like Homer could present them as mortals with all mortal failings and aspirations. Other, later epics were more “historical narrative” in their approach, such as those that dealt with

the Argonauts or the wars over Thebes. In a way, what we read in Homer is but a partial echo of a whole nexus of divine and heroic mythology that was generated in Greek lands and perpetuated by bards.

The nearest we get to any true narrative of the heroic age is in the works of Hesiod, an earlier poet of around 700 B.C. whose family had come from Anatolia to Boiotia, in central Greece. He gave a far more systematic “historical” account of the family of the gods in his *Theogony*, but he wrote many other poems about heroic episodes and not exclusively related to the Trojan War, even a *Catalogue of Women* (if it is his) continuing the *Theogony*. So the Age of Heroes was well documented and could be treated as real history.

This heroization of Greek history encompassed a poetic record of Bronze Age Greece but also accounts inspired by Greek colonization in the Mediterranean world of the eighth to sixth century B.C., especially those dealing with voyages. In the west their exploration matched that of the Phoenicians, who kept mainly to the African coast and Spain, while Greek colonial activity was concentrated in Italy and Sicily. But there seems to have been no serious rivalry, and Greek goods are as apparent in Phoenician Carthage as in Greek colonies. From the Phoenicians, via the Syrians, the Greeks had learned their alphabet, but the Syrians were not explorers.¹⁰ Greek imagination was readily aroused by places, events, or odd phenomena observed and requiring explanation. All was encapsulated in the Greek epic, artistic, and eventually dramatic presentation of their past, creating an Age of Heroes with a structure based on history, remembered or observed, and imaginatively recorded.¹¹

The Greeks found it easy to locate physical evidence of their Age of Heroes all around them. They could even pretend that their new discovery of democracy had heroic parallels. Stories of battles of gods or heroes and giants were located where massive fossil bones had been found. The Tomb of Achilles could be identified in an old Lydian tomb

found near Troy, the Cave of Odysseus could be shown on Ithaca, and the great tholos tombs of the Mycenaeans were taken to be the treasuries of their kings Agamemnon and Atreus. Old tombs were opened and offerings made, as to heroes. The Greeks lived their Age of Heroes, and when, in the second century A.D., Pausanias wrote his *Description of Greece*, it was essentially a guide to the heroic past, not to the buildings and sites of Classical Greece.

The Greek Age of Heroes became the Western world’s Age of Heroes, too. This was an unintended result of Greek “colonization,” a term whose modern connotations have engendered a desire among scholars to play down its effects and give more due to the “colonized,” from Spain to the Black Sea. This does less than justice to the Greeks’ motives, which were purely pragmatic—seeking new homes for a growing population in a relatively poor country, and seeking wealth. Greek colonies were as ready to fight each other as the Greeks were at home. Their activity offered new settings for their accounts of their Age of Heroes, and stories of the aftermath of the Trojan War and the adventures of Mycenaean kings were soon accommodated to this new experience of the west. Travel to the Black Sea and Syria promoted stories of the Argonauts, Medea, and the Golden Fleece—gold caught in fleeces in the rivers of the Caucasus. Greek presence in the west immediately but incidentally opened the whole Mediterranean to the trade and culture of their new neighbors, without the Greeks themselves ever dominating the inland sea other than by their seafaring.¹² They introduced a monetary economy that, through no intention of theirs, revolutionized trade, and often too they introduced literacy, by example. None of this was part of an intentional attempt to become a world power, especially in a period when the Greeks were still spending much of their energy fighting each other. But the Greeks, accidentally, created a new pattern of life for the Mediterranean world and for Europe, for whom their Age of Heroes soon became a shared commonplace.

1. Plaque with Mycenaean warrior in relief

Ivory; H. 11.8 cm (4 $\frac{5}{8}$ in.), W. 6 cm (2 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.)

Delos, Artemision

7th-century B.C. context, Late Bronze Age manufacture, 14th–13th century B.C.

Archaeological Museum, Delos, Greece (B.07069)

In 1946, during the excavation of the Artemis sanctuary in Delos, burned bones, pottery sherds, bronze, gold, and other Mycenaean artifacts were found in the northeastern corner of the seventh-century B.C. temple. Among 2,533 ivory fragments, perhaps the remains of the inlaid decoration of furniture or chests, was this plaque representing a Mycenaean warrior.¹ Standing, he wears only a loincloth and an arm bracelet and holds a spear and a large figure-of-eight shield, which would have protected his entire body during battle. His head is protected by a conical helmet constructed of rows of boar's tusks, neatly cut lengthways into oblong plates pierced at the corners with holes and sewn over a base of leather and felt. The direction of the curve of the tusks alternates in each successive row. On the relief there are only two rows of tusks, but the actual surviving helmets had up to four or five. The crown of these helmets was either adorned with a plume or terminated in a knob. Some were decorated with a crest, a horse's tail, and/or horns, and sometimes they were equipped with neck and cheek guards made of either leather or bronze. Such a helmet is described by Homer (*Iliad* 10.260–65), although it had gone out of use long before his time:

And Meriones gave to Odysseus a bow and a quiver and a sword, and about his head he set a helm wrought of hide, and with many a tight-stretched thong was it made stiff within, while without the white teeth of a boar of gleaming tusks were set thick on this side and that, well and cunningly, and within was fixed a lining of felt. This cap Autolycus on a time stole out of Eleon when he had broken into the stout-built house of Amyntor, son of Ormenus; and he gave it to Amphidamas of Cythera to take to Scandea, and Amphidamas gave it to Molus as a guest-gift, but he gave it to his own son Meriones to wear; and now, being set thereon, it covered the head of Odysseus.²

Because of the large number of tusks necessary to make a helmet of this type (taken from twenty to one hundred boars), the most elaborate ones were probably worn as a status symbol by high-ranking warriors. This would explain the figure's proud and somewhat arrogant stance here. The possession of such a helmet



was proof of his bravery or, in the case of an heirloom, like the one given by Meriones to Odysseus, attested to the nobility and bravery of his ancestors. Images like this reflect the qualities admired by Mycenaean society and the

goals toward which they strove. In the centuries that followed, such qualities were kept alive within the legends of the great heroic past. PJC

1. See Tournavitou 1995. 2. Translated by A. T. Murray (1924–25).

2. Wheeled vessel stand

Bronze; H. including wheels 31 cm (12¼ in.), W. of panels 15 cm (5⅞ in.)
Cyprus
Late Bronze Age, 1250–1100 B.C.
The Trustees of the British Museum, London (GR 1946.1017.1)

Intended to support a vessel for wine or water or perhaps an incense burner, this wheeled

bronze stand reflects both the technical mastery and artistic cosmopolitanism of its Cypriot makers at the end of the Late Bronze Age.¹ The incomplete relief frieze on the ring depicts pairs of lions attacking another creature, perhaps a human, alternating with grazing animals. It is strikingly close in composition and subject to one said to be from Kourion, now in the Metropolitan Museum, and others from Cyprus and

Greece.² Below the main panels, and perhaps deliberately framing them with similar scenes of nature, are depictions of aquatic life—dolphins, waterbirds, and fish—rendered à jour. This openwork technique is also employed for the much more elaborate panels that decorate the sides of the stand. One side shows a heraldic winged sphinx wearing a square cap (or polos) headdress. Like the similar ones shown in pairs





Crete to Sardinia during the earlier first millennium B.C. indicates that their influence continued long after they had ceased being manufactured on Cyprus.⁹ Some were made in local workshops already established at the end of the Late Bronze Age, but others may have been inspired by heirlooms imported along with contemporary luxury goods during the so-called Dark Ages. Both the nature and the circulation of goods of this kind reflect an elite lifestyle—Homeric in quality (and certainly heroic in terms of self-identification) but exclusive to no one group—that extended across the eastern Mediterranean during the Early Iron Age.¹⁰ TK

1. Catling 1964, p. 194, no. 7; Matthäus 1985, p. 316, no. 706; Papasavvas 2001, p. 242, no. 27. 2. Catling 1964, p. 197, no. 15; Karageorghis, Mertens, and Rose 2000, pp. 60–61, no. 96. See also Catling 1964, p. 211, nos. 42 (*Myrtou-Pigadhes*) and 43 (*Boiotia, Anthedon Hoard*); and Matthäus 1998, p. 134. 3. Catling 1964, pp. 207–8, no. 35; Matthäus 1985, pp. 318–19, no. 708; Papasavvas 2001, p. 242, no. 27. 4. Catling 1964, p. 208; see Poursat 1977a, nos. 138–40 and 297 (*Mycenae*), and nos. 448, 455–62 (*Spata*); also Poursat 1977b, pp. 59–64. 5. For the use of chariots in the Late Bronze Age eastern Mediterranean, though stressing the diversity of use and significance of the motif, see Feldman and Sauvage 2010. 6. BM GR 1920.12–20.1; Catling 1964, pp. 205–7, no. 34; Matthäus 1985, pp. 314–15, no. 704; Papasavvas 2001, pp. 239–50, no. 23; J. Lesley Fitton in Aruz, Benzel, and Evans 2008, pp. 312–13, no. 186. 7. S. Morris 1992a, pp. 9–10 (cf. Homer's *Iliad* 18.372–79). 8. Franklin 2014 (in press). I am grateful to Prof. Franklin for sending a copy in advance of publication. 9. Catling 1964, pp. 215–16; Catling 1984; Matthäus 1998, pp. 129–33, 141. 10. Crielaard 1998; Matthäus 1998, p. 139–41.

flanking a sacred tree on the sides of a wheeled stand in Berlin,³ the London sphinx has parallels in Aegean art, especially ivory work.⁴ The lion on the opposite side, also with Aegean traits, may likewise be heraldic in nature but is shown in action with a bird in its jaws.

The two other panels may depict narratives. One features a two-horse chariot with a driver and perhaps a heroic or divine figure represented as a hunter or warrior, since he is shown with a quiver.⁵ On the most elaborate and detailed panel, two robed figures playing large lyres face each other—one standing, the other on a thronelike chair—while behind the left-hand musician a young man in a kilt holds a jug and raises a cup to his lips. These panels represent the sort of convivial occasions enjoyed by elite groups across the region, at which bronze stands were used, and may also have had religious or mythological significance. The seated harpist, paralleled on a well-known bronze stand

from Kourion, now in the British Museum,⁶ may depict a royal and/or priestly musician, or perhaps even a heroic or divine bard. The figure may be an archetype of the Cypriot musician-king Kinyras, whose mythological personality, including connections with the magical art of bronzemaking,⁷ formed within the mixed cultural environment that connected Cyprus with its neighbors during his time.⁸

Like the ivory gaming box from Enkomi (cat. 9), the stand looks both forward and backward in its cultural and historical associations. On the one hand, the eclectic International Style of the imagery, together with the technical mastery of the metallurgist, are altogether typical Cypriot expressions of the dynamic socioeconomic world of the Late Bronze Age eastern Mediterranean during the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries B.C. On the other hand, the presence of locally made Cypriot-style tripod and four-sided stands (also in terracotta) from

3. Rhyton with Master of Animals

Ceramic; max. H. 40.5 cm (16 in.), Diam. of rim 11 cm (4 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.)
Rhodes, Pylona Cemetery, Tomb 2C
Late Helladic IIIA:2, late 14th century B.C.
Archaeological Museum, Rhodes, Greece (P 17964)

A rhyton is a vessel that was filled with liquid from one opening and emptied from another. Found in domestic, cultic, and funerary contexts in Crete, mainland Greece, Cyprus, and the Levant,¹ rhyta appear in a range of forms—from simple funnels to more elaborate and often totally impractical shapes—and were made in a variety of materials, including clay, faience, bronze, silver, and a number of different types of stone. Their presence in tombs is evidence that they were used in funerary rites.

Conical rhyta appeared in Crete at the beginning of the Neopalatial period and became the most common shape for Mycenaean rhyta. During the late fourteenth and thirteenth centuries B.C., conical rhyta were also found in Cyprus and western Asia, having been either exported



from the Aegean or produced locally. After the early twelfth century B.C. conical rhyta disappeared from the eastern Mediterranean as a result of the abandonment of the international trade networks that followed the collapse of the palace-centered economies.

The Pylona rhyton features a thick, rounded lip, conical body, and a loop handle at the rim. A bull's head modeled in the round, with one of the horns restored, is attached to the rim opposite the handle. The painted decoration is arranged in the typical Mycenaean manner, with a wide pictorial zone on the upper body and narrow linear zones below.² A young beardless male figure with short hair is flanked by felines standing on their hind legs, with their heads

turned backward. Details on the costume of the male figure—a loincloth and a headband or diadem—as well as spots on the felines' skin are highlighted with pale pink slip. The space between the figures is filled with decorative motifs.³

The image represents the Aegean version of the Near Eastern theme of the Master of Animals.⁴ Depictions of the female Mistress of Animals and of the male Master of Animals, symbolizing a divinity or heroic figure's domination over animals and, by extension, over the natural world, were common in the Near East, as revealed especially on cylinder seals. Both motifs first appeared in Minoan glyptic in the Neopalatial period (MMIII/LMIA) and were

incorporated into the pictorial repertoire and religious symbolism adopted by the Mycenaeans.⁵ The composition appeared on seals and sealings, objects associated with the palaces, and disappeared by the end of LH IIIB, in the early twelfth century B.C., as did the conical rhyton.

The Pylona rhyton is the only known example of this imagery on pottery in the Bronze Age Aegean⁶ and one of the few depictions of the theme in all of Mycenaean art. The scene also presents certain features that depart from the usual representation of the theme, such as the posture of the central figure and the choice of animals.⁷ The religious significance of the image and the addition of the bull's head on the rim

emphasize the ceremonial character of the Pylona rhyton and indicate its use during funerary rites. Bulls' heads affixed on ritual vessels as well as Minoan and Mycenaean rhyta in the shape of bull's heads reflect the worship of a bull god and the performance of bull sacrifices throughout the Aegean and the Near East. The closest parallels for the Pylona rhyton are the ovoid rhyta decorated in the Cypriot technique of Base-Ring II (LH IIIB), found in a shrine at Minet el-Beidha, Ugarit, in Syria, which feature bull's heads modeled in the round.⁸

The use of similar religious symbols and practices in the Aegean, Cyprus, and the Levant during the Late Bronze Age suggests that, beyond the artistic exchange achieved through travel, trade, and elite gift exchange, there were also shared aspects of ideology and religious beliefs.⁹ The reappearance of the Mistress and Master of Animals motifs in the Aegean during the first millennium B.C., through renewed contact with the Near East, probably indicates the continuity of these earlier traditions and beliefs within the Aegean.

FZ

1. On the typology and use of Aegean rhyta, see Koehl 2006. 2. For a full analysis of the decoration, see Karantzali 2001, pp. 34–35, fig. 28, pl. 33, colorpl. 1. 3. *Ibid.*, pp. 34–35, 175; Karantzali 1998. 4. Crowley 1989, pp. 28–32, 62; Barclay 2001, pp. 374–79. 5. For the origin of the Aegean version of the theme and its subsequent development in Creto-Mycenaean art, see Nilsson 1950, pp. 382–88; Tamvaki 1974, pp. 282–85; and Crowley 1989, pp. 195–99, 208. Crowley (1989, p. 197)

argues for “a simultaneous infusion of these eastern influences into Crete at the time of the New Palaces and into the Mainland” at the end of the MH and the beginning of LH I. However, Barclay (2001, p. 380) notes that in LB III there is a switch of interest from the Mistress to the Master of Animals, possibly indicating a reinforcement of the heroic aspect of the composition, as well as a preference for subjugating the animals in an aggressive manner, and suggests that, while the Mistress of Animals was adopted in the Minoan repertoire from the Mitannian representation of the Great Goddess, the Mycenaean Master of Animals was a direct adaptation of the Mesopotamian type, depicting a hero. She also suggests that the heroic or royal figure mastering lions was more suited to the interests of Mycenaean palace society. 6. Clay analysis has indicated that the Pylona rhyton was imported from an unidentified source, probably located in the southeastern Aegean—the Dodecanese, western Anatolia, or eastern Crete. Ponting and Karantzali 2001, p. 108. 7. The Mistress of Animals is usually depicted with upraised arms, barely touching the animals' heads, while the Master is more aggressively grasping them by their necks or feet, as on the signet ring from T. 58 at Mycenae, CMS I, no. 89. 8. Yon 1980b; Yon 1986. 9. Karantzali 1998, p. 96.

4. “Pinakion” with Master of Animals

Ceramic; H. 3.5 cm (1 3/8 in.), Diam. 21 cm (8 1/4 in.)
Crete, Ampelokepoi (near Knossos)
Late Geometric–Orientalizing, ca. 770–680 B.C.
Archaeological Museum, Heraklion, Greece (P 29853)

Particularly significant as an example in clay of the Master of Animals, or hero fighting lions, iconography, this decorated cover or lid provides further evidence of the theme's widespread

popularity during the eighth and early seventh centuries B.C.¹ The object is cylindrical, with a flat base and a very shallow rim. Two small, flat handles are attached to the body horizontally; there is a large relief ring at the bottom. Inside a border of three concentric circles is a relief scene that features two rampant lions flanking a helmeted male figure dressed in a kilt and facing right. He holds one lion by the jaw in his raised left hand and is set to attack it with a weapon(?) carried in his lowered right hand. The other lion, attacking the man, touches the crest of his helmet with its raised left paw.

The pinakion was probably made from a mold, and as a result the image lacks additional details. However, parallels can be drawn to similar scenes produced in metalwork and jewelry, notably a bronze-relief quiver from Fortetsa, dated to the early eighth century B.C., and a gold cutout found in a cinerary urn from a tomb in the North Cemetery at Knossos.² A Mycenaean rhyton from Pylona on Rhodes, dated to the end of the fourteenth century B.C. (cat. 3), is a much earlier example of the Master of Animals theme, though not of a hero fighting them.

NS

1. See Maria Bredaki and Nicholas Stampolidis, “Pinakion,” in Stampolidis 2003b, p. 366, no. 522. 2. Stampolidis, Karetsov, and Kanta 1998, p. 135, no. 35, figs. 321 and 334; “Introduction,” in Stampolidis 2003b, pp. 58–59, figs. 10–13.



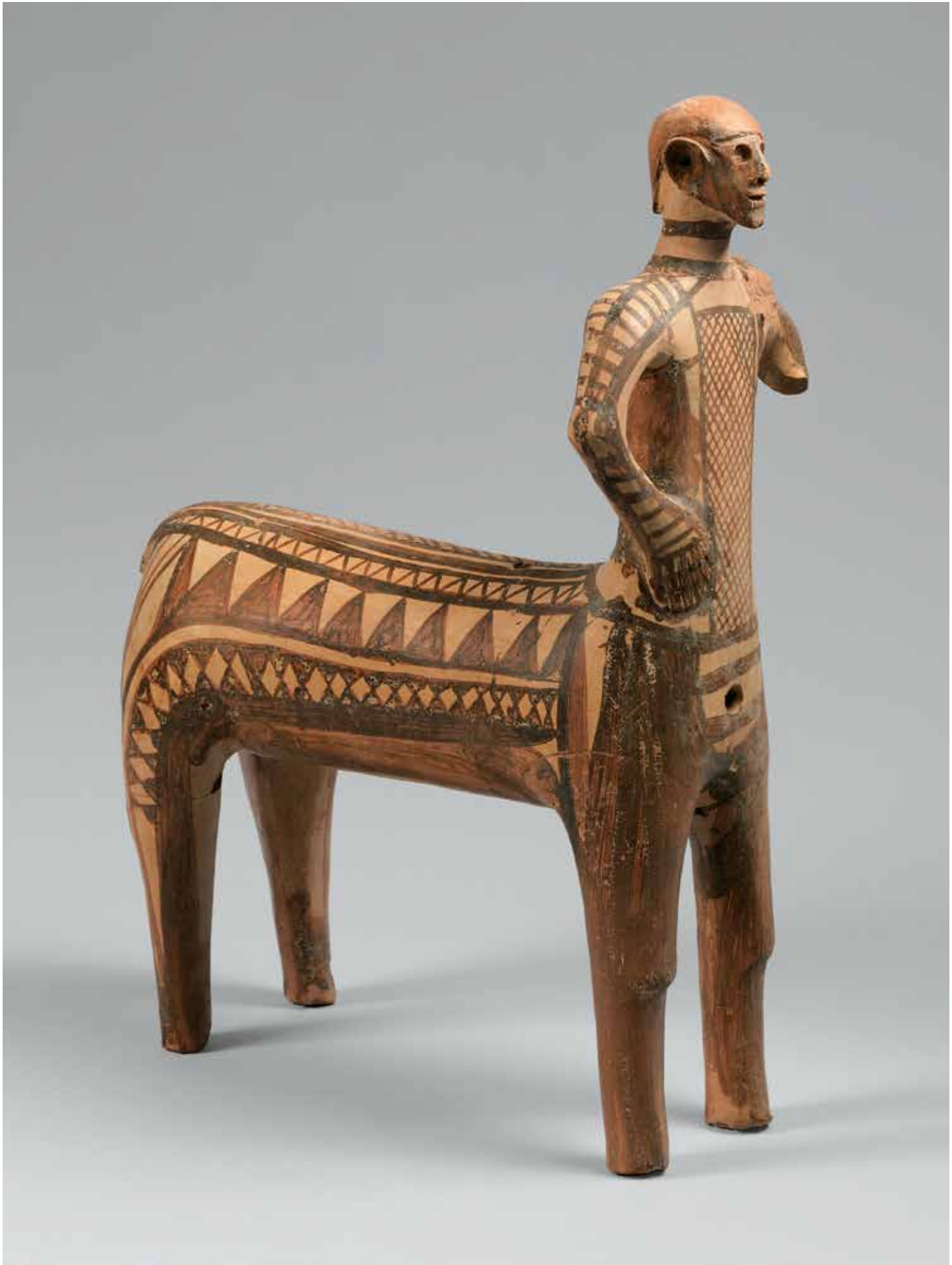


Fig. 1.11. Ceramic figure in the form of a centaur. Lefkandi, Toumba cemetery, tombs 1 and 3. Late Protogeometric. Archaeological Museum, Eretria, Eubolia, Greece (8620)

LEFKANDI AND THE ERA OF TRANSITION

Maria Kosma

5. Alabastron with griffin, sphinx, and horned animals

Ceramic; H. 18.3 cm (7¼ in.), max. Diam. of base 19.6 cm (7¾ in.)

Euboia, Lefkandi, Xeropolis
Late Helladic IIIC, 12th century B.C.
Archaeological Museum, Eretria, Greece (ME 12805)

6. Pendant

Gold; H. 9.7 cm (3⅞ in.), W. 13.3 cm (5¼ in.)

Euboia, Lefkandi, Toumba building, female burial
Late Protoegeometric, 10th–9th century B.C.
Archaeological Museum, Eretria, Greece (ME 20003)

7. Necklace

Gold; H. of pendant 3.2 cm (1¼ in.), overall L. of beads 19.4–20.6 cm (7⅞–8⅞ in.)

Euboia, Lefkandi, Toumba cemetery, Tomb 63
Late Protoegeometric, 10th–9th century B.C.
Archaeological Museum, Eretria, Greece (ME 20004)

8. Figurine of a reclining feline

Faience; H. 4.8 cm (1⅞ in.), L. 10.1 cm (4 in.)

Euboia, Lefkandi, Toumba cemetery, Tomb 39
Late Protoegeometric, ca. 900 B.C.
Archaeological Museum, Eretria, Greece (ME 16612)

The widespread destruction of most Mycenaean palatial centers that took place from the middle to the end of the thirteenth century B.C. was followed almost immediately by a short period of restructuring in the twelfth century B.C.¹ During this century, there was migration from the devastated areas of the mainland to the Aegean islands, the coast of Anatolia, and Cyprus. Nevertheless, many sites located on or near important sea routes along the Euboian, Pagasetic, Argolic, and Saronic Gulfs continued to be inhabited without interruption.² By taking advantage of the collapse of the palatial system and the subsequent lack of a central authority, these communities maintained their trade connections with settlements in the Aegean and areas beyond it. During the first half of the eleventh century B.C., societal restructuring signified a clear end to the Mycenaean world. This period of transition to the Early Iron Age has been conventionally termed the “Dark Ages,” since for many decades the lack of archaeological evidence had led to the theory that the destruction of the Mycenaean centers was followed by widespread devastation of the mainland and coastal areas. However, a wealth of recent evidence proves that the term does not accurately reflect the reality of this time, since some sites remained continuously occupied, even during the period of transition.

One of these sites is the settlement that developed on the eastern coast of Euboia, near modern Lefkandi. The site’s modern name is Xeropolis; its ancient name has not been preserved. The settlement covers a total area of about 70,000 square meters and is located on a peninsula that controls two small coves, one of which is used even today as a safe harbor. Strategically located along the sea route of the Euboian Gulf, the settlement was also able to control the fertile valley of the Lelantas River to the west. The importance of the site was first identified during a survey conducted by the British Archaeological School on Euboia,³ and soon after the systematic excavation of the site commenced. The first signs of occupation date to the Early Bronze Age (2400 B.C.), but the settlement reached its peak only in the middle phase of Late Helladic IIIC, during the second half of the twelfth century B.C. This period in the settlement’s history was characterized by a high standard of living and by contacts with not only other settlements in the Aegean but with the wider area as a member of a koine, or a group with common characteristics on many levels.⁴

A cylindrical alabastron that dates to this period (cat. 5) is the only example of this style from the settlement.⁵ With its light-on-dark painted decoration, it is one of the last examples of the Mycenaean Pictorial Style and a product of



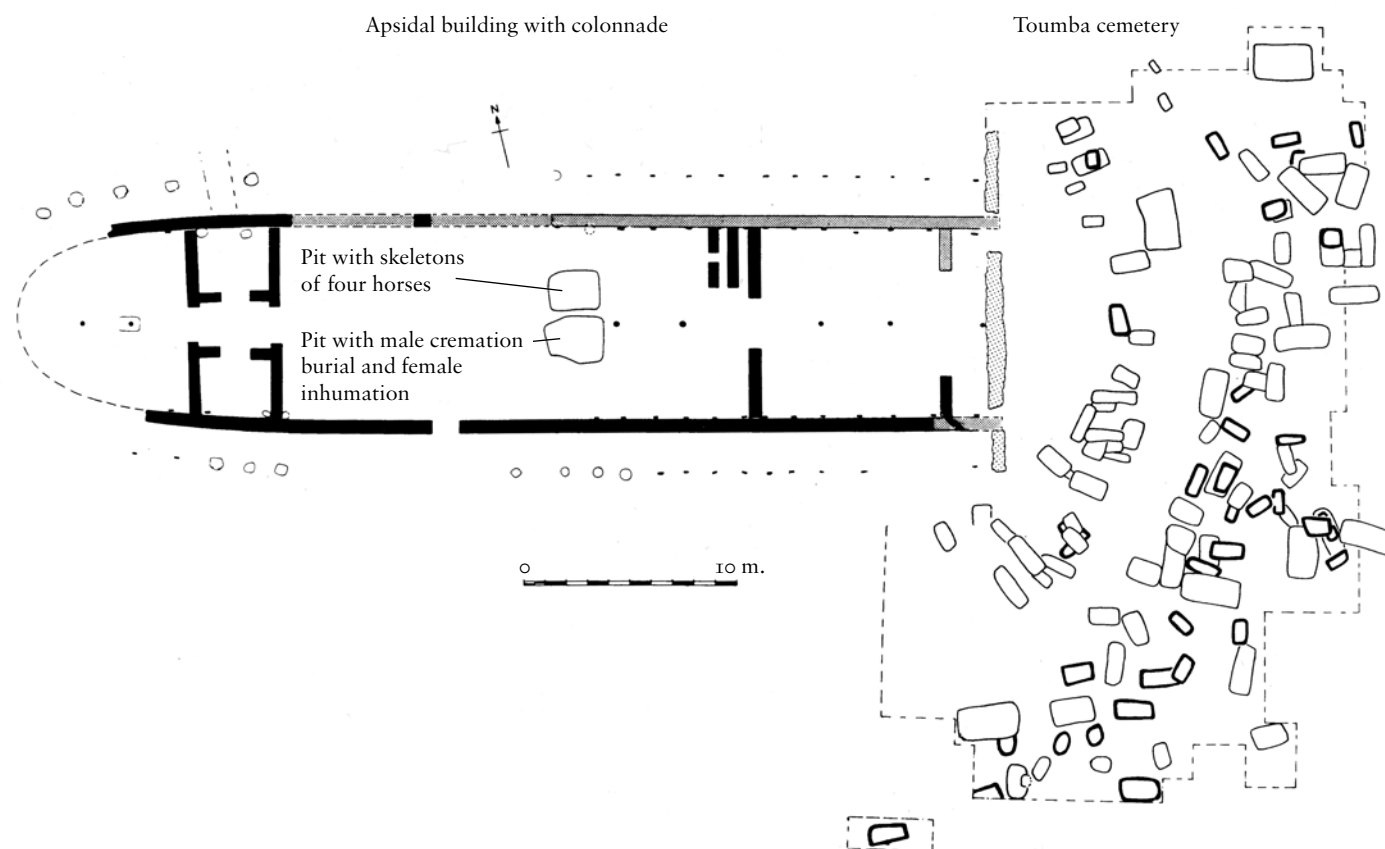


Fig. 1.12. Area of Protogeometric “heroon,” Toumba cemetery, Lefkandi

a local ceramic workshop.⁶ Even though the tall neck and three horizontal handles are common characteristics of this type of vessel, here the vessel’s large size, flat base, and horizontal rim differentiate it from other known examples.⁷ Its decoration is organized in two different zones, one on the shoulder and the other on the body. On the shoulder, the sections created by two central “triglyphs” are decorated with antithetically placed vegetal motifs rendered in outline and filled with a pattern of semicircles. A figural scene occupies the decorated zone on the body, with groups of animals and hybrid creatures represented in outline and silhouette. In the center of the scene is a group of three ibexes, while a pair of griffins feeding their young, still in the nest, is shown to the right; a sphinx following a deer with its head turned backward to look at its fawn, shown on a different level, completes the scene to the left.

Representations of fantastic creatures were popular themes for the wall paintings decorating palatial complexes as well as for seals.⁸ However, the decoration on the alabastron is strikingly original in its composition of a unified scene without the interruption of decorative motifs. By combining various family groups

of animals in this unique way for the first time, the artist created the impression of a picturesque narrative scene.⁹ Small details add liveliness, such as the ingenious use of free space in the area of the handles to fit the griffins’ tails and one of the deer’s antlers, as well as the plethora of decorative motifs used to fill the outlined figures.

After the end of the Late Bronze Age, the settlement was neither abandoned nor reduced in size. On the contrary, recent data from excavations¹⁰ give a picture of uninterrupted occupation that covers the chronological gap of approximately 150 years, until the Late Protogeometric period (900 B.C.), when, based on clear indications available at the time of the first excavation, the site was occupied.¹¹ At the dawn of the Protogeometric period, a cultural group with common characteristics, known as the Euboian koine, can be identified, comprising several regions of central Greece (Boiotia, Phokis, Fthiotis, and eastern Lokris) as well as Thessaly, Pieria, Chalkidike, individual Cycladic islands, and Kos.¹² The term “Euboian koine” is a modification of the original term “Thessalo-Cycladic koine,” introduced by Vincent Desborough, who observed remarkable similarities in

the material cultures of these regions—mainly the pottery and textile decoration—which could be explained only on the basis of close contact among them.¹³ Knowledge of the principles of navigation and familiarity with regional geography were most likely required for the formation and consolidation of this particular network of contacts, through which material goods were exchanged and cultural ties forged. It is assumed that the famous temple of Apollo at Kalapodi, a place of worship with great local influence, operated as a ritual center that unified the wider region of the Euboian Gulf.¹⁴ However, there remains a lack of scholarly consensus on the overall importance of the role of the Euboians and the accuracy of what we now term the Euboian koine.¹⁵

Nonetheless, continuing archaeological research verifies the crucial role of the Euboians in the introduction of new sea routes.¹⁶ Among all the Euboian communities, Lefkandi played a predominant role in the formation of the koine, as verified by archaeological discoveries. Lefkandi’s fame derives mainly from finds (fig. 1.11) brought to light by the excavation of five Early Iron Age cemeteries, located approximately 500 meters from the prehistoric settlement of



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Xeropolis.¹⁷ The richness and luxury of the finds are indicative of contacts between the settlement and Attica, the north Aegean, Cyprus, Egypt, and other regions of the eastern Mediterranean. They also bear witness to the existence of a local elite, which advertised its social standing through status objects. The possibility that some of these objects reached Lefkandi not as a result of trade but through gift exchanges between elites remains open but is not easy to prove.¹⁸

The high quality of construction of certain tombs from the Toumba necropolis and the quantity and quality of the finds there¹⁹ suggest that this was a cemetery for the aristocracy.²⁰

Overall, eighty-three inhumations and thirty-four funeral pyres were discovered, laid out to the east of a large mid-tenth-century B.C. apsidal building with a colonnade (fig. 1.12), a feature that would become a fundamental element in Greek architecture.²¹ In its interior were two rock-cut pits; one contained the funeral pyre of a man and the burial of a woman, while the other contained the skeletons of four horses. The man's funeral pyre shares many similarities with Homeric descriptions of warriors' funeral pyres, particularly that of Patroklos,²² such as the weapons and metal vessels—symbols of power—that accompanied him. These parallels can be explained by the fact that the customs

described in the epic belong to an older era.²³ The building was used only for a short period of time, after which it was deconstructed and a large tumulus built over it, a process interpreted as ritual destruction meant to emphasize the dead man's position within the community.²⁴ This hypothesis is strengthened by the fact that, immediately after the construction of the tumulus, the area to its east began to be used as a cemetery for members of the elite, perhaps to emphasize the lineage of the deceased.

The burial of the woman, in the same rock-cut pit as the funeral pyre, was accompanied by a great quantity of jewelry, which suggests that she was a wife or partner rather than a slave put



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to death to accompany her lord. This impressive assemblage comprises gold-sheet spirals, rings, iron pins (either gold-plated or with ivory heads), and an heirloom necklace from the Near East. Among them is a crescent-shaped piece of gold sheet, possibly made with a mold and identified as a pendant (cat. 6), that formed part of a complex piece of jewelry worn on the chest along with two gold discs, placed on the woman's breasts. The extreme thinness of the piece (no thicker than 1 millimeter) would have made it unsuitable for everyday wear.²⁵ Its edges were folded, which probably indicates that it was an appliqué sewn to fabric. There are two zones of embossed decoration: a row of triple pseudospirals below a motif of oval leaves. The available space at the ends of the piece is filled with two diagonally placed oval leaves.

The gold necklace from Tomb 63 of the Toumba cemetery is another example of exquisite goldworking technique (cat. 7). It consists of a pendant flanked by six beads arranged in two groups of three. The pendant comprises a discoid gold sheet decorated with embossed lines and dots. It is suspended from a gold tube,



Fig. 1.13. Detail of gold pendant from necklace with gold, faience, and rock-crystal beads. Lefkandi, female burial inside apsidal building. Protoegeometric context, Old Babylonian manufacture. Archaeological Museum, Eretria, Greece (20161)



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above which a double spiral made of gold wire is attached. The six beads are likewise composed of gold tubes with antithetical double spirals of gold wire above and below.²⁶ From a technical point of view, it is clear that the tube-shaped suspension loop of the pendant imitates the pendant from a Near Eastern necklace, an heirloom found with the female burial in the apsidal building at Toumba (fig. 1.13).²⁷

The quadruple spiral motif, which has a long history in the Near East and the Aegean, appears in Mycenaean jewelry already in the sixteenth century B.C.²⁸ During the Protogeometric period, it appeared often in graves on Skyros,²⁹ attesting to the island's close contacts with Lefkandi and incorporation into the Euboian koine.

From Tomb 39 of the same cemetery comes a feline figurine made of blue-green glazed

faience (cat. 8). The animal, most likely a lion, was represented in a recumbent position on a flat oval-shaped base and dates to the Late Protogeometric period (900 B.C.). Its head is turned perpendicular to its body, and each ear is perforated. Although the use of this pose originally derives from the Egyptian tradition, during the tenth century B.C. in the area of Syria-Palestine, there was a flourishing production of faience objects with Egyptianizing characteristics, to which group this figurine likely belongs.³⁰ Details such as the rendering of the animal's head and the lack of a suspension loop suggest a date for the object after the time of the Middle Kingdom and point to a provincial workshop.³¹

The discovery of Lefkandi and the publication of the finds from the excavations of the set-

tlement and its cemeteries have invalidated the evidence that until recently supported the interpretation of collapse in the Aegean during the "Dark Ages." However, the essential contribution of Lefkandi's discovery is the fact that it led to the identification of other sites of the same period that bridge the gap between the end of the Mycenaean world and the Protogeometric period. Through this process, a pattern of occupation was identified that characterized the Early Iron Age along the Euboian Gulf,³² when various settlements on both sides of its coastline flourished by exchanging material goods and cultural ideas,³³ following the example of the Bronze Age.

SEA PEOPLES AND PHILISTINES

Jonathan N. Tubb

The foreign countries made a conspiracy in their islands. All at once the lands were removed and scattered in the fray. No land could stand before their arms, from Hatti, Kode, Carchemish, Arzawa, and Alashiya on, being cut off at [one time]. A camp [was set up] in one place in Amor. They desolated its people and its land was like that which has never come into being. They were coming forward toward Egypt, while the flame was prepared before them. Their confederation was the Peleset, Tjeker, Shekelesh, Denyen, and Weshesh, lands united. They laid their hands upon the lands as far as the circuit of the earth, their hearts confident and trusting: "Our plans will succeed!"

This remarkable quotation from the reliefs and inscriptions of Ramesses III's mortuary temple at Medinet Habu in Thebes records one of the most colorful and exciting episodes in the history of the Levant.¹ It occurred at the very end of the Late Bronze Age, in the early part of the twelfth century B.C., when the region constituted Egypt's Asiatic empire. During the reign of Ramesses III (ca. 1184–1153 B.C.), the Egyptian army and navy fought three great wars against a league of invaders, known collectively as the Sea Peoples, the best-known group of which was the Peleset, or Philistines.

The reliefs give us a wonderful insight into the ships, weapons, and costumes of the Sea Peoples (fig. 1.14, ill. pp. 12–13). The Philistines, for example, are depicted with feathered headdresses or helmets and round shields, arriving in ships with duck-shaped prows. Although the exact origins of these peoples are still unknown, it can be assumed that their ultimate homeland was the Aegean and southern Anatolia. Some Sea People were effectively "Land People," sweeping across the Anatolian plateau, where they contributed to the downfall of the Hittite empire, and reaching the Levant by way of northwest Syria. Others arrived by ship attacking the Levantine coast, heading inland and then south toward Egypt, while still others attacked the Nile Delta directly.

In all cases, Ramesses claimed to be victorious. According to the Medinet Habu inscriptions:

Those who reached my frontier, their seed is not, their heart and their soul are finished forever and ever. Those who came forward together on the sea, the full flame

was in front of them at the river mouths, while a stockade of lances surrounded them on the shore. They were dragged in, enclosed, and prostrated on the beach, killed, and made into heaps from tail to head. Their ships and their goods were as if fallen into the water.²

The Medinet Habu reliefs are supplemented by the record of Ramesses's wars contained in the Harris Papyrus 1:

I extended all the frontiers of Egypt and overthrew those who had attacked them from their lands. I slew the Denyen in their islands, while the Tjeker and the Philistines were made ashes. The Sherden and the Weshesh of the Sea were made nonexistent, captured all together and brought in captivity to Egypt like the sands of the shore. I settled them in strongholds, bound in my name. Their military classes were as numerous as hundred-thousands. I assigned portions for them all with clothing and provisions from the treasuries and granaries every year.³

The havoc wrought by the Sea Peoples, as depicted in these texts, is fully substantiated by the archaeological record. All along the Levantine coast, Canaanite cities were destroyed: Ugarit, Dor, and Ashkelon, to mention but three. Cities in western Cyprus show a similar fate, suggesting that the Sea Peoples took this part of the island first and used it as staging post for raids on the Levantine coast. Further inland, in Syria, the story is the same. Alalakh in the plain of Antioch was destroyed; so too the important trade entrepôt of Emar, on the last bend of the Euphrates. Even the great city of Carchemish, the second royal city of the Hittite empire, succumbed to the Sea Peoples.

It is very interesting to observe, however, that one region alone seems to have been spared: that part of the Levantine coast that in the first millennium would become Phoenicia. Of the admittedly few well-excavated sites in this region, none has so far shown any sign of having been destroyed. Sarepta, the best-excavated site, shows uninterrupted occupation from the sixteenth through the eighth century B.C.⁴ This may indicate some degree of collusion between the incoming Sea Peoples and the residents of this region—perhaps an offer of safe harbor in return for sparing their cities? In any



Figure 1.14. Drawing of stone relief with land battle between Egyptians and Sea Peoples. Medinet Habu, Temple of Ramesses III. Dynasty 20

event, it is surely significant in this respect to note that, according to the inscription under the land battle scene, the Egyptian army fought the Sea Peoples in the land of Djahi, which is the Egyptian name for the Phoenician coast and hinterland down to Palestine.

With regard to Ramesses's claim that he settled the Sea Peoples in "strongholds bound in [his] name," again there seems to be some good archaeological substantiation. Tell es-Sa'idiyeh, ancient Zarethan, in the central Jordan Valley, became such a stronghold during the reign of Ramesses III,

and the presence there of a group of Sea Peoples is indicated by the appearance in the cemetery of a distinctive burial type characterized by the use of large pithoi, joined shoulder to shoulder to create coffins.⁵ At Beth Shean, one of the most important Egyptian strongholds in the north of Canaan, another class of unusual burials was found in the so-called Northern Cemetery, and these, too, can very plausibly be related to the Sea Peoples.⁶ The graves in question contained slipper-shaped ceramic coffins with lids modeled with human features. Some have quite naturalistic faces with Egyptian



Fig. 1.15. Detail of cat. 9 showing figure with feathered headdress

features, such as wigs and “Osiris” beards, and may well have been burial containers for Egyptian soldiers. Many, however, have rather grotesque features and crude representations of the typical feathered headdresses worn by certain of the Sea Peoples (fig. 1.15)—the Tjeker, Denen, and Philistines—and it would be reasonable to suggest that these belonged to Sea Peoples who had been pressed into military service by the Egyptians (cat. 10). Similar coffins have been found at the site of Lachish, another important city for the administration of the Egyptian empire.

The Beth Shean anthropoid coffin burials are important for another reason, for, although some of them clearly date to the twelfth century B.C. and represent Sea Peoples pressed into service following the wars of Ramesses III, others date to the thirteenth century—that is, prior to these wars. In other words, there is evidence to indicate that some of the Sea Peoples were already known to the Egyptians and, indeed, were employed by them as mercenaries, before the time of their mass invasions. Such evidence is found not only at Beth Shean but also, perhaps most clearly, at the site of Deir el-Balah,

south of Gaza, where a cemetery was excavated yielding some forty complete anthropoid coffins.⁷ Deir el-Balah was the last fortress guarding the so-called Ways of Horus, the main road linking the Egyptian Delta to Canaan. On the basis of the rich associated finds, the coffins at Deir el-Balah have to be dated to the thirteenth century B.C., with a possible extension into the fourteenth, and fit well into the context of Ramesses II’s strengthening of the Egyptian empire and its borders.

The use of Sea Peoples as mercenaries was not confined solely to Canaan. The discovery of anthropoid coffins at Tell el-Yahudiyeh and Tell Nebesheh suggests that Sea Peoples were similarly employed at forts within the borders of Egypt itself.⁸ The Egyptian textual evidence, too, implies knowledge of at least some of the Sea Peoples before the reign of Ramesses III. Already by the fourteenth century B.C., several of the Amarna Letters sent from Byblos refer to mercenaries from one group, the Sherden. In one such letter (EA 81), Rib-Addi of Byblos complains about Abdi-Asirta of Amurru, who was waging war and had apparently employed a Sherden to try to assassinate him.⁹ The Lukka, too, are mentioned: in one letter (EA 38), the king of Alashiya (Cyprus) refutes the pharaoh’s accusation that his men have been collaborating with the Lukka in some sort of raid. He says that he has no knowledge of his people being involved and states that “men of Lukki,” year by year, seized villages in his own country.¹⁰

A little later, from early in the reign of Ramesses II, a stele from Tanis refers to Sherden pirates having come “in their warships from the midst of the sea and none were able to stand before them.”¹¹ Also in the reign of Ramesses II, the description of the Battle of Qadesh includes a listing of allies on each side; the Egyptian army included Sherden, whereas the Hittite side included Lukka and Dardany.¹² The most significant reference to Sea Peoples prior to the reign of Ramesses III, however, dates to the reign of Merneptah (ca. 1213–1203), Ramesses II’s successor. According to the records of Merneptah’s fifth regnal year, the Sea Peoples attempted to invade Egypt as part of a massive attack from the direction of Libya. In this onslaught the Libyans were leagued with confederates from the north, described explicitly as “Foreigners from the Sea”: the Sherden, Shekelesh, Lukka, Teresh, and Weshesh.¹³

Since the Philistines are not explicitly mentioned in any of the Egyptian sources prior to those recording the Sea Peoples wars of Ramesses III, it cannot be asserted that they were previously known to the Egyptians. Of all of the Sea Peoples, however, it is the Philistines whose subsequent fate is best known and documented. They settled on the southern

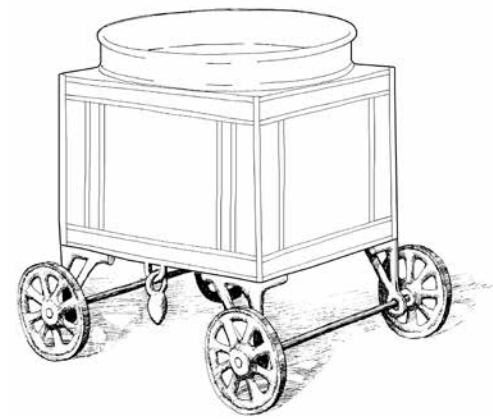
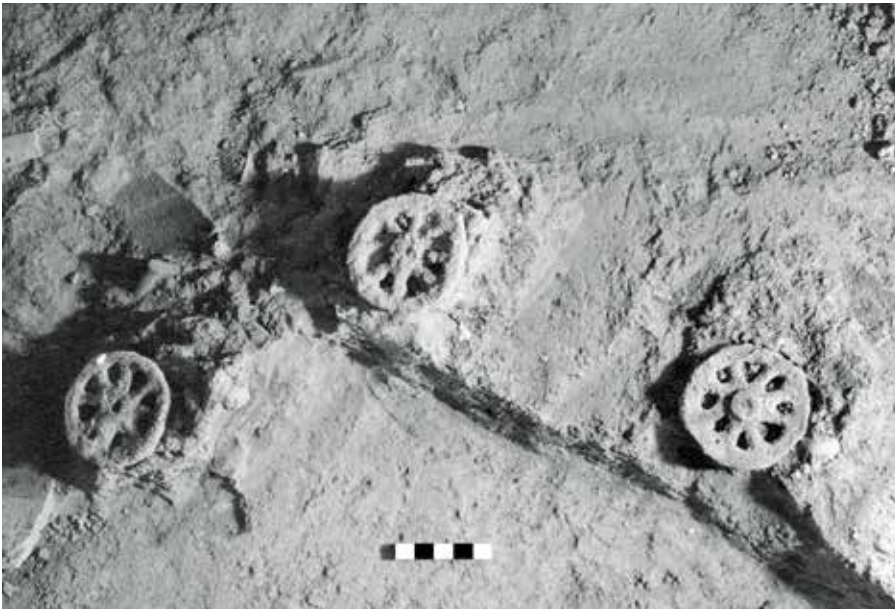


Fig. 1.16. Bronze wheeled stand in situ during excavation (left); reconstruction drawing (right). Ekron, Building 350, Room B. Iron Age I

Levantine coast, presumably sanctioned and supervised at first by the Egyptians, for whom Gaza was one of the principal stronghold cities in the south. It was this region that, following the withdrawal of the Egyptian empire in the second half of the twelfth century B.C., became the focus of Philistine interests, known commonly as Philistia, with its pentapolis, or five cities, of Gaza, Ashkelon, Ashdod, Ekron, and Gath. It was here that the Philistines, some fifty or so years after their arrival (which roughly coincided with the Egyptians withdrawing their empire from Canaan), developed from a Mycenaean prototype a beautiful and distinctive style of bichrome painted pottery, known simply as Philistine Ware, with geometric and lotus designs and elegant birds with back-turned heads (cat. 11A, b).

Regarding the settlement of Sea Peoples following the wars of Ramesses III, another interesting document adds support to the reconstruction of events given above. The Onomasticon of Amenope, which dates from the end of the twelfth or the beginning of the eleventh century B.C., mentions the areas settled by the Sea Peoples in Canaan, within the sphere of Egyptian influence.¹⁴ It records a number of peoples, lands, and cities. Three ethnic groups, the Sherden (*srdn*), Tjeker (*tkr*), and Peleset (*plst*)—the Philistines—are listed, together with Ashkelon, Ashdod, and Gaza, cities situated in the territory controlled by the Philistines. The Tjeker are known from later sources to have occupied the region around Dor. The settlement of the Sherden, however, is quite unknown.

Following the departure of the Egyptians about 1150 B.C., the Philistines were in a position to expand their territory

eastward, and their progress can be monitored by the spread of their distinctive pottery. It was at this time that the Israelites, similarly freed of the constraints imposed by the Egyptian empire, embarked on their own program of expansion and reintegration with their Canaanite counterparts. Conflict between the two peoples was inevitable, and there is little reason to doubt the reality (but not the details) of the situation portrayed so vividly in the biblical book of Samuel. The story of David and Goliath (1 Sam. 17) is essentially the description of the battle, the outcome of which was decided by a duel between champions. This is strongly reminiscent of Homeric tales of Greek heroes engaged in single combat and provides a hint as to the origins of the Philistines.

With the establishment of the Israelite monarchy in the ninth century B.C., Philistine territorial ambitions were held in check and were more or less confined to the region of Philistia as presented in the Bible—that is, containing the so-called pentapolis as well as smaller, semiautonomous centers such as Ziklag and Timnah (Tel Batash). Philistia maintained its independence, however, and continued to assert its autonomy throughout the following period, when Israel was destroyed by Assyria and the kingdom of Judah flourished (8th–6th century B.C.).

The material culture of the Philistines strongly reflects their Aegean background. Of the major cities, very little is known of Gaza, since it has been almost continuously inhabited to the present day. Excavations undertaken by the Palestine Exploration Fund at Tell es-Safi (identified as Philistine Gath) between 1898 and 1900 produced large quantities of

Philistine pottery, and the more recent, ongoing campaign of fieldwork can be expected to add significantly to our knowledge of this important city.¹⁵ The same is true of Ashkelon, where excavations undertaken in 1920–21 uncovered evidence for Philistine occupation immediately following their destruction of the twelfth-century B.C. Canaanite city;¹⁶ more recent fieldwork, initiated in 1985, will undoubtedly add considerable detail. Both Ashdod and Ekron (identified as Tel Miqne) have been extensively excavated, as has the site of Tell Qasile, another smaller Philistine settlement near Tel Aviv.¹⁷ All three of these sites demonstrate well-constructed and well-planned, fortified cities with sophisticated architecture laid out in functional quarters: domestic, industrial, religious, and public. At Tell Qasile, evidence was found for bronze production: a workshop with a kiln and crucibles. Elsewhere, finds of silos, oil presses, millstones, wine jars, and loom weights demonstrate that the Philistines were also experienced farmers and horticulturalists.

Shrines and temples have been found at Ashdod, Tell Qasile, and Ekron, many with offering benches, apses, and burial pits. The most significant architectural feature, however, is the hearth room, or megaron, found at both Ekron and Tell Qasile. This tradition is very clearly Aegean in origin, if not specifically Mycenaean. Finds from these religious buildings include terracotta seated female deities, kernoï (ring-shaped vessels with applied figures, birds, or animals), and offering stands (fig. 1.16; for an example from Cyprus, see cat. 2). Terracotta female figurines with their hands placed on their heads or with one hand placed across the breast in an attitude of mourning have been found in burials at Azor and Tell Jemmeh¹⁸ and are remarkably similar to examples from the Aegean.

Not a single Philistine burial associated with any of the major cities within the territory of Philistia has yet been found. It is difficult, therefore, to say anything meaningful about Philistine burial customs. As we have seen above, the various anthropoid coffin burials were either found outside this area or predate the known presence of Philistines (as opposed to other groups of Sea Peoples) in the time of Ramesses III. In other words, it is not even known whether the Philistines themselves used this type of burial container. The only evidence that they did comes from Tell Fara, where two tombs in the so-called 500 Cemetery contained anthropoid

coffins in association with sufficiently large quantities of Philistine pottery to suggest that these were Philistine burials.¹⁹ Interestingly, these tombs belong to a group of five architecturally similar tombs, all of which contained Philistine pottery. The tombs themselves were remarkable for having been constructed as rock-cut chambers, rectangular in shape, with stepped dromoi strongly reminiscent of Mycenaean funerary architecture.

Philistine pottery has been briefly mentioned above. The earliest ware, produced soon after their arrival in the Levant, is monochrome, decorated with simple geometric designs including spirals, and clearly derives from a Mycenaean tradition. By the middle of the twelfth century B.C., however, potters had absorbed other influences—Egyptian, Cypriot, and local Canaanite—and the result is a wonderfully vibrant style executed in deep red and black on a white or cream background, blending together stylized birds and fish with intricate geometric patterns and lotus designs (cat. 1.1a, b). That the Philistines had a taste for beer is clear from one of the most common vessels, a jug with strainer spout; other characteristic forms are bowls, kraters, and vessels derived from the Mycenaean repertoire, such as stirrup jars and pyxides.

Very little is known about the language of the Philistines. No inscriptions from the early stages of their settlement have been found. Two seals from Ashdod bear as-yet undeciphered signs,²⁰ and some scholars have suggested that the clay tablets discovered at Tell Deir ‘Alla bearing signs composed of impressed circles and linear strokes may represent Philistine script.²¹ These, too, remain undeciphered.

Altogether, then, looking at their material culture, architecture, and lifestyle, it is clear that the Philistines, far from being the marauding pirates presented to us by Ramesses III, were a sophisticated and urbane people. They were technically accomplished and had a refined and sensitive aesthetic taste. It seems most probable that the Philistines came from Greece and were Mycenaean displaced by the fall of the Mycenaean palaces toward the end of the twelfth century B.C. Many of their attributes—the pottery, the seated goddess figurines, the mourning figures, the megaron, and even the literary tradition of combat by champions—point in this direction, and it may well be that the figures depicted on the so-called Warrior Vase from Mycenae are in effect Philistines (see fig. 1.1).



9. Game box with chariot hunt

Ivory; L. 29.1 cm (11 ½ in.)
 Enkomi, Chamber Tomb 58
 Late Bronze Age, 1250–1100 B.C.
 The Trustees of the British Museum, London
 (GR 1897,0401.996)

The exquisitely carved decoration on this ivory gaming box,¹ probably intended for the Game of Twenty Squares,² combines Aegean, Canaanite, Egyptian, and Mesopotamian iconographic motifs in a manner typical of the International Style of the Late Bronze Age eastern Mediterranean.³ The pastoral scene of two bulls on one of the short sides, possibly representing animals in a royal hunting park,⁴ closely resembles Aegean models;⁵ the opposite end, less well preserved, shows a pair of goats flanking a tree, a typical Levantine motif also popular in Cyprus.⁶ The dramatic scene that occupies both long flanks of the box depicts a bearded archer in a chariot hunting cattle, goats, and deer. Although the chariot-hunt motif originated in Mesopotamia at the beginning of the Late Bronze Age, along with the use of the chariot itself, this scene directly echoes Egyptian New Kingdom depictions of the pharaoh crushing his enemies or hunting wild animals from a chariot, in particular the Dynasty 19 temple reliefs of the thirteenth and early twelfth centuries B.C.⁷

Here, a Cypriot artisan appropriated a prestigious image for his or her wealthy and important client and adopted the stereotyped conventions

employed by Egyptian artists to depict Levantines to represent the hunter and his charioteer. However, a specific Cypro-Levantine flavor, paralleled by examples such as the splendid repoussé gold bowl with a hunting scene from Ugarit, is evident from the style of the human figures.⁸ Of particular interest for the date of the box are the attendant wearing a feathered headdress, who stands behind the chariot holding an axe (fig. 1.15), and the similarly coiffured man dispatching an animal with a spear. They resemble some of the Sea Peoples defeated by Ramesses III in year eight of his reign, as shown on victory reliefs at Medinet Habu (see fig. 1.2).⁹ Their presence on the box raises fascinating questions about the role of this enigmatic group on Cyprus during this period.¹⁰ Did the owner of the box closely identify with the charioteer or one of the attendants? The box is dated to the twelfth century B.C. based on the presence of the Sea People and owing to some of the accompanying grave goods, although stylistically it could equally belong in the previous century.

Located within the important Late Bronze Age mercantile, manufacturing, and administrative center of Enkomi, in eastern Cyprus,¹¹ the tomb had been disturbed prior to its excavation by the British Museum in 1896, but the surviving grave offerings hint at the wealth of the original inhabitant(s): gold jewelry, a small bronze tripod stand for a bowl or incense

burner, several ivory handles (one in the shape of a bull's leg), and, most remarkably, an iron knife with an ivory handle attached with bronze rivets.¹² The knife illustrates the adoption of iron as a utilitarian material, in which Cypriot metallurgists played a leading role during the twelfth century B.C., when the island continued to thrive at a time of great economic and political crisis.¹³ It also reflects the evolution of new status symbols during the major economic, cultural, and political transition from the Bronze to the Iron Age, used by those who perhaps initiated and certainly benefited from the collapse of the old order.¹⁴

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1. See A. Murray 1900, pp. 12–14, fig. 19; Barnett 1982, pp. 37–38; Elizabeth Lagarce and Jacques Lagarce in Courtois, E. Lagarce, and J. Lagarce 1986, pp. 137–38; Crewe 2009, “Tomb 58”; and, for a comprehensive modern treatment, see Caubet 2009 (with earlier references). See also J. Lesley Fitton in Aruz, Benzel, and Evans 2008, pp. 412–13, no. 265. 2. Finkel 2008. 3. Feldman 2006; see Rehak and Younger 1998, esp. pp. 249–52. 4. Caubet 2009, p. 61. 5. Poursat 1977b, pp. 74–77. 6. See Bushnell 2008 for this motif on Cyprus. 7. Redford 2000, pp. 8–10; see Feldman and Sauvage 2010 on the use of chariots in the Late Bronze Age eastern Mediterranean, though stressing the diversity of use and significance of the motif. 8. Caubet 2009, p. 60; see Sandars 1985, p. 40, figs. 17, 18. 9. Sandars 1985, chap. 5; O’Connor 2000; Redford 2000, pp. 8–11; see Yasur-Landau 2012 on the headdress. 10. V. Karageorghis 2000b (with earlier references). 11. Courtois, E. Lagarce, and J. Lagarce 1986; Crewe 2009, “Introduction.” 12. Crewe 2009, “Tomb 58.” 13. Surveyed in Iacovou 2013 (with earlier references). 14. Sherratt 1994, esp. pp. 68–69; also Sherratt 2003, pp. 43–44.



10. Anthropoid coffin lid

Ceramic; H. 56.5 (22¼ in.), W. 49 cm (19⅝ in.)
Beth Shean, Northern Cemetery
Iron Age I, 12th–11th century B.C.
University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Philadelphia (29-103-794)

This sarcophagus lid with an image of a human face combines modeled and applied features characteristic of a group of anthropoid clay coffins found in the southern Levant in contexts dating to the Late Bronze to Early Iron Age.¹ The stylized features, formed in high relief, include almond-shaped eyes framed by a high ridge, prominent eyebrows, a long nose indicated by a ridge, and a mouth with lips separated by a deep horizontal cut. The large ears consist of raised and curved bands of clay pierced by a hole in the center. Arms frame the face, with bent elbows and hands with outstretched fingers coming together below the slightly protruding chin. A row of raised circular projections above the eyebrows indicate a headdress, above which are several raised horizontal bands framing a zigzag pattern.

The lid was excavated in the so-called Northern Cemetery at Beth Shean among a group of burials, some of which have been related to the Sea Peoples (see “Sea Peoples and Philistines” in this volume, pp. 38–42).² About fifty anthropoid sarcophagi were found in eleven tomb deposits in this cemetery, smashed and scattered in such a way that it was not possible to attribute specific skeletal remains to individual sarcophagi. The over-lifesize cylindrical coffins were built up from long coils of clay, with circular openings cut into the upper parts for interring the corpses. These openings were then covered with lids, which have facial features, arms, and hands rendered in high relief. The lids have been divided into two distinct types, designated “naturalistic” and “grotesque.”³ The naturalistic type, the most common in the cemetery, comprises a kind of mask of a human face, about lifesize, modeled separately, and applied in the center of the lid. The variation among these lids, combined with their veristic rendering of facial features, has been interpreted as an attempt at portraiture.

The grotesque type depicts faces with exaggerated features modeled and applied over the entire surface of the lid, with no facial outline, creating the impression that the face covers the entire lid. A distinguishing characteristic of this type of lid are the headdresses, which vary but consist of plain and decorated horizontal bands. This type of headdress appears only on the anthropoid sarcophagus lids at Beth Shean and has been identified as a representation of the typical feathered headdresses worn by certain of the Sea Peoples.⁴ Based on this identification, it has been argued that those buried in the coffins with the so-called grotesque lids were, in fact, Sea Peoples.⁵

Burial customs are often considered a sensitive indicator of cultural affinities. In the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age, Beth Shean was a garrison city under Egyptian authority. Anthropoid sarcophagi appear to be imitations of Egyptian anthropoid clay coffins, and it has been proposed that the coffins belonged to Egyptian officials and soldiers stationed in the southern Levant, though some may have contained the

bodies of mercenaries in the service of Egypt.⁶ Similar coffins have been found at other sites under Egyptian control such as Lachish, Tell el-Far'ah, and Deir el-Balah.⁷ Some scholars believe that the Sea Peoples at Beth Shean were Philistines, pointing to references in the Bible (1 Sam. 31:18–13; 1 Chron. 10:9–12) to the occupation of Beth Shean by the Philistines.⁸ Y R

1. Expedition to Beth Shean (Beisan), 1921–28; T. Dothan 1982, pp. 252–79. 2. Oren 1973. 3. *Ibid.* 4. *Ibid.*, pp. 135–39; Yasur-Landau 2012. 5. McGovern 1994. 6. A. Mazar 2010b, pp. 257–58. 7. T. Dothan 1982, pp. 252–68, 276–79. 8. *Ibid.*, p. 274. For another view, see A. Mazar 2010b, pp. 261–62.

11a, b. Philistine jug and krater

Ceramic; jug, H. 32.2 cm (12 $\frac{5}{8}$ in.), Diam. 20 cm (7 $\frac{7}{8}$ in.); krater, H. 19 cm (7 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.), Diam. 21.5 cm (8 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.)
Tel 'Eton and Tel Zippor
Iron Age I, 11th century B.C.
The Israel Museum, Jerusalem (IAA 1969-99 [jug], 1963–1597 [krater])

The term “Philistine pottery” refers to locally made wares usually painted with black, red, or both colors on a white-slipped background. Attributed to the Philistines because of their form, decoration, and geographic distribution, this pottery hints at the Philistines’ Aegean origins. Gradually, however, it also absorbed Cypriot, Egyptian, and local Canaanite elements.¹

These two elegant painted pottery vessels are among the most elaborate examples of Philistine pottery. Distinguished by high-quality, stylized imagery, they were probably originally used on festive occasions. The first, from Tel 'Eton, is a typical Philistine beer jug, which served as a funeral gift in a tomb.² Its decoration comprises a painted design in two bands on a light slip. The upper band has two birds and two double-eyed fish. The head of each bird is turned backward, and the beak touches both the bird’s back and its outstretched wing. The dots that outline these figures may represent water. The lower band, which is divided into metopes by three triglyphs, includes a bird, a fish, a checkerboard pattern, seaweed, and a lozenge-shaped seashell.³

The krater was found at Tel Zippor in a refuse pit dug below a floor of a residential building dated to the eleventh century B.C.⁴ It is similar to Late Mycenaean pottery in shape and in the meticulous execution of its one-color patterns on a greenish background. The shape and dimension probably attest to its function as a vessel for mixing wine with water. E A

1. T. Dothan 1982, pp. 94–218. 2. Edelstein and Aurant 1992, p. 26. 3. T. Dothan 1982, p. 153. 4. Biran and Negbi 1966, p. 163.



THE CUNEIFORM SCRIBAL TRADITION AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ALPHABET

Béatrice André-Salvini

In the late second millennium B.C., before the upheavals produced by Aramaean invasions, Babylonian scholars had undertaken a project to classify and put in order the texts of the cuneiform scribal tradition, combining the work of compilation with literary creation.¹ The bilingual method of educating scribes, in both Akkadian and Sumerian (the latter by then a learned written language only), allowed the cuneiform system—used alone or with local writing systems—to spread well beyond the borders of Mesopotamia. The use of a single writing system, linked to a rich literary tradition, established a common cultural foundation throughout the ancient Near East. Each region developed that tradition in accordance with its own memory, needs, and aspirations.

In the early first millennium, however, the expansion of the Aramaeans throughout the Near East led to the diffusion of their language and writing system. Their purely phonetic linear writing was alphabetic, with simple signs used to note down the consonant sounds of a Semitic language. It was borrowed from the Phoenicians, who had used that script for their documents and official inscriptions since the last centuries of the second millennium B.C., in a region corresponding to present-day Lebanon. Another writing system, alphabetical cuneiform (known from a single inscription on a jar handle from Sarepta),² had developed in the same region in the thirteenth century to record a Proto-Phoenician language. This writing system was practically contemporaneous with the appearance of alphabetical cuneiform writing at Ugarit, under the influence of Sumero-Akkadian culture. The proximity of these two forms of writing—cuneiform and linear, both invented in the Levant to write down a consonantal alphabetic system—resulted from the interpenetration of cultures brought about by the practice of compiling lists and dictionaries, which had long been imported by the scribes of Mesopotamia.

Mesopotamian literary genres also spread to western Anatolia and throughout the Levant. They were conveyed either directly, by scholars who disseminated their methods and literature, or through intermediaries. More extensive commercial and political contacts between the empires of Mesopotamia and the Mediterranean world in the early years

of the first millennium B.C. multiplied the possibilities for cultural influence and exchange. This is attested by the cylinder seals and objects recovered in Greece, including the Near Eastern bronzes found among the dedications in the Heraion of Samos,³ whose annual ritual procession⁴ is reminiscent of the New Year's celebration (*akitu*) in Babylon (see “The Heraion at Samos” in this volume, pp. 295–96).

The first attempts at an alphabetical writing system date back to the mid-second millennium B.C.⁵ This new system represented a fundamental evolution in the history of Western writing, allowing for a more “democratic” use of that communication tool. The system spread throughout the Mediterranean world, competing in the east with the cumbersome syllabic and ideographic cuneiform system, which had been a factor in the unity of Mesopotamian civilization for more than two thousand years. In the ninth century B.C., the kings of Urartu in eastern Anatolia, who were in constant contact with Assyria, still opted for syllabic cuneiform writing to record their language. In the west, the Greeks were inspired by Phoenician writing to create their own alphabet.

The Greeks described the characters of their writing system as *phoinikeia grammata* (Phoenician letters). Legend has it that Kadmos—whose Semitic name means “the Levant”—son of Agenor, king of Tyre, and founder of Thebes in Boiotia, imported the Phoenician alphabet to Greece. Kadmos had supposedly learned the alphabet during his journeys to the eastern Mediterranean in search of his sister Europa, abducted by Zeus (see “The Assyro-Babylonian Age in Western Artistic and Literary Tradition” in this volume, pp. 352–60). The reality is more prosaic. The importation of the linear and consonantal Phoenician alphabet, consisting of twenty-two characters, to the Phrygian and Greek world was linked to the development of commercial relations in the Mediterranean in the early eighth century B.C. Adapting the alphabet to their Indo-European language, the Greeks introduced several innovations. They employed certain Phoenician letters serving no purpose in Greek dialects to notate vowels. They also invented special characters to record certain sounds, placing these at the end of the alphabet. Geographical variants were then introduced into the Greek alphabet,

which continued to evolve until the Ionian form was adopted in Athens in the late fifth century B.C.

The Greek alphabet occupies a unique place in the history of writing in its mode of expressing speech through the syntax and combination of letters. The most ancient long inscriptions that have come down to us in their original form, such as those on the Dipylon oinochoe and Nestor's Cup of Pithekoussai (Ischia), both dating to about 740 B.C., are written in verse (see fig. 1.10). This suggests that this new writing was used for more than recording transactions and administrative data. Indeed, the need to write down hexametric poetry might have influenced the formation of the Greek alphabet. It is appealing to think that the recording in writing of the Homeric poems coincided chronologically with, and may even have been linked to, the birth of the Greek alphabet,⁶ but there is no evidence to confirm that hypothesis.

Homer's poetry represents the earliest beginnings of Western literature. Nevertheless, the Greek literary tradition is linked to the cuneiform tradition, especially through the genre of the epic. In the late second and early first millennia, the epic of Gilgamesh, the semi-legendary, two-thirds-divine king of Uruk, flourished in Anatolia, both in Akkadian versions and those in other languages. It was certainly one of the inspirations for Homer's heroes. More generally, Homeric poetry displays certain features that were borrowed from Babylonian epic literature or at least displayed parallels to it, such as the alternation between the human and divine realms and the importance of dreams and prophecies. Furthermore, Achilles's long monologue lamenting the death of Patroklos is comparable to Gilgamesh's grieving his friend Enkidu. The *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* drew their inspiration from other virtuosic passages of Babylonian literature, including the myth of Atrahasis (the Very Wise), who survived the Great Flood. That myth recounts the creation of man after the division of the universe among the great gods, who then entrusted the organization of the living world to other deities. It may have inspired the canto in the *Iliad* (15.189–91) in which Poseidon explains how the world was divided up among the gods. Meanwhile, specific episodes in the story of Atrahasis, such as the creation of humans from the blood of a sacrificed god mixed with clay and the account of the Flood, inspired Semitic literary writers. The biblical narratives they would eventually create owed a great deal to the Assyro-Babylonian world, even before the major deportations from the Levant to Babylonia and Assyria in the eighth and seventh centuries.⁷

The itinerant artisans, diviners, and singers mentioned in the *Odyssey* (17.383–85) evoke the learned travelers of the cuneiform tradition. Thanks to these specialists, the

contribution of Mesopotamian literature to the world that had adopted the alphabet, and especially to Greek literature, can be seen in the elaboration of parallel themes, especially myths of ascent. The tale of Etana, the king who rose to the sky on eagle's wings to obtain the plant of birth, probably inspired the story of the hero Ganymede as well as the myth of Icarus. Another Mesopotamian myth, the descent of Ishtar to the underworld, prefigures that of Demeter and Persephone. Greek proverbs and fables featuring animals draw from an old Sumero-Akkadian fount of satirical writings and wisdom literature. Additionally, the long lists of deities in the lexical literature, one of the foundations of Babylonian research and education, gave rise to Hesiod's *Theogony*, with its successive generations of gods.

Many Babylonian texts, therefore, must have been studied at an early date within the learned circles of Ionia. The pre-Socratic philosophers Thales, Anaximander of Miletos, and Pythagoras had access, either directly through contact with Babylonian scholars or indirectly, not only to the literature of Babylon but also to its mathematical sciences and astronomy. This transmission was well attested in the Classical authors of antiquity, beginning with Herodotos in mid-fifth-century B.C. Greek writings, along with biblical sources, grew out of the roots of Babylon's reception. "Semiramis" and "Nitocris" are the distorted names of authentic Assyrian queens from the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. who stand in for the king of Babylon, Nebuchadnezzar II (604–562 B.C.) in the texts. In a reflection of the ideals of Greek civilization and the Greek public, who loved heroic narratives, Nebuchadnezzar was considered a conquering hero and builder. (The biblical tradition, by contrast, took a negative view of his conquests and pillage of Jerusalem and of the Babylonian exile.) In the second century A.D., the Greek author Lucian would give Homer a Babylonian origin: "I am Babylonian, and among my compatriots my name was not Homer but Tigranes. Later, when I was taken hostage (*homeros*) by the Greeks, I changed my name" (*Verae historiae*, 2.20). Lucian and his contemporaries acknowledged that Mesopotamian culture was more ancient and venerable than their own.

Even as Babylonian culture was being transferred to the west, the mingling of populations and traditions accelerated in the Near East. Aramaeans had already settled along the Tigris in the mid-eighth century B.C., and others arrived during the Assyrian deportations of the eighth and seventh centuries. These included exiles from the kingdom of Israel, conquered by Shalmaneser V and Sargon II in 722–721 B.C., and from Lachish, in southern Judea, captured by Sennacherib in



Fig. 1.17. Ivory panels of a writing board. Nimrud, Northwest Palace, well in Room AB. Neo-Assyrian. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Rogers Fund, 1954 (54.117.12a, b)

701 B.C. In the Assyrian empire, Akkadian remained the principal language, but the provincial administration employed Aramaean functionaries. Although the perishable materials used to write Aramaic have not survived, triangular labels made of clay attest to the increased use of writing and of this language in practical life. Wooden or ivory tablets with wax writing surfaces were also used (fig. 1.17), along with clay cuneiform tablets, sometimes with notes in Aramaic. Palace decorations—paintings and bas-reliefs—show pairs of scribes recording war booty on writing boards and parchment scrolls, suggesting that the royal administration recognized Aramaic as well as Akkadian as an official language (fig. 1.18). Conversely, cuneiform literary texts, especially omens, are known to have been written on wax tablets.

Babylonian culture fascinated the Assyrians. The last great Assyrian monarch, Ashurbanipal (668–627 B.C.), was one of the literati. In his capital at Nineveh, he assembled an encyclopedic library and ordered that all literary and scholarly texts in Mesopotamian territory be collected and copied (see “Ashurbanipal’s Library at Nineveh” in this volume, pp. 68–69). These included myths and epics, dictionaries, and texts on omens, medicine, divination, astronomy, and astrology. It is likely that the range of writings held in that collection by the power of the king’s will was representative of the greater

part, if not the totality, of the Mesopotamian scribal tradition from its Sumerian origins onward.

Babylon attracted and integrated within its walls a foreign and heterogeneous population. In the early first millennium B.C., that population was composed of indigenous Babylonians, the descendants of peoples who had mingled in more ancient times, and also West Semitic tribes, Aramaeans, and Chaldeans, who are present in the sources from the ninth century on. These were later joined by exiles from the Levant, deported first by the Assyrians, and then, after the fall of Nineveh in 612 B.C., by the Babylonians in the early sixth century, including Judeans from Jerusalem, brought to Babylonia by Nebuchadnezzar II in 597 and 587 B.C. The sources show that the exiled Judeans managed to adapt to Babylonian culture and became integrated into local society. Archives uncovered in the South Palace of Babylon dating to 595–577 B.C. concern the distribution of foodstuffs to high-ranking prisoners of war, including Joiakin, king of Judah.⁸ Other listed beneficiaries were foreigners from the border territories of the empire—the southwest coast of Anatolia, the Phoenician cities, and Egypt, where the king’s military expeditions were being conducted—and from Urartu, Media, Elam, Persia, and Dilmun (Bahrain) to the east.

Babylon was a commercial crossroads where river and land routes for international commerce converged, and the city took in people, rare raw materials, and luxury products from the western part of the Near East, Egypt, and Ionia. Some persons were brought against their will, but others, including merchants and military colonists, migrated voluntarily. The population was thus cosmopolitan and multilingual, with each group speaking its own language and probably communicating with the others in Aramaic. Some may have returned home, taking learned writings with them.

During the Neo-Babylonian empire (625–539 B.C.), Babylonia, like Assyria, became a bilingual society. Aramaic gradually supplanted Akkadian, at first in everyday life. The extant documents are written in Akkadian on clay tablets and also on waxed wood. These sources do not reflect the linguistic reality of the majority of the population or of the conquerors, nor do they give an accurate picture of typical Aramaic writing practices. In fact, most Aramaic documentation on papyrus, parchment, or waxed writing boards did not survive the assault of time. All that remains are a few ostraca as well as epigraphs on clay cuneiform tablets that allowed functionaries in the Aramaic tradition to identify the content of the document. Aramaean influences and words borrowed from the Aramaic began to penetrate Babylonian grammar and syntax, a tendency that would become more marked in

the following centuries. At the time, Akkadian was divided into two dialects: Standard Babylonian, reserved for royal inscriptions, literary and scientific writing, and school texts, and Neo-Babylonian, the spoken language, also used for letters and administrative and legal documents.⁹ In his official inscriptions, however, Nebuchadnezzar II preferred an archaic cuneiform writing from the time of the great king Hammurabi (ca. 1792–1750 B.C.). The temple of Marduk in Babylon housed a learned academy where great literature, history, and the course of events were studied and documented in Akkadian and Sumerian.

Many other languages were spoken in Babylonia by the military colonists and merchants from every part of the empire who were attracted by the region's prosperity.¹⁰ Even after Cyrus allowed the Judeans to return to Jerusalem, a Judean community remained in Babylonia. Two sets of archives record Judean and West Semitic names more than a century after the exile: those of Al-Yahudu (the City of Judah), written between year 33 (572–571 B.C.) of Nebuchadnezzar II's reign and the reign of Xerxes (485–465 B.C.), and those of the Murashu family, businessmen from the city of Nippur, which can be followed for three generations. The Judeans and

other deportees from the Mediterranean coast therefore maintained a community life in Babylonia that preserved, at least partially, their language and cultural traditions. Nevertheless, they recorded their legal, economic, and administrative activities in Akkadian, since the scribes who composed these documents were Babylonians.¹¹

The transition from one written tradition to another was not linear. A tablet dating to year 17 of the reign of the last Babylonian king, Nabonidus (555–539 B.C.) reports that the cuneiform scribes had to call in an expert in Aramaic writing (*shepiru*) to read an inscription written in ink on the hand of a female slave.¹² A parallel can be seen here to the writing on the wall in the story of Belshazzar's (i.e., Nabonidus's) Feast in the biblical book of Daniel. Because the scribes of the king of Babylon could not read the written words, they appealed to Daniel, who read Aramaic. The story was written down in the early second century B.C., but its origin dates to the time of the Judean exile in Babylon in the sixth century B.C. The story of Daniel shows that the historical and literary tradition had been preserved. Other accounts linked to the Mesopotamian scribal tradition, or to its history, spread and were reinterpreted and adapted into Aramaic and Greek literature.



Fig. 1.18. Detail of gypsum alabaster relief showing scribes recording booty from Babylonia. Nineveh, Southwest Palace, Room 28, panels 7–9. Neo-Assyrian, reign of Sennacherib. The Trustees of the British Museum, London (ME 124955)





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THE ASSYRIAN
IMPERIAL AGE

Assyria: Establishing the Imagery of Empire

JOHN CURTIS

For much of the first millennium B.C., until the advent of the Babylonian and Achaemenid empires, the Assyrians dominated the ancient Near East. The Assyrians were already well known in the West before the discovery of their palaces in the mid-nineteenth century through references to them in the Bible, but nevertheless their art was a revelation. Some forms of Assyrian art—the wall reliefs and colossal gateway figures (fig. 2.1), for example—are instantly identifiable, but other forms of Assyrian material culture are less easily recognized. For this reason Assyrian arts and crafts have generally been held in less esteem than those of some of their neighbors such as the Phoenicians. Recent discoveries, however, have done much to redress the balance.

The Assyrians spoke a dialect of Akkadian, a Semitic language that they wrote in cuneiform script. Their name is derived from their capital city, Ashur, on the west bank of the Tigris River. Although Assyria was a significant presence in northern Mesopotamia starting from about 2500 B.C., for much of the third millennium B.C. it seems to have been subject, nominally at least, to the Akkadian and Ur III empires, which were based in central and southern Mesopotamia, respectively. In the early second millennium B.C. (the Old Assyrian period), Assyrian merchants were active in Anatolia, and the Assyrian ruler Shamshi-Adad I (1808–1776? B.C.) established control over northern Mesopotamia and its neighboring regions. A period of Babylonian dominance followed, after which Assyria again maintained some sort of independence. Beginning in the fifteenth century B.C. the Hurro-Mitannians, who spoke Indo-European languages, were powerful rivals. In the Middle Assyrian period (1400–1000 B.C.), kings such as Adad-nirari I (1305–1274 B.C.), Shalmaneser I (1273–1244 B.C.), and Tukulti-Ninurta I (1243–1207 B.C.) not only inflicted defeats on the Hurro-Mitannians and the Hittites of central Anatolia

but also extended their sway over Babylonia. Under Tiglath-Pileser I (1114–1076 B.C.) the Assyrians even reached the Mediterranean coast. The period from the middle of the eleventh century B.C. on seems to have been one of consolidation, but beginning in the time of Adad-nirari II (911–891 B.C.), Assyria became the dominant power in the ancient Near East. This so-called Neo-Assyrian period lasted until 612 B.C., when Assyria was comprehensively defeated by combined Median and Babylonian forces.

It should be clear from this brief survey that the Neo-Assyrian kings, from the tenth century B.C. on, had a very rich political, economic, and to some extent artistic legacy on which to build. They exploited this in full. In the reign of Ashurnasirpal II (883–859 B.C.), the political capital was moved from Ashur almost fifty miles northward to Nimrud (Kalhu), an ancient site on the east bank of the Tigris, although Ashur remained the spiritual and religious center of the empire. At Nimrud Ashurnasirpal established a city that covered an area of 360 hectares and may have had a population, including a temporary workforce brought in during the construction of the palace, of more than sixty thousand.¹ The capital was moved twice more thereafter: to Khorsabad (Dur-Sharrukin), about fifteen miles north of modern Mosul, in the reign of Sargon II (721–705 B.C.), and to Nineveh (Kuyunjik), on the east bank of the Tigris opposite Mosul, in the reign of Sennacherib (704–681 B.C.). Nineveh was more than twice the size of Nimrud, with walls over seven miles long punctuated by fifteen gates enclosing an area of 750 hectares.

From the time of Ashurnasirpal's reign, therefore, the Assyrian heartland was centered on the Tigris around modern Mosul. It is a land of rolling hills, ideal for sheep farming and in some places for the cultivation of cereals but otherwise largely devoid of resources except stone, which was used for the ornamentation of palaces. Other materials such as wood,

metals, and semiprecious stones were not available locally in large quantities and had to be imported. This explains to some extent the aggressive foreign policy of the Assyrian kingdom, which needed to ensure access to both raw materials and finished products for its survival and prosperity. At the height of Assyrian power, vast amounts of booty and tribute were flowing into the Assyrian coffers.

Between the ninth and seventh centuries B.C., Assyrian arms were carried to all parts of the Near East, including the Zagros Mountains to the east, Egypt to the west, Armenia to the north, and the Persian Gulf to the south. The kings chiefly responsible for this military expansionism, generally achieved through a series of annual campaigns, were Ashurnasirpal II, Shalmaneser III (858–824 B.C.), Tiglath-Pileser III (744–727 B.C.), Sargon, Sennacherib, Esarhaddon (680–669 B.C.), and Ashurbanipal (668–627 B.C.). Sometimes Assyrian military governors were installed in conquered cities, and sometimes the Assyrians relied on client kings. Any cities that rebelled or refused to pay tribute were attacked and sacked.² Many of the conquered areas and cities, such as Tyre and Sidon in Phoenicia and Hamath and Carchemish in Syria, were rich and prosperous and could be counted on to pay handsomely. It is clear from the annals of the Assyrian kings, if the figures are to be believed, that the pickings were rich indeed.

For example, from the Annals of Ashurnasirpal II we learn that he received as tribute from Lubarna, the ruler of the city of Kunulua, “20 talents of silver, one talent of gold, 100 talents of tin, 100 talents of iron, 1,000 oxen, 10,000 sheep, 1,000 linen garments with multi-coloured trim, decorated couches of boxwood with inlay, beds of boxwood, decorated ivory beds with inlay, (and) many ornaments from his palace the weight of which could not be determined.”³ Ivories and ivory tusks often feature in the booty and tribute lists, which explains why the former have been found in such great quantities in the Assyrian palaces.

A particularly large amount of plunder was seized by Sargon when he attacked Musasir during his eighth campaign (see fig. 2.16). A buffer state between Assyria and Urartu, Musasir was ruled by Urzana, who was in league with the Urartian king Rusa I (ca. 730–713 B.C.). First Sargon sacked Urzana’s palace and then the temple of Haldi. From both buildings he obtained vast quantities of raw materials, most notably gold, silver, and bronze but also very large numbers of manufactured objects. These included massive bronze gateway figures, bronze statues of Urartian kings, an ivory



Fig. 2.1. Gypsum alabaster human-headed winged lion figure. Nimrud, Northwest Palace, Entrance B, Court Y, Room G. Neo-Assyrian, reign of Ashurnasirpal II. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Gift of John D. Rockefeller Jr., 1932 (32.143.2)

bedstead, ivory tables, a silver couch, tables and chairs of ebony and boxwood “with gold and silver mountings,” gold and silver shields, 25,212 bronze shields, 305,412 bronze daggers, bronze cauldrons, 607 copper vessels, and “393 silver cups, heavy and light, products of Assyria, Urartu and Habhu.”⁴ The last reference is particularly interesting because it shows that palace and temple treasuries at this time, both in Assyria and elsewhere in the ancient Near East, included precious objects from around the region and thus testifies to the widespread movement of manufactured goods across the area. This of course makes it more difficult to pin down the place of origin of certain objects. With some items it is clear

from stylistic analysis where they were made, but with others it is sometimes difficult to be sure.

Assyrian palaces were built of mud brick, with the walls often several meters thick, and their rooms were generally arranged around courtyards of various sizes. The larger rooms were roofed with cedar beams from Lebanon that were then covered with matting and mud plaster. By the standards of the day, the palaces were on a very large scale. Ashurnasirpal's palace at Nimrud measured at a minimum 200 by 130 meters (about 2.6 hectares),⁵ while later palaces were even larger. For example, Sennacherib's palace at Nineveh might have covered an area as great as 12 hectares.⁶ These palaces served a variety of purposes: they were part ceremonial, part administrative, part residential, and part storage units. Sometimes there were burials beneath the palace floors, as in the case of the tombs of the Assyrian queens at Nimrud (see below).

Most of the known major palaces were decorated in a distinctive way. Significant doorways were flanked by colossal stone gateway figures usually in the form of human-headed bulls or lions (protective deities known in Akkadian as *lamassu*). All the examples known to us are of stone, but it is clear from contemporary inscriptions that they could sometimes be made of bronze. Such gateway figures generally had five legs, an ingenious device to ensure that from whatever angle they were viewed they would appear to have at least four (fig. 2.1). Within the palaces, the rooms of state, reception rooms, and other important chambers were lined with carved stone slabs (orthostats) bearing characteristic decorative scenes in low relief (cat. 13). We may get a good idea of the richness of this type of decoration from Austen Henry Layard's description of his excavation of Sennacherib's palace at Nineveh: "In this magnificent edifice I had opened no less than seventy-one halls, chambers, and passages, whose walls, almost without an exception, had been panelled with slabs of sculptured alabaster recording the wars, the triumphs, and the great deeds of the Assyrian king. By a rough calculation, about 9880 feet, or nearly two miles, of bas-reliefs, with twenty-seven portals, formed by colossal winged bulls and lion-sphinxes, were uncovered in that part alone of the building explored during my researches."⁷ Often these stone slabs were painted, at least in part.⁸ They lined the lower parts of palace rooms, while the wall plaster above was painted. These wall paintings are generally not well preserved, but geometric and floral designs seem to have been popular.⁹ In some rooms, there were also panels of glazed brick with cuneiform inscriptions and figural decoration (cat. 16).¹⁰ Many of the bricks have Aramaic letters and pictograms on the back to show the builders where they belonged in the panels.¹¹ At

some of the gateways in Assyrian palaces, large wooden double doors were decorated with horizontal bronze strips embossed with narrative scenes similar to those on the stone reliefs. The best-known gates of this kind are from Balawat from the reigns of Ashurnasirpal II and Shalmaneser III (cat. 44a, b),¹² but there are also examples at other Assyrian sites such as Khorsabad and Nimrud.¹³

The earliest Assyrian wall reliefs date from the reign of Ashurnasirpal and feature in his new Northwest Palace at Nimrud. It has been suggested that a factor in their introduction may have been Ashurnasirpal's move from Ashur to Nimrud, since at Nimrud he was much closer to the quarries that supplied the stone. Although the practice of lining important rooms with carved stone slabs was new to Assyria, the subject matter, the imagery, and the iconography may have been derived in part from earlier art forms, such as paintings, glazed tiles, and carved stone objects, including obelisks with panels of decoration in relief.¹⁴ Where the inspiration for the new stone wall reliefs came from is not quite clear. There is some limited evidence for carved stone orthostats in Assyria in the Middle Assyrian period, for example at Tell al Rimah.¹⁵ Yet it is equally likely that the influence was not indigenous but originated in places to the west of Assyria,



Fig. 2.2. Gypsum alabaster relief with cavalrman leading horse beside a stream. Nineveh, Southwest Palace. Neo-Assyrian, reign of Sennacherib. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Gift of John D. Rockefeller Jr., 1932 (32.143.18)

such as the Aramaean site of Tell Halaf (cat. 40) or the Syro-Hittite site of Carchemish, both of which boasted a tradition of carved stone orthostats apparently earlier than the reign of Ashurnasirpal. In both cases, however, such orthostats are easily distinguishable from their Assyrian counterparts.

The reliefs from the reign of Ashurnasirpal onward show official and religious ceremonies, protective spirits, mythological figures, and scenes featuring the Assyrian army on campaign (fig. 2.2) and the king hunting bulls and lions (cat. 20). The overriding purpose of the reliefs was to stress the legitimacy of the king, show that he was ruling with divine approval, seek protection for him from various deities, and demonstrate his prowess at hunting and in battle. It is no accident, therefore, that more than half of the known reliefs in the Northwest Palace have a religious and apotropaic content. It may seem to the modern eye that the main purpose of the reliefs was to provide a historical record—and indeed to some extent they do that—but it was not the original intention. Even now, however, we are only scratching the surface when it comes to understanding the full significance of the reliefs. It is clear they are full of images and symbolism, much of it drawn from a shared Babylonian-Assyrian religious and magical tradition, that would have been meaningful to contemporary observers but whose true interpretation is difficult nowadays. Recent studies are only just beginning to cast light on this complex subject, and it is currently suggested that the decorative scheme in the palaces was devised by experts in religion and magic and that individual artistry and expression were suppressed.¹⁶ This may explain why we have no record of the names of any individual artists, and indeed we have practically no knowledge of how the stonemasons were organized and operated.

Many of the reliefs, particularly the military and hunting scenes, are designed to emphasize the strength and prowess of the king. The popularity of royal hunting is also attested in the royal inscriptions. Thus, in the Banquet Stele (fig. 2.3), Ashurnasirpal says that the gods Ninurta and Nergal provided him with wild beasts and commanded him to hunt them. He claims to have killed 450 lions and 390 wild bulls.¹⁷ Another recurring scene in the Northwest Palace of Ashurnasirpal depicts two eagle-headed winged figures flanking a so-called sacred tree. Holding a bucket in one hand and a pinecone in the other, these protective spirits are thought to be engaged in artificially pollinating palm trees, a necessary procedure if they are to bear dates. Many of the stone slabs from this period are divided into two registers by a band of text in the center, known as the Standard Inscription, that details the genealogy and achievements of Ashurnasirpal.

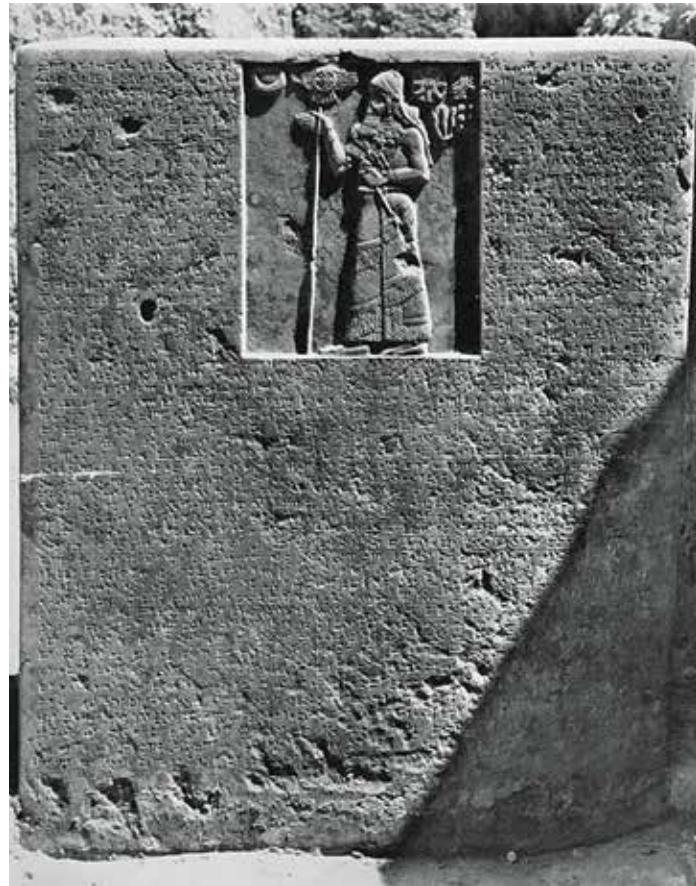


Fig. 2.3. Inscribed stone stele known as the Banquet Stele. Nimrud, Northwest Palace, Room EA. Neo-Assyrian, reign of Ashurnasirpal II. Mosul Museum, Iraq (ND 1104)

Although the reliefs of Ashurnasirpal are wonderfully detailed and provide an enormous amount of information about material culture, military practices and equipment, types of ceremonies, and so on, the figures are stylized and repetitive and have a static quality.¹⁸ During the next two centuries, however, there were many developments in Assyrian relief sculpture, including the abolition of the two-register scheme and the occasional introduction of multiple registers meant to be read simultaneously. There were also significant improvements in modeling. Among the series of reliefs that are particularly outstanding in terms of artistic quality are those depicting Sennacherib's invasion of Palestine and his capture of Lachish (see ill. pp. 110–11); the quarrying, fashioning, and transportation of colossal stone figures, also in his reign; Ashurbanipal's wars with the Elamites; and the same king's lion hunts (cats. 20, 21). In the reliefs of Ashurbanipal, which are the latest known, we can see realism, particularly in the treatment of lions, which are shown in a most naturalistic way, especially in their death throes. There are also at this time rudimentary attempts at perspective, with animals and human figures spread out across the available space and not standing on the same groundline. A particular



Fig. 2.4. Detail of gypsum alabaster relief showing the Assyrian king, Nimrud, Northwest Palace, Room G. Neo-Assyrian, reign of Ashurnasirpal II. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Gift of John D. Rockefeller Jr., 1932 (32.143.6)

masterpiece from the reign of this king, and in many respects one of the most remarkable reliefs of all, is a banquet scene showing Ashurbanipal and a consort in a luxuriant garden apparently celebrating his victory over the Elamites (cat. 22). The royal couple are serenaded by musicians while the head of the defeated Elamite king hangs in a tree.

What distinguishes Assyrian reliefs? The first characteristic feature is, of course, the stone from which they were carved, usually a type of white gypsum locally available in northern Iraq and sometimes called Mosul marble. The stone is carved in low to medium relief, and there is endless repetition in the way the human figures are shown, at least in the early period. The heads are rendered in profile, the bodies in three-quarter view. Assyrians are portrayed with large, fleshy noses and full, square-cut beards; they often wear simple belted tunics. The king himself wears a flat-topped conical hat surmounted by a small cone (fig. 2.4). There is generally no attempt at portraiture. There is also a range of easily identifiable iconographic motifs and details, among them sacred trees, divine symbols, the horned helmets of gods, and the pointed helmets of the Assyrian soldiers. All these features, together with the well-known gateway figures, combine to produce a characteristic canon of Assyrian art.

Commensurate with the size and splendor of the palaces of the Assyrians are their beautiful gardens. These are described in the inscriptions of the Assyrian kings beginning in the Middle Assyrian period. For example, Ashur-bel-kala (1073–1056 B.C.) records that he restored a canal to irrigate

his newly planted gardens at Ashur.¹⁹ In the Banquet Stele, Ashurnasirpal says that he “irrigated the meadows of the Tigris (and) planted orchards with all kinds of fruit trees in its environs.” He goes on to list the plants and trees that had been collected during his campaigns and were being planted in his gardens. He concludes by saying, “Fragrance pervades the walkways. Streams of water (as numerous) as the stars of heaven flow in the pleasure garden.”²⁰ The best-known of these gardens, however, is that described by Sennacherib in his “Palace without a rival” inscription. He says that near his palace at Nineveh he “set out a great park, like unto Mount Amanus, wherein were all kinds of herbs and fruit trees, trees such as grow on the mountains and in Chaldea.”²¹

There are even illustrations of these gardens, or paradises,²² on Assyrian reliefs. The most splendid of these comes from the palace of Ashurbanipal at Nineveh (fig. 2.5).²³ It shows water flowing along an aqueduct and then cascading down in different streams or canals through a well-wooded garden that was probably at Nineveh itself. At the top of the garden is a beautiful pavilion with a stele on one side showing an Assyrian king. It has been suggested that such gardens at Nineveh were actually those referred to by Classical authors as the Hanging Gardens of Babylon.²⁴ However, it seems probable that all major Assyrian and Babylonian cities, including Babylon, had splendid parks or paradises.

In order to irrigate the gardens, a reliable source of water was needed, and also of course to guarantee a water source for a large city. In the case of Nineveh we are fortunate to have detailed information concerning the provision of water supplies. It is clear from the inscriptions of Sennacherib and from surviving remains that an extensive system of waterworks to the north of Nineveh combined existing watercourses and canals to deliver water to the city. This great project is still marked by rock reliefs at Khinnis (Bavian) and Maltai as well as by a surviving stone aqueduct with multiple arches at Jerwan that is truly a triumph of Assyrian engineering.

In contrast to the distinctive wall reliefs, we have statues, stelae, and obelisks that are not directly connected with palaces. Statues are associated with temples, where they guarantee the permanent presence of the king, but only a few have survived. They include, however, the exquisite stone statue of Ashurnasirpal that was found in the temple of Ishtar at Nimrud (cat. 12). Originally, many more statues may have been made of bronze or even precious metal, but these have generally not survived. Closely related to the statues are the stelae, which in cities were also positioned inside and outside temples. These usually show the Assyrian king as a devout worshiper accompanied by various god symbols (cat. 74). Obelisks

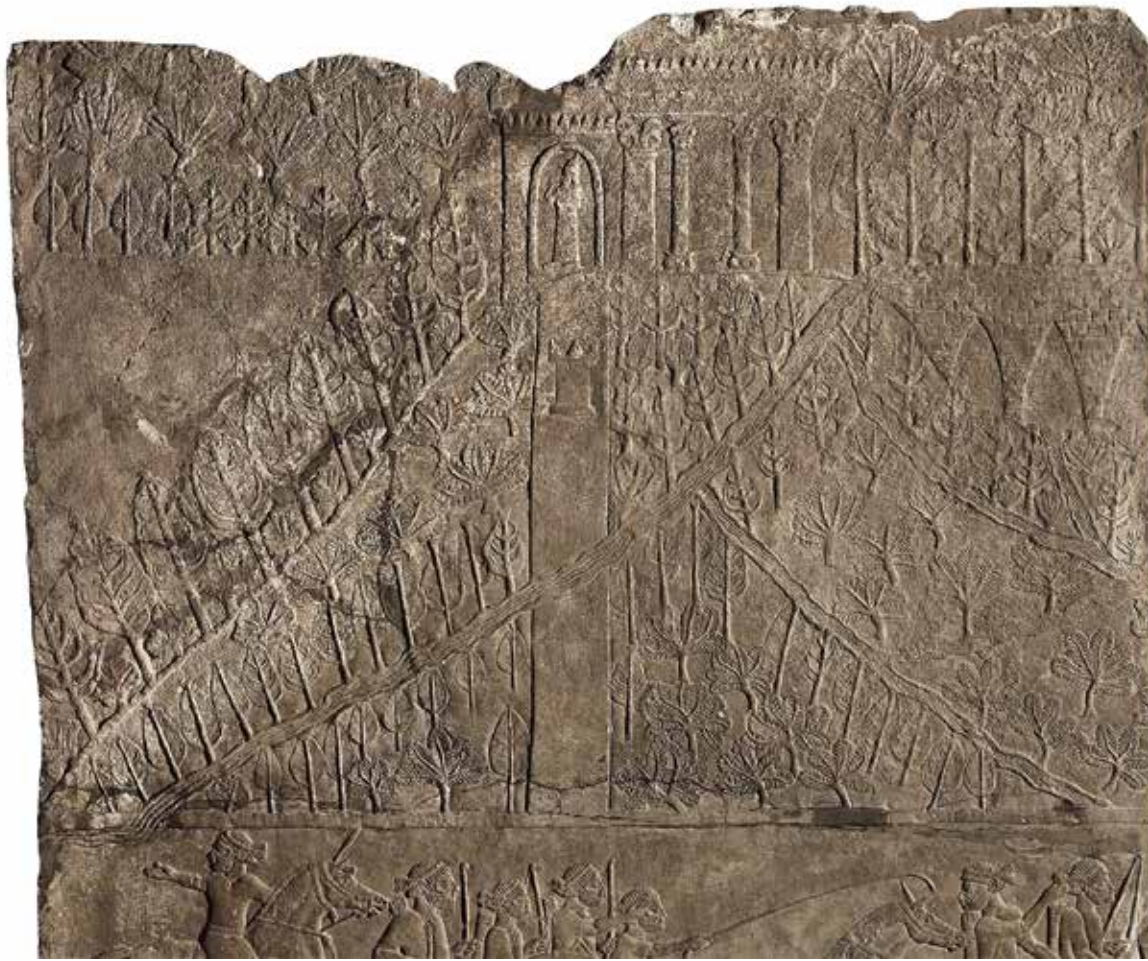


Fig. 2.5. Gypsum alabaster relief with garden. Nineveh, North Palace, Room H. Neo-Assyrian, reign of Ashurbanipal. The Trustees of the British Museum, London (ME 124939,b)

were freestanding stone monuments with stepped tops typically having panels of carved relief decoration on the four sides and showing, as the wall reliefs do, scenes of conquest, submission, and tribute-bearing. These were set up in public places, often near temples. The outstanding example of this genre is the Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser III (fig. 2.8).

In terms of the minor arts, vast numbers of carved ivories were found in the Assyrian palaces, mostly at Nimrud but also at Khorsabad (see “Nimrud Ivories” in this volume, pp. 141–50). At Nimrud major collections were discovered in two of the wells in the Northwest Palace (in Rooms NN and AJ) and in many of the storerooms in Fort Shalmaneser (particularly in SW 7 and SW 37). These ivories, while mostly veneer for pieces of furniture such as beds, thrones, and couches, were also used to decorate horse harnesses, boxes, and various types of small objects. They are traditionally divided into three groups on the basis of style. The first group, which is comparatively small, consists of ivories in Assyrian style. These were presumably carved in an Assyrian center or centers, probably by Assyrian craftsmen. Many are incised with narrative scenes reminiscent of those on the Assyrian reliefs. Then there is a substantial group of Syrian

ivories categorized by the extensive representation of animals such as bulls, lions, deer, and hybrid animals, sometimes in file but also in combat scenes. It has long been recognized that some of these ivories bear a resemblance to the stone reliefs found at North Syrian sites along the Syrian-Turkish border, including Carchemish, Zincirli, and Tell Halaf, but others are thought to originate from South Syrian centers such as Hamath and Damascus.²⁵

By far the largest group of ivories is categorized as Phoenician and is easily recognized by the presence of the strong Egyptian influence that pervades Phoenician art. This is manifested by such Egyptian motifs as *wedjat*-eyes, scarab beetles, lotus and papyrus flowers, and sphinxes, usually winged, with human, ram, or falcon heads; and human figures with distinctive Egyptian hairstyles who sometimes wear the crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt. It is presumed that ivories in this style were made in Phoenician centers such as Tyre, Sidon, Byblos, and Beirut, but evidence for ivory production in these centers is sadly lacking.²⁶

Although we do not know for certain their places of manufacture, it is clear that the vast majority of the carved ivories found in Assyria must have been imported from centers in the

west, either as booty or tribute. As noted above, ivories and ivory tusks often feature in the lists of spoils compiled by the Assyrian kings. This raises the interesting question of the extent to which such carved ivories can be considered examples of Assyrian material culture (as opposed to examples of Assyrian art, which they are not) after they were brought to Assyria. Certainly it does seem as if much of this ivory tribute was kept in storerooms in the Assyrian palaces and never saw the light of day, but there are some examples of carved ivory plaques appearing in Assyrian contexts. For instance, the legs of the splendid couch on which Ashurbanipal is reclining in the previously discussed banquet scene relief are decorated with what seem to be openwork ivory plaques with figural decoration. These might well have been made by Phoenician craftsmen, either working to order at an Assyrian center or even in a workshop in Phoenicia. In such cases, Phoenician products would have become part of the rich panoply of Assyrian material culture.

Decoration in the Phoenician and Syrian styles also occurs on many of the 140 or so bronze bowls found by Layard in 1850 in a pile in Room AB (the so-called Room of the Bronzes) in the Northwest Palace at Nimrud (cat. 53). Like the ivories, these bronze vessels must have been brought to Nimrud from a center to the west of Assyria and were in storage. Again, as with the ivories, we have only limited evidence for the use of Phoenician-style bowls in Assyrian contexts. Thus, one of the queens' tombs under the floor of the Northwest Palace contained a magnificent gold bowl with Egyptian- or Phoenician-style decoration, including a crocodile and boats in a papyrus thicket (see figs. 3.1, 3.2). However, most of the metalwork found in Assyria is of Assyrian manufacture and inspiration.²⁷ Many of the bronze furniture fittings, much of the bronze horse harness equipment, and the principal vessel types that have been found on Assyrian sites can be matched on the Assyrian reliefs, where they are shown being used in Assyrian contexts. We know from the archaeological record that many of the elaborate furniture fittings shown on the reliefs, including animal heads, sleeves with volute decoration, and floral moldings, were actually made of bronze.²⁸ Probably the finest surviving examples of Assyrian bronzework are the Balawat Gates,²⁹ which consist of strips of bronze sheet with embossed and chased decoration showing narrative scenes in the same style as the Assyrian reliefs (cat. 44a, b). These bronze sheets were hammered to large doors of cedar. Other large-scale products in bronze include coffins, which sometimes have distinctive Assyrian animal and human figural decoration and must be the products of an Assyrian workshop or workshops.³⁰

The neighboring state of Urartu also had a flourishing bronzeworking industry, which employed many forms comparable to types in Assyria. Most probably in the ninth century B.C., there was significant Assyrian influence on Urartian metalwork, and thereafter there was some limited influence in both directions.³¹

We now know there was also a very rich tradition of goldworking. In 1989–90 the Iraq Department of Antiquities found four subterranean tombs with barrel-vaulted roofs in the Northwest Palace at Nimrud.³² Three of them contained astonishing quantities of gold jewelry and are among the wealthiest graves ever discovered in the ancient Near East (see “The Gold of Nimrud” in this volume, pp. 125–31). The elaborate earrings and other types of jewelry can be closely paralleled on the Assyrian reliefs and show that forms previously known only from the artistic record were in fact in regular use, at least in court circles. Some of the jewelry types from the tombs, particularly the pieces with intricate inlay, seem to owe their inspiration to Egyptian and Phoenician forms, but there is no reason to suppose that they are not the products of Assyrian goldsmiths.

What are likely to have been the most ambitious products of Assyrian metalsmiths—colossal gateway figures in bronze—no longer exist, nor do the lifesize figures in bronze that are likely to have been plentiful. We do have small cast-bronze figures with Assyrian hairstyles and wearing Assyrian dress, but these come from sites beyond Assyria, such as Samos (cat. 168b),³³ to where they must have been exported. Such figures generally belonged to pieces of furniture, such as thrones.

Clay figurines generally served a different purpose. Usually buried in foundation boxes beneath floors, they were meant to be apotropaic, to protect the building and its inhabitants from harm.³⁴ They are often in the form of a minor god known as a *lahmu*, who holds a spear-shaped object, or *apkallu* figures in the form of bird-headed, winged figurines or figures wearing fish cloaks (see “Demons, Monsters, and



Fig. 2.6. Clay sealing with stamp-seal impression showing Assyrian king in combat with lion. Nineveh. Neo-Assyrian, reign of Sargon II. The Trustees of the British Museum, London (SM.2276)



Fig. 2.7. Wall painting with Assyrian officials. Til Barsip. Neo-Assyrian. Musée du Louvre, Paris (AO 23011)

Magic” in this volume, pp. 263–67). Model dogs in clay, often inscribed, served a similar protective purpose.

Drinking cups ending in a lion’s or ram’s head existed in both metal and pottery, but Neo-Assyrian pottery forms are generally plain with little embellishment. The pottery is, however, of very high quality, with the finest thin-walled vessels being termed “Palace Ware.”³⁵ Glass vessels also were of a high standard in the Neo-Assyrian period. In the second millennium B.C., glass vessels had been core-formed (built up around a core that was later removed), but now they were cast, probably by the lost-wax method, and then finished by grinding and polishing. In this way some remarkable vessels,

particularly small vases and bowls, were produced (see “Phoenician and East Mediterranean Glass” in this volume, pp. 167–68).³⁶

Seals and seal impressions are among the best-known Neo-Assyrian art forms (cats. 18, 19). The latter occur extensively on the many cuneiform tablets that survive from this period, particularly from the so-called Royal Library at Nineveh. In the Neo-Assyrian period both cylinder and stamp seals were used. Carnelian and chalcedony were popular stones, and some of the cylinder seals are made from faience.³⁷ Various styles have been identified, and the most popular subjects include worshipers with gods and god symbols, the king (recognizable by his royal headgear) taking part in ceremonies, heroes with composite animals and magical figures, and an archer shooting at an animal, often a serpent. A common type of stamp seal impression is an imprint of the so-called royal seal showing the Assyrian king in his distinctive garb stabbing a rampant lion (fig. 2.6). This theme takes us back to the Assyrian reliefs, on which the king is a dominant figure, and reminds us that the purpose of much of Assyrian art is to legitimize and glorify the king as well as to propitiate the many deities who looked after him and the state.

As Assyria occupied such a dominant position in the ancient Near East for nearly three centuries, it is not surprising that we should find evidence for examples of Assyrian-style art both to the east and west, in cities under Assyrian control and in places where there was clearly some Assyrian influence or contact. For example, to the west there are Assyrian-style wall paintings at Til Barsip (fig. 2.7) and Assyrian-style wall reliefs at Arslan Tash, while to the east there are Assyrian objects in the destruction level at Hasanlu, Assyrian-style glazed bricks at Bukan, and a clear Neo-Assyrian influence in Neo-Elamite culture, as shown by the finds in the tomb at Arjan. Bronze objects of Assyrian origin have been found as far afield as Samos, and even Rhodes, both off the west coast of Turkey, in the Mediterranean Sea.³⁸ Assyrian artistic style even outlived the empire that created it, as seen, for example, in the strong Assyrian artistic influence found in the early Achaemenid period at both Pasargadae and Persepolis.

12. Statue of Ashurnasirpal II

Statue: magnesite; H. 113 cm (44½ in.), W. 32 cm (12⅝ in.), D. 15 cm (5⅞ in.)

Base: reddish stone, H. 77.5 cm (30½ in.), W. 56.5 cm (22¼ in.)

Nimrud, Ishtar Sharrat-niphi temple

Neo-Assyrian, ca. 875–860 B.C.

The Trustees of the British Museum, London (ME 118871)

Complete Assyrian statues in the round are rare survivals, and this stone statue of Ashurnasirpal II (883–859 B.C.) is one of the finest examples. Together with the original pedestal on which it stands, it was placed in the temple of Ishtar Sharrat-niphi at Nimrud as a dedication to show the king's devotion to the deity.¹ Although Ashurnasirpal is represented without the royal crown, his rank and status are clearly conveyed by his clothes, long elaborate beard, and accoutrements. His dress is a short-sleeved tunic on top of which a long, fringed shawl has been fastened. He carries a mace as a symbol of authority along with an archaic and, presumably, ceremonial type of weapon known as a sickle sword.

The inscription on the king's chest proclaims his titles and genealogy and mentions his epic expedition west to the Mediterranean:

*Ashurnasirpal, great king, strong king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, son of Tukulti-Ninurta (II), great king, strong king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, son of Adad-nārāri (II) (who was) also great king, strong king, king of the universe, (and) king of Assyria, conqueror from the opposite bank of the Tigris as far as Mount Lebanon and the Great Sea, all lands from east to west he subdued.*²

Similar epithets appear in many royal inscriptions, including the so-called Standard Inscription, which repeated across the relief-covered walls of Ashurnasirpal's palace at Nimrud (see cat. 13). At this relatively early stage in Assyria's expansion, kings did not hold on to the territories far to the west in which they campaigned, but through their western campaigns Ashurnasirpal and his son and successor, Shalmaneser III, laid the foundations that ensured that in time these areas would all become part of the empire.

The stones used are unusual and were probably imports, perhaps brought back to Assyria from a foreign campaign such as those described in the text on the statue.³ Acquisition of exotic goods—booty, raw materials, and foreign flora and fauna—was an important indicator of royal success and is often noted in Assyrian royal inscriptions.



Ashurnasirpal II holds a particularly important place in the history of Assyrian sculpture. His Northwest Palace at Nimrud is the first known to have been decorated with the gypsum bas-reliefs and colossal human-headed winged bulls and lions that would come to characterize Neo-Assyrian imperial art (see fig. 2.1). The present statue can be compared to images of Mesopotamian kings stretching back to the early third or even late fourth millennium B.C., in which the qualities emphasized are symmetry, solidity, and a balanced stillness. This calm solidity, which visually expresses the king's perfection and mastery of his world, was retained even when a king is depicted in the heart of the action (see cat. 20). All of this stands in marked contrast to Classical sculpture, where the naturalistic rendering of movement and fluidity in the human figure was prized. When Assyrian sculpture was first excavated, in the nineteenth century, it was found wanting by European scholars steeped in ancient Greek aesthetics.⁴ Understanding the visual culture of ancient Mesopotamia requires a very different framework, however, for which pieces such as this—the perfected image of the pious king—are of vital importance. NT

1. Layard 1853a, pp. 361–62. 2. Grayson 1996, p. 306. 3. Curtis and Reade 1995, p. 43. 4. Jenkins 1992.

13. Relief with winged figure

Gypsum alabaster; H. 210.8 cm (83 in.), W. 97.8 cm (38½ in.)

Nimrud, Northwest Palace

Neo-Assyrian, ca. 880 B.C.

Williams College Museum of Art, Williamstown, Massachusetts; Gift of Sir Austen Henry Layard through Dwight W. Marsh, Class of 1842 (WCMA 1851.2)

Stone bas-reliefs lined the walls of the Northwest Palace of Ashurnasirpal II. Traces of pigment indicate that these reliefs were brightly painted. This example was located in Room F, adjacent to the throne room.¹ The Northwest Palace program incorporated a range of subjects, including attendants, *apkallu* (guardian spirits), and Ashurnasirpal himself. The *apkallu* seen in the slabs take a variety of forms, with either human or bird's heads and with or without wings, and they have different types of accoutrements, although most hold a bucket and, often, a cone as well. When *apkallu* are shown next to stylized trees, the scene has been interpreted by many scholars as depicting the fertilization of a sacred tree that might have been associated with Ashur, the chief Assyrian god. Barbara N. Porter posits that the imagery



“represents the world dominated by the Assyrian king as a date palm orchard: an orderly and productive world on which divine guardians, making the gesture of hand pollination, symbolically confer abundance.”² According to Mehmet-Ali Ataç, the tree might also represent “sacral time.”³

Inscribed on almost every Northwest Palace slab is a cuneiform inscription called the “Standard Inscription” because all instances of it are nearly identical. The text proclaims Ashurnasirpal’s lineage and military prowess as well as the grandeur of the city and palace.⁴ This and another relief in the collection of the Williams

College Museum of Art were procured by Williams alumnus Dwight Whitney Marsh⁵ from Austen Henry Layard, the British excavator of Nimrud,⁶ and were the first from the Northwest Palace to arrive in America. EEG

1. Faison 1982, p. 329; Gonzalez 2001; A. Cohen and Kangas 2010, pp. 10, 13–14. 2. Porter 2010, p. 154. 3. Ataç 2010b. 4. Paley 1976, pp. 132–33. 5. Dwight Whitney Marsh, letter to Mark Hopkins, August 7, 1855, and letter to A. L. Perry, November 29, 1882; Williams College Archives and Special Collections. 6. Stratford Canning, letter to Austen Henry Layard, May 6, 1846; British Library, Department of Manuscripts, Ms. 38976, 355; Layard 1849b, vol. 1 (1970 ed., pp. 42–60); Lane-Poole 1888, vol. 2, pp. 137–50; Malcolm-Smith 1933, pp. 198–99; Waterfield 1963, pp. 141–49.

THE BLACK OBELISK

Julian Reade

One of the most remarkable monuments to survive from the ancient Near East, the Black Obelisk was made about 825 B.C. and excavated in 1845 by Austen Henry Layard at Nimrud (ancient Kalhu).¹ Layard found it lying on its side, slightly chipped on top, as it had probably been pushed over when the city was sacked around 612 B.C. If it was still close to its original position, it had been standing in a prominent place beside a palace entrance, visible to everyone passing through the center of the citadel.

The obelisk, carved and inscribed in five rows on all four sides, commemorates the achievements of the reign of Shalmaneser III (858–824 B.C.), a king who expanded Assyrian influence from central Iran to the Mediterranean. Each row has its own caption, a single line of cuneiform script that is inscribed immediately above the row and specifies the source and nature of the tribute. Inspired by Egyptian monuments, this kind of object was first made in Assyria around 1100 B.C. The Assyrian examples are stepped on top, like the stepped temple-towers of Mesopotamia, in contrast with Egyptian obelisks, which are pointed like pyramids.

In both of the top two panels on the front face (A), Shalmaneser is the first of three men in a group facing right. He is wearing the distinctive Assyrian royal hat, a fez with a small projection on top. Another man, recognizable as a foreigner because of his floppy hat, is kneeling at the king's feet. In both scenes there are two symbols representing gods suspended in the air in front of the king. One is a winged disc, a symbol with many meanings but here representing Ashur, Assyria's principal male god; the other is a star that represents the principal female god, usually known as Ishtar.

In the upper of these two panels Shalmaneser raises two arrows in his right hand and rests his bow on the ground with the left. This is the king performing his divinely imposed duty as triumphant warrior. Ishtar in her capacity as god of war is the symbol closest to him. He is followed appropriately by two armed guards; the figure without a beard is probably one of the eunuchs who were prominent at the Assyrian



A



B

Fig. 2.8. Inscribed limestone obelisk known as the Black Obelisk. Nimrud, Northwest Palace. Neo-Assyrian, reign of Shalmaneser III. The Trustees of the British Museum, London (ME 118885)



C



D

court. The man facing the king on the right wears a diadem and can be identified as a high Assyrian official, either the commander in chief or the crown prince, while the eunuch behind him with a staff is another high official.

In the lower panel Shalmaneser raises his right hand toward the symbol of Ashur as he holds a bowl from which he is pouring a libation. He is followed by one eunuch with a parasol and another with weapons. A third eunuch, on the right, has a towel over his shoulder and extends a fan in the direction of the king. The eunuch with a staff on the right is again a high official.

These two panels, in the most prominent position on the front face of the obelisk, present the Assyrian king in his dual role as warrior and worshiper. Although the two men kneeling in submission are the only foreigners on the obelisk represented close to the king, all the other foreigners bringing tribute can be understood as converging here.

The caption for the four panels in the uppermost row of the obelisk may be translated as follows: "The tribute of Sua of the land of Gilz-anu: I received silver, gold, tin, bronze cauldrons, staffs for the king's hand, horses, two-humped camels."² The man kneeling at Shalmaneser's feet in this row has to be Sua, who is first recorded as a vassal king in 859 B.C., at the beginning of Shalmaneser's reign. His country, Gilzanu, south of Lake Urmia in western Iran, was an important trading partner that provided horses for the military. Assyrian armies often passed Gilzanu and reported receiving tribute but never fighting.³

The procession of tribute bearers from Gilzanu, who all wear clothes similar to Sua's, begins on the right-hand side of the obelisk, immediately to the right of the royal scene (B). In front are two Assyrian officials, one of whom raises an arm to introduce the procession into the royal presence. Next comes a groom leading the most important item, a richly caparisoned horse. On the back face (C) are two Bactrian camels, valuable pack animals in Iran. The final panel, to the left of the royal scene (D), shows two men with bundles of wooden shafts, two with cauldrons, and a fifth carrying a tray, which can be envisaged as holding jewelry and precious metals.

The caption for the second row from the top reads, "The tribute of Ia-u-a of Bit-Humri: I received silver, gold, a gold bowl, a gold tureen, gold vessels, gold pails, tin, staffs for the king's hand, spears." Ia-u-a was identified in 1851 by Edward Hincks as the biblical king Jehu, an identification now generally accepted.⁴ Bit-Humri, meaning the House of Omri, is the name by which the Assyrians knew the kingdom of Samaria, ancient Israel. These names were

among the first biblical references to be recognized on an Assyrian monument.

The episode must have happened during one of Shalmaneser's campaigns, probably in 841 B.C., when he could easily have passed through this territory. Thus, the figure kneeling in front of Shalmaneser, with a libation being poured, is probably Jehu in person. The adjoining panel on the right side of the obelisk again shows two Assyrian officials introducing a row of tribute bearers who are dressed like their leader. The first, with his arms raised and fists closed in a gesture of submission, is followed by a man apparently holding a stamped ingot and another also holding something heavy. The next panel to the right, on the back of the obelisk, shows five men with vessels, a staff, and bundles of shafts. In the last panel in this row two men are carrying what may be square ingots of tin on their shoulders, while two have sacks. The last man has a tray piled with five objects, perhaps bunches of gold bangles tied together.

The caption for the third row from the top reads, "The tribute of the land of Musri (Egypt): two-humped camels, a river ox, a rhinoceros, an antelope, female elephants, female monkeys, apes." Shalmaneser never went to Egypt, but he may have approached it after visiting the coast of Lebanon in 837 B.C. There is no suggestion of an individual ruler submitting on the front panel in this row, and there is no Assyrian official to introduce the tribute. Instead, all the panels seem to show exotic animals such as those the Assyrian kings liked to receive for their wildlife parks. This suggests that the consignment was probably a diplomatic gift.

The caption and the illustrations in this row of panels help explain one another. The two-humped camels on the front, and the "river ox" on the right-hand side, which bears a slight resemblance to a water buffalo, would both have been exotic in Egypt, though it is unclear how they may have arrived there. The translation "rhinoceros" in the caption is based on the appearance of a single-horned animal in the center of the right-hand panel, between the "river ox" and an antelope; this beast could be how an Assyrian might have drawn a rhinoceros if he had never seen one but was working from a description. The elephant on the back face could be the small North African type, now extinct. Four more monkeys or apes, each with its keeper, occupy the remainder of the panels on the back and left-hand side.

The caption for the fourth row from the top reads, "The tribute of Marduk-apla-usur of the land of Suhi: I received silver, gold, gold pails, ivory, spears, byssus cloth, garments with colorful trim, linens." Marduk-apla-usur was probably another Assyrian vassal, but he is not present in

the carvings here, and there is no record of Shalmaneser's having campaigned in Suhi, which was located along the Euphrates River in modern Iraq and perhaps extended into Syria. Therefore, most of the carvings in this row seem to represent a simple consignment of tribute, brought by men wearing headbands. Two men at the front on the right-hand side are carrying sacks, which we may imagine to contain gold and silver, and two more hold a long pole supporting a textile. Five on the back panel have vessels, presumably made of gold, together with ivory tusks and a bundle of shafts, and four on the left-hand side have similar items. The gold and silver might have derived from Suhi's trading links with Arabia, and the tusks from the local Syrian elephant, also now extinct.

The front panel of this row is enigmatic. It shows two lions in a wooded landscape, one of which is attacking a stag, and it may be intended to represent the landscape of Suhi. The lions have impossibly bushy tails, more like those of dogs, as if they had been carved by someone who had never seen one. Visually, the panel adds strength and balance to the group of compositions carved on this face of the obelisk.

The caption for the fifth row from the top reads, "The tribute of Qalparunda of the land of Patin: I received silver, gold, tin, bronze compound, bronze cauldrons, ivory, fine wood." On the bottom panel on the front face the man at the far left, with arms raised and fists closed in the gesture of submission, must represent Qalparunda, who first brought tribute to Shalmaneser in 857 B.C. Patin is now the province of Hatay in southern Turkey. The tribute bearers on this panel wear floppy hats and are bringing jewelry on a tray, ivory tusks, and a bundle of wooden shafts, as described in the caption.

On the panel to the right there are two Assyrian courtiers who introduce a party of foreigners wearing headbands instead of floppy hats. Their leader is making the same gesture of submission as Qalparunda. On this panel his men are bearing ivory tusks, vessels, and sacks. There are more vessels, sacks, and a cauldron on the back panel, and more sacks on the final panel on the left side. Since the party of tribute bearers on these three panels has its own leader and distinctive clothes, it presumably comes from somewhere other than Patin, although this is not mentioned in the caption.

The choice of subject matter for the carved panels of the Black Obelisk emphasized the high political and religious status of Shalmaneser and the wide geographical range of countries under his control or influence. His power reached overland from Iran in the northeast to Israel in the southwest and from Hatay in the northwest to the Euphrates in the south;

it also reached toward Egypt. The wealth of these areas was illustrated by the types of tribute, and the diversity of the subject peoples by the regional dresses of their bearers. The carved panels are surrounded by lines of densely written cuneiform text that cover nearly all the remaining vertical surfaces of the obelisk. This inscription begins with a list of gods and royal titles, then briefly describes thirty-two annual Assyrian campaigns, from Shalmaneser's accession year and first full year in 859–858 B.C. down to 826 B.C. (omitting two by mistake). It was a wall of words, confirming the message of the illustrations.

The inscription also suggests a reason for the erection of the Black Obelisk. The campaigns are mostly dated by the king's year of reign. However, the account of the campaign of 855 B.C., or Year 4, refers to an alternative system, in which years were named after an official, and mentions Daian-Ashur, who became commander of the army in that year. He remained in the post a long time, and the inscription goes on to state that he commanded the army in the field for the campaigns of 830–826 B.C. This ascription of such high responsibilities to an official other than the king is unique in formal Assyrian royal inscriptions. Because a rebellion erupted against Shalmaneser in 826 B.C. and the ensuing civil war to decide the royal succession lasted until 820 B.C., it is likely that the carving and erection of the Black Obelisk were intended to proclaim the achievements and promote the interests of the party favored by Daian-Ashur in this dispute. It was his memorial as well as Shalmaneser's.

14. Annals of Sennacherib

Baked clay; H. 36.5 cm (14 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.), Diam. 17.8 cm (7 in.)
Nineveh
Neo-Assyrian, July/August 694 B.C.
The Trustees of the British Museum, London (BM 103000)

Sennacherib's prisms have long attracted popular attention for the detailed historical accounts they provide. Perhaps the most famous episode is the account of his third campaign to the Levant, in 701 B.C. Sennacherib had come to the throne suddenly following the death in battle of his father, Sargon II, in 705 B.C.. Assyria's enemies sought to take advantage of this moment of regime change to shake off Assyrian domination. Marduk-apla-iddina II (biblical Merodach-Baladan) seized the throne of Babylonia, forming alliances with the Elamites to the east and petty kingdoms and tribes to the west. One of those kingdoms was Judah, ruled by Hezekiah. Having defeated Marduk-apla-iddina,



Sennacherib marched west to reassert control over the Syrian states.

What happens next is described in graphic detail both by the Assyrians and in the biblical accounts.¹ The rebellious kings fled or were removed; the vassal rulers kissed Sennacherib's feet and sent him heavy tribute. The Philistine city of Ekron had summoned help from the Egyptians, but the Egyptian force was comprehensively defeated near Eltekeh. In retaliation for their treachery, the nobles of Ekron were executed, their corpses hung from the towers of their city. Next, it was Judah's turn to face the wrath of Assyria. The Judean cities were conquered,² people deported, and livestock taken as spoil (see ill. pp. 110–11). Hezekiah was blockaded in his capital, Jerusalem, "like a bird in a cage."³ Fearfully, he sued for peace, groveling, "I have done wrong. Withdraw from me, and I will pay whatever you demand of me."⁴ The Assyrian officers had taunted the Judeans: do not rely on Egypt, "that splintered reed of a staff, which pierces the hand of anyone who leans on it," nor in Hezekiah's promise that "the Lord will



deliver us," since the gods of Israel and the Syrian cities had so clearly failed to help them.⁵ A fascinating detail is that the Assyrians apparently chose to speak in Hebrew rather than accede to the local commanders' appeal to speak in Aramaic instead. They wanted the townsfolk to understand what was being said, for this was psychological warfare, too.

The Bible then tells how that night Yahweh slaughtered the Assyrians and forced Sennacherib to return home to Nineveh. Sennacherib tells a different story, however. He relates that he stripped cities from Judah's control and handed them over to Hezekiah's rivals. He demanded as tribute hundreds of kilograms of gold and silver, ivory, and wood as well as Hezekiah's best soldiers, palace personnel, and even his daughters.⁶

The full text of the prism describes all of Sennacherib's first five campaigns, plus extensive construction and irrigation work.⁷ Indeed, it was made to commemorate the building of Nineveh's massive walls and its city gates. This is the longest surviving inscription from Sennacherib's reign, and half of it (more than three hundred lines) is dedicated to this construction work. JT

1. Mayer 2003; 2 Kings 18–19 and 2 Chron. 32. 2. As illustrated so vividly in the Lachish reliefs (British Museum, London, BM 124904-124915). 3. Grayson and Novotny 2012, no. 17, iii 52–53. 4. 2 Kings 18:14. 5. 2 Kings 18:19–35. The kingdom of Israel had fallen to the Assyrians a generation earlier. 6. More detailed accounts are found in other prisms. See Mayer 2003. 7. An up-to-date English translation, plus introduction and bibliography, can be found in Grayson and Novotny 2012, no. 17.

15. Monument of Esarhaddon

Limestone; H. 21.6 cm (8½ in.), W. 9.5 cm (3¾ in.), D. 9.5 cm (3¾ in.)
Probably from Babylon
Neo-Assyrian, 670 B.C.
The Trustees of the British Museum, London (ME 91027)

This slightly irregular rectangular document, which bears an incomplete inscription, was known in the nineteenth century as "Lord Aberdeen's Black Stone" after the name of the donor, George Hamilton Gordon, 4th Earl of Aberdeen. A fascinating example of elaborate Assyrian propaganda, the monument concerns the Assyrian king Esarhaddon's official restoration of Babylon after its sack by Sennacherib in 689 B.C. Both the decoration and the material used, a black limestone not local to Mesopotamia, reference Babylonian traditions in *kudurru*, or boundary documents (see cat. 204), although the overall intent is entirely Assyrian.

The four long sides have an inscription in archaizing Babylonian script recording Esarhaddon's rebuilding of Babylon and the temple of Marduk.¹ The upper surface, however, is carved with symbols in a sequence (altar, king, sacred tree, bull/mountain, seeder plough, palm tree, rectangle with circles) that can be matched with other documents of Esarhaddon to allow their interpretation as a symbolic or hieroglyphic writing of Esarhaddon's name and titles.² The symbols also work plausibly on an iconographic level, emphasizing the king's piety, his relationship with the gods, and his contribution through that relationship to agricultural abundance.

The monument reflects the special treatment given to Babylon by Esarhaddon and the enduring political problems that Sennacherib's destruction of the city caused for Assyria. Where elsewhere in the empire Assyrian kings might routinely stress in official records their use of force, Sennacherib's actions seem to have been open to criticism, and perhaps were even considered sacrilegious: later accounts, including that on this monument, elide Sennacherib's actions by describing the event as a natural disaster: a flood.³

NT

1. Luckenbill 1926–27, vol. 2, pp. 242–44 (paragraphs 639–46); Borger 1956, pp. 10–29 (Rezension D). 2. Finkel and Reade 1996. Another such document is MMA 86.11.283, published in *Cuneiform Texts in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* 2014. 3. Luckenbill 1926–27, vol. 2, p. 243.

16. Tile showing an Assyrian king

Glazed ceramic; H. 30 cm (11 ½ in.)
Nimrud, Northwest Palace
Neo-Assyrian, 9th century B.C.
The Trustees of the British Museum, London (ME 90859)

Although the paint on Assyrian stone reliefs rarely survives, the rich coloration of Assyrian palace decoration is suggested by painted tiles.¹ This example is of interest since it depicts human figures, including the king. The fired-clay tile is carefully painted in black outline with yellow and green details. At the top right of the panel is a single sign preserved from a cuneiform inscription. Above a guilloche border,² an Assyrian king, possibly Ashurnasirpal II, wearing the Assyrian crown and characteristic royal dress, stands under a canopy, facing left, with a wine cup in one hand and his composite bow in the other. The king is accompanied by an armed soldier, who wears a pointed helmet (presumably of bronze) and carries a short spear or javelin and a shield slung on his back. There are also two attendants, one of whom carries a bow and a quiver of arrows; the other, only partially preserved, holds a long towel over his shoulder. The arms bearer is beardless, possibly a youth of high status or a eunuch; we would expect the same to be true of the second figure, whose face is lost and whose damaged right hand probably held a flywhisk. The same types of figures are often depicted in close proximity to the king and were probably senior courtiers, whose intimate service to the king conferred power and prestige.³ This supposition is strongly supported by the fine clothing and jewelry in which they are customarily depicted: in this case, garments very similar to those of the king, and in the case of the arms bearer in particular, large three-pointed gold earrings.



The tile was probably part of a scheme showing the king celebrating success either in war or the hunt. The clothes of king and servants are decorated with rosettes. Although the surviving coloration gives us a good sense of the scene's original appearance, not all pigments are equally stable over time, and the green of the king and courtiers' robes probably reflects the breakdown of what may originally have been a shade of red.⁴

NT

1. See, especially, those of Esarhaddon, also from Nimrud (Nadali 2006). The other major sources for polychromy in Assyrian palace decoration are the surviving wall paintings from Til Barsip. 2. A second band of guilloche patterning runs along the top edge of the brick. 3. Reade 1983, p. 31; Collins 2010. 4. Collon 1995, p. 135. The change from red to green is probably the result of copper in the pigment; see Dayton 1978. The clothing of another notable painted depiction of the king, Shalmaneser III, at Nimrud, also appears as a faded green (Reade 1963, p. 43). On the composition of the pigments used in general, see Freestone 1991.

17. Vessel fragment with goat

Glazed ceramic; H. 19 cm (7 ½ in.), W. 18 cm (7 ⅛ in.)
Ashur
Neo-Assyrian, 8th–7th century B.C.
Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Vorderasiatisches Museum
(VA ASS 2404)

Originally part of a large, steep-walled beaker, this vessel fragment depicts a leaping male goat framed on the top and bottom by white ornamental borders. With his hind legs, he pushes off from mountains, stylized as scales. His forelegs have not yet touched the ground, which gives the composition a sense of dynamism.

Although vessels of this type have been found in domestic contexts in Ashur, they originally belonged to the vessel inventory of temples and palaces. Symbols of gods on them indicate that they had a religious or cult function.¹ The well-preserved surface and still-impressive radi-



ance of the colors make this fragment a reference example for glazed ceramic vessels.²

Analysis of glazes from Ashur reveal the use of an alkali-silicate glaze. Colors were produced by using manganese and ferrous oxide (black), quartz and calcite (white), lead antimonate (yellow), and copper oxide, at times mixed with ferrous oxide (green).³ The contours of the image were first drawn with a black glaze and then filled in with the appropriate colors. Essential oils could have been used as a painting medium. During subsequent firing the glaze was permanently bonded to the clay support. L M A

1. Sievertsen 2012, p. 148, fig. 153.2. 2. Andrae 1923, p. 26, fig. 31b; Orthmann 1975, p. 336, pl. XXX; Ralf-B. Wartke in *Vorderasiatisches Museum* 1992, p. 191, no. 129. 3. Nunn 2006, pp. 85–86.

18. Cylinder seal and modern impression: worshiper before deities

Carnelian; H. 3.9 cm (1 ½ in.), Diam. 1.8 cm (¾ in.)
Mesopotamia
Neo-Assyrian period, ca. 9th–early 8th century B.C.
The Morgan Library and Museum, New York; Acquired by Pierpont Morgan between 1885 and 1908 (Morgan Seal 691)

A male worshiper stands before two deities.¹ The worshiper is beardless; his hair is undelineated, and at the back it is represented by oblique lines sticking out above the shoulder. He wears a long tunic decorated at the bottom with fringe and a fringed shawl wrapped around his upper body. With his raised right hand the worshiper points

to the deities and extends his open left hand toward them, palm up.

Directly in front of the worshiper stands a male deity mounted on a dragon. The deity wears a square-shaped headdress adorned with a single horn in profile and a star on top. He is depicted with a long beard, has hair that falls to his shoulders, and wears a fringed tunic similar to the worshiper's. However, the god's shawl is more elaborate, with a tassel or counterweight visible behind the shoulder and tassels hanging from the fringe at the waist. The deity extends his left hand with the palm up, and in his raised right hand he holds a stylus or double wedge, emblem of Nabu, god of writing. This representation is unique, as the symbol is usually placed in the field before a deity.² That the god represented here might indeed be Nabu is further substantiated by the dragon upon which he stands. This may be identified as the

mushhushshu, the animal attribute of Marduk, the god of Babylon, and by association of his son Nabu.³ The divine emblems of both Marduk and Nabu are often shown carried on the back of the *mushhushshu* in iconography of this period.⁴

Behind the god stands a goddess on a griffin, the latter complete with a leonine head and body, wings, and a bird's tail and talons. The goddess wears a horned headdress topped by a star, similar to that of the god, though her star is somewhat larger, and her hair extends at the back above her shoulder. Her garment consists of a short fringed kilt over which is worn a long fringed or flounced skirt, open to reveal the forward leg. Her left arm extends forward, and in her raised right hand the goddess holds a star scepter; a quiver decorated with a star at its tip emerges from her back. A nimbus of stars and globes envelops the goddess. Because of these astral symbols and the lion-griffin mount, it is tempting to identify the female deity depicted here as Ishtar, the major star goddess of the Assyrians.⁵

In the field above, before each deity, is a smaller deity amid a nimbus of stars. Above the head of the worshiper are seven globes, thought to represent the Pleiades, a constellation frequently depicted with other astral symbols during this period. The rising of the Pleiades is thought to have coincided with the harvest and would therefore have had special significance for the agricultural communities of the ancient Near East.⁶

In the ninth and eighth centuries B.C., two different styles were used for cylinder seals in Assyria, characterized as the linear and drilled techniques. The linear style was deeply engraved on relatively soft materials and was used for a variety of subjects. Drilled-style seals, including the present example, were carved by using a drill on hard, semiprecious stones such as chalcedony and carnelian (as in this seal) and, for the most part, depict scenes similar to that discussed



here. By using the drill, the ancient carver could create dramatic effects such as stars and other astral symbols in order to portray such deities in all their divine magnificence.⁷ SB

1. Porada 1948, p. 85, no. 691, pl. CII, no. 691. 2. *Ibid.*, p. 84. For an example of the stylus in the field, see Collon 2001, pl. XVII, no. 215. 3. Collon 2001, p. 11. 4. *Ibid.*, pl. XII, no. 157. 5. It has been suggested, however, that this image, "the Goddess in a Nimbus," may be interpreted in other ways, such as the consort of the god preceding her or Mullissu, the consort of Ashur (*ibid.*, p. 138). 6. See *ibid.*, p. 14, for a discussion of the constellation and its variants. 7. Porada 1948, p. 71.

19. Cylinder seal and modern impression: ritual scene

Carnelian; H. 3.7 cm (1½ in.), Diam. 1.7 cm (⅝ in.)
Mesopotamia

Neo-Assyrian, late 8th–7th century B.C.

The Morgan Library and Museum, New York; Acquired by Pierpont Morgan between 1885 and 1908 (Morgan Seal 773)

The imagery carved on this seal is notable for the unusual juxtaposition of two subjects that are both well represented, although separately, in Neo-Assyrian glyptic.¹ One is a ritual scene whose central element is a stylized tree rendered within a net of lines. The tree is flanked by striding fish-men, each raising his right arm at the elbow and holding a basket in his left hand. These figures wear a cloak in the form of a fish, with an opening for the face, and a kilt through which muscular legs are visible. Next to the fish-man left of the tree stands a figure wearing a long fringed garment; both of his arms are raised, and his hands are cupped. Above the tree, a god in profile raising his arm bent at the elbow is shown in a winged disc.

The second element is a bearded figure shown grasping an ostrich by the neck with his left arm. The ostrich's right leg is bent, and it kicks toward the man, who wears a garment with three fringed tiers and a kilt revealing a

muscular leg. He holds a curved sword in his right arm and carries a bow and quiver on his back. The fine detail of his beard and hair and the overall design and patterning of varied elements such as the feathers on the ostrich present a richly covered surface demonstrating the skill of the seal carver.

Both cylinder and stamp seals were produced and used in Mesopotamia during the Neo-Assyrian period, when glyptic art flourished. The study of this material has tended to concentrate on the identification of iconographic and stylistic features, particularly in relation to the production of Neo-Babylonian seals made about the same time, as well as the appearance (starting in the ninth century B.C. but not occurring in large numbers until the eighth century B.C.) of stamp seals. More recently, research on sealing practices and on the use of the so-called royal and bureau seal in the administration of the empire has expanded our understanding of the function of Neo-Assyrian seals.² This seal itself provides one of the rare instances in which a seal and its ancient impression are both known,³ for it was partially impressed on a tablet with a text documenting payments to hired workers probably written during the Neo-Babylonian/Achaemenid period.⁴ The use of a Neo-Assyrian-style seal on a tablet from a later period perhaps indicates that the seal was an heirloom at the time. Such cases raise the question of the distinction between seal use and manufacture and blur the clear-cut chronological divisions of style and iconography often imposed by modern scholars. YR

1. Porada 1948, p. 94, no. 773. See Collon 2001, pp. 79–117, for ritual scenes, and Collon 1998 for the ostrich motif. 2. Herbordt 1992; Herbordt 1997; Radner 2008. 3. For other examples, see Hallo 2001. See also Radner 2008, p. 498, for a recently discovered Neo-Assyrian example. 4. The tablet (MMA 86.11.319) is dated on the basis of the personal names in the text; see *Cuneiform Texts in The Metropolitan Museum of Art* 2014, pp. 187–88, no. 138. For the seal impression, see Rakic 2014, pp. 188–89.

ASHURBANIPAL'S LIBRARY AT NINEVEH

Irving Finkel

The cuneiform tablets found in the nineteenth century by Sir Austen Henry Layard at Kuyunjik (ancient Nineveh), now housed principally in the British Museum, London, are unrivaled in sheer number, breadth of subject matter, and document quality. For what came to light was truly a royal library, assembled primarily by Ashurbanipal (668–627 B.C.), the last great Assyrian ruler, for whom shelves of tablets were a crucial tool of authority as well as a source of learning.

In amassing his library, Ashurbanipal's policy was evidently to find, house, edit, and, usually, recopy the traditional written expressions of Mesopotamian culture as completely as it could be accomplished. Properly trained as a youth in scribal practice, he was one of the few ancient Near Eastern rulers able to read his own tablets, and as king he clearly made use of library resources in discussion with the experts that surrounded him at court. His long and stable reign gave him ample opportunity for the pursuit and accumulation of cuneiform materials. Documents known to be lacking were hunted down in other libraries, and incoming tablets in Babylonian script were recopied into neat and tidy Assyrian. Clay manuscripts of all kinds were collected and collated to provide the most authoritative possible text, and the most significant compositions were often kept in multiple copies. Layard's good fortune was thus to uncover what was in essence a state-of-the-art royal library written by the best scribes in the kingdom. Its value both to Assyriology and to the broader humanities has been incalculable, for we have learned more of ancient Mesopotamian culture from that one library than any other source. The king's holdings were famous. Indeed, the library's reputation and its underlying conception might well have influenced the collecting of scrolls in Greek by Eratosthenes in the Library of Alexandria.

Fire in a library of clay was not the disaster that it was to be at Alexandria. The end of Nineveh brought sacrilege and sacking, but the tablets themselves did not suffer. Although often broken and fragmentary, most are finely baked, and only a few show signs of real fire damage. The Nineveh tablets were found not all together but in four or more buildings in the great mound of Kuyunjik, namely, the Southwest Palace, the North Palace, the areas of the Ishtar temple and the Nabu temple, along with other additional findspots. The total number of tab-



lets, pieces, and fragments is estimated at about 31,000 items. The range of subject matter is also remarkable, but three broad categories of documents help convey some idea of the holdings: library or scholarly texts, the very core of cuneiform culture, such as divination, religious, lexical, medical, magical, ritual, epic and mythological, historical, and mathematical works; archival texts and governmental and private texts, including letters, reports, census surveys, contracts, and administrative texts; and oracular queries and divination reports (since reports and interpretations of ominous events were dependent on library divination resources, these often overlap the two preceding categories but are largely one-off writings that cover a single occasion and are thus closer to the second category than the first). Foremost among these are the omen series, such as *Shumma Alu*, comprising predictions drawn from chance happenings; religious texts, including hymns and prayers; the great lexical (*Ur-ra = hubullu*) and medical (*Mubhu*) compilations, the latter listing all of the diseases from the head down; magical works, such as *Utukku Lemnutu* (Evil Spirits); and belles-lettres, including the Epic of Gilgamesh, the Creation Epic, and the Descent of Ishtar.

Archives at Nineveh cover the reigns of Sargon II, Esarhaddon, and Ashurbanipal, but texts from Sennacherib's rule are lacking. Many of the royal tablets carry a library tag, or colophon, at the end, of which the following is an informative example:

*Marduk, the sage of the gods, gave me wide understanding and broad perceptions as a gift. Nabu, the scribe of the universe, bestowed on me the acquisition of all his wisdom as a present. Ninurta and Nergal gave me physical fitness, manhood, and unparalleled strength. I learned the lore of the wise sage Adapa, the hidden secret, the whole of the scribal craft. I can discern celestial and terrestrial portents and deliberate in the assembly of the experts. I am able to discuss the series "If the liver is the mirror image of the sky" with capable scholars. I can solve convoluted reciprocals and calculations that do not come out evenly. I have read cunningly written text in Sumerian, dark Akkadian, the interpretation of which is difficult. I have examined stone inscriptions from before the flood, which are sealed, stopped up, mixed up.*¹

Few first-millennium B.C. Akkadian literary compositions are without a counterpart at Nineveh, although there was comparatively little of the literature of the second millennium B.C. in copies on clay. So where did Ashurbanipal procure his additions? Not from

the nearby cities of Assyria, even though there were substantial and well-established libraries there. Instead, the bibliophile looked to the south, and one way was to send agents:

*Order of the king to Šadūmu: I am well—let your heart be at ease! The day you read (this) my tablet, get hold of Šumāya son of Šuma-ukīn, Bēl-ētir, his brother, Aplāya, son of Arkat-ilī and the scholars from Borsippa whom you know and collect whatever tablets are in their houses, and whatever tablets as are stored in the temple Ezida. . . . [the titles of the needed compositions follow]. Search them out and bring them to me! I have just written to the temple-steward and the governor; in the houses where you set your hand no one can withhold a tablet from you! And, should you find any tablet or ritual instruction that I have not written to you about that is good for the Palace, take that as well and send it to me.*²

Incoming inscriptions arrived not only on clay tablets but also on writing boards: hinged wood or ivory panels inlaid with wax in which cuneiform signs were easily impressed. Many are itemized in the city's library records, but, unlike those plucked from out of a well at Nimrud, none from Nineveh has survived (see fig. 1.17).

Despite heroic labor by many scholars, many tablet pieces and fragments from Ashurbanipal's library remain unidentified. Nonetheless, the process of joining tablet fragments in pursuit of complete texts has proceeded uninterrupted since the tablets first reached the British Museum in the nineteenth century. Increasingly collaborative work by scholars has greatly advanced our understanding of Ashurbanipal's riches. Most recently, research on the Kuyunjik tablets has been greatly facilitated by digitization of the entire collection,³ but there are still many matters to be investigated before a "reader's guide" to this unique resource can be produced.

20. Relief showing a lion hunt

Gypsum alabaster; H. 160 cm (63 in.), W. 264 cm (104 in.)
Nineveh, North Palace, ca. 645–640 B.C.
Neo-Assyrian, ca. 645–640 B.C.
The Trustees of the British Museum, London (ME 124886, 124887)

These slabs form part of a sequence showing Ashurbanipal hunting lions, a key ritual of Assyrian kingship. The lion hunt was depicted in Assyrian palaces from the reign of Ashurnasirpal II to that of Ashurbanipal. The Ashurbanipal reliefs in particular have been celebrated

for their naturalism and accuracy in detail, although sometimes this attention is macabre, since many of the reliefs vividly depict the lions' wounds and death throes.

The relief is divided into three registers by narrow plain bands. In the upper register, a captive lion is released from a stout cage (pinned to the ground by a long spar at the rear) by one of the king's attendants. This figure, unenviably shown sheltering in a small cage immediately above the lion, might be a boy or youth, or he may simply be reduced in size to enhance the overall composition. Assyrian artists made considerable use of differential scaling, presumably for a variety of reasons: certainly to indicate status (the king is generally shown larger than other people by this date) and possibly for overall clarity in some cases. The lion charges toward the king, who shoots it with arrows. The king is protected by a shield bearer, and his attendants carry additional arrows. The completion of the narrative at far left (on a panel in the Musée du Louvre, Paris) is damaged but originally showed the king stabbing the lion with his sword.¹ The scene thus culminates in a naturalistic rendering of a commonly understood icon of kingship, best known as that used on Assyrian kings' seals: a large-scale narrative version of the image of the king grasping and killing a lion (see fig. 2.6). The same lion is depicted three times in order to express the sequence of its movement from the cage to leaping at the king.²

In the register below this is a distinctive Assyrian chariot with three crew: a driver and two men with hunting spears. The fourth crewman, possibly the king (although this is not obviously a royal chariot), has presumably dismounted. Chariots were vehicles of high status and prestige; in this period they were probably far outnumbered in Assyria by horses and riders. This type of Assyrian chariot evolved in the eighth century B.C. and had reached this general form by the early seventh century. It had a team of four big stallions, which texts suggest could have been imports from faraway Nubia, and large wheels for speed. Wheels of this general construction, with eight spokes and wide wooden tires secured with four distinctive metal clamps, are known over a wide area, even appearing in Europe in Hallstatt-period (8th–7th century B.C.) burials. Beside the chariot, a horseman attempts to distract the lion, while the king, approaching from the left, grabs it by the tail, in preparation to hit it with a mace that would have been held in his free hand. An accompanying inscription describes the action:

I, Ashurbanipal, king of the universe, king of the land of Ashur, in my royal sport, I seized a lion of the plain(?) by its



tail, and at the command of Ninurta and Nergal, the gods whom I trust, I smashed its skull with my own mace.³

The lion's tail has been chipped away deliberately. Like other defacements of the relief in antiquity (see cat. 22), it is presumed that this alteration was made during or shortly after the sack of Nineveh, in 612 B.C.⁴ The aim seems to have been to contradict the original image's

depiction of the king's power by removing the king's control and setting the lion free. The symbolism is particularly poignant because the lion hunt was not merely princely sport but an important religious ritual, designed to symbolize and embody the king's ability to control the dangerous forces of nature through the divine favor of Ashur.

The lower register emphasizes the religious aspect of the event. On the right, two riding

horses are held by attendants. The harness is neat and practical; the unique arrangement of the reins has been demonstrated through modern experimentation to allow a horse archer to drop the reins to shoot while still maintaining control. The horses' heads have decorative curved crests, while the tails are plaited and tied with tasseled cords for neatness. In front of the horses stand arms bearers, eunuchs with fans and towels, and, finally, the king himself, pouring



a libation over four dead lions. In front of the lions' bodies are an offering table and an incense burner, and behind these a pair of musicians plays distinctive horizontal harps whose uprights incorporate hands.⁵ At the far right of the scene, a fifth lion's body is being carried in. This register also carries an inscription:

*I, Ashurbanipal, king of the universe, king of the land of Ashur, whom Ashur and Ninlil endowed with supreme strength, the lions which I killed, I aimed the terrible bow of Ishtar, lady of battle, at them. I offered an offering over them. I poured a libation of wine over them.*⁶

NT

1. Curtis and Reade 1995, p. 87 (Musée du Louvre, Paris, AO 19903). 2. On this "continuous" form of narrative depiction, including the lion-hunt reliefs, see C. Watanabe 2004. 3. Rawlinson and Norris 1861, pl. 7 IX.D. See also Streck 1916, vol. 2, p. 306 (g). 4. Curtis and Reade 1995, p. 87. 5. On the harps, see Cheng 2012. Jack Cheng argues that these harps are always depicted being played in pairs, but in the present instance this is unclear. Julian Reade (in Curtis and Reade 1995, p. 87) allows for an alternative reading: that the second figure may be a singer. 6. Rawlinson and Norris 1861, pl. 7 IX.A. See also Streck 1916, vol. 2, p. 304 (a).

21. Reliefs showing the battle of Til Tuba

Limestone: (a) H. 173 cm (68 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.), W. 172 cm (67 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.); (b) H. 204 cm (80 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.), W. 175 cm (68 $\frac{7}{8}$ in.); (c) H. 182 cm (71 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.), W. 199 cm (78 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.)
 Nineveh, Southwest Palace, Room XXXIII
 Neo-Assyrian, ca. 660–650 B.C.
 The Trustees of the British Museum, London
 (ME 124801a–c)

War broke out between Assyria and the kingdom of Elam, in southern Iran, around 653 B.C. over Elamite interference in Babylonia. The Assyrians won a great and bloody victory over the Elamites at the battle of Til Tuba, and Teumman, the king of Elam, was killed in the rout. The complex battle scene depicted on these reliefs from Nineveh shows the Assyrians attacking from the left, driving the Elamites down a slope, and trapping them on the bank of the River Ulai (modern Karkheh), at the right-hand edge of the slab. As a depiction of the utter confusion of battle these images are particularly effective, but this section of the reliefs does not show the entire episode; the initial Assyrian attack, made with chariots, cavalry, and infantry, is known only from fragments.

A notable feature of the composition is the incorporation of a series of significant events as essentially self-contained vignettes, arranged sequentially, like separate frames of a cartoon strip. Some of these events are explained in cuneiform captions inscribed on the stone; others can be recognized from descriptions in other Assyrian records, including lists of captions on clay tablets also found at Nineveh. This focus on detailed explanation of the narrative is particularly marked in later Assyrian reliefs, suggesting that there was a clear imperative or need to explain historical events, at least from the official Assyrian point of view, within the palace environment. Curiously, these slabs are not made of the locally available gypsum, as is typically the case, but a fossiliferous limestone imported from southeastern Anatolia by Sennacherib.¹ The backs of the slabs were marked with Sennacherib's name and titles,² but the front surfaces were left blank and were carved later, during Ashurbanipal's reign.



This portion of the relief program represents the culmination of what was once a longer sequence. Along the upper register in the center of the scene, in the first vignettes, the light cart of Teumman is shown to have crashed, and the king has fallen out and lost his royal crown. In Assyrian reliefs, Elamite forces are invariably associated with this type of cart rather than with chariots. Later, we see that Teumman has recovered his crown, but an Assyrian arrow has hit him in the back and he flees in shame. His son Tammaritu assists him and urges him to hurry, but Assyrian officers and soldiers surround them. Teumman's son, in contrast to the ignoble portrayal of the Elamite king, is shown attempting to keep them at bay by shooting arrows. Their resistance is futile, however; one Assyrian officer kills Tammaritu with a mace, a second beheads Teumman, and a third Assyrian picks up the royal crown. In a scene to the left of the initial crash of Teumman's cart, Elamites in a tent are identifying heads brought by the

Assyrian soldiers. Teumman's head, with its characteristic receding hairline, is held out toward them. Although it is tempting to see this as a portrait of Teumman, that is unlikely; it is instead probably a stereotype, known from other reliefs of Ashurbanipal, possibly designed to emphasize Teumman's physical imperfection and therefore unfit to rule. The last scene shows Teumman's head being swiftly carried off to Assyria in a fast Elamite cart for presentation to Ashurbanipal (see cat. 22). The inscription describing the death of Teumman and his son gives a further vivid image of the events:

Te-Umman (Teumman), king of Elam, who in fierce battle was wounded, Tammaritu, his eldest son, took him by the hand (and) to save (their) lives, they fled. They hid in the midst of the forest. With the help of Ashur and Ishtar, I killed them. Their heads I cut off in front of each other.³

The head of Teumman was a grisly trophy, and its journey back to Nineveh is recorded in detail. Dunanu, head of the Babylonian Gambulu tribe and an Elamite ally, was forced to carry the head around his neck and was executed after the journey was completed.⁴ Another slab from Nineveh shows Ashurbanipal pouring a libation of wine over the head of Teumman, which was publicly displayed at the city gates.⁵

In addition to the main narrative, many additional details and some separate vignettes are shown. In the uppermost register, for example, can be seen rows of Babylonian captives deported after the campaign, many of them women and children, escorted by Assyrian soldiers. At the upper left, Assyrian soldiers raise maces over kneeling figures: members of the Gambulu ruling family who as punishment for breaking an oath of loyalty are being forced to grind their ancestors' bones.

In terms of scale and complexity, the battle of Til Tuba is at first sight among the most



ambitious of all Assyrian relief programs. Campaigns and sieges had been standard themes since the first palace reliefs of Ashurnasirpal II in the ninth century B.C., although these were simple linear narratives, filled with apparent detail but actually highly stylized in what is shown and following a set formula. In some cases the absence of accompanying inscriptions or geographically specific detail makes it impossible to know exactly which campaign or battle is being depicted. Til Tuba, by contrast, has elements of originality in its composition and centers on a particular historical narrative, the full details of which are laid out in text and image. In fact, it follows a model most clearly apparent in the much earlier representation of the capture of Lachish by Sennacherib (see ill. pp. 110–11). In both compositions, the large number of figures and their complex interaction are depicted in such a manner that a sophisticated narrative sequence is skillfully incorporated into a composition that at first appears to capture a single,

chaotic moment: the assault on the fortress gateway in the case of Lachish, and the Elamite rout and death of Teumman for Til Tuba.⁶ This particular scene must have been especially significant for Ashurbanipal as a representation of complete triumph over one of Assyria's age-old enemies. As with Sennacherib's focus on Lachish, Ashurbanipal's great emphasis on the celebration of both this victory and the subsequent sack of Susa, the Elamite capital, shows Assyria's confidence in its military prowess yet perhaps ultimate uncertainty. NT

1. Curtis and Reade 1995, p. 77. 2. Layard 1853a, p. 459; Barnett, Bleibtreu, and Turner 1998, pp. 94–97, pls. 286–320, nos. 381–83. 3. Barnett, Bleibtreu, and Turner 1998, p. 95. 4. Prism text B (VI, 17–99; VII, 1), cited by Bonatz 2004a, p. 96. 5. Luckenbill 1926–27, vol. 2, p. 396; Bonatz 2004a, p. 98. 6. On the “continuous style,” see C. Watanabe 2004; see also Bahrani 2004, p. 116, on the composition of Til Tuba in particular.

22. Banquet relief of Ashurbanipal

Gypsum alabaster; H. 58.5 cm (23 in.), W. 140 cm (55 1/8 in.)
 Nineveh, North Palace
 Neo-Assyrian, ca. 645–635 B.C.
 The Trustees of the British Museum, London (ME 124920)

The banquet scene on this panel is unique for many reasons, not least because of the rarity of its subject. It is the only known representation of an Assyrian king and queen dining and indeed one of the few representations of Assyrian royal women. Originally it was one section of a larger composition: a series of slabs showing a banquet in a garden with attendants and musicians and also obliquely celebrating the defeat of Teumman, the king of Elam (see cat. 21).¹

Finely carved in low relief, this surviving fragment from the upper register of the series of slabs depicts Ashurbanipal reclining on a couch in a garden of palm trees, pines, and grape vines² with an unidentified queen seated facing



Fig. 2.9. Ivory fan handle. Nimrud, Northwest Palace, well in Room NN. Neo-Assyrian. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Rogers Fund, 1954 (54.117.3)

him. Both drink what is presumably wine from shallow bowls; the king holds a lotus flower in his left hand, while the queen, wearing a mural crown, holds a cone-shaped object with a patterned surface. The details of their richly decorated garments and accoutrements are carefully rendered, as is the luxurious ornament of the couch, the queen's chair and footstool, and the small side table, much of which can be matched with similar furniture elements excavated at Assyrian sites. Female attendants with flywhisks that resemble preserved examples (fig. 2.9) flank

the royal pair, while other servants, on the left, bring trays of food. Behind them are musicians with harp and drum. A table on the right carries the king's weapons, and there are small incense burners on either side of the couch. In the trees are birds and even a grasshopper or locust. But there is also something else: hanging on a ring from the branches of a pine to the left is the severed head of the Elamite king, Teumman. Assyrian texts record that Teumman's head was displayed in public, in fulfillment of a prophecy.³ Thus, in addition to evoking all of the pleasures of the good life, this scene also depicts in graphic detail the fruits of victory.

The identity of the queen in the relief is uncertain. Depictions of Assyrian queens are most unusual, although not entirely absent,⁴ and it has been argued that they gained greater prominence in the reigns of Sennacherib, Esarhaddon, and Ashurbanipal, a change reflected in art and texts.⁵ The relief may depict Ashurbanipal's queen Libbali-sharrat, as she wears the bracelet of an elite Assyrian woman and resembles the depiction of Libbali-sharrat on a stele at Ashur. It has also been argued that the scene is set in Libbali-sharrat's own garden at Nineveh.⁶ However, her dress suggests that she may be Elamite, a captive in Ashurbanipal's court whose status is a further symbol of the Assyrian king's triumph.⁷

Another question surrounds the furniture depicted on the relief, a key source in the debate over whether Assyrian royalty actually used the many ivories and other objects of Phoenician and Syrian style that have been found in their palaces or whether this material was solely collected as booty, as it did not fit with royal iconography.⁸ Unfortunately, although some elements of the furniture in the banquet scene are depicted in fine detail, it is hard to classify

any element as either definitively Assyrian or non-Assyrian in style. Details such as the floral motifs and repeating lions that run along the base of the couch are not diagnostic. The most intriguing elements are the human figures visible at the top of the couch legs, which have been interpreted as depictions of the "woman at the window" (see cat. 51b) or, alternatively, as representations of a heroic male figure common in Mesopotamian art, usually depicted frontally, armed with a club and holding a lion (see "Art and Networks of Interaction Across the Mediterranean" in this volume, pp. 112–24).

Most of the faces on the banquet relief were mutilated in antiquity, particularly the face of the king. Noses and lips were destroyed and the eyes gouged in a manner recalling the punishment of criminals; the king's right hand and drinking vessel were also damaged, presumably to deny him refreshment. It is likely this damage was inflicted by the victorious Medes and Babylonians when Nineveh was sacked in 612 B.C., for this was not art as wallpaper.⁹ These reliefs, even this seemingly bucolic example, were powerful statements of Assyrian ideology, power, and prestige.

NT

1. For the larger garden scene, see Gadd 1936, pls. 39–42; Albenda 1976–77, pl. 1. 2. Albenda 1974. 3. Other elements in the scene have also been suggested as trophies, most notably the necklace that hangs from Ashurbanipal's couch, which Albenda (1976–77) suggests may symbolize the king's military successes in Egypt. 4. See especially the bronze plaque depicting a queen named Naqia participating in a ritual with the king (possibly Esarhaddon): Musée du Louvre, Paris, AO 20185. 5. Reade 1987. 6. Albenda 1976–77; Collins 2004, p. 2. 7. Root 2011. See Javier Álvarez-Mon (2009), who suggests Neo-Elamite parallels for the queen's circle-patterned garments; see also Collon 2010, pp. 158–59, figs. 12a, b. 8. Another relief in which an Assyrian king is shown using what appears to be elaborate ivory furniture is the depiction of Sennacherib's throne at the siege of Lachish: British Museum, London, BM 124911. 9. Other reliefs, including BM 124911, were also deliberately damaged.

ASSYRIA'S EASTERN FRONTIER

Daniel T. Potts

In his annals, Ashurnasirpal II (883–859 B.C.) describes his army's march to Assyria's northeastern borders, emphasizing the area's harsh terrain: "Moving on from the city Zamru to Mount Lāra, a rugged mountain which was unsuitable for chariotry (and) troops, I cut through with iron axes (and) I smashed (a way) with copper picks."¹ Natural barriers and challenging conditions such as those described above notwithstanding, by the first millennium B.C. the Assyrians were thoroughly familiar with the piedmont and mountains to the south and east of the Lesser Zab River, in what is today northeastern Iraq, where they had campaigned intermittently since the reign of Adad-nirari I (1305–1274 B.C.). Their objective

was the subjugation of a series of small city-states: not only the towns but their hinterlands and any non-Assyrian populations as well. In the first quarter of the first millennium B.C., this area was attacked repeatedly, first by Adad-nirari II (911–891 B.C.), and then by Tukulti-Ninurta II (890–884 B.C.), Ashurnasirpal II, and Shalmaneser III (858–824 B.C.), who finally pacified it in 842 B.C. Thereafter the Assyrians annexed the region, creating the province of Mazamua² and pushing Assyria's eastern frontier right up to the foothills of the Zagros Mountains (fig. 2.10). In so doing they established a staging arena for further campaigns into and beyond those mountains, sometimes penetrating deep



Fig. 2.10. Valley in the southern Zagros Mountains during the winter

into the Iranian plateau. A glance at a map of the area will show that the modern boundary between Iraq and Iran lies to the east of Assyria. Although this frontier represents in large part the imperial boundary forged during centuries of war between the Ottoman empire, Safavid Persia, and its Qajar successor³ and may appear anachronistic in a study of the Neo-Assyrian period, it also reflects a deep-seated cultural divide that persisted for millennia.

Who were Assyria's eastern neighbors, anthropologically speaking? The entire area encompassed today by the Iranian provinces of Azerbaijan, Kurdistan, Luristan, and Khuzestan as well as Iraqi Kurdistan had been inhabited for millennia prior to becoming a target of Assyrian aggression. By the early first millennium B.C., this region was home to a variety of groups: Mannans in what is today northern Kurdistan and eastern Azerbaijan; Zamuans in southern Kurdistan; Kassites and Ellipians in Luristan; and Elamites in Khuzestan, all of whom spoke non-Iranian languages. From the mid-ninth century B.C. onward, if not earlier, these areas were infiltrated by Iranian speakers, originally from the steppe areas to the west, north, and east of the Caspian Sea, of whom the Medes are the best documented. At least some Aramaic speakers were resident in the region too, though probably as immigrants.⁴ Other groups, whose names are unknown to us, probably lived in these areas as well, for a not insignificant number of personal and place-names have no affinity to the region's known languages (Assyrian, Babylonian, Kassite, Hurrian, Elamite, and Old Iranian). The relationship of the indigenous Iron Age populations of central-western and northwestern Iran to the populations of the late third and early second millennium B.C. (for example, the Gutians and Lullubi) is unclear, and we have little or no understanding of those mechanisms of ethnogenesis, language change, and immigration that may have transformed the region during the course of the Bronze Age.

Although Assyrian expansion in the west has been studied extensively,⁵ the situation in the east is less well understood. In the case of Assyria's eastern frontier, the nature of the terrain must have exerted a profound influence, for the Zagros Mountains constituted a formidable barrier to communication and would have made the logistics of maintaining garrisons and provisioning armies on campaign more difficult than, for example, on the plains of Syria. Thus, we must distinguish those areas that were actually conquered and incorporated into the empire from those that may have been reached by Assyrian armies but not held.

The Assyrians established a handful of provinces in the Iranian Zagros, including Parsua, Bit-Hamban, Karalla,

Kishesim, Kar-Sharrukin, Harhar, and Kar-Nergal. Moreover, they altered the region's demography through deportation. To cite just two among many examples, after the conquest of Karalla and Uishdish in Mannea by Sargon II, people from these provinces were deported to Hamath in Syria and the Brook of Egypt (the Besor River), while Samaritans were deported to "the cities of the Medes" (2 Kings 18:11).⁶ Locating the Assyrians' Zagros provinces has proved controversial, and opinions have sometimes diverged sharply,⁷ but in general we can say that Assyria's annexation of areas in western Iran probably did not extend beyond the area of Kangavar, in the modern province of Kermanshah. Farther north, to the south and west of Lake Urmia (the plains of Marand, Khoy, Shapur, Urmia, and Ushnu-Solduz), in Mannea, the Assyrians faced stiff competition from the Urartians, who had annexed much of this region (see "The Myth of Ararat and the Fortresses of Urartu" in this volume, pp. 83–86).⁸

Archaeological evidence that might reflect the Assyrian presence in the eastern provinces is often equivocal. Thus, examples of Assyrian and Assyrianizing glyptic,⁹ ivories (fig. 2.11),¹⁰ horse armor,¹¹ and weaponry¹² from Hasanlu are too few in number to support the hypothesis of a significant Assyrian presence at the site. Similarly, glazed bricks in Assyrian style recovered at Qalaichi and Qal'e Bardine, near Bukan, and Tappeh Rabat, near Sardasht,¹³ may simply reflect the emulation of Assyrian styles by Mannean(?) elites rather than the existence at any of these sites of actual Assyrian outposts.¹⁴ Unfortunately, the remains of a putative Neo-Assyrian palace excavated in the 1930s by Georges Contenau and Roman Ghirshman at Tepe Giyan, near Nehavand, have been mentioned briefly in print but never published.¹⁵

Much of the area around Lake Urmia falls into the category of regions in which the Assyrians campaigned without ever establishing a permanent occupation, for, as noted above, the Urartians annexed and colonized much of the region, forging close ties to the Mannans. It was in Lake Urmia that, after battling the Urartians in 859 B.C. and again in 856 B.C., Shalmaneser III symbolically "washed his weapons." Almost thirty years later, in 829 B.C., he sent his forces eastward once again, this time against Udaku the Mannean.¹⁶ Both Tiglath-Pileser III and Sargon II campaigned against the Urartians and their Mannean allies in this region as well.¹⁷ Looking eastward, a text of Adad-nirari III's (810–783 B.C.) from Nimrud refers to the conquest of a large group of eastern lands (Namri, Ellipi, Harhar, Araziash, Mesu, Media, Gizilbunda, Munna, Parsua, Allabria, Abdadanu, Nairi and Andia), and although possibly hyperbolic—the territory is said to extend "as far as the shore of the great sea in the



Fig. 2.11. Ivory plaque fragment showing head of bearded male figure. Hasanlu. Iron Age II. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Rogers Fund, 1965 (65.163.2a, b)

east” — the reference nonetheless raises the possibility that the Assyrians may have reached the Caspian Sea in the late ninth century B.C.¹⁸

Assyrian campaigns were often commemorated on the spot by the erection of royal stelae or the carving of rock reliefs. While some of these are known only from references to them in royal inscriptions,¹⁹ a number of actual stelae and rock reliefs have been found in western Iran (fig. 2.12).²⁰ In addition, many of the Zagros towns besieged and conquered by the Assyrians were depicted in the palace reliefs of Tiglath-Pileser III (744–727 B.C.) and Sargon II (721–705 B.C.) in their respective palaces at Nimrud (Central Palace) and Khorsabad.²¹ Indeed, the depiction of Tikrakka, a site in northwestern Media near the Mannean frontier that was attacked by Sargon II in 715 B.C., even shows the royal stele he erected there.²²

But perhaps the most intriguing evidence of Assyrian penetration in the east, fleeting though it may have been, dates to the early seventh century B.C., when, according to a text inscribed on numerous clay prisms, Esarhaddon (680–669 B.C.) campaigned against Patusharra (*kurPa-tu-uš-ar-ra/ri*), “a district in the area of the salt desert, which is in the midst of the land of the distant Medes,” on the border of “Mount Bikni, the lapis lazuli mountain, (and) upon the soil

of whose land none of the kings, my ancestors, had walked.”²³ If, as François Vallat once suggested, the salt desert (*Bīt-tābtī*) referred to here is the Dasht-e Kavir or Kavir-e Namak, the Great Salt Desert of eastern Iran,²⁴ then Mount Bikni (*kurBi-ig/k-ni/nu*) must lie equally far to the east. While Vallat identified “the lapis lazuli mountain” with Badakhshan, in modern Afghanistan, from which most of the lapis lazuli used in the ancient Near East was obtained, others have suggested that Mount Bikni is actually Mount Damavand, in the Elburz range, the imposing, 4,667-meter-high volcanic peak east of Tehran²⁵ that can be seen from hundreds of miles away.²⁶ Moreover, a number of scholars have compared Assyrian Patusharra with Middle Persian Padišwārgar, a region mentioned in the Middle Persian Zoroastrian text known as the Greater Bundahišn (§80) and the Provincial Cities of Eranšahr in connection with Mount Damavand²⁷ and the likely homeland of Darius the Great’s spearbearer, Gobryas, who was



Fig. 2.12. Inscribed stele with the Assyrian king and divine symbols. Hamadan province, Najafabad. Neo-Assyrian, reign of Sargon II. National Museum of Iran, Tehran

described in Old Persian as a Pātišhuvāri, or Patischorian.²⁸ It was probably from this region that Esarhaddon received tribute in the form of horses and “blocks of lapis lazuli” from three chieftains—Uppis, Zanasana, and Ramateia—who were described as “Medes whose country is remote (and) who had not crossed the boundary of Assyria nor trodden on its soil in (the time of) the kings, my ancestors.”²⁹

Moving beyond the realm of bombastic statements in Neo-Assyrian royal inscriptions, omen literature and letters sent back to the capital with news from frontline commanders and officials in the eastern provinces reveal fascinating details of goings-on in the Zagros. In one letter, for example, the official Ashur-ushallim writes to Esarhaddon, at the time crown prince, quoting a letter that he had previously received from him with specific instructions about the measures to be taken at garrisons in Mannea, Media, and Hubushkia with respect to deserters.³⁰ In another, Nabu-remanni, the Assyrian governor of Parsua, reports to Sargon II that one hundred horses being conveyed by a group of Zalipaeans and apparently intended for the Assyrians had been detained (hijacked?) by the Manneans, thus hindering delivery.³¹ Other texts reveal Assyrian anxieties with respect to the eastern provinces, and the omen literature from the reigns of Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal, in particular, is replete with queries: Will the Manneans capture the town of Sharru-iqbi? Will the Assyrians succeed in recapturing Dur-Ilil from the Manneans? Will Scythians and Kimmerians from the north invade Bit-Hamban?³² In a query to the sun god Shamash, Esarhaddon asked how he should reply to messengers sent by Bartatua, a Scythian king, apparently seeking a royal daughter in marriage.³³ This text should probably be read in conjunction with another query asking whether the Scythian troops, which had been in Mannea and were apparently on the move, would come through the passes of Hubushkia, attack Harrania and Anisus, and pillage Assyrian territories.³⁴

There can be no doubt that Assyria’s rivalry with Urartu engendered significant Assyrian preoccupation with the northern Zagros, particularly the area around Lake Urmia.

As for the central Zagros, where the Assyrians had established a chain of provinces, these proved to be a source of tremendous wealth, particularly in the form of horseflesh. Media was a noted horse-breeding area, and intermittent horse raids³⁵ as well as tribute in the form of horses and other livestock made a significant contribution to the Assyrian military machine. To the south lay the area of Ellipi, “in all likelihood the most important political unit in Luristan during the 8th and 7th centuries B.C.,”³⁶ and an ally of an even more distant adversary, situated largely on the plains of Susiana (in modern Khuzestan), the kingdom of Elam. Sargon II’s campaigns against Ellipi are well documented,³⁷ but it was Assyria’s long-running battle with Elam that attracted the greatest interest both in cuneiform sources and numerous Assyrian palatial wall reliefs (see “Elam” in this volume, pp. 79–80; see also cat. 21).³⁸

Elam was a thorn in Assyria’s side for a number of reasons, not least because of the support it frequently tendered to Babylonia in the latter’s attempts to resist or throw off the yoke of Assyrian imperialism.³⁹ In contrast to the central Zagros, where Assyria established new provinces, Elam was managed differently. Repeated attempts were made to extract loyalty from Elamite chiefly families. Royal hostages were kept at the Assyrian court; troublesome kings were routinely deposed and replaced with ones thought to be more pro-Assyrian; vicious campaigns were launched; and Susa was savaged on more than one occasion. Ashurbanipal even boasted of breaking the horns off the ziggurat of the city in 647 B.C.⁴⁰ Yet in spite of bearing the brunt of repeated Assyrian campaigns and being on the receiving end of attacks by armies that were undoubtedly larger and better equipped than their own, the Elamites showed extraordinary resilience during the course of more than a century of Assyrian aggression. And remarkably, when the Assyrian empire was finally brought down by a coalition of Medes and Babylonians, an Elamite revival took place, both in the highlands of Fars and in Khuzestan,⁴¹ that helped pave the way for the eventual rise of Cyrus the Great, founder of an empire that surpassed even that of the Assyrians.

ELAM

Elizabeth Carter

Elam” and “Elamite” describe, respectively, the western and southern areas of the modern Iranian state and the peoples who occupied them from the late fourth millennium to the middle of the first millennium B.C. This definition is based on a coincidence of cuneiform sources that indicate the existence of political ties between the cities of Anshan, in Fars, and Susa, in Khuzestan, and a loose cultural unity visible in the material culture of these and adjacent regions in the central Zagros Mountains.¹ Susa, the lowland capital of Elam, lay at the northwestern edge of the fertile Susiana plain, an eastward extension of the larger Mesopotamia plain (fig. 2.13). Several different highland valleys with good agricultural land were allied with Susa at various points in its history, but the most enduring among these was the Kur River basin of Fars province, where Anshan (Tal-i Malyan) was situated.

During the Late Bronze Age (ca. 1600–1200 B.C.), the Elamites of southwestern Iran formed a union of highland and lowland folk reflected in the distribution of royal building inscriptions in Elamite cuneiform, which have been found in a region stretching from Susiana to Anshan.² Textual sources from Susiana and Babylonia document both hostilities and diplomatic links between the Kassite Babylonians and the Middle Elamite rulers of Susiana.³ The production of luxury items of glass, faience, and metal under royal patronage in palatial towns such as Kabnak (Haft Tepe) and Al Untash Napirisha (Choga Zanbil) indicates Elamite participation in trade and finds parallels with sites from Nuzi to Alalakh.⁴

Historical records show that the later kings of the Middle Elamite empire successfully attacked Mesopotamia along the foothill road to the northeast⁵ and controlled the hinterlands of Susiana, the Persian Gulf, and Fars at the end of the Late



Fig. 2.13. Aerial view of Susa. Clockwise from left: Acropole, Apadana, and Ville Royale mounds

Bronze Age. The Elamites brought an end to the Kassite dynasty in Babylon in about 1157 B.C., but soon thereafter the Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar I (ca. 1125–1104 B.C.) defeated Hutelutush-Inshushinak, the last king of the Middle Elamite empire. The Middle Elamite dynasty appears to have continued after this defeat, particularly in the southeastern highlands, but written sources disappear from Susa, and the evidence of archaeological survey shows a marked decline in the population of Susiana at this time.⁶

The first centuries of the first millennium B.C. in southwestern Iran, Babylonia, and Chaldea were times of tribal growth and urban decline likely linked to a prolonged period of drought. Chaldeans and Arameans had moved into the areas of southwestern Iran formerly under Elamite control, especially along the river Ulai (modern Karkheh) and in the Pusht-i Kuh (western Luristan).⁷ Elamite territory lay to the east of these areas: in the middle plains of central Khuzestan, the upland valleys of southeastern Khuzestan, and western Fars. To the northwest of Susa, particularly on the upper reaches of the Karkheh River on the eastern side of the Zagros Mountains—an area known as the Pish-i Kuh (northeastern Luristan)—Elamite cultural traditions remained alive, but our sources are mute on the ethnic background of the population. To the southeast, in the territory of Anshan, Persian tribes appear to have entered Fars,⁸ and the Medes were consolidating their power base in northwestern Iran.⁹

By the mid-eighth century B.C. a new political and social landscape had emerged in Elam. Susa was no longer its political center but remained an important symbol of Elamite identity. Madaktu (still unlocated) and Hidalu (possibly near Behbahan, in southeastern Khuzestan) now appear frequently in the Assyrian sources as the foci of Elamite political and military activity. Elam was fragmented and unstable, however: nineteen kings ruled Elam during the reign of Sargon II (721–705 B.C.) alone, and the Assyrians used Elamite disunity to keep them under control.¹⁰

During the eighth century B.C., a shift in the course of the Euphrates River back toward the old centers of settlement, an

amelioration of climate, and the stability of Assyrian rule led to the rebirth of urban life in Babylonia. Susa likewise showed renewed prosperity under king Shutruk-Nahhunte II (ca. 716–699 B.C.), who took the name and title “king of Anshan and Susa, enlarger of the realm,” possibly in emulation of the powerful Middle Elamite king of that name.¹¹ The use of Elamite in royal inscriptions tied this ruler to the city’s past, linked Susa to the increasingly powerful highland polities, and distinguished the Susians from both their Assyrian enemies and Babylonian allies. The finds from Shutruk-Nahhunte II’s small temple built on the Acropole at Susa include glazed brick and tiles similar to those used by Middle Elamite kings, and objects from this period in a variety of techniques, including relief sculpture and faience, have been excavated at Susa.

The southern and eastern trade routes linking Arabia, the Persian Gulf, and southern Iran to the Levant increased in importance at this time. Babylonia’s cities managed the trade and reaped the profits.¹² Babylonian advancement meant that Elam gained as well, a pattern observed over the millennia.¹³ The Elamites provided military aid to the Babylonians not only for direct monetary gain but also to maintain the commercial advantage they had when the Babylonians controlled the international trade routes. The Elamites, mostly on behalf of the Babylonians, fought a long succession of wars culminating in the hostilities against Ashurbanipal (668–627 B.C.). A series of reliefs found in Nineveh documents the battle of Til Tuba, near the river Ulai in Elam. The Elamites are shown wearing their distinctive dress and headgear, and their rulers’ names are carefully recorded for posterity in epigraphs accompanying the reliefs (cat. 21).

In 646 B.C., the Assyrian army finally sacked Susa, but an Elamite presence continued in the highlands of the Zagros and reappeared at Susa after a short hiatus. The archaeological and historical records relating to Elam show that the Elamites resisted the Assyrian armies in the seventh century B.C., only to become subsumed by the imperial core of the Achaemenid empire in the sixth century B.C.



23. Relief fragment with spinner

Bitumen compound; H. 10 cm (4 in.), W. 13 cm (5 1/8 in.)
 Susa (J. de Morgan excavations)
 Neo-Elamite, ca. 8th–7th century B.C.
 Musée du Louvre, Paris, Département des Antiquités
 Orientales (Sb 2834)

This relief fragment is a masterpiece of Neo-Elamite sculpture, but the missing section on the right side renders elusive part of the scene's meaning.¹ In the center, a woman sitting on a stool with lion's feet holds a spindle and seems to be presenting the freshly completed product of her work. Her cross-legged pose reflects her work as a spinner. She is richly adorned, with six bracelets on each arm, clothing with embroidered trim, and her hair skillfully arranged with intertwined locks and ribbons. Behind her stands a servant woman with curly hair, wearing multiple bracelets and a belt with chevron motifs and holding in both hands a square fly-whisk, probably woven from reeds.² In front of the spinner is a lion-footed table bearing a fish surrounded by round objects, either bread rolls or fruit. To the right of the table, grazing one of its legs, is the bottom of a tufted wool garment, probably worn by a seated figure, to judge by the diagonal drape of the fabric.

Similar compositions in which a male servant holding a square fan is separated from a large figure by a small stand covered with prepared dishes appeared earlier in Middle Assyrian,³ Kassite, and Middle Elamite glyptic and continued to be represented into the first millennium B.C.⁴ They may depict a cult ceremony unfolding at the royal court.⁵ This relief, however, differs because of the spinner's representa-

tion in the intimacy of a private space, as suggested by her posture. To the several possible interpretations of the scene,⁶ perhaps another can be added concerning the activity of spinning wool. While a stele from Marash is the only other known Near Eastern representation of spinning from this date,⁷ the activity is mentioned on a stele from Karatepe⁸ and in Homeric writings.⁹ In the Greek world, spinning wool and weaving defined a woman's gender identity.¹⁰ The Marash and Susa spinners depict high-ranking women, to judge by their complicated hairstyles and the rich embroidery on their clothing as well as the clothes of the incomplete

figure on the Susa relief. Perhaps this scene represents a married couple, with the wife extending the spindle to her husband, attesting to her skillfulness in textile working and dominion over the gynaecium (the women's quarters). A more metaphorical interpretation relating to the thread of destiny is also possible. A B

1. Amiet 1966, p. 540, no. 413; Oscar White Muscarella in Harper, Aruz, and Tallon 1992, pp. 200–201, no. 141. 2. Collon 2001, p. 65. 3. *Ibid.*, pp. 64–65. 4. *Ibid.*, e.g., pl. IX, nos. 104, 107, 114, 116, 117; and Amiet 1966, p. 540, no. 414. 5. Porada 1970, pp. 58–59, and pl. VII, nos. 73 and 76. 6. Muscarella in Harper, Aruz, and Tallon 1992, p. 201, offers a summary of possible interpretations, including a scene representing the worship of a deity through offerings, or a reference to a funerary cult. 7. Bittel 1976, p. 274, fig. 313. 8. In a seventh-century B.C. hieroglyphic inscription, Azatiwatas boasts of having reestablished peace in his kingdom, since women could now walk around with their spindles; Freu and Mazoyer 2012, p. 163. 9. Penelope is the best-known incarnation (*Odyssey* 17.102–5). 10. Cottica 2007.

24. Pierced plaque with apotropaic figures

Limestone; H. 14.7 cm (5 3/4 in.), W. 16.8 cm (6 5/8 in.)
 Susa (J. de Morgan excavations)
 Neo-Elamite, ca. 8th–7th century B.C.
 Musée du Louvre, Paris, Département des Antiquités
 Orientales (Sb 43)

This pierced limestone relief plaque is decorated with lotus-bud ornaments on the sides and a rosette in the center. When the nail or stake that mounted the plaque on the wall was in place, the flower itself had a center, making it comparable to the bronze plaques from Balawat (cat. 44a, b). The purpose of this object was not decorative but protective. It depicts two menacing



warriorlike figures—an anthropomorphic god wearing a horned headdress and a (quite damaged) lion-demon—wielding daggers in their raised left hands. The lion-headed creature, with a mane in the form of a feathered crown, has the torso and arms of a human, the legs of a wild beast, and the talons of a bird of prey. He raises a club high in his right hand and wears a sword on his belt. The depiction of this monster is so stereotypical that, despite its fragmentary state, it can be reconstructed as having long, pointed ears and holding a dagger in its left hand, raised to strike.¹

Many details indicate Elamite production, such as the embroideries or oblique braids at the top of the god's costume (identical to those of a kneeling figure on a tile from Susa);² the peaked element on the lower border of the skirts of the figures;³ the hair gathered in a round knot at the nape; the headdress crowned by a ball;⁴ and the treatment of the beards. Lastly, lotus buds are represented alone instead of alternating with flowers, unlike the Assyrian depiction of a carpet on a threshold from the palace of Nineveh.⁵

The mythological inspiration is, however, clearly Neo-Assyrian. Figures with horned headdresses and lion-demons are often depicted on the reliefs placed next to doorways in the palaces of Nimrud and Nineveh. As personifications of magical forces prepared to ward off evil spirits that might endanger the passageway, they strike a combative pose. This plaque must have had a similar function, guarding the entrance to a house rather than a palace, given its small size.⁶ As in the faience box from Susa (cat. 25), the Assyrian influence on the imagery is clear, although we cannot explain how it found its way to Elam.

AB

1. A. R. Green 1986, nos. 78, 79, 88, 89, 91, 92, 95, 98–102, 105–6. 2. Canal 1976, p. 85, fig. 14. 3. See as well the quadrangular victory stele Sb 5, Amiet 1966, figs. 410A and B. 4. Canal 1976, p. 85, fig. 14. 5. Musée du Louvre, Paris, AO 19915. 6. The place of discovery remains unknown.

25. Pyxis decorated with griffins and bulls

Faience with traces of monochrome glaze; H. 16.8 cm (6 $\frac{5}{8}$ in.), W. 12.4 cm (4 $\frac{7}{8}$ in.)
Susa, tell of Apadana, west parvis (R. de Mecquenem excavations, March 28, 1935)
Neo-Elamite, 9th–8th century B.C.
Musée du Louvre, Paris, Département des Antiquités Orientales (Sb 2810)

This square box, one of the most beautiful known from the Elamite civilization, is decorated in low relief on all four sides.¹ Framed by hatched borders, griffins alternate with human-headed



winged bulls with lion's feet and two pairs of ears, one animal and one human.² The guilloché band along the top of these panels is interrupted by two handles in the shape of female heads, which also served to fasten a lid with pegs or ties, inserted vertically into the perforations. These two heads recall faience appliques in the shape of female masks, which were widespread from Cyprus to Iran in the second half of the second millennium B.C., especially at the sites of Ras Shamra,³ Mari,⁴ and Choga Zambil.⁵ The first faience boxes and goblets with female faces also date to this period.

The box was discovered in Susa in 1935 “in the old Elamite cemetery,” under the palace built by Darius during the Achaemenid period on the tell of the Apadana.⁶ It can be dated to the eighth century B.C. based on a comparison with a similar box found by Louis Vanden Berghe in the necropolis of Karkhai in Luristan.⁷ The decoration on the latter box is limited to a central rosette inside a four-pointed star, repeated four times. The rosette is an omnipresent decorative element on Neo-Elamite pyxides⁸ and appears on the present example, between the animals' paws. A rosette probably also decorated the missing lid.⁹ In contrast, the box in the Louvre, with its anthropomorphic handles and fantastic creatures, is exceptionally richly

decorated. Like the perforated plaque from the same site (cat. 24), the box displays Assyrian influence, here in the form of human-headed winged bulls, or *lamassu*, who were guardian figures in Assyrian palaces (see fig. 2.1).

Given their size, it is unlikely these boxes contained cosmetic products, whether makeup or perfumed oil or cream; spherical, high-necked bottles may have been reserved for that purpose. Alternately, boxes of this type may have contained a solid material, although their original contents cannot be determined. Most plausible is the hypothesis proposed by Suzanne Heim that such boxes held a liquid, oil or water, necessary for the deceased in the passage to the hereafter,¹⁰ a hypothesis that accords with the frequent funerary context of discovery for these objects.

AB

1. Amiet 1966, pp. 498–99, no. 375; Amiet 1988, pp. 112–13, fig. 68; Suzanne Heim in Harper, Aruz, and Tallon 1992, pp. 207–8, no. 145. 2. That trait is well known on androcephalus bulls and on bull-men; cf. Amiet 1966, fig. 368. 3. Musée du Louvre, Paris, AO 15731, found in tomb VI in Minet el-Beidha, port of Ras Shamra; Schaeffer 1933, pl. XL, 2. 4. Parrot 1937, pl. XIV, 3–4, for the one in the Louvre (AO 19078). 5. Ghirshman 1966, pl. XCV, G.T.Z.7. 6. Mecquenem 1943, pp. 35–36, fig. 28. 7. Vanden Berghe 1973, p. 28. 8. Particularly on cylindrical pyxides, which are much more widespread than quadrangular ones. 9. In view of the few known examples in the Louvre collections: Sb 12244, Sb 12245, Sb 12247. 10. Heim 1992, p. 203.

THE MYTH OF ARARAT AND THE FORTRESSES OF URARTU

Béatrice André-Salvini and Mirjo Salvini

The ancient kingdom of Urartu was, from the ninth to seventh century B.C., a powerful adversary of the Assyrian empire. Nearly 180 years of philological and historical research¹ and an only slightly shorter period of archaeological investigations have shaped our knowledge of Urartian civilization and its relations with the cultures and civilizations of the Armeno-Iranian plateau and Mesopotamia in the early centuries of the first millennium B.C. Thanks to the Assyrian sources, combined with archaeological discoveries and indigenous written documents, we can reconstruct the history of Urartu from the second half of the ninth century B.C. on.

Two of the principal Urartian sites are fortified cities that date to the seventh century B.C.: Toprakkale, near Van in eastern Turkey, and Karmir Blur, located on the periphery of Yerevan, the capital of the Republic of Armenia. Toprakkale, the ancient fortress city called in the Urartian language Rusa-hinili KUR.Qilbanikai (Foundations of Rusa opposite Mount Qilbani), stood opposite the great mountain of Ereğ Dağ, which overlooks the Van plain. It was there that, in the late ninth century B.C., the Urartian capital of Tushpa was founded on a solitary rock (Van Kalesi). Karmir Blur, on the Hrazdan River, a tributary of the Aras, is known through epigraphic sources by the name Teishebai-URU (City of

Teisheba), because it was dedicated to the storm god of the Urartians. This deity, Teisheba, corresponds to Teshshup, storm god of the Hurrians, who is well attested in the Hittite archives of the second millennium B.C.

These two sites bear witness to two distinct phases of archaeological research on Urartu. Toprakkale was first excavated by G. C. Reynolds and Hormuzd Rassam for the British Museum in 1880 and later as part of the Armenische Expedition of the Akademie der Wissenschaften in Berlin, headed by Carl Friedrich Lehmann-Haupt, in 1898–99.² As a result, most of the bronze objects known from that site are in the British Museum, London, or the Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin. Karmir Blur, associated with Boris B. Piotrovskii, former director of the State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg, was the object of the first scientific excavation in Urartu, which lasted from 1939 to about 1970.³ The History Museum of Armenia in Yerevan holds most of the objects from the excavations at Karmir Blur and from the entire territory of Armenia.

The two cities were founded in the second quarter of the seventh century B.C. by the most important ruler in the last phase of Urartian history, Rusa II, son of Argishti II.⁴ An exemplary builder-king, Rusa founded at least five fortress



Fig. 2.14. View of Mount Ararat

cities in the provinces of his empire. The others known to us are Bastam in Iranian Azerbaijan and Kef Kalesi and Ayanis on the northern and eastern shores, respectively, of Lake Van in eastern Turkey. Bastam was given the name Rusai URU. TUR (Little City of Rusa), despite being the second largest and most powerful fortress of Urartu, after Van Kalesi (Tushpa).⁵ Ayanis was called Rusahinili KUR.Eidurukai (Foundations of Rusa opposite Eiduru), a mountain identified as Mount Süphan Dağ, on the northern shore of the lake.⁶ These sites have provided us with fine examples of civil and religious architecture and with a large quantity of documents, composed in Assyrian cuneiform writing in the Urartian language. It is on the basis of these texts that we can reconstruct the history of the kingdom of Urartu⁷ and of the Armenian Highlands in their relations with their neighbors: the Assyrian empire, the Mannean states, and the tribes of the Transcaucasus.

The myth of Ararat, which has come down to us through the Bible, originated in the seventh century B.C. (fig. 2.14). Since the archaeological and historical discovery of Urartu in the nineteenth century, it has been ascertained that, because of the Masoretic vocalization (ʾrrt > Ararat), the biblical name Ararat corresponds to Urartu (KUR.Ur-ar-tu or KUR-U-ra-ar-tu, the “land of Urartu”) in the Assyrian cuneiform sources. Their syllabic writing system has preserved for us the original vocalic structure.⁸

The books of the Bible cite Ararat on three different occasions. The most famous is in Genesis (8:4–5), within the context of Noah’s ark: “And the ark rested in the seventh month, on the seventeenth day of the month, upon the mountains of Ararat. And the waters decreased continually until the tenth month: in the tenth *month*, on the first *day* of the month, were the tops of the mountains seen.” This episode shows that, from the beginning, the biblical authors were referring not to a particular mountain, as the entire medieval and modern tradition claimed, but to the “mountains of Ararat,” that is, of Urartu, the mountainous region par excellence, as opposed to the easily flooded Mesopotamian plain, which was covered by the Deluge.

Ararat is cited again in Jeremiah 51:27: “Set up a standard in the land, Blow the horn among the nations, Prepare the nations against her, Call together against her the kingdoms of Ararat, Minni and Ashkenaz.” This famous passage invokes the punishment of Babylonia by the kingdoms of Ararat, Minni, and Ashkenaz. As is well known, these are the corrupted names of the three political entities of the mountainous north that correspond to the reigns of Urartu, Manna, and the Scythians, natural foes of Assyria and of the

Mesopotamian world in general. The biblical authors superimpose Babylonia on Assyria from the historical perspective. It is the Assyrian empire, rather than the Babylonian, that had dealings with these kingdoms in the eighth and seventh centuries B.C.

The third event connected with Ararat is related in 2 Kings 19:36–37 (and also in Isaiah 36–38): “So Sennacherib king of Assyria departed, and went and returned, and dwelt at Nineveh. And it came to pass, as he was worshiping in the house of Nisroch his god, that Adrammelech and Sarezer his sons smote him with the sword; and they escaped into the land of Ararat. And Esarhaddon his son reigned in his stead.” Although this episode is not confirmed directly by any contemporary Assyrian sources, we do know there was a struggle for succession between Sennacherib’s eldest son, Ardamulishshi, and Esarhaddon, whom Sennacherib had chosen as his heir. As recorded in the Babylonian Chronicle, Sennacherib was killed by his sons during an insurrection in 681 B.C.,⁹ at which time the king of Urartu was Rusa II.

Rusa passed into history as the king whose reign saw the last period of flourishing in the arts, above all in architecture, epigraphy, stone sculpture, engraved metalwork, and bronze-working.¹⁰ From a military standpoint, the kingdom of Urartu was also at the peak of its powers. It is precisely from the inscriptions of Esarhaddon that we have information on this subject. They provide the background for the episode narrated in 2 Kings 19:36–37. In Esarhaddon’s letter to the god Ashur, written in 673/672 B.C., Rusa is mentioned in relation to the expedition against Shubria, a region in the area of the Bohtan Su, a left-bank tributary of the Tigris.¹¹ The Assyrian king attempts to have the deserters from his army delivered to him by the king of Shubria, and in support of his request he states that “not a single Urartian fugitive did I withhold, — none escaped, but I returned them to their land.”

It is clear from Esarhaddon’s letter that the relations between Assyria and Urartu in 672 B.C. were those of two equal powers, linked by international treaties. Studies of Urartu confirm that the state enjoyed extraordinary power and prosperity at that time. Against such a backdrop, we can better understand why the killers of Sennacherib fled toward Urartu, probably via the land of Shubria. By combining biblical references and the Babylonian Chronicle with information from Urartian research, we may consider as a proven historical fact that the patricides, killers of the Assyrian king Sennacherib, fled and in 681 B.C. found political exile in the lands of the kingdom of Urartu. The historical foundation for the myth of Ararat is thus situated in the last phase of the history of Urartu.

The most ancient Urartian monument is the Sardursburg, a structure built of enormous calcareous stones at the foot of the Rock of Van (Van Kalesi), the seat of the ancient capital of Tushpa (fig. 2.15). Six cuneiform inscriptions in the Assyrian language were engraved there by Sarduri I (ca. 840–830 B.C.), founder of the royal dynasty of Urartu.¹² Since it stood next to the lake, this massive structure is believed to have been a quay rather than a fortress. The summit of the rocky outcrop, 85 meters high and 1,350 meters long, is topped by a citadel that probably dates back to the same ruler, who was thus the founder of Tushpa. His successors expanded the citadel and gradually occupied the entire Rock, recording their great deeds in a series of inscriptions. The Annals of Argishti I (785/780–756 B.C.)¹³ and of Sarduri II (756–ca. 730 B.C.), some inscribed on rock, others on stelae, are the most extensive written texts and contain the elements needed to reconstruct the history of the kingdom.¹⁴ At the Rock of Van, one can appreciate in particular the Urartian technique for excavating rock. Caves, often quite complex, have been dug nearly everywhere. Composed of several rooms put to various uses, they include a mausoleum for the family of Argishti I, the sacred stable of Minua (ca. 810–785/780 B.C.),

a burial vault, a columbarium (dovecote), and other large complexes without inscriptions, whose functions are therefore unknown.¹⁵

The entire territory of Urartu is dotted with chambers, tunnels, tombs, and rock inscriptions, even in the most remote places. A network of fortresses began to develop during the reigns of the early kings of the dynasty. Their purpose was to gradually increase territorial domination, beginning from the center at Van. Ishpuini (ca. 830–820/810 B.C.) built the fortresses of Zivistan and Lower Anzaf, which defended the plain surrounding Tushpa to the south and east.¹⁶ They have a simple, rectangular plan, without the buttresses and turrets that would later characterize Urartian strongholds beginning with the reign of Minua.

In Van, Ishpuini introduced the cult of Haldi, chief god of the Urartians and the god of the sanctuary of Musasir in Iraqi Kurdistan (fig. 2.16). In sharing power with his son Minua (coregency, ca. 820–810 B.C.), he sought to strengthen the dynasty. The sanctuary of Musasir was the guarantor of royal power, and a pilgrimage made by the two rulers is immortalized on the bilingual (Urartian and Assyrian) stele of Kelishin, erected at the pass of the same name in the



Fig. 2.15. The Rock of Van (Van Kalesi)

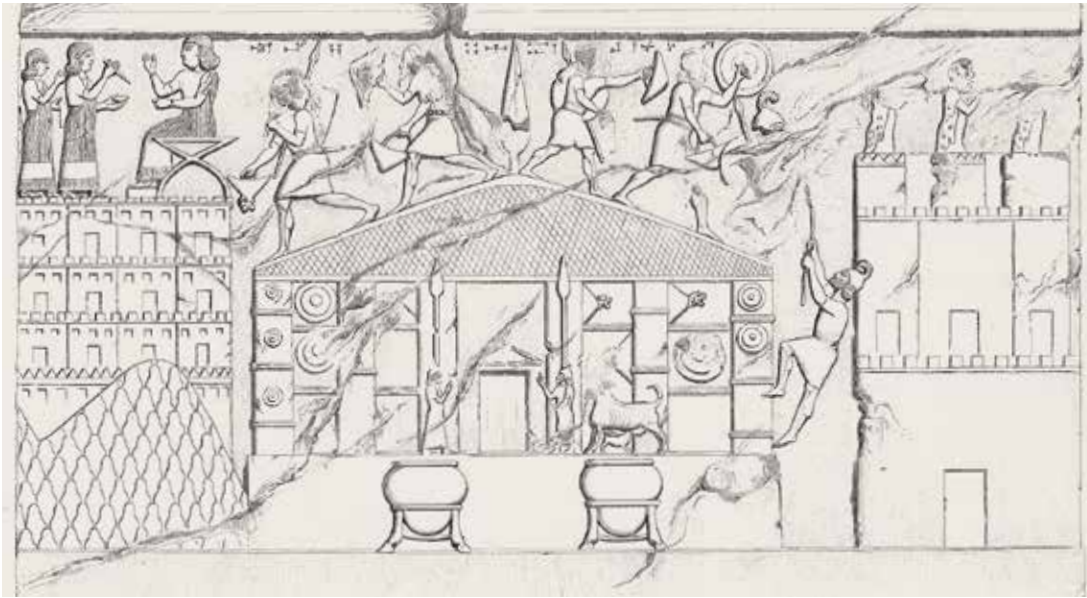


Fig. 2.16. Drawing of the temple of Haldi at Musasir being looted by Assyrian soldiers, on a stone relief (now lost) from the palace at Khorsabad. Neo-Assyrian, reign of Sargon II

Zagros Mountains, on the border of present-day Iran and Iraq. King Minua, who left behind the largest number of works and inscriptions, erected the fortress at Körzüt to the north, constructing there the first tower-temple—a structure that would come to be characteristic of Urartian architecture—as well as the fortress of Upper Anzaf, east of Van. He was also the builder of the Minua Canal, which brought water to Van from a source located 55 kilometers away and whose inauguration is celebrated in fourteen inscriptions. That canal, still in operation, has been known since the Late Middle Ages as the Semiramis Canal and was described by the Armenian historian Moses Khorenatzi in the fifth century.¹⁷ Minua expanded the territory of the kingdom as far west as the Euphrates by building the impregnable fortresses of Bagin and Palu (Shebeteria) on the Murad Su. He also created the institution of provincial governors and consolidated Urartian domination of the province of Iranian Azerbaijan, which had already been the object of expeditions (the capture of Meshta/Hasanlu) during the coregency with his father, Ishpuini. Minua reached the Aras River to the north, and there established a fortress called Minuahinili.

The conquest of the lands north of the Aras, now Armenia, was the work of Argishti I and Sarduri II. We can follow the progress of that conquest thanks to the structures and rock inscriptions made by these kings. The plain of Ararat, the Aras Valley, was colonized by Argishti I, who founded the fortified city of Erebuni (on the outskirts of Yerevan) and the metropolis of Argishtihiñili, which included two fortresses, Davti Blur and Armavir, located 3.5 kilometers apart, along with living quarters and artisans' workshops. Rusa I (ca. 730–713 B.C.) completed the occupation of the Lake Sevan basin and was immortalized in the rock inscription at

Tsovinar, which celebrates the construction of the mighty fortress known as the City of the Storm God as well as his victory over twenty-one kings “across the lake.”¹⁸

Rusa I is known in historiography as the adversary of Sargon II of Assyria, with whom he began a war that lasted from 719 to 714 B.C. The conflict focused primarily on control of the lands of the Mannaeans, south of Lake Urmia, and on the possession of the sanctuary of Musasir, seat of Haldi. Three bilingual stelae record Rusa's relations with Urzana, petty king of Musasir.¹⁹ On both counts, the war was a failure, exacerbated by the attacks of the Kimmerians. But although the Annals of Sargon relate the suicide of the Urartian king, that event did not signal the end of Urartu, since the enemy did not reach the capital. Rusa I's son and successor, Argishti II (from 713 B.C.), focused his campaigns on the northern territories and to the lands east of the Zagros. It is because of three rock inscriptions that we know of his conquests in the regions east of Tabriz in Iran.²⁰

After Argishti II came his son Rusa II, previously discussed. His son Rusa III, ruling in the mid-seventh century B.C., was the last builder-king of Urartu, responsible primarily for the major hydraulic project that created the artificial lake of Keşiş Göl (Lake of Rusa) and perhaps also for the foundation, or refoundation, of Toprakkale. The end of the kingdom is shrouded in darkness, but its downfall can probably be attributed to assaults by the Scythians, who were nomads from the Eurasian steppes. The large trilingual inscription made by the Achaemenid Persian ruler Darius I at Bisutun in 521 B.C. attests that the name Armina (Armenia) henceforth corresponded to the region of Urashtu (Urartu), which shows that by this time the Armenians had penetrated into the territory of the former kingdom of Urartu.²¹



26. Statuette of a god

Bronze; H. 19.7 cm (7¾ in.)
Van area
Urartian, 8th–7th century B.C.
The Trustees of the British Museum, London (ME 91147)

The god stands with both arms bent at the elbow and extended; the left hand, clenched in a fist, originally grasped an object that is now missing. He wears a horned headdress, a convention for representing a deity that was adopted into Urartian art from neighboring Assyria along with many other ideas, such as the use of cuneiform script for writing.¹ The long hair, beard, and eyebrows joined in the middle also reflect an Assyrian style, but the vertical stance is Urartian.² The figure was purchased in 1874 and is believed to have come from the area of Van.³ Although the identity of this god has not been determined, it is possible that he is Haldi, the principal deity of the Urartian pantheon.

The looting of lifesize copper-alloy statues from the temple of Haldi is mentioned in the accounts of Sargon II's campaign at Musasir⁴ and shown on reliefs from his palace (see

fig. 2.16).⁵ The subsequent fate of these pieces is unknown, but the depictions on the Assyrian reliefs strongly suggest they were broken up and melted down. Smaller statuettes, such as this figure, are known in limited numbers, although few come from excavations. Often incorporated into furniture or candelabra, these included human figures along with animals and fantastic creatures, the latter being particularly characteristic of Urartian art.⁶ All have parallels in the imagery that decorates metal objects such as shields, belts, and votive plaques. A F

1. A. Dinçol and B. Dinçol 2011, pp. 172–85. 2. Van Loon 1966, p. 87. 3. Merhav 1991c, p. 275; Barnett 1950, p. 2. 4. Mayer 1979. 5. Botta and Flandin 1849, pls. 140, 141. 6. Merhav 1991c, pp. 274–83.

27. Statuette of the goddess Arubani

Bronze; H. 12 cm (4¾ in.), W. 5.6 cm (2¼ in.)
Darabey fortress, near the city of Van
Urartian, 8th–7th century B.C.
History Museum of Armenia, Yerevan (1242)

Arubani, wife of the god Haldi, was the supreme goddess of the Urartian pantheon. In a number of texts, the name of Arubani (also read as Uarubani, or Varubani) is found together with the name of Haldi. According to Assyrian sources she also bore the name of Bagbartu or Bagmashtu.¹ Ardini (Musasir in Assyrian), the city of the god Haldi, was the center of worship of Arubani in Urartu.

The statuette represents a young woman seated on a throne. She has almond-shaped eyes, eyebrows set close to the bridge of her straight nose, and a smile flickering on her lips.² She wears a long garment and, on her head, a long veil that falls down her back. Her chest is decorated with strings of beads and a swordlike ornament with a couchant lion (Haldi's symbol) on the handle. The right hand of the goddess is outstretched, palm open, and the left is tightly closed, as if holding a branch. Such a posture, similar to that of a queen seated on the throne, is well known from other representations of the goddess. The proposed restoration of a branch in her hand can be explained by her identity as the goddess of vegetation, which was connected with the concept of fertility.³ I M

1. Piotrovskii 1959b, p. 223; Melikishvili 1960, pp. 420–21; Hmayakian 1990, pp. 38–39; Arutjunjan 2001, pp. 479–80. 2. For more on the statuette, see Piotrovskii 1940; Piotrovskii 1962, pp. 81–82, fig. 47; Platt 1995, p. 85, no. 70; Kévorkian 1996, no. 10; Santrot 1996, p. 150, no. 134; Sintès and Grigorian 2007, p. 129, no. 75; and Avetisyan et al. 2008, pp. 76–77, no. 37. 3. Loseva 1962, pp. 307–10, fig. 41.



28. Statuette of the god Teisheba

Bronze; H. 26 cm (10¼ in.), W. 5.5 cm (2⅛ in.)
Karmir Blur
Urartian, 8th–7th century B.C.
History Museum of Armenia, Yerevan (1740-1)

Teisheba, the god of war, thunder, and winds, was the second of the three supreme deities in the Urartian pantheon.¹ The statuette depicts the god as a young man standing on a foliate base. He wears a long, fringed garment, belted at the waist, and a fringed band over his shoulder. His hair comes down to his shoulders, and he wears a high headdress decorated with horns. The deity has a disc-shaped mace in his right hand and a battle-axe in his left hand. The mace and the battle-axe were the symbols of Teisheba's cosmic elements. The statuette was probably the standard of an Urartian military unit. Multicolored bands of cloth could have originally been attached to the ring at the top.²

In honor of Teisheba, the Urartians built the city of Teishebaini (Karmir Blur) in the Ararat Valley in the seventh century B.C.³ Excavations at Karmir Blur began in 1939 under the direction of Boris Piotrovskii, archaeologist, orientalist,



29. Quiver

Bronze; H. 68 cm (26¾ in.), W. 11 cm (3½ in.)
Karmir Blur, wine cellar no. 13 (1948)
Urartian, 8th century B.C.
History Museum of Armenia, Yerevan (2303-7)

30. Helmet

Bronze; H. 30 cm (11¼ in.), Diam. 29 cm (11¼ in.)
Karmir Blur
Urartian, 786–764 B.C.
History Museum of Armenia, Yerevan (2010-42)

31. Shield

Bronze; H. 25 cm (9⅞ in.), Diam. 76.7 cm (30¼ in.)
Karmir Blur
Urartian, 735–714 B.C.
History Museum of Armenia, Yerevan (2303-10)

The art of Urartu is most extensively represented in the form of metalwork. Urartian artisans apparently had access to plentiful sources of tin and were extremely skilled in working bronze and other metals.¹ Decorative motifs were often adopted from Assyrian iconography, such as the divine figures flanking a stylized “sacred tree,” well known from the Northwest Palace reliefs of Ashurnasirpal II. However, a distinctive Urartian style can be identified, characterized by intricate decorative patterns and rather static compositions, especially evident in images of animals, both real and fantastic, which were a favorite motif of Urartian art.

An important category of Urartian metalwork is armor and weapons, which are attested primarily in the form of votive objects and often bear dedicatory inscriptions.² Urartian soldiers shown on the bronze relief bands from the Assyrian site of Balawat (see fig. 1.5) are represented with crested helmets, spears, and small round shields resembling Hittite armor³ or with pointed helmets similar to the Assyrian type. Excavations at Karmir Blur, in present-day Armenia, have uncovered a large number of richly varied elements of military equipment, including this helmet, quiver, and shield.⁴

The conical, pointed helmet (cat. 30),⁵ one of twenty of this type from Karmir Blur, is engraved with eleven images of sacred trees on three ornamental bands (fig. 2.17).⁶ Bearded as well as beardless deities are shown standing by the trees, each holding a bucket in the left hand and a piece of fruit in the right hand, which is extended upward. This composition is framed on the right and left by four lion-headed serpents, with their heads inclined downward. The serpents are represented as magical protectors,

emphasizing the apotropaic power of the sacred tree and the divine figures they frame. The sides and back of the helmet are decorated with alternating images of horsemen and chariots on two ornamental bands edged with zigzag lines. The chariots have a light body and spoked wheels. Two figures of warriors stand on the chariot body: one of them a beardless coachman, holding the reins, and the other a bearded warrior. A cuneiform inscription runs along the edge of the helmet: “To the god Haldi, (his) Lord, Argishti, the son of Minua, dedicated.”⁷

The quiver (cat. 29) is made of a sheet of bronze bent into a cylinder.⁸ Originally, it would have had a leather backing and a strap for carrying across the back or shoulder, attached via two rings on the side. Eighteen quivers were excavated at Karmir Blur, each still carrying arrowheads for thirty-five to forty arrows, although the shafts had disintegrated.⁹



historian, and former director of the State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg. Built under Rusa II, Teishebanini is located in the environs of modern Yerevan, on the left bank of the Hrazdan River. The excavations uncovered palatial structures, temple complexes, cellars, barracks, structures whose function was linked to industrial and economic activities, and a wide range of objects exemplifying Urartian material culture.

Piotrovskii focused his studies on the history, culture, and art of the ancient Near East, particularly Urartu. Coming to Armenia in 1930, he studied the cyclopean fortresses of the Sevan Basin and Urartian monuments and, ultimately, became concerned with questions of the origins of the Armenian people and the ancient history of Armenia. His books, *The Kingdom of Van* and *The Art of Urartu*, are monumental studies that laid the foundations for later interpretations of Urartu’s culture and art. IM

1. For the relevant bibliography, see Piotrovskii 1950, pp. 68–69, fig. 41; Piotrovskii 1959b, pp. 220–21, table 1; Piotrovskii 1962, p. 82; Melikishvili 1960, pp. 442–43; Piotrovskii 1970, figs. 27, 28; Hmayakian 1990, pp. 41–43, 109; Arutjunjan 2001, p. 490. 2. For more on the statuette, see Platt 1995, p. 84, no. 69; Kévorkian 1996, no. 11; Santrot 1996, p. 151, no. 135; Sintès and Grigorian 2007, p. 130, no. 76; and Avetisyan et al. 2008, pp. 78–79, no. 38. 3. Piotrovskii 1948; Piotrovskii 1959a.

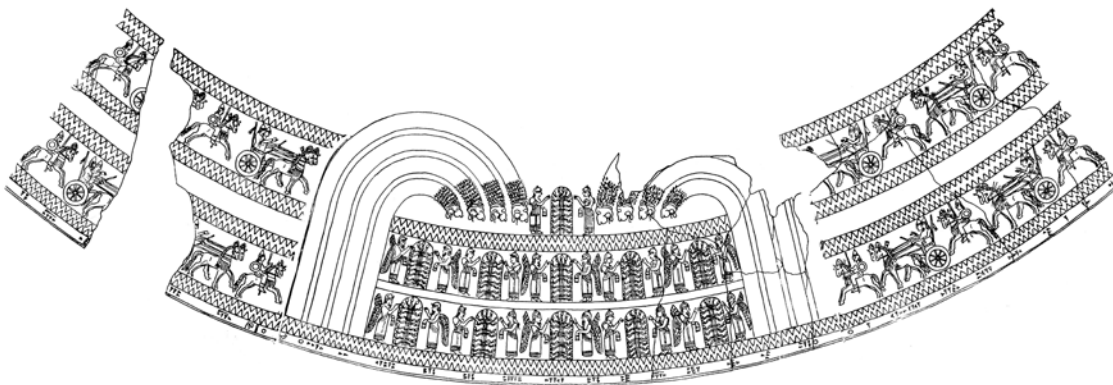


Fig. 2.17. Roll-out drawing of cat. 30

The surface of the quiver is decorated with reliefs of riders and chariots in eight rows: three riders and two chariots with warriors in each row. All of the figures are shown in profile: the warriors in static positions and the horses in dynamic motion. The riders have round shields in their left hands and lances in their right hands. They wear fringed trousers and pointed helmets, under which their hair is seen coming down to their shoulders. A similar scene of riders and chariots is depicted on the helmet of Argishti (cat. 30).¹⁰ The upper part of the quiver bears a dedicatory cuneiform inscription of

Sarduri, the king: "To Haldi, his Lord, this quiver Sarduri offered."¹¹

The shield (cat. 31),¹² typical of Urartian examples, is round with a curved edge (or brim) and has an undecorated conical center. Rows of lions and bulls are engraved on the three concentric ornamental bands on the surface: six lions, twelve bulls, and sixteen lions, from inner- to outermost band. The animals' postures are static, and they are oriented so that they are always seen in vertical position rather than upside down in relation to the groundline. The brim of the shield bears a cuneiform votive

inscription of Rusa I dedicating the shield to the god Haldi.¹³ Such shields have been interpreted by Boris Piotrovskii to have had decorative purposes: after their dedication at a temple as votive gifts, they would be hung on the walls for display.¹⁴ All three items of military equipment discussed here were dedicated to Haldi, the head of the Urartian pantheon. When the temple of Haldi at Musasir was sacked by the Assyrian army under Sargon II, the list of booty recorded included vast quantities of bronze armor and weapons among other metalwork and raw copper (see fig. 2.16). 1M

1. Sagona and Zimansky 2009, p. 336. 2. See the annotated bibliography in Zimansky 1998, pp. 210–14. 3. Piotrovskii 1967, p. 3. 4. *Ibid.*, pp. 43–48. 5. For the helmet, see Kévorkian 1996, no. 15; Santrot 1996, p. 132, no. 107; Budapest 2002, p. 181, no. 73; Sintès and Grigorian 2007, p. 114, no. 56; and Avetisian et al. 2008, pp. 84–85, no. 43. 6. Piotrovskii 1952, pp. 49–50, inset p. 40; Piotrovskii 1962, pp. 70–71, figs. 44–47. 7. Melikishvili 1960, no. 148; Arutjunjan 2001, p. 220, no. 221; M. Salvini 2012, p. 36, B8–10. 8. For the quiver, see Kévorkian 1996, no. 15; Santrot 1996, p. 133, no. 108; Budapest 2002, p. 181, no. 74; Sintès and Grigorian 2007, p. 113, no. 55; and Avetisian et al. 2008, pp. 86–87, no. 44. 9. Piotrovskii 1967, p. 47. 10. Piotrovskii 1955, p. 37, fig. 26; Piotrovskii 1962, p. 71. 11. Arutjunjan 2001, p. 285, no. 289; M. Salvini 2012, p. 49, B9–11. 12. For the shield, see Santrot 1996, p. 134, no. 109; Budapest 2002, p. 181, no. 72; and Sintès and Grigorian 2007, p. 115, no. 57. 13. Piotrovskii 1952, p. 53; Piotrovskii 1970, fig. 38; Arutjunjan 2001, p. 310, no. 396; M. Salvini 2012, p. 56, B10–1. There appears to be some confusion with the identification of at least three inscribed shields. 14. Piotrovskii 1962, p. 69.



32. Pyxis and lid with ritual scene

Steatite; H. 3.8 cm (1½ in.), Diam. 8.8 cm (3½ in.)
Karmir Blur
Urartian, 8th–7th century B.C.
History Museum of Armenia, Yerevan (2010-148)

This pyxis consists of a small, bowl-shaped container with fluted sides and a disc-shaped lid.¹ An image of a tree of life is engraved on the lid. Single creatures in postures of adoration, with human bodies and bird's heads and wings, flank the tree. The top of the tree shows the symbol of Shivini,² the third supreme god of the Urartian pantheon, in the form of the winged sun disc.



Imagery associated with Assyrian ritual scenes has been used here to express Urartian religious concepts. Traces of bulls' hooves have been preserved at the edge of the box, suggesting that it was originally decorated with attached figures of bovines in the round, as were many North Syrian–style ivory pyxides (see cat. 163).

IM

1. For relevant bibliography, see Piotrovskii 1959a, pp. 182–83, fig. 10; Piotrovskii 1962, pp. 102–3, fig. 66; Piotrovskii 1970, fig. 98; Platt 1995, p. 102, no. 111; Kévorkian 1996, no. 19; Santrot 1996, p. 156, no. 142; Sintès and Grigorian 2007, p. 137, no. 83; Avetisian et al. 2008, pp. 94–95, no. 50. 2. Piotrovskii 1959b, p. 226.

33. Lion-shaped plaque

Bronze; H. 11.8 cm (4¾ in.), L. 16.7 cm (6½ in.)
Karmir Blur
Urartian, 7th century B.C.
History Museum of Armenia, Yerevan (2783-193)

The striding lion on this plaque¹ has open jaws and a long, drooping tail. The animal's eyes are shown in relief, and his chin, paws, and claws are indicated with knobs. The mane and hair under the belly are accentuated by curls, the muscles by a linear pattern. The decorative richness of the details and the erect posture of the lion are similar to that of the lions shown in procession on Urartian shields (see cat. 31), although this lion's tail hangs down instead of being held high. On the edge of the plaque are preserved small nails, presumably for attachment to another surface, perhaps wood or leather, although it is not known how this object was used.

IM

1. See Avetisian et al. 2008, p. 83, no. 42.

34. Statuette of a griffin

Bronze with traces of gold foil; H. 21.2 cm (8⅝ in.),
L. 18 cm (7⅛ in.)
Toprakkale
Urartian, 8th–7th century B.C.
Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Vorderasiatisches Museum
(VA 775)

This representation of a griffin combines features of a quadruped (body, tail, legs with paws) and a bird of prey (feathered body, wings folded across the back, bird's head with a strong beak). On its head sits a cylindrical protrusion, encircled



bird's head on the bottom of the left hind paw could be a fitter's mark, indicating where the griffin was to join with other pieces within a larger context.¹ This larger setting was a large-scale throne of a deity, probably completely covered with gold foil, from the temple of Haldi in Rusahinili (modern Toprakkale), from which a few additional figural elements are known (cat. 36). Presumably the damage to the griffin, as described above, occurred after the time of its excavation in the 1870s.

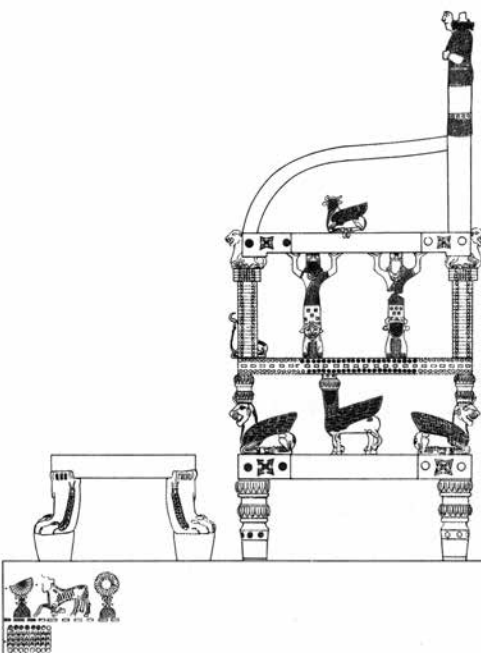
Although there are also position marks on the other bronzes, it has been impossible to determine the placement of the surviving elements in a reconstruction of the throne (fig. 2.18). Since the griffin is not one of the especially richly incusted figures that tended to adorn the more visible front face of such thrones, it likely stood in a secondary spot, possibly on one of the sides of the throne.² To judge from depictions on other objects that are closely related iconographically, winged griffins were featured in the mythology and religion of Urartu and can be associated in a broader sense with the Urartian pantheon. R-BW

1. Riemschneider 1965, pp. 101–4, fig. 17, pl. 42; Van Loon 1966, pp. 88–101, k, pl. 15; Wartke 1990, pp. 24–34, 43–44, pls. II,1–3; Wartke in Vorderasiatisches Museum 1992, pp. 246–47, ill. 2. Barnett 1950, pp. 20, 29–31, pl. 18.1, fig. 22.6; Merhav 1991a, pp. 246–56.

35a, b. Figures of a griffin demon and a nude woman

Ivory; demon, H. 14 cm (5½ in.), W. 6 cm (2⅜ in.); woman, H. 18.2 cm (7⅛ in.), W. 5 cm (2 in.)
Toprakkale
Urartian, 8th–7th century B.C.
The Trustees of the British Museum, London (ME 118951, ME 119447)

Carved ivory objects were prized luxury items throughout the ancient Near East and were often used to decorate important pieces of furniture. These ivory figures come from Toprakkale, the site of a major Urartian temple of Haldi, the most important Urartian deity, god of the sky, land, state, herds, and war. The finely carved griffin-headed demon resembles the protective deities used to decorate divine or royal thrones in Assyria, and it may therefore have been incorporated into a similar piece of furniture.¹ The figure displays a distinctive local style, the closest parallels to which come from the Urartian site of Altuntepe.² The figure of a nude woman was probably also a decorative furniture element. She wears an elaborate crown and necklace, and remains of Egyptian Blue inlay were found in the eye sockets.³ They may



by two rings with rectangular spaces for inlays, that supported another element resting upon it. The statuette, executed in hollow-cast bronze, is partially damaged. There is a dent on the right flank, cracks in the body, and the beak has been deformed. The right foreleg and tail are missing. The inlays for the eyes, brows, and rings above the head are also missing. Only a few tiny pieces remain of the gilding that originally covered the entire object. A hieroglyph in the form of a

Fig. 2.18. Proposed reconstruction of the Rusahinili/Toprakkale throne from the Haldi temple



have been imports from areas to the south or products made locally. The elephant tusks included by the Assyrians in lists of booty from Urartian temples and palaces⁴ suggest the presence of Urartian ivory-carving workshops.

The temple at Toprakkale was located less than 10 kilometers to the northeast of the capital of Urartu, Tushpa (modern Van fortress).⁵ Excavations were conducted at Toprakkale in 1880 by Captain Emilius Clayton and Dr. G. C. Reynolds on behalf of the British Museum, London, under a permit held by Hormuzd Rassam.⁶ Like other Urartian temples,⁷ the building dedicated to Haldi at Toprakkale had rooms that appeared to be workshops and storage areas for oil, grain, wine, metalwork, arms, luxury goods, and votive objects, including ivories and metal plaques and belts.⁸

A F

1. Barnett 1975b, pp. 114–23, pls. CXXIX, W4a, b, and CXXXI, W14. 2. Van Loon 1966, pp. 134–35; *Museum of Anatolian Civilizations* [1997], p. 199, pl. 327. 3. Barnett 1975b, pp. 229, 240, W4a, b. 4. *Ibid.*, pp. 114–15. 5. Tarhan 2011, pp. 288–335. 6. Barnett 1950. 7. Çilingiroğlu 2011, pp. 188–201. 8. Barnett 1950.

36. Statuette of a standing man

Bronze, limestone, and traces of gold foil; H. 36.5 cm (14 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.), W. at shoulders 13.4 cm (5 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.)

Toprakkale

Urartian, 8th–7th century B.C.

Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Vorderasiatisches Museum (VA 774)



One of a group of figural elements from a piece of furniture, most probably a large-scale throne of a deity (see cat. 34), this hollow-cast statuette depicts a man in a long garment cinched by a broad belt. A similar band with two rows of plain inscribed squares crosses his torso to the front and back from his left shoulder. From the same shoulder, a long strip of cloth that he grasps with his left hand at the level of his breast hangs down to his knees. In his right hand, he holds a whisk in the form of a palmette. The whisk and cloth suggest that this is an elaborately dressed figure of a servant or courtier. His long-fringed garment is decorated with a wide braid at the ends of the sleeves, and his tight skirt is encircled at the bottom by a frieze of rosettes. The man wears bracelets at his wrists, and a sickle-shaped ornament (pectoral) hangs from his neck.

The two large slits on the right side of his body surely served to secure the figure to the adjacent horizontal braces (probably made of wood) of the throne. A major crack runs through the metal at the level of his hips. Except for three rows of tight curls, most of his hair is missing. His face, carved from white limestone, is largely intact. The original colored incrustations—the



long, rectangular ends of the shoulder cloth, the six round inlays on the pectoral, and the inlays for eyes and brows—have all been lost. As on other bronze elements of the throne, traces of gold foil suggest that the entire object was gold plated.¹

It is not inconceivable that the bronze furniture elements known from Toprakkale belonged to a lavishly gilt cult throne. The present statuette, larger in comparison to the other throne figures, is striking for its worldly rather than supernatural appearance, which distinguishes it from the other throne elements associated with the realm of the divine, such as standing and recumbent hybrid creatures and deities on the backs of mythical animals.

R-B W

1. Riemschneider 1965, pp. 101–4, fig. 17, pl. 41; Van Loon 1966, pp. 88–101, q, pl. 16; Wartke 1990, pp. 24–34, 43, pls. I,1–4; Wartke in *Vorderasiatisches Museum* 1992, p. 245, ill.

SYRO-HITTITE STATES: THE SITE OF TELL HALAF (ANCIENT GUZANA)

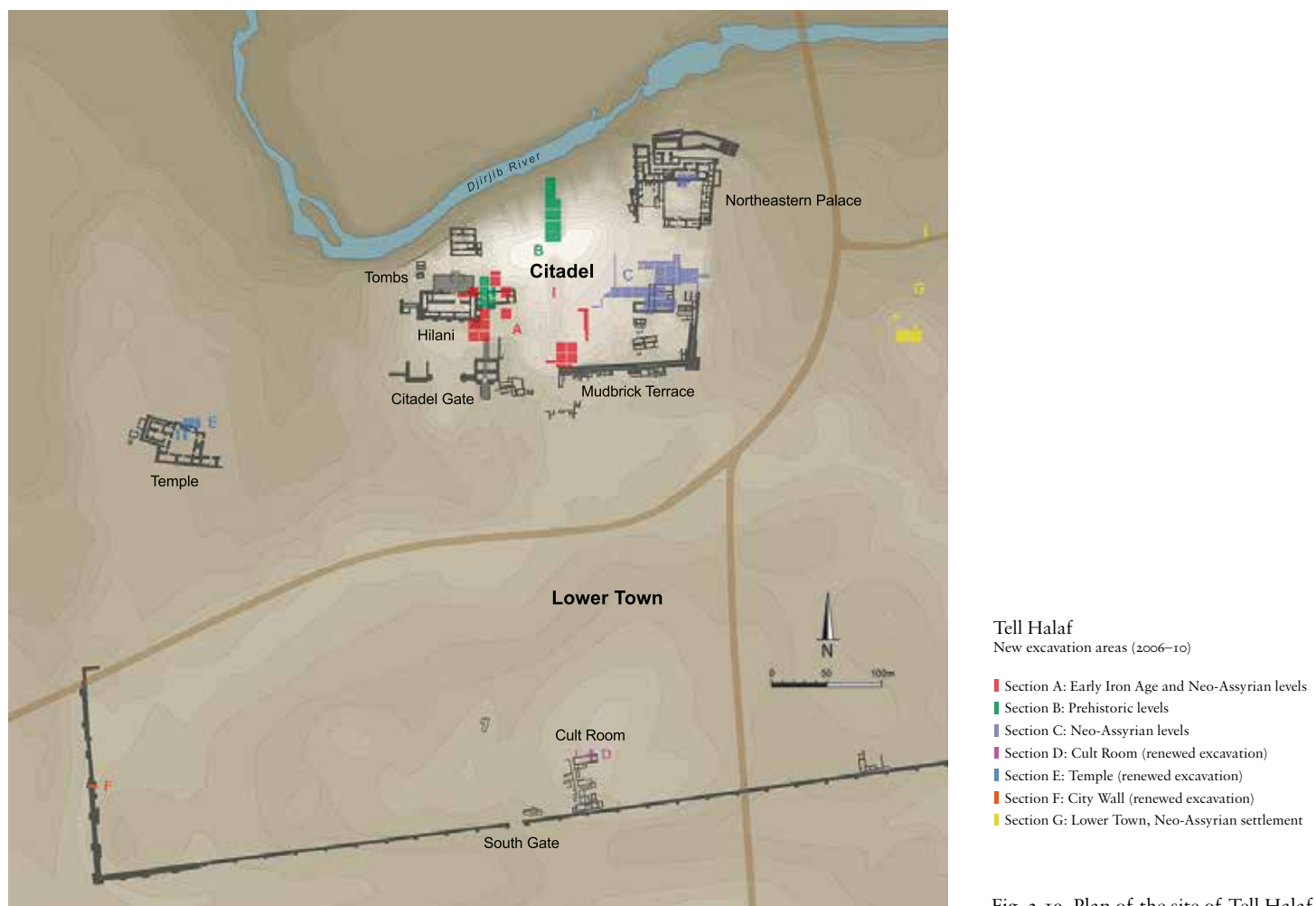
Nadja Cholidis

Toward the end of the second millennium B.C., many of the Aramu—western Semitic tribal bands from the Syrian-Arabian steppe—abandoned their nomadic way of life and settled in northern Mesopotamia and southeastern Anatolia. The Aramu's land seizure, which took place more or less peaceably, was encouraged by the collapse of the Hittite empire around 1200 B.C., the dissolution of the Mitanni state, and a period of Assyrian weakness. The new self-image of the next generation found its most visible expression in the design of its palatial residences, which not infrequently drew on the still-effective Hittite or Hurro-Mitannian heritage for their architecture and decoration.

First settled in the Late Neolithic period, Tell Halaf lies in northeastern Syria at the headwaters of the Khabur River (fig. 2.19). It was here that the princes of Pale/Bit-Bahiani founded their capital, Guzana. Since only a few written

documents have as yet been found at Tell Halaf, numerous questions regarding the process of acculturation of newcomers and the sequence of its rulers remain unanswered.¹ In the choice of the settlement's location, however, three factors were likely decisive: easy access to one of the most important east-west trading routes connecting the core Assyrian lands with the Levant; the navigable Djirjib River, which also offered a natural defense thanks to its steeply sloping bank along the northern flank of the tell; and sufficient annual rainfall to permit rain-fed agriculture.

The phase of coexistence between the prosperous small principalities in the west and a resurgent Assyria was brief. Incapable of forging a military alliance, one after another the small states lost their autonomy, becoming obliged to pay tribute to Assyria and provide conscripts for its army. In the early ninth century B.C., even Abisalamu, king of Bit-Bahiani,



Tell Halaf
New excavation areas (2006–10)

- Section A: Early Iron Age and Neo-Assyrian levels
- Section B: Prehistoric levels
- Section C: Neo-Assyrian levels
- Section D: Cult Room (renewed excavation)
- Section E: Temple (renewed excavation)
- Section F: City Wall (renewed excavation)
- Section G: Lower Town, Neo-Assyrian settlement

Fig. 2.19. Plan of the site of Tell Halaf

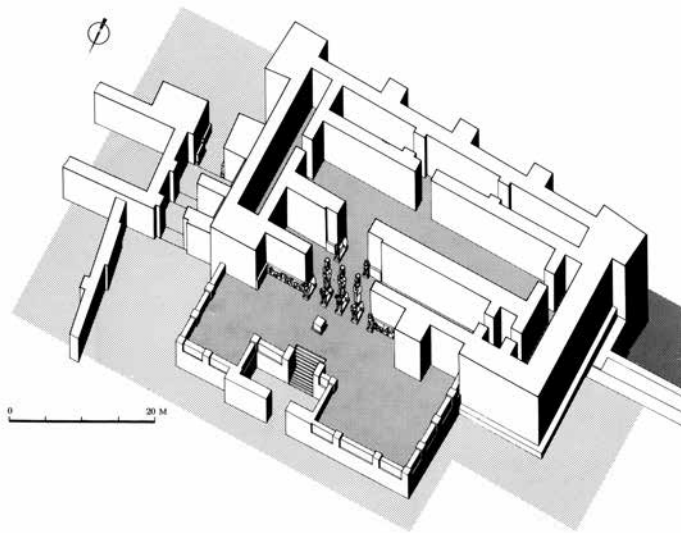


Fig. 2.20. Isometric reconstruction of the Western Palace, Tell Halaf

had to bow to the Assyrian claim to leadership. In Sikani (modern Tell Fakhariya) in 894 B.C., he surrendered war chariots and teams of horses as well as gold and silver² in a “voluntary” tribute that allowed him to secure a certain degree of independence. The Assyrian kings Adad-nirari III (810–783 B.C.) and Ashur-dan III (772–754 B.C.) mention in their campaign reports for the province of Guzana at least two uprisings, in 808 and 759/58 B.C., that were successfully put down. After the first of these, loyal governors installed by the Assyrian king took over official functions. Even after the collapse of the Assyrian empire in the seventh century B.C., Guzana remained a local center, as is documented by structural

remains, graves, and small finds from Neo-Babylonian, Achaemenid, and Hellenistic times.

The rediscovery of the Aramaean residence in 1899 and its first scientific investigation (1911–13, 1929) were the work of the German scholar Baron Max von Oppenheim (1860–1946).³ Among the outstanding architectural monuments from the Aramaean settlement phase is the Western Palace, erected atop a high mud-brick platform and decorated with rich sculptural ornament. Its ground plan identifies the structure as a *bit hilani*, a building form widespread in North Syria and southeastern Anatolia, featuring a columned porch and transverse reception hall (fig. 2.20). From the lower city the approach to the *bit hilani* led through a defensive gate structure, the so-called Scorpion Gate, guarded by two large scorpion bird men (cat. 37). A limestone-paved terrace extending in front of the palace’s entrance facade was where cult activities took place.⁴ This is evident from small offering stones in front of particular relief slabs and the sphinxes flanking the entrance and from a brick podium that is perhaps to be interpreted as an altar.

The back side of the *bit hilani* platform, which faced the city, was originally ornamented along the bottom with some two hundred and fifty small relief slabs of basalt and red-dyed limestone. These orthostats were found still largely anchored in the masonry, in a sequence indicating that the main emphasis of the design was the visual effect of the alternation of red and black. The motifs included fauna—lions, bulls, cervids, birds, smaller mammals—as well as everyday scenes and mythological figures (cats. 40, 141). To this day the excavation results raise a number of questions, primarily having

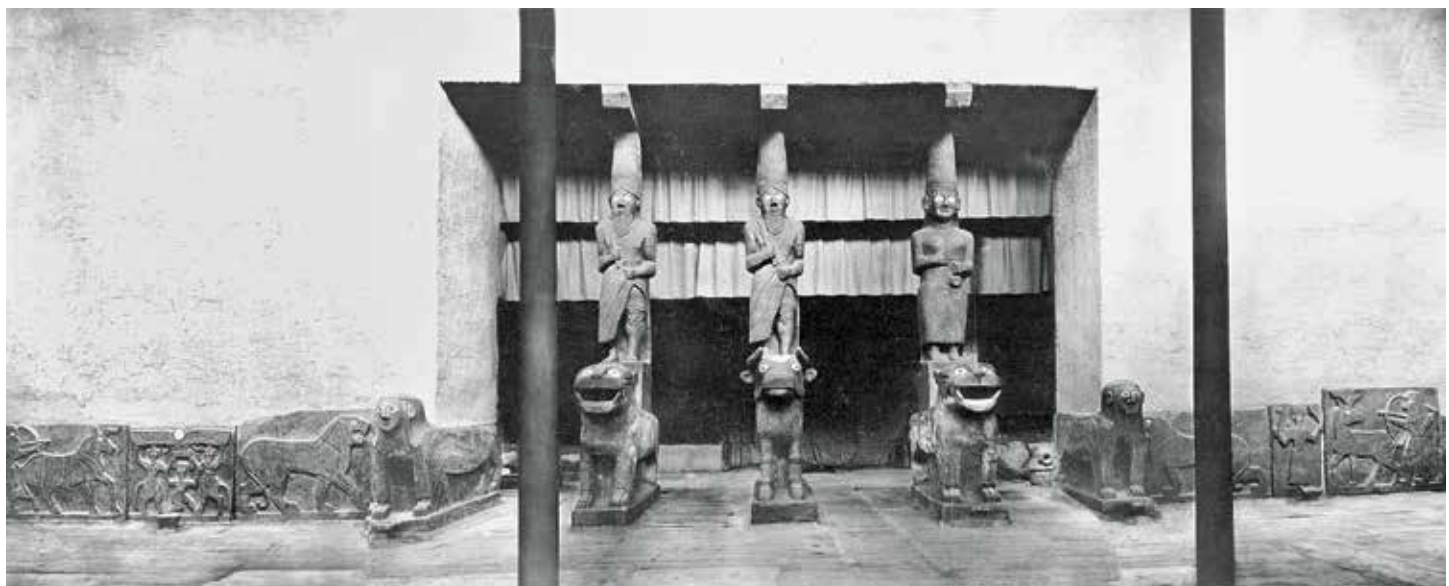


Fig. 2.21. Reconstruction of Western Palace facade, Tell Halaf Museum, Berlin, ca. 1930

to do with the dating of the relief slabs, their possible previous use, and their arrangement.⁵

Thick layers of fire and ash and the absence of furnishings—only a portable brazier had been left in the palace—attest to an evacuation and deliberate destruction. The sculptural load-bearing elements at the entrances must have been destroyed with fire and water, causing the structure to collapse. This punitive action preceded either the uprising of 808 B.C. or the revolt of 759/58 B.C.⁶

On the terrace of the Western Palace, an inscription found on a sculpted deity interpreted as Hapat and on the eastern sphinx provides important information about the entry columns: “The palace of Kapara, son of Hadiānu, columns of stone that my father and my grandfather did not create I have made.”⁷ From this dedication the following information can be derived: first, the king identified himself as a rightful successor to the throne by referring to his forebears; second, Kapara did not explicitly identify himself as the builder of the palace, but mentioned only the erection of stone columns; and third, these columns must have been so extraordinary that their manufacture was worthy of recognition in an inscription. Can it be that the triad of gods of Bit-Bahiani standing on the backs of sculptured bases in the forms of animals supported the palace’s lintel, as von Oppenheim reconstructed it (fig. 2.21)? Or did the text refer to the erection of freestanding columns, so-called symbol pillars, in front of the *bit hilani*?⁸

Critical reexamination of von Oppenheim’s caryatid solution became possible only after the animal bases and gods were restored.⁹ A comparison of their dimensions showed that the precisely fitting transitions between the deities’ plinths and cubes, so convincingly reconstructed by von Oppenheim, could not be confirmed. Nevertheless, a secondary use of the three deity figures as anthropomorphic column supports cannot be completely ruled out.

A dating for the Western Palace of the tenth to the ninth century B.C. is suggested by the fact that it was one of the latest examples of Aramaean building activity, as subsequent excavations have shown. That Kapara is not mentioned in the Assyrian sources could be an indication that Bit-Bahiani was either still largely independent during his reign (890–870 B.C.?) or did not play a role in Assyrian expansionist policy.¹⁰

A second palace complex was constructed on the east side of the citadel during the ninth century B.C. This residence, the Northeastern Palace, was erected on a mud-brick platform 100 meters long and 60 meters wide and was in continuous use into the sixth century B.C. Its ground plan largely followed the Assyrian architectural canon, with rooms grouped

around a central inner courtyard and serving comparable functions: reception, administration, housekeeping, and private living spaces.

The northern section of the palace, with its defensive wall and individual suites of rooms, could have housed the private living area. The baths, in the northwestern corner, would suggest as much, as would the allotment and disposition of rooms. The audience hall must have been to the west of the large inner courtyard, in an area that has yet to be investigated more closely. It can be assumed that the southern half was devoted to administration, workshops, and storerooms.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, excavations tended to focus on more impressive structures—palaces and temples—with their possibly imposing contents, so the lower city of Guzana was only partially investigated. Accordingly, questions relating to the development of the settlement, its population density, and its urban layout, with residential buildings, craft quarters, and a network of streets, are still largely unanswered.

Both inhumation and cremation were practiced in Guzana. In two earlier burial sites northwest of the *bit hilani*, members of the royal family may have been interred; for example, the southern chamber contained, in addition to skeletal remains, vessels of bronze and ivory, a mouth cover with enamel inlays, and gold costume elements having ornaments comparable with individual figures on the small orthostats from the Western Palace.¹¹ Additional burials were located in the vicinity of the South Gate.¹² One of the outstanding examples of Aramaean sculpture is the monumental tomb figure (cat. 38) probably representing a deceased princess. The bowl in her hand and the angular skirt suggest cult activities that ultimately derived from Hittite burial rituals.¹³



Figure 2.22. View of cult room showing statues in situ on L-shaped platform, Tell Halaf



Fig. 2.23. Max Freiherr von Oppenheim in the Tell Halaf Museum, Berlin, ca. 1930

In the lower city the excavators discovered remnants of walls of a building with several chambers that they identified as a cult room (fig. 2.22). The main room, in which stone sculptures (cat. 39) and small finds in great numbers came to light, could be interpreted as a cella, or site of ancestor worship.¹⁴ Since the von Oppenheim excavation ended prematurely and the area has since been built over with modern structures, evidence of human remains is lacking to this day. Nonetheless, the find is reminiscent of the royal crypt discovered in 2002 in the palace of Qatna, in which ancestors were regularly worshiped with food offerings (*kispu*).¹⁵

The basalt for the Tell Halaf sculptures was quarried on the southern spurs of the Ard esh-Sheikh Plateau,¹⁶ even though an ideal source for the extraction of even large, monolithic blocks was within view at El Kbise. Perhaps this deposit lay outside Bit-Bahiani's sphere of influence, but it is more probable that the quality of the quarry on the Ard esh-Sheikh, which had been used since the Early Bronze Age, was what determined the choice. To transport the rough stones to Guzana, 65 kilometers away, there was the Khabur River, and for the last stage the Djirjib. Von Oppenheim interpreted a

regular, almost rectangular projection at the edge of the northeastern lower city, right next to the riverbank, as a port facility.¹⁷ The difficulty involved in extracting, loading, and transporting the raw stones is illustrated in later relief depictions of similar scenes from Nineveh's Southwest Palace.¹⁸

An Exceptional Museum

Originally von Oppenheim wanted to turn over his share of the finds to the Berlin Royal Museums in exchange for appropriate compensation for his expenses.¹⁹ But in January 1928, after years of negotiations had led to no results and after finds from the excavation had arrived, he set up a temporary museum in a former iron foundry in Berlin-Charlottenburg (fig. 2.23).²⁰ In the summer of 1936, on the occasion of the Tell Halaf Museum's expansion, the *Berliner Volkszeitung* wrote, "No museum can boast of a more romantic ambience: against bare, half-crumbling masonry rise up majestic stone images of deities, out of dark corners frightening sphinxes, scorpion bird men, and huge griffins leer, and on bare wood floors lie splendidly carved stones."²¹

Soon after the opening of the museum, von Oppenheim was forced to offer his exhibits and casts for sale in order to cover his financial obligations.²² In 1931 he undertook two lecture tours of several months on the East Coast of the United States. Feeling that he had better chances on the American art market, he had had a number of selected artworks and antiquities sent after him. However, they met with far less demand than he had counted on owing to the economic crisis following the stock market crash of 1929. Hoping for a quick recovery of the market, in May 1932 von Oppenheim left the display pieces in storage at Hahn Brothers Fireproof Warehouses in New York. No further chances for their sale or disposal turned up, and when in April 1943 the Custodian of the Office of Alien Property was compelled to dispose of German property in the United States, von Oppenheim's art holdings became subject to Divestment Order 1330. In the subsequent auction The Metropolitan Museum of Art acquired the remaining eight relief slabs, from which it sold four to the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, in 1944 (cats. 40, 141).

On August 25, 1940, a little less than a year after the beginning of World War II, Berlin experienced its first Allied bombing attack. On November 22 or 23, 1943, the Tell Halaf Museum went up in flames after being hit by a single incendiary bomb.²³ The oil-soaked wooden floor and the wooden roof encouraged a rapid spread of the fire. After the roof collapsed, the blaze continued to smolder for a long time at extremely high temperatures, ranging from 850 to 980 degrees



Fig. 2.24. Overhead view of statue fragments from Tell Halaf in large sorting hall (Große Sortierhalle), Friedrichshagen, Berlin, 2003

Celsius. When the firefighters' water finally struck the basalt sculptures, the majority exploded from the change in temperature or were so badly cracked that they broke apart when they were recovered.

Although nine tractor loads of basalt fragments from the ruins had been placed in the cellar of the Pergamon Museum by August 1944, the Tell Halaf collection was considered irretrievably lost. It was administered by the Staatliche Museen in East Berlin for decades as property of the Max Freiherr von Oppenheim Foundation, and only after reunification in 1990 were discussions begun with the owner about its possible restoration.²⁴ Work was finally begun in the fall of 2001: more than twenty-seven thousand fragments had to be examined, sorted, and identified during the first years of the project (fig. 2.24).²⁵ This was accomplished with the aid of historical

photographs made with a large-format camera showing the stone images both at the excavation site and in the Tell Halaf Museum. Since all the sculptures were carved from monolithic blocks readily distinguishable by their specific mineral composition, nearly all the internal fragments could be definitely assigned. In February 2002 reconstruction began on the first lion base from the entrance to the Western Palace.²⁶ Although almost all of the large sculptures had burst into more than a thousand fragments, within only eight years more than thirty sculptures and eighty architectural elements and stone implements had been restored.

The unique stone images from Tell Halaf will ultimately be installed on Berlin's Museum Island, fulfilling von Oppenheim's most fervent wish—the permanent presentation of his finds in the Pergamon Museum.

37. Statue of scorpion bird man

Basalt; overall, H. 161 cm (63 3/8 in.), L. 202 cm (79 1/2 in.)
Tell Halaf
Syro-Hittite, early 9th century B.C.
Max Freiherr von Oppenheim-Stiftung, Cologne
(TH B 10)

Scorpion bird men—hybrid creatures with a human head, a bird's body, and a scorpion's tail—can be found in ancient Near Eastern sculpture beginning in the second millennium B.C., but as monumental gatekeepers they are as yet known only from Tell Halaf (fig. 2.25).¹ The Scorpion Gate, named after them, was attached to the *bit hilani* and controlled access to the palace. Both jamb figures had fallen inward long before they were discovered. Stylistic differences in their carving suggest that they were produced by different workshops or at different times. It is conceivable that during a renovation of the Western Palace, at which time the porch was given new columns, one of the figures that had been either damaged or destroyed was replaced with a new statue. On the side facing away from the viewer, it is still possible to make out two legs of a striding lion(?), which suggests that the



Fig. 2.25. Scorpion bird men as re-erected at Tell Halaf by excavators





37, detail

stone block was initially meant to be used for a different purpose.

Scorpion men, *girtablullu* in Akkadian, were greatly feared: their resplendence was terrifying, their appearance deadly.² On the ninth tablet of the Gilgamesh epic, they are described as guardians of the sunrise and sunset, and the gate arrangement at Guzana with scorpion bird man statues may have referred to that function. When seen from the lower town in the morning, they would have appeared to flank the sun rising in the east.³

NC

1. Moortgat 1955, pp. 27–28, 118–19, no. Bd3; Martin 2010, pp. 197–209. 2. Maul 2005, pp. 120–21. 3. Martin 2010, p. 205

38. Statue of seated woman

Basalt; H. 192 cm (75 5/8 in.), W. 82 cm (32 1/4 in.), D. 100 cm (39 3/8 in.)

Tell Halaf

Syro-Hittite, early 9th century B.C.

Max Freiherr von Oppenheim-Stiftung, Cologne (TH B 1)

Completely undamaged when it was discovered in March 1912, the sculpture is notable for the careful carving of its head.¹ While the body still follows the shape of the stone block, the facial contours and the treatment of the hair, with its curled side locks, were masterfully worked out of the hard basalt. Despite its flat chest, the statue likely represents a woman, whose high





social standing was indicated by the inclusion of a stool with a footrest. The reddish color of the stone stems from the fire at the Tell Halaf Museum. The two locks of hair, the nose, and the cup in her right hand, an indication of an offering of food or drink, have been restored from a historical cast.

After the seated statue was removed from its original location, a masonry shaft with cremation remains and grave goods was discovered beneath its base slab. The cinerary urn stood on the floor and was sealed with an overturned bronze bowl. Among the grave goods were a limestone tripod bowl decorated in relief, jewelry, and a gold mouth cover. A second, markedly smaller grave figure, also in the form of a woman, was discovered in the immediate vicinity. How they were related is still largely unknown. The two grave sites had been completely built over when a Neo-Assyrian dwelling was later erected on the spot. NC

1. Moortgat 1955, pp. 7–11, 35–36, no. A1; Martin 2010, pp. 211–19.

39. Statue of seated couple

Basalt; H. 81 cm (31 $\frac{7}{8}$ in.), W. 94 cm (37 in.)
 Tell Halaf
 Syro-Hittite, early 9th century B.C.
 Max Freiherr von Oppenheim-Stiftung, Cologne (TH B 2)

What the excavators referred to as a “cult room” dates from the earliest phase of Aramaean building activity in the lower city.¹ Whether all its structures were discovered during the investigations of 1913 can no longer be determined because of modern building over the site. Excavators uncovered a main room (A, fig. 2.19), vestibule (E), and side chambers (B–D). It is noteworthy that chamber D could be entered only by way of a niche, which suggests that the room had a special function.² The main room featured flat benches, a mud-brick construction possibly to be interpreted as an altar, a large double basin of basalt, and an L-shaped pedestal supporting two large stone sculptures (fig. 2.22). In front of the pedestal and in its immediate surroundings were smaller statuettes

of basalt and bronze, seals, beads, stone bowls, and a single Neo-Babylonian clay tablet: a total of 102 finds.³

When this sculpture of a seated couple—possibly a royal pair—was discovered, the eye inlays and fragments of sheet bronze on the woman’s beaded necklace were still preserved.⁴ As in the case of the large grave sculpture (cat. 38), their lower bodies still reflect the shape of the stone block. The slightly curved fingers of their right hands could have held small ceramic or bronze bowls. The inventory of finds indicates that the cult room was used over a long period of time, yet it is impossible to reconstruct the royal burial rites and cult activities with any certainty. NC

1. Langenegger, Müller, and Naumann 1950, pp. 357–60; Moortgat 1955, pp. 28–30, 120–21, no. C1; Martin 2010, pp. 221–35. 2. Niehr 2006, pp. 129–31. 3. For the inventory, see Martin 2010, pp. 231–35. 4. *Ibid.*, p. 224.

40. Relief with six-winged goddess

Basalt; H. 69 cm (27 1/8 in.), W. 37 cm (14 5/8 in.)
Tell Halaf
Syro-Hittite, 10th–9th century B.C.
The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore (21.16)

The excavation report documents the fact that the small orthostats on the south front of the Western Palace at Tell Halaf, such as this example, were not originally mounted there (fig. 2.26).¹ Their reuse and rearrangement are generally ascribed to the Aramaean prince Kapara, whose regnal dates have as yet resisted synchronization.² For this reason, stylistic differences, contradictory inscriptions, and indications in some cases of the removal of earlier inscriptions raise a number of questions regarding the date of their original placement.

Three pairs of wings, a single bull's horn at the level of the forehead, and a wide crown of feathers characterize the figure on this relief slab as a supernatural being. The objects the goddess holds could be tendrils, staffs, stylized streams of water, or serpents. The inscription next to her face reads "palace of Kapara."³ Although she has been occasionally identified in the literature as one of the Seraphim,⁴ the interpretation of this figure continues to be problematic. NC

1. M. Oppenheim 1933, pp. 126–28. 2. According to Nadja Cholidis, Ulrike Dubiel, and Lutz Martin (2010, p. 361), Kapara could have ruled from 890 to 870 B.C., whereas Mirko Novák (2013, p. 279) has the prince ruling around 950 B.C. 3. Moortgat 1955, p. 92, no. A3.166. 4. M. Oppenheim 1933, p. 172, with reference to Isa. 6:2: "Seraphim hovered above Him; each of them had six wings; with two of them they covered their faces, with two they covered their feet, and with two they flew."



Fig. 2.26. Orthostats in situ, Western Palace, Tell Halaf



41. Relief with depiction of a ruler

Basalt; H. 56 cm (22 in.), W. 36 cm (14 1/8 in.)
Zincirli
Syro-Hittite, second half of the 9th century B.C.
Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Vorderasiatisches Museum
(S 6580)

This relief was excavated at Sam'al (modern Zincirli), which was one of a number of Aramean city-states along the Syro-Anatolian frontier. Its form, limited dimensions, and rounded top almost certainly exclude the possibility that the relief functioned as an orthostat embedded within a structure. The iconography of the main figure and the high quality of the relief carving suggest that the scene should be interpreted as an imposing depiction of a ruler accompanied by an attendant. The more prominent figure has been identified as Kilamuwa, fifth king of Sam'al, based on comparison with another relief of a ruler alongside a well-preserved sixteen-line Phoenician inscription.¹ The inscribed stele has been used as evidence in debates regarding the role and influence of Phoenicia at Karatepe in the ninth century B.C.²

The bearded Kilamuwa, depicted here as larger than his attendant in accordance with his

greater importance and occupying the center of the composition, wears a wrapped garment secured at the waist by a belt. His head is covered with a smooth cap with a conical projection at the top. He wears flat leather shoes and jewelry in the form of circlets on his upper arms and narrow bands ornamented with rosettes at his wrists. In his left hand, Kilamuwa holds a lotus blossom with a short stalk. His royal appearance is underscored by the gesture of greeting he makes with his right hand.

The accompanying figure, holding a lotus blossom in his right hand and a small, round bucket in his left, wears essentially the same costume, the only difference being a chain of four tassels hanging from his belt. In contrast to the king, he is beardless, bareheaded, and without bracelets at his wrists. Above all he is distinguished from the main figure by his secondary status, which is evident from his smaller size and his position, squeezed between the ruler and the left edge of the stele.

R-BW

1. Luschan 1911, pp. 372–74, pl. 66; Orthmann 1971, p. 549, figs. 66b, 73b; Marzahn in Vorderasiatisches Museum 1992, p. 227, no. 169, ill. p. 226. 2. Winter 2010, pp. 492–97.



42. Stele of Tarhunpiyas

Basalt; H. 74.5 cm (29 3/8 in.), W. 28.3 cm (11 1/8 in.)
Probably Marash
Syro-Hittite, ca. 800–700 B.C.
Musée du Louvre, Paris, Département des Antiquités
Orientales (AO 19222)

This funerary stele probably comes from Marash, the ancient Neo-Hittite kingdom called Gurgum in the Assyrian archives.¹ It has been dated to the eighth century B.C. on the basis of stylistic criteria.² The foot of the stele is unfinished, since that part would have been driven into the ground to secure the object. Its surface, by contrast, has been carefully carved,

despite the hard material from which the stele is made.

The scene depicts a seated woman, her arms tightly clasping the legs of a young male who stands on her knees. In his right hand he holds a stylus, in his left a leash equipped with a reel, fastened to the leg of a goshawk³ sitting on a perch. Falconry was a favorite pastime of the Hittite aristocracy. In the space between the bird and the woman's head, a writing board has been inserted. This type of writing board, made of wood with an ivory hinge and recessed panels filled with a layer of wax, is well attested from the Bronze Age to the Achaemenid period.⁴ Writing boards were used for taking notes with a stylus, which was pressed into the wax writing surface (see figs. I.17, I.18); later, the text was transcribed onto a different support, such as a clay tablet. The stylus and writing tablet here indicate that the male figure represented either was a scribe or intended to become one. The woman is seated on a stool decorated with vertical bars that brings to mind those found in Gordion in Phrygia and dates to the Iron Age.⁵ She is dressed in a long, short-sleeved tunic and a striped veil that conceals her hair but leaves her ears uncovered. The young man's tunic is more richly adorned, with an embroidered V-neck and a braided fringe. He is wearing jewelry, which, along with the allusion to the occupation of scribe and the falconry, indicates that he belongs to the higher social classes.

Above the scene, the name of the deceased is inscribed in what are known as Hittite hieroglyphic characters. In reality, they notate the Luwian language, an Indo-European tongue similar to Hittite. This inscription may have been added at a later time, in which case the stele was reused.⁶ The Hittite hieroglyphs attest to the legacy of the Hittite empire, which remained important for these regions that now held little political power.⁷ The representation of the writing tablet, by contrast, alludes to Aramaic—which gradually replaced the former writing systems—since, according to this author, such tablets were used for writing Aramaic at this time. This combination of elements within a single scene clearly shows the cultural transition that was taking place in the Neo-Hittite world at the dawn of the Assyrian conquest.

When compared with others from Marash, the scene on this stele is remarkably original. The offering table that usually appears in front of the seated figure has been left out, as have all ancillary figures.⁸ The strong relationship between the two individuals is rendered through a unique combination of three iconographic elements: the two figures face each other; the mother holds her son in her arms; and he stands on her knees. The central aspect of the scene is no lon-

ger the tribute in offerings to be paid to the deceased by his family but rather the mother's affection for her lost son.

VB

1. Bryce 2012, p. 122. 2. Winfried Orthmann attributes it to the second half of the eighth century B.C., Heinz Genge to the 790s–770s B.C. (see Hawkins 2000, p. 275). 3. And not a falcon; see Canby 2002, p. 165. 4. The Uluburun shipwreck has yielded an exemplar dating to 1300 B.C. (Aruz, Benzel, and Evans 2008, pp. 367–68), and the palace at Nimrud, exemplars from the seventh century B.C. (J. Oates and D. Oates 2001, p. 104). The Département des Antiquités Orientales at the Louvre has an exemplar from the Achaemenid period (AO 17204) that was probably not covered with wax and was likely used as a support for writing on papyrus, since two inkpots were sunk in the wood. 5. Briand, Caubet, and Pouysségur 2004, p. 212. 6. Hawkins 2000, p. 274. 7. Özgüç 2002, pp. 82–83. 8. See Bonatz 2000, pp. 32–46, for a study of the funerary stelae of Marash.

43. Funerary stele of Sin-zer-ibni, priest of the moon god

Basalt; H. 93 cm (36 5/8 in.), W. 34 cm (13 3/8 in.)
Neirab
Syro-Hittite, ca. 700 B.C.
Musée du Louvre, Paris, Département des Antiquités Orientales (AO 3026)

This stele, curved at the top, is of a type well attested in the Levant. In the base is a short, wide tenon, originally inserted into a socle made of the same stone.¹ The reverse is convex. Inside the frame that runs along the edges of the obverse is a male figure represented in profile, moving to the right. His right hand is raised, and in his left hand he holds a cloth folded in two, the interpretation of which remains enigmatic. He is dressed in the Assyrian fashion of a long short-sleeved robe trimmed at the bottom with a row of fringe. A shawl, also fringed, is draped over the robe. He wears a cap that fits over the skull with a flap folding over on the right side.

An inscription in Aramaic is engraved in the field; eight lines surround the figure's head, and six cover the bottom of the garment.² Some extend beyond the left side of the frame. The inscription reads: "Sin-zer-ibni, priest of Sahar at Nerab, deceased. This is his picture and his grave. Whoever you are who drag this picture and grave away from its place, may Sahar and Shamash and Nikkal and Nusk pluck your name and your place out of life, and an evil death make you die; and may they cause your seed to perish! But if you guard this picture and grave, in the future may yours be guarded!"³

This stele and a second one, also in the Musée du Louvre, Paris, dedicated to the priest Si'-gabbor, were discovered by chance in 1891 on the tell of Neirab, located 7 kilometers southeast of Aleppo.⁴ The name of the Babylonian moon god Sin is incorporated in the names



of both the deceased, Sin-zer-ibni and Si'-gabbor. Their names, however, are not in conflict with their function as priests of Sahar in Neirab, as "Sahar" is the Aramaic name for Sin. The sanctuary in Neirab was undoubtedly an offshoot of the important sanctuary of Sin in Harran.⁵ Si'-gabbor, priest of Neirab, is mentioned in a letter sent by the governor of Harran to the Assyrian king Sargon II around 710 B.C., allowing us to date the stelae to shortly before 700 B.C.⁶

EF

1. The socle was found but was not sent to France because of its weight and lesser importance; compare Clermont-Ganneau 1897, p. 188. 2. The practice of covering part of the figure's garment with lines of inscription is also seen on the bas-reliefs of Ashurnasirpal II in Nimrud. While that practice ended in Assyria after his reign, it continued outside Assyria in monuments such as the present example. 3. See translation in Gibson 1975, pp. 95–96, no. 18. 4. See Fauveaud and Lozachmeur 2013. 5. See Green 1992. 6. Parpola 1985; Niehr 2010, p. 42.

KINGDOMS OF MIDAS AND CROESUS: WESTERN ANATOLIAN STATES AND SANCTUARIES

Sarah B. Graff

In the aftermath of the Late Bronze Age collapse, new centers of power began to develop in Anatolia: Phrygia, in western central Anatolia, and Lydia, located in the corridor connecting the interior with the Aegean coast. These two regions would eventually be unified within the Lydian empire shortly before its conquest by Cyrus the Great in the mid-sixth century B.C. Even after the dissolution of the Phrygian and Lydian independent states, however, both cultures remained enormously influential on the Achaemenid Persians and the Greek city-states that came after them, which adopted and absorbed Phrygian and Lydian luxuries and artistic styles. Their fabled wealth and power are reflected in the well-known stories of the kings Midas and Croesus as well as the growing body of archaeological data from the two regions. Although most of the information we have derives from just two sites—the Phrygian capital of Gordion and the Lydian capital of Sardis—regional surveys and careful reassessments of material excavated decades earlier continue to provide new insights with far-reaching implications for our understanding of these cultures.

Phrygia

The ancestors of the Phrygians probably included both native Anatolians and groups from the Balkans who migrated to Anatolia just after the Late Bronze Age collapse, with the latter group documented in Greek sources and supported by archaeological and linguistic evidence.¹ Distinctive stamped pottery from Gordion of a type also found in Iron Age Thrace indicates that connections and interchange with the Balkans continued, at various levels of intensity, after the initial period of migration.² The Phrygian writing system is first attested at around the same time as the first Greek inscriptions in the mid-eighth century B.C., with both systems likely adapted from West Semitic alphabetic script.³ Excavations at the site of Gordion,⁴ first explored by Gustav and Alfred Körte in 1893 and by the Gordion Project of the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology after 1950, have uncovered a wealth of information from the Citadel Mound—the main occupation on the tell, locally known as Yassihöyük—and from forty-four of the more

than two hundred tumuli, or burial mounds, in the area. These rich archaeological finds provide evidence for monumental building in stone and wood, elite craft production, and funerary rituals for the royal dead, including details of the food and drink served at the funeral feast.

Assyrian texts first record a king Mita of the Mushki, presumed to be the Phrygian king Midas,⁵ during the reign of Sargon II (721–705 B.C.). Under this king, Phrygia became increasingly expansionist and militarily aggressive, with Midas negotiating first anti-Assyrian alliances with Neo-Hittite kings in Tabal (the Assyrian name for the region southeast of Phrygia), Tuwana, and Carchemish, and then with the Assyrians themselves.⁶ Phrygian kings also looked to the west for alliances. A king Midas, perhaps later than the contemporary of Sargon II, married a Greek princess from Kyme and, according to Herodotos (1.14.2–3), became the first non-Greek to make a dedication at the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi.⁷ Keith DeVries and Brian Rose have argued for interpreting the ivory figure of a “lion tamer,” carved in Phrygian style and found at Delphi (cat. 180), as an attachment from this throne.⁸

The Destruction Level, a stratigraphic level at Gordion with widespread evidence of burning and collapsed architecture, was originally thought by excavators to be tied to an attack by the Kimmerians, a nomadic people, immediately preceding the death of Midas in the years around 700 B.C.⁹ This level was followed by a monumental rebuilding campaign during which many buildings on the Citadel Mound were reconstructed following the same basic plan, leading to intense debate over the identity of the rebuilders and the gap, if any, in occupation between the two levels. The weakened Phrygian state of the period after Midas’s death would not have been in a position to rebuild. However, neither of the more likely candidates for the rebuilding—the Lydians, who gained control over Phrygia by the early sixth century B.C., or the Achaemenid Persian conquerors of the later sixth century B.C.—are satisfactory for various reasons.¹⁰ Recent reexamination of the excavation finds, combined with dendrochronological and carbon-14 dating, has led researchers to believe that the ca. 700 B.C. date of the Destruction Level was in fact too late and should instead be placed at ca. 800 B.C.¹¹ This new dating has been widely accepted, with some exceptions,¹² and has

resolved many of the chronological questions concerning the stratigraphy of the site.

Gordion and its surrounding area had been inhabited for millennia before the site was substantially monumentalized and expanded in the early first millennium B.C., indicating the Phrygian state's rising power in this period.¹³ An elite quarter of the Early Phrygian city, capped by the Destruction Level of ca. 800 B.C., covers more than 2 hectares of the Citadel Mound and preserves a number of massive structures: a gate opening to the east; two palatial courts bordered by rectangular buildings divided into two rooms and entered on the short end, called megarons; and two service buildings formed of adjoining rooms connected along an exterior passage (fig. 2.27).¹⁴ The monumental construction of these buildings attests to the ability of the ninth-century B.C. Phrygian ruling elites to marshal an extremely large workforce; moreover, their rich contents demonstrate great wealth and sophistication. The floor of Megaron 2 was decorated with a multicolored pebble mosaic, predating the earliest Greek mosaics by several centuries.¹⁵ The mosaic juxtaposes many different geometric designs, evoking carpet-weaving patterns, which were perhaps the inspiration for this new type of floor decoration: an appealing explanation in light of the importance of Phrygian textiles, which are well documented in texts but have mostly vanished from the archaeological record.¹⁶ Either Megaron 3 or 4 was probably the royal residence, while the

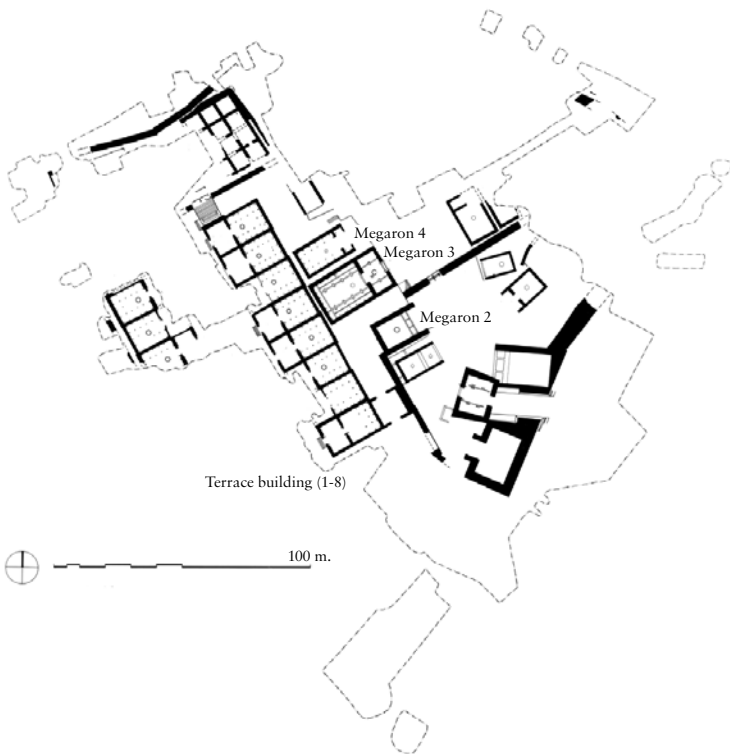


Fig. 2.27. Plan of the Early Phrygian (YHSS 6a) citadel on the eastern part of the Citadel Mound at Gordion

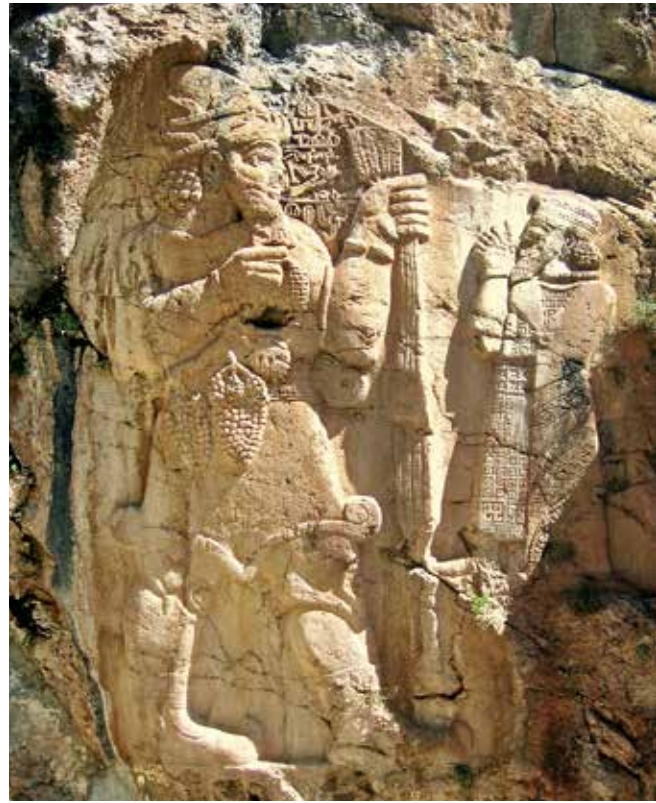


Fig. 2.28. Rock relief showing Warpalawa of Tuwana worshipping the Luwian storm god Tarhunza. İvriz. Syro-Hittite

nearby Terrace Building functioned as a workshop, a site for food preparation, and perhaps also a treasury where elite goods were stored.¹⁷

The enormous number of bronze objects excavated at Gordion, more than at almost any Near Eastern site dating to the early first millennium B.C., attests to the prominence of Phrygia and of Gordion, in particular, as a bronzeworking center.¹⁸ Technical analysis of the bronze vessels and fibulae from Tumulus MM (discussed below) reveals the accomplishments of Phrygian artisans in hammering, casting, and riveting bronze to create an impression of seamless construction in which traces of manufacture such as toolmarks are nearly invisible.¹⁹ Fibulae and silver or bronze belts decorated with elaborate geometric designs seem to have been understood as typically Phrygian personal ornaments in neighboring regions. A tribute bearer from an Assyrian relief at Khorsabad wears a Phrygian fibula, perhaps meant to identify his delegation as that sent to Sargon II by Midas in 710/709 B.C.²⁰ The garment worn by Warpalawa, king of Tuwana, in his rock relief at İvriz (fig. 2.28) may have been a diplomatic gift from Midas along with the Phrygian fibula that fastens it, although Warpalawa also paid tribute to Assyria.²¹ By the early seventh century B.C., Phrygian belts began to be dedicated at sanctuaries of Greek goddesses. It has been argued that their patterned decoration, like those on the furniture



Fig. 2.29. Rock-cut shrine of the Phrygian goddess Matar. Arslankaya. Early Phrygian

and on Phrygian rock reliefs, expressed symbolic ideas connected with the cult of the great Phrygian goddess Matar (known in the Greek world as Kybele, after her epithet *kubileya*),²² aspects of whose cult may have been adopted by the Greeks.²³ While there were probably other Phrygian deities besides Matar, the details of Phrygian religion remain obscure, perhaps deliberately, in order to guard against outsiders who had not been initiated into the cult.²⁴ No temples to Matar or other Phrygian gods have been identified, but a



Fig. 2.30. Tumulus MM, interior of tomb chamber during excavation, 1957. Screen (MM-378), table (MM-388), and bronzes in southeast corner; table (MM-385) in right foreground; table (MM-386) at far right rear

number of cult installations have been documented throughout Phrygia, including rock-cut idols on stepped platforms and rock-cut shrines with geometric decoration, some with images of a frontal female figure flanked by lions standing in an architectural frame (fig. 2.29).²⁵

At the time of the Early Phrygian citadel's destruction by a wide-ranging conflagration, now thought to have been accidental, a major building project was already under way, suggesting that Phrygian power had not yet begun to decline.²⁶ However, by the early sixth century B.C., the powerful Mermnad kings of Lydia brought all of Phrygia under Lydian imperial control. It is possible that the technique of using decorated terracotta roof tiles, which first appears at Gordion along with a surge in ceramic imports from Greece and Lydia in the late seventh or early sixth century B.C., was adopted directly from Lydia early in the period of Lydian hegemony.²⁷

Tumulus burials—burial chambers covered by large earth mounds—were first introduced into Anatolia by the Phrygians in the ninth century B.C., perhaps in the tradition of the kurgan burials of the Central Asian steppes.²⁸ Most appear to be single burials of adult males, and their monumental size, combined with the presence of elaborate grave goods, indicates their association with the Phrygian elite. Archaeologists dubbed the largest Phrygian tumulus the “Midas Mound,” or MM, because of its large size (53 meters tall), elaborate construction, and extremely rich grave goods, which evoked associations with the king known for his legendary wealth, but as it probably dates to about 740 B.C., it is more likely the burial of Midas's father.²⁹ The MM burial chamber, built of well-preserved pine beams, is aptly characterized as the “oldest standing wooden building in the world.”³⁰ A man in his sixties was buried in the chamber, accompanied by at least fifteen pieces of extraordinary wooden furniture and hundreds of bronze objects, including fibulae, belts, drinking bowls, jugs, cauldrons, and other vessels (fig. 2.30).³¹ Many characteristically Phrygian finds, such as fibulae and belts, were found together with imports such as cauldrons with siren attachments of North Syrian type, perhaps received as diplomatic gifts (see cat. 147).³² Two of the most elaborately decorated Tumulus MM vessels—a lion-headed bronze situla and another with a ram's head—have been assigned to Assyrian, Urartian, or North Syrian workshops, although they may in fact be local Phrygian products.³³ Evidence of feasting and drinking has been recovered from residues and organic remains in the vessels, allowing researchers to reconstruct in detail the menu served at the funeral banquet, including a fermented beverage that combined grape wine, barley beer, and



Fig. 2.31. Painted brown-on-buff ceramic vessels in the form of a goose, left (Gordion inv. 3904-P-1412), and a gander, right (Gordion inv. 3903-P-1411). Gordion, Tumulus P. Early Phrygian

honey mead.³⁴ Elaborate funeral feasts, including a fourteen-day Hittite funeral, are documented in Late Bronze Age texts as well as in the *Iliad* (for both Hektor and Patroklos), and archaeological evidence of a contemporary funeral banquet comes from Tomb 79 at Salamis, in Cyprus (see “The ‘Royal’ Tombs of Salamis” in this volume, pp. 188–92).³⁵ The type of assemblage interred in Tumulus MM was not used solely for feasting in funerary contexts, however: Assyrian reliefs from Nimrud, Khorsabad, and Nineveh show banqueting scenes with similar drinking vessels and elaborate furniture (cat. 22).³⁶

In addition to the wooden furniture and bronze vessels, belts, and fibulae characteristic of elite Phrygian burials, Tumulus P, the burial of a child, contained a miniature bronze quadriga and a series of wooden animals carved in a linear style distinctive to Phrygian art.³⁷ Fine Phrygian painted pottery, called Brown-on-Buff Ware, depicts animals in a similar style: either in panels surrounded by bands of geometric ornament or in three dimensions, as in a pair of askoi from Tumulus P in the shape of geese (fig. 2.31).³⁸

Initially, Phrygian art borrowed heavily in style and iconography from the more established Syro-Hittite cultures to the east,³⁹ as can be seen in the drawings incised into the walls of monumental buildings at Gordion during the late ninth century B.C.⁴⁰ Many of the images in the drawings became important components of Phrygian iconography, including lions, birds of prey, and building facades with geometric decoration and horned akroteria (architectural ornaments at the peak of a roof), the latter perhaps an indication of the original appearance of the monumental buildings on the Citadel Mound. Trade and/or high-level gift exchange with regions to the east are attested in the form of ivory horse trappings in North Syrian style, including a frontlet showing a nude winged female figure wearing a high, polos-like headdress and holding two

sphinxes, one on either side, in a pose that evokes the Mistress of Animals (fig. 2.32).⁴¹ Workshops at Gordion also imported ivory as a raw material, however, and produced elite objects of this type in a distinctively Phrygian style, exemplified by a set of ivory plaques from Megaron 3, including a representation of a mounted warrior.⁴²

Over time, these influences were absorbed into an entirely original and characteristically Phrygian artistic style and repertoire, distinguished by an affinity for complex geometric patterning. Elizabeth Simpson, whose perceptive study of the wooden furniture from Gordion has revealed the mathematical complexity and sophistication underlying their construction and decoration, has convincingly interpreted certain combinations of motifs as symbolic representations of the Phrygian goddess flanked by lions.⁴³ Other patterns may have been intended as labyrinths, to be followed by the viewer as games; these would have evoked the story of Theseus and the Minotaur, which may have also been depicted on architectural terracottas at Gordion.⁴⁴ During the seventh century B.C., the artistic styles of Phrygia and its neighbors Lydia, Ionia, and



Fig. 2.32. Ivory horse frontlet with goddess. Gordion, Terrace Building 2. Early Phrygian (Gordion inv. 7652-BI-432)



Fig. 2.33. Ivory statuette of mother with two children. Bayındır, Tumulus D. Antalya Museum, Turkey (2.21.87)

Lycia developed in an atmosphere of increasing cultural interchange, demonstrated by the rich grave goods found interred in a woman's tumulus at Bayındır near Elmalı, in ancient Lycia.⁴⁵ These include silver vessels, belts, and fibulae decorated with Phrygian geometric ornament and an ivory figurine whose place of manufacture has been widely debated: an extraordinary group of a mother with two children, modeled in a rounded, volumetric style with wide, incised eyes and the distinctive "archaic smile" (fig. 2.33).⁴⁶ Drawing connections between the Bayındır ivory and those dedicated at the temple of Artemis at Ephesos during the late seventh century B.C., Tuna Şare has argued that the difficulty in identifying its precise origin stems from the intense cultural hybridization that characterized western Anatolia in this period.⁴⁷ Even after the decline of Phrygia, this hybrid culture continued in the art of the Lydian empire, where it deeply influenced neighboring states, including those of Ionian Greece.⁴⁸

Lycia

Lydian material culture is known mostly from excavations at the capital, Sardis (modern Sart). The city is located in the valley of the Hermus River (Gediz Çayı) in the foothills of Mount Tmolus (Boz Dağı), 60 miles inland from İzmir.⁴⁹ Occupied continuously from the Late Bronze Age through the Iron Age, Sardis reached the peak of its power under the Mermnad dynasty, which ruled Lydia from about 680 B.C. to the 540s B.C., and whose kings included Croesus, a name still synonymous with wealth. The fame of Lydia and the Mermnad kings, well attested in ancient texts, has proven difficult to demonstrate in the sparse archaeological record. In part, this is because Lydian achievements noted as characteristic by the ancient Greeks—the manufacture of fine textiles, precious cosmetics, and unguents as well as accomplishments in music and horsemanship—leave no traces in the material record.⁵⁰ However, archaeology can provide evidence that supports the historical claims of Lydian luxury.

The Central Lydia Archaeological Survey, begun in 2005, has documented a power shift from large fortified sites around the Gygaean Lake to an urbanized center at Sardis by the eighth century B.C.⁵¹ Foreign connections in this period were attested by pottery imported from many different Greek and East Greek cities.⁵² In the following century, historical sources describe Lydia's rapid rise to imperial power, beginning with the usurpation of power from the semimythical Heraklid ruler Kandaules by Gyges, founder of the Mermnad dynasty. Under the five Mermnad kings, Lydia expanded via military alliances with foreign powers, including Assyria and Egypt, and campaigns against its Greek neighbors until, by the time of Croesus, in the mid-sixth century B.C., nearly all of western Anatolia was subject to Lydian rule.⁵³ Lydian power was not dependent solely on direct military force, however: diplomatic alliances, sealed by marriages, played important roles,⁵⁴ and lavish dedications at Greek sanctuaries were used to affirm Mermnad dynastic claims from the start, when opposition to Gyges's usurpation was appeased through the sanction of the Delphic oracle.⁵⁵

Lydian religious traditions, like those of Phrygia, remain poorly understood and appear to have focused primarily on the worship of a goddess named Kubaba or Kuvava. The latter form of her name was incised in Lydian script on an early sixth-century B.C. sherd found at Sardis near an altar, originally decorated with sculptures of lions, that was associated with a gold-refining complex.⁵⁶ An earring in the shape of a couchant lamb, a rare surviving example of Lydian goldwork, was found nearby, suggesting that the refinery and a workshop for fine crafts both operated in the area overseen by the



Fig. 2.34. Marble naiskos with goddess in Ionic temple. Sardis. Middle Lydian. Archaeological Museum, Manisa, Turkey (4029)

goddess. Attested already during the Bronze Age, the cult of Kubaba derives from southeastern Anatolia, where she was the patron deity of Carchemish.⁵⁷ The Greeks knew the Phrygian goddess Matar as Kybele, as noted above, and the similarity in the names Kybele and Kubaba led to a likely erroneous belief among scholars of ancient religion that the two were the same, with the Phrygian goddess construed as an earlier version of the Lydian.⁵⁸ In fact, the Lydian goddess was more closely connected with Ionian Greece than with Phrygia. Kubaba may have been worshiped in the predecessor to the temple of Artemis at Ephesos⁵⁹ and then gradually replaced by or syncretized with the Greek goddess.⁶⁰ On a naiskos (miniature shrine) from Sardis probably carved in the mid-sixth century B.C., Kubaba, shown frontally, appears as a mature female clothed in an elaborately draped garment; she stands in the doorway of an Ionic temple, holding a lion and flanked by snakes (fig. 2.34).⁶¹ As enduring symbols of power, lions were associated with both Kubaba and the Phrygian Matar and were frequently depicted in stone sculpture throughout Lydia.⁶² Among Kubaba's concerns were the protection of the royal house and of the dead, and she perhaps also had a connection with metalworking.

Lydian tumulus burials were probably inspired by older Phrygian examples, although the Lydian type employs a stone

burial chamber perhaps influenced by Aegean chamber tombs known in western Anatolia from the Mycenaean period.⁶³ This new burial tradition may have been intended as an ideological link between the ancestral Lydian region around the Gygaean Lake and the Mermnad rulers, a connection made explicit in the choice to build tumuli at times even on the site of the Late Bronze Age citadels.⁶⁴ The enormous tomb of Alyattes, the earliest and largest of the tumuli, was robbed perhaps as early as the Roman period,⁶⁵ but extremely rich tomb assemblages are known from more recent illicit digging, exemplified by the so-called Lydian Hoard.⁶⁶ Much of the hoard probably dates to the Achaemenid period, but Lydian traditions in metalwork were adopted and preserved by the Persians during this time, and some heirloom objects such as jewelry may date to the period of Lydian empire.⁶⁷

Lydia was famous in antiquity for its wealth in precious metals. The streams near Sardis, especially the Pactolus, were abundant sources of alluvial gold and electrum, and there is evidence for additional silver sources in the region.⁶⁸ The Mermnad kings were the first to create standardized currency, but it was only during the reign of Croesus that they developed the technology necessary to mint coins in both gold and silver (fig. 2.35).⁶⁹ The degree to which trade was facilitated by the introduction of silver coinage, which cannot be overstated, may well be the most widespread legacy of the western Anatolian powers of the early first millennium B.C. After the conquest of Sardis by the Achaemenid Persians in the mid-540s B.C. the city was made the seat of a satrapy, but it nonetheless retained many features of Lydian culture.⁷⁰



Fig. 2.35. Left: Gold stater of Croesus. Sardis. Middle Lydian. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Gift of The American Society for the Excavation of Sardis, 1926 (26.59.2). Right: Silver stater of Croesus. Sardis. Middle Lydian. American Numismatic Society, New York (1975.218.51)





III

ASSYRIA TO IBERIA:
CONQUEST AND COMMERCE

Art and Networks of Interaction Across the Mediterranean

JOAN ARUZ

The dramatic events that signaled the demise of the Bronze Age throughout the eastern Mediterranean and the Near East occurred against a backdrop of internationalism that had intensified during the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries B.C. This era was characterized by the extensive exchange of royal diplomatic gifts, as inventoried in the Amarna Letters, the cuneiform records of foreign correspondence between the Egyptian pharaohs Amenhotep III and Amenhotep IV (Akhenaten) and the great kings of the Near East. Evidence for such international exchange is also provided by the array of exotic luxury materials carried on the Uluburun ship, wrecked off the southern shores of Turkey during a voyage believed to have originated in the Levant en route to the Aegean. It is also found, for instance, in the palatial crafts workshops of Boiotian Thebes.¹ What followed was a chaotic period of massive destruction, one that witnessed the collapse of centralized palace systems, the abandonment of settlements, and eastward movements by seafaring warriors, among other intrusive forces. Networks of exchange were compromised, and what emerged in the early first millennium B.C. was a dramatically different world of smaller polities that itself was eventually transformed by the growing power of the Neo-Assyrian empire.

Throughout these transitional periods, however, we have remarkable testimony to the strength and persistence of cultural traditions. This is manifested especially in the continuity or revival of potent imagery and stylistic features as well as the practice of the crafts of ivory carving and metalworking in the Levant, Cyprus, and eventually throughout the Mediterranean basin. Helene Kantor, referring to the melding of traditions so characteristic of the “international” or “intercultural” styles of luxury arts of the Late Bronze Age, noted in the 1950s that “[t]he intimate mixture of Canaanite and Mycenaean decorative art . . . had a vitality enabling it to survive the collapse of the Mycenaean *koine* and the succeeding dark centuries . . . reappearing in the first millennium as the North

Syrian school of decorative art.”² Scholars have since refined our understanding of the regional styles and iconography that characterize the ivory carvings in Syrian and Phoenician traditions during the Iron Age, their relations to earlier and contemporary works in other media, and the historical contexts in which they developed. Other elite products—bowls of silver and bronze with inscriptions and intricate imagery, and incised tridacna shells distributed throughout the Mediterranean—have also been carefully analyzed. Together with evidence for the transfer of precious raw materials and perishable items, revealed in the excavations of Phoenician shipwrecks, and the development of industries for the creation and distribution of textiles and objects of vitreous materials, works of art provide us with a compelling picture of the interconnected world of the early first millennium B.C. This world encompassed a vast territory on land, extending beyond the Assyrian heartland, as well as a maritime network that advanced to the western frontiers of ancient civilization.

The Historical Setting and Landscapes of Interaction

One of the most transformative events in the transition to the Iron Age was the political decline of Egypt and the division of the state into two entities following the death of the last Ramesside pharaoh, in 1069 B.C. Such circumstances set the stage for the voyage of Wenamun—commissioned by the High Priest Herihor to obtain cedarwood for the sacred barque of the god Amun—which failed because Egypt no longer exerted control over Byblos.³ The revival of Egypt initiated by Sheshonq I—the founder of Dynasty 22, who assumed the throne at Tanis, in the Nile Delta, around 945 B.C.—reasserted some of the power and prestige of the New Kingdom. His policy of military interference in the Levant apparently enriched the cities of Memphis and Thebes and expanded Egyptian involvement with Phoenicia.⁴ There is also evidence at sites such as Herakleopolis (see “Egypt in

the Neo-Assyrian Period” in this volume, pp. 198–201) for a Phoenician presence in the Delta region, the cultural significance of which has been emphasized by Eric Gubel (discussed below). Despite this interlude, with the growing power of the Assyrians in the eighth and seventh centuries B.C., Egypt, by then under Nubian rule, was decisively defeated by Assyria in the time of Taharqo (690–664 B.C.), turning the Delta into a vassal state. The Nile Valley never regained its former imperial glory in any sustained manner.

Major transformations also occurred in the Levant in the wake of the destruction of the great Late Bronze Age emporium of Ugarit, the city renowned for its international harbor and extraordinary metalwork and ivories in styles that express eastern Mediterranean interconnections.⁵ Farther south, beyond the anti-Lebanon mountains, the inland area around Damascus gained prominence, with the consolidation of Aramaean centers into a powerful state. The ruler Hazael brought Aram to the height of its power, conquering Phoenician and Philistine cities, invading Israel and Judah (see cat. 64), and establishing a trading quarter in the Israelite city of Samaria.⁶ Hazael—whose inscribed objects have been found in the sanctuaries of Greece (see below)—was a major adversary of the Assyrian king Shalmaneser III (858–824 B.C.), who recounts on the Black Obelisk (see discussion on pp. 62–64), “In my twenty-first year I crossed the Euphrates . . . marched to cities of Hazael of Damascus. I captured four of his important cities.” Aram-Damascus did not survive the confrontation between Shalmaneser and Hazael’s successor, and by the end of the ninth century B.C., during the campaigns of the Assyrian ruler Adad-nirari III, it was conquered and reduced to vassal status.

The Assyrian relationship with the key Phoenician cities of Sidon and Tyre appears to have been less adversarial. This is witnessed at the onset of the Neo-Assyrian empire, with the inclusion of guests from Sidon and Tyre at the banquet of Ashurnasirpal II (883–859 B.C.). These cities are also omitted from the list of Phoenician centers that fought united with Aram-Damascus and Hamath against Shalmaneser III in the battle of Qarqar (853 B.C.). Rather, as recounted by Shalmaneser on the Black Obelisk, “I received tribute of the Tyrians, the Sidonians, the Byblians.” On the Balawat Gates, we see images of the great Tyrian ruler Ithobaal standing before the city gates, sending tribute by ship, including metal ingots and, possibly, ivory tusks, which are then carried ashore into the Assyrian king’s presence (cat. 44a, b).⁷

Unlike other areas of the Near East, many of the coastal cities of the Levant had either not been destroyed or quickly recovered after the end of the Bronze Age and exhibited a

strong continuity with the past. Homer, who refers to the Phoenicians as Sidonians, offers a glimpse of Sidon as an intact port city at the time Paris sailed to Troy and Menelaos was on his way home after the end of the Trojan War (*Iliad* 6.290–91; *Odyssey* 15.118–19).⁸ The preeminence of Sidon is reinforced by Wenamun’s report that there were fifty ships in the city’s harbor. By the tenth century B.C., however, there was a shift in power, and Tyre entered a golden age during the time of Hiram I, as told in the biblical story of his famous alliance with Solomon, and began its phenomenal expansion over the seas with the establishment of a trading post at Kition, on Cyprus. As a further expression of Tyre’s ongoing attempt to develop markets and resources,⁹ the city appears to have also maintained close trade relations with Aram-Damascus, a situation that may be reflected in the writings of Ezekiel (27:18), albeit in reference to the Babylonian period. Ezekiel recounts the exchange of wines and wool from Syria for wrought iron and spices from Tyre (but likely originating elsewhere).¹⁰ This commercial impetus increased under Hiram’s successor, Ithobaal, and by the mid-ninth century B.C. Tyre and Sidon had become a unified state that controlled the copper trade from Cyprus. An alliance with Israel was sealed, according to biblical history, with the marriage of Ithobaal’s daughter Jezebel to Ahab of Samaria, famous for his palace adorned with ivory (1 Kings 22:39).

The situation in the Levant changed drastically in the next century as the Assyrian empire strengthened under the great conqueror Tiglath-Pileser III (744–727 B.C.), who advanced as far as the Mediterranean and the borders of Egypt. Initiating war first on the northern Phoenician city-states, he reduced much of the coast to vassal status. His conflict with the Sidonian kingdom resulted in the surrender of Tyre in 734–732 B.C., but apparently Tiglath-Pileser III understood the value of a semi-independent Tyre as a source of income to the Assyrian state. He exacted an annual tribute of 150 talents of gold from its king, Mattan, but allowed the city to continue its overseas expansion, with trade restrictions on certain materials such as cedar.¹¹ The special status of Tyrian merchants is alluded to by Isaiah, who wrote (23:8) of “the crowned Tyre, whose merchants are princes, her traders the most honored men on earth.”¹² These words appear to reflect a time when the Phoenicians operated with seemingly limited interference from the Assyrian centers of ultimate power, creating what Fernand Braudel has called an early “world-economy, surrounded by great empires.”¹³ However, the troubles encountered by the city during the reign of Luli and his conflicts with Shalmaneser V in the last quarter of the eighth century B.C. altered the political and economic

landscape, as the Phoenicians were no longer able to maintain the same level of control over their vast network of trading centers across the Mediterranean.

Archaeology supports the picture presented in the literary evidence of Tyre's continuous growth, trade with Cyprus, and expansion into the Greek commercial sphere. While Patricia Bikai's excavations at Tyre lacked material evidence for the later Assyrian period, the Assyrian records and imagery on palatial reliefs nonetheless offer a compelling depiction of conquest.¹⁴ Shalmaneser V's campaigns culminated in the siege of Tyre's harbor and water supply during Luli's reign, resulting in the city's loss of independence and curtailing its ability to trade without close Assyrian oversight. Sargon's reign appears to mark an interlude in which Tyre again flourished and retained control of Kition, with its abundant copper resources. The monumental stele found at the site, however, bears a cuneiform inscription that refers to its original placement on a sacred mountain on the island and mentions seven local rulers who submitted to the Assyrians. Thus the stele (cat. 74)—with its typically Assyrian image of the king as chief priest before divine symbols—seems to have been intended to mark the western extent of Assyrian power to “the midst of the Sea of the Setting Sun.”¹⁵

The reversal of Tyre's fortunes is graphically depicted in the relief from the palace of Sennacherib with scenes of Luli's flight to Cyprus (ill. p. 4). The Assyrian king then installed Tubalu (Ithobaal)—the pro-Assyrian ruler of Sidon (and the mainland territories of Tyre)—on the throne, but his reign and the city's revival were short-lived. Esarhaddon's punishment for rebellion was as decisive as it was brutal: “I razed to the ground Sidon, the fortified city in the middle of the sea, destroyed and cast into the sea its walls and dwellings. . . . As to Abdi-Milkutti its king . . . I cut off his head, I deported his subjects . . . to Assyria. I reordered the territory, placing one of my officials to govern over them.”¹⁶ Sidon's port was renamed “Esarhaddon's harbor,” and the Phoenicians lost direct control of Cyprus. A weakened Tyre managed to maintain some autonomy at the onset of Ashurbanipal's first campaign against Egypt, but after a failed rebellion the city was once again reduced to its island territory for another thirty years, during which time the Assyrian empire disintegrated.¹⁷

The Materials of Interaction

The period of Neo-Assyrian domination in the Near East and the era leading up to it witnessed a constant flow of raw materials, goods, technologies (such as glass and faience production), and ideas—most significantly the transmission and

adaptation of the alphabet—across western Asia and the Mediterranean (see “The Cuneiform Scribal Tradition and the Development of the Alphabet” and “Phoenician and East Mediterranean Glass” in this volume, pp. 46–49, 167–68).¹⁸ In addition to trade in material goods, the mechanisms of interaction included diplomatic marriage, gift exchange, plunder, and tribute; the exchange of specialists such as craftsmen, mercenaries, and, possibly, scribes and priests; and the movements of peoples as part of forced or voluntary migrations. The Bible, Assyrian inscriptions, and the Homeric poems offer us tantalizing allusions to the circulation of goods and people. We hear of enormous quantities of spices and precious stones from distant Arabia and renowned textiles being traded in Tyre's marketplace and taken as booty by the Assyrian kings. Tiglath-Pileser III's booty included “multi-coloured garments, linen garments, blue-purple and red-purple wool . . . live sheep whose wool is dyed red-purple, flying birds of the sky whose wings are dyed blue-purple.”¹⁹ Ezekiel, whose writings appear to reflect earlier historical conditions,²⁰ tells us that merchants from Arabia, Syria, and Assyria traded with Tyre in “choice fabrics, embroidered cloaks of blue” and “textiles with multicolored trim” (Ezek. 27:22, 23).²¹ We also learn that “Aram exchanged turquoise, purple fabric, embroidered work, fine linen, coral and rubies for your [Tyre's] merchandise” (Ezek. 27:16). Homer, in the *Iliad*, mentions the “brocaded, beautiful robes . . . the work of Sidonian women” who accompanied Paris on his return to Troy. One such garment, singled out as a dedication to Athena, was richly worked, and “like a star it glistened” (*Iliad* 6.289–91, 294–95).²²

Only a few representations on works of art—such as the garment on a sculpture from Cyprus painted red with anti-thetic sphinxes (cat. 81)—afford us some idea of this highly sophisticated and admired Phoenician textile production. Purple dye made from murex sea snails, now attested only in the heaps of murex shell middens at sites such as Sidon, Tyre, and Tel Dor, was the source of the Greek name “Phoenician,” which derives from the Greek word for purple. The cedar forests of the Lebanon and anti-Lebanon mountains are the other legendary resource of ancient Phoenicia. Beams made of cedar, with its aromatic properties, were known for their strength and great length. They were used in the construction and adornment of palaces and temples and were an essential material for shipbuilding. Wenamun's tale of his mission to secure cedarwood from Byblos at a time when neither the prince of Byblos nor the Egyptian authorities in Tanis could adequately protect him demonstrates the obstacles he was forced to encounter in order to secure this precious material.

Within the Near East, following in the footsteps of the great Mesopotamian kings of the third millennium B.C., who claimed to have reached “the Cedar Forest and the Silver Mountains,”²³ the Assyrian ruler Tiglath-Pileser I (1114–1076 B.C.) sent an expedition to the Mediterranean coast to obtain cedar to renovate the Anu-Adad temple in Ashur. He then proceeded to Byblos, Sidon, and Arwad to collect tribute. He is one of many Assyrian rulers who coveted cedar for their building projects. Notable also is the trip by Tiglath-Pileser III to the cedar forest, a journey accompanied by the invocation of potent rituals.²⁴

Prior to falling under the Assyrian yoke, which entailed restrictions on the trade of materials such as cedar, Phoenician alliances with inland neighbors were secured with the exchange of this most valuable commodity. We are told in the Bible that the tenth-century B.C. ruler Hiram of Tyre sent cedar logs, carpenters, and stonemasons to build David a royal palace (2 Sam. 5:11, 1 Chron. 14:1). When Solomon was anointed as David’s successor and decided to build a new temple in Jerusalem, he wrote to Hiram asking for cedars of Lebanon, noting that “there is none among us who knows how to cut timber like the Sidonians” (1 Kings 5:5–6).²⁵ Hiram responded, “My men will haul [cedar and juniper logs] down from Lebanon to the Mediterranean sea, and I will float them as rafts by sea to the place you specify.” In return, Solomon supplied Hiram with enormous quantities of wheat and “beaten” olive oil.²⁶ Although archaeological evidence is lacking to support the significance of Judah in Hiram’s time, these passages may allude to commercial alliances that connected land and sea routes, brought annual supplies of foodstuffs to the coastal cities, and opened Phoenician ports for ventures down the Red Sea to obtain gold from the legendary port of Ophir (1 Kings 9:28, 2 Chron. 8:18), thus bypassing the Arabian land route.²⁷

Other materials were secured from distant sources—gold, silver, tridacna shell, and ivory—to be fashioned into elite objects by Levantine craftsmen. Distributed in abundance in palaces, sanctuaries, and tombs extending from the Assyrian homeland to the western Mediterranean, they offer us perhaps the most illuminating visual expressions of international exchange during the early first millennium B.C., characterized in part as the Orientalizing era in the west.

Gold

Biblical accounts emphasize the universal quest for gold, but the amounts said to have been obtained are often greatly exaggerated. Sheba’s gift to Solomon included 120 gold talents,

and the king is said to have received 666 gold talents annually from elsewhere (1 Kings 10:2, 10:14). The fleets of Hiram and Solomon returned from Ophir carrying huge quantities of gold along with silver, ivory, and exotic animals (2 Chron. 8:18, 1 Kings 10:22).²⁸ Such expeditions, which could have occurred only in a period of Egyptian weakness, suggest that Hiram laid foundations for the Tyrian sea empire, renowned according to the poetic words of Ezekiel: “Your frontiers are on the high seas, your builders made your beauty perfect” (Ezek. 27:4). Solomon’s “house of the Forest of Lebanon” was said to be plated in pure gold. His throne “with lions beside the arms,” evocative of the sphinx throne depicted on the sarcophagus of Ahiram (fig. 3.19), was covered with ivory and overlaid with gold (1 Kings 10:18, 2 Chron. 9:18). Golden strands were woven into textiles (Exod. 39:3), and golden dishes adorned the royal table and were filled with incense (Num. 7:86).

Assyrian rulers received gold tribute from the “kings of the seacoast.” A number of the spectacular gold treasures discovered in the Nimrud tombs may, however, have arrived as a result of diplomatic marriage, like those in Egyptian Thebes deposited seven hundred years earlier in the tombs of the foreign wives of Tuthmosis III and those cited in the dowry lists at Amarna.²⁹ One object of particular interest is the gold bowl with depictions of a boating scene in the tomb that bears the remains of Yaba’, the Levantine wife of Tiglath-Pileser III (figs. 3.1, 3.2, 3.13; see also “The Gold of Nimrud” in this volume, pp. 125–31). Most recently considered to be of Egyptian



Fig. 3.1. Gold bowl showing a Nilotic scene. Nimrud, Northwest Palace, tomb of Yaba’. Neo-Assyrian. Iraq Museum, Baghdad (IM 105 697)

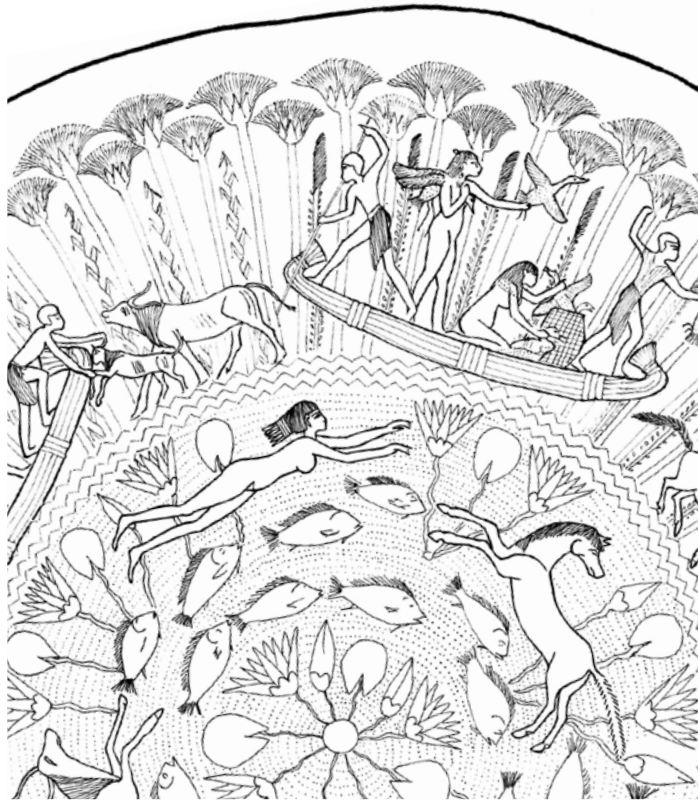


Fig. 3.2. Drawing of detail of fig. 3.1



Fig. 3.3. Silver and gold bowl of general Undjebauendjed. Tanis, tomb of Psusennes I, Dynasty 21. Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 87742)

manufacture of around 1000 B.C., this heirloom would then date to the time of the splendid gold jewelry and tableware in the Dynasty 21 royal tomb of Psusennes I (ca. 1040–992 B.C.) at Tanis, related in its Nilotic imagery to the decoration on a silver and gold bowl given as a gift from the king to the general Undjebauendjed (fig. 3.3).³⁰ Stressing the particular relevance of such imagery to the Nile Delta, Eric Gubel has suggested that a similar scene on a silver bowl from Golgoi-Athienou, Cyprus, is a Phoenician work that may depict the Bastet festival on the lake surrounding her temple in the time of Osorkon II (ca. 874–850 B.C.).³¹ The implication is that the early, elite bowls of a type that would become a trademark of Phoenician expansion were adorned with narratives of “eyewitness” accounts, in this case from the Nile Delta, where much of Phoenician artistic inspiration developed. The suggested Egyptian attribution of the Nimrud bowl as well as the Golgoi-Athienou bowl to the time of earlier Tanite rule, predating Osorkon II, if accurate, may contradict parts of this argument.³² However, the emphasis on the Delta as a possible production center where Phoenicians and locals interacted, thereby as a specific source for the transmission of imagery particularly pertinent to Egypt in the Third Intermediate Period, is worthy of serious consideration.

Silver

Silver was a traditional medium of exchange in the ancient Near East. The Bible records that the Israelite king Omri paid two talents of silver to purchase the hill of Samaria to build his capital (1 Kings 16:24), and this precious metal, along with gold, was part of the tribute paid to Assyrian rulers.³³ Silver was also a primary material for the production of elite objects. Homer’s often-cited references to finely wrought and highly prized Sidonian silver mixing bowls, one rimmed in gold, bring to mind the surviving gold-plated silver bowls with elaborately incised designs found on Cyprus and in Etruria (see “Metalwork” in this volume, pp. 157–59) as well as the earlier superb silver vessels, some enhanced with gold, from Tell Basta and Tanis in the Nile Delta.³⁴ The tomb of Psusennes I, like that of Sheshonq II in the following century, also yielded an innermost coffin made of solid silver.³⁵ Marc Van De Mieroop suggests that the raw material may have been imported to the Delta from the Levant and was perhaps more expensive in Egypt than gold.³⁶

Silver was also a primary item of trade for Phoenician merchants, as may be reflected in Ezekiel 27:12: “Tarshish did business with you because of your great wealth of goods; they exchanged silver, iron, tin and lead for your merchandise.”³⁷

While the association of “Tarshish” and Tartessos in Iberia remains controversial, the resources of the Iberian pyrite belt cannot be overemphasized. Ann Neville points out that more than six million tons of slag associated with silver smelting in antiquity accumulated in the area of the Rio Tinto, 75 kilometers northeast of Huelva (ancient Tartessos in Classical literature). She outlines clear evidence for extensive silver-mining operations, habitations, and workshops in the Rio Tinto area beginning in the eighth century B.C.³⁸ Additional silver mining and processing took place along the Guadalquivir River, where there is also extensive evidence for a Phoenician presence. Neville emphasizes that the Guadalquivir was “the most important channel of communication in southern Spain,” the confluence through which flowed other routes and resources, such as “the silver and tin of Extremadura, and the gold fields of the Atlantic northwest.”³⁹ The mineral wealth of Spain far exceeded sources closer to the Phoenician homeland, but the latter also appear to have been exploited. For instance, the presence of Levantine imports at Lefkandi, as Susan and Andrew Sherratt point out, suggests that nearby Lavrion provided silver to traders on a northern route extending through Rhodes to the Aegean.⁴⁰ The extraordinary quantity of Orientalizing silverwork alongside Phoenician and North Syrian imports in Etruscan tombs may point to additional potential sources of the material as well as possible centers of production.⁴¹

Much scholarship has focused on the origins and significance of the gilded-silver bowls with elaborate figural imagery and their bronze counterparts, which, with the exception of a hoard of bronze examples from Nimrud and a fragment from Megiddo, have not come to light on the western Asiatic mainland.⁴² They are also absent from North Africa and from the numerous Andalusian sites in the vicinity of the Rio Tinto silver mines. The most significant cluster of silver (as well as bronze) bowls in Phoenician territory comes, rather, from Cyprus, which may be inscribed with the names of local rulers.⁴³ Silver vessels also proliferate in the elite tombs of Etruria, and their bronze counterparts were deposited in the sanctuaries and tombs of Greece. Claudia Suter cautions against interpreting this as an export industry, suggesting that these imports represent “occasional gifts that Levantine merchants presented to the local elite in order to establish trade routes and encourage bulk trade in raw materials.”⁴⁴ Glenn Markoe, however, considers the Etrurian silver bowls to be “the work of an atelier of resident Phoenician craftsmen,” whose repertoire emphasized scenes from the natural world, both military and pastoral, and who had little use for the stylized flora or depictions of supernatural creatures familiar

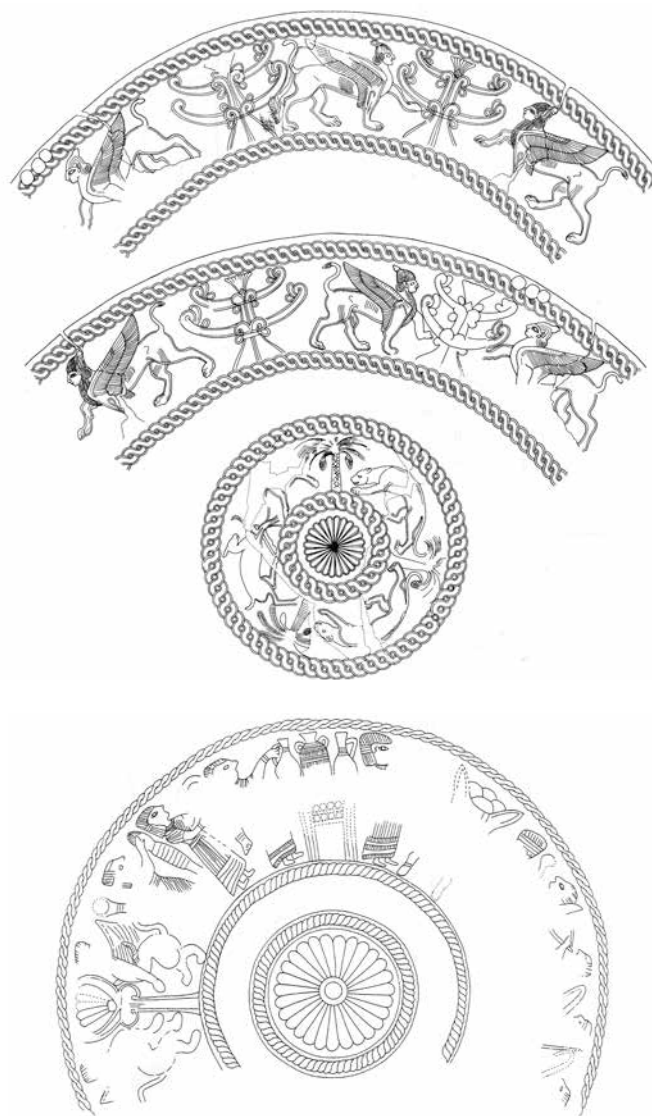


Fig. 3.4. Drawings of Levantine bronze bowls from Lefkandi. Top: Tomb 55, no. 28; bottom: Tomb 70, no. 18. Archaeological Museum, Eretria, Greece

on Cypro-Phoenician works.⁴⁵ Similarly, in discussing the shared imagery but stylistic differences on bronze bowls discovered at Nimrud (cat. 156), in the Ida Cave, and at Eleutherna (cat. 155), Markoe suggests that emigrant Levantine craftsmen were working on Crete, a phenomenon that he believes also produced the Tekke bowl, with its Phoenician inscription (fig. 1.9).⁴⁶ Although the presence of a Phoenician *cippus* at Eleutherna may support the notion of resident craftsmen on the island, one must also consider the presence of traveling craftsmen, local imitators, and objects that were carried abroad in times of war and peace.⁴⁷



Fig. 3.5. Bronze tympanum with Assyrianizing imagery. Cave of Zeus, Mount Ida. Orientalizing. Archaeological Museum, Heraklion, Greece (X9)

Bronze

When Ashurnasirpal II visited the Mediterranean around 870 B.C., among the raw materials he collected as tribute from the “kings of the seacoast” were metals such as gold, silver, and copper. There were also other items that might indicate ceremonial gift exchange, but the only mention of a bronze vessel appears to be one related to cooking.⁴⁸ Engraved bronze bowls with elaborate imagery in Levantine styles were

already circulating at this time (see “Metalwork” in this volume, pp. 157–59). Two from Lefkandi on Euboea were deposited around 900 B.C., centuries before the profusion of pictorial depictions in Greek art and the development of the Egyptianizing Phoenician repertoire (fig. 3.4).⁴⁹ One bowl, adorned with a musical procession, has been related to another from Idalion on Cyprus, the island renowned for its



Fig. 3.6. Drawing of horse breastplate with Assyrianizing imagery. Salamis, Tomb 79. Cypro-Archaic period. Cyprus Museum, Nicosia (SAL.T.79/164)

copper resources and a strong bronzeworking tradition that survived the Bronze Age transition (see cat. 2).⁵⁰ With the exception of the Nimrud hoard, Cyprus has the largest concentration of engraved bronze bowls in both Phoenician and Syrian styles. All the imported Phoenician and Syrian bowls found in Greece are also made of bronze. Significantly, they were deposited in sanctuaries and tombs, often alongside local adaptations. Outstanding examples of the latter are the extraordinary bronze tympanum with Assyrian imagery used to depict figures important in the mythology of its findspot, the Ida Cave (fig. 3.5),⁵¹ and the bronze shield from Eleutherna, with a nude divinity dominating two lions (cat. 157).

Among the most impressive Near Eastern bronzes in the west, dedicated in the sanctuaries of the Dodecanese and the Greek mainland and placed in the elite tombs of Etruria, are grand cauldrons with animal protomes attached around the rim (see “Cauldrons” in this volume, pp. 272–73). The most outstanding examples discovered on the Near Eastern mainland include the two cauldrons with four human-headed birds, or “sirens,” found in the impressive royal burial at Gordion.⁵² When such large vessels were exported westward, the ensemble only rarely survived intact or even in a fragmentary state (cat. 147). In some cases the imported cauldrons—possibly each with two sirens—were further embellished with hammered or cast griffin heads, the latter probably of local manufacture.⁵³ Questions abound regarding the processes by which (and places where) these objects were assembled as well as their original function.⁵⁴ What is clear, however, is that the Near Eastern form inspired a variety of local creations (cat. 197). Perhaps the most spectacular and unusual siren-and-griffin

cauldron was discovered in an elite tomb at Salamis, on Cyprus (cat. 76a). Certain features may suggest that the cast griffin protomes were additions to the original work, including their stylistic simplicity, manufacturing technique, and the manner in which they were attached (through the wings of the sirens) to the vessel.⁵⁵ The male bearded sirens, with their extended claws and helmeted Janus heads, are unique; hammered rather than cast, they are likely adaptations from Near Eastern forms and were produced in workshops on Cyprus. Similarly, bronze adornments from a quadriga belonging to the first burial in the tomb—and later placed with the cauldron along the propylaeum wall—incorporate unusual elements into scenes of Assyrian and Syrian derivation (cat. 75d, fig. 3.6).⁵⁶ The Salamis tomb provides some context for the sets of horse equipment, dispersed through various historical circumstances, that eventually ended up as dedications in Greek sanctuaries. Notable are the Syrian horse frontlet found in the Samian Heraion (cat. 165) and a blinker (with a locally made companion) from the Apollo sanctuary at Eretria (cat. 166), both of which bear the same inscription mentioning Hazael. Ingrid Strøm suggests that they belong to a single harness, acquired long after being taken as booty during Assyrian conquests in Aram-Damascus in the ninth and eighth centuries B.C.⁵⁷ Such objects were considered appropriate for dedication in Greek ritual contexts, as were a number of bronze statuettes from various Near Eastern sources. Also found in Greek sanctuaries—such as on Samos (cat. 168d) and Rhodes (cat. 174)—are the ubiquitous Phoenician “Reshef” bronze figurines also found in the trading posts of the western Mediterranean world (cat. 108a, b).⁵⁸



Fig. 3.7. Phoenician-style ivory plaque depicting a winged sphinx. Salamis, Tomb 79. Cypro-Archaic period. Cyprus Museum, Nicosia (SAL.T.79/258)

Ivory

The appreciation of ivory—an exotic material crafted with great artistry for the elite—appears to have survived the transition to the Iron Age along with the impetus to collect elephant tusks. Notably, Ashurnasirpal II received a tusk along with ivory dishes from Sangara of Carchemish, as depicted on the Balawat Gates. Tusks are also depicted on the Black Obelisk as tribute from the ruler of Unqi/Patin to Shalmaneser III (fig. 2.8).⁵⁹ Ivory objects and elephant hides were among the Assyrian booty from many Syrian states, but, as Georgina Herrmann notes, ivory did not figure among Phoenician tribute in the Assyrian texts before Esarhaddon’s sack of Sidon.⁶⁰ This was the case despite the archaeological evidence for a profusion of Phoenician-style ivories at Nimrud and the probability that the pointed objects shown being carried on the heads of figures bringing tribute from the king of Tyre to Shalmaneser III on the Balawat Gates (cat. 44b) are

ivory tusks (although ivory is not mentioned in the list inscribed on the band). Biblical allusions to the Tyrian trade in tusks can be found in Ezekiel (27:15), referring to the men of Deden, in central Arabia, who “traded with you, and many coastlands were your customers; they paid you with ivory tusks and ebony.”

The elephant hunt appears to have been the prerogative of kings already in the Late Bronze Age. Tuthmosis III celebrated his prowess in his account of killing 120 elephants, and the prestige of such an event is evident in the discovery of elephant tusks and skeletal remains in the royal palace at Qatna.⁶¹ Around 1100 B.C., Tiglath-Pileser I boasted, “I killed ten strong bull elephants in the land Harran and the region of the River Habur (and) four live elephants I captured. I brought the hides and tusks (of the dead elephants) with the live elephants to my city Assur.”⁶² Elephant hides were also



Fig. 3.8. Phoenician-style reconstructed wood and ivory throne. Salamis, Tomb 79. Cypro-Achaic period. Cyprus Museum, Nicosia (SAL.T79/Γ)

among the tribute received by Tiglath-Pileser III, along with ivory and purple wool from Tyre.⁶³ The discovery of more than fifty ivory tusks in the wreckage of a Phoenician ship off the coast of southern Spain—some of them inscribed with the names of Phoenician divinities—only reinforces the importance attached to elephant ivory (cat. 122a–c).

The staggering inventory of worked ivories discovered at the Assyrian capital of Nimrud includes a spectacularly carved ivory tusk fashioned into a flask. Found in a well in the royal palace, its highly modeled images of four registers of animals, embellished further with cloisonné inlays and gold overlay, has been attributed to Syrian manufacture.⁶⁴ The idea to transform a whole tusk into sculpture has precedents in Syria, at the site of Ugarit, although in a less extravagant manner.⁶⁵ Most other ivory tusks did not survive intact but, rather, were processed into plaques to adorn wooden furniture.

Their widespread use speaks to the abundance of this exotic material, which must have come primarily from African sources, although Peter Pfälzner has made a case for elephant populations in the Ghab Valley, near Qatna, offering some justification for both the Egyptian and Assyrian accounts of hunting them in Syria.⁶⁶ In discussing ivory techniques, Annie Caubet notes that “many pieces betray a lavish, careless use of the tusks, a disregard for the possibilities offered by the natural pulp cavity,” with craftsmen no longer taking advantage of the elephant tusk’s natural form.⁶⁷ The situation contrasts with the Bronze Age, when hippopotamus canines and incisors, which were more easily obtained but harder to work, were the main source of ivory and were traded across the Mediterranean.⁶⁸

The distribution of massive quantities of ivory-inlaid furniture as well as smaller quantities of ivory cosmetic boxes,



Fig. 3.9. Phoenician-style ivory plaque with Egyptian lion-headed god. Nimrud, Fort Shalmaneser, SW 37. Neo-Assyrian period. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Rogers Fund, 1961 (61.197.12)

Fig. 3.10. Phoenician-style ivory aegis of Egyptian goddess Bastet. Nimrud, Fort Shalmaneser, SW 12. Neo-Assyrian period. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Rogers Fund, 1962 (62.269.10)



handles, and other items in the palaces and storerooms of Nimrud—in addition to the fewer but also impressive examples at sites in Cilicia, North Syria, Israel, Cyprus, and Carthage, and farther afield on Crete and in Etruria and Spain—has been the focus of much scholarly attention. Along with detailed analyses of the imagery and technical aspects of carving and a consideration of the few inscriptions mentioning royal names and geographic locations, they have been examined with the aim of determining centers of ivory production, the circumstances under which ivories traveled, and their sociopolitical significance both in the Assyrian stronghold and in regions under varying degrees of its control.⁶⁹ There now appears to be a consensus that the distinctive Assyrian style—which shares an iconography with Assyrian art in other media and also an incised technique used for patterns on the garments and metalwork depicted on Assyrian reliefs—was the form of ivory carving most acceptable for

use in the Assyrian royal court.⁷⁰ Evidence cited includes the location of Assyrian-style ivories in important public rooms of the palace and Fort Shalmaneser and the exclusion of both Syrian and Phoenician ivories. The absence of ivories in the tombs of the royal women at Nimrud has also been mentioned, although goldwork exhibiting a variety of western elements was abundant in the burials.⁷¹ According to Suter, by collecting foreign ivory furniture the Assyrian court stripped “subjugated rulers of their status symbols” and gained “control over them also on a symbolic level.”⁷² Rather than being recirculated for use, these foreign ivories appear largely to have been stored in treasuries along with other booty.

There is one depiction, however—the unique relief of Ashurbanipal reclining on a couch before his enthroned queen and a table—that may add some complexity to this interpretation and lead us to question this premise (cat. 22). This type of couch, presumably of wood and ivory, may be

Levantine, judging from images of similar furniture captured as booty and suggested by the prophet Amos's admonition against the Syrian and Philistine practice of lying on ivory beds and reclining on couches.⁷³ The furniture appears to have been inlaid with plaques in the Syro-Phoenician manner but with scenes that derive from both Assyrian and Levantine traditions. They include Assyrian courtiers and human-headed winged bulls on the throne and table and two frontal figures with Hathor-like curls on either side of a column (or incense burner), their torsos shown above a typically Syro-Phoenician balustrade.⁷⁴ A frieze of rampant lions in combat, reminiscent of Syrian-style ivories from Nimrud, adorns the horizontal strut of the chair. The message, then, appears to be one not of exclusion but of inclusion: a demonstration of empire through the manipulation of the visual arts. Although not all the details of the banquet scene's furniture plaques can be clearly discerned, they nonetheless give us an excellent idea of the original ensemble.

The masterful work by generations of scholars, notably Georgina Herrmann and Irene Winter, to differentiate the enormous quantity of disembodied plaques into groupings within ivory-carving schools has led to assignments of workshops for North and South/Intermediate-style Syrian ivories at sites such as Carchemish, Zincirli, Tell Halaf, and Damascus.⁷⁵ The various groups of elegant Phoenician-style carvings, with their interpretations of Egyptian imagery, have, however, largely confounded attribution to a particular place, discovered so far neither in the Phoenician homeland nor in the Nile Delta, the possible source of shared motifs (see "Egypt in the Neo-Assyrian Period" in this volume, pp. 198–201).⁷⁶ They were found elsewhere in the Levant, however—at Arslan Tash and Samaria—along with ivories in Syrian styles, and highly refined ivories in Phoenician style formed elements of the impressive furniture in an elite tomb at Salamis, on Cyprus.

Ivories discovered in Cyprus and Samaria, both of which were closely tied to Tyre, may have come from a mainland Phoenician atelier. Kition, on Cyprus, was a Phoenician trading post before becoming a colony. The Sargon Stele (cat. 74) appears to have been erected around the time of the sumptuous burial in Tomb 79 at Salamis, with its bronze chariotry and outstanding ivory-inlaid wooden furniture, according to the dating of that burial by Vassos Karageorghis.⁷⁷ Two of the Salamis ivories with images of a sphinx (fig. 3.7) and a tree, respectively, must be singled out as artistic masterpieces. Combining the techniques of openwork carving on two faces, cloisonné, and gilding, they appear to have fitted into grooves in the arm and seat of an ivory-inlaid throne in the tomb

(fig. 3.8).⁷⁸ It has been suggested that the Salamis ivories were manufactured in a Phoenician workshop in the Levant, perhaps the same one that produced "ornate style" ivories at Nimrud, during the period when the island was under Assyrian domination.⁷⁹

Samaria was home to Israelite king Ahab's "ivory house," as described in the Bible, and it has been suggested that his wife, Jezebel, daughter of the Tyrian king Ithobaal, introduced the fashion for ivories to the city.⁸⁰ Amos's invocation against beds of ivory (6:2–4) may also suggest that cities of the coastal Levant and Syria supplied such luxuries. Suter, who reasonably does not rule out a center of production at Samaria itself, cites Herrmann's idea that political events—in particular the destruction of Israel during Sargon's western campaign in 720 B.C.—may have provided the circumstances that brought parts of furniture sets as booty from the city to Nimrud, which might explain the close similarities between some of the ivories at both sites.⁸¹

One further suggestion regarding possible production centers for Phoenician ivories must be considered: the Nile Delta region.⁸² There is no doubt that Phoenician pottery has been found in Egypt, at sites such as Herakleopolis, or that Phoenicians were instrumental in distributing Egyptian objects throughout the Mediterranean.⁸³ Compelling parallels may relate the magnificently crafted finds in the tomb of the Tanite king Psusennes with works that constitute the funerary assemblages of the royal women at Nimrud (see figs. 3.1, 3.2, 3.13). Scholars have also connected expert Egyptian jewelry techniques of cloisonné, openwork, and gold overlay, seen in the Tanis tombs, with those that embellish the finest Phoenician ivories (see fig. 3.7). Although ivory production in the Delta has been dismissed by Herrmann, one must account for the profusion of pharaonic imagery on Phoenician ivories, among them motifs that seem to allude specifically to the Third Intermediate Period, a time of transition in Egypt with the ascendance of the Libyan rulers of Dynasty 22.⁸⁴ G. A. D. Tait has asked whether "[Sheshonq's] Egypt (was) flooded with new ideas, or at least stirred to greater enterprise and skill."⁸⁵ He believes that "contact with Phoenicia was vital in both directions," as witnessed by the production of faience relief chalices in an exuberant style and with imagery that became popular both on Phoenician ivories (see cat. 65d, e, fig. 3.62) and, in the case of marsh scenes, on metalwork.⁸⁶ A number of the chalices from the necropolis of Tuna-el-Gebel are thought to have been produced in nearby Hermopolis, where New Kingdom rulers had celebrated the annual birth of the sun god during the New Year's festival.⁸⁷ Depicted on the chalices is the infant sun god, "the Youth



Fig. 3.11. Gold bowl from chryselephantine statue of Apollo at Delphi. Orientalizing. Archaeological Museum, Delphi, Greece

(born of) the Golden one,” who on the first day of creation emerged from the primeval lotus.⁸⁸ On one, the image is accompanied by an inscription of Sheshonq saying he is “[given Life] Stability Power like Re forever.”⁸⁹ Bracelets belonging probably to Sheshonq’s son bear similar imagery (cat. 66), as do stelae of the Libyan dynasty. More than a century later, the image of the infant Horus on a lotus, sometimes flanked by protective winged goddesses or Horus falcons, became a prominent motif on ivories found at Arslan Tash, Samaria, and Nimrud (cats. 51a, 65d, fig. 3.61) and also appeared on Cypro-Phoenician bowls (see ill. p. 11, left). The prominence of the Phoenician ram-sphinx has also been linked to another manifestation of the sun god: the ram-headed Herishef of Herakleopolis (see cat. 67).⁹⁰ Other depictions, too—of Bastet, Sekhmet-related divinities (figs. 3.9, 3.10), and sphinxes with Libyan hairstyles—have convinced Gubel that Phoenician artists were active in the Delta.⁹¹

Tridacna Shell

The difficulties encountered in determining the cultural biographies of the superb metalwork and ivories that were brought from great distances to final destinations in royal palaces, noble tombs, and sanctuaries apply as well to another elite and exotic product: engraved tridacna-shell containers. Centers where these great Red Sea–Indo-Pacific clamshells were polished and incised with intricate designs and their umbos (hinges) sculpted into human or animal heads have not been located. Their range of motifs and stylistic elements, like that of the cauldrons with animal attachments, includes Assyrian, Syrian, and Phoenician features, in contrast to the distinctive corpora of ivories in which artistic boundaries between Mesopotamia and the Levant generally do not appear to have been crossed. The distribution of tridacna shells extends from

Babylonia and Assyria to the western Mediterranean during the seventh century B.C., suggesting to scholars that this industry was stimulated by the depletion of ivory supplies in the Levant occasioned by Assyrian conquests and subsequently by the opening of trade routes to the Red Sea with the weakening of Assyrian control (see “Tridacna Shell” in this volume, pp. 163–64).⁹²

The complexity of interaction during the period encompassed by the emergence of city-states in Syria and the Levant; the growing dominance of the Assyrian empire, which erased regional boundaries through war and the displacement of populations; and the expansion of Phoenician commercial interests in the Mediterranean all pose enormous challenges for our interpretations of the visual record of exchange.⁹³ Both literary and material evidence strongly suggests that craftsmen, while retaining their distinctive local traditions, crossed artistic as well as geographic barriers to create works that challenge stylistic definition, in techniques that inspired new industries. The craftsman that Hiram sent to Solomon, for instance, was “skilled . . . at engraving and designing whatever will be required of him” (2 Chron. 2:13–14).⁹⁴ Diplomatic marriage as well—epitomized in the union of Ahab and Jezebel—may have stimulated not only the movement of elite objects but also technologies and social values, such as those leading to the spread of ivory-working to Samaria, home of Ahab’s renowned “ivory house.” Yaba’s bowl from Nimrud, if an Egyptian import, may imply a thread connecting the exquisite gold- and silverwork of the Nile Delta—and its Bronze Age forerunners—with the elaborate metalworking techniques used to create not only the corpus of Levantine engraved tableware but also the jewel-like embellishments on Phoenician ivories. Finally, the westward penetration of Near Eastern imagery through the mechanism of votive dedications in the major sanctuaries of the Greek world is perhaps most astonishing in the figure of the monumental chryselephantine statue of Apollo at Delphi, who holds a floral-pattern gold bowl in one hand and may have been clad in golden garments decorated with images of the fabulous creatures of the east (cat. 182a–c, fig. 3.11).⁹⁵ Considering the layers of stimuli that either survived the international era of the Bronze Age or were revived or initiated in the Iron Age, it is daunting to attempt to grasp the dimensions and dynamics of mobility at a time when new cultural identities were being formed, or, as Stephen Greenblatt eloquently summarized, as “the restless process through which texts, images, artifacts and ideas are moved, disguised, translated, transformed, adapted, and reimagined in the ceaseless, resourceful work of culture.”⁹⁶

THE GOLD OF NIMRUD

Muzahim Mahmoud Hussein,
with contributions by Kim Benzel

One of the great archaeological discoveries of the twentieth century took place between 1988 and 1990, when an Iraqi expedition led by the present author unearthed spectacular royal tombs at the site of Nimrud. The four tombs, located in the southern section of the Northwest Palace of Ashurnasirpal II (883–859 B.C.), yielded an astonishing amount of jewelry made of gold and precious stones as well as other luxury goods of similarly costly materials, each one a work of art. These rich assemblages, like so much of the material culture associated with the Neo-Assyrian court, reflect the penchant in Assyria for accumulating a mix of Assyrian, Syrian, Cypriot, and Egyptian luxury goods, and for favoring Phoenician works that often fused within a single object any or all of these many different cultural elements. Unfortunately, only the smallest selection of highlights can be presented here.¹ In addition to an array of treasures, the tombs at Nimrud offered clear inscribed evidence that at least two of those interred were the consorts of powerful and well-known Neo-Assyrian kings, making unequivocal the identification of the tombs as royal burials.



Fig. 3.12. Top: Gold pendant with carnelian stamp seal; bottom: gold fibula. Nimrud, Tomb I. Neo-Assyrian period. Iraq Museum, Baghdad (IM 108982 [stamp seal], 108970 [double chain], 108980 [fibula])

Among the first pieces to be uncovered during the excavation of Tomb I in the spring of 1988 was a finely made gold ornament found inside a sarcophagus belonging to an as yet unidentified woman (fig. 3.12). This jewel features a carnelian seal engraved with Egyptian-looking motifs² set within a gold bezel decorated with an intricate pattern of granulated triangles and bordered by a frieze of protruding beadwork. The setting is flanked by two gold beaked animal heads, the necks of which extend to connect at the back of the mount into a single suspension loop that swivels. Resting on top of each neck is a figure of a beautifully modeled reclining lion. The ornament hangs from a long quadruple loop-in-loop gold chain, which attaches at its other end to a gold fibula. One arm of the fibula consists of a head of the demon Pazuzu resting on top of the bust of a female figure; the other arm depicts a bird of prey. The presence of both a seal and a fibula of this particular type indicates that this piece served as a powerful protective amulet for its owner.³

While the motifs engraved on the seal's surface seem to be Egyptianizing in character, the design of the pendant suggests Syrian or Phoenician manufacture, and the fibula "is almost certainly the product of an Assyrian goldsmith."⁴ Thus, in its fusion of stylistic elements, the jewel from Tomb I exemplifies the dynamic and fluid relationship between Assyria, Egypt, and the Phoenicians during this period.⁵ A similar, albeit simpler, seal pendant attached by a swivel mechanism to a gold chain and bronze fibula was found during earlier excavations in the area of the Northwest Palace at Nimrud,⁶ and another comparable pendant, without a chain and fibula but with rams' heads flanking the mount of the seal, was found at the North Syrian site of Zincirli.⁷ Further parallels come from Khorsabad and Byblos⁸ as well as from Tomb III at Nimrud.⁹

In the following year the excavators discovered Tomb II, which housed a sarcophagus containing two female bodies. Based on the many inscribed objects found with these women, one could be identified as Yaba', the West Semitic consort of Tiglath-Pileser III, and the other as either Ataliya, the possible wife or consort of Sargon II, or Baniti, the possible consort of Shalmaneser V.¹⁰ The tomb yielded an astounding array of magnificent objects, among which was a gold repoussé bowl inscribed with the name of Yaba' and decorated with distinctly Egyptian scenes (figs. 3.1, 3.2, 3.13).



Fig. 3.13. Drawing of fig. 3.1

Around the perimeter of the shallow bowl, the design consists of four Nile boats in which various activities take place. A unique boat, with a bow in the shape of a waterbird and a hull that resembles a fish with scales, carries a royal woman or goddess sitting in a chair under a canopy, her right hand raised and holding a cup, while her left hand holds what appears to be a lotus flower on a stem. Facing her is a female figure raising a fan. A male figure sits at the back of the boat; he wears headgear in the shape of a tall cone and propels the vessel using a long pole. A large water jar rests near the bow.

In front of this boat sits another, possibly made of reeds, as three ties can be seen holding together the hull. There are three figures in this boat. The man at the front holds a calf by the horns, while the cow stands behind her offspring. In the middle of the boat, a male figure holds a long horizontal pole from which unidentified objects hang. A jar and a water vessel similar to that in the first boat are placed before a third figure, who holds a long pole used to propel the boat forward.

Moving clockwise, the third boat is similar to that just described and carries figures who appear to be hunting and snaring waterfowl. The first from the right, in a smiting posture, holds a bird by the neck at the front of the boat; the second sits in the middle of the boat, placing two birds into a basket; and the third holds a bird by the legs and has another slung over his shoulder. A fourth man stands at the back, wielding a long pole with which he propels the boat.

A fourth boat, similar to the previous two, also carries an oarsman at the stern, along with two women. The woman at the front of the boat holds a small calf, while the one sitting in the middle of the boat reaches for a straw or plant stem extending from a vessel, possibly as part of a religious ceremony.

Horses and cattle can be seen roaming between the boats, ostensibly on the banks of the river, while waterfowl fly about, all against a continuous background of papyrus plants. Three lines of zigzags below the boat scenes separate them from another scene that includes a swimming woman, a horse, a bovid, and a crocodile amid fish and lotus plants. At the center of the bowl is a medallion in the form of a radiating lotus pattern.

This extraordinary artifact is thought to be of either Egyptian or Phoenician origin, brought to the Assyrian court as either a gift or booty after its manufacture. Egyptian elements include the design of four boats around the perimeter, the prominently displayed papyrus and lotus motifs, and the presence of animals that populate the Nile basin, such as the crocodile and waterfowl. On the other hand, the iconography could also be considered Phoenician, in a style heavily influenced by Egyptian art and well known from ivories widely accepted as works of Phoenician origin found in the Northwest Palace and Fort Shalmaneser at Nimrud (see “Nimrud Ivories” in this volume, pp. 141–50). Recently, an earlier dating and a definitively Egyptian attribution have been proposed for the bowl, which would render it an heirloom by the time it appeared at Nimrud (see “Art and Networks of Interaction Across the Mediterranean” in this volume, pp. 112–24).

Another spectacular piece discovered in Tomb II is a diadem of a type well known from depictions on contemporary ivory carvings from Nimrud (fig. 3.14). It consists of six woven straps, made by interlinking tiny loops of gold wire, connected via expertly fashioned gold hinges to an elaborate



Fig. 3.14. Gold diadem. Nimrud, Tomb II. Neo-Assyrian period. Iraq Museum, Baghdad (IM 105696)



Fig. 3.15. Gold elements of a diadem inlaid with semiprecious stones (?). Nimrud, Tomb II. Neo-Assyrian period. Iraq Museum, Baghdad (IM 105813, 105814)

central gold ornament and five equally ornate gold medallions. The central ornament comprises two square bezels, which are surrounded by two rows of granulation and inlaid with stone, glass, or paste, now deteriorated. The rectangular shape of the double settings is framed by round studs in repoussé accentuated by two concentric circles of granulation. The lower edge of the centerpiece is decorated with triangles in very fine granulation. The five gold medallions, embellished with comparable patterns of studs and granulation, are set with large fish-eye agate stones.

The central and terminal ornaments are further adorned with fringes of gold loop-in-loop chain, each strand of which culminates in a tiny gold pomegranate. The Assyrians frequently used pomegranate motifs in their works of art; for instance, a wall relief from the Northwest Palace depicts a winged figure holding a pomegranate branch.¹¹ In fact, excavators found well-preserved, actual pomegranate seeds throughout the palace, demonstrating the Assyrians' love for both the fruit itself and the abundance it symbolized. Although this visual element can be considered typically Assyrian, the overall design of the diadem is closely paralleled on ivories classified as both Phoenician and South Syrian/Intermediate (see cat. 51b) and found in abundance at the Assyrian court. It is thus difficult to say whether one should attribute this diadem to an Assyrian or a Phoenician origin.

Additional, similarly designed diadem elements were found in Tomb II (fig. 3.15), intricately inlaid with multicolored stones and glass to create exquisite miniature renditions

of iconic motifs from the Northwest Palace reliefs. The iconography of the inlays of these jewels thus epitomizes Assyrian style, further complicating the question of the origin of this diadem type.

Tomb II also yielded three pairs of gold bracelets that resemble one another in style and decoration.¹² The surfaces of these massive bracelets are virtually covered with superbly executed inlay work showing the most intricate of patterns and narrative scenes, many of which find close parallels to the monumental reliefs that decorated Assyrian palaces. A variety of different stones, and possibly glass or pastes, were used as inlays. By the time these jewels were completed, very little of the gold surface remained undecorated. The level of technical virtuosity on display in these pieces is simply astounding.

The centers of one pair are prominently adorned with eye-stones surrounded by the first of three sets of circular bands comprising alternating gold bars and rectangular cells inlaid with green-blue gemstones (turquoise?), some now missing (fig. 3.16). This central setting is in turn encircled by a band of petal shapes, creating what is clearly the rosette motif that decorates the bracelets typically worn by the king and the winged creatures on Assyrian reliefs (see fig. 2.4). The spaces between the tips of the petals were most likely originally inlaid with gemstones. Bordering the central rosette is a second band of alternating gold and inlaid green-blue gemstones, forming the groundline for a band showing four pairs of kneeling winged figures with cones and buckets, who flank stylized trees inlaid with turquoise. Additional trees fill the



Fig. 3.16. Gold bracelets with design in gold, agate, and inlays of semiprecious stones (?). Nimrud, Tomb II. Neo-Assyrian period. Iraq Museum, Baghdad (IM 105702, 105703)

spaces between the pairs. The outermost band repeats the motif of alternating gold and green-blue gemstones. The internal face of one bracelet depicts an image of a lion, while the other depicts two.

The wristbands, or cuffs, of the two bracelets are adorned with ten eye-stones aligned down the middle and framed by small gold rosettes with green-blue gemstone or turquoise centers. The outer edges of the cuffs are bordered with small agate beads, some missing, alternating with small protruding gold rings. Each bracelet opens by means of a hinge on one side so it can be passed over the wrist.

Because of the close parallels between the narrative designs employed on all three pairs of bracelets and on the monumental reliefs that decorated Assyrian palaces, these jewels can be categorized as predominantly Assyrian in style and perhaps even as the work of Assyrian craftspeople. However, the influence of long-standing Egyptian traditions of inlay technique and workmanship on the design of these ornaments is also very much apparent, making it equally possible that Egyptian artisans were employed at the Assyrian court to fashion jewels in a style appropriate for royal women.

By the time the 1988–90 expedition at Nimrud came to a close, the excavators had found a third, again astonishingly rich, royal tomb. A massive jug retrieved from this tomb is decorated with multiple bands of finely executed repoussé and chasing work that could have been fashioned only by the most expert of hands (fig. 3.17). The solid gold vessel is pear-shaped with a cylindrical neck that flares toward the top. The spout is unusually large and wide with a bow-shaped opening, inside of which was found a stopper fashioned from a round

piece of wood. Similar vessels excavated at contemporary sites have included spouts with strainers, suggesting that this jug originally may have had one inside its spout.¹³ The handle is oriented at a ninety-degree angle to the spout, rendering the jug side-spouted. The elaborate and elegant handle, comprising two S-shaped tubes laid side by side, terminates at the bottom end in the head of a lion and, at the top end, in the head of a snake holding the upper rim of the jug in its maw.

Several bands of chased repoussé work adorn the vessel.¹⁴ A band with a narrative scene of archers hunting fleeing animals, framed at top and bottom by two identical bands of a guilloche pattern between simple repoussé lines, decorates the uppermost portion near the rim. In one area of the scene, two hunters kneel back to back, and the horned animals fleeing from them thus run to the right and left, around the vessel, toward stylized trees. On the other side of the band, another hunter, likewise kneeling, aims an arrow at gazelles that run to the left, toward one of the stylized trees.

A single register of chased repoussé work on the shoulder of the jug consists of three rows of repeated crescent shapes that form a scale pattern, probably meant to represent mountains. A band with the same pattern runs along the edge of the spout.

Circling the widest part of the jug are another three registers of decoration, with two identical scale-patterned bands at top and bottom similar to those just described but in rows of four rather than three. They frame the third and most visually complex of all the bands on the jug: a narrative scene that depicts a series of chariots in the midst of both hunt and battle, with kneeling and mounted archers hunting gazelle



Fig. 3.17. Gold jug. Nimrud, Tomb III. Neo-Assyrian period. Iraq Museum, Baghdad (IM 115618)



and ostriches, and standing archers engaged in battle near a city. The city setting is very clearly represented by an arched gate flanked by two tall towers decorated with Assyrian-style parapets. The scene is filled with action and realistic details, such as an ostrich spreading its wings as it tries to flee a kneeling archer and a mounted hunter chasing after a gazelle that has already been struck with an arrow. One section contains crowded and chaotic scenes of soldiers fighting on foot and in chariots, shooting arrows in front of and behind them, while several fallen figures are being trampled by horses and chariots. In another section soldiers with quivers full of arrows stand among trees as though they are fighting from a distance outside the city.

The final set of decorative bands on the jug comprises six registers and can be found on the lowermost portion of the vessel's body, ending at its base. The first three repeat the themes depicted in the section near the rim: a center band with a narrative scene of archers hunting fleeing animals, framed by a guilloche pattern. Below is a band of crosshatched

lines with dots inside each crosshatch, followed by another guilloche. The final band around the base consists of radiating shapes, perhaps meant to represent flower petals. Simple repoussé lines border each register.

We can determine that this vessel is of Assyrian manufacture and design by comparing it to Assyrian-style ivory carvings found at Nimrud. Although the shape of the vessel has parallels in other media from Nimrud and from other sites outside the Assyrian heartland,¹⁵ the astonishing amount of gold employed, combined with the exceptional craftsmanship and superbly executed decorative details, makes this jug unique among Assyrian artifacts discovered thus far.

Of the many other notable objects found in Tomb III at Nimrud, a gold crown stands out as one of the most iconic of the Nimrud treasures (fig. 3.18). Intricate in design and incorporating many different iconographic details, the crown is also unique. A complex and elaborate substructure of square and round tubing (see detail) serves as an almost architectural framework for the lavishly ornamented outer

Fig. 3.18. Gold crown. Nimrud, Tomb III.
Neo-Assyrian period. Iraq Museum, Baghdad
(IM 115619)

Detail of fig. 3.18 showing interior of crown



crown, whose top portion consists of overlapping grape leaves of gold connected by finely crafted gold vines. Bunches of lapis lazuli grapes hang from this canopy, falling into the interior of the crown. At the peak of the outer crown is a single gold flower with several layers of tendril-like wires curving up beneath it.

The middle section of the crown is adorned with eight frontal four-winged female figures, who are connected to the crown's upper and lower portions by wires at the top and bottom. Each figure appears to be fully clothed, in a manner uncharacteristic of Near Eastern winged females, who are generally depicted nude. They seem to have had inlaid eyes and wings, with some inlays still surviving on the wings.

The bottom portion of the crown is thickly decorated with gold pomegranates and rosettes,¹⁶ the centers of which were inlaid with gemstones, perhaps lapis lazuli, now mostly missing. Of the original sixty-six pomegranates, sixty-three are still intact, while the rosettes total forty-four. Bunches of lapis lazuli grapes hang from the bottom of the crown, attached by small jump rings to the substructure.

From a technical perspective, it is apparent that the crown was constructed from scores of individual elements, many embellished with ornate and highly visible decorative techniques such as granulation, filigree, repoussé, chasing, cutting, piercing, cloisonné, and other types of inlay work. The figural components of the outer crown—the winged females, pomegranates, and rosettes—appear to have been secured to the tubing via a combination of tangs, wire rings, riveting,

and perhaps soldering or even gluing. The primary visual impact of the Nimrud crown is thus one of tremendous technical ostentation, both highlighting the talents of the crafts-person (or -people) who made the piece and also visibly elevating the owner of the crown, in life and in death, by her ability to command such expertise and extravagance.

Because the crown has no parallels, either in extant artifacts or depictions in other media such as ivories or relief sculpture, it is difficult to classify its design, style, and manufacture. The pomegranates and rosettes, prevalent motifs on Assyrian artifacts of all types, support a possible Assyrian derivation. The iconography of the four-winged females would seem to be the most diagnostic aspect of the crown; however, it is difficult to find precise comparisons for even these rather specifically rendered figures. Four-winged females occur regularly on Neo-Assyrian stamp and cylinder seals, including examples found in Tomb I and in other areas at Nimrud,¹⁷ but these females are always shown nude, while those featured on the crown are fully clothed in a distinctive style of dress. The uniqueness of the Nimrud find has thus led scholars to propose attributions ranging from a reuse in an Assyrian context of second-millennium B.C. figures to associations with the caryatid-like females frequently seen in Phoenician and Etruscan art.¹⁸ Regardless of any current opinions and suggestions, it is abundantly clear that the crown as well as the many other extraordinary and unusual discoveries made at Nimrud between 1988 and 1990 will keep researchers captivated and absorbed for years to come.

PHOENICIANS AND ARAMAEANS

Jonathan N. Tubb

Phoenicians

The Phoenicians of the first millennium B.C. were the direct descendants of the Canaanites of the second, their identity created by the political and social upheavals that so profoundly affected the Levant toward the end of that millennium, in particular the arrival of the Sea Peoples. The main effect of Ramesses III's wars against the Sea Peoples was the extent to which they drained the Egyptian economy, to the point that Egypt's empire in the Levant became simply unsustainable. Sometime around the mid-twelfth century B.C., in the reign of Ramesses VI or VII, that empire was dissolved. The effect was dramatic and far-reaching, and it changed forever the political map of the region. In the north, in the region of Syria formerly controlled by the Hittites, there was a resurgence of indigenous Amorite culture manifested in the rise of the Aramaean city-states, overlaid in places by the remnants of Hittite aristocracy. Along the coast were pockets of Sea Peoples, most prominently in the south, where the Philistines were consolidating their position and developing the polity of Philistia (see "Sea Peoples and Philistines" in this volume, pp. 38–42).

The departure of the Egyptians left an immense vacuum in the heartland of Canaan. With the removal of their resources, including most probably the Canaanite elite, the Egyptians left behind a society deeply divided and so impoverished that it would take some 250 years to reintegrate the two elements of its population (Canaanites and hill-country Israelites) and regain some degree of prosperity. This period of recession is clear from both the archaeological record and the absence of references to the region in the contemporary texts from Egypt, Assyria, and the Aramaean states. Although poor and ill documented, the period did, in reality, see the formation of historical Israel: not the biblical United Monarchy of David and Solomon, but the development in the ninth century B.C. of the first nation-state of this name, whose capital was at Samaria (see also "Lands of the Bible" in this volume, pp. 171–74).¹

The same circumstances that created the conditions for the emergence of the Israelite monarchy, namely, the withdrawal of the Egyptian empire and the collapse of the Hittite empire, were also responsible for the definition of the Phoenician city-states. For, once the new players had taken up their positions on the redrawn political stage of the twelfth century B.C., the only part of the Levant relatively unaffected by

these upheavals was the coastal region between Akko and Tell Sukas, including the major cities of Tyre, Sidon, Byblos, and Arwad, which would become known in the first millennium B.C. as Phoenicia. The Canaanites of this region, partly through geographic isolation and partly through active collaboration with the incoming Sea Peoples, secured for themselves autonomy and power. More than anyone else in the region, they preserved, nurtured, and developed the legacy of the Canaanite traditions and, ultimately, transmitted them to the west through trade and colonization. From the end of the twelfth century B.C. on, the Phoenician city-states went from strength to strength, stepping into the commercial void left by Ugarit and trading vigorously with the Philistines and with Cyprus, where a rapid expansion and an active program of metallurgy can also be seen at this time. Sites in eastern Cyprus such as Kition, Enkomi, and Hala Sultan Tekke began ambitious harbor-building projects designed to maximize trade with the Levant.²

It was the Phoenicians who preserved the integrity of Canaanite artistry and craftsmanship. Faced with isolation and with virtually no agricultural hinterland, they struck deals with their neighbors and capitalized on the skills they had already developed, turning out arts and crafts objects—ivory carvings, metalwork, jewelry, and glass—of superb quality.³ They also extracted and processed on an industrial scale the secretion from the internal gland of a sea snail called the murex, producing a dye used to create the most valuable and sought-after purple fabrics. It is from the Greek word for this dark purple color, *phoinikes*, that the Phoenicians acquired their name. The Phoenicians also developed the alphabet invented by the Canaanites and transmitted it to the west, where it formed the basis for the alphabet used today. Ultimately, however, it was to the sea that the Phoenicians turned to provide the mainstay for their economy, transforming their natural harbors into major ports capable of handling international shipping. They built some of the finest ships the ancient world had ever seen and embarked on a program of trading expeditions that resulted not only in commercial contacts but in the establishment of colonies as well.⁴

It is regrettable that, despite their prominence abroad, so little is known archaeologically of the Phoenicians in their

Fig. 3.19. Limestone sarcophagus of Ahiram. Byblos, Royal Necropolis, Tomb V. Directorate General of Antiquities, Beirut (2086)



hometown. Almost nothing is known of the island state of Arwad beyond the surveyed remnants of what is presumed to be its Phoenician port. The same is true of Sidon, but the new campaign of ongoing excavations is poised to yield evidence of the Phoenician Iron Age levels.⁵ At Tyre, the later Classical remains have completely covered those of the Bronze and Iron Age cities, but a deep sounding undertaken in 1973–74 produced significant Bronze Age remains and, more important, failed to produce evidence for a destruction level attributable to the Sea Peoples.⁶

The lack of destruction is clearer at the site of Sarepta, south of Sidon, where exemplary excavations undertaken by James Pritchard on behalf of the University of Pennsylvania between 1968 and 1975 produced an unbroken sequence of occupation from the sixteenth through the seventh centuries B.C.⁷ Sarepta is still by far the best-excavated Phoenician site; remains of housing and an industrial quarter were uncovered as well as a sanctuary dedicated to the Carthaginian goddess Tanit, presumably serving the needs of colonists returning from abroad.⁸

Byblos is the most extensively excavated Phoenician site, but unfortunately the quality of the excavations undertaken there, from the 1920s on, was so appalling that very little can be pieced together.⁹ No remains are reported from the Early Iron Age, either owing to the poor standard of excavation or, more likely, because the city of this period lies beyond the limits of the current excavation area. From the royal necropolis within the excavated zone comes one of the most significant finds, the sarcophagus of Ahiram (fig. 3.19). Originally dated by the excavators on the basis of its associated finds and context to the thirteenth century B.C.,¹⁰ it was subsequently assigned by some scholars on rather dubious art-historical

grounds to the tenth century B.C., one suspects as a means of bringing it closer to a biblically relevant time slot.¹¹ The thirteenth-century date is to be preferred. The sarcophagus is inscribed with a dedication by Ahiram's son, Ithobaal, and one of the scenes depicts father and son together.

Despite the lack of architectural remains, Byblos seems to have been the most prominent city in the earliest phase of Phoenician history, providing inscriptions with several names of rulers from the thirteenth through the tenth century B.C. By the ninth century, however, Tyre seems to have become the preeminent Phoenician city-state, and it is within the context of its affluence and high status that we must set Jezebel's family. Coinciding with the apex of ancient Israel's history, the marriage of this Phoenician princess to Israel's most outstanding king, Ahab, would have been seen as a highly prestigious union.¹² Together they would have made a formidable team and could well have developed long-distance joint trading ventures. Indeed, it is precisely during this period that the Phoenicians, motivated by the need to secure raw materials—especially metals, to ensure their craft outputs—and under increasing pressure from the territorially acquisitive Assyrian empire, embarked on an intense program of colonization.

To the colonies established on Cyprus as early as 1100 B.C., such as Kition and Enkomi, were added others on the coast of North Africa, followed by more on Sicily, Sardinia, and the Iberian Peninsula. Although tradition offers much earlier dates for the founding of the colonies, the oldest Phoenician objects found in the western colonies are from the eighth century B.C.¹³ Initially, colonies such as Carthage retained close contacts with the homeland, but as Assyrian imperial control over the Phoenician core cities tightened, the colonies pursued an independent course. The success of the western colonies

lay in the fact that they were established by negotiation, rather than through conflict, as entrepôts, taking control of little more land than that required for the construction of the city itself and some subsistence farming, and designed to facilitate active and cordial trade with the local populations.

Of all the colonies, Carthage, on the coast of Tunisia, became the most famous and enduring Phoenician center and, once founded, developed a trade network of its own, the importance of which was to long outlive that of the homeland. The name itself is derived from two Phoenician words, *qart* (city) and *hadash* (new); that is “New City” or “New Foundation.” According to Classical tradition, Carthage was founded by settlers from Tyre under the leadership of Elissa (Dido) in 814 B.C. Elissa, the sister of Pygmalion and the great-niece of Jezebel, left Tyre with a group of aristocratic dissidents and sailed to Cyprus. There they collected the priest of Astarte and some eighty maidens and traveled to North Africa. The tradition recounts how they bargained to acquire a piece of land only as big as an oxhide would cover, but by cutting the hide into very thin strips they were able to encircle a sizable territory. Although just a story, the tale embodies something fundamental about the Phoenicians: their shrewd and innovative resourcefulness, which has led some to describe them as the first multinational entrepreneurs.

Aramaeans

The Aramaeans make their first certain appearance in historical texts only in the early eleventh century B.C. With regard to their origins, it used to be assumed that they moved into central and North Syria as seminomadic pastoralists following the demise of the Hittite empire during the twelfth century B.C. As with the Amorites before them, scholars dreamed up a “traditional homeland” somewhere in the Eastern Desert.¹⁴ In reality, there is nothing to support this view, and it is more reasonable to see the Aramaean “culture” of the first millennium B.C., which is fundamentally urbane in character, as a revival and resurgence of the indigenous Amorite population of the second, reasserting its identity after the departure of the Hittites. And just as Canaan to the south had been dominated by the Egyptians in the second millennium B.C., leaving a lasting legacy in the material culture traditions of the Phoenicians, so, too, was the Aramaean culture of Syria inflected through geography, with those regions most strongly controlled by the Hittites retaining enough of that empire’s cultural attributes to warrant the descriptive appellation Neo-Hittite. At Carchemish, Hamath, and Aleppo, for example, all of which retained in their ruling classes members of the

old Hittite aristocracy, the Hittite element was particularly strong, well deserving of the term “Neo-Hittite” to describe the material culture recovered through excavations. At Damascus, on the other hand, which never succumbed to the Hittites, the material culture remained resolutely Egypto-Canaanite. In other places outside the sphere of Hittite influence, such as Tell Halaf (ancient Guzana), a somewhat naive style is apparent, with rather rudimentary sculptural representations of humans, mythical creatures, and deities as well as decidedly unferocious-looking lions (see cats. 37–40).

Like their Amorite predecessors, the Aramaeans were a disparate and mixed people and did not aspire to nation-statehood; their largest political structure was the city-state. Biblical and Assyrian sources, supplemented by a few Aramaean stone inscriptions, document many such states throughout Syria. They flourished between the eleventh and the late eighth century B.C., but all eventually succumbed to the relentless westward advance of the Assyrians. Only a few of them became politically significant and played major roles in that region’s political history.

Four states—Bit-Zamani, Bit-Bahiani, Bit-Halupe, and Laqu—were established along the western border with Assyria but came under Assyrian control by the ninth century B.C.¹⁵ The important city of Guzana (Tell Halaf), referred to above, was the capital of Bit-Bahiani, and the excavations conducted there in the early years of the twentieth century did much to characterize Aramaean art and architecture.¹⁶ Bit-Adini, located in the great bend of the Euphrates River, was a major opponent of Assyrian expansion in the early ninth century B.C. Excavations have taken place at two of its cities, Til Barsip (Tell Ahmar) and Hadatu (Arslan Tash), both of which became important Assyrian outposts following their capture by Shalmaneser III in 856 B.C.¹⁷

In the region around Aleppo was the state of Bit-Agusi, often known as Arpad, after its capital city. An important state in the ninth and eighth centuries B.C., it was not fully subdued by the Assyrians until 743 B.C., during the reign of Tiglath-Pileser III. Limited excavations have been undertaken at Arpad (Tell Rifa‘at), but have not been fully published.¹⁸

Aram-Damascus, in southern Syria, played a major role in the Levant in the ninth and eighth centuries B.C., with the peak of its power occurring in the mid- and late ninth century. Occasional Aramaean finds have been discovered (see fig. 3.49), mostly during construction work, but systematic excavations have failed to uncover Iron Age levels at Damascus.

The state of Patin (Assyrian Unqi) was situated on the Amuq Plain, with its capital, Kunulua, most probably identified as Tell Tayinat.¹⁹ It had a dependency in the neighboring



Fig. 3.20. View of temple at 'Ain Dara

Afrin Valley, 'Ain Dara, where a remarkably well-preserved Neo-Hittite temple has been excavated (fig. 3.20).²⁰ Mention should also be made of the small city-state of Sam'al (Zin-cirli), where exemplary excavations conducted at the end of the nineteenth century produced architecture, many sculptures, and inscriptions that were instrumental in defining "Neo-Hittite" Aramaean culture (cat. 41).²¹

Architecturally, the Aramaeans adopted and adapted useful features from neighboring cultures, and they continued traditions that had existed in the region for thousands of years. This is particularly clear with regard to temples, many of which, such as that at 'Ain Dara, follow the second-millennium B.C. Canaanite and Amorite tripartite plan. Those in North Syria, however, tended to continue the even longer-standing Mesopotamian tradition of square buildings with facades decorated with engaged columns in an inset/offset pattern.

A major contribution of the Aramaeans of western inland Syria to the architecture of the Near East as a whole in the period after 1100 B.C. is the style of palace reception suite known as a *bit bilani* ("house of windows"). The term refers to the existence of either a clerestory with windows, lighting the large internal reception room seen in the plans of such palaces, or a "Window of Appearances" (as it was called in the royal palace at Amarna, Egypt, in the fourteenth century B.C.), or, perhaps, both. In plan, the *bit bilani* consisted of a ceremonial entrance, such as a broad flight of steps leading up to a porch supported by two columns; if there was a "Window of Appearances," it would have been above this

entrance. Sometimes the entryway was flanked by a pair of guardrooms, at the back of which was a grand doorway opening into a small anteroom or sometimes directly into the large reception hall, set at right angles to the entrance. At one end of the hall was the dais on which the monarch sat on his throne to receive distinguished visitors. Behind, and in some cases above, this formal royal reception suite were the offices in which royal officials carried out the business of the monarch, the residential quarters of the royal family, and the storerooms and other service rooms of the palace. This style of palace building, especially the formal reception suite (the remainder of the building could vary to taste), became popular from the southern Levant, where examples are known from Megiddo and Samaria, to Assyria, where several kings mention constructing palaces of this type. In northwestern Syria the development of the arrangement can be seen as far back as the second millennium B.C., in the Stratum IV palace at Alalakh (modern Tell Atchana, in Cilicia).²²

Of all their contributions to the cultural heritage of the ancient Near East, however, the greatest legacy of the Aramaeans was undoubtedly linguistic. Over the period from the Iron Age to the Islamic conquest, the cultural influence of the Aramaeans was such that by 500 B.C. Aramaic became the official diplomatic language of the Persian empire, and the script developed by Aramaean scribes gave rise to the square script that is used to write Hebrew today. In the course of this period, Aramaic replaced many of the other West Semitic languages, including Hebrew.



44a, b. Fragments of band with Phoenician tribute bearers

Bronze; a: H. 8.5 cm (3 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.), L. 37 cm (14 $\frac{5}{8}$ in.); b: H. 10 cm (4 in.), L. 28 cm (11 in.)
Balawat (ancient Imgur Enlil)
Neo-Assyrian, ca. 848 B.C.

a: Musée du Louvre, Paris, Département des Antiquités Orientales; Bequest of Gustave Schlumberger, 1931 (AO 14038); b: The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore; Museum Purchase, 1949 (54.2335a)

These two fragments of the same bronze band belong to a group said to come from the gates of the royal complex of Shalmaneser III (858–824 B.C.) at Balawat.¹ The gates consisted of strips of bronze sheet, with embossed and chased decoration, that were nailed to two doors made up of vertical cedar beams (fig. 3.21). Serving both structural and decorative purposes, the bands were placed at regular intervals and divided into two registers surrounded by lines of rosettes.

The scene on these contiguous band fragments illustrates the tribute paid to the Assyrian king by the Phoenician cities of Tyre and Sidon. It consists of twenty-four human figures, including two children, and shows two boats being loaded and unloaded with goods. A text inscribed in cuneiform above the scene



Fig. 3.21. Modern reconstruction of the Balawat gates. The Trustees of the British Museum, London

explains: “I received tribute from cities of the people of Tyre and Sidon: silver, gold, tin; bronze, wool, lapis lazuli, [and] carnelian.”² The boats have prows and sterns shaped like horses’ heads and were called *hippoi* (horses) by the Greeks. They are Phoenician in style, as is the tributaries’ costume, composed of a pointed cap and a long mantle slipped over a tunic. Piled into the boats are metal ingots, two upside-down bronze kettles, and perhaps elephant tusks. One boat is being hauled up onto the bank by four men, while the last three of the tributaries are still walking through the water. Some carry bundles, others skeins of dyed wool suspended from poles, bowls filled with precious metals, elephant tusks on large platters balanced on their heads, or situlae along with wineskins thrown over the shoulder. All these goods correspond to the products of Phoenician craft and commerce listed in the Bible (Ezek. 27), in the Assyrian annals, and in Homer.

The same scene of Phoenician tribute is repeated on a complete band, now in the British Museum, London,³ making it possible to situate these fragments within the overall composition. Although a different military campaign is represented in the British Museum band, the inscription confirms the subject: “I received tribute from the boats of the people of Tyre and Sidon.”⁴ In this depiction, the fortress, built on a rocky islet, represents Tyre, and the two human figures remaining behind are probably the king and queen of the city. At the other end of the scene, Assyrian dignitaries usher in the delegation of tributaries to see Shalmaneser. The delegation is led by four representatives of the Phoenician elite, distinguished by the turbans wrapped around their caps. Represented behind the monarch are his chariot and, in the distance, the Assyrian military camp.

The arrangement of the sixteen bands proposed by Eckhard Unger is now widely accepted.⁵ Apparently, the campaigns were not arranged in chronological order. The scene presented on the Louvre and Walters fragments belonged to the second band from the top of the eight nailed to the left gate. The original height of the gates, estimated at between 6.38 meters (20 feet 11 inches) and 7.9 meters (25 feet 11 inches), made it difficult or even impossible to decipher the decoration on the band, which might explain the somewhat crude execution.

EF

1. In 1876 bands from the site were sent to the archaeologist Hormuzd Rassam—an event that launched his excavation of the site and the discovery of the gates—and also to a Paris dealer. The Louvre fragment was acquired from that dealer by Gustave Schlumberger; see Schlumberger 1878. Schlumberger acquired ten more fragments from H. Hoffmann in 1878 on the



advice of Adrien de Longpérier, former curator of antiquities at the Louvre. For the first publication of these fragments, see Lenormant 1878. The fragment in the Walters Art Museum comes from the Rassam family and was acquired at the Joseph Brummer sale in 1949; see John Curtis in Curtis and Tallis 2008, p. 10. 2. Grayson 1996, p. 147, AO 102.84. However, note that this translation reflects a formulaic list of tribute. Béatrice André-Salvini has read the inscription on the Louvre band as “purple wool” whereas Grayson lists wool and lapis lazuli. 3. British Museum, London, 124 661; L. King 1915, p. 28, pls. XIII, XV. 4. Grayson 1996, p. 141, AO 102.66. 5. Unger 1913; Curtis and Tallis 2008, pp. 13–15.

45. Bust of Osorkon I with an inscription by Elibaal, king of Byblos

Crystalline sandstone (quartzite); H. 60 cm (23 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.), W. 36 cm (14 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.)
Byblos, probably the temple of Baalat-Gebal
9th century B.C.
Musée du Louvre, Paris, Département des Antiquités Orientales (AO 9502)

The name of Osorkon I (924–889 B.C.), second pharaoh of Dynasty 22, is engraved in Egyptian hieroglyphs on a cartouche on the chest of this sculpture. Around the cartouche is a three-line inscription written in the Phoenician alphabet: “Statue made by Elibaal, king of Gebal (Byblos), son of Yehi[milk, king of Gebal] [for the

M]istress of Gebal, his patron, so that the Mistress of [Gebal] will prolong [the days of E]libaal and his years on [Gebal].”¹ The pharaoh’s titles are inscribed on the back support.

The bust was not unearthed during excavations at Byblos and must instead have been discovered by chance after the exploration of the site by the Ernest Renan expedition of 1860–61. Very likely from the temple of the goddess Baalat-Gebal, it was acquired by the Musée du Louvre, Paris, in 1925 along with a fragment of the pedestal.² A fragment of loincloth bearing part of a royal cartouche, which was discovered during the excavations of Pierre Montet and likewise came to the Louvre in 1925,³ might belong to this statue or to another statue of Osorkon I. In 1930 Maurice Dunand unearthed the upper part of the right arm and the shoulder of a statue with the cartouche of Osorkon I and four Phoenician letters above it.⁴ This last fragment completes the inscription on the Louvre torso and was therefore part of the same statue, which must have represented the pharaoh in a seated pose.

The Phoenician inscription follows the classic pattern of royal dedications and is of major importance for the historiography of Byblos, as it permits us to reconstitute the genealogy of the kings who ruled the city at the beginning of the first millennium B.C. Elibaal was the son of Yehimilk, known from an inscription in the National Museum, Beirut;⁵ Elibaal was the brother and successor of Abibaal, who also appropriated the statue of an Egyptian pharaoh, Sheshonq I, and was the father of Shipitbaal I. This dedicatory inscription also shows the monarch’s devotion to the patron goddess of the city, called the Mistress of Gebal (Baalat-Gebal in Phoenician). We know little about the nature of this goddess, who was often represented with the features of the Egyptian Isis-Hathor (as on the fifth-century B.C. Stele of Yehawmilk⁶) and identified during the Hellenistic period with Astarte.⁷

EF

1. See Pierre Bordreuil in *Liban* 1998, p. 130; Pierre Bordreuil and Eric Gubel in Caubet, Fontan, and Gubel 2002, pp. 61–62. 2. The bust was mentioned for the first time in 1881 by the German Egyptologist Wiedemann as being in the collection of the Neapolitan banker Meuricoffre, then in the collection of the Parisian dealer Canessa, and then in that of J. Peytel. See Hôtel Drouot sale 1910, lot 3, pl. I, 3, which describes the bust and the pedestal fragment. For the latter (AO 9503), see Gubel in Caubet, Fontan, and Gubel 2002, p. 62, no. 46. Pierre Montet (1928–29, p. 51) mentions a third fragment with an inscription that was seen by Wiedemann but has since been lost. 3. AO 31153: Gubel in Caubet, Fontan, and Gubel 2002, p. 62, no. 47. Montet (1928–29, pp. 49–50, fig. 14) states that he found three fragments of a statue of Osorkon, one of which (no. 27) belonged to the back of the statue. 4. Dunand 1939, pp. 17–18, no. 1048, fig. 7. 5. Beirut, Direction Générale des Antiquités (2043). 6. Musée du Louvre, Paris, AO 22368. 7. See Bordreuil 1985, pp. 182–83.



46. Male statue

Limestone; H. 110 cm (43¼ in.), W. 60 cm (23⅞ in.)
Sidon
Phoenician, 6th century B.C.
Direction Générale des Antiquités, Beirut (2005)

This statue of a standing male figure whose head, legs, and left arm are missing is adorned with an Egyptian *wesekh* collar.¹ The necklace

comprises four decorated registers consisting, from the neck down, of mandrake fruits, frequently found in the Egyptian New Kingdom on New Year’s flasks; a frieze of palmettes² emerging from a central stem and so-called Paradise flowers linked with curving loops; hanging triangles overlying two slightly curving horizontal bands; and hanging drop-shaped pendants. The figure wears a short-sleeved tunic

decorated above the belt with a frieze of palmettes³ virtually identical to the second register of the collar. His pleated kilt (*shenti*) is held in place by a belt engraved with a horizontal beaded decoration. A narrow central pendant flap at the front of the kilt, adorned with a vertical beaded decoration and three broader flaps or ribbons falling to either side, descends from the waist to the hem and terminates in a pair of addorsed *uraei* with raised heads.⁴ Traces of red paint remain on the kilt, tunic border, and collar.

The right arm is adorned with an armband, which consists of two strands joined in a single rosette with each ring ending in two stylized feline heads.⁵ The armband was an essential part of a king's and priest's adornment when engaged in ritual ceremonies, and its purpose was both decorative and apotropaic.⁶ The rosette worn on wristlets, featured on Assyrian reliefs of Ashurnasirpal II, suggests semidivine status.⁷ The combination of a rosette and feline heads is also found on bracelets dating to the Ashurbanipal era,⁸ and those with animal-head terminals are found in Achaemenid art.⁹ To the west of Assyria, on the Mediterranean coast, the imagery appeared at Amrit, where excavations revealed an arm fragment wearing a bracelet with feline heads.¹⁰ The sculptures from Amrit display other similarities with this torso, notably in the rendering of the knee as a circle.¹¹

The figure can be categorized with an Egyptianizing group of male kilt-wearing statues comparable to examples from Oumm el Amed and Tyre in the Phoenician homeland. This type of sculpture was most probably introduced to Cyprus¹² during the seventh century B.C. as part of a Phoenician religious setting. Coinciding with the growth or emergence of Phoenician sanctuaries in Cyprus toward the end of the sixth century B.C.,¹³ they were displayed throughout Phoenician sanctuaries across the island¹⁴ until the first quarter of the fifth century B.C.

CD-S

1. Asmar 1997, p. 3. 2. Shefton 1989, pp. 97–98: “We have a specifically Phoenician creation which has taken over elements from the Egyptian ‘lily’ with its central bud and pair of curving side leaves, topping it with the rounded dome segment suggested perhaps by the papyrus.” 3. Winter 1976a, pp. 39–40. 4. For this New Kingdom style of dress in Phoenicia, see Markoe 1990a, pp. 117–18. 5. Gubel 1985, pp. 183, 189–91. 6. Maxwell-Hyslop 1971, p. 246. 7. For the reliefs of Ashurnasirpal II, see Barnett 1975a, pp. 3–5, 8–9, 11; for the motif's association with divinity, see Reade 1995b, p. 102. 8. Reade 1995b, p. 97. 9. Alexander 1980, pp. 90–91. 10. Dunand 1946–48, pl. XLII, 101, and p. 86. 11. Dunand 1944–45, pp. 102–3, for the rendering in Amrit of the knee by a circle, pls. XV, 4, XVI, 7, XVII, 13. 12. Vassos Karageorghis (2008, p. 48) notes that the Beirut statue is made of Cypriot limestone, underscoring the difficulty of exporting large blocks of stone from Cyprus to the Levant. 13. Markoe 1990a, p. 119. 14. Faegersten 2003, pp. 15, 257, 265.

47. Goddess wearing a Hathoric crown

Silver-plated bronze; H. 20.1 cm (8 in.), W. 4.8 cm (1 7/8 in.)
Phoenician, 8th century B.C.
Musée du Louvre, Paris, Département des Antiquités Orientales (AO 2701)

The figure's Hathoric crown, composed of a sun disc between two cow's horns, indicates that she is a deity. The goddess is represented standing, her left fist closed around an object that no longer exists; with her right hand she makes a gesture of benediction. She is dressed in a long, fitted robe held in place at the hips by a belt with fringed ends. This detail is rendered through incising, as are her sandal straps and the hem of her garment. Silver plating covers the face, the front part of the hair, and the neck.¹ A similar treatment, though in gold, can be found on the face of the so-called priest of Cádiz.² Originally, the horns may also have been covered in silver, and the disc gilded.³ The inlays for the eyes, in precious stone or colored paste, and the precious-metal rings hanging from the holes in the ears (all now missing), must have contributed to the striking polychromatic effect.

In the absence of characteristic attributes, it is difficult to identify accurately Phoenician female deities with the exception of two who have been identified through inscriptions: the Astarte of El Carambolo (cat. 106) and the Baalat-Gebal on the inscribed Stele of Yehawmilk, king of Byblos,⁴ who like the present example wears the headdress of the Egyptian Isis-Hathor and the clinging robe.

The Hathoric crown, borrowed from Egypt, was reinterpreted in Phoenicia with a number of variants. Here, the cow's horns rest on the two volutes of a palmette, a typically Phoenician motif. On a contemporaneous figurine of a war goddess, the sun disc between the cow's horns sits atop four additional horns, which decorate the wig in accordance with the Mesopotamian tradition.⁵ A bronze figurine of a smiting god in the Musée du Louvre, Paris, displays an even more fanciful version of the headdress: under the cow's horns of the disc, two volutes surmount an *atef* crown equipped with three horns at the base.⁶ This statuette can be dated to the second half of the eighth century B.C. by comparison with a figurine similar in posture, dress, and coiffure, which was discovered at the Heraion of Samos.⁷

EF

1. Negbi 1976, p. 86, pl. 45, no. 1633; Spycket 1981, pp. 426–27, fig. 277; Falsone 1986, p. 73, fig. 8; and Fontan and Le Meaux 2007, pp. 156, no. 127, 334, no. 132. 2. Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid; Fontan and Le Meaux 2007, pp. 160, 337, no. 150. 3. Observed by conservator Isaure d'Avout-Greck during restoration. 4. Musée du Louvre, Paris, AO 22368.



5. Ortiz collection, Geneva, unknown provenance, *Falsone* 1986, pp. 53–76; Gubel 1986, p. 156, no. 128; Fontan and Le Meaux 2007, pp. 163, 334, no. 133. 6. Musée du Louvre, Paris, AO 3932, provenance unknown, acquired in 1902; *Falsone* 1986, p. 73, fig. 9. 7. See Jantzen 1972, p. 66, B342, pl. 66, and Spycket 1981, p. 427.

48. Bracelet with engraved scarab

Gold, silver, and amethyst; Diam. 7 cm (2¾ in.)
Magharet Tablun
Phoenician, 5th–4th century B.C.
Directorate General of Antiquities, Beirut (16157)

This bracelet was discovered inside a marble anthropoid sarcophagus during archaeological excavations in the Magharet Tablun necropolis, in Lebanon's Saida region.¹ Other finds in the sarcophagus included cosmetic artifacts (cat. 49) as well as a remarkable collection of jewelry that probably adorned the deceased woman. She was wearing this exceptional piece on her right wrist.

Made of silver, the bracelet is decorated with an embedded scarab held by two gold globules. The scarab is set inside an elliptical gold bezel decorated with a row of spirals. An adoration scene topped by a winged sun disc is engraved on the gem. A crowned and veiled goddess sits on a sphinx throne, recalling imagery introduced in the Levant during the Late Bronze Age (see fig. 3.19). She holds with her left hand a long scepter framed by a seven-rayed star on one side and a disc in a crescent on the other. Her left hand is lifted in a gesture of blessing. In front of her, a standing female worshiper wearing a long Persian-style robe raises both arms in a sign of adoration. Between the two female figures stands a thymiaterion, or incense burner. The smoke coming out of the incense burner's dome-shaped lid is also evoked in this scene. It



is of note that this worship scene is organized according to a typical Near Eastern composition.² The seven-rayed star and the disc in the crescent are borrowed from Mesopotamian religious iconography and deeply anchored in Phoenician artistic representations of worshipers approaching seated deities. However, the scene also includes aspects of Egyptian and Greek iconographies, which are merged into a typical Levantine—namely, Phoenician—repertoire.

The winged sun disc, an Egyptian symbol of regeneration, surmounts the scene, thus protecting the seated goddess Astarte. With the crown on her head, she could be associated with the Greek goddess Tyche, divine protector of cities. Commonly represented in Greece during the fourth century B.C.,³ the mural-crowned Tyche is also attested in Beirut in the same period.⁴ On this seal, the traditional Astarte, crowned like Tyche, reveals the religious syncretism during the Iron Age III period, a time of sociopolitical and cultural change in the Mediterranean world.

A-M M-A / AS

1. Found during excavations in 1963–64 by Chaker Ghadban; see Ghadban in *Liban, l'autre rive* 1998, pp. 147–49. 2. *Ibid.*, p. 149. 3. Doumet-Serhal 1995, p. 29. 4. As attested by a recent discovery of a terracotta head figurine, today in the National Museum, Beirut.

49. Comb with sphinxes

Ivory; H. 14 cm (5½ in.), W. 11 cm (4¼ in.)
Magharet Tablun
Phoenician, 5th century B.C.
Directorate General of Antiquities, Beirut (16159)

More than mere luxury objects to be appreciated for their fine grain and smooth texture, the ivories in the collection of the National Museum, Beirut, are testaments to the shared taste for and circulation of luxury goods around the Mediterranean in the first millennium B.C.¹ This ivory comb was discovered inside a marble anthropoid sarcophagus unearthed in the Achaemenid Persian necropolis, Magharet Tablun, in the Saida region.² The comb was placed next to the right hand of the deceased. Also discovered in the sarcophagus were a bronze mirror, a kohl tube, two ivory buttons, a silver spatula, a gold ring, and a bracelet with a decorated scarab (cat. 48). Framed by vertical rods, the comb comprises a rectangular panel with rows of thin and thick teeth on the upper and lower ends, respectively. A seated, winged male sphinx is depicted on both sides of the central panel, filling the space in a static pose. On one side he is wearing a beard.



The comb may originate from a workshop in Sidon. It comes from a fifth-century B.C. context but closely relates to combs from Samos and Carmona (cat. 120). It is a perfect example of a Phoenician work that reflects the influence of Egyptian iconography and echoes Neo-Assyrian ivories, attesting to the continuity of this type of artistic production into the Achaemenid period.

A-M M-A / AS

1. Aubet 2013, p. 95. 2. Found during excavations in 1963–64 undertaken by Chaker Ghadban; see Ghadban in *Liban, l'autre rive* 1998, pp. 147–49.

NIMRUD IVORIES

Joan Aruz, with technical comments by Jean-François de Lapérouse

Among the most spectacular objects discovered in the palatial complexes at Nimrud is an enormous corpus of ivories, many originally inlaid into wooden furniture, others used to adorn horse trappings, and some fashioned into containers and other objects. They were carved with elaborate imagery in styles and techniques that have been associated with the arts of Assyria, various regions in Syria, and, most abundantly, with Phoenicia. Because of the complexity of interactions during the Assyrian empire and the displacement of ivory tusks, ivory furniture, and even craftsmen as a result of war and diplomacy, questions persist regarding their dates and places of manufacture. While the reconstruction of events that brought separate groups of ivory objects to the capital is impossible, the distribution of Assyrian and imported examples within the various buildings at Nimrud has been carefully recorded in the invaluable *Ivories from Nimrud* catalogues. Building upon the pioneering work of Sir Max Mallowan, Richard Barnett, and others,¹ Georgina Herrmann and her colleagues have, in these volumes, isolated both the individual traits that might lead to workshop identifications and attempted to understand how the treasures that poured into the palace were regarded and used.

Assyrian-style ivories share imagery with Assyrian relief sculpture (see cat. 13) and an incised technique similar to that



Fig. 3.22. Detail of gypsum alabaster relief sculpture with garment pattern on border of robe of Ashurnasirpal II. Neo-Assyrian. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Gift of John D. Rockefeller Jr., 1932 (32.143-4)

used on the reliefs to embellish the garments worn by the king, courtiers, and protective winged creatures as well as the buckets held by the latter (fig. 3.22). Found in the most significant public and residential rooms of the Northwest Palace, the temple of Nabu, and Fort Shalmaneser, they appear to have embellished royal furnishings with images that reinforced



Fig. 3.23. Ivory pyxis with musicians and a royal attendant. Nimrud, Citadel, Town Wall 53, Private Houses. Neo-Assyrian. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Rogers Fund, 1954 (54.117.11a-c)

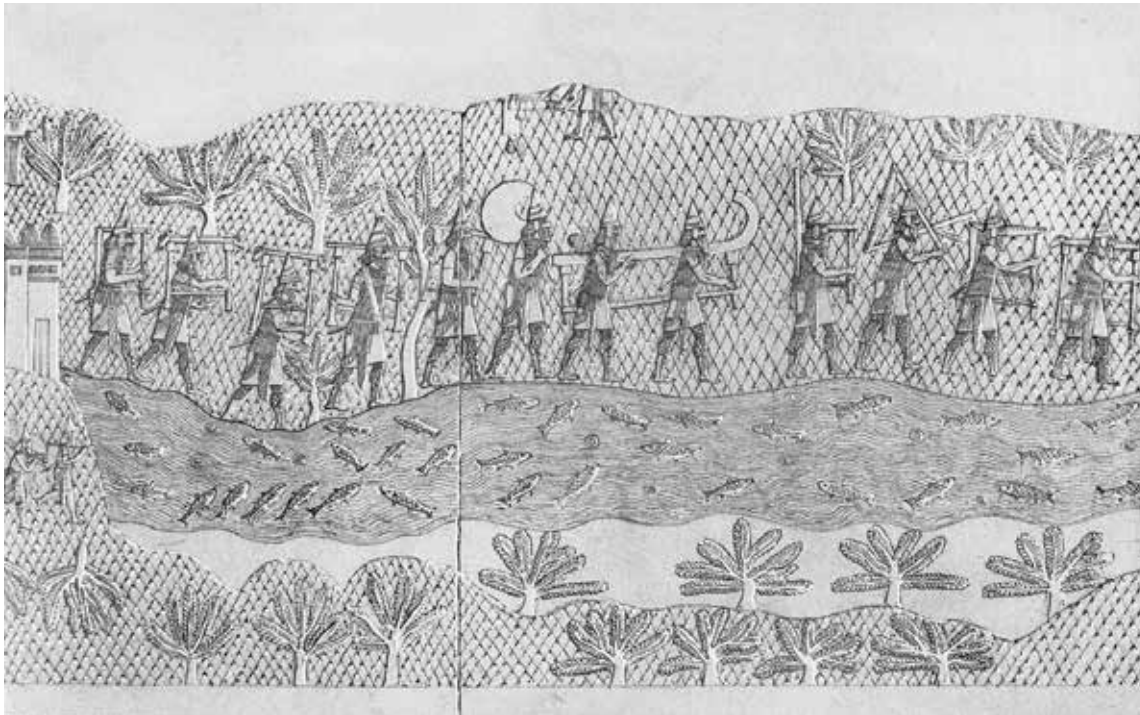


Fig. 3.24. Relief sculpture showing furniture being brought as booty. Nineveh, Southwest Palace. Neo-Assyrian, reign of Sennacherib

the narrative embedded in the artistic program of the royal court. Some were also found in mixed deposits in wells in the Northwest Palace, including a fan handle of a type illustrated on the banquet relief from Nineveh depicting Ashurbanipal (fig. 2.9). This parallel has led Paul Collins to date the ivory to the seventh century B.C., much later than the usual ninth- to eighth-century B.C. date range given for Assyrian-style ivories. He has identified the two figures carved on either side of a sacred tree as females, in keeping with the handle's findspot within the *bitanu*, or private domestic quarters, of the palace.²

Another intriguing Assyrian-style ivory, a fragmentary pyxis (fig. 3.23), was displaced from its original context and most likely dumped in the debris of a house near the town wall. The unique depiction is of a courtier/warrior armed with a bow and arrow, a sword, and a spiky shield, along with women wearing floppy hats, who are shown standing on the battlements of an unidentified walled city with an arched doorway and clashing cymbals. The scene relates in some aspects to the depiction of defeated cities on the bronze gates from Balawat (see fig. 1.5), although here it seems to show a celebratory event.

The collection of booty and tribute from Assyria's western campaigns to Syria and the Levant brought vast quantities of luxury goods to the capital, including ivory tusks and furniture, as depicted in palatial relief sculpture and recorded in the royal annals (see figs. 1.18, 3.24).³ Analyses of both the architectural sculpture of Syro-Hittite centers and ivories with related traits discovered at these sites have led scholars to define a North Syrian artistic style. Largely devoid of

Egyptian-derived elements, ivories in this tradition exhibit ties to the art of the Late Bronze Age in the Aegean and the Levant and have generally been dated to the earlier phases of Iron Age ivory production, the ninth to eighth century B.C.⁴

A number of North Syrian ivories, blackened by fire, were discovered in the Burnt Palace at Nimrud, situated near the Nabu Temple on the southern part of the mound and identified by Mallowan as Sargon's temporary residence.⁵ Among the ivories found in the throne room were small female heads wearing elaborate diadems, which have been compared to those found at Tell Halaf in a ninth-century B.C. context.⁶ There were also fan handles in the form of addorsed and sometimes bejeweled nude females with long locks, emphasized bellies, and pubic triangles, and wearing polos crowns, many with feather or foliate extensions (fig. 3.25).⁷ Mallowan suggested that some of the fan handles similar in form to a gilded-silver mirror handle found in the late eighth-century B.C. tomb of king Shabaka at el-Kurru, in Nubia (fig. 3.26)—the latter albeit with very Egyptian-looking nude females—were commissioned by his contemporary Sargon.⁸ An exquisite ivory statuette of a nude female cupping her breasts and wearing an elaborate polos, found in a well in "Harem Court" AJ of the Northwest Palace (fig. 3.27)—considered a masterpiece of Phoenician craftsmanship—occupies a position between the less-refined works from Assyrian palaces and the superb fragmentary nude female wearing a polos from Bronze Age Megiddo.⁹

The legacy of the Bronze Age is particularly evident on the framing strips for chair backs (fig. 3.28) stored at Nimrud with scenes of the hunt or of lions attacking prey.¹⁰ An ivory



Fig. 3.25. Syrian-style ivory handle in the form of four adorned nude females. Nimrud, Burnt Palace, Throne Room. Neo-Assyrian period. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Rogers Fund, 1952 (52.23.2)



Fig. 3.26. Gilded silver mirror handle in the form of Egyptianizing nude females. El-Kurru, Tomb of king Shabaka. Kushite. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (21.318)



Fig. 3.27. Phoenician-style ivory statuette of adorned nude female. Nimrud, Northwest Palace, Residential Wing, Well AJ. Neo-Assyrian period. Iraq Museum, Baghdad (IM 79504)

plaque from the Tomb of Ahiiram at Byblos (see ill. p. 9, top) offers a compelling stylistic precedent for these and other related depictions.¹¹ Also noteworthy is the use of this type of imagery as the upper framing device above the panels that comprise the ivory bed from Ugarit (see ill. p. 10, bottom).

Many of the Nimrud chair backs consist of rectangular panels with relatively large images of male and female figures, some holding sinuous tendrils ending in palmette flowers below winged sun discs (fig. 3.30), which on some plaques are transformed into round-faced “sirens” holding lotus flowers (fig. 3.29). Despite variations in workmanship and stylistic features, which have led Herrmann and others to posit various centers of production, Irene Winter theorizes that the dominant polity of Carchemish, whose “artistic signature” pervaded Syro-Cilician sites such as Zincirli, was the source

of North Syrian ivories such as these, which may have been sent as tribute to Tiglath-Pileser III.¹²

The chair backs were found purposefully stacked up in a storeroom (SW 7) in the southwest quadrant of Fort Shalmaneser, a building whose inscribed bricks identify it as an *ekal masharti*, which combined the functions of a palace, an arsenal, and a repository for precious booty and tribute.¹³ The magazines of this part of the building were particularly rich in ivory furniture panels and also equestrian ornaments, including a group of horse frontlets in Syrian style, discovered in an enormous storeroom (SW 37) that also contained other bridle equipment. Depicted on the triangular surface of the frontlets are frontal nude females in high relief, with bangles on their ankles and beaded chokers. They are shown dominating lions and holding lotus flowers under winged sun



Fig. 3.28. Syrian-style ivory panels showing animal combat. Nimrud, Fort Shalmaneser, SW 7. Neo-Assyrian period. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Rogers Fund, 1959 (59.107.2a, b)



Fig. 3.29. Syrian-style ivory chair-back panel showing male figure and siren. Nimrud, Fort Shalmaneser, SW 7. Neo-Assyrian period. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Rogers Fund, 1959 (59.107.7)



Fig. 3.30. Syrian-style ivory chair-back panel showing male figure and sun disc. Nimrud, Fort Shalmaneser, SW 7. Neo-Assyrian period. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Rogers Fund, 1959 (59.107.6)



Fig. 3.31. Phoenician-style ivory openwork woman-at-the-window plaque. Nimrud, Fort Shalmaneser, S 10. Neo-Assyrian period. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Rogers Fund, 1959 (59.107.18)

discs (see fig. 4.20). Their hair is adorned with rectangular diadems with suspended pomegranate-like elements, resembling those on the burnt ivory heads mentioned above and an actual diadem found in the queens' tombs at Nimrud (see fig. 3.14). Because one of the frontlets bears an Aramaean inscription that has been read "Lu'ash," a center of power near Hamath during the ninth to early eighth century B.C., Herrmann has attributed these works to a Lu'ash school and,

given "the amalgamation of motifs from north and south," assigned the group to a Syrian intermediate tradition. Stefania Mazzoni has raised the possibility of a workshop at Hamath itself.¹⁴ She also notes that the modeled style and imagery on these works find parallels on the bronze frontlet dedicated in the Heraion on Samos (cat. 165) bearing the inscription of Hazael, the ninth-century B.C. ruler of Aram-Damascus, the center proposed by Winter for the production of South Syrian (Syrian-Intermediate) ivories.¹⁵ Eric Gubel, on the other hand, associates these nude females wearing "phylacteries" in their hair and Phoenician earrings with a Sidonian goddess related to Astarte; he posits that Sidon was probably the original center for the production of this type of



Fig. 3.32. Syrian-style ivory openwork plaque with striding sphinx in low relief. Nimrud, Fort Shalmaneser, NW 21. Neo-Assyrian period. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Rogers Fund, 1964 (64.37.1)

frontlet.¹⁶ Following Barnett, he relates these females to the ivories depicting a “woman at the window,” often wearing a similar diadem and earrings, who appears above a columned balustrade with volute capitals.¹⁷ Barnett notes the possible allusion of the recessed rectangular frame shown on many examples to a temple entrance but interprets the recess as the Tyrian-type open window that was distinguished in biblical literature from the grillwork-covered openings of Egypt.¹⁸ Woman-at-the-window plaques were found over a wide area and were fashioned in a variety of Levantine styles, with variations in the details of their hairstyles and adornment as well as the techniques used to produce them. One outstanding openwork example (fig. 3.31), part of a set found in a southern storeroom (S 10) in Fort Shalmaneser, is carved with the head of a female with long ringlets and a thin fillet with a central flower and has been attributed to a Phoenician workshop.¹⁹ Others from Nimrud, Arslan Tash, and Samaria with either long locks or wearing Egyptian-type wigs have been assigned to a workshop within the Syrian-Intermediate tradition.²⁰

Much debate continues regarding the ivories that combine Phoenician imagery with the squatter, less-refined stylistic traits associated with Syrian workmanship. Distributed over a wide region encompassing northern and central Syria and Israel, they have also been found in the Assyrian centers of Khorsabad and Nimrud. One of the Nimrud ivories, deposited in a storeroom in the northwestern quadrant of Fort Shalmaneser (NW 21) — with parallels both at Arslan Tash

and Khorsabad — has been attributed to the South Syrian/Syrian-Intermediate tradition. It is an arresting depiction of a sphinx whose face, turned frontally toward the viewer, is framed by an elaborate wig with individual locks tied at intervals, an arrangement paralleled on some woman-at-the-window plaques.²¹ The sphinx is crowned with a solar disc and *uraeus* headdress (fig. 3.32). Executed in high relief with the background cut away, it wears a beaded necklace and a Phoenician-style chevroned apron with *uraei*, which covers the forelegs. The elongated, smooth feline body is in a striding posture, with the remains of the tail curled upward to meet the elegantly curving extended wings, which have tripartite feather patterning.²²

Human-headed sphinxes and ram- and falcon-headed felines — traditional symbols of the pharaoh — are among the most frequently seen images in the Nimrud ivory corpus. One of the most refined depictions of a striding ram- or falcon-headed creature, discovered in the same storeroom as the frontlet discussed above (SW 37), bears the hallmarks of Egyptian representations, including the wing folded against the body, albeit rendered in a nontraditional way along with two extended wings (fig. 3.33). Other Egyptian features include a *nemes* cloth, a *wesekh* collar, an apron with a long pleated tassel, and an *atef* crown, with *uraei* oddly placed on the horizontally spread horns.²³

Although Egyptian images of falcon-headed griffins as symbols of victory over foreign enemies hark back to the Old Kingdom, the appearance of griffins trampling Asiatic foes



Fig. 3.33. Phoenician-style ivory plaque showing striding ram- or falcon-headed winged sphinx. Nimrud, Fort Shalmaneser, SW 37. Neo-Assyrian period. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1967 (67.22.2)



Fig. 3.34. Phoenician-style ivory plaque with falcon-headed felines trampling fallen Asiatics. Nimrud, Fort Shalmaneser, SW 37. Neo-Assyrian period. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Rogers Fund, 1961 (61.197.8)

on Phoenician ivories, outside of an Egyptian royal context, calls for explanation (fig. 3.34).²⁴ Davide Ciafaloni, discussing Egyptianizing art at the Assyrian court, suggests that this imagery “may have been intended by the Assyrian king as a representation of himself as an Egyptian pharaoh.”²⁵ This would imply that such ivories were displayed rather than simply stored as booty and tribute, an issue that has been discussed in connection with the depiction of Ashurbanipal’s couch on the banquet relief from Nineveh (see “Art and Networks of Interaction Across the Mediterranean” in this volume, pp. 112–24, and cat. 22). This ivory panel, on which griffins tread on the faces and bellies of bearded men wearing striated headgear with flaps and long belted robes, was discovered in SW 37 of Fort Shalmaneser. A horse blinker with similar imagery was found in a well within the Northwest Palace and can be compared with blinkers from Tomb 79 at Salamis on Cyprus that show a winged lion and a human-headed sphinx trampling fallen enemies, one identifiable as a Nubian.²⁶ This imagery calls to mind another possible scene of pharaonic domination on a pair of exquisite inlaid Nimrud ivories, both illustrating a leonine attack on a youth generally identified as a Nubian (cat. 50, fig. 3.45), although, since the predator is a lioness, the scene is open to additional interpretations. Nubians also appear bringing wild animals



Fig. 3.35. Phoenician-style ivory statuette of Nubian tribute bearer with an oryx, a monkey, and a leopard skin. Nimrud, Fort Shalmaneser, NE 2. Neo-Assyrian period. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Rogers Fund, 1960 (60.145.11)

as tribute in a series of ivory statuettes of foreigners originally arranged in procession on an ivory-covered plinth (fig. 3.35). Four figures of Nubians with monkeys, gazelles, and a bull and two of Asiatics with a lion, gazelle, ostrich, and goat were found in situ in an arched niche within a room (NE 2) that appears to have formed part of the suite belonging to the *rab ekalli*, or palace chamberlain, within Fort Shalmaneser.²⁷

Another group of related ivories shows a hunter spearing a lion or griffin, a depiction of pharaonic or heroic prowess with roots in the New Kingdom (fig. 3.36). A cluster discovered in the SW 37 storeroom²⁸ includes pieces executed in both Phoenician and Syrian styles, the former strongly Egyptianizing and the latter characterized by dynamic solid figures wearing short striated kilts with patterned borders and compressed double crowns; one leg is raised to powerfully thrust a spear into the mouth or neck of a collapsing griffin, which has distinctive head curls along with a crest, apron, and outspread wings (fig. 3.37).²⁹ This image also crossed into other media, appearing both on a Syrian bronze bowl found in the sanctuary of Olympia (cat. 183) and on Phoenician gilded silver bowls from Cyprus (cat. 52). The griffins on these works—with their thick necks, heads of birds of prey, and spiral curls—derive from the Late Bronze Age imagery of the Aegean and eastern Mediterranean. Similar griffins also appear in other settings, such as the addorsed pair that are placed in a field of lotuses on two nearly identical Phoenician ivories of an unusual curved shape, one stored in SW 37 (fig. 3.42) and the other found in the residential wing of the Northwest Palace (fig. 3.43).³⁰ These ivories must originally have had an exquisite, jewel-like appearance; they are carved in a *cloisonné* technique in which intricate colorful inlays create the wing feathers of the griffins and the petals and stalks of the floral elements, recalling the floral background of the pair depicting a leonine attack (cat. 50, fig. 3.45), discussed above.

Pharaonic imagery is abundant on the Nimrud ivories, reminiscent of the impetus to depict the Egyptian ruler in Levantine art centuries earlier, during what in Egypt was the Middle Kingdom. Some Egyptian motifs were already embedded into the Near Eastern repertoire by this time, such as the sphinx trampling enemies, as depicted on a royal Syrian cylinder seal.³¹ Others may be direct references to themes that became especially significant in the Third Intermediate Period, such as the child Horus on a lotus (see “Art and Networks of Interaction Across the Mediterranean,” pp. 112–24, and cat. 66) and depictions of deities related to Sekhmet and Bastet (figs. 3.9, 3.10), both associated with the city of Bubastis.³² Often, however, Egyptian royal motifs were combined



Fig. 3.36. Painted limestone ostracon showing the pharaoh spearing a lion. Western Thebes, Valley of the Kings. New Kingdom, Dynasty 20. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Purchase, Edward S. Harkness Gift, 1926 (26.7.1453)



Fig. 3.37. Syrian-style ivory plaque with hunter slaying a griffin. Nimrud, Fort Shalmaneser, SW 37. Neo-Assyrian period. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Rogers Fund, 1961 (61.197.11)



Fig. 3.38. Phoenician-style ivory plaque with pharaonic figures flanking a sacred tree. Nimrud, Fort Shalmaneser, SW 12. Neo-Assyrian period. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Rogers Fund, 1962 (62.269.3)

into new compositions with elements that may have especially resonated in the Phoenician world. One theme repeated on a number of ivories found in storeroom SW 12 of Fort Shalmaneser is a symmetrical composition of two confronted pharaonic figures flanking a sacred tree (fig. 3.38). They wear double crowns with ribbons extending over their shoulders, beaded collars, and pleated kilts—with *uraei* on their patterned aprons—under long, pleated open garments. In their left hands are Phoenician-type ewers, which Gubel related to those found at Tell es-Safi, inland from the Levantine coast, and on Cyprus.³³ In their raised right hands they hold ram-headed scepters crowned by *uraei* supporting sun discs. As scholars have pointed out, this combination of objects already appears in thirteenth-century B.C. Ugarit on a stele depicting a royal figure or divine acolyte before a seated

divinity, interpreted by Gubel as engaged in a ritual of bestowing the “breath of life”: using the ewer to anoint both living rulers and cult statues with oil extracted from the sacred tree and holding a ram scepter that symbolized the creator god.³⁴ The scene on the Nimrud ivories takes place within an architectural setting, under a frieze of *uraei* above a winged sun disc, which Gubel relates to *naiskoi* (little shrines) from Sidon that depict figures with ram scepters on either side of a temple entrance beneath a similar pediment.³⁵ Especially effective in this masterful Phoenician carving are the layers of depth achieved by the craftsman, with the receding space below the protruding temple setting.

The astounding number of ivories that came to Nimrud from the various cities of the Levant were probably amassed over centuries and placed within the royal and ceremonial buildings in the city. Representing arguably the finest furniture of the time, many were stored with care in settings that, according to Allison Karmel Thomason, constituted “national treasuries” heralding the power of Assyria, whose rulers could command these rare and precious foreign luxuries.³⁶

Technical Comments

Elephant ivory is obtained from the dense, fine-grained dentin found in the animal’s tusks, which serve as the incisors of the upper jaw. Tusks grow around a central pulp cavity from which tubules emanate longitudinally in a helicoidal pattern, conveying nourishment as the dentin—composed primarily of the minerals hydroxylapatite and calcium phosphate—is deposited in concentric rings. The crisscrossing pattern formed by these tubules, visible in transverse sections, is characteristic of elephant ivory and distinguishes it from ivory obtained from the tusks of other animals, such as hippopotami, which was also used in the ancient world. In a full-grown elephant, the conical pulp cavity occupies almost one-half of its length, while the dentin is protected by a peripheral layer of cementum, a soft derivative of the enamel that is found on the tips of juvenile tusks but is normally lost through wear in mature animals.³⁷

The composite nature of fresh ivory makes it ideally suited to highly detailed carving. Collagen fibrils embedded in the dentin impart resiliency and toughness to fresh ivory, while the oily substance carried by the tubules facilitates carving and polishing. These unique qualities were fully exploited by ivory carvers to produce fine à jour openwork (cat. 65a) as well as deeply modeled reliefs (fig. 3.38) and delicate figures carved in the round (fig. 3.35). Compartments for inlay, similar to those found in cloisonné metalwork, were fashioned



Fig. 3.39. Phoenician-style ivory plaque originally inlaid with colored glass showing winged youth. Nimrud, Fort Shalmaneser, SW 37. Neo-Assyrian period. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Rogers Fund, 1961 (61.197.10)



Fig. 3.40. Ivory and Egyptian Blue Phoenician-style head. Nimrud, Fort Shalmaneser, SW 12. Neo-Assyrian period. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Rogers Fund, 1962 (62.269.2)



Fig. 3.41. Radiograph of fig. 3.38

with exceedingly thin walls rising from the background surface (fig. 3.42), while a champlévé-style technique, using recessed inlays, was also practiced (fig. 3.39). The considerable expertise and precision displayed particularly in Phoenician-style carvings, which could have been marred by a single errant stroke, undoubtedly added to their prestige and value as metaphors of royal power, following Egyptian prototypes.

As a rare commodity, all usable parts of the tusk were exploited.³⁸ The circular wall of the pulp cavity provided a convenient source of material for round containers (fig. 3.23) and curved-relief plaques, such as the panel with addorsed griffins against a ground of lotuses (fig. 3.42), which retain the striated texture of the cementum on the reverse. The material for flat reliefs, such as the North Syrian style low-relief plaque with a striding man (fig. 3.29), was most likely obtained from the broadest solid section of the tusk, near the end of the pulp cavity, while the tip of the tusk was reserved for more fully modeled objects, such as the handle in the form of four nude females (fig. 3.25) and a head (fig. 3.40) whose slightly angled neck appears to follow the curve of the tusk itself. Weathering, deterioration, and differential shrinkage have resulted in the erosion, cracking, and separation between the growth layers that are visible at the top of this finely modeled head. Nevertheless, the high mineral content

of ivory enables it to survive burial, unlike ancient textiles and wooden objects, which are typically lost to decay.

Although the textual and archaeological evidence of ivory-carving workshops is very limited, the tools used would have been rather simple and similar to those used to cut and carve wood.³⁹ These tools would have included bow drills, saws for rip- and crosscutting, chisels, gougers, files, gravers, and tracers. After the cutting and carving were completed, abrasives were employed to obtain a smooth surface. While polishing often effaced evidence of manufacture, toolmarks can still be found in the recesses of deeply carved designs and on the edges and back of plaques. Bow drills were used to remove large amounts of material, creating voids and undercutts that were then shaped as needed with metal tools. A radiograph of the plaque with pharaonic figures flanking a sacred tree (fig. 3.41) reveals that a bow drill with a pointed bit was used to hollow out the space behind the winged disc above the figures. The trunks of the figures and the sun disc above also appear to have been intentionally hollowed out on the reverse, possibly to avoid cracking as the thick and thin sections of the plaque dried out at different rates. Ivories also display joinery elements similar to those used in the wooden furniture to which many of them were attached, such as tenons, mortises, and holes for pegs. Hidden surfaces were often



Fig. 3.42. Phoenician-style ivory plaque showing griffins back-to-back against a ground of lotuses. Nimrud, Fort Shalmaneser, SW 37. Neo-Assyrian period. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Rogers Fund, 1961 (61.197.1)



Fig. 3.43. Phoenician-style ivory plaque with traces of gold leaf and blue glass inlay showing back-to-back griffins and lotuses. Nimrud, Northwest Palace, Room X. Neo-Assyrian period. The Trustees of the British Museum, London (118157)

intentionally roughened, presumably to enhance the bonding power of filling materials or adhesives, and were sometimes marked on the back to indicate their intended placement.

While the lustrous surface of unadorned ivory is often appreciated today, much of the ivory recovered from Nimrud was intended to be covered with gold leaf, paint, colored pastes, and inlays of glass and semiprecious minerals.⁴⁰ The plaque featuring a lioness attacking a youth, now in the collection of the British Museum (cat. 50), provides the best extant example of the sumptuous effect created by these embellishments. Although decoration may no longer be apparent on other examples, examination of their surfaces under magnification combined with instrumental analysis and multispectral imaging can reveal remaining traces. A case in point is provided by a comparison of the curved plaque with griffins in the Metropolitan Museum (fig. 3.42) and a similar plaque in the British Museum (fig. 3.43).⁴¹ In contrast to the wings of the British Museum example, which retain some gilding and a few blue glass inlays set into a blue paste, visible traces of these embellishments have not survived on the Metropolitan's example. Nevertheless, under magnification isolated fragments of gold leaf can still be found on the surface of the latter. Digital images made using visible induced infrared luminescence also show that traces of the blue paste remain and can be identified as Egyptian Blue, a calcium copper silicate first produced in the mid-third millennium B.C., which exhibits a strong luminescence under infrared light (fig. 3.44). X-ray fluorescence analysis of the red

pigment in the body recesses of the plaque with a winged youth (fig. 3.39) indicates that it is composed primarily of iron—presumably the iron oxide hematite—and that the extant inlay in the proper-left leg is made of leaded glass containing copper as the blue colorant. Originally, therefore, the body of this figure was intended to be seen as dark blue outlined in red.

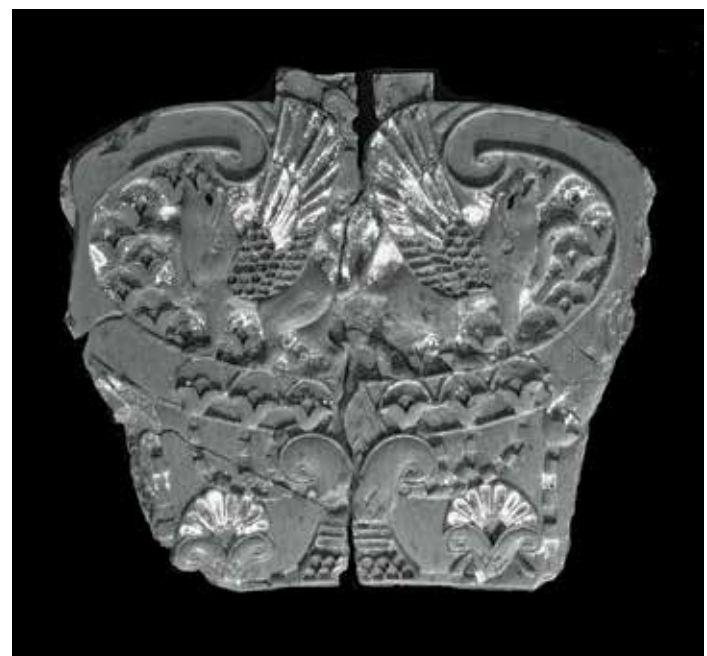


Fig. 3.44. Infrared luminescence image of fig. 3.42



50. Plaque with lioness attacking a youth

Ivory, gold, semiprecious stones, and vitreous material;
 H. 10.4 cm (4 1/8 in.), W. 10.2 cm (4 in.)
 Nimrud, Northwest Palace, well in Room MM
 Phoenician, 9th–8th century B.C.
 The Trustees of the British Museum, London (ME 127412)

With its stark, brutal imagery and sumptuously colorful inlay and decoration, this plaque is one of the finest examples of ivory carving to survive from the ancient world. It was originally one of a pair; its twin (fig. 3.45), which is even more perfectly preserved, was looted from the Iraq Museum, Baghdad, in 2003. Both were excavated from the mud at the bottom of a well in the Northwest Palace at Nimrud, which most likely explains their excellent state of preservation¹ and, presumably, is where they were dumped,

together with other luxury items, when the city was sacked by the Babylonian and Median armies in 612 B.C.² They were probably once part of a highly ornate piece of imported luxury furniture, but it is not known exactly how they would have been used. The top of this example has two square mortise holes and an incised letter *aleph* in West Semitic script, probably a fitter's mark to aid assembly of the complete piece of furniture.³ On the base are two rectangular holes and another incised *aleph*.

The youth shown being mauled by the lioness is usually identified as a Nubian because of his hairstyle. Given their strong Egyptianizing style—as well as imagery that probably draws on Egyptian iconography expressing royal power and authority over Nubia—the plaques were likely carved by a Phoenician craftsman. The lioness has a disc of lapis lazuli inlay on



Fig. 3.45. Phoenician-style ivory plaque with inlays. Nimrud, Northwest Palace, well in Room MM. Neo-Assyrian period. Iraq Museum, Baghdad (IM 56642)

her forehead and is shown standing over her semiprone prey, gripping him by the throat. The left forepaw of the lioness is wrapped around the youth's shoulder in a manner more human than animal. Both this and the abandon of the victim's pose have led modern commentators to note the sensual aspect of this violent, exoticizing scene.⁴ The victim has his knees drawn up and is lying back, supporting himself by his arms and with his hands on the ground behind him. An armband at his shoulder and bracelets at his wrists were originally inlaid. His hair is represented by gold-topped ivory pegs, and he is shown wearing a short kilt, which still retains its decoration of gold leaf. The concentric circles visible at his shoulder and the shapes visible in the contours of the lioness's body represent an ingenious use by the artisan of the natural grain of the ivory. In the background of the scene is a great bank of lotus and papyrus flowers covered in gold leaf and richly inlaid with lapis lazuli and carnelian. The gold leaf was applied first, covering the raised surfaces, so that the semiprecious stones, which are fixed in place with a layer of mortar, would appear inset in gold cloisons. The mortar contained blue vitreous material, and it is traces of this—not the original, darker blue lapis lazuli—that one can see as blue areas in some of the empty cells.⁵ This extensive use of the cloisonné technique is a distinctive feature of the most ornate Phoenician ivories, but the two lioness plaques are perhaps the most impressive of all known examples.

The iconography is not well understood. The image of a lion mauling an African victim is of Egyptian origin, and in New Kingdom art it symbolized the triumph of the pharaoh over his enemies.⁶ But its adaptation by Phoenician artisans and the location of the objects themselves—in an Assyrian royal capital—introduce additional layers of complexity to our understanding of how the scene should be interpreted.

NT

1. Mallowan 1966, vol. I, p. 139. 2. On the contents of the well and the most spectacular of the ivories discovered there, including the famous "Mona Lisa" and "Ugly Sister," see *ibid.*, pp. 122–48. On the lioness plaques, see *ibid.*, pp. 139–44, and Curtis and Reade 1995, p. 128. 3. Mallowan 1966, vol. I, p. 140, fig. 82. 4. Collon 1995, p. 159. 5. Mallowan 1966, vol. I, pp. 140–41. 6. Schweitzer 1948, p. 51, pl. XIII; Roehrig 1992.

IVORIES OF ARSLAN TASH

Elisabeth Fontan

51a–e. Plaques

a. Ivory and gold; H. 8.4 cm (3 1/4 in.), W. 9.9 cm (3 7/8 in.)

b. Ivory and gold; H. 8.1 cm (3 1/8 in.), W. 8 cm (3 1/8 in.)

c. Ivory and gold; H. 6.9 cm (2 3/4 in.), L. 12.4 cm (4 7/8 in.)

d. Ivory; H. 9 cm (3 1/2 in.), W. 6.8 cm (2 5/8 in.)

e. Ivory; H. 11.8 cm (4 5/8 in.), W. 3 cm (1 1/8 in.)

Arslan Tash, Bâtiment aux Ivoires, room 14 (F. Thureau-Dangin excavations, 1928)

Late 9th–early 8th century B.C.

Musée du Louvre, Paris, Département des Antiquités Orientales (AO 11465, 11459, 11455, 11475, 11481)

In late June 1928, Father Augustin Barrois made a sensational discovery at a site called Arslan Tash (Lion Stone), in northern Syria near the Turkish border. The discovery comprised a remarkable set of carved ivories, some embellished with gold leaf, paint, and colored inlays. Barrois, a Dominican priest, belonged to the mission run by François Thureau-Dangin, curator of the Département des Antiquités Orientales at the Musée du Louvre, Paris. Presenting the finds at a session of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres the following August 10, Thureau-Dangin declared: "This collection constitutes the finest set of Phoenician ivories known thus far and equals in importance the famous collection previously found by Layard in one of the palaces of Nimrud."¹ During the second and final campaign at Arslan Tash, in the autumn of the same year, a second group of ivories was found, albeit of lesser quality.

The excavations at Arslan Tash had unearthed the wall and gates of the ancient city of Hadatu. Also found were a temple and palace built under the Assyrian king Tiglath-Pileser III (744–727 B.C.), who conquered the Aramaean town and refounded it as the seat of

an Assyrian provincial capital. The ivories were discovered in a building called by the excavators the "Bâtiment aux Ivoires," which was adjacent to and older than the palace and no doubt had been a palace as well.² Most of the ivories were found in room 14, west of the courtyard, along with traces of one or more beds and perhaps a throne whose wooden frames had disappeared. The large polished strips of ivory that had covered these frames indicated their form and dimensions (fig. 3.46).³

One hundred and twelve ivories were published in the excavation report in 1931.⁴ Forty-four of them are now at the Musée du Louvre and sixty-eight in the National Museum of Aleppo.⁵ Six additional plaques of excellent quality, held at the École Biblique et Archéologique Française de Jérusalem, do not appear in the publication, as they were brought back by Father Barrois upon his return from Syria and were immediately recorded in the school's inventory notebook in July 1928, with no indication of provenance. Their presence at the École Biblique has been mentioned only rarely by researchers, and until recently these plaques had remained unpublished.⁶ Furthermore, a large number of ivories attributed to Arslan Tash from a stylistic standpoint were purchased by several museums from the famous antiquities dealer Élie Borowski. Seventeen of these ivories were acquired by The Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1957,⁷ one by the Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg, in 1966,⁸ and forty-one (in addition to about a hundred fragments) by the Badisches Landesmuseum, Karlsruhe,⁹ between 1970 and 1972. Finally, Borowski placed twenty-one plaques in the Bible Lands Museum, Jerusalem, in 1992.¹⁰ The history of these latter works is obscure, and it is likely that they emerged from clandestine work conducted between the two 1928 excavation campaigns or just after the site was closed. Thureau-Dangin specified, in fact, that some ivories from the second campaign,



Fig. 3.46. The "bed" being excavated. Arslan Tash, June 1928

already in pieces at the time of the discovery, could not be removed. Moreover, there are indications that attempts were made to rob a storage site in Syria.¹¹ In 1951 the existence of a lot of about sixty pieces was made known to Henri Seyrig, director of the Institut Français d'Archéologie, Beirut. André Parrot, curator at the Musée du Louvre, obtained a list of them and then saw them in London, where they were acquired by Borowski in 1952.¹² At the time, they belonged to two families of dealers active on the plaza of Aleppo at the time of the excavation.

An examination of these ivories¹³ has shown that some of the fragments from the art market complete plaques from the excavation. For example, two fragments in the Badisches Landesmuseum fit exactly into the lacunae of a sphinx's wing at the Louvre;¹⁴ two fragments, one in Karlsruhe and the other in the Bible Lands Museum, complete a winged disc in Aleppo;¹⁵ and a small fragment in Karlsruhe belongs to a lotus frieze in Aleppo.¹⁶ These connections indicate that, with few exceptions — including a “woman at the window” in Karlsruhe¹⁷ and the head of another “woman at the window” at the Bible Lands Museum, which came up for sale in Paris in 1988 — the majority of the ivories in the Borowski collection come from Arslan Tash.¹⁸

This group of approximately two hundred ivories constitutes a homogenous set, attributed stylistically to the group that Irene Winter has defined as South Syrian¹⁹ (or Intermediate), which combines traits of both the Phoenician and North Syrian groups. The group is characterized by figures with squatter proportions than those represented in Phoenician art and by a tendency toward horror vacui. In comparison to the thousands of ivories discovered at Nimrud, this set appears limited in number and also in its iconographic themes, styles, and decoration techniques. It is composed solely of pieces of furniture veneer and does not include any statuettes in the round, caskets, pyxides, horse trappings (frontlets or blinkers), chair backs, headboards, or the handles of instruments.

Most of the themes displaying human figures are Egyptianizing. The most common is the birth of Horus, which came to Phoenicia at the beginning of the first millennium B.C. (see cat. 51a). It appears on twenty-three plaques, some very fragmentary. One variant is missing the vertical pieces of the frame, which indicates that these plaques were placed side by side to form a continuous frieze. The goddesses Isis and Nephthys, identifiable in Egyptian art by the hieroglyphs of their names that appear on their heads, are replaced by male winged figures with curly wigs topped by an Egyptian double



51a

crown (or crown of Upper and Lower Egypt). Each of them wears a long garment trimmed with a braided border and has one leg uncovered. This is similar to typical Assyrian garb but without the usual short kilt worn underneath. One of the wings is raised, the other lowered. These supernatural creatures wave fleurons on either side of the child Horus, who is seated on a lotus flower holding a flagellum. A second theme shows a winged female wearing a tripartite wig and a long, form-fitting gown and holding fleurons in front of half of a sacred tree, composed of palmettes. Curiously, all of the known plaques (seven with the figure looking to the left, thirteen with the figure looking to the right) show only half a scene, and no two match exactly.²⁰ On two other plaques, the same Egyptianizing figures bind a bundle of papyrus stems, surmounted by a seated figure holding a scepter and wearing the sun disc on the head.²¹ Their pose is identical to that of the gods of the Nile in Egyptian art, who are shown tying up these plants (symbols of Upper and Lower Egypt), but here the figures are not winged, and they wear a costume closer to the Assyrian model, including the short kilt under a long garment.

The small plaques with worshipers who hold a ram's-head scepter and either a high-necked oinochoe or a perfume burner in the presence of the winged *uraeus*²² display motifs borrowed from the traditional Phoenician iconographic repertoire (see fig. 3.38), but they are rendered roughly, in a completely non-Phoenician style. A few human figures have a more clearly Syrian character, such as bearded princes or worshipers, each dressed in a fringed short garment



Fig. 3.47. Ivory openwork plaque with Syrian dignitary. Arslan Tash. Musée du Louvre, Paris (AO 11488)

with a band holding his medium-length hair in place, and shown facing each other from either side of a sacred tree. The two preserved fragments are similar, but they do not complete each other, being of slightly different dimensions.²³ The dignitary or king, whose body and head are rendered frontally while his legs are in profile, wears an Assyrian garment and sandals with heels (fig. 3.47). This is a specifically Syrian or Aramaean image, considered by some to be a portrait of Hazael of Aram-Damascus, the ruler whose name is inscribed on a piece of ivory from the site.²⁴

Another emblematic theme of these Phoenician ivories is the “woman at the window,” a representation of a female head with a short, curly Egyptian wig inside a frame and above a balustrade. Its interpretation remains hypothetical: is it an image of Egyptian origin, or perhaps Astarte or one of her hierodules hailing passersby?²⁵ The treatment of the theme takes four different forms. The most common is a square plaque surrounded on three sides by a frame of three smooth bands nested inside one another. On this type the balustrade comprises four columns, each terminating in a volute capital. The woman wears a hair ornament, sometimes adorned with pendants that fall onto her forehead, and cruciform earrings (cat. 51b).²⁶ A second type adopts a rectangular, vertical format.²⁷ The third type has no frame, indicating that these plaques must have been inserted into a frame made of a different material, perhaps wood.²⁸ The fourth type depicts a woman with a different hairstyle—long hair ending in large curls—above a three-columned balustrade, and the frame is reduced to a narrow lintel (see fig. 3.31).²⁹

The repertoire of animal motifs in the Arslan Tash ivories includes both real animals (cows and their calves, stags, lions) and fantastic creatures such as sphinxes. The theme of a cow nursing her calf and turning her head to lick him is a symbol of fertility used abundantly both on openwork (cat. 51c) and solid plaques. Some of the cows move to the left, others to the right. The absence, with rare exceptions, of the vertical pieces of the frame indicates that these plaques, too, were placed side by side to form continuous friezes, the cows separated by two twisted stalks ending in two veined leaves. The same is true for the plaques depicting a grazing stag, which are either openwork or solid. The motif of the lion is used exclusively for relief sculpture. Four lions’ heads have been preserved, including three found in the excavations (fig. 3.48). By contrast, hindquarters and two rear paws³⁰ acquired by the Badisches Landesmuseum are unique to Arslan Tash; their origin



51b



51c

can be attested by the existence of ivory lions’ claws in Aleppo, but their use, whether as sculptures or as furniture elements, is not certain.

Sphinxes were a favorite motif in Levantine art, distinguished from the Egyptian form that inspired them by the presence of the double crown and large *wesekh* collar and by the apron between their front paws. In the Levant, they are usually represented standing, passant, amid palmettes on openwork plaques. The Arslan Tash ivories include a beautiful group of androcephalous (human-headed) sphinxes after a Phoenician model (cat. 51d). Slenderly proportioned, they wear the *pschent* crown on top of the head-dress. Their similarity to the sphinx carved on a block of basalt reused in the foundations of the main mosque of Damascus argues for an Aramaean origin for the ivories of Arslan Tash (fig. 3.49). These sphinxes were placed in pairs on either side of a palmette tree.



Fig. 3.48. Ivory lion’s head. Arslan Tash. Musée du Louvre, Paris (AO 11490)



51d



51e

Another type of sphinx is equipped with a ram's head (criocephalus). These, too, are carved on openwork plaques and come in pairs (fig. 3.50). Other androcephalus sphinxes conform to a different canon, one that is closer to the North Syrian group. Much squatter in proportion, these have frontal heads. They retain the curly wig and apron but not the double crown, and they exhibit three postures: standing,

seated, or recumbent.³¹ The exemplar in the Metropolitan Museum (fig. 3.51) is unique but replicates a similar example in the Louvre in its recumbent position.³² This sphinx, considered female because of her wig, is leaning against a smaller, male sphinx, represented seated and wearing a close-fitting cap on his head.³³

Many vegetal motifs are used in the decoration of the ivories: thickets of papyrus, lotus

Fig. 3.49. Basalt relief of a walking sphinx found reused as a building block in Umayyad mosque of Damascus. National Museum, Damascus



Fig. 3.50. Ivory openwork plaque with ram-headed (criocephalus) sphinx moving to the left. Arslan Tash. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Fletcher Fund, 1957 (57.80.2)





Fig. 3.51. Ivory and gold-foil openwork plaque with a recumbent androcephalus sphinx. Arslan Tash. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Fletcher Fund, 1957 (57.80.4a, b)

friezes, twisted stalks of leaves. The most widespread motif is the palmette, which is treated in various ways. The palmette tree (cat. 51e), composed of three pairs of volutes, frequently appears in the center of compositions depicting two human or animal figures facing each other. In contrast, a large palmette with four “petals,” actually a stylization of the date palm, was employed in a continuous frieze.

In our new study of the ivories of Arslan Tash, particular attention has been paid to the polychromy, which consists of colored inlays, gilt, and paint. Inlays of colored materials were reserved for the eyes of animals: sphinxes, cows, calves, and stags. Egyptian Blue has also been detected.³⁴ The technique of *champlevé* inlay, used to embellish the most refined pieces in the Phoenician group, is not attested in the Arslan Tash corpus. Clear glass rods were inserted into a groove in the balustrade on some of the woman-at-the-window plaques belonging to the third and fourth types.³⁵ Colored glass elements were also combined with the ivory in some instances: these include small rosette squares in a bronze setting and semicircular plaques alternating with half circles of bronze at the base of colonettes.

Gilding was achieved through the application of thin sheets of pure gold leaf. Zones that were originally gilded are now stained violet, the result of gold nanoparticles produced by the breakdown of the gold by acidic compounds present in either the soil or the adhesive used to attach the leaf. Zones of red color appear on a number of ivories, usually plaques with a vegetal motif (papyrus thicket, lotus frieze) or as part of geometric decorations (braids, diamond friezes) as well as on the winged disc in the

National Museum of Aleppo and on friezes of *uraei*. It has been noted that, in the red-colored zones, the surface of the ivory has been damaged—“chapped,” as it were—no doubt a result of the pigment or binder. This suggests that some uncolored zones that display the same surface condition were originally painted. Such is the case especially for the triple frame of the “woman at the window.” Another color, greenish brown, is also clearly visible on the lions’ heads in the areas of the chops, muzzle, and tufts of fur over the eyes. A series of laboratory analyses undertaken on a number of the ivories either to confirm or clarify these observations³⁶ has revealed traces of copper and iron in the colored zones. Copper-based pigments produced blue or green, while those with an iron base, detected especially on the lions’ heads, resulted in colors ranging from yellow to red. Occasionally, hematite was detected, indicating red pigment. It was determined that the chapped appearance of the surface was systematically attributable to the presence of pigment, but whether that deterioration was caused by the pigment or by a preparation that allowed the color to better adhere is uncertain.³⁷ A synthesis of the results obtained is under way, along with their interpretation within the archaeological context.

The ivories were attached to their supports by a system of tenons, different types of mortises, pegs, studs, and adhesives. Aramaic letters engraved on the reverse of the pieces or on the tenons, hence not visible, served as a guide in their assembly. A thin inscribed strip in three fragments, two of them contiguous, was discovered in immediate proximity to the remnants of the bed or throne frames.³⁸ It bears an incomplete

dedication in Aramaic by an unknown person (“son of . . .”) “to our lord Hazael, in the year of . . .” and mentions the offering of an ivory bed. This Hazael is very likely the king of Aram who ruled Damascus in the second half of the ninth century (ca. 843–806 B.C.). Paleography confirms that the inscription dates to that period, as do the engraved letters used as guidelines on the back of the plaques. These ivories may therefore have arrived in Arslan Tash as tribute or booty following Assyrian campaigns against Damascus. The annals of the Assyrian kings Shalmaneser III, Adad-nirari II, and Tiglath-Pileser III mention ivory furniture—beds and thrones—among the booty or tribute taken from Damascus. The ivories found in Arslan Tash may have adorned the furniture that the military official, or *tartanu*, Shamshi-ilu gave to his eunuch Ninurta-bel-usur—who had the wall and gates of Hadatu constructed—after the campaign against Damascus in 773 B.C. Thanks to an inscription added by Shamshi-ilu to the reverse of the Pazarcik Stele (Marash Museum), we know that the tribute received by the *tartanu* from Hadyan, king of Damascus, included a royal bed and a royal throne.³⁹ This would suggest that the ivories were produced, at the latest, in the first quarter of the eighth century B.C.

Between 2007 and 2009, a joint mission of the Università di Bologna and of the Directorate-General for Antiquities and Museums in Syria, led by Serena Cecchini, resumed field research to clarify the site’s stratigraphy and chronology. During the old excavations, no evidence of material culture was collected, and the excavation journal cannot be found. In addition, the site has since been entirely covered over by the present-day village. A sounding done in the northeast section of the courtyard of the *Bâtiment aux Ivoires* has served to verify the stratigraphy established by Thureau-Dangin. Although the date of the building’s construction can only be conjectural, the structure can probably be placed in the first half of the eighth century B.C., under the government of Shamshi-ilu and Ninurta-bel-usur. However, a date in the ninth century B.C., when Shalmaneser III turned Til Barsip into a provincial capital, cannot be ruled out.

At present, there is keen interest in studying the ivories from the early first millennium B.C. We may hope, therefore, that future advances in research on the centers of production and workshops in Phoenicia, Syria, and Palestine will allow us to clarify the origin of the ivories of Arslan Tash and, perhaps, to refine the dating of the different sets found in the *Bâtiment aux Ivoires*.

METALWORK

Marian H. Feldman

At once the son of Peleus set out prizes for the foot-race: a mixing-bowl of silver, a work of art, which held only six measures, but for its loveliness it surpassed all others on earth by far, since skilled Sidonian craftsmen had wrought it well, and Phoenicians carried it over the misty face of the water and set it in the harbor, and gave it for a present to Thoas. Euneos, son of Jason, gave it to the hero Patroklos to buy Lykaon, Priam's son, out of slavery, and now Achilles made it a prize in memory of his companion, for that man who should prove in the speed of his feet to run lightest. —Iliad (23.740–50)¹

Ancient textual sources, from Homer to the Bible to the Assyrian annals, speak of the metalworking skills of the peoples living in what is today southeastern Turkey, Syria, and Lebanon. In particular, descriptions like Homer's above

have played a significant part in the identification as Phoenician of a group of elaborately worked metal vessels. These vessels—shallow bowls with hammered and engraved decorations arranged concentrically around their walls—form a heterogeneous but nonetheless coherent assemblage. The corpus, still lacking precise delineation, includes a diversity of styles and iconography as well as various shapes, from flat-bottomed, to round and shallow, to hemispherical.² Although the passage from the *Iliad* claims the bowl described to be the product of craftsmen from the city of Sidon, no such vessels have been recovered through archaeology in the Phoenician heartland. Rather, they have been found at points extending from southwestern Iran in the east (fig. 3.52) to Italy in the west (cats. 192, 193), highlighting another aspect of Homer's description of the Sidonian bowl: a well-traveled item of value and prestige worthy of being given as a high-level diplomatic gift, as

ransom for a king's son, or as a prize for athletic contests at funerary games.

Despite Homer's eloquent passage, basic aspects of these vessels remain enigmatic. Their places of manufacture continue to be debated but almost certainly were many and not confined to the Phoenician heartland. Richard Barnett, working with a large group of bronze bowls in the British Museum, London, excavated by Austen Henry Layard at Nimrud in the mid-nineteenth century, suggested that some had an Aramaean or South Syrian origin because of the style of their engraving and the presence of Aramaic names on some.³ Others have proposed production sites in the northern Levantine region on the basis of stylistic similarities with North Syrian ivories and carved architectural orthostats.⁴ While the vessels exhibiting more Egyptianizing features tend to be attributed to Phoenician artists, Phoenician trade and colonization outside the central Levantine coast complicates the question. For example, Cyprus has been considered a center of manufacture for one distinct group of vessels that have Egyptianizing elements and are thus associated with the Phoenician presence on the island.⁵ Yet no vessels have been found in the area of the major Phoenician kingdom of Kition, and several of the bowls, including one in The Metropolitan Museum of Art (cat. 52), bear inscriptions not in Phoenician but in Greek written in the Cypriot syllabary. Recent examination of specific production techniques among the bronze bowls found at Nimrud reveals no clear-cut patterns of execution that can be paired with style and thus suggests that all the vessels belong to a generally shared practice of metalworking, which was nonetheless decentralized and diffuse in its actual workshop production.⁶

The date of production for the vessels is similarly unsettled. Early examples appear in three burials in Greece: two at Lefkandi in contexts that date to around 900 to 850 B.C. (see fig. 3.4) and one from the Kerameikos area in Athens from the mid-ninth century B.C.⁷ If one factors in what was probably a considerable time lag between the production of these pieces and their deposition, it seems likely that manufacture stretched well back into the tenth century B.C. and perhaps formed a direct continuity with the tradition of decorated metal vessels



Fig. 3.52. Drawing of bronze bowl with figural scenes. Arjan, burial. Iron Age III. National Museum of Iran, Tehran

known from the Levant and Egypt from the preceding Late Bronze Age (fig. 3.53). The Lefkandi and Kerameikos bowls are unusual in having secure archaeological contexts with such early dates. Most of the other vessels either come from mixed late deposits of the eighth through sixth centuries B.C. or have no known archaeological provenance. In general, the bronze examples appear to date earlier (tenth through eighth centuries B.C.) than the silver vessels (end of the eighth into the seventh century B.C.). The fact that the early pieces from Greece are all of bronze supports this dating scheme. However, manufacture seems to have become more diversified over time, with the result that irregular specimens were produced, such as an exceptionally large (43.5 cm in diameter) bronze bowl with unusual Iranian iconographic elements and an Elamite inscription found in a late seventh- or early sixth-century B.C. burial at Arjan, in southwestern Iran (fig. 3.52).⁸

While place and date of production still elude precise determination, the archaeological contexts of the bowls illuminate the ways in which they were used in the ancient Near East and the Mediterranean world. The many found deposited in tombs point to a widespread, cross-cultural pattern of use in funerary rites. These include several spectacular examples discovered in seventh-century B.C. Etruscan tombs at Praeneste and Caere (cats. 192, 193) and the very early examples from burials in Greece.⁹ Funerary deposition also appears to have occurred frequently in Cyprus, as demonstrated by the bowls most likely deriving from tombs in the Kourion necropolis, found by Luigi Palma di Cesnola in the nineteenth century (see cat. 52), as well as by examples from elsewhere on the island such as Salamis and Amathus.¹⁰ An inscribed fluted bronze bowl discovered in a tenth-century B.C. burial in a cave at Kefar Veradim, in present-day Israel, and an elaborate Egyptianizing or Egyptian gold bowl inscribed for Yaba', a wife of the Assyrian king Tiglath-Pileser III (744–727 B.C.) found in a royal tomb at Nimrud point to an eastern as well as western geographical spread for the funerary use of such vessels (figs. 3.1, 3.2, 3.13).¹¹ The Etruscan pieces occur in tombs characterized by elaborate sets of feasting utensils.¹² In the northern Levant, funerary stelae often depict the deceased seated before a table and holding a small bowl, as in a recently excavated example inscribed for an individual named Katamuwa discovered at the site of Zincirli (ancient Sam'al) in southeastern Turkey.¹³

The metal bowls most likely also featured in elite and royal banqueting during life. The small ones, around 15 to 20 centimeters in diameter, fit neatly into the palm of the hand, and many



Fig. 3.53. Gold bowl with hunting scenes. Ugarit. Late Bronze Age. National Museum, Aleppo (M10129 [4572])

take a rounded or hemispherical profile. In the northern Levantine region, such elite banquets took place in the so-called *bit hilani*, a building with columned portico and broad antechamber leading into a broad reception room. Although no metal bowls have survived in these contexts—the value and recyclability of their material work against their archaeological preservation—one such *bit hilani* at Zincirli (Hilani III) included a small kitchen area and storeroom at the back that contained numerous ceramic bowls similar in shape to the decorated metal ones.¹⁴ At Megiddo, in present-day Israel, a fragmentary bronze bowl was discovered in proximity to a large public building of undetermined character.¹⁵ The bronze bowls excavated by Layard in the Northwest Palace at Nimrud and found along with cauldrons, tripods, and ladles probably represent feasting paraphernalia collected by the Assyrian kings as booty and tribute from their military campaigns against the city-states to the west that are recorded in the lengthy Assyrian annals.¹⁶ We see depictions of banquets on a few of the bowls themselves,

including one with inscriptions that seem to refer to a royal Cypriot couple shown reclining on couches and possibly holding such vessels in their hands.¹⁷ Similar bowls also appear in Levantine and Assyrian banquet images, most notably a relief showing the Assyrian king Ashurbanipal (668–627 B.C.) reclining on a couch while his queen sits opposite him, both holding small bowls before their faces (cat. 22).¹⁸ Such scenes may represent precursors to the later well-known Greek symposium.¹⁹

Several vessels have been excavated in ritual contexts, especially Hellenic sanctuaries, including Olympia and Delphi on the Greek mainland and the Ida Cave on Crete (see cats. 155, 183).²⁰ In addition to the basic value inherent in the metals and workmanship, the association of the bowls with elite feasting and funerary activities may have made them suitable as items of dedication. It is also possible that they were used as part of ritual equipment in the Greek cults. In such activities, the bowls may have functioned as vessels for libation rather than for drinking. Assyrian palace reliefs from the reigns of



Ashurnasirpal II (883–859 B.C.) and Ashurbanipal depict the king pouring a libation from shallow bowls above the bodies of lions slain in the hunt (cat. 20). As a libation vessel, the bowls may have functioned in the textually attested Mesopotamian *kispu* ritual, which involved offerings of food and drink to the deceased.²¹ In a similar vein, these decorated bowls have been thought to be examples of the Jewish cultic vessel, the *mizraq*.²² Mentioned numerous times in the Hebrew Bible, such vessels appear to have been part of the cultic paraphernalia associated with the altar and are described as made of bronze, silver, and gold.

52. Bowl with Egyptianizing motifs

Gilded silver; H. 3.1 cm (1 ¼ in.), Diam. 16.8 cm (6 ⅝ in.)
Said to be from Kourion (the Kourion Treasure)
Cypro-Phoenician, late 8th–early 7th century B.C.
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; The Cesnola Collection, Purchased by subscription, 1874–76 (74.51.4554)

This shallow bowl decorated with repoussé and engraving features a central medallion that depicts an Assyrianizing winged figure attacking a rampant lion with two Egyptianizing falcons to the left and above the figures. A narrower, inner band shows scenes of animal life—including a

series of bulls, a cow suckling her calf, a grazing horse, a seated sphinx with two pseudocartouches above, and a lion trampling an Asiatic figure—and of combat, as two men with a bow and spear confront a lion attacking a third. A wider, outer band depicts an Assyrianizing figure in a long skirt slaying a griffin, a spearman carrying a dead body over his shoulder, a pharaonic figure smiting enemies crouched before a falcon-headed deity, a second griffin slayer, the Egyptian goddess Isis, and a short man wearing a lion skin (perhaps the god Melqart) struggling with a rampant lion. Throughout, griffins, sphinxes, and gazelles confront palmettes.



52, detail

The bowl belongs to the Kourion Treasure, discovered on Cyprus by the American diplomat Luigi Palma di Cesnola in the nineteenth century. Although Cesnola claimed that the entire treasure came from a temple storeroom, recent evidence suggests that the pieces were assembled from numerous different wealthy tombs in the area.¹ The bowl bears two inscriptions on it in Greek, written in the Cypriot syllabary. The earlier inscription, located above the Assyrianizing griffin-slayer in the outer band, reads, “I am [the bowl] of Akestor, king of Paphos.” It was later partly erased and a second inscription added above the scene of the man in a lion skin: “I am [the bowl] of Timokretes.”² MHF

Technical Note

The bowl was formed by working a piece of silver-alloy sheet in an alternating process of hammering and annealing.³ The rim may have been thickened by folding the sheet over to the exterior and hammering it along the edge, but all exterior details are now hidden by a layer of modern resin that was applied to support the highly mineralized silver. After forming, gold foil was applied to the interior and held in place mechanically by the chased and punched decoration as well as by folding over at the rim. The figures and larger motifs were also raised in low relief by light hammering from the back.

In its present condition, much of the gilding on the background areas has been removed rather unevenly, revealing a deeply pitted silver surface. Some of the irregularly shaped losses in the gold may be the result of the eruption of silver corrosion from the underlying bowl, similar to that seen on a comparable vessel in the Metropolitan Museum’s collection (74.51.4553). In other areas, however, the gold

foil appears to have been cut away along a wavering line (see detail, above). Given the considerable skill evident in the manufacture of this bowl, it seems doubtful that this excision was originally intended.

Vassos Karageorghis notes that the inscription found above in the outer band at the top of the composition “was partly erased” before a later one, dated to the early fifth century B.C., was added above the figure grappling with a lion on the left side.⁴ Since both inscriptions are found in areas where the gold foil is missing, one explanation for the discrepancy in their sharpness may be that the earlier one was chased onto the foil and only lightly impressed into the silver substrate while the later inscription was chased directly into the silver. In addition to alterations from corrosion, it is possible that the partial removal of the gold may reflect a predilection for parcel gilding that had arisen since the bowl was first produced. It is interesting to note in this regard that the silver vessels of the Achaemenids, who conquered Cyprus in the last quarter of the sixth century B.C., were often partially embellished with gold foil set into chased grooves. J-FL

1. V. Karageorghis, Mertens, and Rose 2000, p. 180. 2. Inscriptions from *ibid.*, pp. 182–83, no. 299. 3. For a detailed description of the manufacture of a comparable bowl, see Hendrix 1999. 4. Karageorghis in V. Karageorghis, Mertens, and Rose 2000, p. 183, no. 299.

53. Bowl with star pattern

Bronze; Diam. 22 cm (8 $\frac{5}{8}$ in.), H. 2.7 cm (1 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.)
Nimrud, Northwest Palace, Room AB
Syrian, 9th–8th century B.C.
The Trustees of the British Museum, London (ME N1)

This shallow bronze bowl with curved sides and a flat base was discovered by Austen Henry Layard during his excavations in the Northwest Palace of Ashurnasirpal II at Nimrud.¹ It was found stacked with numerous others, and although many of the bowls had disintegrated, Layard was able to bring back about 150 complete or fragmentary examples to the British Museum, London. This one is decorated with a seven-pointed flower, which also evokes the shape of a star. In the middle of the star is a silver stud that forms the center of a small rosette, made of circles of punched and incised dots and twenty petals, which are filled with dotted decoration. Around the body of the star is a band of lotus-flower decoration set between cable-pattern (guilloche) borders. Each of the star’s rays is outlined by triple rows of dots and single, unbroken lines. There are shallow incised lines down the center of each ray or petal, and between the rays are seven silver studs, each surrounded by circles of punched dots, and seven barrel shapes, again delineated by rows of dots. The open spaces between the rays (and therefore the background to the star) are decorated with a zigzag pattern indicated by incised lines, and the areas between the zigzag designs are filled with carefully applied punched dots. The effect is of a flower with fourteen petals arranged in two layers, or perhaps a fully open seven-petal lotus flower surrounded by seven lotus buds on short stems.

The outer part of the bowl is decorated with six bands of tiny animals in procession. The representations are schematic, but the prominent horns show that the animals are meant to be stags or goats. Their bodies are indicated by three punch marks made from the back of the bowl, so that they are embossed. All of the other details were added by chasing from the front, including the eight applied silver rivets. There is an indentation in the center rivet that may have resulted from the use of a compass, but it is also possible that the rivets were applied in a late stage of the manufacturing process. Fine compass lines are clearly visible underlying the decoration in several places, for example, framing the zigzag design in the center of the bowl.

The rich golden color of the bronze is typical of the exceptionally well-preserved bowls excavated in this part of Ashurnasirpal’s palace. Richard Barnett called this type of bowl, of which about a dozen were found at Nimrud, a “star bowl.”² He considered them as possibly



the products of an Aramaic-speaking center, presumably in Syria. Another bowl with a similar central design was found in Olympia (cat. 183).

NT

1. Layard 1853a, p. 188, no. 7/8; Layard 1853b, pl. 59c. 2. Barnett (1974) classified the bowl in his group 4. More recently, see Onnis 2009.

54. Bowl with Egyptianizing motifs

Gilded silver; Diam. 19.5 cm (7 $\frac{7}{8}$ in.), H. 3.6 cm (1 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.)
 Idalion
 Cypro-Phoenician, 7th century B.C.
 Musée du Louvre, Paris, Département des Antiquités Orientales (AO 20134)

To make this shallow, hemispherical bowl, two sheets of silver were soldered together under the lip and gilded on the interior.¹ The chased and repoussé decoration corresponds to a basic pattern common to all bowls described as being

“Phoenician”: a central medallion surrounded by one or more concentric bands, in this case two. The iconographic repertoire of such works includes a large variety of subjects and motifs of different origin—Egyptian, Assyrian, North Syrian, and Aegean—that were interpreted in a new way to create a characteristic Phoenician style.

On this example, the medallion features an emblematic scene of Egyptian origin: the image of a victorious pharaoh slaying his enemies. The pharaoh wears a *shenti* loincloth and an

atef crown. Armed with bow and arrow, he seizes by the hair three Asiatic captives, recognizable by their coiffure and pointed beards. Behind him stands a bearded servant holding a spear and a fan and carrying a draped body on his shoulders. In the field above are a winged solar disc and a falcon. This type of scene was often used for medallions,² with variants in which the pictorial space is filled with myriad heterogeneous motifs, in particular pseudo-Egyptian hieroglyphs.³ On this bowl, the inner concentric band shows a line of alternating human- and ram-headed sphinxes in a conventional pose, pinning a male figure to the ground. The outer band is decorated with juxtaposed scenes of mythic fights: men or heroes in combat with lions or eagle-headed winged griffins. All of these motifs symbolize the triumph of

order over chaos. Borders in the form of chased circles enclosed by smaller circles surround the different registers of the decoration and indicate the groundline.

Although considered typical products of Phoenician civilization, none of these precious-metal bowls has been found in Phoenician territory proper, and the question of where they were produced has yet to be resolved. However, a homogenous group found in Cyprus has been attributed to a Phoenician workshop active on the island from the end of the eighth to the beginning of the seventh century B.C.⁴ Bowls from Cyprus frequently use typical Phoenician motifs, such as the palmette and the sphinx, as well as Assyrian motifs like the four-winged deity (cat. 52). Bowls discovered in Etruria form yet another well-defined group, made on-site by

craftsmen from Phoenicia for a local clientele.⁵ Their decoration features generally naturalistic motifs; cows, horses, and lions are depicted instead of mythological creatures. Also popular were military processions and hunt scenes. According to Glenn Markoe, these luxurious bowls were not manufactured for the export market but used, rather, as diplomatic gifts to obtain favor among the elite, possibly to gain access to the mines they controlled.⁶ EF

1. Markoe 1985, pp. 170–72. CY 2, pl. 244–45; Gubel 1986, pp. 206–7, no. 226; Moscati 1988, p. 605, no. 128; Fontan and Le Meaux 2007, p. 342, no. 167. 2. On Cyprus, on the bronze bowl from Salamis (Markoe 1985, p. 251); in Etruria, on the two cups from Praeneste (ibid., pp. 275, 279) and on that from Pontecagnano (ibid., p. 303). 3. See, for example, a cup from Praeneste (ibid., p. 275) and that from Pontecagnano mentioned in note 2. 4. Ibid., pp. 7–8. 5. Ibid., pp. 141–42. 6. Markoe in Fontan and Le Meaux 2007, p. 171.



TRIDACNA SHELL

Annie Caubet

Among the wonders of nature transformed into art in the ancient world, engraved tridacna shells are significant indicators of the networks of cross-cultural interactions during the first millennium B.C. They circulated with other luxury goods from the Near East and have been found in the Levant, Mesopotamia, and Greece, and as far east as Iran and as far west as Italy (fig. 3.54). Examples from archaeological contexts show that their production was relatively short-lived, from the late seventh to the early sixth century B.C.

The *Tridacna squamosa*, a species of large clam with several subspecies, lives in the warm, shallow waters of the Indian Ocean, the Red Sea, and the Persian Gulf. Its spectacular large shell was used to manufacture a distinctive type of cosmetic container, of which more than a hundred survive.¹ The centers of production were probably located in Palestine and Transjordan, where unworked shells have been found.²

The exterior of the undulating, fluted shell was first polished to obtain a marbled surface suitable for engraved decoration. Black and colored pigments were then used to enhance the design over the white surface. The thick “hinge” that linked the two halves of the shell (designated by some scholars as an “umbo”) was carved into a three-dimensional head for the figure depicted on the surface.

Several shells identified as tridacna have been examined and found to be carved from other large mollusks.³ It is unclear whether the various types of shells were interchangeable or whether the imitations were purposely created as such. A gold shell decorated with a bird’s head in the Nasher Museum of Art at Duke University, Durham, may have been made to answer a demand for the production of these vessels in a variety of materials.⁴ Another related type of object is the rectangular alabaster or limestone palette carved in a simplified shape and decorated with a protruding, three-dimensional head similar to the anthropomorphic head found on the figures commonly decorating the tridacna shells.⁵ Palettes of this type excavated in Palestine and Transjordan date to the same period (late 7th–early 6th century B.C.).

Engraved tridacna shells have been classified in five groups according to their decoration.⁶ One small group depicts a falcon head, another an owl.⁷ In each of these groups, the outspread



Fig. 3.54. Distribution of engraved tridacna shell in the Near East and the Mediterranean. Those in the exhibition are indicated in red.

wings of the bird seem to flutter over the wavy surface of the shell, and the extended legs end in fearsome talons. In a few cases, notably one from the Citadel of Amman,⁸ the shell is simply smoothed with no decoration other than two inlaid eyes, the hinges having been thinned out in the shape of a schematic bird’s head. The tridacna from Ashur (cat. 55) exemplifies the distinctive group in which a four-winged genie, seen from the back and wearing a long, checkered garment, looks over the inside of the shell; the head carved from the umbo wears long curls held by a fillet on the nape.

In another, more common group, the human head carved on the umbo retains from the bird motif a crown of feathers, from which soars a pair of long wings that extend along the edge of the shell. The fleshy face is incised with large eyes, the nose is often long and wide, and a black beauty mark sometimes adorns the cheek. The outside of the shell is covered by a large rosette engraved with garlands of lotus flowers; the bust of a human, bearded genie raising his right hand emerges from the rosette (cat. 58), which is sometimes replaced by a stylized tree. This central motif is flanked by symmetrical designs of warlike inspiration: a pair of horsemen (cat. 55), chariots (cat. 56), or kneeling archers dressed in Near Eastern kilts.⁹ Decorations featuring a sphinx wearing the Egyptian double crown or genies holding lotus stems derive from religious motifs.¹⁰ The whole background is occupied by a dense network of lotus buds and blossoms tied into garlands. Egyptian signs such as the *ankh*, flying falcon, and raised arms are interspersed among the flowers. While the outside of the shell is completely covered by the incised decoration, the inside is engraved only along the wavy edge, with a large band. Simple examples are decorated with lotus blossoms or

buds or a couchant sphinx. Complex scenes like that on the inside of the Ashur example (cat. 55) depict cultic rituals, with musicians and kneeling genies among sacred trees.

The engraved tridacna shells draw upon multiple sources for their iconography. The falcon may be inspired by Horus and the Egyptian ideology of power and sun worship. The owl, which was very rarely depicted in the ancient Near East, may have a significance associated with nocturnal practices, possibly those related to the dead.¹¹ A direct connection with the Greek owl, the attribute of the goddess Athena, is doubtful, but the creature representing wisdom amid darkness may be present in the tridacna images.

Composite creatures such as the human-headed bird are common to a number of cultures. In Egypt, the *ba* was the expression of the vital force, or soul, of the dead, and as such was depicted on many types of artifacts. *Ba* birds were painted on papyri inscribed with passages from the Book of the Dead, portrayed on anthropoid sarcophagi, and made into wooden figurines, all of which were deposited in Egyptian tombs. Their significance was closely associated with funerary practices and the belief in renaissance and renewal.

In western Asia, human-headed birds, like other winged composite beings, were spirits associated with the air and heaven. The four-winged, bird-headed genie (cat. 55) conveyed a notion of superhuman force and swiftness. Prominent in Assyrian iconography, it appeared in conjunction with the sacred tree in strategic locations on stone wall reliefs, protecting doorways and the figure of the king. It was probably the inspiration for the four-winged genies decorating Phoenician and Aramaean artifacts such as ivory furniture and metal bowls.

In the Levant, the concept of heaven was frequently expressed by the symbol of the winged disc, which dominates many figurative scenes on cylinder seals and stone stelae. The large rosette on a group of tridacna shells may be a version of this idea, which finds a parallel in Assyrian mythology and iconography, where the supreme god of heaven, Ashur, was depicted as a human bust set within a winged disc. Human-headed birds appeared in the imagery created by Aramaean and North Syrian workshops, such as on pieces of ivory furniture (fig. 3.55)¹² or steatite spoons used for burning incense.¹³ These works of art may have inspired the creation of the engraved tridacna shells in Palestine-Transjordan.

Human-headed birds also adorned a specific type of large bronze cauldron (cat. 76a) used in the course of elite banquets. These vessels were usually decorated with such birds, called sirens, or griffin protomes, or sometimes with both. Their geographic distribution during the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. encompassed western Anatolia, Phrygia, Cyprus, and Greece, an area in which elite members of society commonly practiced ritual consumption of food and wine using implements similar to those at the Greek symposium. These cauldrons were sometimes deposited in tombs, where the human-headed bird may have conveyed a funerary significance.

In Greek mythology, sirens were evil creatures whose heavenly music lured sailors to their deaths in the chasms of the sea. According to a famous passage in the twelfth book of the *Odyssey*, the astute Odysseus managed to withstand their song while securely tied to the mast of his ship. Knowledge of the Homeric poem was certainly part of the shared culture of elite societies in the Mediterranean, as was the practice of the symposium. The story of Odysseus and the sirens was a favorite subject of Greek vase painting (see fig. 4.5). It is quite probable that the appearance of the sirens on these vases owes much to the Near Eastern human-headed

birds seen on the cauldrons and tridacna shells distributed in the west.

Textiles may also have had a part in inspiring the decoration of these shells. Often forgotten, as they are not preserved archaeologically, textiles were an important medium for the transmission of images. The dense floral background and the lotus blossoms linked in chained garlands on the tridacna shells recall designs woven or embroidered on tasseled garments and carpets, as represented in other media such as stone reliefs.

An example of interaction between east and west, the complete tridacna from Vulci in the British Museum, London (cat. 58) is the only instance in which the female head in high relief is carved in a style strikingly different from that of the common type. Under the usual crown of feathers, the face displays well-modeled cheeks, curvaceous lips, a delicate nose, and a detailed rendering of the eyes, lids, and irises. The back of the shell is undecorated and shows signs of having been smoothed. These changes have convincingly been attributed to a reworking of the piece by a Greek artist, who adapted a precious exotic artifact to the taste of a western clientele.¹⁴ Tridacna shells exported to the west may have inspired works of art such as the “Lady of Galera” from Spain, an alabaster ritual vessel in the shape of an enthroned deity, whose eyes and beaky nose are reminiscent of those seen on the typical tridacna.¹⁵

Decorated tridacna shells from the Levant and Mesopotamia, when found in context, seem to have been used in daily life, in elegant homes and palaces, as cosmetic containers. A few pieces still contained traces of a black cosmetic related to kohl. In the west, most examples appear to have been recovered from tombs (hence their good state of preservation) or from sanctuaries where, having lost part of their utilitarian function, they had been offered to the gods. More than fifteen fragments come from

the temple of Hera in Samos (cat. 57), and four from the Archaic temple of Athena in Lindos, Rhodes. It is unclear whether these were designed to be used by women, men, or both, as the imagery is not explicitly related to either. The iconography hints at the superhuman, whether of the heavens or the netherworld.

Tridacna shells may have been containers for pigments, body paint, balms, or perfumes to be used in funerary rituals in honor of the dead, to prepare and embellish the corpse, or in the course of banquets and symposia. It is not certain that the significance and symbolism of these desirable natural wonders remained the same as they passed from their origin and area of production in Palestine and Transjordan to the many faraway regions to which they were exported, including Mesopotamia and Iran, Greece, and the western Mediterranean.

55. Shell cosmetic container

Tridacna squamosa shell; W. 25.2 cm (9 $\frac{7}{8}$ in.), H. 16.3 cm (6 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.)

Ashur, Assyrian house (no. 58)

7th–6th century B.C.

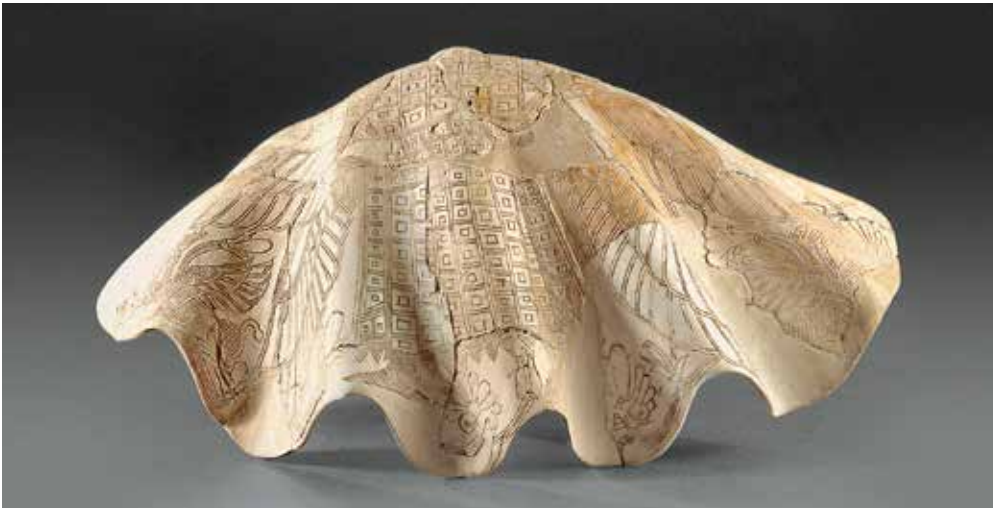
Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Vorderasiatisches Museum (VA 5526)

This shell, pieced together from numerous fragments but almost complete, is engraved both on the interior and exterior surfaces.¹ The hinge, or umbo, is shaped like a human head, from which the imagery of the exterior continues; almost the entire convex surface, including its several ridges, is covered with the engraved linear depiction of a four-winged creature spreading its wings protectively over two small sphinxes. The main figure, standing on an ornament of palmettes and lotuses, holds two palmette stalks in each hand. This winged creature is clothed in a sleeved garment belted at the hips, and its entire back is covered with small, flat squares. On its forearms the pattern changes into a kind of grid. Bracelets with round bosses adorn its wrists. The head, carved in the round in contrast to the linear, engraved depiction of the body, features a face with outsize eyes and a full head of hair. A number of separate strands filled by a dense grid of cross-hatching fall across its shoulders and onto the nape of the neck; these are held together by a broad hairband with a complex structure. A narrow band emphasizes the hairline above the forehead.

The two winged sphinxes facing outward to the right and left of the large central figure seem to lie in the midst of the lotus-palmette ornament. Almost identical sphinxes set among the ornament on the inside of the shell serve as the



Fig. 3.55. Syrian-style ivory furniture element of human-headed bird. Nimrud, Northwest Palace, Residential Wing, Well AJ. Neo-Assyrian period. Iraq Museum, Baghdad (IM 79525)



outermost elements of a symmetrically arranged group of musicians and kneeling figures. From a palm trunk marking the center of the pictorial frieze, two musicians in long, richly decorated garments turn toward kneeling figures wearing shirts and short patterned skirts and holding vines in their hands. It is possible to distinguish four different instruments: from left to right, two stringed instruments, a kind of tambourine, and a flute(?).

The splendor of this shell, with its highly detailed depictions of patterned garments, bracelets on forearms, the internal structure of wings, and footwear, indicates its special importance as a luxury object. As for its function, it was perhaps used as a vessel to hold precious cosmetics. The subject matter of the engraved drawings and the iconographic and stylistic features, also found on numerous other tridacna fragments from Ashur and Babylon, for example, point to a Levantine-Phoenician workshop.²

R-BW

1. Andrae 1939, pp. 88–98, figs. 1–3, tables x–xiv. 2. Amandry 1958, pp. 96–100, fig. 5.

56. Shell cosmetic container

Tridacna squamosa shell; H. 19.9 cm (7⁷/₈ in.), W. 26.5 cm (10³/₈ in.)
Sippar
8th–7th century B.C.
The Trustees of the British Museum, London (ME 117999)

The hinge of this shell, used as a palette for mixing cosmetics, is carved as the head of a

woman, with the hair depicted as feathers falling over her shoulders. The wings spanning the exterior indicate her divine status (she is probably the goddess Astarte). On the interior, on either side of the face, is a row of lotus buds. Ornamental bands encircle the rim. Starting from the inside, these depict stylized pomegranates, triangles, and rhomboids, and on the outer edge, lotus buds and blossoms. At the bottom left are the base of a palm and the ends of its male shoots, while at the bottom right is a stylized palmette.

On the exterior, the central roundel consists of a rosette, composed of crosshatched lanceolate leaves and triangles, surrounded by a ring of lotus buds and then by an outer ring of alternating lotus buds and blossoms. Above the roundel is a male figure, thought to represent a god,¹ shown to the waist with his right hand raised. His beard leaves the chin and upper lip bare, and above his long hair he wears a polos-like crown. Below this figure two men ride on richly caparisoned horses, each with a crest and tassel over its forehead. The rider on the left wears a kilt and boots, a tight-fitting shirt, a collar decorated with triangular shapes, and long hair with a full beard, while the other wears a long gown and the same style of beard and haircut as the god above the roundel. Below the roundel is a male with the deity's beard and haircut, wearing a kilt and shirt and holding garlands of lotus buds and flowers. The spaces between these figures are filled with lotus buds and flowers and palmettes.

The object was found at Sippar, in Mesopotamia, and the style of its decoration suggests that it was manufactured in Syro-Phoenicia.² Fragments of decorated tridacna shells have been found at the Mesopotamian sites of Ashur, Babylon, Kish, Nimrud, Nineveh, Sippar, Uruk, and Ur.³ Tridacna-shell cosmetic containers circulated widely throughout the Mediterranean world, reaching as far west as Etruria. R C



1. Stucky 1974, pp. 60–61. 2. Perdrizet 1896, pp. 604–5, pls. 32, 33; Thiersch 1906, pp. 370ff.; Poulsen 1912, p. 69, fig. 71; Dus-saud 1914, pp. 319ff., figs. 226, 227; L. W. King 1914, p. 238, no. 6; Blinkenberg 1926, pp. 179ff.; Bossert 1930, pp. 152, 155 (ill.); Andrae 1939, p. 98, no. 4; Bossert 1951, p. 54, no. 814, pl. 238; Amandry 1958, p. 79, n. 26; Stucchi 1959, p. 165, no. 5, fig. 8 (not from Bethlehem); Barnett 1963, p. 85, pl. XVIId; Torelli 1965, p. 360, n. 70, pl. 79b; Stucky 1974, p. 31, pls. XII, XIII; Walker and Collon 1980. 3. Reese 1988.

57. Shell cosmetic container

Tridacna squamosa shell; H. 8 cm (3 1/8 in.), W. 14.5 cm (5 3/4 in.)

Samos, Heraion

7th century B.C.

Archaeological Museum, Vathy, Samos, Greece
(V 177/A 2406)

Discovered in 1957 in the stream to the west of the South Stoa of the Heraion on Samos, this fragment of a tridacna shell was altered to be used as the lid of a container; only the lower body of the figure depicted on it remains.¹ The exterior surface and the lower half of the interior surface are decorated with incised motifs. On the exterior, a garment is represented by double incised lines framing zones of squares that enclose smaller squares, vertically arranged triangles, and a zigzag line, a pattern flanked by a pair of wings and surrounded by lotus flowers, buds, and leaves. On the interior, double horizontal lines form parallel zones with hatched triangles, repeated double crossed lines, and alternating lotus flowers and leaves.

This piece belongs to a group of exquisitely crafted shells made to resemble winged figures wearing patterned garments. Its original appearance is suggested by a number of other decorated shells from Samos that show a figure with a triangular face, a flat nose rendered in relief, sizable almond-shaped eyes, eyebrows, mouth, and hair, among other incised features.

These shells of exotic origin, native to the Red Sea and Indian Ocean, were used as cosmetic containers in the area of Syria-Palestine.



It seems that during the Orientalizing period, and particularly the seventh century B.C., they traveled to the Aegean, Egypt, Etruria, and Cyrenaica. This example likely arrived at the Heraion from these distant lands as an offering to the goddess Hera.

MV-S

1. Walter and Vierneisel 1959, pp. 40–41, Beil. 84,2; Judith Swaddling in *Principi etruschi* 2000, pp. 131–32, no. 84; Maria Viglaki in *Stampolidis* 2003b, p. 503, no. 952.

58. Shell cosmetic container

Tridacna squamosa shell; H. 13.7 cm (5 3/8 in.), L. 21.8 cm (8 5/8 in.)

Etruria, Vulci

700–650 B.C.

The Trustees of the British Museum, London; Purchased from Dr. Emil Braun (GR 1852.0112.3)

This *Tridacna squamosa* shell served as a container for cosmetics. It is one of more than a hundred extant examples, all produced probably in the first half of the seventh century B.C. and found widely throughout the Mediterranean and the Near East, although this is the only example from Etruria.¹ The apex, or umbo, is carved as a human head, so that the rest of the shell seems to swirl like a cloak, with incised decoration along the edge of the shell forming its decorative border and resembling the figured decoration on Assyrian textiles. Carved on the interior of the shell are two winged sphinxes, oriented upside down in relation to the head, with lotus buds and flowers in the adjacent spaces and a band of hatched or plain triangles framed by parallel lines defining the inner edge of the border. The decoration on

the exterior of the shell is very worn and difficult to make out. The whole has been restored from fragments.

This class of luxury goods seems to have been produced in more than one workshop, but the locations have yet to be identified. Hittite, North Syrian, or Phoenician origins are possible,² while examples in alabaster and limestone found in Jordan are made in imitation of tridacna shells.³ An example from the sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone at Cyrene in North Africa is mended with a lead clamp, an indication that it was sufficiently prized to have been thought worth repairing. That example and others from the same location seem to have been dedicated as heirlooms, since the traditional date for the founding of Cyrene is 631 B.C., when tridacna-shell containers had likely ceased to be made. However, the shells are robust and probably remained in use over a long period of time. Tridacna shells found in Greece were also often dedicated in the sanctuaries of goddesses, presumably along with their contents.⁴

JS

1. The shell was originally believed to have come from the Polledrara tomb at Vulci, but in fact we know only that it comes from the Canino excavations. See Strøm 1971, p. 284, n. 708; Haynes 1977, p. 18; and Rathje 1986, p. 393. For further bibliography, see Stucky 1974 and Swaddling in *Principi etruschi* 2000, p. 132, no. 84. 2. Warden 1990, p. 61. 3. Rathje 1986, pp. 393–94. 4. Warden 1990, p. 62.

PHOENICIAN AND EAST MEDITERRANEAN GLASS

Annie Caubet

Invented in Egypt and the Near East during the second millennium B.C., glass is still an essential part of worldwide material culture. The composition has not changed significantly since antiquity: glass is obtained by melting a silica-containing material (usually sand) mixed with soda or potash and lime at a temperature of about 1,200 degrees Centigrade so that the ingredients become completely fused into a liquid, which is then cooled until it solidifies. The mixture can be colored by the addition of oxides and, in its softened form, is remarkably malleable. It can be rolled into sheets, drawn into tubes, rods, or threads, or pressed into molds; in late antiquity artisans discovered that it could also be blown like a bubble from the end of a pipe.

The most common technique used in the second millennium B.C. was core forming. Craftsmen would trail heated, softened glass around a core of clay, remove the clay when the glass solidified, and then apply rods of different colors on the surface to produce wave, feather, or mosaic effects. This technique continued to be popular in Levantine workshops until the first century B.C., the end of the Hellenistic period (cat. 59). Another method, resulting in what is known as mosaic glass, had been invented by the second millennium B.C. in Egypt and the Near East and was revived and perfected in Roman Egypt before it was adopted in the west. Mosaic glass was made by cutting slices from fragments of monochrome rods or trails that were arranged into patterns, glued, and heated to about 700 degrees Celsius so that they would adhere together.

Glass production subsided for a short period at the end of the second millennium B.C. before a brilliant revival began in the Near East during the ninth century B.C. Glass vessels discovered at Nimrud were part of the spoils that the Assyrians took out of conquered Levantine cities in the late ninth and eighth centuries B.C.¹ Early Levantine workshops were probably responsible for the glass pieces exported to the Aegean sanctuary at Lefkandi.²

During the Neo-Assyrian period, in the late ninth or eighth century B.C., the invention of transparent glass and glass casting brought about major changes in production. A greater mastery of chemical compounds made it possible to obtain transparent glass by adding antimony

oxide as a clarifier and bleaching agent. While traditional glass had imitated the appearance of opaque precious stones like lapis lazuli, turquoise, agate, and carnelian, transparent glass allowed for the imitation of rock crystal. The initial manufacture of such vessels is commonly assigned either to Phoenicia or to Assyria itself (possibly by Phoenician craftsmen working there). In glass casting, the second important technical invention of the time, molten glass was poured into a mold and, when cooled, finished by grinding and polishing. An early Assyrian example, a vessel inscribed with the name of the Assyrian king Sargon II (721–705 B.C.), was possibly cast by the lost-wax technique.³

These technological advances are reflected in two bowls, one found in the city of Eleutherna in Crete (cat. 62) and one at Ialysos in Rhodes (cat. 63), that are both made of transparent glass cast in a mold. Such glass artifacts arrived along with other Near Eastern imports, including Phoenician jars in faience and figurative bronze bowls, and were deposited in elite tombs or offered to sanctuaries. Cast vessels in transparent glass remained extremely rare, the monopoly of Near Eastern workshops, until the Hellenistic period.

Meanwhile, by the end of the sixth century B.C., the island of Rhodes saw the establishment

of new production centers, possibly inspired by Phoenician expatriate artisans and by early first-millennium B.C. core-formed vessels imported from the Levant (cat. 59). Rhodian products were distributed throughout the Mediterranean and were used as funerary and religious offerings (cat. 61). They are characterized by the adoption in glass of shapes from the Greek repertoire of vessels, including the amphoriskos, a jar with two symmetrical handles, and the oinochoe, a spouted jug with one handle for pouring liquids.⁴

Glass vessels were employed for various uses. The small, closed shapes were designed to store perishable liquids. These vessels, especially core-formed jars, were fairly common personal belongings that would have been carried by their owners. So cherished that they would be buried with the dead to be enjoyed in the afterlife, they were considered worthy of being dedicated to the gods. It is not certain whether they contained perfumed oil for toiletries, condiments for food or drink, or medical compounds for use in emergencies. Large, open shapes like the transparent-glass bowls or phiales of the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. (see cat. 62) are extremely rare in this early period and are found only in elite contexts, where they served as vessels for drinking wine at formal banquets.



Fig. 3.56. Phoenician-style glass pendant. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (17.194.720)

Their only counterparts are the Phoenician bowls in metal with figurative decoration.⁵ In their exoticism, technical virtuosity, and novelty, the transparent-glass vessels may well have been as valued as the metal bowls.

Another popular use for glass was as jewelry. Rod-shaped beads were tooled into fine imitations of precious colored stones. While most of these beads were nonfigurative, shapes inspired by astral or floral motifs were not uncommon. Artisans in sixth-century B.C. Carthage designed a distinctive type of figural bead with the appearance of bearded human and animal heads. Boldly assembled from glass rods of different colors with details added in high relief for the eyes and curled hair, these large beads (up to 5 or 6 cm high) and pendants continued to be produced until the fourth century B.C. (fig. 3.56).

Glass also occurs more subtly in a number of artifacts. Furniture and instruments such as fan or mirror handles made of wood or ivory were decorated with glass inlays, as seen in the assemblage of ivories from the palace of Arslan Tash that decorated a bed and thrones seized by the Assyrians from Hazael, king of Aram-Damascus. Furniture legs in the shape of miniature columns with floral capitals were carved of ivory and inlaid with glass and copper to highlight the contrasts of the white ivory, dark blue glass, and golden copper. In some instances, glass was inserted directly into ivory plaques. Several of the woman-at-the-window plaques, which decorated wooden beds and thrones with applied ivory panels, featured glass inlays above the balusters supporting the window. The original bright color of the glass would have provided a striking counterpoint to the ivory background.

We can only speculate on the possible ideological significance possessed by certain of these early glass artifacts. Colors and brilliance played important ideological roles in the ancient world. In Mesopotamian texts, colored stones are associated with the elements and the cosmos, linking blue with water, the sky, and purity, and red with blood.⁶ Homeric texts ignore colors but refer frequently to the brilliance and sheen of weapons, hair, and eyes. It is tempting to assume that the dazzle of glass was the greatest part of its attraction.

The early craftsmen of the first millennium B.C. could not have foretold the long-ranging significance of their accomplishments in the techniques of glassworking. During Hellenistic and Roman times, the Middle Ages, and the modern world, their inventions were perfected, lost, and revived, as they passed from the Near East to the West.

59. Alabastron

Glass and gold; H. 13 cm (5 1/8 in.), max. Diam. 3.4 cm (1 3/8 in.)
Sidon
Phoenician or east Mediterranean, late 6th century B.C.
Musée du Louvre, Paris, Dépôt du Département des Antiquités Égyptiennes au Département des Antiquités Grecques, Étrusques et Romaines (MNC 1664)

The technique of core forming involves trailing hot glass over a core made of clay and sand to form a shape and then removing the core after the glass cools. Core-formed, multicolored vessels and beads were first produced during the Bronze Age, and the technique endured in the Levant until the Hellenistic period, with new shapes added to the repertoire over time. This alabastron,¹ acquired by the Louvre in 1892 and said to be from Sidon/Saida, is a miniature version of a shape that was popular in both Greece and the Near East (see cat. 60). It is made of blue glass with white and yellow bands, with a gold sheet inserted inside the mouth for securing a lid. The two loop handles are in the shape of dolphins.



Miniature glass alabastra were produced in Phoenicia and on the island of Rhodes from the late sixth century B.C. onward. They were widely distributed throughout the eastern Mediterranean, where they were deposited in tombs and sanctuaries.²

AC

1. See Searight, Reade, and Finkel 2008, p. 23, nos. 62–65.

2. Arveiller-Dulong and Nenna 2000, no. 15; Bouquillon et al. 2007, no. 257.

60. Alabastron

Glass; H. 17.8 cm (7 in.), Diam. 6.7 cm (2 5/8 in.)
Cyprus
Phoenician or Assyrian, 8th–7th century B.C.
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; The Cesnola Collection, Purchased by subscription, 1874–76 (74.51.312)

This exceptionally large alabastron, or perfume vase, is among the earliest examples of objects made of clear glass manufactured by casting in a mold and finished by cutting.¹ An alabastron



is a vessel type, found between the eighth century B.C. and the Hellenistic period, characterized by an elongated body, a very narrow neck, and a rounded base. It was specifically designed to hold ointment or oil, since the narrow neck and rimmed mouth allowed for carefully controlled pouring. The term “alabastron” derives from the Greek word “alabaster,” referring to a variety of calcite. In Egypt large funerary vases of that shape were produced in alabaster, while in Greece alabastra painted with ritual scenes were used by those preparing the dead for burial as well as by athletes in the palaestra. In the Near East, alabastra were produced in many different materials, including alabaster but also other fine stones, Egyptian Blue, and clear glass, as in the present example. Many bore inscriptions of Assyrian or Persian rulers that indicated their status as luxury goods.

This example, found in Cyprus, may have been imported from Phoenicia or Assyria along with decorated metal bowls and ivory furniture. A close parallel is the clear-glass alabastron inscribed with the name of the Assyrian king Sargon II (721–705 B.C.) in the British Museum, London.² The shape is also similar to stone vessels from Nineveh dated to the reign of Sennacherib (704–681 B.C.),³ which suggests an early date for this vessel. AC

1. Arveiller-Dulong and Nenna 2000. 2. Myres 1914, no. 5065; *Ars Vitrayia* 2001, p. 19; and Picón et al. 2007, pp. 238, 460, no. 276. 3. Barag 1985a, no. 26.

61. Alabastron

Glass; H. 16 cm (6 1/4 in.), max. Diam. 4.8 cm (1 7/8 in.)
Rhodes, Kameiros
Mesopotamian or Archaic Greek, 650–600 B.C.
The Trustees of the British Museum, London
(GR 1860,0404.97)

This glass alabastron,¹ found at Kameiros on Rhodes (probably in a tomb), is one of a small group of similar vessels that represent the re-introduction to the Mediterranean of core forming,² a manufacturing technique established in the Bronze Age glass workshops of the Near East and later lost.³ At least seven comparable examples have been found on Rhodes, with another from Carthage,⁴ but the technique originated in Mesopotamia, where nine similar alabastra have been identified, at Nimrud, Ur, and Ashur.⁵ The Near Eastern vessels allow the group to be dated to the seventh century B.C.

The vessel was formed around a central core of sand, clay, and some organic matter attached to a metal rod.⁶ The base color, here an opaque black,⁷ was built up by dropping or trailing viscous molten glass onto the core. Decoration

was added by winding on a trail of lighter-colored glass, here white, starting from the base.⁸ On the neck the trail was left as horizontal lines, while on the body, after it was rolled flat (or marvered), the surface was scored with a series of vertical grooves, alternately upward and downward to create a feather pattern and leave a fluted effect of ridges and troughs.⁹ The rolled lip and duck-head handles, with a thick layer of white glass overlaying black, are typical of these vessels and were added last.

We do not know whether this and other pieces from Rhodes were all imported from Mesopotamia or were produced by craftsmen who had migrated to Rhodes to set up a subsidiary workshop.¹⁰ The industry that produced them has no connection in either technique or shape with the brightly colored alabastra, juglets, and amphoriskoi common in Rhodes and elsewhere from around the middle of the sixth century B.C., although it may have been the catalyst for this later industry.¹¹ Rhodes was apparently a distribution and/or manufacturing



center for high-value containers made in techniques foreign to the Greek world and intended to hold expensive perfumed oils, as indicated also by glazed-ware alabastra derived from Mesopotamian types¹² and modeled Egyptianizing faience vases,¹³ both of which were current in the second half of the seventh century B.C., when this core-formed vessel was made. v w

1. Barag 1970, p. 166, no. 7, fig. 70, and p. 174 (object incomplete); Harden 1981, pp. 55–57, no. 80, pl. VII, fig. 5; Barag 1985a, p. 70, no. 50, colorpl. B, pl. 7; Grose 1989, p. 77, fig. 42 (assigned wrong registration number); Tatton Brown and Andrews 1991, p. 41, fig. 44. 2. Higgins 1954, pp. 23–24; Webb 1978, pp. 136–43 especially pp. 138, 143. 3. Barag 1970, pp. 194–97; Harden 1981, pp. 55–57; Barag 1985, pp. 54–55; Webb 1987, pp. 147–49; Grose 1989, pp. 76–79; Tatton Brown and Andrews 1991, p. 40. 4. Barag 1970, p. 167, no. 12; Grose 1989, p. 77, fig. 41. 5. Haller 1954, p. 15, pl. 11c. 6. Bimson and Werner 1969a and 1969b; Barag 1985, p. 31; Grose 1989, p. 31; Gudenrath 1991, pp. 213–41; E. M. Stern and Schlick-Nolte 1994, pp. 28–30, 39–40. 7. This has not been analyzed but may well be a dark purple created with manganese. Moorey 1985, p. 220; Barag 1985, no. 177, from Ur; E. M. Stern and Schlick-Nolte 1994, p. 20. 8. Barag 1970, p. 77; Harden 1981, p. 55. 9. Barag 1985, p. 31. 10. Barag 1970, p. 195; Harden 1981, p. 55. 11. Weinberg 1966; Peltenburg 1969; Harden 1981; Grose 1989; Weinberg and McClellan 1992. 12. Shortland and Schroeder 2009. 13. Webb 1978, pp. 11–71.

62. Fluted omphalos bowl

Glass; Diam. 14 cm (5 1/2 in.), H. 4.2 cm (1 5/8 in.)
Eleutherna, Sector III West, Tomb M
Late 8th–7th century B.C.
Archaeological Museum, Rethymnon, Greece (M Y 747)

This glass bowl was found in an extraordinary built tomb from the site of Eleutherna in which four priestesses or princesses had been buried. The rich assemblage of grave goods contained local and imported Cypro-Phoenician pottery dated before the mid-seventh century B.C., metal vessels, numerous beads in exotic materials such as carnelian and rock crystal, scarabs, Levantine faience vessels, and gold jewelry, some decorated in filigree.

The bowl is an early example of glass cast in a mold and then cut and tooled after it was cold. It was cast from clear glass, an invention attributed either to the Assyrians or to the Phoenician craftsmen who worked for them. The shape is very Near Eastern: Assyrian rulers are often depicted holding such shallow, fluted vessels, which are distinctly different from the handled drinking cups used in the Greek world (see cat. 22). Considering the wealth of expensive and exotic material found in the Eleutherna tomb, it is reasonable to assume that this bowl was an import from the Near East. Broken glass bowls have been found at Gordion in tombs similarly dated to the seventh century B.C., the

period during which there is an archaeological horizon of contacts between Eleutherna and western Anatolia. Nevertheless, it is difficult to decide exactly where the bowl was made and how it ended up in the “princesses” tomb.¹ Chemical analysis and comparisons with objects such as the Gordion bowls may shed more light on its provenance. NS

1. See Stampolidis 2012a, pp. 175–233, and no. 45; see also Stampolidis 2014a (forthcoming).

63. Bowl with floral design

Glass; H. 3.4 cm (1 3/8 in.), Diam. 10 cm (4 in.)
Rhodes, Kremasti, Grave 163
Late 5th–early 4th century B.C.
Archaeological Museum, Rhodes, Greece (Y 854)

This shallow cast-glass bowl was found during Italian excavations of a cemetery dating to the Late Classical period in the area of Kremasti,¹ in northwest Rhodes. It was placed as a burial offering in an undisturbed tomb. Discovered intact, the bowl is richly decorated and has been assigned to the Rhodian Achaemenid type,² a form of cast-glass vessel almost exclusive to Rhodes. At the bowl’s center is an undecorated, concave shieldlike medallion surrounded by eight engraved schematic pointed petals, imitating those of the Egyptian water lily (*Nymphaea caerulea*). The grooved petals were wheel cut and decorated with three or four ribs, placed asymmetrically. The spaces between the tips of the petals were left undecorated and outlined by a shallow rope-like motif, engraved by a wheel, that delineates the edge of the design.

The bowl demonstrates two technical advances in the history of glassmaking: the invention of clear glass, and the technique of casting, both of which were perfected by Assyrian and Phoenician craftsmen in the seventh century B.C. and further developed in Rhodes during the late sixth century B.C. Rhodian cast-and cut-glass containers were exported throughout the Greek world, where they were dedicated in sanctuaries as offerings to the gods and buried as grave goods for the dead. PT

1. Maiuri and Jacopich 1928, p. 159. 2. Triantafyllidis 2000a; Triantafyllidis 2000b, pp. 140–41, no. 8, pl. II.8.



THE LANDS OF THE BIBLE

Amihai Mazar

The phrase “Lands of the Bible” refers here to the geographic area that today encompasses Israel, Jordan, and the Palestinian Authority. This is a small region, extending about 60 kilometers from the Mediterranean coast to the fringe of the eastern desert of Jordan and about 200 kilometers north to south along the length of the Mediterranean coast, where a temperate climate enables permanent settlement. Geographically, it is a heterogeneous land, divided into several zones from west to east: the coastal plain, the foothills, the central mountain ridge (Galilee, Samaria, and Judah), the Judean Desert and the semiarid zone east of Samaria, the Rift Valley, the Transjordanian highlands, and the eastern desert of Jordan. The Jezreel Valley creates a natural passage between the coastal plain and the Jordan Valley.¹

As a bridge between Egypt and Syria/Mesopotamia and between the sea and the desert, this territory opened the door to a variety of influences and cultural connections. International roads linked Egypt with Syria and Mesopotamia and Syria with Arabia, while maritime routes between the Levant, Egypt, and the eastern Mediterranean enabled international trade and other interconnections. Settlement in the semiarid desert fringes of the northern Negev and southern Moab in Transjordan fluctuated, depending on climatic conditions and the support of a central authority, but in the arid zones further south the prevailing harsh ecological conditions permitted only occasional settlement. Pastoralists lived in these regions in symbiosis with the sedentary societies of the Mediterranean climate zone, and the balance between these groups was marred in times of climatic or political crisis, altering the historical and social framework. Following the collapse of the Bronze Age political order during the twelfth century B.C., for example, new ethnic and political entities emerged. From the tenth to the sixth century B.C., these new entities carved the land into small independent polities: Israel, Judah, Ammon, Moab, Edom, the southern Aramaean states, and the Philistine and Phoenician city-states. Each of these units developed its own identity, language, religious beliefs, cultural traditions, and economic interests.

The Question of the United Monarchy of David and Solomon

The Bible records that Israel emerged in this region during the “Period of the Judges” as a tribal society whose people settled in villages and small towns mainly in the central hills of Judah, Samaria, and the Galilee. This pattern of settlement is supported by vast archaeological evidence. According to the biblical narrative and its chronology, that society was replaced by a monarchic regime toward the end of the eleventh century B.C., when Saul ruled over large parts of the country. David founded a new dynasty, centered in Jerusalem, which continued to be the capital of Judah and was ruled by the House of David until its fall in 586 B.C. David is said to have conquered large parts of the region (excluding Philistia) and was an ally of Toi, king of Hamath, in Syria. Solomon is said to have built the temple and a palace in Jerusalem as well as several administrative and military centers. This narrative of a “United Monarchy” that ruled both Israel and Judah in the tenth century B.C. is, however, subject to contradictory evaluations.²

Conservative views accept the biblical narrative as is; more critical views suggest that the stories constitute a saga that retains kernels of a historical situation; even more radical views claim that the biblical description is totally unreliable as a historical source. Although archaeology, it would seem, should provide an essential element in resolving this debate, there are serious disagreements among archaeologists as to the interpretation of the data. Among the most contentious issues are the date and significance of large structures in Jerusalem; the date of fortifications and public architecture at major sites such as Hazor, Megiddo, and Gezer (compare 1 Kings 9:15–17); and demography, urbanism, and literacy. The present author believes that recent research supports the option that such a “United Monarchy” indeed existed, although its scope remains a topic for future study.³

The Northern Kingdom of Israel

According to the Bible, from the last quarter of the tenth century B.C. Israel was split into two states: the northern kingdom of Israel and the southern kingdom of Judah. This historical situation is supported by epigraphic and archaeological data.⁴

Two stone royal inscriptions commemorate historical events in the ninth century B.C.: the first describes the liberation of territories north of the Arnon River from the yoke of the Omride dynasty of Israel by Mesha, king of Moab, and the second commemorates a war between an Aramaean king, most probably Hazael of Aram-Damascus, against a king of Israel and a king of *btvdv* (“The House of David”), referring to Judah (cat. 64). This title confirms that David’s dynasty was well known in the region by the mid-ninth century B.C. In addition, an Assyrian royal inscription mentions Ahab as a member of a coalition who fought Shalmaneser III in 853 B.C., and the Israelite king Jehu is shown on the Black Obelisk surrendering to the same Assyrian ruler (fig. 3.57).

The northern kingdom of Israel survived for about two hundred years. Its capital for most of that period was at Samaria (fig. 3.58), but a second royal palace was built at Jezreel. Excavations of both palaces revealed well-planned and fortified rectangular enclosures comprising royal architecture, including ashlar masonry. Stone capitals carved in the so-called Proto-Aeolic style decorated the palace of Samaria as well as other public buildings in Israel. Ivories carved in the Phoenician style found in Samaria reflect the close connections between the royal dynasties of Israel and the Phoenician cities of Tyre and Sidon (see cat. 65a–e), while ostraca from Samaria are evidence for scribal schools and administration. Other major sites in northern Israel, including Dan, Hazor, Megiddo, and Tel Rehov, revealed evidence for various aspects of the kingdom’s material culture, including massive fortifications, underground water-supply projects, and royal stables and storehouses. A temple discovered at Dan can be identified with the temple of Dan mentioned in the Bible. Cult objects, clay figurines, stone seals, and imported pottery of Phoenician, Cypriot, and Greek manufacture are evidence of thriving international connections.



Fig. 3.57. Detail of Black Obelisk (fig. 2.8)



Fig. 3.58. Site view of Samaria

Judah

The kingdom of Judah was located in a much less hospitable environment than its northern counterpart. The Judean hills are poor in natural resources and are bordered by deserts on the east and south. The Shephelah foothills, the most convenient area for settlement, was a border zone with the Philistine cities Gath and Ekron.

The heart of Judah was its capital, Jerusalem, which gradually grew from a small town of about 4 hectares in the early tenth century B.C. to a large city of some 70 hectares in the eighth and seventh centuries B.C., when it became the largest city in the southern Levant.⁵ Monumental architecture discovered south of the Temple Mount was possibly constructed in the late tenth or ninth century B.C.; this was probably the southern part of the royal enclosure of Jerusalem, which continued toward the Temple Mount, where the royal palace and temple stood. During the eighth century B.C., Jerusalem expanded to the western hill (today’s Mount Zion, the Jewish and Armenian quarters of the Old City), where massive fortifications have been unearthed. The Siloam tunnel, a unique water tunnel that brought the water of the Gihon spring into the fortified city, was probably cut by Hezekiah in the late



Fig. 3.59. Terracotta nude female figure. Lachish. Iron Age II. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Gift of Harris D. and H. Dunscombe Colt, 1934 (34.126.53)

eighth century B.C. as part of the king's preparations for a revolt against Assyria, which was realized in 701 B.C.

Attempts to conquer Jerusalem that year by the Assyrian king Sennacherib failed (cat. 14), and the city continued to flourish during the seventh century B.C.

Jerusalem's preeminence during this period is reflected in many biblical passages. The city became an important center of spiritual creativity; the prophets Isaiah and Jeremiah lived there, and Josiah's religious reform during the second half of the seventh century B.C. is thought to have been an important stage in the development of Jewish monotheism. Early versions of many biblical books were probably first written during this time. Thus, in spite of being the capital of a small vassal state of Assyria for much of this period, Jerusalem and its denizens contributed to humanity many of the values and much of the ideology and literature represented in the Hebrew Bible.

The largest city in Judah after Jerusalem was Lachish, which occupied about 8 hectares on the country's southwestern border. The other Judean towns were no more than 3 hectares in area, and many of them were destroyed during Sennacherib's attack in 701 B.C., which devastated Judah. Indeed, during the seventh century B.C. large parts of the Shephelah were abandoned. Areas in the northern Negev and the Judean Desert developed at this time, however, and managed to take part in the international trade with Arabia, Transjordan, and the Mediterranean coast. A seventh-century B.C. royal palace at Ramat Rahel, south of Jerusalem, was inspired by the palace of Samaria, although the latter had been destroyed decades earlier. In addition to ashlar masonry

and Proto-Aeolic capitals, it yielded a stone window balustrade curved in a style recalling Phoenician ivories (cat. 68). Fortresses like the one uncovered at Arad indicate a central administration and a well-organized military system in the kingdom.

Intensive archaeological research has yielded considerable data on many aspects of Judah, including the kingdom's social structure, religion, trade relations, agriculture, and burial customs.⁶ Notable are hundreds of clay figurines showing a female with a "pillar-like" body (possibly a tree trunk?), indicating that in the realm of popular religion the worship of fertility goddesses was still practiced in Judean homes (fig. 3.59). Judah appears to have been a highly literate society in this period, as evidenced by a large number of inscriptions, although most writing was probably made on perishable materials that were not preserved. Some of the names found on seals and seal impressions are of persons known from the Bible.

Philistia

The city-states of Gaza, Ashkelon, Ashdod, Gath, and Ekron are mentioned in the Bible as being established by the Philistines, immigrants of eastern Mediterranean origin who are also mentioned in twelfth-century B.C. Egyptian texts (see "Sea Peoples and Philistines" in this volume, pp. 38–42). Archaeological research in Philistia confirmed the Aegean and Cypriot traditions brought by these immigrants and the urban nature of their culture from the twelfth through the eleventh centuries B.C. Later, they gradually underwent a process of acculturation, losing much of their original traits, but they maintained their autonomy and local material culture. Gath, one of the most important Philistine cities, was destroyed during the second half of the ninth century B.C., in accord with the biblical reference which mentions its destruction by Hazael, king of Aram-Damascus (2 Kings 12:18). Ashdod continued to survive into the ninth or eighth century B.C., until it was destroyed by Sargon II, king of Assyria, while Ekron and Ashkelon flourished as industrial and commercial centers throughout the seventh century B.C.⁷

Transjordanian States: Ammon, Moab, and Edom

Of the three Transjordanian states, Ammon is the least known.⁸ Few remains date prior to the seventh century B.C., although excavations at the site of the capital, Rabath-Ammon (modern Amman), have uncovered evidence of continuous occupation during the Iron Age. Finds from the seventh century B.C. in Ammon include circular fortresses in

the vicinity of the capital, several inscriptions and seals, and an exceptional group of stone statues representing male and female figures, perhaps members of the royal family.

The earliest evidence for a Moabite political entity is in the form of fortified settlements along the Arnon River (Wadi Mujib), tentatively dated to the eleventh century B.C. The area north of the Arnon was under Israelite control for a short time during the ninth century B.C., until it was conquered by the Moabite king Mesha, who built Dibon as the capital of Moab; his commemorative stele found at Dibon is the longest Iron Age inscription from the southern Levant.

The earliest evidence of Edom comes from the large-scale copper-mining complex at Feinan, in the western foothills of the Edom Mountains, which operated from the late eleventh through the ninth century B.C. A large fortress there is evidence of some central administration, perhaps the core of a tribal state.⁹ The highland of Edom was settled only later, during the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. At the capital, Buseirah (biblical Bozrah), palaces were inspired by Assyrian palace architecture. During the seventh century B.C., many sites at Edom were founded on remote rock scarps, perhaps as a means of defense. Edom played an important role in the trade between southern Arabia and the Mediterranean coast. Two shrines built along trade routes in the Arabah Valley and in the northern Negev probably served camel caravans that participated in this trade. The richly decorated cult objects found in these shrines may possibly appear to represent Edomite art of this period, although the ethnic identification of the artists is still debated (cat. 73a, b).

The Assyrian and Babylonian Domination

From the mid-ninth until the mid-seventh century B.C. the Assyrian empire left its impact on the entire Near East, including the southern Levant. The first military clashes occurred in Syria during the time of Shalmaneser III, including the battle of Qarqar in 853 B.C. Between 732 and 701 B.C., the northern kingdom of Israel, the Philistine cities, and Judah were attacked by Assyria. The result was the total devastation of northern Israel as well as the exile of much of its population and their replacement by a new, exogenous population, although many of the cities remained abandoned after the conquest. The Philistine city-states Ashdod, Ashkelon, Gaza, and Ekron surrendered in 714–712 B.C. The latter three continued to survive as vassal city-states, enjoying economic prosperity during the seventh century B.C. by securing the route to Egypt and serving Assyrian economic interests. Jerusalem survived the disaster of Sennacherib's attack on Judah in



Fig. 3.60. Site view of Lachish showing Assyrian siege ramp

701 B.C., following the revolt initiated by Hezekiah, but after conquering Lachish and devastating Judah, Sennacherib subordinated Judean territories in the Shephelah to the Philistine city of Ekron. The conquest of Lachish is well documented in Assyrian texts, in a large Assyrian relief found in Sennacherib's palace at Nineveh (ill. pp. 110–11), in the Bible, and by archaeological discoveries at Lachish, where the only Assyrian siege ramp known today was found (fig. 3.60).¹⁰

The Assyrian domination of the region finds expression in numerous archaeological finds.¹¹ For example, several palaces were designed after an Assyrian model, notably at Megiddo, which became the center of an Assyrian administrative district. In the northwestern Negev, Assyrian forts and trading posts were associated with the road to Egypt, the ultimate goal of Assyrian expansion. Assyrian finds such as Assyrian “Palace Ware,” seals, and administrative texts on clay tablets are additional evidence of the Assyrian domination until about 640–630 B.C., when the empire weakened and retreated from the region.

Subsequent to the end of the Assyrian regime, a short period of Egyptian intervention in the coastal plain was followed by the rise of the Babylonian empire. The Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar II had no interest, however, in maintaining the independent Philistine states and Judah. In 605 B.C. he devastated Ekron and Ashkelon; in 597 B.C. he attacked Jerusalem and exiled its king and nobles; and in 586 B.C. the Babylonian army destroyed Jerusalem and most of Judah, exiling the elite to Mesopotamia. Archaeological excavations at these sites have revealed violent destructions followed by gaps in occupation, although in certain parts of the northern coastal plain, in a small region north of Jerusalem, and in Transjordan, there was some settlement continuity throughout the Babylonian period.

64. "House of David" inscription

Basalt; H. 35 cm (13¾ in.), W. 40 cm (15¾ in.)

Tel Dan

Iron Age II, ca. 830 B.C.

The Israel Museum, Jerusalem (IAA 1993-3162, 1996-125)

This unique inscription commemorates the military victories of Hazael, king of Aram-Damascus. It is famous for bearing the only reference to the Davidic dynasty outside of the Bible.¹ Its sensational discovery at Tel Dan, the northernmost city of the kingdom of Israel, has inspired much research regarding its direct and indirect implications.² There is no doubt, however, that the inscription is one of the most important artifacts ever found in relation to the Bible.

The stele is written in Aramaic; only thirteen lines of the original text have survived. It was engraved in alphabetic script on a large monumental slab (stele), which had been smoothed for writing, and the words were separated by dots. Three fragments of this royal inscription have been found thus far. The first was exposed in 1993, embedded into a wall in a secondary use, while the two smaller fragments were unearthed a year later, one in debris, the other set in a paved floor. That all three pieces were uncovered near the main gate of Tel Dan suggests that the stele was originally erected at the entrance of the city, to be seen by all who passed it, the local population as well as foreigners.

The inscription can be read as follows:

[. . .] and cut [. . .] my father went up
[against him when] he fought at [. . .]
And my father lay down, he went to his
[ancestors]. And the king of Is[rael]
entered previously in my father's land.
[And] Hadad made me king. And Hadad
went in front of me, [and] I departed
from [the] seven [. . .]s of my kingdom,
and I slew [seve]nty kings, who harnessed
thou[sands of cha]riots and thousands of
horsemen (or: horses). [I killed Jeho]ram
son of [Ahab] king of Israel, and [I]
killed [Abaz]iahu son of [Jehoram kin]g
of the House of David. And I set [their
towns into ruins and turned] their land
into [desolation . . .] other [. . .] and Jehu
ruled over Is[rael] . . . and I laid] siege
upon [. . .]³

Although the name of the king who erected this stele was not preserved, the historical events mentioned in the text leave no doubt that it was Hazael, who ruled in the last third of the ninth century B.C. Known from Assyrian and Aramaic sources as a great conqueror, Hazael is portrayed in the Bible as the bitter enemy of Israel,



Judah, and the Philistines. Moreover, archaeological excavations in Israel have revealed numerous destruction layers that are dated to the Aramaean wars conducted by him. Phoenician Dor and Horvat Rosh-Zayit as well as Philistine Gath were set on fire, but Hazael's main target was the kingdom of Israel, where Jezreel, Megiddo, Ta'anach, Yoqne'am, Beth Shean, Rehov, and Hazor were all devastated by his mighty power.⁴

In the inscription, Hazael boasts of his many victories and especially of killing Joram of Israel and Ahaziah of the "House of David" (Judah). This account corresponds to the biblical verses in 2 Kings 9:24–28, which state that the two kings of Israel and Judah were murdered on the same day. However, while in the Bible it was Jehu who slaughtered them as part of his revolt and subsequently seized the throne of Israel, the stele leaves no uncertainty concerning the true assassin. In light of this reconstruction of events, we would have to assume that the biblical narrative was written down a long time after the events it described, by which time the historical memory had faded.⁵

The complete length of the inscription and the content of its lower part are unknown. Since it resembles in many respects the famous Moabite Mesha Stele (Musée du Louvre, Paris), dated close in time to the inscription from Tel Dan, one can reasonably assume that both inscriptions, though commencing with the kings' victories over their enemies, described royal building projects and were raised as part of monumental constructions.⁶

The stele was smashed in ancient times, and its fragments were reused as building stones as early as the eighth century B.C. Who shattered it

and why are unknown. At the beginning of the eighth century B.C., during the days of Hazael's successor, Bar-Hadad, Aram-Damascus was defeated by the Assyrians. Subsequently, Joash, king of Israel and grandson of Jehu, who battled the Aramaean forces, was able to conquer the city of Dan. It seems logical that, after the Israelite occupation, the stele, which was a symbol of Aramaean supremacy, would be smashed and its fragments reused for construction material.

The main importance of the stele is undoubtedly its unique reference to the Davidic dynasty. The inscription is dramatic evidence that was set in stone only some one hundred fifty years after the reign of David. The fact that Judah is referred to with only a mention of its ruling house is clear indication that the "House of David" was known throughout the region and that the king's reputation was not a literary invention of a much later period. This clearly validates the biblical description of a figure named David becoming the founder of the dynasty of Judahite kings in Jerusalem.⁷ EA

1. Biran and Naveh 1993; Biran and Naveh 1995. 2. E.g., Yamada 1995; Schniedewind 1996; Lemaire 1998; Dion 1999; Athas 2003; Na'aman 2006, pp. 147–210. 3. Translation by the author. 4. Finkelstein and Piasezky 2007, pp. 270–73. 5. Na'aman 2006, pp. 183–84. 6. Arie 2008, p. 35. 7. Finkelstein and Silberman 2002, pp. 128–30.

THE SAMARIA IVORIES

65a–e. Plaques

Ivory

- a. H. 8.7 cm (3 3/8 in.), W. 7 cm (2 3/4 in.)
- b. H. 4.2 cm (1 5/8 in.), W. 11.8 cm (4 5/8 in.)
- c. H. 17.6 cm (6 7/8 in.), W. 3.4 cm (1 3/8 in.)
- d. H. 6.2 cm (2 1/2 in.), W. 5.4 cm (2 1/8 in.)
- e. H. 5.1 cm (2 in.), W. 8 cm (3 1/8 in.)

Samaria

Ca. 9th–8th century B.C.

The Israel Museum, Jerusalem (IAA 1933-2572, -2552, -2565, -2574, -2550)

The Samaria ivories are typical examples of the flourishing manufacture of ivory objects in the Iron Age Levant, which revived the Late Bronze Age production. The Levant had a long-standing tradition of ivory carving, perhaps because now-extinct hippopotami were native to the marshy areas and interior lakes along the Levantine coast and the Orontes River. From the Chalcolithic to the Late Bronze Age, most Levantine ivories were made of hippopotamus teeth, while elephant tusk prevailed in the Iron Age.¹ The change in material must be related not only to the extinction of Levantine hippopotami but also to the new possibilities of the

far-reaching trade network that the Phoenicians established.²

The origin and date of Iron Age Levantine ivories are difficult to determine. The vast majority were carried off to Assyrian capitals; more than six thousand ivories were found in Nimrud, for example. Moreover, as the Levantine kingdoms were multiethnic and multicultural, local styles cannot have been the ruling principle.³ Artisans residing in ancient Israel could have been Israelites or Aramaeans or Phoenicians, and it is questionable whether their origins would have significantly affected their work. Although many “individual” styles seemed to have existed when compared with the “international” style of the Late Bronze Age,⁴ it is difficult to demarcate distinct groups. The larger classification into three regional styles—North Syrian, Phoenician, South Syrian—with overlapping boundaries seems more suitable.⁵

The Samaria ivories represent the largest assemblage of Iron Age Levantine ivories from the Levant itself.⁶ Found within the Israelite royal compound on the summit, they came to light in disturbed levels, mixed with Hellenistic and Roman debris,⁷ which precluded not only an analysis of consumption patterns but also a specification of their date of deposition. They



A

were most likely used by the royal court sometime between Omri's founding of the capital and the Assyrian occupation.⁸ The architecture at Samaria does not help to narrow the date beyond the ninth through the eighth century B.C., since the excavations have not established any direct evidence for a refined dating of the Iron Age levels.⁹



B



C

D

E

The discovery of carved ivory at Samaria was immediately associated with Ahab's "ivory house" (1 Kings 22:39), which some excavators imagined as a "house with ivory let into the paneling round the walls."¹⁰ The actual objects, however, speak against a literal interpretation. The vast majority are either partial or complete panels that were inlaid in wooden furniture, as suggested by comparison with better-preserved pieces from other sites; their small size alone precludes wall paneling, which is not otherwise attested. In addition, there are bosses, moldings, and other fittings that are difficult to identify, though probably also parts of furniture.

The openwork panels (cat. 65a, b) were affixed by means of tenons on their sides or on the top and bottom, whereas the relief panels (cat. 65c, e) have striated backs and were evidently glued. One panel (cat. 65d) has the shape of a leaf on a rectangular base, a convex reverse, a tenon slot cut into the top, and three parallel strokes on the bottom that probably served as fitter's marks; the precise function of this and similar unusually shaped panels remains obscure.¹¹

Most Samaria ivories are carved in solid or openwork relief, and only a relatively small group is inlaid in the *champlevé* or *cloisonné* technique. The former can largely be attributed to the South Syrian style, the latter to the Phoenician. There are no unequivocally North Syrian pieces.

The striding sphinx against a floral background is perhaps the most ubiquitous motif on Iron Age Levantine ivories. The sphinx stands for royalty and the abundant vegetation for



Fig. 3.62. Detail of reconstructed faience lotiform chalice. Thebes. Third Intermediate Period or later. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Purchase, Edward S. Harkness Gift, 1926 (26.7.979); Theodore M. Davis Collection, Bequest of Theodore M. Davis, 1915 (30.8.153); Purchase, Lila Acheson Wallace Gift, 1985 (1985.163.5-.7); Purchase, Nathaniel Spear, Jr. Gift, 1986 (1986.18.2-.4)

prosperity. A typical South Syrian exemplar (cat. 65a) is squat with a beaky nose and puffy cheeks and includes somewhat distorted Egyptianizing details, such as the crown or headcloth.¹² Animal combat scenes, an old Mesopotamian theme, embodied the antithesis of nature and culture and can be associated with the king's role as protector. The animals in one such panel from Samaria (cat. 65b) exhibit modeled bodies rather than the incised musculature typical of the North Syrian "animal style."¹³

The palmette, another popular motif on Levantine ivories, occurs in large numbers and in various forms on the Samaria assemblage. The form and composition of the superimposed palmette trees (cat. 65c) are unique, and the carving of this panel is much more delicate compared to the set of three Nimrud panels that depict superimposed palmettes combined with rampant griffins.¹⁴

Egyptianizing *cloisonné* panels are characteristic of Phoenician work. The Samaria pieces have parallels at Nimrud: the unusually shaped panel depicting the infant Horus on a lotus flower (cat. 65d), for example, is comparable to a plaque from Corridor E at Fort Shalmaneser's Residency (fig. 3.61).¹⁵ Another panel (cat. 65e) depicts part of a row of Heh figures very similar to those on two plaques from Room SW 37.¹⁶ Both motifs reflect ancient Egyptian royal ideology, which was known in the Levant (fig. 3.62).

The Samaria ivories are often considered Phoenician imports.¹⁷ The large number of South Syrian pieces, however, speaks against a wholesale import from the Phoenician coast. Moreover, pieces of unworked tusk have been

found at Samaria.¹⁸ Even though Israel entertained relations with Tyre, it certainly had independent means for specialized craft. At the same time, the Samaria assemblage may have included diplomatic gifts or booty from other Levantine states, while the Nimrud ivories probably include loot from Samaria.

Ahab's "ivory house" must be understood, then, in a figurative sense as a palace full of ivory-inlaid furniture. Ivory carvings were prestige goods made for society's elite. Not only the Assyrian kings' efforts to amass Levantine ivories but also the Bible and Homer confirm their ideological value: they could symbolize magnificence and wealth or ostentation and social injustice.¹⁹ The latter was the case in the eyes of the prophet Amos, who attributed the fall of Israel to the ostentatious lifestyle of its kings, which included reclining on "beds of ivory" (Amos 6:4-7).

cs

1. Caubet and Poplin 1987. 2. On the latter, see Aubet 2013. 3. See, for example, the Kilamuwa relief orthostat, discussed in Brown 2008. 4. See, for example, Caubet 2013. 5. Suter 2010. 6. While the Harvard Expedition found a handful in 1909-10 (Reisner, Fisher, and Lyon 1924, p. 368, pls. 56, 66), the Joint Expedition (Harvard University, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Palestine Exploration Fund, British Academy, British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem) uncovered innumerable, mainly small fragments in 1932-35 (J. Crowfoot and G. Crowfoot 1938). On the total amount of the only partially published ivories, see Suter 2010, p. 993. 7. Tappy 2006. 8. On the history of Israel, see Liverani 2005 and Na'aman 2006. 9. Finkelstein 2011. 10. J. Crowfoot and G. Crowfoot 1938, pp. 1-4. 11. See Herrmann and Laidlaw 2013, p. 43. 12. Good parallels can be found among Herrmann's Beaky Nose group; see *ibid.*, p. 89, fig. 4h. 13. Good parallels can be found among what Herrmann originally defined as the Drilled Eye group; see *ibid.*, p. 91, fig. 4k. 14. *Ibid.*, nos. 228-30. 15. *Ibid.*, p. 41, fig. 21. 16. Iraq Museum, ND 13027; British Institute, ND 7683; and Herrmann and Laidlaw 2013, p. 29, fig. 2b. 17. See, for example, Barnett 1982, p. 49. 18. J. Crowfoot and G. Crowfoot 1938, pl. 22:3. 19. Aubet 2001, pp. 47-48.

66. Inlaid bracelet with child on lotus

Gold, lapis lazuli, and glass; H. 4.2 cm (1 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.),
Diam. 6 cm (2 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.)
Egypt, Sais
Early Dynasty 22, ca. 940-900 B.C.
The Trustees of the British Museum, London (EA 14595)

This bracelet is one of a pair collected by Sir Charles Augustus Murray, former British consul general in Egypt, before 1850. In the archives of the British Museum both are recorded as having come from Sais in the Nile Delta, but no details of the circumstances of their discovery are known. The bracelet is made from two pieces of sheet gold of unequal size, hinged together by retractable pins, which also serve to fasten it. The exterior surfaces are decorated in *cloisonné* work, which was originally filled with lapis



Fig. 3.61. Phoenician-style ivory furniture plaque with child Horus seated on a lotus. Nimrud, Fort Shalmaneser, East Corridor. Neo-Assyrian period. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Rogers Fund, 1959 (59.107.16)



lazuli and polychrome glass. Very similar bracelets were found on the mummy of a king, Heqakheperre Sheshonq (often identified as Sheshonq II) at Tanis.¹

Incised into the inner surface of both bracelets is a hieroglyphic inscription stating that they were “made by (or “for”) the King’s-Son-of-Ramesses, the leader of the whole army, Nimlot, true-of-voice, whose mother was the daughter of the Great Chief of the Meshwesh [a Libyan tribe] Patareshnes.”² This same Nimlot is known from a statue and a fragmentary naophorous sculpture; inscriptions on the latter identify his father as a king, Sheshonq, one of the pharaohs of Dynasty 22, who were of Libyan ancestry.³ The king in this instance may be Sheshonq I (ca. 945–924 B.C.), who is known to have appointed a son named Nimlot as governor of Herakleopolis.

The main scene on the bracelet’s exterior shows a male child-deity, nude, shaven-headed except for a single curling sidelock, and holding one finger against his lip—all three being conventions for depicting children in Egyptian art. He squats on an open lily (also called a lotus) flower and is flanked by *uraeus* serpents with solar discs on their heads that represent the protective goddesses of Upper and Lower Egypt. The image of a child-god squatting on a lotus was widely used in the Libyan period in Egypt (Dynasties 21 to 24), when it occurs on faience lotiform chalices with relief decoration, open-work spacer beads, and amuletic plaques.⁴ It is also found outside Egypt, on Phoenician metal vessels and on ivory carvings from the Near East.⁵ In some of these images the child probably represents the sun god, who according to creation mythology was born from a lotus flower that emerged from the primeval waters of Nun.⁶ The child-god is sometimes clearly

identified with the king, and this association is alluded to here by the royal *uraeus* on his brow and the crook-shaped scepter that he holds. Although the symbolic links between the king and the solar creator are strong, the image may also refer to the myth of the childhood of the god Horus, who was raised in the Delta marshes as heir of his father, Osiris.⁷ JHT

1. Andrews 1990, p. 155. 2. G. Tait 1963, p. 134 and n. 14; Jansen-Winkel 2007, p. 85. 3. Jansen-Winkel 2007, pp. 84–85. 4. G. Tait 1963, pp. 113–15, 120–21, 130, 134–35, pls. XVII, XX, XXIV; Fazzini 1988, pp. 8–9, pl. III. 5. Fazzini 1988, p. 8. 6. See G. Tait 1963, pp. 134–35. 7. Wilkinson 2003, p. 146.

67. Temple pendant of the god Herishef

Gold; H. 6 cm (2 3/8 in.)
 Egypt, Herakleopolis (Ihnasya el-Medina), Temple of Herishef
 Third Intermediate Period, reign of Peftjaubast at Herakleopolis (ca. 733 B.C.)
 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; Egyptian Exploration Fund by subscription (06.2408)

Herishef, foremost deity of the old and important city of Herakleopolis, was identified with aspects of the gods Re and Amun. This statuette of Herishef was excavated in the hypostyle hall of the god’s temple in Herakleopolis in 1903–4.¹ He appears as a man with the head of a straight-horned ram and wears an *atef* crown. In his frequently assigned capacity of divine king, Herishef is shown trampling nine bows representing Egypt’s traditional enemies. The statuette’s fine figural style reveals the interest in Old Kingdom models that manifested in eighth-century B.C. Egypt, specifically the broad

shoulders, chest with a strong median line, narrow waist above wide hips, and modeled musculature.² The underside is inscribed: “King of Upper and Lower Egypt Neferkare Son of Re Peftjaubast, beloved of Herishef King of the Two Lands, Ruler of [the two banks], given life; may Somtous (Egyptian Sema-tawy, son of Herishef) give life and health to Neferubast[?].” The findspot, inscription, and loop behind the crown, from which the statuette could have been suspended, point to its identification as a temple pendant, donated perhaps to be worn by a cult officiant, a statue, or a processional barque.³ The name of Neferkare Peftjaubast, whom the Kushite ruler Piye encountered during his pacification campaign in 733 B.C., closely dates the piece.

Herakleopolis, located on the Nile below the Fayum entrance area and at the head of Upper Egypt, apparently had major significance for the Libyan family that had established Dynasty 22. Until Peftjaubast styled himself “king” as Egypt’s political splintering progressed, the city was overseen by a governor who was a member of the Libyan ruling family and was the burial place of members of the family. Key for the control of Thebes, Herakleopolis was also the repository of considerable wealth.⁴ Phoenician pottery found at Herakleopolis by recent excavations indicates trade between Egypt and the Phoenicians and suggests the possible presence of the latter at Herakleopolis between 850 and 732 B.C.⁵ A recent study points to elements in Phoenician art that might evince influence from Herakleopolitan imagery, most obviously the ram-headed figures (albeit with curled horns) (see fig. 3.33) and representations of Somtous, Herishef’s son, using the iconography of a child on a lotus.⁶ The proposal is attractive, as the special importance of the city and of these gods

would provide an environment with many levels of access to this imagery. Supposing actual traders or emissaries were in the city, the imagery could have been captured directly either on royal gifts, such as jewelry, or more widely distributed small items that traveled to Phoenicia. But such imagery would also have permeated the city visually. The ram-headed god, for instance, would have appeared on the temple pylons in a large format and on the ornate shrine of the divine processional barque—in conjunction with other elements that likewise appear in Phoenician art⁷—as it traveled among the populace on festival days. In this way, the imagery might have resonated with the ideas or beliefs of foreign visitors. Related figures appearing throughout Egypt in a wide range of media and with varying degrees of public visibility and exportability—such as barque shrines, textiles, faience cups and jewelry, coffins, and funerary items—would no doubt have further disseminated the imagery.⁸ MH

1. Petrie 1905, pp. 18–19, pl. I; Raphaële Meffre, “Statuette d’Hérichief,” in Perdu 2012, pp. 214–15. 2. Russmann 1981, pp. 154–55. 3. Perdu 2003, pp. 160–62; Hill 2007b. 4. Jansen-Winkel 2006; Pérez Die 2009. 5. Gubel 2009, p. 323, citing the Spanish excavators. 6. *Ibid.*, pp. 321–40. 7. Karlshausen 2009, plates. 8. Fazzini 1988; J. H. Taylor 2003; Hill 2007a, p. 63 n. 7; J. H. Taylor 2009.

68. Window balustrade

Limestone; H. 37 cm (14 $\frac{5}{8}$ in.), L. 125 cm (49 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.)
Ramat Rahel
Ca. mid 7th–4th century B.C.
The Israel Museum, Jerusalem (IAA 1964-1286)

Excavations conducted at Ramat Rahel in the 1960s revealed fragments of this balustrade.¹ Its

identification and restoration were based on balustrades depicted on ivory plaques of the “woman at the window” type (cats. 51b, 173, fig. 3.31). Two openwork balustrades were reconstructed from the fragments,² but new excavations have recently recovered more pieces.³ The balustrade displayed here is the most complete extant example.⁴

Each baluster is made up of two stone elements, a pillar and a capital. The upper section of each pillar is decorated with a girdle of eight pendant leaves, with two narrow bands above and one wide band between two narrow ones below. Each pillar is pierced through by a small slot, and on top there is a central circular dowel hole. The capitals consist of a central protruding ovoid flanked by two simple lilylike volutes with slightly splayed-out tips. On top of some of the capitals there is a central rectangular dowel hole flanked by two parallel dark red guidelines,⁵ which extend the full depth of the capital. The capitals have square bases, each with a central square dowel hole.

The stone components of the balustrades would have been held together by wooden dowels.⁶ These and other components, presumably of wood, have not been preserved, and only the wooden bar connecting the pillars has been restored. Judging from the evidence of the ivory plaques, a wooden handrail, joined to several abaci that rested on top of each baluster, also likely once existed.⁷ Also missing are the wooden pegs required to connect the round dowel holes on top of the pillars to the square dowel holes on the base of the capitals. The original height of the balustrades would probably have been about 45 centimeters, a measurement consistent with the proportions shown on the ivory plaques. Traces of an iron-based red pigment seen on some of the pillar fragments⁸

suggest that the balustrades were originally polychromatic.⁹

An identical balustrade is depicted on a stone relief, discovered at Ramat Rahel in the 1930s,¹⁰ that is similar to the false windows found in Cypriot tombs during the Cypro-Archaic II period (625–480 B.C.). This type of tomb architecture imitates wooden house construction, with windows located above doorways,¹¹ and it is very probable that the Ramat Rahel balustrades were similarly positioned.

The date of the Ramat Rahel balustrades cannot be determined conclusively. They were attributed to a palatial building of Stratum Va, the second building phase, dating from the mid-seventh to the end of the fourth century B.C.,¹² which would place them later than the ivory woman-at-the-window plaques (ca. 9th–7th century B.C.). However, just as the Cypriot false window balustrades imitated earlier wooden examples, the Ramat Rahel balustrades are probably stone examples of earlier wooden balustrades depicted on the ivory plaques. NF

1. The excavations were conducted under the joint auspices of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and the Sapienza–Università di Roma. See Aharoni 1964, p. 55, 38:1, pl. 48:1–2. 2. *Ibid.*, pp. 56–58, figs. 35.2:2; 35.2:3; 35.2:4, 38.1, pl. 48:1–2. 3. These were conducted under the joint auspices of Tel Aviv and Heidelberg Universities. See Lipschits et al. 2011, pp. 19, 21. 4. See Prag 1987, pp. 122–23, fig. 1b, and Walcher 2005, p. 84. 5. Aharoni 1964, p. 57. 6. *Ibid.* 7. *Ibid.*, p. 123. 8. *Ibid.*, pp. 57, 123. 9. See the Amathus sarcophagus in the Metropolitan Museum (74.51.2453). 10. Maisler 1935; Stekelis 1935. 11. Buchholz, Matthäus, and Walcher 2002, pp. 221–22, 225–26; Walcher 2005, pp. 78–85, figs. 1, 2, 4, 5. 12. Aharoni 1962; Aharoni 1964, pp. 58, 123; Lipschits et al. 2011, p. 9; Lipschits, Gadot, and Langgut 2012, pp. 63–65.



69. Tiered stand

Ceramic; H. 53.7 cm (21 1/8 in.), max. W. 24.5 cm (9 5/8 in.)
Ta'anach
Iron Age IIA, 10th century B.C.
The Israel Museum, Jerusalem (SOAJS K4197)

70. Cubical shrine

Ceramic; H. 20.6 cm (8 1/8 in.), W. 12.5 cm (4 7/8 in.)
Tell el-Far'ah (North)
Iron Age IIA, 10th century B.C.
Musée du Louvre, Paris, Département des Antiquités
Orientales (AO 21689)

71. Cult stand

Ceramic; H. 21.2 cm (8 3/8 in.), W. 41.5 cm (16 3/8 in.)
Yavneh
Iron Age IIA, 9th century B.C.
Israel Antiquities Authority, courtesy of Eretz Israel
Museum, Tel Aviv (IAA 2006-998)

During Iron Age II, the southern Levant witnessed a proliferation of clay artifacts made to imitate sacred architecture. Three main types of objects may be distinguished: tiered stands, cubical shrines, and rectangular stands. All are



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made of clay slabs with applied modeled figures or freestanding figures in the round, sometimes augmented by incised imagery. These pottery artifacts are inexpensive replicas of official cult paraphernalia and were designed for private worship. In the absence or dearth of precious materials, such as stone, metal, or ivory, clay emerged as a popular substitute.

Clay copies of sacred architecture kept the shrines and images they imitated alive and kindled the devotion of those who possessed or dedicated them. Inspired by elite religious appurtenances, they were used not only for their evocation of the precious objects of the temple cult but also for their own religious and symbolic connotations. It was the holiness invested in the shrine that was the essence of such miniatures. The believers attributed the divine power and efficacy derived from the deity to the replicas, which were both holy in themselves and instrumental for religious devotion. Being excluded from the official temple cult and unable to regularly undertake pilgrimages, ordinary people may have regarded the possession of a cult replica as a kind of amuletic substitute. Dedicating such a durable icon to the temple could also substitute for the physical presence of the worshiper at the temple.

The themes represented on these three cult objects continue traditions from the second millennium B.C. The crucial issue is whether this sacred imagery pertains to Canaanite belief or is related to the cult of the Israelites. In the case of the shrine from Yavneh (cat. 71), it is clear that these images became part of Philistine worship as well. All three objects share tree imagery. Trees, whether natural or artificial, have been objects of veneration in the Levant from the end of the fifth millennium B.C. until the present.¹ They were probably associated with female deities, since both they and the female body are fecund and therefore are considered symbols of fertility, growth, abundance, and nourishment. In the Hebrew Bible the date palm was likened to the female body,² an image that may echo earlier metaphors. The female figure, fully or partly represented, could be interchanged with the tree, which was also conceived as an emblem.

The cult object from Ta'anach, a tall, rectangular stand (cat. 69), was found near a "cultic structure" that had been destroyed by pits dug during earlier excavations.³ Topped by a shallow basin, it is constructed of four tiers, each separated by a narrow ledge. A figural scene in high relief is depicted on the front and sides of each tier. The sides were partly cut out. The bottom panel shows a frontal nude female touching the ears of the roaring lions flanking her. Her hair protrudes into the separating ledge. In the second



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register an empty opening is flanked by guardian sphinxes with female heads, and in the third two goats nibble at a stylized tree flanked by lions similar to those shown with the nude female. In the top tier, between two large voluted columns and a shorter petal column (or altar),⁴ a quadruped stands under a winged disc. Winged griffins on the side panels flank the quadruped, thought to be a bull or horse. Unlike the rest of the flanking creatures, whose heads are modeled in the round on the front of the stand, the griffins are confined to the side panels, their heads modeled in low relief. On the back two rectangular apertures were cut in the second and fourth tier.

The structure depicts a one-story temple, with the successive tiers representing, from the bottom up, the outer wall decoration, then two inner passages flanked by guardian creatures, and at the top the innermost shrine, where the focus of worship, the cult statue of a quadruped, was housed.⁵ The winged disc crowning the stand signified the godhead,⁶ and the other imagery on the stand signified divine attributes. The nude female taming lions on the bottom tier, in a composition similar to that of the tree and goats in the third tier, symbolizes a goddess, commonly identified as Asherah by several scholars.⁷ The empty opening on the second tier has been taken to represent Yahweh, the aniconic, invisible Hebrew god flanked by sphinxes, perhaps the cherubim in the inner sanctuary (1 Kings 6:23–28).⁸ The empty space parallels the place of the quadruped in the

upper tier, whether this animal is a bull, the storm god's animal, also associated with the god of Israel,⁹ or a horse, recalling those that the kings of Judah dedicated to the sun at the entrance to the Temple (2 Kings 23:11). Hence the stand has been interpreted as representing a male god and his consort, whether the Canaanite bull god and his spouse, the naked goddess, or the Israelite god and his consort, Asherah.¹⁰ The flat surface of the bowl topping the stand perhaps indicates that it functioned as a pedestal for the statue of the god, whose animal attribute occupies the uppermost tier.¹¹ However, the quadruped—whether bull or horse—could also function as an emblem of the goddess,¹² who would then have been depicted in her diverse manifestations, whoever she may be.¹³

A niche-shaped shrine from Tell el-Far'ah (North)(cat. 70) was found in a pit dug into the courtyard of a house dated to the late tenth or early ninth century B.C. The rectangular entrance with a grooved threshold is flanked by two fluted pilasters with inward-curling volute capitals topped by buds in low relief, which represent trees. The crescent moon on the front is filled with dots arranged in columns, which in Syrian traditions of the second millennium B.C. indicated rain.¹⁴ This moon immediately recalls the crescent pendants worn by female as well as male figures as emblems of the deity with whom they were associated.¹⁵ When adorning the nude female figures, the pendant brings to mind the concepts associated with the waxing moon, whose Akkadian title, *inbu* (fruit, flower, sexual appeal) refers to its cyclical regeneration. *Inbu* was therefore associated with the menstrual cycle as well as with the fruit of the womb.¹⁶ Together, crescent and rain would have been understood as life-giving symbols.

Such niche-shaped models derive from the architecture of Egyptian naoi, or miniature shrines.¹⁷ In the Levant the form was adapted to represent local sanctuaries from the Late Bronze Age on. The columns were modeled either as freestanding elements supporting the roof or in relief on the door jambs.¹⁸ A similar configuration, with a vestibule flanked by engaged columns, is found in the temple at 'Ain Dara in Syria (see fig. 3.20), which is the closest parallel to the description of Solomon's Temple in Jerusalem.¹⁹ The Bible mentions two pillars in the Jerusalem Temple, made of copper and crowned by lily capitals, that were erected in front of the great hall. Named Jachin and Boaz, these pillars may have been pre-Solomonic symbols of fertility and offspring.²⁰

Several of the stands from Yavneh show a female figure along with a tree, or with a tree and goats, sometimes in combination with bull heads modeled in the round. The example here



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(cat. 71), perhaps the finest from the Yavneh favissa, is slipped in red all over, rests on a socle, and has a rope-patterned ledge cornice with three applied hemispheres and buttons crowning the roof on all four sides. Two openings in the roof have tall, flaring rims that recall the round rims of Cypriot metal stands. Three rectangular openings are cut in each of the long walls, exactly opposite one another, and a single opening in each of the short walls, all with a modeled frame. The lintel of the frontal openings is rope-patterned. Originally these "openings of appearance," or frontal openings, were inhabited by female figures, of which only the middle one is fully preserved. Pillarlike from the waist down, she cups her breasts with her hands and has shoulder-length hair and finely shaped ears. If the pillarlike lower body was meant to suggest a skirt, then we may be dealing here with a partly dressed female similar to Cypriot examples. Above the figure, the rope-shaped lintel has morphed into a winged disc. Rising to the left and the right are highly naturalistic date palms in relief, with scale-patterned trunks, crests of leafy fronds, and date clusters. The winged disc points to the figure's divine nature, while the tree was probably conceived as her manifestation.²¹

The Yavneh repository pit, which must have been located close to an as yet undiscovered Philistine temple of the ninth century B.C., contained a rich assemblage of devotional objects. Among them are 120 figurative cult stands, clay and stone altars, fire pans, cylindrical sands,

kernois, and zoomorphic vessels, as well as thousands of chalices, simple bowls, and juglets, which place the deposition in the Iron Age II. Representing votives offered to the gods, these objects were removed from the temple after a time to make room for new offerings and were buried intact in the pit, as was customary in the ancient Near East when disposing of sacred objects unfit for profane use. Purchased in nearby potter's workshops, as is customary with pilgrims to this day, these miniature sanctuaries mirrored costly temple appurtenances.²²

The Yavneh stands belong to a local Philistine style in which the potters transfused traditional concepts of metalwork into their own unparalleled and novel shapes. In terms of imagery, Near Eastern influence can be seen. The Philistines seem not only to have embraced local forms for their divine imagery but even to have welcomed newcomers into their pantheon, as evidenced by biblical and extrabiblical sources.²³ Although the stands exhibit prevailing Levantine traits, certain techniques echo Aegean and Cypriot traditions, testifying to the complex identity of the Philistines and to the continuation of traditions from the second millennium B.C.

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1. Getzov 2011, pp. 20–24, 82*–83* (English summary); Na'aman and Lissovsky 2008. 2. Song of Solomon 7:7. 3. Lapp 1969, p. 42. 4. *Ibid.*, p. 44. 5. Hestrin 1987, p. 71; P. Beck 2002. 6. Zevit 2001, pp. 322–23. 7. Hestrin 1987, p. 74; Ackerman 2008, p. 21. 8. J.G. Taylor 1988, pp. 561–64. Although if the stand shows a one-story temple from its outer wall to the innermost shrine, the sphinxes are more likely the guardian figures of an entrance. 9. Na'aman 1999, pp. 411–14; Van der

Toorn 2002, p. 49; Nicholas Wyatt, "Calf," in *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible* 1995, cols. 334–48. **10.** J.G. Taylor 1988. **11.** P. Beck 2002, p. 418. **12.** Keel and Uehlinger 1992, p. 181. **13.** Theodore Lewis (2005, pp. 71–72) critiques the identification of the goddess on the Ta'anach stand as Asherah; see also *ibid.*, p. 77, regarding the association of the empty space, cherub, and horse with Yahweh. **14.** Keel and Uehlinger 1992, p. 184. **15.** P. Beck 2002, p. 385; Ornan 2001. **16.** Krebbernik 1995, pp. 361, 366. **17.** Bretschneider 1991, pp. 17–18. **18.** For Late Bronze Age forerunners from Kamid el-Loz, see Hachmann 1982, pls. 1–4; from Tell Munbaqa, see Werner 1998, p. 7, no. 23. See Garfinkel and Ganor 2012, pp. 59–62, and Garfinkel and Mumcuoğlu 2013 for the recently found tenth-century B.C. shrines from Khirbet Qeiyafa: a clay model with applied columns flanking the entrance and a stone shrine featuring various features that may parallel those of the architecture of the Jerusalem Temple. **19.** Monson 2000. **20.** 1 Kings 6, 7:13–51; 2 Chron. 3–4. The Hebrew words "Jachin" and "Boaz" can be translated as "May he render firm and establish its strength (or potency)." Karel van der Toorn, "Boaz," in *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible* 1995, cols. 335–36. The lily capitals recall the shape of Proto-Aeolic examples. The pillars may have been a visible prayer to God to care for either the Temple or for the dynasty. *Jewish Study Bible* 2004, p. 687. **21.** Kletter, Ziffer, and Zwickel 2010, pp. 77–79, 224–25. **22.** Van der Toorn 1998, p. 94; Van der Toorn 2002, pp. 57–58. See also the miniature shrines of Artemis discussed in Acts 19:24. **23.** Dagon (1 Sam. 5:1–6), Astharoth (1 Sam. 31:10), Baalzebub (2 Kings 1:2–4); Gitin 2003, pp. 286–90; Kletter, Ziffer, and Zwickel 2010, pp. 86–90.



72. Four-horned altar

Limestone; H. 68 cm (26¾ in.), W. 29.5 cm (11⅝ in.)
Megiddo
Iron Age IIA, ca. 1000–800 B.C.
The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago
(OIM A13201)

Sacrificial altars with four horns at the corners are known throughout the southern Levant during Iron Age II (10th–7th century B.C.). They are described in numerous passages in the Hebrew Bible and are typically associated with Israelite religious worship. This altar from Megiddo, in northern Israel, was probably too small for animal sacrifices but may have been used for offering grain, wine, oil, incense, or mixtures of these products. The Book of Exodus describes incense altars as one cubit wide by two cubits high, corresponding roughly to this altar's proportions.¹ Monumental four-horned altars known from other sites were constructed from ashlar blocks to create wide offering platforms, probably for receiving burned offerings of sacrificed animals.²

Exodus (27:1–8; 38:1–8) and Leviticus (1–7) specifically refer to four-horned altars, their construction in wood with bronze or gilded coverings, and associated offerings. The most sacred parts of the altar were its horns.³ For grain offerings, a small portion was burned on the altar, with the majority donated to the temple priests.⁴ In Israelite tradition, offerings

on horned altars were made to the Hebrew God, Yahweh. The Bible also refers to altars being erected to other deities, including Baal and Asherah.

Most freestanding stone altars from the southern Levant have four horns, and a few have two or none. A stone altar from the Assyrian capital of Nineveh has stylized horns that surround a bowl-shaped offering platform,⁵ perhaps indicating that the horns supported a separate vessel into which offerings were placed, poured, or burned. This could explain the limited evidence for burning on most stone altars, including this one. The horns on this altar are not as pronounced as the more common stylized horns with convex curves that narrow to a point.

This altar was excavated in 1926 by the University of Chicago's Expedition to Megiddo (Tell el-Mutesellim).⁶ It was found south of building 338 within a burned deposit alongside two other limestone altars and ceramic model shrines. This enigmatic structure was built at some point between the tenth to early eighth century B.C. and has been interpreted variously as a temple, a palace containing a shrine, or an officer's residence. Limited information and stratigraphic disturbance preclude any firm conclusions on whether the altars and model shrines were associated with building 338 or other nearby buildings.⁷ At other sites where similar altars are attested archaeologically, they

usually come from roofed or covered rooms or spaces within a building. They can be found in a range of settings, public or private, religious or secular.⁸

Antecedents for the stone horned altar include ceramic altars from Late Bronze Age Syria dated to the thirteenth to the twelfth century B.C. Interpreted as architectural models of shrines or temples, their horns may represent battlements, perhaps alluding to rooftop rituals.⁹ The square niches carved into the sides of this altar may echo the cutout windows in ceramic shrine models, preserving a trace of its architectural inspiration. It has also been suggested that some images of "horns of consecration" featured in depictions of ritual spaces in peak sanctuaries and palaces from Minoan Crete (17th–15th century B.C.) may depict four-horned altars in profile.¹⁰ The presence of Iron Age IIA horned altars at the sites of Ekron and Tell es-Safi (biblical Gath), in the region of ancient Philistia, suggest that non-Israelite populations also used them in religious worship.

JDMG

1. Herbert May (1935, pp. 12–13) refers to Exod. 37:25 when discussing this altar's proportions. **2.** The remains of a large horned altar were found at Tel Beer-Sheba, Israel, as published in Aharoni 1974. Other similar large altars or platforms that were probably four horned altars are attested at Arad and Tel Dan, Israel. **3.** Horns were signifiers of divine status and power in the ancient Near East, and several deities were symbolized by calves, bulls, or cows with horns. The blood of a sacrificed animal was smeared or sprinkled on the altar's four horns (Lev. 8:14). Removal of horns from an altar was considered an act of defilement (Amos 3:14). Fugitives could claim asylum by grabbing the horns of an altar (1 Kings 50–52). **4.** Lev. 2. **5.** May 1935, p. 12; Gitin 2002, pp. 110–11, fig. 7. **6.** Excavated by the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago's Expedition to Megiddo in 1926, field no. 2984. See Fisher 1929, pp. 68, 70, fig. 46; May 1935, pp. 6, 8, 12, fig. 2, pl. XII; Lamon and Shipton 1939, p. 148; and Novacek 2011, pp. 84–85, no. 42. It most likely came from Stratum IV at Megiddo. See May 1935 for discussion. **7.** Interpreting this altar's findspot is hindered by general disturbance and limited recording at the time of excavation and is complicated by varied interpretations of building 338 and whether these altars were originally associated with that building. For details, see Fisher 1929, pp. 68–71, fig. 46; May 1935, pp. 4–10; Lamon and Shipton 1939, pp. 53 n. 11, 55 n. 37, 58–59; Ussishkin 1989, p. 157; Stern 1990, p. 105. **8.** Gitin 2002, pp. 110–13. Also see Ussishkin 1989, pp. 170–72, for a discussion of an intact cult room or shrine found at Megiddo, building 2081, which also contained horned altars, ceramic stands, and many juglets. The cache was found in a niche in the side of an open courtyard. **9.** See Gitin 2002, pp. 96–100, for references to ceramic horned altars from Late Bronze Age Emar and Faq'ous, Syria, and remarks on rooftop rituals. **10.** See Hitchcock 2002 for a related discussion of "horns of consecration" on Crete and also Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age Cyprus. No actual four-horned altars have been found in the Aegean or Cyprus.

73a, b. Anthropomorphic figures of worshipers

Ceramic

a. H. 53 cm (20 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.), Diam. 23.5 cm (9 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.)

b. H. 67 cm (26 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.), Diam. 31.5 cm (12 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.)

En Hazeva

Iron Age II, late 7th–early 6th century B.C.

The Israel Museum, Jerusalem (a: IAA 1995-48, -69;

b: IAA 1995-47, -65, -95)

At En Hazeva, in the section of the Rift Valley known as the Arabah, a pit containing a rich assemblage of ritual objects was discovered. The objects were presumably offerings brought to a shrine that had been deliberately smashed and buried in the pit after they went out of use.¹ The shrine itself has not been found, but it was probably located in the vicinity of the pit. Petrographic analysis has shown that all of the vessels retrieved from the pit were locally made and, thus, most likely had been used by people who lived in the area of the site.²

These unique anthropomorphic statues are the most outstanding of the cult objects discovered at En Hazeva. The hollow figures were formed on the potter's wheel, after which additional features—arms, eyes, ears, nose, mouth, chin, and hair—were molded in clay and applied

individually. Special bowls for burning incense or for making food offerings were placed at the top of each figure.

The bearded male statue has a barrel-shaped body.³ The hair locks are made of long, solid bands of clay, and the prominent, hawkish nose has a bump. A red-painted net pattern from the neck to the bottom of the figure designates the garment. Since the clay tablet he carries in his left hand is broken, it cannot be determined whether it is a writing tablet or some other object. An offering bowl, of a known type from this period, is held in the figure's right palm. The raised bowl is a symbol of power and royalty.

The lack of beard in the second statue indicates that this is a female figure. The headdress consists of a pair of curled locks at the sides of the face and a wide veil at the back, as depicted

on some Phoenician female figurines. The right hand grasps a small, oval-shaped disc that can be identified as a plectrum. An elongated ridge between the two hands originally had an object attached that appears to have been a musical instrument. Perhaps the figure represents a lyre player, which would reflect the central role of music in temple ritual.

As none of the figures found at En Hazeva bears symbols of divinity, they must have represented worshipers. Such figures were brought to the temple as votives, to portray the worshipers and serve as their substitute, a tradition known from Mesopotamia as early as the third millennium B.C.

The finds from En Hazeva do not permit us to identify the deity worshiped at the shrine from which they originated. Moreover, the religious iconography represented in En Hazeva is well grounded in the art of the ancient Near East in general and the Levant in particular.⁴ While many scholars believe that these objects are related to the Edomites, who inhabited the area east of the Jordan and south of Moab, others claim that they represent local seminomadic groups who lived at the frontier of the kingdom of Judah.⁵ Only further discoveries will shed light on the answer to the question of who owned and created these objects.

E A

1. R. Cohen and Yisrael 1995, p. 26. 2. Cohen-Weinberger 2011, p. 188. 3. The description of the statues is based on Ben-Arieh 2011, pp. 114–20. 4. P. Beck 2002, p. 451. 5. Thareani 2010, pp. 36, 51.



CYPRUS IN THE EARLY IRON AGE

Despina Pilides

The dramatic social and political changes that overwhelmed the eastern Mediterranean toward the end of the second millennium B.C. also affected Cyprus, but in spite of the vacuum created by the collapse of the empires that controlled the economy of the region, continuity on Cyprus was not interrupted. Some Bronze Age centers were abandoned, while others, including Palaepaphos and Kition, continued to flourish. Even though the written evidence in the Amarna Letters and the Ugaritic texts suggests that Alashiya—equated with Cyprus¹—interacted with and was integrated into a wider economic and political framework as a single entity, it has been proposed that the reason Cyprus survived the crisis was the flexibility of its economy in the absence of a centralized bureaucratic system. The extant tradition of operating within a trading environment that could easily be diverted to other markets and satisfy new demands may also have been a factor.

At the end of the twelfth century B.C., Cyprus was a popular destination for newcomers from the Aegean, who settled alongside local communities and contributed to the development of metallurgy and the arts. Immediately after the destruction of Ugarit, which probably played a major role in importing tin into Cyprus from the western Asiatic mainland, trade continued with Levantine areas free from Egyptian control. For the merchants of Phoenicia, Cyprus offered an ideal environment for both their enterprise and their expansion westward.² The copper trade seems to have continued to play a major role, albeit in a restructured form, having reoriented to new destinations and with newly invented products suited for those markets.

Continued excavation and the use of new technologies hold promise for resolving age-old questions regarding the establishment, territorial extent, and nature of the city-kingdoms of Cyprus in the Iron Age. In addition, ongoing study of the material culture together with petrographic, chemical, and nondestructive analyses presents possibilities that are likely to allow for better insights into the social, political, and economic structure of Iron Age Cyprus and its connections with its neighbors. Even so, island-wide research is still impaired by the current political division of the country. At present, the history of the period focuses primarily on the establishment of a new political framework following the

abandonment of Bronze Age centers and the shift to new locations that gradually developed into city-kingdoms. Palaepaphos, Marion, Kourion, Kition, Amathus, Idalion, Tamassos, and Ledra are currently the focus of excavation and study.³

The Cypro-Minoan script, still undeciphered but with resemblances to Linear A and Near Eastern writing systems, was in use throughout the Late Bronze Age.⁴ Literacy must have been widespread, a hypothesis supported by the longevity of the script and the fact that, unlike Linear B, it survived the catastrophe that occurred in the Mediterranean at the end of the Bronze Age. Some signs similar to Cypro-Minoan were used at the beginning of the Iron Age to write Greek,⁵ and thus a new script, heavily dependent on the old, known as Cypro-syllabic, was formed. Its use persisted until the end of the third century B.C., when Greek alphabetic writing almost completely supplanted the native script. At the same time, another language, possibly the old one, referred to as Eteo-Cypriot, was also written in Cypro-syllabic and seems to have been the continuation of the indigenous Late Bronze Age language and writing system. Bilingual texts in both the Cypriot syllabary and the Phoenician alphabet indicate that the two main languages of the Iron Age were Greek and Phoenician. A Phoenician dedication to Reshef Mikal found at the sanctuary of Apollo at Idalion contributed toward the decipherment of the Cypro-syllabic script in 1870.⁶ It appears that, instead of the clay tablets of the Bronze Age, writing boards were used for syllabic inscriptions, and some were copied on bronze or limestone. The recent excavations at Idalion have revealed the Phoenician archive of the palace there, consisting of more than five hundred Phoenician inscriptions in ink on local marble plaques or on pottery sherds, possibly representing the economic records of the palace.⁷

The Cypro-Geometric period (11th–8th century B.C.) seems to have been formative on Cyprus. The dearth of settlement material, possibly owing to the long occupation of the sites extending into later periods, is certainly a hindrance; nevertheless, material from tombs indicates that technology and trade thrived. Both copper and iron objects were produced on and traded widely from Cyprus even before the advent of the Iron Age.⁸ In the absence of palatial establishments and empires in the Mediterranean at this time, trade was in the



Fig. 3.63. Painted terracotta model of a merchant ship. Amathus, Site E, Tomb 83. Cypro-Archaic. The Trustees of the British Museum, London (1894, I101.182)

hands of independent merchants; gradually, city-states and territorial boundaries were formulated. Maritime trade continued as before into the later periods, as amply indicated by the exchanges of products in transport amphorae. The clay ship models, such as those occurring in Amathus Tomb 83 (fig. 3.63),⁹ also are indicative of intensive seafaring and, possibly, shipbuilding.

Grave goods from the extramural cemeteries not only are a testament to the status of the deceased but also demonstrate that the island remained open to cultural influences from Phoenicia, Ionia, and Egypt as well as the mainland and the islands of Greece. Early Cypro-Geometric pottery was exported to Tyre and Palestine.¹⁰ By the late tenth century B.C., Cypriot exports also reached Euboea, where it seems that copper metallurgy was given a new impetus under Cypriot guidance. Euboean pottery also reached Amathus.¹¹ Imported Greek pottery had an increased presence during the ninth century B.C., and in the eighth century some of it may have been brought to Cyprus by Euboians on their way to North Syria, where both Euboians and Cypriots conducted trade. White Painted pottery had its origins in the Late Bronze Age, but influence from Syria and Palestine resulted in the introduction of new shapes and decorative motifs of eastern inspiration. Bichrome and Bichrome Red wares were in vogue, as was Phoenician pottery, which was imported at first and then made locally.

Cypriot material culture indicates a general homogeneity at this time. As maritime trade brought Cyprus closer to Phoenicia, Cypriot artists were actively involved in the development of Phoenician art, as indicated by such masterpieces as metal bowls with intricately decorated scenes (cat. 52), lampstands, and ivory objects with motifs of Egyptian inspiration (see fig. 3.7). The “royal necropolis” of Salamis¹² and built tombs in other city-kingdoms¹³ provide ample evidence for the ideological background of the elite toward the end of

the period; works of art from these tombs (cats. 75–79) adorn the Cyprus Museum and other museums of the world, displaying the amalgam of artistic influences and the central role that Cyprus played in this interaction. Chariots drawn by horses in full gear that were then sacrificed (fig. 3.65); furniture of wood, ivory, and precious metals (see fig. 3.8); and bronze cauldrons with relief decoration (cat. 76a) were among the finds, all symbols of the rising dynasties that began to invest in the construction of monumental tombs.¹⁴ The culmination of this process was the establishment of the city-kingdoms.

Archaeological evidence is enhanced by written testimonies. In 707 B.C., the Assyrian king Sargon II erected a stele (cat. 74) recording that he received the homage of the seven kings of Cyprus (Yadnana).¹⁵ The stele was found in a garden in Larnaca and was acquired in the nineteenth century by the Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin.¹⁶ Irrespective of whether the number of city-kingdoms cited represents a historical fact or a symbolic number, the stele reveals that the kings sought to become part of the Neo-Assyrian empire, the westernmost frontier of which was marked by the stele’s position overlooking the harbor of Kition.¹⁷

The royal prism of a later Assyrian king, Esarhaddon, dated to 673/672 B.C., records ten vassal kings of Cyprus and the names of their kingdoms. This text commemorates their contribution to the construction of the royal palace at Nineveh and provides further evidence for the number and names of kingdoms as well as the identities of the kings themselves: Akestor of Idalion, Philagoras of Chytroi, Kisu of Salamis, Eteandros of Paphos, Eresu of Soloi, Damasos of Kuri (Kourion), Admesu of Tamassos, Damusi of Qardihadasti (Kition or Amathus), Onasagoras of Ledra, and Bususu of Nuria (Amathus or Marion?).¹⁸ An identical list was issued by Ashurbanipal, Esarhaddon’s son and successor, in 667 B.C. Palaces of Cypriot kings have been excavated at Soloi, Vouni, Idalion, Amathus, Palaepaphos, and possibly Marion,¹⁹ and the study of their spatial organization, including defenses, places of worship, inhabited quarters, and territorial boundaries, has served to further enhance our knowledge of the nature of the city-kingdoms.

The Archaic period on Cyprus (750–480 B.C.) was an era of prosperity, even though it was under the domination of three foreign powers: Assyria (707–612 B.C.), Egypt (570–526/25 B.C.), and Persia (526/25–333 B.C.). In the sixth century B.C., Salamis and Paphos issued the first coins minted on Cyprus, and Kition, ruled by a Phoenician dynasty, followed in the fifth century B.C. A numismatic economy was introduced by the kingdoms that had access to copper resources, because copper could be exchanged for silver and

gold and thus enabled the independent evolution of coinage. The earliest coin hoard found on Cyprus, consisting of thirty-six local silver sigloi, dates to the fifth century B.C. and was found at the eastern extension of the site of the Hill of Ayios Georgios in Nicosia.²⁰ Likely buried at the beginning of that century, the time of the Ionian Revolt, the hoard provides further evidence for this turbulent period and contributes toward the attribution and identification of previously unknown types. The names of kings were first indicated on coinage in Cypro-syllabic or Phoenician and then, from the fourth century B.C. onward, in the Greek alphabetic script, while each city adopted a characteristic iconographic type.²¹

According to Herodotus, the island was conquered by the pharaoh Amasis (570–526 B.C.), who subdued several cities and imposed taxation, and then surrendered to the Persian king Cambyses (529–522 B.C.) in 526/525 B.C. The Greek cities of Cyprus, with the exception of Amathus, joined the Ionian Revolt against Persia in 499/498 B.C. The failure of the revolt led the Persians to use the Phoenicians in the administration of the kingdoms of the island. As a result, the latter part of the Cypro-Archaic period coincides with the allegiance of the Cypriot kingdoms with the Persian empire.

As far as religion is concerned, there was a proliferation of sanctuaries on Cyprus during the Iron Age.²² The principal deity was the great goddess identified with Aphrodite, already given the epithet the “Cyprian” in the eighth century B.C. Her sanctuary at Palaepaphos was the island’s primary religious center. Terracotta figurines with tall headdresses and upraised arms are often found in sanctuaries, possibly representing either the goddess or her worshipers. Some scholars have argued that the figure type of the “goddess with uplifted arms” was introduced from Crete in the eleventh century B.C.²³ A profusion of different types of figurines was dedicated to gods in sanctuaries, eloquently exemplified in the thousands of votive figurines found at the sanctuary of Ayia Irini (fig. 3.64). Such gods were possibly connected with war, music, and the protection of the woodlands. The Phoenicians introduced their own gods in Cyprus, and evidence for the worship of Astarte and Anat as well as the gods Baal, Eshmoun, Reshef, and Melqart has been found. The Egyptian cults of Bes, Ptah, and Hathor were introduced in the early Cypro-Archaic period, and from about the fifth century B.C. Hathor may have been identified with Aphrodite.²⁴ Egyptian influence is also attested in a dedication to Isis, and representations of the god Ammon as a ram-headed deity seated on a throne supported by rams became common. Greek deities were introduced in the fifth century B.C., as indicated by the worship of Athena at Idalion and Vouni, and became widespread in the fourth century B.C.



Fig. 3.64. Votive clay statues and figurines found in situ around a stone altar in the sanctuary of Ayia Irini, during excavations by the Swedish Expedition in Cyprus, 1929

Cypriot sculpture of the Iron Age was made from either terracotta or locally available limestone. Large-scale terracotta sculpture occurs for the first time in the second half of the seventh century B.C., when stone sculpture still seems to have been rare.²⁵ Clay was used to produce lifesize or over-lifesize sculptures. The large terracotta statues were hand-made, with the separate parts joined together, but the faces were usually made in a mold. Small clay figurines found in both tombs and sanctuaries also were produced and followed, in general, the current pottery styles. They were exported to Samos, Lindos, Knidos, and Miletos,²⁶ possibly on Phoenician ships, or made locally by itinerant Cypriot potters.²⁷

The earliest style of Iron Age stone sculpture on the island is a Cypriot creation with some influence from the east.²⁸ The stone used was soft, and engraved or painted decoration was added to enhance features and clothing. Assyrian influence is seen on large-scale statues of males²⁹ and on small warrior figurines.³⁰ In the late sixth century B.C., the intensification of contact with Syria and Phoenicia under Persian rule led to increasing influence from East Greek and Phoenician models, and Cypriot stone sculpture reached its climax. Limestone statuettes have been found in Samos, Rhodes, Aegina, Chios, Delos, Knidos, and Ephesos as well as at Naukratis in Egypt, and in Phoenicia.³¹ They probably were exported from the island or made by itinerant Cypriot sculptors of Cypriot limestone.

Partly on account of its position in the eastern Mediterranean, Cyprus was, in essence, the center of the ancient world. Thus, its function as a trading post on the most important sea routes in conjunction with its resources, particularly copper and timber, played a pivotal role in bringing together or diffusing ideas from different civilizations, which were then selectively adopted locally to create the unique character of Cypriot culture.

74. Stele of Sargon II

Gabbro/basalt; H. 209 cm (82¼ in.), W. 68.5 cm (27 in.)
Kition, Larnaca
Neo-Assyrian, after 707 B.C.
Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Vorderasiatisches Museum,
Purchase 1845 (VA 968)

Found in 1844 on Cyprus during construction of a church annex in Kition (Larnaca), this victory stele of Sargon II (721–705 B.C.) bears an image of the Assyrian king facing symbols of gods with his hand raised and holding a cudgel. The location where the stele was first set up is unknown, although the inscription on its front and sides provides certain clues:

At that time I had a stele fashioned and the symbols of the great gods my lords, I engraved thereon. My royal image imploring for my life I set before them. I inscribed thereon the names of the lands that from the rising sun to the setting sun, with the aid of Ashur, Nabu, and Marduk, the gods my helpers, I had subjugated to the yoke of my rule. I set it up on Bā'il-hurri, the mountain, located at the top of the land of Adnana. The glory of the great gods, my lords, by whose reliable oracular answer I marched to and fro, having no rival, I left for the kings, my sons, for all time.¹

According to the text, the stele originally stood high above the coast at Larnaca, on the mountain known in Assyrian as Ba'il-hurri. It had been erected there as a symbol of Assyrian hegemony over Cyprus. The inscription also speaks of Sargon II's additional military victories in Syria and eastern Anatolia. It expressly mentions the presence at a victory celebration in Babylon in the year 707 B.C. of the "seven kings" of Cyprus, who surrendered and brought with them gifts of gold and silver and of ivory and boxwood furniture. It is the only known monument of this kind on the island, which the Assyrians called (Y)adnana.

Relations between Cyprus and the mainland are attested throughout the Bronze Age, especially in the second millennium B.C. Owing to the island's copper deposits and associated metallurgical production, far-reaching trade relationships extending to Anatolia, Egypt, and Mesopotamia were established. These strong commercial contacts continued into the first millennium B.C., when they aroused the interest of Assyria, which had expanded its territory as far as the Mediterranean coast.

It is doubtful that the Assyrians ever achieved a complete and lasting conquest of Cyprus, even though Sargon's successor, Sennacherib (704–681 B.C.), mentions prisoners



from (Y)adnana in his inscriptions, and the kings Esarhaddon (680–669 B.C.) and Ashurbanipal (668–627 B.C.) mention vassals from Cyprus, some of whom resided in Nineveh. It was more likely a hegemony maintained for a long time by Assyrian pressure, above all through Assyrian control of the island's harbors and therefore its trade.

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1. Adapted from Na'aman 2005, pp. 132–33. The inscription on the sides is incomplete at the beginning and end of lines, as the back was chiseled down after the piece was found, to make it lighter.

THE “ROYAL” TOMBS OF SALAMIS ON CYPRUS

Vassos Karageorghis

75a–d. Chariot fittings

Bronze

- a. H. 50.3 cm (19 $\frac{7}{8}$ in.), W. 30.4 cm (12 in.)
- b. H. 50.4 cm (19 $\frac{7}{8}$ in.), W. 11.2 cm (4 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.)
- c. H. 47.5 cm (18 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.), W. 10 cm (4 in.)
- d. H. 51.5 cm (20 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.), Diam. 30 cm (11 $\frac{7}{8}$ in.)

Salamis, Tomb 79

Cypro-Archaic I, ca. 8th–7th century B.C.

Cyprus Museum, Nicosia (SAL T.79/138, 165, 215, 155+162)

76a, b. Cauldron and stand

Cauldron: bronze, H. 71 cm (28 in.), W. 92 cm (36 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.)

Stand: iron, H. 72 cm (28 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.), W. 54 cm (21 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.)

Salamis

Cypro-Archaic, ca. 8th–7th century B.C.

Cyprus Museum, Nicosia (T.79/202, 202[b])

The dawn of the Cypro-Archaic I period (ca. 750–600 B.C.) found Cyprus in full economic and cultural growth, with its kingdoms exerting their independence and in control of their territories, even though the island was theoretically under Assyrian domination. The first mention of the kingdoms of Cyprus was made in an inscription on a royal stele assigned to the Assyrian ruler Sargon II found at Kition (cat. 74). According to this inscription, seven kings of Cyprus recognized his supremacy. Another reference to ten kingdoms of Cyprus and the names of their rulers is made on a clay prism commemorating the building of the royal palace of Nineveh (673/672 B.C.) in the reign of Esarhaddon. In both cases the kingdom of Salamis is mentioned.

It is doubtful that the island was ever occupied by the Assyrians; most probably the Cypriot kings (eight out of ten on the prism of Esarhaddon bear Greek names), like others in the Levant, recognized the commercial and political advantages of an economic system protected by the Assyrians. Furthermore, the large Phoenician community settled on Cyprus, especially at Kition, may have fostered some kind of relations with the Assyrians, but the Cypriot kings never renounced their sovereignty, which in fact was recognized by the Assyrians; they kept their own syllabic script and did not identify themselves with the Phoenicians.¹

The city and kingdom of Salamis were already established in the eleventh century B.C., as attested by archaeological remains, having succeeded the Late Bronze Age town of Enkomi, about 3 miles to the south. Its necropolis was at

a short distance from its harbor, but as early as the ninth century B.C., with the expansion of the town, the necropolis shifted west to the plain between the present-day forest of Salamis and the monastery of Saint Barnabas. There is a gap in our knowledge of the topography of the necropolis between the eleventh and ninth century B.C.²

A built tomb existed in this “royal” necropolis (Tomb 50A), which was largely destroyed when Tomb 50 was constructed.³ Several other built tombs, however, survived and were excavated, though their chambers had been partly destroyed and looted. These constitute the “royal” necropolis, so called because of the size and monumentality of the tombs and offerings discovered in their spacious dromoi. We do not know the origin of this funerary architecture at Salamis; however, seven built tombs dating to the fourteenth century B.C. excavated at the site of the nearby town of Enkomi were probably inspired by Levantine prototypes, namely, those from Ugarit.⁴

The built tombs of Salamis have a broad facade of ashlar blocks of limestone, a rather small rectangular chamber with a corbeled or flat roof, and a long, broad dromos sloping toward the entrance so that the chariots and hearses accompanying the dead might be driven in front of the entrance of the chamber. The dromos also provides space for the numerous gifts that accompanied the dead.

In spite of their designation as “royal,” we are not sure that all of these tombs were used to bury kings or members of the royal family; some of them may have been family tombs of the aristocratic elite of Salamis. In archaeological literature, especially at the time soon after the excavation, the term “Homeric” was used for the burials in these tombs, because some of the burial customs and the objects found in the dromoi corresponded to descriptions in Homeric



A

epic. Today, however, we do not suggest that the burial customs of the Salaminian tombs were influenced in any way by those described in the twenty-third book of the *Iliad*, as suggested by J. N. Coldstream in 1977.⁵

The king not only was the absolute ruler but also held an almost divine position in society; hence the nature of his burial, which was characterized by pomp, luxury offerings, sacrifices of chariots, horses, and in some cases people who may have been slaves. We know of “heroic” burials in Cyprus of the eleventh century B.C., particularly in the necropolis of Palaepaphos, that included bronze vessels, gold jewelry, exotic objects of faience and alabaster, and iron weapons, among other offerings. These burials were associated with the elite society of warrior aristocrats, the *wanaktes* (princes). Later, in the



Fig. 3.65. Chariot and skeletons of horses in situ. Salamis, Tomb 79, dromos

eighth to seventh centuries B.C., the elite were not represented by warriors but by wealthy aristocrats, who in life indulged in symposia involving feasting and had in their possession exotic and precious goods, with which they were interred. Such “royal” or “princely” tombs existed throughout the Mediterranean, from Huelva to Etruria, Crete, Phrygia, and Cyprus. The exotic goods they contained, such as ivory furniture, were widely traded, mainly by the Phoenicians, resulting in the creation of Orientalizing art, as the style is known, in various places of the Mediterranean (the Iberian Peninsula, Etruria, Greece, Cyprus; see “Beyond Orientalizing” in this volume, pp. 248–53). This art was admired by Homer, even though he knew the Phoenicians (Sidonians), who antagonized the Greeks in trade, were primarily responsible for its proliferation.

The Mediterranean elite were ready to accept this new influx of foreign exotic and luxury goods. The Phoenicians carried other people’s goods throughout the Mediterranean; the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. witnessed the migrations of the Greeks, who established colonies both in the central and eastern Mediterranean and became familiar with foreign societies and cultures. We may well characterize the Mediterranean societies of the eighth to seventh centuries B.C. as cosmopolitan, ready to accept an artistic and cultural koine.⁶

What follows are comments on characteristic burial customs and exceptional offerings that came to light during the excavation of some of these “royal” tombs.

Tomb 1, excavated by Porphyrios Dikaios in 1956, was the first of the “royal” tombs to be rediscovered. It contained a large quantity of Greek Middle Geometric vases—a high-footed krater, a set of dishes, and a set of drinking cups—objects needed for a symposium where eating and drinking were taking place, referring no doubt to comparable funerary ritual practices. The incinerated remains of the dead were found in a bronze cauldron, together with a necklace with beads of rock crystal and gold. Cremation was not a common Cypriot burial custom. Einar Gjerstad suggested that this was probably the tomb of a Greek princess who married into the royal court of Salamis.⁷ Greek Middle Geometric vases were popular among the Mediterranean elite for use at symposia; some of them were imitated locally.⁸ In the dromos of the tomb were found the skeletons of two horses, partly destroyed by looters and at the initial stages of the excavation. The sacrifice of chariots and horses in honor of the dead was known to Homer (*Iliad*, book 23) but was not confined to the Greek world. It is attested throughout the Mediterranean area, in Spain,

Etruria, Phrygia, and Egypt, and was also practiced by the Assyrians, as enumerated in Neo-Assyrian texts about royal burials involving chariots, horses, and a bronze bed.⁹

In the fill of the dromos of Tomb 2, not far from the surface, were found two human skeletons, one with the hands bound in front of the body. In all probability, this individual was killed and buried to serve his master in the afterlife. The custom of human sacrifice was known in Cyprus, particularly in Lapithos, as early as the eleventh century B.C., as well as in Crete; it is also described in the *Iliad* (23.175–76) when Achilles kills twelve young Trojans on the pyre of Patroklos. The looters of the tomb left behind in a corner of the chamber a silver bowl decorated with incised floral patterns and a winged sphinx, recalling the silver bowls of the Sidonians mentioned by Homer (see “Metalwork” in this volume, pp. 157–59). Several such bowls have been found in tombs in Cyprus, some bearing the engraved names of kings,¹⁰ as well as in Etruria and elsewhere.

Tomb 3 has a built chamber and a long, narrow dromos, each covered by a tumulus. Such tumuli (τύμβοι) were characteristic of the tombs of famous persons, left as landmarks “for the information of future generations,” as Homer would say. A hearse was found in the dromos, its wooden parts having left their impressions in the soil. Inside the chariot box was a long iron sword with a wooden hilt (decayed); the hilt originally was fixed to the handle with silver rivets, recalling Homeric silver-studded swords, several of which were found in Cyprus.¹¹ Other objects found in the dromos include a bronze shield, a bronze spearhead, a quiver with iron arrowheads, and bronze standards that decorated the yoke (see below, Tomb 79). Among the various storage jars found in the dromos is a plain-ware amphora. Inscribed below its handle, painted in the Cypriot syllabary, is the Greek word meaning “of olive oil,” recalling the “amphorae full of fat” placed on the funerary pyre of Patroklos in the *Iliad* (23.170).¹² The tomb dates to about 600 B.C.

Though the chamber of Tomb 79 had been looted and was reused in the Roman period, its dromos was found intact. The tomb contained an extraordinary number of exceptional offerings of bronze and ivory, making it by far the richest tomb of this period (about the end of the eighth century B.C.) ever found in Cyprus. The chamber has a monumental facade (12.8 meters wide) of well-hewn stone blocks forming a π-shaped recess, a paved forecourt, and a broad dromos covered with a layer of concrete. The recess measures 7 meters wide and 3.2 meters deep. The total length of the dromos is 16.8 meters.





The tomb was used twice for burials. The first must have taken place at the end of the eighth century B.C. and the second only a few years later, since the chariot of the first burial had not yet decomposed and could still be wheeled away to a corner of the dromos to make room for the chariot of the second burial. The occupant of the first burial was accompanied by a four-horse chariot and a hearse. The wooden parts of the chariot left their impressions in the soil, but the metal parts remained in their original positions. Among these metal accessories are two bronze tire discs at the back of each pole, decorated in repoussé with a winged lion striding over a fallen enemy, a well-known motif of Egyptian iconography representing the victorious pharaoh. The axle has at each end a large cap in the shape of a sphinx, with an iron linchpin inserted vertically through its neck and consequently through the axle. At the top of the linchpin is a bronze figurine of a soldier. He wears a cuirass and a crested helmet and holds a sword. Hollow but with a rattle inside it, the figurine measures 37 centimeters high. At the back of the chariot box is a bronze loop for fastening a shield, as we know from clay models of chariots. The bottom of the hearse was decorated all around with five bronze lion's heads, each hollow and with a socket at the top, probably for the attachment of a post to support a canopy. This was no ordinary chariot. It was used only for the funerary procession and must have been quite impressive with the glittering accessories and the noise of the rattles.

The chariot of the second burial was found in situ with the skeletons of the two horses intact (fig. 3.65). Its yoke, like that of the hearse of Tomb 3, is decorated with four bronze standards in the shape of long-stemmed flowers, each 50 centimeters high (cat. 75a). Their function was purely decorative and ceremonial; they have parallels in the small gold model from the Oxus Treasure, now in the British Museum.¹³

The rich decoration of the chariots and hearses is matched by that of the horses: blinkers, front bands, breastplates, and side pendant ornaments, all decorated in repoussé with motifs from Egyptian iconography. The blinkers, for example, feature a lion attacking a kneeling bull or a winged sphinx striding over a prostrate foreign enemy, symbolizing the victorious pharaoh against his enemies. The front bands, which decorated the horses' foreheads, consist of two hinged parts and a crest at the upper part; they are decorated with superimposed rows of *uraei*, couchant lions, nude human figures, and a winged solar disc (cat. 75b). Another group is decorated with figures of the winged god El, a solar disc, and stylized lotus flowers (cat. 75c).

Of particular importance are the side pendant ornaments, which functioned as a shield to protect the upper part of the horses' legs. The disc is decorated in the center with a winged nude female representing the goddess Ishtar. She stands on the back of two lions and holds a lion in each hand (cat. 75d). The lions above are attacked by griffins, and those below hold a calf in their mouths. There is a winged solar disc and a Hathoric head above the head of Ishtar. Friezes of animals decorate the border of the disc and the strap from which it hangs. There is a long tradition connecting Ishtar with horses in the art of the Near East. Nannó Marinatos put forward the theory that the decoration of the side pendant ornaments described above may symbolize the association of danger, in the form of animals attacking each other, with sexuality, both of which are controlled by the nude goddess. The symbolism connecting danger with sexuality had a long tradition in Babylonian art and probably reached both Cyprus and Crete through North Syria.¹⁴

The four bronze breastplates are decorated with two registers of monsters from Near Eastern (mostly Assyrian) mythology, including griffins, sphinxes, winged human figures holding situlae, and scorpion men (see fig. 3.6). In the center is a winged solar disc and a tree of life; below is a winged man holding a kid in his arm.¹⁵

Another extraordinary object found in the dromos of Tomb 79 is a bronze cauldron standing on an iron-rod tripod (cat. 76a, b). The vessel was beaten out of two sheets. Around the cauldron, affixed with rivets below the rim, are eight griffin protomes, all cast using the lost-wax method. Four double-faced bearded bird men (sirens) with broad wings are interspersed symmetrically among the griffin protomes. Such cauldrons have been found in Greece (Delphi and Olympia) and Etruria, and similar ones in Anatolia. In the Homeric epic they were offered as prizes in athletic games. The Salamis cauldron is of exceptional quality. "Griffin cauldrons" were not used in a kitchen but were objects of prestige. They symbolized the high status of the deceased when found in tombs or served as precious offerings in sanctuaries. Next to the first example there was another griffin cauldron, with a high pedestal and decorated with plaques engraved with Hathoric heads.¹⁶

Also noteworthy are a bundle of twelve iron obeloi, or skewers (1.5 meters long), and a pair of iron firedogs (1.1 meters long) that terminate in the stern and prow of a ship. Similar objects have been found in Cyprus and the Aegean. Although long considered to be of Cypriot origin (bronze obeloi were known in Cyprus since the eleventh century B.C.), the recent discovery of a bronze firedog in a Late Helladic IIIC (early





Fig. 3.66. Phoenician-style reconstructed wood and ivory bed (above) and bedstead (below). Salamis, Tomb 79. Cypro-Archaic period. Cyprus Museum, Nicosia

technique, one representing a sphinx in front of a stemmed flower and the other a composite palmette. Their cloisons were filled with blue paste and lined with sheets of gold. This throne resembles in many ways the throne of Penelope described by Homer in the *Odyssey* (19.55–59). A second throne was decorated with thin sheets of silver and with silver rivets, the heads of which were covered with sheets of gold; there was also a footstool.¹⁸

The bedstead was richly decorated with ivory plaques within a frame (fig. 3.66). The plaques bore Egyptian motifs in relief, such as the god Heh holding a palm branch from which hangs the Egyptian symbol of life (*ankh*) and confronted sphinxes on either side of a tree-of-life motif. There were also plaques inlaid with blue paste and small heads of the Egyptian god Bes. It is probable that the bed was used at symposia, where people typically reclined, as we see on the engraved decoration of a silver bowl from Kourion.¹⁹

Both the ivory bed and the ivory throne are of Phoenician or Syrian workmanship, comparable to the well-known furniture from Nimrud. In the Bible the prophet Amos complained that the rulers of his time were corrupt, reclining on ivory beds (Amos 6.4).²⁰

The works discussed here highlight only a selection of the numerous objects found in the “royal” tombs of Salamis, offered by members of an elite society who enjoyed luxury goods. They all belong to a koine phase of Mediterranean art in a period marked by affluence, at least among the aristocratic elite, and a lively exchange of goods, traded mainly by Phoenicians. This was a time of immigration and of the establishment of colonies by both Greeks and Phoenicians in various places in the Mediterranean. The result was an atmosphere that we might label cosmopolitan, in which people had access to “foreign” goods and cultures. The exchange of such goods, mainly of Near Eastern origin, generated the creation of Orientalizing art, a style that proliferated from the eastern to the western end of the Mediterranean. Cyprus, through the discovery of these tombs, has yielded some of the finest examples of this art.

12th century B.C.) context establishes their Aegean origin. They were indispensable tools for roasting meat for symposia.¹⁷

Of the numerous other objects brought to light from the dromos of Tomb 79, particular mention must be made of a wooden throne and bed covered with ivory plaques richly decorated with Egyptian iconographic motifs in relief. The wood disintegrated, but the ivory plaques of the throne remained in place; those of the bed were

scattered on the floor. The two pieces of furniture were restored in the laboratory of the Cyprus Museum.

The throne (see fig. 3.8), 90 centimeters high, had a backrest decorated with narrow vertical bands of inlaid guilloche and, on its lower part, friezes of inlaid anthemias. The upper part of the curve was covered with a horizontal band of thin sheets of gold. Below the handles were two openwork plaques decorated in the cloisonné

JEWELRY FROM A TOMB AT KITION

Sophocles Hadjisavvas

77a, b. Signet finger rings

a: Gold and kaolinized feldspar; Diam. of hoop 2 cm (¾ in.); b: Gold and blue glass (paste); Diam. of hoop 2 cm (¾ in.)

Larnaca, Kition, "Lefkaritis Tomb"

Cypro-Archaic I period, 750–650 B.C.

Cyprus Museum, Nicosia (M.LA 1742/1, M.LA 1742/2)



77a, b

78a, b. Chain bracelets

a: Gold and agate; Diam. of chain 8 cm (3 1/8 in.); b: Gold and kaolinized feldspar; Diam. of chain 9 cm (3 1/2 in.)

Larnaca, Kition, "Lefkaritis Tomb"

Cypro-Archaic I period, 750–650 B.C.

Cyprus Museum, Nicosia (M.LA 1742/18, M.LA 1742, T1/19)



78a

79. Fibula

Gold and semiprecious stones; L. of bow 3.7 cm (1 1/2 in.), Diam. of rosettes 1.2 cm (4 3/4 in.)

Larnaca, Kition, "Lefkaritis Tomb"

Cypro-Archaic I period, 750–650 B.C.

Cyprus Museum, Nicosia (M.LA 1742/20)



78b

In December 1999, during excavations for the enlargement of the Lefkaritis family residence in Larnaca, on Cyprus, a tomb (M.LA 1742) was discovered by accident. The only unlooted built tomb ever to be excavated at Kition, it became known as the "Lefkaritis Tomb."¹ All but four of the thirty-four objects found in the tomb are gold jewelry.² The monumentality of the tomb and the exquisite offerings in combination with the three sacrificed equines excavated in the dromos all signify an aristocratic and/or elite interment. Unfortunately, the human bones are so poorly preserved that DNA analysis failed even to identify the sex of the occupant.

The tradition of built tombs at Kition, along with the first appearance of gypsum as a construction material, is closely associated with Phoenician penetration and colonization of Cyprus.³ The dating of the tomb is based on three ceramic vessels found in the chamber. Two jugs may be assigned to the so-called Kition Horizon, dated by Patricia Bikai between 750 and 700 B.C.⁴ Close parallels are also found at Ayios Georgios Tomb 1989/6.⁵

The tomb consists of an antechamber and a main chamber measuring 2.5 by 2 meters, which are connected by a corridor measuring 0.92 by 0.9 by 1.45 meters. Covering the floors are large



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Fig. 3.67. Gold ornament. Nimrud, Tomb I. Neo-Assyrian. Iraq Museum, Baghdad (IM 108974)

plaques of gypsum measuring either 2 by 0.9 meters or 2 by 1.5 meters, both types with a thickness of 6 centimeters. Both chambers are vaulted and corbeled, the arch starting at a height of 1.4 meters from the floor. The maximum height of the chamber is 2.32 meters.⁶


The four scarab seals from the tomb are all set in gold, one in a pendant for a necklace and three in finger rings, all of the same, rather unusual type for the island. The intaglios display a certain, but not total, unity of style, reinforced by their dissimilarity to others from Cypriot sources.⁷ The engraving of one scarab seal ring (cat. 77a) depicts, in summary, an animal with a long neck, a globular body, two straight legs with small protrusions, and a tail. Above are oblique lines with hatching, perhaps signifying wings, but it is not clear whether a bird or a quadruped is intended. The scarab fitted into

the bezel of another example (cat. 77b) represents a linear depiction of a hawk with its wings spread forward.

The hammered-gold rings are all of the same construction. The ring shanks are rounded at the outside and somewhat flattened at the edges. Each ring has a circular bezel within which the seal is set. The seal and its bezel are held in place by a second bezel connected to the ring shanks. As identified by Dr. Costas Xenophon of the Cyprus Geological Survey, the seals are made of kaolinized feldspar (apart from cat. 77b, which is made of Egyptian Blue), a relatively soft material, found within granite strata, that can be treated like the commoner serpentines. The engraving seems not to have required any mechanical aids, although the body of catalogue number 77a might have been picked out with a round-tipped drill. The motifs are matched only generically on other eighth-century B.C. Cypriot seals. There are strong touches of Egyptian iconography, which is not surprising, but save for catalogue number 77b, these are not rendered in a totally Egyptian manner.

It is not impossible that all of these seals are imports, although not conspicuously Phoenician. (One is an heirloom of the fourteenth century B.C.) The seals reinforce the generally non-Cypriot aspect of the finds in the tomb chamber. The central part of one of the bracelets (cat. 78a) is a circular eye agate stone set in gold. It is supported by a chain made of five twists of thin wire. The upper part of the gold setting is decorated with a frieze of antithetically arranged granulated triangles set between two parallel lines, also granulated. The vertical sides of the setting are also decorated with a frieze of granulated triangles in the lower zone and with a ribbon of plaited wire in the upper

zone. The second chain bracelet (cat. 78b) has an Egyptian scarab of kaolinized feldspar pierced lengthwise to enable a thick gold wire to pass through and facilitate its skillful attachment to a gold setting.⁸ The wire ends in two loops for attachment to a chain made of thin, twisted wire. The scarab bears the royal cartouche of Amenhotep III, referred to as “the great” and “protected by [the god] Re.” Jewels in chain form are extremely rare in the archaeological record of Cyprus, so the Lefkaritis Tomb finds present a unique discovery.

No doubt the most impressive piece of jewelry from the Lefkaritis Tomb is the gold fibula with three applied rosettes, their petals filled with inlaid decoration in a variety of semiprecious stones, including amethyst, chert, and kaolinized feldspar (cat. 79). The basic design is very simple and may be assigned to “West Asiatic and derivative forms,” according to Judy Birmingham’s typology.⁹ Other examples of the type include an unprovenanced fibula now in The Metropolitan Museum of Art and another from Idalion now in the British Museum.¹⁰ Both fibulae have a knob at the apex, while the present example is crowned by a rosette inlaid with semiprecious stones. Under the rosette is an inscribed, unidentified double symbol: .

Three 2.8-centimeter-long chains are suspended from a loop on the top of the bow, each with a small ring to which three elongated bell-shaped pendants with vertically arranged, embossed linear decoration are attached. All nine pendants are identical and resemble the flower of the Indian lotus (*Nelumbo nucifera*), a water plant depicted on a dagger blade from Mycenae.¹¹ Suspended chains ending in pendants are thus far unique for fibulae but are well attested in earrings, in a variety of pendant forms, both in Cyprus and elsewhere in the Mediterranean region (see cat. 112, fig. 3.67).

80. Head of a worshiper

Ceramic and paint; H. 36 cm (14 1/8 in.)
Pera-Frangissa (near ancient Tamassos), Sanctuary of Apollo-Reshef
Cypro-Archaic I, 650–600 B.C.
The Trustees of the British Museum, London
(GR 1910.0620.1)

This striking head belongs to a lifesize terracotta statue of a male worshiper of high social status, which was placed in a rural sanctuary at Frangissa close to the ancient city of Tamassos, in central Cyprus, sometime about 650–600 B.C.¹ The highly expressive features are typical of Neo-Cypriot-style sculpture as defined by Einar Gjerstad.² More specifically, this piece belongs



81. Torso of a male statue

Ceramic and paint; H. 49 cm (19 ¼ in.), W. 53.5 cm (21 in.)
 Kazaphani, Kerynia district
 Cypro-Archaic I, 650–600 B.C.
 Cyprus Museum, Nicosia (1934/III-16/1, no. 51)

This exquisite torso, which with its elaborate painted decoration resembles a cuirass, was found during a rescue excavation in 1934 in a votive pit (favissa) at the site of Mines, near the village of Kazaphani (Kyrenia district).¹ The favissa, which contained a large number of terracotta and limestone statues, was probably dug after the destruction of a nearby sanctuary in order to properly dispose of offerings that had been dedicated there. A second, similar fragmentary torso was among the finds.²

The terracotta torso once belonged to a life-size statue of a male warrior. This part of the statue was handmade and hollow, while the face was molded, as evidenced by the preserved back of the head. The arms, now missing, were probably made separately and fixed to the torso. In a rare representation of a contemporary textile, the figure is dressed in a short-sleeved garment, offering a glimpse of one of the major craft productions of the time that does not survive well archaeologically. This garment has a fringe of long tassels with incised oblique lines painted in red and black along its lower border. Above the tassels is a narrow band of small impressed triangles and vertical lozenges. Under the left sleeve is a scabbard with a rectangular opening for a sword, which passes from the front of the body to the back. The strap for the scabbard, which runs from the front to the back of the torso, is made in relief. The painted decoration, in red, black, and white, covers the entire surface: rectangular panels, divided by rows of rosettes and guilloche patterns, enclosing depictions of winged sphinxes and lions, and a band of lotus flowers that runs around the neckline, all of which recall painted motifs on contemporary Cypriot ceramic vessels.³

The border of both sleeves bears signs from the Cypriot syllabary in black paint. Unfortunately, the inscription cannot be read, owing to its fragmentary state,⁴ but presumably it is associated with the donor who offered the statue.

In the second part of the seventh century B.C., the production of terracotta statues of various sizes was common across the island of Cyprus. By the end of the same century and the beginning of the sixth, coroplastic art had developed into medium- and large-size statuary. The origins of monumental votive sculpture can be traced to Egypt but in Cyprus must have been introduced by the Phoenicians.⁵ These terracotta statues were discovered in sanctuaries

to the Idalion group, named after the neighboring city-kingdom whose coroplastic products predominate among the terracottas found around Tamassos.³ The complete figure probably wore an ankle-length tunic, over which was draped a mantle or cloak, and may have held an offering such as a small animal.⁴ Also missing is his headgear, such as a cap, helmet, or—more likely in this case—the turbanlike band wound around the top of the head that was typical of Cypriot elites during the Cypro-Archaic period.⁵ This overall style broadly reflects the influence of contemporary Assyrian and Levantine elite clothing and coiffure, interpreted variously by regional workshops in the major city-kingdoms of the island.⁶ The kings of Cyprus became vassals of Sargon II in 707 B.C., but direct Assyrian influence on the island's material culture was extremely limited.⁷

Statues such as this were intended to act as surrogate worshipers of the deity, a practice with deep roots in the ancient Near East.⁸ The sanctuary of Frangissa was located in a remote valley outside the urban center of the copper-rich kingdom of Tamassos and was dedicated to Reshef and Apollo, deities foreign to Cyprus who were assimilated with a local god of vegetation and hunting.⁹ The size and quality of many of the offerings found there suggest that it was a major venue for the display of the piety, wealth, power,

and status of local elites during the lifetime of the city-kingdom (8th–4th century B.C.).

The practice of dedicating votive images at shrines in Cyprus during the Cypro-Archaic and Cypro-Classical periods (750–300 B.C.) was unparalleled in antiquity, both in terms of the sheer quantity of offerings depicting human worshipers¹⁰ and also in the use of terracotta as a medium for large-scale votive sculpture.¹¹ These were exported in relatively large quantities to the Aegean, where they may have influenced both the local monumental sculpture and, according to William A. P. Childs, the habit of dedicating statues of worshipers.¹² TK

1. Ohnefalsch-Richter 1893, pp. 6–10, pl. vi; Masson 1964; Buchholz 1991; Buchholz and Untiedt 1996, pp. 47–51, pls. 65–71. 2. Gjerstad 1948, pp. 105ff.; for subsequent interpretations and dating of the styles of Cypriot sculpture, see Counts 2001 and Fourrier 2007, pp. 103–9. 3. Fourrier 2007, pp. 45–47, chap. 2 passim, and p. 115. 4. The types are fully surveyed in V. Karageorghis 1993 (large-scale statues) and 1995, especially Type I(ii). 5. See Herodotos (7.90) on the turban (*mitra*) worn by Cypriot *basileis* in the early fifth century B.C. Remains of a turban are preserved on a similar head from the same site, also in the British Museum (GR 1910,6-20.2). 6. On regional workshops, see Fourrier 2007. 7. Reyes 1994, chap. 3; also Yon 1994. 8. See Connelly 1989 and Connelly 1991. 9. Masson 1983, no. 215; Vernet 2011. 10. Surveyed in J. Karageorghis 1998 and 1999, and V. Karageorghis 1993 and 1995. 11. Surveyed in V. Karageorghis 1993. 12. Childs 2001; see also Hermary 1991; Fourrier 2007, pp. 106–7; and the various papers in V. Karageorghis and Kouka 2009.



(e.g., Ayia Irini, Idalion, and Tamassos, among others; see fig. 3.64), where they were offered as votives to the deities. A fragment of a terracotta cuirass from a votive pit at Salamis-Toumba, now in the British Museum, is a very close parallel to the one from Kazaphani.⁶ Large-scale Cypriot terracottas and figurines were exported to the Aegean Islands, where it was a popular practice during the Archaic period to dedicate them in Greek sanctuaries.⁷

E.Z.K

1. Dikaios 1935, pp. 7–8; V. Karageorghis 1978, pp. 164–65, no. 51, p. 189, pl. XLVI; V. Karageorghis 1993, p. 33, no. 81, pl. XXI:2. 2. V. Karageorghis 1978, p. 165, no. 52, p. 189, pl. XLV; V. Karageorghis 1993, p. 33, no. 82, pl. XXI:3. 3. For parallel motifs, see V. Karageorghis and Des Gagniers 1974. 4. Masson 1983, p. 269, no. 253. 5. V. Karageorghis 1993, p. 6. 6. Walters 1903, pp. 17–18, nos. A107–A113. 7. For more on this topic, see V. Karageorghis et al. 2009.

82. Statuette of worshiper in Egyptian-style dress

Bronze; H. 21.7 cm (8½ in.), W. 5.8 cm (2¼ in.)
Idalion, sanctuary of Apollo-Reshef
Cypro-Archaic I–II period, 650–550 B.C.
The Trustees of the British Museum, London
(GR 1873.0320.339)

Among the many votive offerings found in the Cypro-Archaic to late Hellenistic levels of the sanctuary of Apollo-Reshef was a series of bronze statuettes of men in Egyptian-style dress and postures.¹ Typical features include the kilt with front flap, incised collar, and pointed helmet resembling the pharaonic White Crown, together with the advanced left leg and—in this example—the left fist held against the chest. Egyptianizing images on Cyprus, which include a rich sequence of large-scale stone and terracotta statues spanning the sixth century B.C., were once believed to reflect Egyptian dominance over Cyprus during the reign of the pharaoh Amasis (570–526 B.C.).² Today they are generally understood to reflect the Egyptianizing motifs popular in Phoenician art beginning in the ninth century B.C., especially in ivory production and metalwork.³ Phoenician culture had a strong impact on Cyprus during the Cypro-Archaic period, driven by intense economic, political, and artisanal interactions and facilitated by the establishment of communities of Phoenician merchants and settlers, including at least one Phoenician-speaking dynasty at Kition.⁴

The figurines are difficult to date precisely, but several have been found in archaeological contexts at Ayia Irini and Kition as early as the late eighth and earlier seventh centuries B.C.⁵ The facial features of the present example recall Dynasty 25 models, as do the incisions on the lower legs, which, in an Egyptian context, imitate Old Kingdom examples.⁶ Another figurine from Idalion shows signs of late Archaic Greek influence, bringing down the sequence to perhaps the early fifth century B.C.⁷ As such, these pieces seem to have a much longer period of use than the larger-scale Egyptianizing stone and terracotta statues found on Cyprus (and also at Phoenician sites such as Amrit and Byblos, though probably made by Cypriot sculptors).⁸ Furthermore, the specific gesture of the arm seems to derive from Cypriot terracotta and stone figures rather than Levantine or Egyptian models, suggesting that the type evolved within a Cypriot milieu rather than merely copying a foreign prototype.

The cultural significance of Egyptianizing iconography of this kind on Cyprus is unclear. It is difficult to argue (as did Glenn Markoe) that such images represent cult items of discrete groups of ethnic Phoenicians.⁹ Both their eclectic and diverse forms and their use in sanctuaries (where most human images represented worshipers rather than divinities) were rooted in local artistic and religious traditions.¹⁰ As Reinhard Senff and Fanni Faegersten have argued, they probably represent a specific form of elite and/or ritual dress, perhaps related to syncretic



religious practices influenced by the Phoenician and Egyptian worlds but developing within a Cypriot milieu.¹¹ TK

1. Fully described in Reyes 1992. For the sanctuary, a typical Cypriot temenos, see Lang and Poole 1878 and, for a modern survey, Senff 1993. The attribution of the sanctuary is based on a bilingual Greek-Phoenician inscription dating from the fourth century B.C. (Masson 1983, no. 220), but Apollo and Reshef were probably assimilated at a later stage with a local “Great God” of hunting and the countryside (Vernet 2011, with earlier references). 2. Reyes 1994, chap. 4; Faegersten 2003, pp. 13–20 and passim. 3. Markoe 1990b. 4. V. Karageorghis in Moscati 2001, pp. 185–98; Yon 2006. 5. Reyes 1992, p. 254. 6. Markoe’s argument (1990b) that the Egyptianizing features of Phoenician art derive entirely from Third Intermediate Period (and therefore New Kingdom) models rather than contemporary influences from Dynasties 25 and 26 (characterized as drawing largely on the Old Kingdom) is somewhat simplistic. I am grateful to my colleague Aurélie Masson-Berghoff for her advice on this issue. 7. Reyes 1992, pp. 246–47, nos. 11, 12. 8. Faegersten 2003, pp. 145–211. 9. Markoe 1990a. 10. Connelly 1989. 11. Senff 2005, p. 103; Faegersten 2003, pp. 244–51.

83. Jug with image of a cargo ship

Ceramic (Bichrome ware); H. 15.9 cm (6¼ in.)
Said to be from the Karpas Peninsula
Cypro-Archaic I, 750–600 B.C.
The Trustees of the British Museum, London
(GR 1926.0628.9)

The cargo ship shown on this Free Field–style jug of the Cypro-Archaic period is a reminder of the key role played by Cyprus in the maritime affairs of the eastern Mediterranean during the early first millennium B.C. Despite the highly schematic nature of the image,¹ we can identify it as a round-hulled merchant ship—the Phoenician *golah* or Greek *gaulos*—with a high stem and stern.² A stylized bird’s head decorates the stern, apparently the same as those visible on other Cypro-Archaic depictions of boats³ and on the structurally comparable vessels of the Sea Peoples on the Medinet Habu reliefs (see ill. pp. 12–13).⁴

The ship appears to be reaching land, as the sail is shown fully raised with the sheets and braces fully secured to the mast; the triangular elements at the base probably depict the rigging. The sailor on the right is maneuvering a round, single-holed anchor of a type used on Cyprus from the Late Bronze Age through the first millennium B.C.,⁵ while another, at the back of the ship, operates the double-winged tiller. A third individual is shown outside the back of the ship, apparently defecating onto a large fish. This reflects the characteristic earthy humor of Cypriot potters and vase painters of this period and also, no doubt, of sailors of all ages in the face of the perils of the open sea.

Two large amphorae sit in the hold or on deck, presumably representing a much larger cargo of olive oil, wine, or other foodstuffs. Their shape does not correspond very closely to known eastern Mediterranean transport jars of this period. It combines the top-heavy body and pointed base of Cypriot basket-handle jars⁶ with the protruding ear-handles found on Levantine storage vessels (including “Canaanite” jars) of the late second and earlier first millennia B.C.⁷ The former vessel type is probably intended here, numerous examples of which have been found in eastern Mediterranean shipwrecks of the seventh to fifth century B.C.⁸

The jug’s intact state suggests that it was found in a tomb, where it would have formed part of a dining or drinking set buried with the deceased, perhaps a merchant or mariner. The jug is said to have been found in the Karpas Peninsula of northeastern Cyprus, an area of great importance in the marine geography of the island, straddling the route along the modern Turkish coasts toward eastern Cyprus and the Levant. Items such as this—as well as the many boat



models found in Cypriot tombs of this period, which may have had a ritual or eschatological significance (see fig. 3.63)⁹—reflect the distinctive maritime identities that emerged in the coastal communities of Cyprus at this time. TK

1. I am very grateful to Greg Votruba and Ross Thomas for their advice on the interpretation of the scene. 2. Barnett 1958, pp. 227–28; Casson 1971, pp. 66–68; V. Karageorghis and Des Gagniers 1974, p. 38, no. XI.1; Casson 1994, pp. 41–44. 3. Karageorghis and Des Gagniers 1974, no. XI.2–3. 4. Wachsmann 1998, pp. 177–97. There is no reason to closely associate this feature, or indeed the similarity of the boat itself, with any specific ethnic group, as vessels of this kind developed at the end of the Bronze Age to facilitate new sailing and trading patterns; see Sherratt 2003, p. 43 n. 11. 5. Frost 1970; Wachsmann 1998, chap. 12, especially pp. 273–74; R. Ballard et al. 2002. 6. Especially seen in Type VI of the Swedish Cyprus Expedition classification; Gjerstad 1948, fig. LXIII (Plain White VI ware). This is Type 2 of Zoroğlu’s classification based on finds in Cilicia (2013, p. 44 and figs. 5–7); cf. A. Sagona 1982, Type 13, p. 88 and fig. 4. 7. A. Sagona 1982, figs. 1 and 2 (Types 1–12). There is also a passing resemblance to older Canaanite jars, such as those being unloaded from a Levantine ship in the New Kingdom Tomb of Kenanum at Thebes. 8. E.g., Greene, Leidwanger, and Özdaş 2013; Zoroğlu 2013. For Cypriot Iron Age ceramic exports in general, see Gjerstad 1948, pp. 311–18; Reyes 1994, p. 149; Greene, Leidwanger, and Özdaş 2013, pp. 32–34. 9. Surveyed in Westerberg 1983, pp. 19–46; for their significance, see Carbillet 2005 and 2011.

EGYPT IN THE NEO-ASSYRIAN PERIOD

Marsha Hill

Egypt remained an actor on the international stage during the Neo-Assyrian period, but the influence of Egyptian imagery, and of imagery inspired by Egypt, exceeded the country's political weight and its importance as a trading partner. The nature of this imagery and, possibly, certain Egyptian themes or myths that could have circulated internationally during this period owe a good deal to the particular cultural and religious climate in Egypt itself. Indeed, specific aspects of contemporary Egyptian culture appear to be significant in our understanding of the country's influence in the ancient world at this critical juncture.

Social Structure and History

The Neo-Assyrian period in Mesopotamia generally coincided with the Egyptian Third Intermediate Period (ca. 1070–664 B.C.), a time when decentralizing forces in Egypt were strong. This is an era whose political character is increasingly understood to have been integrally bound up with the ascension to positions of power of groups and individuals whose distinctive social organization was tribal and, within the larger context of Egypt as a settled country, manifested as feudal in nature.¹ These groups, collectively referred to by modern scholars as “Libyans” after the name given to one of them, originated in Egypt's Western Desert. They had seemingly been pushed out of the desert and toward the Nile Valley at the time of (and maybe even by) the upheavals around the Mediterranean caused by the movement of the Sea Peoples at the end of the Late Bronze Age (see “Sea Peoples and Philistines” in this volume, pp. 38–42). Ostensibly subdued by the Egyptian kings with their armies, the Libyans were nonetheless settled in large numbers over tracts in the Delta and Lower Egypt, employed in the military, and in other ways incorporated into Nile Valley culture.

At the end of the New Kingdom (ca. 1550–1070 B.C.), Egypt seems to have experienced a general retraction of effective governmental power. Internal causes are difficult to specify, but externally the disturbances around the Mediterranean occasioned by migrations of peoples and the loss of control over Nubia were significant factors. With Dynasty 21 (ca. 1070–945 B.C.), the resident Libyan groups had probably already taken control, ruling for more than a hundred years a country divided between a king in the north, at the new capital of

Tanis, and a High Priest of Amun/military leader/sometime “king” controlling the southern half from Thebes. In 945 B.C. a Libyan family originating in the Delta city of Bubastis came to power as Dynasty 22 and, at least initially, tried to repair the split, but over time their efforts to ameliorate the political situation probably hastened fragmentation.² In about 925 B.C. Sheshonq I (ca. 945–924 B.C.) made a large campaign into southern Palestine, and in 853 B.C. Osorkon II sent an Egyptian contingent to the coalition that fought the Assyrians at the battle of Qarqar. These efforts, which contrast with the otherwise generally low profile of the Egyptian military in the Levant, could be viewed as manifestations of a refocused monarchy. By about 825 B.C. there were other individuals strongly asserting kingship, however, and thereafter—up until the final Assyrian invasions of Egypt—a baffling number of kings, ruling princes, and chiefs can be identified from numerous towns throughout the Delta and Upper Middle Egypt.

During the eighth century B.C. a strong Kushite element was introduced into this mix. Although we are only now beginning to understand some aspects of the situation along the Nile south of the ancient border at Aswan during the preceding centuries—through excavation and survey at locations such as Amara West and Gematon/Kawa—an energized state referred to as Kush appears in the area by about 760 B.C. Strong views about proper maintenance of the gods ostensibly motivated the Kushites to invade a fractious Egypt in probably 733 B.C. and to invade again in about 721 B.C. to reassert their control and establish rule over Egypt directly from Memphis. In the holy city of Thebes, the Kushite pharaohs not only accepted the institution of the God's Wife of Amun—the designation of a woman of royal rank as the earthly consort of the god Amun, which had developed into a major religious office during the recent centuries—they strengthened it by attributing to the God's Wife important, quasi-royal significance and political powers in Upper Egypt.³ Even if the penetration of Kushite control throughout Egypt seems questionable—the same spectrum of fractious parties, located particularly in Middle and Lower Egypt, that appeared in Piye's victory stele can be identified in the annals of Ashurbanipal's first year—there is no debating the fact that the Kushite dynasty presented a reinigorated ideal of what could be accomplished by a more centralized royal and official culture.

From its early years the Kushite dynasty engaged in various diplomatic and military maneuverings in relation to the Levant and to the spread of Assyrian power. Ultimately, the Assyrians invaded Egypt: an assault in 671 B.C., during Taharqo's reign (690–664 B.C.), took Memphis, and another in 667 B.C. was driven back from Thebes; the conclusive assault against the armies of Taharqo's successor, Tanwetamani (664–656 B.C.), resulted in the sacking of Thebes in 663 B.C.⁴ Traumatic as it would have been to know that pharaohs's queen and sons were held captive in Nineveh after the 671 B.C. assault on Memphis, or to see or hear about the burning of Karnak's great pylons and halls in 663 B.C., there is, unsurprisingly, no formal acknowledgment of these events in Egypt. Other than a cache containing an Assyrian helmet and a few weapons found in Thebes, virtually the only traces of these sad years and of what must have been a seared cultural memory are in the demotic Egyptian stories of later centuries that recount struggles reflecting the events of these times.⁵

The ensuing years saw a family from the western Delta city of Sais established in sole rule by the Assyrians following their invasions of Egypt. Although the long reign of Psamtik I (664–610 B.C.) from this family marks the beginning of Egyptian Dynasty 26 (664–525 B.C.), in fact the reassertion of unified rule and the conversion of chieftains to officials were part of a gradual process. In social and material terms, Egypt under Psamtik's rule continued to have much in common with the Egypt of the Third Intermediate Period.

Aspects of Religion and Visual Culture in Third Intermediate Period Egypt

During the Third Intermediate Period, as sociopolitical developments over the centuries were compounded by more recent cultural changes, Egypt presented a subtly changed face to the world.⁶ In terms of the evolution of the religious landscape and beliefs, the diffusion and diversity that now characterized Egypt's political geography extended to local temples, especially in Lower Egypt, whose ramified mythologies and imagery became increasingly apparent alongside those of the great temples and their gods, which had occupied the foreground in the New Kingdom and continued to do so. A proliferation of small royal and divine statuary during this period, preserved particularly in metal, is probably a factor of new focus on these numerous local temples (fig. 3.68). No doubt the lustrous surfaces, variously subtle or colorful inlays, and ritual positionings and groupings of such statuary would have contributed to a resplendent atmosphere for certain



Fig. 3.68. Leaded bronze attachment head of goddess Mut wearing the double crown covered with gold and electrum. Third Intermediate Period. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Purchase, Edward S. Harkness Gift, 1926 (26.7.1427)

rituals, some of which were visible to a wide public through festival processions of the divine bark shrines.

At the same time, royal imagery, unleashed from its association with a single ruler, appears much more widely. In particular contexts, such as on the decoration of faience chalices, selected elements or scenes appear like charged fetishes in magical landscapes (fig. 3.62). The apparent fragility of kingship, or at least its earthly manifestations, may have contributed to the increasing prominence at this time of mythologies associating the king with the divine infant of a pair of gods and, by extension, with the rising sun, a concept most concisely represented in the figure of a divine child squatting atop a lotus blossom (see cat. 66). These aspects of Egyptian religion are aptly termed “mammisiac” after the mammisi: temples devoted to a divine child that are found alongside first-millennium B.C. goddesses' temples, although they have earlier origins.⁷ The goddess Isis and the divine child Horus are one example of this structure and, indeed, the one that ultimately prevailed. Innumerable small faience spacers, necklace counterpoises, and rings depict the essential elements of the story, in which Isis protects Horus in the marshes of Chemmis. The image of Isis nursing Horus that eventually became dominant is formulated at this time as an extension of the image of goddesses nursing the young king (see the introduction to this volume, pp. 2–11).

Another development in the religious life of Egypt during this period was the increasing importance of certain great

goddesses, in particular those designated “Eye of Re,” including Hathor, Mut-Sakhmet-Bastet, Tefnut, Wadjet, and even Isis. The designation refers to the fact that these volatile goddesses are agents and counterparts to the sun god Re. Their prominence is explained by various mythological stories, one of which, called the Myth of the Sun’s Eye, recounts the wrathful departure of (usually) Re’s daughter Tefnut from Egypt for faraway lands such as Nubia or Libya. Efforts ensue on the part of the gods Thoth and Bes to lure her back, their ultimate success representing the return of normalcy and prosperity. These violent but powerful goddesses, when appeased, were forceful protectors and benefactors of the king and humankind. In this period, reference to the Myth of the Sun’s Eye is frequently perceptible in a type of pale turquoise, spotted faience figurine whose origins appear traceable to the Egyptian eastern Delta. Such figurines depict women, cats, monkeys (alluding to Thoth, who has a baboon form), and Bes, frequently in combination. Related themes and a similar physical appearance were adopted somewhat later in Mediterranean faience manufacture,⁸ leading some scholars to see the Myth of the Sun’s Eye as a key reference point in Phoenician proclivities for certain Egyptian images, an intriguing possibility as we continue to explore the transmission of ideas across the Mediterranean.⁹ Adding to what can be characterized as a strong female element in Egyptian religion of the period was the focus at Thebes on monuments depicting the God’s Wife of Amun and her female attendants; related female offices and coteries are evidenced at other sites.

Although the changes noted above can be documented in imagery — primarily small objects, including statuary — Egypt’s monumental built environment remained largely that which had been visible during the New Kingdom, a period that witnessed extensive building and decoration campaigns. Significant temple construction or decoration was limited during the Third Intermediate Period, although there were exceptions. At the same time, burial practices had shifted toward a close concentration on the body and its coffins and ritual provision for the afterlife through papyri and a few wood stelae. Prominent paint- or relief-decorated tombs, well known from the New Kingdom, recurred only in the Kushite Period. These circumstances help explain the overall close stylistic adherence to New Kingdom prototypes of the Thutmose and early Ramesside Periods for much of the Third Intermediate Period. The Third Intermediate Period did, however, have a distinctive style for the human figure, aptly characterized by one scholar as “les visages, les corps effilés, les vêtements frangés possédant une grâce particulière à ce temps” (the faces, the slender bodies, the fringed garments

[have] a charm peculiar to this time).¹⁰ Moreover, throughout the Third Intermediate Period, locale is a notable factor in style because of the different building histories that distinguish sites. This is most striking in the eighth century B.C., when there was an apparent inclination to look to much earlier monuments as models: for example, Memphis and sites in the Delta had access to Old Kingdom examples that were not available at Thebes. In figural images, this affinity for earlier styles manifested itself particularly in broader shoulders, narrow waists, and emphasized knee and leg musculature.

Considering these shifts in Egyptian religion, religious iconography, and style, there is much that is distinctive of this era in terms of how traditional imagery was rendered and deployed. Many features can also be reasonably assigned to a particular time or place. Ultimately, these traceable differences in subject matter and style might be exploited as we seek to understand the reception of Egyptian imagery by the international community of the time.

Trade and Traders

In the narrative known as the Story of Wenamun, this priest of Amun at Karnak is sent on an official journey to acquire cedar for the Theban barque of Amun, the vessel that carried the god’s processional image.¹¹ Whether fact or fiction, Wenamun’s tale of the indignities he suffered on his travels from Thebes via Tanis to Dor, Byblos, and (unintentionally) Cyprus is often looked to for evidence both of Egypt’s position in the eyes of the outside world at the turn of the first millennium B.C. and as the prefiguring of a general downturn in the country during the Third Intermediate Period.

Although a more attentive reading of the narrative brings out many interesting and revelatory points,¹² it is perhaps most important to realize that the story is one of only 27 textual documents attesting to Egypto-Asiatic relations between 1200 and 732 B.C., making it stunningly rare compared with the 985 texts from the Late Bronze Age or the texts dating between 732 and 600 B.C.¹³ There is, however, archaeological evidence for continued interactions between Egypt and Asia at this time, as detailed in a recent study by Gregory Mumford.¹⁴ It seems likely that patterns in the preservation of documentation shifted with political changes in the first millennium B.C., and thus the preserved textual record cannot be considered definitive, but by analyzing both textual and archaeological material and dealing in a measured way with many problems of definition and evidence, the Mumford study presents a detailed, quasi-quantitative analysis of interactions between Egypt and the Levant over the Third Intermediate Period and beyond.

Compared to what the historical record suggests, inscrip-
tional documents evidence “more continuous and diverse
contact between Egypt and the Near East through time,
including the movement of Egyptian provisions, livestock,
exotic animals, faunal and floral items, metals, minerals, stat-
uary, furniture, containers, toiletries, textiles, garments, jew-
elry, weaponry, ships, people and unspecified things to
Syria-Palestine and neighboring regions.”¹⁵ The written mate-
rials reveal “multiple layers of complexity behind the diverse
mechanisms that dispersed Egyptian materials and products
to their ‘final’ context in the archaeological record,” and his-
torical records indicate that “Egyptian merchants, state mes-
sengers, cultic envoys, mercenaries, emigrants, soldiers,
armies, deportees, and others traveled to the Levant, accom-
panied by possessions, equipment, merchandise, animals,
gifts, tribute, prisoners, and other things destined to remain
in the Near East.”¹⁶ Throughout the Third Intermediate
Period, Egyptians (or Egyptian speakers) dwelled abroad,
especially during periods of the defeat and resettlement of
Egyptian/Kushite armies outside Egypt.

Archaeology and exploitable material data from Levantine
sites support a picture of broad interaction between Egypt
and the Levant that fluctuated through time in frequency and
distribution according to various factors. The artifact assem-
blages constitute a “broad and fairly representative range of
Egyptian(izing) items,” such as jewelry, luxury containers,
monuments, seal impressions, figurines, and pottery as well
as the remains of species of freshwater Nile fish.¹⁷ Although
an overall picture emerges of a definite drop after 1000 B.C.
and then a more gradually decreasing trend in the occurrence
of Egyptian trade and influence, there were interesting peaks
of activity at times of dispersed power within Egypt itself.
This strongly suggests an “emphasis on non-royal trade and
shipping in distribution of Egyptian(izing) materials, prod-
ucts, animals, and persons to the Near East,” and probably
new intermediaries in the Phoenicians.¹⁸

Independent trade and shipping within Egypt itself are
factors that need to be kept in mind. Barry Kemp has drawn
attention to the fact that in New Kingdom Egypt low-status
individuals termed “traders” bridged the apparent gaps
between the state system of provision and private needs, act-
ing in the interstices between institutions, landed officials,
and towns to meet demands and enable redistribution.¹⁹ As
Kemp notes, in times of weak government, the role of these
traders was greatly expanded. They would voyage up and
down the Nile in search of better prices and the chance to
move merchandise, using to their advantage the high degree
of internal mobility provided by the Nile and the overland des-

ert routes that linked the river to the Western Desert oases and
Nubia, in particular. Traders certainly were in contact with
other shippers, either native or foreign, who reached lands out-
side Egypt. These traders existed during the Third Intermedi-
ate Period, as Mumford’s study suggests, and their role,
especially considering Egypt’s “internal cosmopolitanism,”²⁰
would have come to the fore in the distribution of goods.

Evidence for the presence of foreign individuals in Egypt is
particularly interesting with regard to the larger question of
the transmission of imagery and, potentially, ideas. A group
such as the “traders,” for example, would surely have brought
together foreign elements that had long been interwoven in
Egypt, especially in the Egyptian eastern Delta. Diverse types
of evidence build up a picture of this presence in Egypt, in
particular with regard to trade with the Phoenicians, who were
likely purveyors of various wines, oils, and the bronze (or its
precursor metals) so obvious in temple statuary and equip-
ment, which was likely to have come to Egypt from foreign
sources.²¹ Phoenician pottery of various dates has been found
at sites in the eastern Delta, the Memphite and Fayum mouth
region, Thebes, and, later in the first half of the first millen-
nium B.C., Elephantine.²² One of the most interesting devel-
opments for the periods under consideration is Phoenician
pottery from the eighth century B.C. discovered at Herakleopo-
lis, a site deep within Egypt, just south of the Fayum entrance
area, and also, tantalizingly, a site closely tied to the main
Libyan ruling family of the Third Intermediate Period. More
data may yet be brought to light concerning this site, which
is the subject of modern, continuing excavations, but in the
meantime considerable evidence of place-names, family names,
and seafaring traders argues for a Phoenician presence in
the area.²³

Transition to the Seventh Century B.C.

With the reunification of Egypt in the seventh century B.C. and
the advent of Greek influence in military and trade activity,
trading received an apparently new, more official validation
within Egypt. Sites were established at Thonis (Heraklion)
at the coastal mouth of the major Canopic branch of the
Nile and at Naukratis, farther upstream on the way to
Memphis, and also probably through canals attached to Sais,
capital of Dynasty 26. These trading sites likely served as
the major centers for control of access and taxation at this
time.²⁴ Trade with many other Mediterranean peoples contin-
ued through these ports or via other routes, but these cities
signaled the beginning of the long era of close Egyptian and
Greek interaction.

FROM CARTHAGE TO THE WESTERN MEDITERRANEAN

María Eugenia Aubet

Among the legends recorded by historians of the Classical period are those that speak of the existence of Phoenician colonies founded in a remote time, before the arrival of the Greeks, on the shores of the western Mediterranean. Of greatest antiquity, according to those authors, were the two most westerly colonies, Gadir and Lixus, situated on the shores of the dreaded Atlantic Ocean. Roman historian Velleius Paterculus, on the basis of information handed down by Hellenistic historians, placed the founding of Gadir (modern Cádiz, in southwest Spain) eighty years after the Trojan War, that is, around 1104 B.C.¹ It was said of Lixus, in Atlantic Morocco, that its main temple had been built before the one in Gadir.²

Today it is difficult to defend such high chronologies on the basis of archaeological evidence; these early dates also seem incompatible with the historical and political context of the period. Archaeology has proved vital in demonstrating, for example, that in the twelfth century B.C., Tyre, the Phoenician city chiefly responsible for colonizing the western Mediterranean as well as for establishing other Phoenician cities in the east, was in no position either politically or economically to coordinate and engage in a colonial and commercial diaspora of that magnitude. The geographical distribution of the main western Phoenician colonies reflects, instead, the existence of a dense network of coastal settlements heading toward the southern part of the western Mediterranean.³ Indeed, the establishment of the earliest colonies along the west coast of Sicily, a large part of the southwest coastline of the island of Sardinia, the Bay of Tunis, Ibiza, and the southern coasts of the Iberian Peninsula points to concrete commercial objectives: control of the main shipping routes across the central Mediterranean and access to the Atlantic via the Strait of Gibraltar and Gadir. This westward expansion was thus more a question of ensuring access to (and the consequent monopoly of) the route used to trade metals such as tin, copper, silver, and lead, whose main reserves were located in Sardinia and the Atlantic zones of Iberia. This route was similar to the ancestral network already in use at the end of the second millennium B.C., which had linked important circuits of production and circulation of raw materials through Cyprus, Mycenae, Sardinia, and Huelva.⁴ The arrival of the Phoenicians in the west around 800 B.C., if not earlier, demonstrates two significant aspects

of this colonial expansion: that exchanges between the Mediterranean Levant and the west were in no way interrupted during the transition from the Late Bronze Age to the Iron Age, and that the people of Tyre were aware of the minero-metallurgical wealth in the western Mediterranean as well as the shipping routes that had been used by merchant ships from the end of the second millennium B.C. The picture that emerges is one of a perfectly programmed and organized colonial and trading enterprise.

Within the usual shipping routes to the western Mediterranean via the islands of the Mediterranean and southern Iberia, the Phoenician colony of Carthage (fig. 3.69) stands out for its eccentric and, apparently, marginal situation. Founded in a territory with no significant minero-metallurgical resources, Carthage may have been established for reasons or objectives different from those governing the creation of other western colonies. In fact, Carthage is the only Phoenician colony whose founding (in 814–813 B.C.) is attributed to aristocratic



Fig. 3.69. Aerial view of Carthage showing internal port (*cothon*) at top

circles directly connected with the royal family of Tyre.⁵ Furthermore, unlike the other colonies in the west, the city, which occupied an area of some 55 hectares, from its very beginnings was characterized by exceptional urban features, more like those of a “new city,” the meaning of the name Carthage in Phoenician (*qart-hadasht*). These included a dense network of streets, squares, and gardens, industrial quarters, and mighty walls enclosing the city’s harbor.⁶

There is no unanimous agreement among specialists about the absolute chronology for the beginning of the Phoenician expansion to the west. Recent radiocarbon dates coincide in placing the founding of the earliest colonies at the end of the ninth century B.C., a period that marks the beginning of the Iron Age in southern Europe.⁷ Carthage and Morro de Mezquitilla (on the Málaga coastline) stand out as sites with radiocarbon dates for their most ancient occupation levels in the years 830–800 B.C. These dates conform with those passed down in the Classical sources for the founding of Carthage. Moreover, excavations at Morro de Mezquitilla have revealed the earliest known traces in southern Europe (ca. 807–802 B.C.) of iron metallurgy.⁸

These new absolute chronologies cast doubt on one of the best-known traditional hypotheses explaining the westward expansion of the Phoenicians, namely, that the Assyrian empire put pressure on the cities of Tyre, Sidon, and Arwad in its drive to obtain metals and other luxuries. According to this model, from the ninth to eighth century B.C. the Phoenician colonies were merely part of the “periphery” of the Assyrian empire.⁹ However, current archaeological and radiocarbon evidence, which is more in accord with what we know to have been the political and economic context of the eastern Mediterranean, dates the creation of the Phoenician colonial empire to the ninth century B.C., long before the Assyrian conquests on the Phoenician coast and at the very peak of both the monarchy and the mercantile oligarchies in Tyre, the prime movers of the diaspora to the west.¹⁰

The archaeology of the indigenous world in the western Mediterranean indicates that, before the founding of the first Phoenician colonies, Tyre had already made initial contacts with regions of special economic and commercial interest. For example, in the Tartessian coastal settlement of Huelva, where a center formed to control the exploitation and smelting of silver from mines in the interior, archaeologists have located the so-called Plaza de las Monjas: an assemblage of Phoenician ceramics imported from the east (basically Tyrian) whose chronology predates the founding of Carthage, Morro de Mezquitilla, and probably Gadir as well. Experts in Phoenician chronology and pottery production date these

“precolonial” contacts to the second half of the ninth century B.C.¹¹ It is significant, then, that the Phoenicians’ first contacts with the west took place where indigenous peoples had at their disposal important minero-metallurgical resources (silver and tin, in particular) that were in short supply and much in demand in the east. In the interior regions of Tartessos, for example, the native peoples had initiated the exploitation of cassiterite to obtain tin.¹² A similar situation occurred in Sardinia, where the arrival of the Phoenicians on the island reflects initial contacts with indigenous Nuragic village culture, as at Sant’Imbenia prior to or almost simultaneous with the founding of the first colony, Sulcis, in the eighth century B.C.¹³

The eighth and seventh centuries B.C. witnessed an extraordinary proliferation of Phoenician colonies in the west, associated with intense trading activity throughout the western Mediterranean. The founding of these colonies no doubt corresponds to the peak period of Phoenician colonial expansion, when a host of new, secondary settlements were established on the coasts of Portugal, Morocco, and the Balearic Islands at the initiative of western Phoenician centers. This florescence is reflected in the work of some Classical authors, who mention that, owing to profits from the silver trade, the Phoenicians found themselves in a position to found colonies in Iberia, Sardinia, and Africa (Diodorus Siculus 5.35.5; Strabo 1.3.2 and 3.2.12–13). Archaeology reveals that from the beginning of the eighth century B.C. and throughout the seventh century B.C., in particular, the Phoenicians founded numerous colonies and harbor installations on the Mediterranean coast of Andalusia, including Toscanos, Sexi (modern Almuñecar), the legendary Mainake (probably Cerro del Villar), Chorreras, and Abdera (modern Adra).¹⁴ Notable in the Atlantic area are Mogador and Lixus in Morocco; the latter, located on the banks of an ancient lake near Larache and at the mouth of the river Likkus, provided access to important resources such as gold and ivory in the interior. The majority of the centers founded during the second wave of colonization were associated mainly with the colony of Gadir, as was the case with Ebusus (modern Ibiza) in the Balearic Islands.¹⁵

During the same period we also see the appearance of the chief Phoenician colonies in Sardinia (Sulcis, Nora, Tharros, Bithia, and Cagliari), Sicily (Motya, Panormo, Solunto), and Malta.¹⁶ In Sulcis (modern Sant’Antioco), which lies on the southwest coast of Sardinia, the ceramic materials from the sacred precinct of the *tophet* and the urban area known today as the Cronicario reveal that this is the most ancient Phoenician colony on the island. Founded on territory with easy access to important metallurgical resources, it soon surrounded itself

with an imposing group of fortifications built high in the strategic hills—Monte Sirai, Pani Loriga—possibly with a view to later conflicts with the local populations in the interior for control of the mines.¹⁷ Motya, founded on a tiny, uninhabited island facing Marsala, on Sicily’s west coast, has yielded one of the most complete assemblages of archaeological remains from the Phoenician colonial period: temples, an internal port (or *cothon*), a zone of industrial activity, several cremation cemeteries, a *tophet*-sanctuary, and mighty walls surrounding the island.¹⁸ While the western zone of Sicily had been under the control of Phoenician trade—thanks to the founding of Motya, Panormo (modern Palermo), and Solunto—the eastern sector of the island, in contrast, was occupied by Greek colonies.

As these colonies flourished, there is evidence of extensive trade in the west, including the circulation of oil, wine, decorated ivories, glass and bronze objects, and raw metal (tin, silver, gold, and copper) from different parts of the Mediterranean. These goods were exchanged in accordance with the demands of the moment. Numerous shipwrecks in the area, such as the one in Bajo de la Campana (see “The Bajo de la Campana Shipwreck and Colonial Trade in Phoenician Spain” in this volume, pp. 230–42), attest to the transportation of large cargoes of amphorae containing wine, oil, fish, and fruit as well as ingots of tin and other metals. It should be kept in mind that this was the time of the so-called Orientalizing phenomenon, when indigenous interior communities who were in either direct or indirect contact with the Phoenician colonies on the coast adopted certain artistic and ideological concepts from the east. A case in point is ancient Tartessos (the western part of modern Andalusia), where an economy based on the circulation of Near Eastern prestige goods, in the hands of the local aristocratic elites, reflects the decisive impact of external trade on societies that were in transition to more complex forms of social and political organization.¹⁹

Although we still know very little about the internal workings of the social structure in the Phoenician colonies, one Phoenician colony on the bay of Málaga, just west of the modern city of Málaga (ancient Malaka), has yielded interesting data concerning the economic and social activities of a typical ancient colony. This settlement, excavated at Cerro del Villar, is probably ancient Mainake, mentioned by Greek and Roman geographers as a legendary place that had already disappeared by their day.²⁰ Various geomorphological and palaeogeographical studies have shown that this site was originally an island lying in the middle of a wide delta at the mouth of the river Guadalhorce. Botanical, faunal, and pollen analyses reveal that when the Phoenicians arrived on the island, in the eighth century B.C., the landscape comprised

riverside woods in the immediate environs, pine woods in the nearby hinterland and swamps, and channels, pools, and brackish lakes around the island. This somewhat inhospitable topography was compensated for, however, by the site’s excellent strategic position on the sea routes to the Atlantic. It also provided direct access to the mixed farmland of the interior, then in the hands of indigenous communities, and extraordinarily direct access to the main overland route to Tartessos—with its sources of silver, tin, copper—through the valley of the Guadalhorce. Throughout the seventh century B.C., however, owing to the action of the sea and to the gradual silting up of the Guadalhorce delta, the estuary became an increasingly open landscape subject to alluvial flooding. Erosion and ecological degradation in the interior as a consequence of intense industrial activities (e.g., pottery production in numerous kilns) and overexploitation of farmlands and forests in the hinterland abetted this process. The ancient island finally disappeared at the beginning of the sixth century B.C., half buried amid swamps and floodplains. The causes of the abandonment of Cerro del Villar should probably be investigated not only as an ecological crisis but also as the result of more complex, sociopolitical factors at the end of the seventh century B.C., including the need for strategic control of the bay and the sea routes to the west as well as political centralization of the colonies. All of this led to the establishment of the large town of Malaka just 4 kilometers east of Cerro del Villar, fostered no doubt by the exodus of the ancient colonial population from the island of Villar.²¹

In Iberia, the transition to the Punic world of the sixth through the fourth centuries B.C. seems have been the result of internal changes, specifically, the transformation of the former colonies and the concentration of the population into a few large cities. In Sardinia and Sicily, the period between the end of the seventh and the beginning of the sixth century B.C. coincides with a progressive Carthaginian influence, which in some cases seems to have been associated with a military invasion on the part of the Carthaginian armies. In any event, beginning in the sixth century B.C. Carthage’s political, cultural, and religious influence on Sardinia, Sicily, and Ibiza played a decisive role in the changes that took place in the western Mediterranean. Indeed, from the sixth through the fourth century B.C., there was a rapid reorganization of the economy and of colonial trade in the geopolitical panorama of the western Mediterranean accompanied by hitherto unknown forms of rivalry and competition. Ultimately, the struggles in the west between Carthage, the Greek cities, and, later, Rome for commercial, political, and military domination transformed the old colonial scenario into a situation of open, generalized conflict for control of the seas and new frontiers.



84. Plaque with worshipers

Ivory; H. 6.5 cm (2½ in.), W. 4.1 cm (1⅝ in.)
 Carthage, Byrsa
 Phoenician-Punic, 8th–7th century B.C.
 Carthage National Museum, Tunis (03-02-02-57)

Found in a cremation burial dated to the seventh century B.C., this elegantly carved plaque may have been intended to perpetuate the prayers of the deceased. Two standing figures, face-to-face, raise both hands in a traditional Egyptian gesture of worship. Above the scene is the winged sun disc, a symbol of divine presence that originated in Egypt and was widely adopted throughout the Levant. Although the female figure appears nude, she is in fact dressed in an ankle-length transparent tunic, bordered with a tasseled fringe or a chain of large globular beads, that reveals her muscular thighs and pubic triangle. Her hair is plaited in a series of braids reaching to her shoulders. The male figure wears a short pleated kilt below a long mantle, open at the front and with a border similar to that of the female figure's tunic. Short sleeves cover his upper arms and stop at what appears to be a triple armband. His wig or hair is cropped short and braided. Both figures have strong features, round noses, and heads that are slightly oversize for their short bodies. Both also have bare feet, suggesting they stand on holy ground. The piece retains an Egyptian flavor in the gestures, costumes, and hairstyles. Details such as the beaded garment borders and the squat proportions of the body do not, however, derive from Egyptian art but

instead reflect the influence of the land of Kush,¹ dating the plaque to Dynasty 25 (712–664 B.C.), the period of Nubian rule in Egypt. However, the plaque can also be compared with Orientalizing artifacts from Etruria, such as the ivory plaque from the Bernardini Tomb in Praeneste depicting a cultic scene, thus situating it as one of the eclectic products found in the western Mediterranean in this period.² AC

1. Lancel 1983. 2. Canciani and Hase 1979, no. 115, pls. 54, 55.

85. Mirror handle in the shape of a female figurine

Ivory; H. 13 cm (5⅙ in.), W. 3 cm (1⅙ in.)
 Carthage, Douimes necropolis
 Phoenician-Punic, ca. 7th century B.C.
 Carthage National Museum, Tunis (89519)

This graceful figure was found in a tomb together with a bronze disc mirror, which was originally fitted into the socket carved into the figure's head.¹ She is wearing an Egyptian-style wig that leaves the ears exposed and a necklace of pendant beads. The eyes of the triangular, almost feline face are incised. Her narrow arms lift her small, closely spaced breasts, and her lower body takes the form of a cylindrical garment held by a tasseled girdle. Three incised vertical bands, one on each side and another in the back, are decorated with rows of inverted triangles and reach to the hem of the skirt. Four



peg holes pierced at the hem secured the figure to a base, now missing.

Ivory handles for fans or mirrors in the shape of a nude goddess appeared in the Levant during the Bronze Age, for instance at Megiddo.² They are elegant variations on popular terracotta figurines depicting a fertility goddess, probably a local manifestation of Astarte, which were deposited in sanctuaries and tombs, probably by female worshipers. In the Iron Age, these figurines remained immensely popular and retained the Egyptian-style head and prominent wig from the earlier depictions. The ivory versions, however, were subtly modified. Although the emphasis remained on the naked breasts, the lower body was no longer represented with separated legs under the pubic triangle but covered by a cylindrical garment. The tasseled girdle is an important attribute of the costume and appears on several comparable figures from Assyria,³ the Levant,⁴ and also from Carthage (another example from the Hill of Juno).⁵ The thin, angular arms find parallels in other eclectic works, such as the half-length ivory figure at the top of an ostrich-egg ewer from Ancona (see cat. 117). AC

1. Excavated 1895 (Delattre or Gauckler). Héron de Villefosse 1893, pp. 320–22; Delattre 1897, pp. 352–54, figs. 65, 66; Ph. Berger 1900, pp. 77–78, pl. XI.2.3; *Archaeologia viva* 1968–69, p. 86, no. 67; Parrot, Chéhab, and Moscati 1975, p. 182, fig. 197. 2. Loud 1939, pl. 39 (A 22257). 3. Nimrud, Northwest Palace, Well AJ; Herrmann and Laidlaw 2009, no. 1.2 IM 70599, pl. 124. 4. Caubet and Gaborit-Chopin 2004, nos. 82, 83. 5. *Archaeologia viva* 1968–69, p. 129, no. XLIII.

CARTHAGINIAN JEWELRY

Brigitte Quillard

86. Necklace

Gold; L. 32 cm (12 $\frac{5}{8}$ in.)
Carthage
Phoenician-Punic, ca. mid-7th–6th century B.C.
National Bardo Museum, Tunis (01-02-04-218)

87. Pendant

Gold; H. 2.6 cm (1 in.), Diam. 2.2 cm ($\frac{7}{8}$ in.)
Carthage
Phoenician-Punic, mid-7th–6th century B.C.
Carthage National Museum, Tunis (03-02-04-111)

88. Pendant

Gold; H. 2.2 cm ($\frac{7}{8}$ in.), W. 1.7 cm ($\frac{5}{8}$ in.)
Carthage
Phoenician-Punic, late 7th–6th century B.C.
Musée du Louvre, Paris, Département des Antiquités
Orientales (AO 3028)

89a, b. Earrings

Gold; a: H. 3.8 cm (1 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.), W. 3.1 cm (1 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.);
b: H. 3.1 cm (1 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.), W. 1.4 cm ($\frac{1}{2}$ in.)
Carthage
Phoenician-Punic, 7th–6th century B.C.
Musée du Louvre, Paris, Département des Antiquités
Orientales (AO 3034, AO 3035)

90. Earring pendant

Gold; H. 2.2 cm ($\frac{7}{8}$ in.), Diam. 1 cm ($\frac{3}{8}$ in.)
Carthage
Phoenician-Punic, mid-7th–6th century B.C.
Musée du Louvre, Paris, Département des Antiquités
Orientales (AO 3031)

91. Ring

Gold and agate; H. 0.9 cm ($\frac{3}{8}$ in.), W. 1.2 cm ($\frac{1}{2}$ in.)
Carthage
Phoenician-Punic, 7th–6th century B.C.
Musée du Louvre, Paris, Département des Antiquités
Orientales (AO 3038)

92. Ring

Gold; L. 2 cm ($\frac{3}{4}$ in.), W. 0.9 cm ($\frac{3}{8}$ in.)
Carthage, necropolis of Borj Jedid
Phoenician-Punic, ca. 6th century B.C.
National Bardo Museum, Tunis (4004.02.04.179)

This necklace and pendants, earrings, and finger rings, among the most representative pieces of Carthaginian jewelry dating to the seventh and sixth centuries B.C., allow us to explore some of the types of ornament in use during that period in the western Mediterranean, primarily at Carthage and Tharros.

The necklace (cat. 86) is composed of 113 elements organized symmetrically on either side of a central pendant, no doubt a modern arrangement.¹ There are two other pendants, both in the shape of a small arched niche with granulated motifs at the center that are difficult to interpret; there are also two small round elements,² a type particularly well represented in Carthage. The group of 107 beads,³ most of them decorated, attest to the variety in that type of ornament from Carthage. The necklace's central pendant, which has Egyptianizing decoration,⁴ is of excellent workmanship and is in an

extraordinary state of preservation. The obverse displays a soldered tripartite decoration. At the top, the winged sun disc, with a double radiating tail and spread wings, bears on its upper edge an undulating ribbon suggestive of serpents; in the center, another sun disc is topped by a crescent moon; at the bottom, two snakes (*uraei*) approach a dome-shaped sacrum, a complex representation discussed below. The bail (or attachment loop),⁵ characteristic of archaic Phoenician-Punic jewelry, is coil-shaped and rimmed with much finer granulations, which also form a line that underscores the contours of the composition, making it more intelligible. Granulations also cover the sacrum.

The Egyptianizing discoid pendant (cat. 87) belongs to the same family as the pendant of the necklace but has no "serpent ribbons." A crescent moon supports the sun disc; each *uraeus* is crowned with a schematic Egyptian





87



88



89a, b

pschent (double crown); a dome-shaped sacrum is surmounted by a simplified palmette; and small granulated triangles and lozenges cover the surface.

The differences between these two pendants exemplify the variations that exist among the twenty known specimens of this type. No fewer than twelve of these come from Carthage—two from relatively recent excavations (1989 and 1995)—while eight others are from outside the metropolis: Malta (Rabat), Sardinia (Sulcis), Sicily (Motya), and Spain (Trayamar, Cádiz, Medellín, Angorrilla, and Ibiza). The thematic components of the group are characteristic of the eastern Mediterranean, particularly Egypt, but thus far no pendant with such imagery has been discovered there. It may very well be that the design of such jewelry, and even the manufacture of a number of examples, occurred in Carthage, where the greatest concentration of them has been found.

These pieces are of extraordinary interest in terms of their technique, which is identical to that used to make the niche-shaped pendant (cat. 88), discussed below, as well as for their iconography. Even now their meaning remains obscure and the interpretation of the sacrum hypothetical. The sacrum is spherical and thus related to the *ure* sun disc, a familiar Egyptian symbol. When it takes the shape of a dome, as on eleven of the pendants identified, it has been seen as perhaps a deformed *ure* disc, a baetyl (sacred stone), a misinterpreted cartouche, or even a mountain. The latter identification recalls the primordial mound or hill of creation, a fundamental principle of Egyptian cosmogony, and is thus the most appealing interpretation. However, it must be acknowledged that the ambiguity of Phoenician-Punic symbolism lies in the fact that it borrows from various cultural sources without necessarily endorsing their meaning. Still, a reference to cosmic symbolism seems likely, and indeed the palmette on the discoid pendant (cat. 87) may be seen to

connote a life-giving force. The same vegetal image is also present on three other specimens in the group.

The Egyptianizing pendant in the shape of an arched niche (cat. 88) is one in a series of seven.⁶ Outside Carthage, other examples of the type, which is very rare in ancient jewelry, were found primarily in Sardinia (Tharros and Pani Loriga), with a single exemplar found in Sicily (Palermo). The form may suggest the image of a shelter, or cella, for some venerable object, in this case a sacrum whose shape resembles a bottle covered with granules that rests on an altar between two disc-bearing *uraei*. Although the cobras and the shape of the altar are borrowed from the Egyptian repertoire, the bottle form is specific to Phoenician-Punic imagery, as attested by many contemporaneous chapel-*cippi* (carved stone facades in the shape of a chapel) found in the *tophets* of Carthage and Sardinia and, later, by countless stelae. Here, too, the meaning of the sacrum remains obscure, and the many hypotheses that have been put forward—a flat idol, baetyl, urn, vase in the schematic form of a child, or a heroized child—are all unsatisfying. The last three explanations would suggest some connection with the urns containing the ashes of young children, which were placed within the enclosure of the *tophet*.⁷ The only certainty about these two series of Egyptianizing pendants is their sacred and magico-religious character, which would have been linked in the wearer's mind to a strong sense of protection. They occupy an extraordinary place within the corpus of Carthaginian ornament because of their imagery but also because of the originality of their technique, unique in ancient jewelry as far as we know. This process of “applied repoussé”⁸ consisted of cutting out and shaping each element of the decoration and then soldering it onto the field. The winged disc on the discoid pendant of the necklace has, by itself, as many as eleven small elements, the result of extremely meticulous detail work.

The earrings belong to two distinct categories. The first type (cat. 89a, b)⁹ has a fixed pendant in the shape of a T (known as a Tau) soldered to an elliptical hoop, which is often thicker along the bottom curve and always open on the side. This simple design gave rise to all sorts of variations involving the proportion between the hoop, which can be more or less elliptical or even round, and the cross pendant itself, more or less conforming to the “cross pat-tée” shape. Although usually made of gold and silver during the seventh and sixth centuries B.C., later these earrings were sometimes made of gold-plated bronze, lead, or bone. The type is attested mainly in the western Mediterranean, primarily Carthage and Sardinia (Tharros), although a few examples have also been found in Sicily (Palermo and Motya), Spain (Ibiza), and Algeria (Rachgoun). Their Near Eastern origin seems certain, since two examples dated to the eighth century B.C. have been found in the Levant,¹⁰ one in Akhziv and the other in Sarafand. Furthermore, the very design of the piece—which has been compared to an ansate cross and associated with the Egyptian *ankh*, the sign of life—may derive from a type of Assyrian cruciform buckle in use in the ninth and eighth centuries B.C.¹¹ A specimen from Utica adorned the chest of a female corpse as a necklace pendant, a dual function that should be noted. Such jewelry is characteristic of archaic Carthaginian ornament and can be found in Carthage, Sardinia, and Ibiza in contexts dating to as late as the fourth century B.C. The lower end of that chronology can now be extended to the second century B.C. thanks to an extraordinary discovery in 1983 at the *tophet* of Tharros: an astonishing lion-headed bust in terracotta with a muzzle adorned with two Tau, one in gold and the other in silver.¹²

The second type of earring (cat. 90) has a pendant attached to the hoop by two small rings, ovoid in this case and said to be in the shape of an alabastron.¹³ This example has lost



90



91

92

its hoop but boasts a subtle decoration of granulated triangles, very common at the time, at the neck and base of the alabastron's belly. Outside Carthage this type of jewelry is represented only in Sardinia (Tharros¹⁴ and Sulcis) and Sicily (Palermo); one specimen in Algeria (Tipaza) can also be linked to the group. These ornaments, which could also perform a dual function as necklace pendants,¹⁵ can be compared to Assyrian earrings in use in the ninth through seventh century B.C. and, indeed, may be of Near Eastern origin.

Of the two finger rings, that with a rotating bezel (cat. 91)¹⁶ is of the scaraboid type, which

has a flat, rectangular lozenge usually made of hardstone (here banded agate, free of added decoration); the setting is encircled by twisted filigree and equipped with lateral eyelets into which the shank is inserted. Well attested in Carthage, the type has also been found at various sites in the western Mediterranean,¹⁷ including Malta, Tharros, Motya, Palermo, Trayamar, and the African coast (Tingitan region and Rachgoun). Both the setting and assembly seen here were commonly used mounting techniques for rings made in Egypt beginning in Dynasty 12 (ca. 1981–1802 B.C.). The Carthaginian examples clearly belong to a Near Eastern type that was adopted¹⁸ in the Levant and Cyprus, where such rings are common.

The ring with a fixed bezel (cat. 92)¹⁹ is called a stirrup ring, which typically has a large, horizontal spindle-shaped bezel and a semicircular shank so ill-adapted to the curve of the finger that it had to be worn around the neck and used as a seal.²⁰ On the flat surface of this example, an image carved in intaglio of a warrior in Assyro-Phoenician dress (breastplate, short loincloth, leggings, helmet, shield with lion-headed umbo, double axe, and harpe sword) confronts a lion, who bends under the weight of the warrior's right leg. How are we to interpret this adaptation of the Master of Animals, one of the fundamental themes of Near Eastern symbolism, which originated in Mesopotamia in the fourth millennium B.C.? Colonists from Tyre established Melqart's cult in various sites in the western Mediterranean.²¹ So, is it Melqart, the god of Tyre, who was venerated in Carthage? If true, this would be the most ancient evidence of that god's image, which otherwise dates back to no earlier than the Barcid era (late 3rd century B.C.), when, assimilated to Herakles, Melqart appears in his Hellenized form. Caution is required, however, because a more general interpretation may also be proposed: that the scene represents victory over evil powers and thus the ring had a salutary and talismanic value for the wearer.

Carthaginian ornament, like that from other Phoenician-Punic trading posts, was not always made of precious metal. In fact, archaic Carthaginian production was heterogeneous, and there was widespread use of colored or glazed siliceous paste, vitreous paste, and hardstones such as carnelian, lapis lazuli, and agate, either as inlays or as beads and amulets. These pieces appear modest when compared to those of other cultures, probably because they were not for ceremonial or funerary use but were meant to be worn during the lifetime of their owners. As the numerous traces of wear attest, their function was not purely decorative, which in any case is a modern concept. Rather, they had

an apotropaic function and magico-religious meaning for their owners.

The Phoenician artisans who made this jewelry, renowned in the art of metalworking, were masters of the granulation and filigree techniques. Although the iconographic elements of individual pieces are sometimes difficult to decipher, this ornament is rooted in ancestral influences with strong Egyptian connotations. Indeed, the artisan jewelers of the Phoenician west occupy a unique place within ancient ornament for their remarkable capacity for assimilation, the very source of their creativity.

93. String of amulets and beads

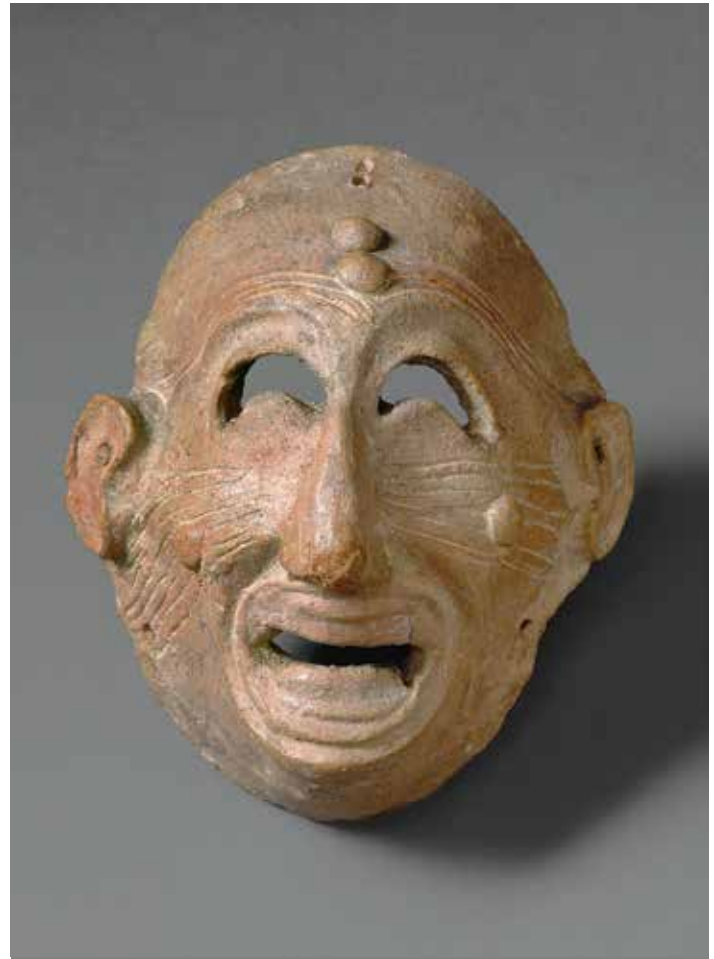
Faience amulets and carnelian beads; L. 62 cm (24½ in.)
Carthage
Phoenician-Punic, 7th–6th century B.C.
Carthage National Museum, Tunis (04-02-04-117)

These thirty-nine amulets depict a variety of popular Egyptian charms, including the *djed* pillar, *wedjat*-eye, the dwarf god Bes, Ptah Patek in the form of a potbellied child, falcon-headed Horus, jackal-headed Anubis, Isis nursing the infant Horus, and a sow suckling her piglets. All are protective images whose powers were invoked to accompany the deceased in the afterlife. It is unclear whether amulets such as these were actually worn by the living as jewelry or placed on the body during funeral rites. They played an important role in Phoenician-Punic funerary practices, as evidenced by the large number of amulets found in cemeteries at Carthage and other western Mediterranean centers in Sardinia, Sicily, and Spain.¹ They may have been imported from Egypt or, possibly, were locally made in imitation of Egyptian models, to which they adhere closely. They can be compared with amulets from a well-dated tomb at Byrsa,² suggesting an early date (7th–early 6th century B.C.) for the practice of depositing multiple faience amulets in burials.

The combination of faience with carnelian beads is a common trait of Phoenician-Punic jewelry. Carnelian, a variety of chalcedony, has a dark red hue that was often enhanced by heating, turning it a shade reminiscent of blood. The stone's symbolically charged color made it a favorite during the entire span of ancient Near Eastern history. Major sources of carnelian were located in India, although sources for small river-worn pebbles like those used for this string of beads also were found in the Sinai and North Africa.

AC

1. Mendelson 1987. 2. Quillard 1979, no. 18, pl. XVI.



94. Mask

Ceramic and paint; H. 19.5 cm (7 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.), W. 16 cm (6 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.)
 Carthage, Dermech necropolis, grave 30
 Phoenician-Punic, 7th–early 6th century B.C.
 Musée du Louvre, Paris, Département des Antiquités
 Orientales (AO 3242)

This mask represents a beardless, bald male figure. The eyes are crescent-shaped, the mouth open in a grimace, and deep wrinkles furrow the forehead and cheeks. Clay pastilles were applied to the forehead and on each cheekbone. The eye and mouth holes indicate that this was a real mask; holes made at the top of the skull, inside the ears, and on the cheeks would have allowed it to be fastened securely with cords. However, because the mask is slightly smaller than lifesize, there is reason to doubt it was ever actually used.¹ Perhaps it was a reproduction of masks in more lightweight, perishable materials, worn by priests or worshipers during religious ceremonies. Terracotta masks, sometimes accentuated with red paint, were found in graves at Carthage, with some from the Dermech necropolis, where this example was found, dating to the late eighth century B.C. Many variants exist; for instance, the pastilles are sometimes

replaced with decorative bands incised with rosettes or lozenges, perhaps representing tattoos, and teeth may or may not appear. These figures had an apotropaic function and were placed or hung near the deceased for protection in the afterlife.

The Near Eastern origin of such works is obvious from their creased, wrinkled faces, which evoke the Mesopotamian demon Humbaba (see “Demons, Monsters, and Magic” in this volume, pp. 263–67). In Phoenicia and Cyprus, the exemplars found in graves do not always have a frightening aspect.² Grotesque masks abound in the western Phoenician and Punic worlds, particularly at Carthage, but also in Sardinia (especially Tharros), Sicily (Motya), and as far away as Ibiza. However, they are unknown in the southern part of the Iberian Peninsula. EF

1. Picard 1965–66, p. 13, no. 5, pl. II, 5; Gubel 1986, p. 117, no. 43; Moscati 1988, p. 358 (ill.), and p. 623, no. 232; Fontan and Le Meaux 2007, pp. 249 (ill.), 360, no. 243. 2. See the bearded male masks from the necropoleis of Tyre Al-Bass, in *Liban, l'autre rive* 1998, pp. 141–42, and from Akhziv, in Moscati 1988, p. 355 (ill.). Their eyes are cut out, but their mouths are closed.

95. Female protome

Ceramic and paint; H. 13.5 cm (5 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.), W. 9.2 cm (3 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.), D. 5.7 cm (2 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.)
 Carthage, Dermech necropolis
 Phoenician-Punic, 6th century B.C.
 Musée du Louvre, Paris, Département des Antiquités
 Orientales (AO 3243)

In about the mid-sixth century B.C., Egyptianizing female protomes began to appear in the tombs of Carthage. Unlike masks, protomes depict not only the face but also the neck and sometimes the upper torso, and the eyes and mouth are never pierced through. This figure wears an Egyptian wig. This type of head covering, inspired by Egyptian mummy cases, leaves the broad and highly elaborated ears clearly visible. The hair is held in place on the forehead by a band; the almond shape of the eyes and the hint of a smile on the lips indicate Greek influence;¹ and the eyebrows are marked by a raised ridge. Also, the polychromy is quite well preserved: black on the hair and pupils, and red on the top of the head and on the ears. In addition, the neck is decorated with an astonishing array of red dots. A suspension hole is pierced at the top of the skull.

These Egyptianizing protomes—discovered in the necropoleis of Douimes and Dermeh in Carthage, Tharros and Sulcis on Sardinia, and Motya on Sicily—are all very similar and were mass-produced as casts from molds. However, a few variations were introduced by hand before firing, in this case the horizontal ties that collect the hair behind the ears. The protomes came in several sizes, varying in height from 13 to 18 centimeters.

Two other types of female protomes appeared in Punic tombs: a “Graeco-Phoenician” type, influenced by Archaic Greek art and characterized by circle-shaped decorations imprinted on the hair (see cat. 96),² and a “Rhodian” type depicting a veiled woman.³ EF

1. See Picard 1965–66, p. 21, no. 26, pl. VI, 22; Gubel 1986, p. 118, no. 44; Moscati 1988, p. 623, no. 235. 2. Picard 1965–66, pp. 22–23, no. 34, pl. VII, 26. 3. *Ibid.*, p. 27, no. 51, pl. XI, 37.



The face and neck are covered with a thin layer of stucco, heavily flaking, to which painted details were added. Traces of a collar, with pendants indicated by red dots, are still visible on the neck. This decoration reflects the Punic taste for jewelry and recalls in particular the necklace adorned with carnelian beads found at Carthage (see cat. 93). The earlobes, pierced on both the upper and the lower part, originally held additional embellishments, and the surface of the chin has been flattened to receive a special mark.⁴ Several other female protomes, including catalogue number 95, display a notch on the chin that was originally painted to depict a tattoo.⁵

The protomes in the “Graeco-Phoenician” group are directly related by their material, funerary context, and date to protomes in Egyptianizing style, such as a male example (cat. 97), found at Utica in the 1950s.⁶ Various interpretations of the significance of such figures have been suggested (see cat. 109).⁷ They have been found in sanctuaries and in funerary contexts at Carthage, Monte Sirai (see cat. 101), and Cádiz dating to the sixth to fifth centuries B.C., but the bearded male protome is the only example from Utica, a Phoenician center situated a little to the west of Carthage whose importance is well documented by its necropolis. The pottery found with the protome is dated to the second half of the sixth century B.C.⁸ The figure has a long beard split in two by a vertical furrow and curly hair rendered with stamped concentric circles.⁹ One suspension hole at the top of the head suggests how it and the similarly pierced female head, which has two holes at the top of the head, may have been displayed. AEDV

96. Female protome

Ceramic, stucco, and paint; H. 24 cm (9½ in.), W. 16 cm (6¼ in.)
Carthage, bottom of south slope of Byrsa Hill, Tomb 6
Phoenician-Punic, 6th century B.C.
National Bardo Museum, Tunis (01-02-27-45)

97. Male protome

Ceramic; H. 16 cm (6¼ in.), W. 12.8 cm (5 in.)
Utica, Tomb 42
Phoenician-Punic, 6th century B.C.
Archaeological Museum, Utica (18-02-27-13)

Human masks and protomes were placed in burials across the western Mediterranean, probably to protect the deceased (see cat. 94). Through the export of molds, these terracotta sculptures were widely distributed geographically. Examples representing both sexes have occasionally been found in a single burial, as is the case with a female protome (cat. 96), discovered along with a male terracotta example at Carthage in 1932.¹

The female protome belongs to what scholars have termed the “Graeco-Phoenician” type, influenced by Archaic Greek sculpture and generally dated to the sixth century B.C.² However, the coarse red clay and the traces of paint, especially the large black pupil, distinguish it from other examples of this type, which are more delicate and do not preserve such polychromy.³ Common characteristics of these protomes include an Egyptian hairstyle, here decorated with impressed circles and painted black, as well as large ridged eyes and pronounced eyebrows.



1. Saumagne 1935, p. 326. 2. Colette Picard (1965–66, no. 37, p. 24, fig. 27) dated the protome from Byrsa to the early fifth century B.C. based on the sulky attitude conveyed by the pinched mouth. 3. *Ibid.*, pp. 22–23, no. 34, fig. 26. 4. Cintas 1946, pp. 35–36 n. 94. 5. *Ibid.*, pp. 32–34. 6. Ciasca 1988, p. 361. 7. See also William Culican (1975–76, p. 71), who refers to the bearded figure on the Olympia bowl (cat. 183). 8. *Ibid.*, p. 71, fig. 29. 9. Picard 1965–66, p. 29, fig. 38; Sami Ben Taher in Stampolidis 2003b, p. 394, no. 611.

THE PHOENICIANS IN SARDINIA

Giuseppe Garbati

The Phoenician expansion into the western Mediterranean and the gradual foundation of permanent settlements involved a large area encompassing Malta, Sicily, the northern regions of Africa (from Libya to Morocco), Sardinia, and the Iberian Peninsula.¹ Begun in the initial phases of the first millennium B.C., this expansion continued a process that had started in the Bronze Age, when groups from the Aegean, particularly Mycenaean, reached the western lands, opening up sea routes and launching new cultural and trade exchanges. Situated at the center of this vast region—a sort of crossroads joining Africa, Italy, and Spain—Sardinia became a vibrant theater of interactions during the transition from the second to the first millennium B.C. At that time the island's wealth, represented most of all by metal resources, continued to lure foreign sailors. They were culturally varied, originating predominantly from Cyprus and Levantine lands, and they established deep contacts with the thriving indigenous (Nuragic) groups, progressively creating regional and interregional networks of trade.

At its beginning the Phoenician presence in Sardinia took on several forms, which cannot be reduced to a single settlement model or typology; the differences among these forms depended mainly on the specific characteristics of the various insular territories, such as the degree to which they interacted with native communities, the particular functions of each site, and the aims for which they were founded. Specific examples offer an idea of their variety. In the northwestern area, for instance, between the end of the ninth and the beginning of the eighth century B.C., the indigenous village of Sant'Imbenia (Porto Conte, Alghero) accommodated Greek and Levantine merchants, including Phoenicians, who were interested in the resources of the region, the exploitation and use of which were controlled by Nuragic groups. A similar situation arose in Neapolis (Gulf of Oristano), where Aegean and Near Eastern traders circulated in a Nuragic site at least from the tenth century B.C., leading to a distinct Phoenician occupation by the second half of the eighth century.²

To the south, the Phoenician site of Sulky (Sulcis), on the island of Sant'Antioco, seems to have acquired an urban character shortly after its foundation, which took place about the second quarter of the eighth century B.C. The rapid

growth of the settlement has been ascribed to its inclusion in a large interregional network managed by the local Phoenician mercantile aristocracy. However, Sulcis was not a closed and exclusively Phoenician entity; on the contrary, the site housed Nuragic and Greek communities along with the eastern population. Furthermore, other Phoenician foundations developed in the Sulcis district inland from the coast, attesting to the deep interest in the region's resources (especially mining): Monte Sirai (second half of the eighth century B.C.) and Pani Loriga (end of the seventh century B.C.).³

Not far from Sulcis, near the modern village of Pula (Cagliari), the peninsula of Nora, in turn, was occupied by a Phoenician (Cypriot-Phoenician?) emporium no later than the mid-eighth century B.C. The small local Levantine community might have been centered on a sacred area, as the inscription on the famous Nora Stele seems to indicate (cat. 98). It had contacts with the Nuragic civilization and intense relations with other Phoenician settlements and Mediterranean cultures, especially Etruscan and Greek. However, at that time the site did not seem to expand its influence and interests to the inland territories, unlike the settlements of the Sulcis region. A situation comparable in some ways has been recorded on the northeastern coast of Sardinia, where a Phoenician presence is attested at Olbia during the eighth century B.C., in association with Greeks (Euboians); the settlement was probably connected to a shrine dedicated to the Tyrian god Melqart.

The island panorama began to change between the end of the seventh and the start of the sixth century B.C. During this time, some sites, including Sant'Imbenia, were gradually abandoned, while others grew. Moreover, from about the same period, the organization of Phoenician settlements became much clearer and more homogeneous. Along the western and southern coasts, in particular, many sites gained an urban configuration, which started to characterize the Phoenician presence on the whole. Nora is again a good example, together with Tharros (fig. 3.70) and Karalis in the Gulfs of Oristano and Cagliari, respectively. From the sixth through the fifth century B.C., the ancient settlement developed extensively and acquired new functions. For instance, in the central area of the promontory, along the



Fig. 3.70. View of Tharros

seafront, a housing and commercial quarter was built, while both the heart and the profile of the peninsula were gradually marked by the presence of four sacred places, topographically and symbolically outlining the urban fabric.⁴ Bithia, southwest of Nora, also began to acquire an urban configuration, probably between the end of the seventh and the start of the sixth century B.C., as attested by the development of the necropolis.

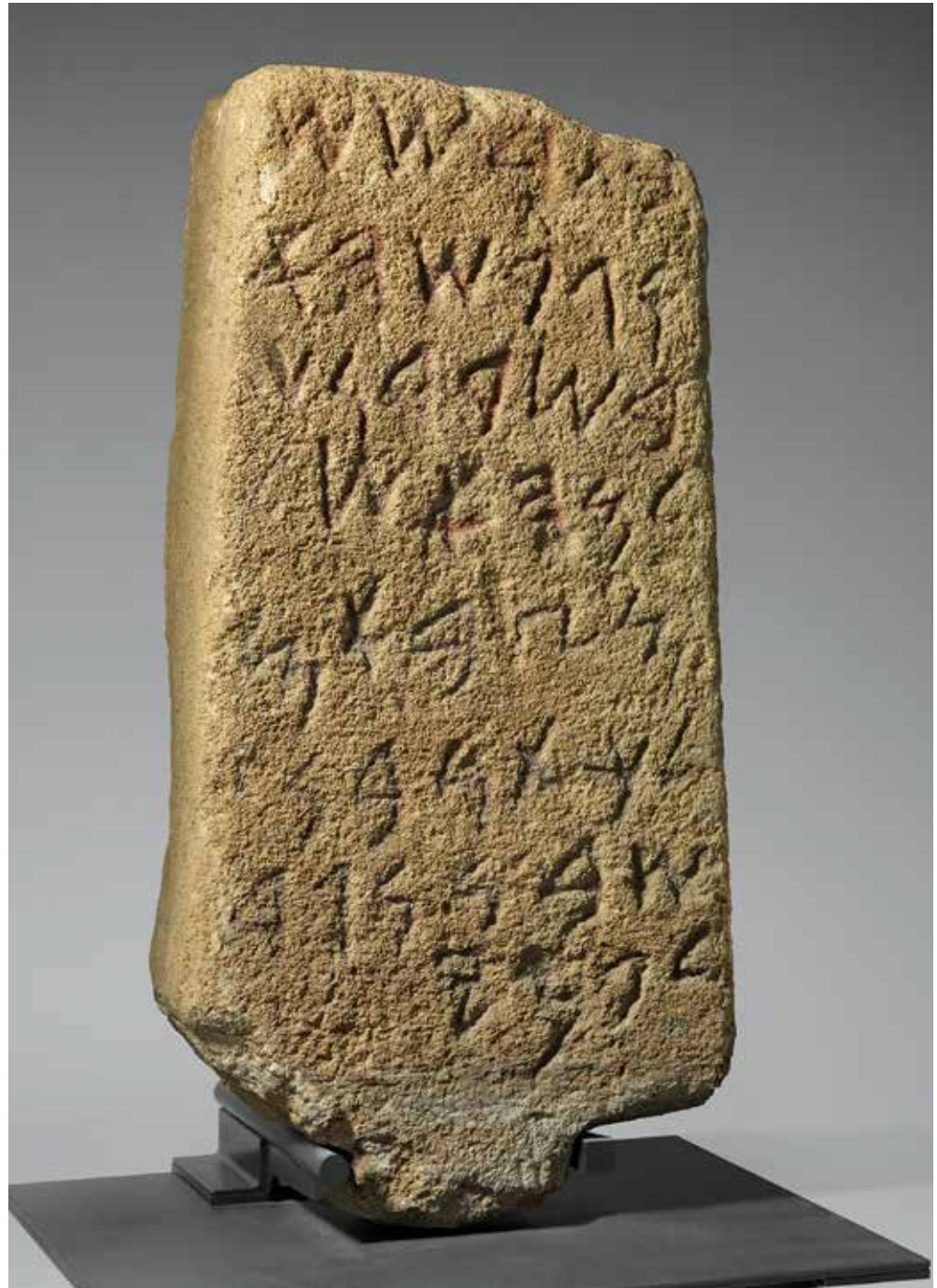
The sixth century B.C. ushered in another great transformation of the island's culture. Just after 550 B.C., the main Phoenician colony, Carthage (founded about the end of the ninth century B.C.), adopted a policy of overseas expansion. It is not easy to reconstruct the earliest forms of Carthaginian intervention in Sardinia, including, more specifically, the management of cities and territories. Although some evidence

speaks in favor of new contributions, such as the introduction of different funerary practices and art and craft products (e.g., masks and protomes, which were probably produced following the arrival of North African communities), it is possible that, in its initial phases, the interference of the metropolis was neither very extensive nor widespread. It is probable that its authority was, at the start, confined mostly to the economic—specifically commercial—sphere, and was based on existing close relations with ancient Phoenician settlements and with indigenous groups.⁵ In fact, it is only for the following period, from the fourth to the third century B.C., that the evidence allows us to perceive a novel and complex landscape involving the application of sharper and more direct strategies of control, opening and creating a new cultural dimension in the long history of Sardinia.⁶

98. Nora Stele

Sandstone; H. 105 cm (41 3/8 in.), W. 57 cm (22 1/2 in.)
Sardinia, Cagliari, Pula
Phoenician, ca. 850–740 B.C.
Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Cagliari (5998)

The Nora Stele was discovered in 1773 in a wall of a modern vineyard in Pula, in southwestern Sardinia, not far from the ancient coastal site of Nora.¹ It represents one of the most important and discussed Phoenician finds, both for its antiquity² and because of its problematic inscription, the reading and translation of which continue to be widely debated. The eight-line epigraph, probably complete, may mention the Phoenician name of Sardinia (perhaps that of Nora, too),³ and its closing is commonly accepted to be a dedication to a god whose name is well known in Cypriot anthroponomy: “lpmy” (for/to Pumay). The different readings of the text depend above all on the transliteration and word division of the first line:⁴ the expression “btršš” has mainly been read as “b-tršš” (from/at Tarshish)⁵ or as “bt rš š” (temple of the cape, which . . . /main temple, which . . .). Interpretations generally take one of two viewpoints:⁶ the first sees the record of an expedition and/or military episode (involving Tarshish), possibly linked to a cultic deed; the second relates to the construction of a sacred building, perhaps a temple to the god Pumay, as might be indicated by the word “bt” that opens the text. At present, the religious perspective is the most convincing, especially considering the stele’s purported historical context, which would not support a connection to a specific military or political event. The monument is dated to a period during which the site of Nora was not yet developed as an urban center.⁷ The most recent archaeological excavations have confirmed that the site did not start to acquire an urban configuration before the end of the sixth century B.C.⁸ At its origins, the site may have been an emporium, aimed at trade exchanges with other Phoenician colonies, especially of Iberia, as well as with Greeks, Etruscians, and the Nuragic groups of the hinterland, which would have supplied the settlement principally with agricultural goods.⁹ In this way, the stele seems to attest to one of the first moments of Phoenician presence in the area. In that period, the life of the (small) Levantine community may have revolved around a sacred place—whose construction was commemorated by the stele—which would have vouched for economic and cultural relations.¹⁰ Today it is impossible to know the precise location and nature of such a cultic building (perhaps a temple, shrine, or aedicule). One can simply remark that a sanctuary (the so-called Area F), built at the end of the



sixth century B.C., has been discovered on the eastern extremity of the Nora peninsula. Older blocks of stone were reused in its construction, perhaps coming from a previous sacred structure (the one mentioned on the stone?).¹¹ GG

1. *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum I* 1881, no. 144; Donner and Röllig 1966–69, no. 46; Amadasi Guzzo 1967, *Sardegna 1*; Amadasi Guzzo 1990, *Sardegna 1*. **2.** Amadasi Guzzo and Guzzo 1986. Together with two other Sardinian documents that may be only slightly older (Nora: *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum I* 1881, no. 145; Amadasi Guzzo 1967, *Sardegna 3*; and Bosa: *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum I* 1881, no. 162), it can be considered the most ancient Phoenician inscription found so far in the western Mediterranean. Since the stele was discovered out of its archaeological context, its dating is based mainly on paleographic analysis. **3.** “šrdn” (third line); “ngr(d?)” (second and seventh lines; could also be a proper name). It must be noted that, in some studies, the first three letters of the second line have been read as “wgr,” not “ngr.” **4.** The majority of interpretations

are synthesized in Castillo 2003. **5.** According to some scholars, this name corresponds to Tartessos, in southern Spain, where the Phoenicians established deep relations with the native population. However, this identification remains unproven. **6.** As underlined in Pilkington 2012, p. 45. It must be pointed out that this division is only for convenience; in fact, some readings cannot be fully included in the positions mentioned. And although the reading of “lpmy” (for/to Pumay) in the last line is generally accepted, it is not shared by every scholar. **7.** A few finds, particularly pottery, can be dated to the eighth century B.C.; see Botto et al. 2003 and Oggiano 2009. **8.** Bonetto, Ghiotto, and Novello 2009, vol. 1, especially pp. 44ff. **9.** Finocchi 2002. **10.** Bondi et al. 2009, especially p. 208. It is well known that in antiquity Phoenician temples were also intended to favor and safeguard economic contacts between the different cultural components of a given territory; see Grottanelli 1981. **11.** Oggiano 2005.



99. Plaque with nude female figure

Ceramic; H. 32.5 cm (12¾ in.)
Sardinia, Tharros, Grave 11
Cypro-Phoenician, 6th century B.C.
The Trustees of the British Museum, London (133132)

This relief plaque depicts a nude female figure holding her breasts.¹ The face is represented in Archaic Greek, or perhaps Cypriot, style, while the headdress is of an Egyptian type. Traces of black paint remain on the locks of the headdress. The plaque was made in an open mold with a flat unworked back, and a hole at the top for suspension was pierced in the clay before firing. This example was made, probably on Cyprus, in the Phoenician style. Similar plaques are distributed over a wide geographic range, from Ur in Babylonia to the Phoenician colonies in the western Mediterranean. They are thought to be votive objects representing Astarte, the great goddess of fertility, war, and sex.² Such plaques are very common, attesting to the widespread worship of the goddess. It is generally believed that many women were devotees of Astarte, asking her to grant them children and

seeking her protection in pregnancy, childbirth, and the early days of a newborn's life. RC

1. Walters 1903, p. 135, fig. B377; Barnett and Mendleson 1987, pp. 71, 169, pl. 31. 2. Perrot and Chipiez 1885, p. 418, fig. 291; Gray 1957, pp. 129–32; Black and Green 1998, pp. 108–9; *Hannibal ad portas* 2004, pp. 180–81, no. 115.

100. Female protome

Ceramic; H. 14 cm (5½ in.)
Sardinia, Tharros, necropolis
Phoenician-Punic, 6th century B.C.
Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Cagliari (34548)

101. Male protome

Ceramic; H. 14 cm (5½ in.)
Sardinia, Monte Sirai
Phoenician-Punic, 6th–5th century B.C.
Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Cagliari (201829)

This protome (or face and upper part of the bust) of a woman represents an Egyptian type that is similar to those of the same period from Carthage in North Africa and Motya in Sicily.¹ Wide almond-shaped eyes with rounded eyeballs sit above a fleshy nose, and the small mouth is rendered with a faint smile. The long striated hair falling to either side of the face and tucked behind the large modeled ears is reminiscent of an Egyptian wig. A simple banded headdress frames the forehead.

The partially reconstructed protome representing the face of a bearded man also has parallels from sites in the western Mediterranean such as Carthage and Cádiz.² The long, narrow, centrally parted beard and the hair decorated with impressed circles representing curls are distinctive features of this type. The eyes, nose, and mouth are rendered in a style similar to that of the female protome.

These ceramic protomes were most likely made in a mold, with details rendered by hand and elements such as eyelids added after unmolding. The protomes are backless. This type of object was mass-produced, and the many examples found at sites in the western Mediterranean have been divided into groups or series, although variation exists within types.³ While their exact function is unclear, many were found in funerary contexts. Protomes as well as masks with similar modeled representations of the face but with openings for the eyes and mouth are characteristic of Phoenician art, yet they belong to a tradition whose roots extend back to the Late Bronze Age.⁴ The large numbers of protomes and masks found in the western



Mediterranean are associated with the so-called Punic horizon in the west in the sixth through the fourth century B.C. At this time, Carthaginian influence in politics, culture, and religion increased in Sardinia and beyond (see “From Carthage to the Western Mediterranean” in this volume, pp. 202–4), changing the nature of the economy and trade in the entire region. YR

1. Moscati 1987, p. 123, pl. XXXI,1; Ciasca 1988, p. 363. The protome was found in the necropolis at Tharros in the late nineteenth century and was part of the collection of Leone Gouin until it entered the collections of the Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Cagliari in 1914, as a gift of the Gouin family. 2. Moscati 1986, p. 134, fig. 65; Barreca 1965, pp. 54, 60–61, pl. XXIV; Ciasca 1988, p. 362. The protome was excavated in the 1960s from the “Mastio” at Monte Sirai and entered the collections of the Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Cagliari upon excavation. 3. See Picard 1965–66. 4. Ciasca 1988. Glenn Markoe (1990b, pp. 14–16) suggested that the tradition of Punic coroplastic arts originated from Cyprus via the Levant.



102. Bracelet

Gold; L. 12.8 cm (5 in.), max. H. 3.4 cm (1⅜ in.)
Sardinia, Tharros
Phoenician, 7th–6th century B.C.
Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Cagliari (21628)

103. Earring

Gold; H. 10 cm (4 in.)
Sardinia, Tharros
Phoenician, 7th–6th century B.C.
Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Cagliari (9354)



By the late ninth century B.C. a variety of settlements on Sardinia had begun to witness the presence of Phoenician merchants, lured there primarily by the island's metal resources (see "The Phoenicians in Sardinia" in this volume, pp. 211–12). The site of Tharros, on the western coast, seems to have been founded somewhat later, during the height of Phoenician colonial expansion into the western Mediterranean from the eighth to sixth century B.C. In fact, the abundant and often lavish material remains found at Tharros indicate that the site was one of the wealthiest and most important trading centers—possibly even production centers—of the vast Phoenician network of commercial interactions.

These two particularly striking and beautifully preserved examples of Phoenician jewelry were discovered at Tharros, albeit in less than ideal archaeological contexts, and found their way to the Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Cagliari, in the late nineteenth century by way of private collections.¹ Although the excavation history of Tharros is problematic,² there is nonetheless sufficient provenance and comparative information to assign these exquisite ornaments

to the site and date them to the period of highest Phoenician influence at Tharros.³

The bracelet is a veritable icon of Phoenician goldsmithing. Now comprising five tapering segments held together with hinges, it must have originally included at least one more component at either end, where additional hinges are visible. The central element features typically Phoenician adaptations of Egyptian motifs: a scarab beetle with four rather than the usual two wings seen in Egyptian examples⁴ and with a falcon head in profile rather than the head of a proper beetle, as it is traditionally rendered in Egypt.⁵ Furthermore, the beetle holds a single *shen* sign between its two legs, whereas in Egyptian iconography it is most often the falcon god Horus or the vulture goddess Nekhbet that holds *shen*

symbols, one in each outstretched talon. There is little doubt that the scarab beetle on the bracelet, like its counterpart in Egypt, is meant to represent the Egyptian god Khepri, a solar deity who each day pushes the sun through the morning sky just as the beetle pushes its freshly laid eggs in balls of dung, signifying creation and rebirth and thus frequently associated with death and resurrection in Egyptian contexts. However, because the beetle on the Tharros bracelet is rendered in a distinctly un-Egyptian manner, it is considered a classic example of Phoenician adoption and interpretation of popular and powerful Egyptian iconography.

The two middle components of the bracelet depict the ubiquitous Phoenician-style palmette, here with its volutes enclosing six petals, while the terminal segments are decorated with lotus flowers clearly influenced, once again, by Egyptian prototypes. A second bracelet, nearly identical in design but lacking the central motif of the scarab beetle, was also found at Tharros and is now in the British Museum, London.⁶ Yet another closely related one comes from Cyprus.⁷ Two poorly preserved examples of similar bracelets were found at Carthage, once again featuring palmettes and four-winged scarabs, but in this instance scarabs with human heads.⁸ Finally, many of the magnificent jewels from Aliseda, Ebora, and Carambolo in Iberia repeatedly highlight palmette and lotus motifs like those seen on the Tharros bracelet, although it is debatable whether the Iberian pieces can be considered Phoenician rather than merely influenced by the artistic traditions of Phoenicians residing in Iberia.⁹

The earring from Tharros is likewise typically Phoenician in its mix of Levantine and Egyptianizing features. The uppermost element consists of a leech-shaped body, each end of

which is formed into a bird's head topped by a short coil of wrapped wire. The eyes and beaks of the birds are accentuated through the use of granules, and the space between the two heads is decorated with a granulated Phoenician-style palmette, with its volutes enclosing three petals. Attached beneath via a suspension ring is a well-modeled but otherwise undecorated Horus falcon in profile, albeit one that is not of Egyptian manufacture. At the very bottom hangs an acorn- or vase-shaped pendant decorated with granulated triangles as well as filigree rhomboids and teardrops. This form of pendant could relate to a well-known type from Assyria.¹⁰ Earrings with multiple hanging elements in various configurations are found throughout the Phoenician world;¹¹ a number have been found at Tharros.¹²

The highly skilled workmanship evident in both pieces but most especially in the bracelet is notable. Phoenician granulated jewelry—in particular the jewelry from Tharros—has been described as deriving from earlier, Canaanite traditions of the Bronze Age, attested in finds from Tell el-'Ajjul and other Levantine sites.¹³ However, while the Egyptianizing designs and intricate granulated details do point to a possible cultural connection with the earlier material from the Levant, the craftsmanship at Tharros is arguably far more accomplished than the typical Levantine work of the second millennium B.C.¹⁴ In fact, the level of craftsmanship is closer to that known from Egypt during both periods, a characteristic that may suggest that such expert technical skill was acquired through or influenced by intimate contacts between Phoenicians and Egyptians, possibly at Phoenician settlements such as those found in Egypt (see “Egypt in the Neo-Assyrian Period” in this volume, pp. 198–201). A similar explanation has been given for the use of canonical Egyptian imagery in certain examples of Phoenician art (see “Art and Networks of Interaction Across the Mediterranean” in this volume, pp. 112–24).¹⁵ This raises the problematic question of whether the Tharros jewelry was made on-site or imported. Scholars who argue for a major jewelry production center at Tharros cite the availability of metal resources on the island and the consistently high level of workmanship revealed by the Tharros material as well as the fact that the closest parallels for the Tharros jewelry come from nearby Carthage rather than from elsewhere in the Phoenician world.¹⁶ Another interpretation posits that the four-winged scarab motif on the bracelet derived from Sidon in the Levant, traveled west to Tharros as an import, and, ultimately, served as a direct source of inspiration for Etruscan artists.¹⁷ Finally, there remains the intriguing connection between a

possible Phoenician presence in the Nile Delta and Egypt itself, both in terms of iconography and technical skill.

KB

1. The bracelet was acquired by the Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Cagliari, as part of the Serralutzu Collection (Pisano 1974, p. 98). The earring was donated to the museum in 1983 as part of the Spano Collection (*ibid.*, p. 66).
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 13ff.; Giovanna Pisano in Barnett and Mendelson 1987, pp. 30ff.
3. For the dating of these pieces, see Pisano 1974, pp. 45ff.; Pisano 1988, pp. 26ff.; and Brigitte Quillard in Fontan and Le Meaux 2007, p. 257ff.
4. See, for example, Eric Gubel (2005, p. 118) who considers scarabs with two pairs of wings Levantine in origin.
5. A nearly identical depiction of a winged scarab beetle is featured on a silver bowl from the Bernardini Tomb at Praeneste in Etruria; see Fontan and Le Meaux 2007, p. 344, no. 173; Frankfort (1954) 1996, p. 329, fig. 392 (drawing).
6. Pisano in Barnett and Mendelson 1987, p. 86, pls. 41d, 45c; a third one, in silver, is also from Tharros (Pisano 1974, pp. 164–65, no. 400, fig. 14, pl. XXIII; Pisano in Barnett and Mendelson 1987, p. 86) and two gold fragments from Tharros depict palmettes that may have been part of one or two additional bracelets (Pisano 1974, pp. 99–100, nos. 128, 129, pl. X).
7. Frankfort (1954) 1996, p. 323, fig. 384.
8. Quillard in Fontan and Le Meaux 2007, pp. 261–63, 397, nos. 399, 400.
9. Pisano in Barnett and Mendelson 1987, p. 86.
10. *Ibid.*, pp. 79–80; see also Maxwell-Hyslop 1971, p. 236, fig. 126.
11. See, for example, Pisano 1974, pp. 45–48; Pisano in Barnett and Mendelson 1987, pp. 79–80; and Quillard in Fontan and Le Meaux 2007, p. 257, fig. 1.
12. Pisano 1974, pp. 66–69, nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, 8, pls. I–III, nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, 8; Pisano in Barnett and Mendelson 1987, p. 78, Type Ia, Ib, pl. 44a, b.
13. See, for example, H. Tait 1976, p. 77.
14. See Benzel 2008.
15. Gubel 2000, p. 197.
16. Pisano 1988, pp. 50–53; Quillard in Fontan and Le Meaux 2007, p. 263.
17. Gubel 2006, pp. 89–90.

104. Necklace

Glass paste and gold; Diam. approx. 10 cm (4 in.)
Sardinia, Cagliari, necropolis of Tuvixeddu, Tomb 29
Phoenician-Punic, 6th–5th century B.C.
Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Cagliari (171185)

The necklace comprises thirty-three pieces, including three spherical, gold-plated beads about 1 centimeter in diameter and nine paste beads decorated with blue eyes. There is also a delicate lotus flower, an eye of Horus, and a horse's head with a paste inlay on its forehead.¹ The variety of elements in the necklace is comparable to that of other jewelry found in the necropolis of Tuvixeddu and in Punic tombs more generally. A contemporary tomb (10) in the same area yielded similar paste beads and amulets,² while gold-plated beads were found both in Predio Ibba, excavated in 1908,³ and in areas of the necropolis excavated in recent years. Amulets with the eye of Horus are especially common, while animal heads made of paste occur more rarely.⁴ Lotus flower buds are unusual at Cagliari.⁵

The necklace comes from a vertical-shaft tomb in which a girl about ten years old was buried. She was interred with a group of miniature objects, a clay dove, two small urns, and, of particular importance, a miniature skyphos



(a type of two-handled cup) from Lindos on Rhodes whose decoration is entirely vegetal. Such skyphoi are common in the graves of Greek girls, and it allows us to date this deposit to between the end of the sixth century B.C. and the first decades of the following century.⁶ DS

1. Salvi 1998, pp. 31–33; Salvi 2000a, p. 72; Salvi 2003, pp. 183, 187–89. 2. Salvi 1998, pp. 10–12; Salvi 2000a, pp. 59–61. 3. Taramelli 1912, cols. 137–38, fig. 45, but see also the necklace of gold-plated and carnelian beads in the Gouin Collection, although it has no provenance (*I gioielli di Tharros* 1990, no. 93) and the necklaces consisting only of gold beads, one in the Gouin Collection at the Museo Archeologico di Cagliari (ibid., no. 90) and the other from the Chessa Collection and now at the Museo Archeologico di Sassari (ibid., no. 101). 4. They are, however, part of the necklace found in Tomb 10 and cited above. 5. A few examples were found in the recent excavations in other areas of the necropolis. See also the necklace from Tharros, with gold and paste beads, now in the British Museum (*I gioielli di Tharros* 1990, no. 94). 6. Fortunelli 2007, pp. 58–59, with earlier bibliography on identifying workshops and on the presence of similar skyphoi in tombs at Kerameikos. See also Panvini 2003, p. 224, for some examples from Gela. For Attic pottery in Sardinia see Tronchetti 2003.

105. Mirror

Bronze and ivory or bone; H. 19 cm (7½ in.), Diam. 14 cm (5½ in.)
Sardinia, Cagliari, necropolis of Tuvixeddu, Park sector III, Tomb 621
Phoenician-Punic, 5th–4th century B.C.
Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Cagliari (201828)

The surface of this circular bronze mirror bears traces of two layers of fabric, one finely woven and the other less so, the latter perhaps wrapped around it as a protective covering in antiquity. The handle, carved from one piece of ivory or bone, has identical decoration on both sides.¹ The lower part, which includes the shank, is smooth and framed by fillets and is affixed to the metal mirror with a rivet. The upper part of the handle is a carved face, which can be interpreted as a silenic Bes or perhaps a fantastical animal. Human features—forehead, eyes, nose, and mouth—are fused with those of an animal, for instance, the small, rounded, almost leonine ears. A thick beard is represented by parallel vertical lines, while the mustache is indicated by a thin arc above the mouth, to either side of which it broadens, briefly, as it overlaps the beard. Two swans' necks, placed back to back, rise from the top of the head like long, curved horns. Their softly modeled heads and elongated beaks rest against both edges of the face and create a visual frame on the sides of the composition. A conical form marks the apex and center of this complex structure.² The original colored-paste inlays are now only partially preserved in the eyes of the anthropomor-

phic figure and those of the swans as well as in a larger hole at the center of the figure's forehead.

The uniqueness of this object—its materials, workmanship, and the use of colored paste—suggests that it was made in a Near Eastern workshop, although prototypes for its individual elements can be found in the iconography used for various objects in the Punic world. Examples include the specific treatment of the beard and mustache in the amulet with the head of Bes from Kition;³ similar facial features on a number of scarabs with human and animal heads;⁴ and in the treatment of the mustaches in some Sardinian silenic masks.⁵ The softness in the line of the swans' heads recalls the bone handle from Tharros carved like a duck with its head turned over its back.⁶

The mirror was among the objects found in a vertical-shaft Punic tomb.⁷ Two funerary niches (loculi) were excavated in the floor of the burial chamber. Only a few objects were found

with the body in the right loculus, while the one on the left was buried with this mirror as well as amphorae, buckets, plates, oil lamps, amulets, necklace beads, a razor with a long handle shaped like a swan's head, a pair of cymbals, and a shell on which two eyes and a mouth were incised and painted in a way similar to what is often found on ostrich eggs.⁸ DS

1. See Uberti 1988, p.404, for the distinction between ivory and bone. 2. The composition created by the curve of the swans' necks and the conical element seems to reflect the motif of the Aeolian capital and/or palmettes of Eastern origin; for the numerous fragments traced to the "triple flower group" at Fort Shalmaneser in Nimrud, see Pappalardo 2006. 3. Acquaro 1988, p. 401, dated to the 7th–6th century B.C. 4. See, for example, one of the eight heads superimposed on the Puig des Molins scarab in Ibiza in Fernández 1983, p. 184; similar figures and compositions also appear in some unpublished scarabs from Tuvixeddu. 5. Ciasca 1988, pp. 361, 365. 6. Bernardini, D'Orriano, and Spanu 1997, no. 353. 7. A brief mention in Salvi 2008 and Salvi n.d. (forthcoming), fig. 5. For the necropolis of Tuvixeddu, see Salvi 2000b and, more recently, Salvi 2012. 8. For human representations on ostrich eggs, see Pisano 2004.



PHOENICIAN METAL PRODUCTION IN TARTESSOS

Concepción San Martín Montilla

According to ancient texts,¹ silver was the Phoenicians' primary interest in Tartessos. Recent archaeological research confirms that it was exploited intensely in the mining areas of Río Tinto (Huelva) and Aznalcóllar (Seville) from the beginning of Phoenician colonization in the ninth century B.C. These areas were also rich in gold and copper, which when combined with the tin imported from across the Atlantic region of Europe provided favorable conditions for the large-scale production of bronze.

Comparative analyses and studies of jewelry, plate, and other manufactured metal goods have permitted the identification of a Phoenician craft production in the southern Iberian Peninsula, one that had its own technological and iconographic characteristics. For instance, the bronze basins, often misnamed "braziers," paired with bronze pitchers for use in ritual ablutions are an exclusively Tartessian production, but the individual elements can also be recognized in objects of Phoenician manufacture from other regions. In their form and iconogra-

phy, the censers (thymiateria) and bronze pitchers have a good deal in common with similar Phoenician objects from the central and eastern Mediterranean, but they present distinguishing technical peculiarities, such as lost-wax casting (with little use of hammering), cold joins (with dowels or rivets), and cast-on joins.²

In this technological context, the plate found by chance in the 1990s in El Gandul (Alcalá de Guadaira, Seville) is an exception (fig. 3.71). Hammering was used to shape the curved walls of the vessel, and chasing was employed to create a significant composition of decorative motifs, arranged in two concentric ovals, that conveys a complete message. The latter may be a mythological tale or possibly a worldview expressed in images, whose reading and interpretation are as difficult for us as they must have been for its contemporaries (other than those initiated into the religious mysteries it represents). The fish and serpents from the depths of the sea and earth would have symbolized death, the sphinxes and winged lions the

afterlife. At one end, presiding over the transition from one world to the other, is the palmette, a symbol of Astarte, the Phoenician goddess of life and fertility, who was also the mistress of the underworld and existence beyond the grave. At the other end is a motif completely absent from Phoenician iconography and clearly funerary in significance, since it reproduces a type of bell-shaped cinerary urn exclusive to Tartessian territory. The goddess of fertility may be represented in its chalice-like form and additionally in the rosettes, which make reference to her astral nature, since Astarte was identified with the planet Venus. Lions and sphinxes similarly allow a double reading as both guardians of divinity and propitiators of her epiphany. We have no knowledge of the archaeological context of this plate from El Gandul, although a similar but much less well-preserved example, found in tomb 16 of the Tartessian necropolis of La Joya, in the city of Huelva, has been dated to the seventh century B.C.³

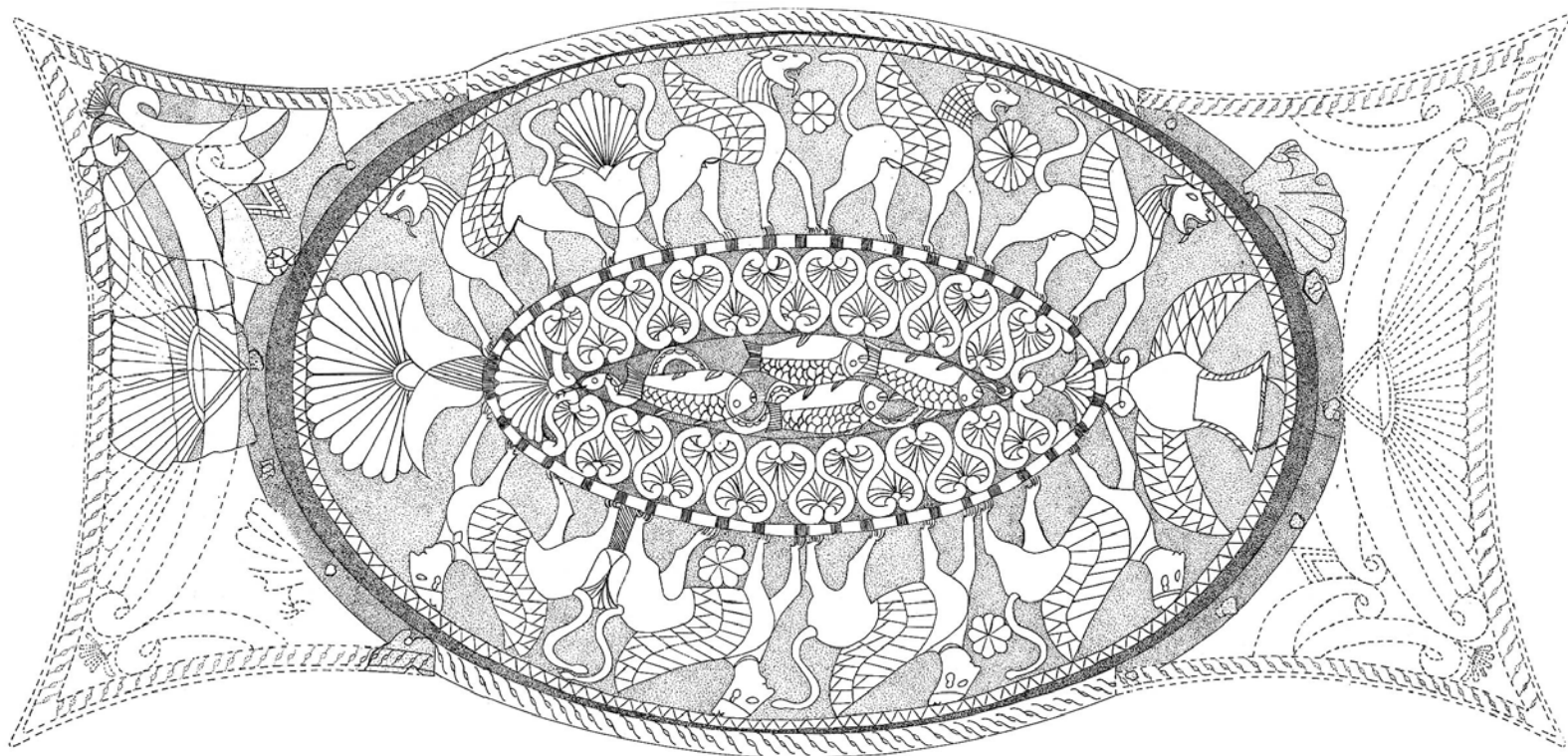


Fig. 3.71. Drawing of bronze ellipsoid plate. Alcalá de Guadaira (Seville), El Gandul necropolis. Orientalizing. Museo Arqueológico de Sevilla (ROD 9037)

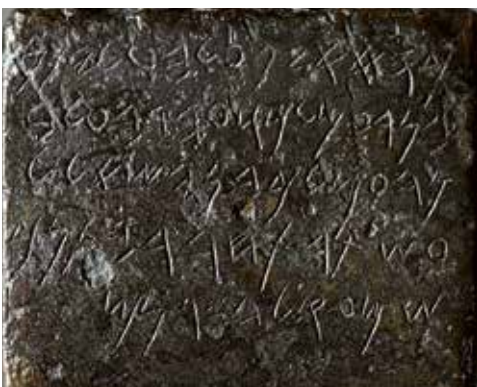
106. Statuette of Astarte

Bronze; H. 16.5 cm (6½ in.), W. 4.1 cm (1⅝ in.)
El Carambolo (?), Camas, Seville
Phoenician, 8th–7th century B.C.
Museo Arqueológico de Sevilla (11.136)

On October 20, 1963, a small bronze figure, somewhat Egyptian in appearance, entered the collection of the Museo Arqueológico de Sevilla. Although the circumstances in which it was found were unclear, the sculpture was rapidly associated with the hills of El Carambolo, where a treasure named after the site had recently been discovered (see cats. 110–112).¹ As it turns out, the figure is one of the most outstanding testimonies to the complex world of the Iberian Peninsula from the eighth to the seventh century B.C.

The sculpture is of a seated nude female figure. The left arm, which was perhaps articulated, or movable, is missing, as is the right hand. It is thought that the figure would have been making a sign of blessing or holding some type of offering. She wears an Egyptian-style wig, which falls to her shoulders, and her feet rest upon a footstool that bears a Phoenician inscription. It is assumed that the tang beneath the buttocks would have attached the figure to a throne, now lost. The Egyptian aspects of the figure's appearance have been compared to representations on Near Eastern ivory pieces, and her nudity, a feature foreign to Egyptian iconography, finds parallels in representations of the Syro-Phoenician pantheon. The work is currently considered to be a Phoenician piece originating in an eastern workshop.²

The inscription in Phoenician, one of the oldest in the western Mediterranean and the most important for the study of Phoenician religion in the Iberian Peninsula, has been widely studied by specialists (see detail, below). Although there is some diversity among their readings, all agree on the overall sense of the inscription, which relates that this sculpture is being presented by two individuals as a votive offering to the goddess Astarte for granting



Detail of inscription

their requests.³ The term “hr,” which accompanies Astarte's name, has given rise to numerous theories. One is that it stands for “Hurrian,” which would further confirm the figure as a Syro-Phoenician divinity.⁴ It has been pointed out, however, that the figure is not so much an object of worship as it is an offering, and that the divinity worshiped at El Carambolo was, in contrast, represented in a series of objects interpreted as baetyls, or aniconic sacred stones.

Following excavations in the 1950s, El Carambolo was believed to be an indigenous settlement. Various hypotheses have been put forward concerning the existence there of a shrine or place of worship, however, and after recent excavations it is currently believed that the structures in question indeed correspond to a sanctuary consecrated to Baal and Astarte. This small sculpture would thus appear to corroborate this interpretation of this specific structure as a

Phoenician shrine that was visited by a Semitic population. According to paleogeographical studies, in the eighth century B.C. the sanctuary lay on the coastline. If consecrated to a divinity who, among her other manifestations, was the protectress of sailors, then there is the intriguing possibility that the votive offering was made by a Phoenician sailor after a voyage. PQS

1. For a detailed account of the circumstances of the find, which is said to have taken place in 1959 at the foot of the range of hills, a short distance from the area where the latest excavations were carried out between 2001 and 2005, see Fernández Gómez 2011, pp. 55–75. 2. Jiménez Ávila 2002, p. 293. 3. “Baalyaton and Abdbaal sons of Dommilk have made this throne for Astarte our lady of Syria, because she has heard their prayer,” in Amores Carredano 2009, p. 42. 4. Bonnet 2010, p. 460.

107. Cheekpiece with Mistress of Animals

Bronze; W. 15.2 cm (6 in.), H. 10 cm (4 in.)
Andalusia (Seville)
625–525 B.C.
Museo Arqueológico de Sevilla (ROD6902)

Known as the Carriazo Bronze, this object was originally one of a pair that together formed the cheekpieces of a horse’s bit.¹ The ring on the reverse would have been used to attach the mouthpiece of the bit, while the leather reins would have been secured to the triangular openings formed by the *sistra* raised in the hands of the female figure. The row of suspension loops running along the lower edge would have been threaded with ribbons or chains supporting ornamental figures or bells.²

In addition to its practical function, the piece also served to protect the horse and its rider. Indeed, the representation of the goddess, who

emerges with outspread arms between two birds that appear to be carrying her as they take flight, reproduces the motif of the Mistress of Animals, who acts as their protector. Her divine character is further emphasized by the reference to a sacred barque embodied in the shiplike form of the birds, whose heads face away from each other to form the prow and stern.

The identity of the goddess represented here remains a question. The most widespread interpretation is that she is Astarte,³ a view based particularly on her associations with birds and with the series of open and closed lotus flowers—symbolic of the life cycle—on the hanging adornment incised across her breast. Nevertheless, some scholars reject this hypothesis, believing her instead to be the image of a minor deity with an exclusively protective function.⁴ JIV

1. Maluquer 1957; Blanco 1960a, pp. 154–57; Carriazo 1973; Jiménez Ávila 2002, p. 227. 2. Jiménez Ávila 2002, p. 227; Quezada Sanz 2005, pp. 106–10. 3. Belén Deamós and Escacena Carrasco 2002, pp. 162–65. 4. Jiménez Ávila 2002, pp. 337–40.

108a, b. Striding male figures

Bronze
a. H. 36.5 cm (14 3/8 in.)
b. H. 30 cm (11 3/4 in.)
Sancti Petri Island, Cádiz
Phoenician, 8th–7th century B.C.
Museo de Cádiz (CE17004, CE17008)

These male figures stand erect with their right legs extended, as if they were walking, and hold their arms straight down against their bodies. They are bare-chested and wear short kilts, and upon their heads is the *atef* crown, an attribute



108a

of the Egyptian god Osiris, represented in the form of the crown of Upper Egypt flanked by two ostrich feathers. As the god of the dead and of rebirth, Osiris was related to the redemptive divinity Herakles Gaditanus, whose sanctuary lay on the island of Sancti Petri, near Cádiz, where both Melqart and Herakles were worshiped.¹ The figurines, which divers discovered by chance near the island, could have been votive offerings from the temple on Sancti Petri, perhaps cast into sacred wells after their ritual use.²

This type of figure, widespread in the western Phoenician colonies, is sometimes identified with the Near Eastern god Reshef. Examples dating to the Late Bronze Age have been found at Ugarit, in the Levant, among other sites.³ Six additional examples currently in the Museo de Cádiz derive from the same area, and others have been found in Huelva, Palermo, and elsewhere.⁴

The figurines were cast by means of the lost-wax technique, possibly in five pieces: body,



legs, and arms. The arms would have been fitted into the rectangular holes visible on the upper body. Owing to the marine environment from which they were recovered, the figurines suffered severe corrosion, but during restoration clear evidence was found that they had been made with a bivalve mold.⁵ Given the lack of archaeological context, the dating of the figurines relies solely on stylistic and typological analysis. The treatment of the bronzes is archaic, however, which makes the pieces more difficult to date. Related figurines first appeared in the Levant and Anatolia during the Late Bronze Age, in the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries B.C. Their iconography was inspired directly by Egyptian images, particularly the type known as the smiting god.⁶ By comparing them with similar objects found in archaeological contexts, such as those from the Heraion of Samos (cat. 168d),⁷ it is possible to propose a date between 710 and 640/630 B.C.

MDLO



1. Ramón Corzo Sánchez in Aranegui Gascó 2000, p. 225. 2. Blanco Freijeiro 1985; *I Fenici* 1988, p. 730; Perdignes Moreno 1991; García Alfonso, Martínez, and Morgado 1995, pp. 47–48; Corzo Sánchez in Aranegui Gascó 2000, p. 225; Jiménez Ávila 2002, pp. 273, 274, 418; Garbarino Gainza et al. 2004, p. 42; María Dolores López de la Orden in *Fortunatae Insulae* 2004, p. 251; Martín Ruiz 2004, p. 45; Jiménez Ávila 2005, fig. 15.1; Fontan and Le Meaux 2007, p. 336; Luis Carlos Zambrano Valdivia in López de la Orden and García Alfonso 2010, pp. 228–29. 3. Jiménez Ávila 2002, p. 276. 4. López de la Orden in *Fortunatae Insulae* 2004, p. 251. 5. Restoration was carried out by Luis Carlos Zambrano at the Museo de Cádiz and the Centro Andaluz de Actividades Arqueológicas de Cádiz. See Zambrano Valdivia in López de la Orden and García Alfonso 2010, p. 228. 6. Jiménez Ávila 2002, pp. 273–74. 7. *Ibid.*, p. 280.

neck, the protome—possibly a mask—may have been designed to be attached to a larger piece. At the top are two small perforations, presumably for hanging, with several others that must have been made for technical reasons during the firing process.

The figure wears no crown or headgear and lacks any symbolic element that would reveal his identity with any certainty, although his Egyptianizing features may suggest he represents Osiris. Since the protome was found in the sea, it is difficult to ascertain its original context or function.¹ Similar finds in the Mediterranean had a ritual use, either in a burial—as in tombs at Carthage and Utica, in North Africa, and in the *tophet* of Sulcis, in Sardinia—or in a sacred precinct, such as Monte Sirai. It is equally difficult to link the protome with any particular cult or divinity, although its discoverers postulated a relationship with Baal-Hammon² or perhaps Tanit.³ The iconography is closest to examples documented in fifth-century B.C. contexts.⁴ MDLO

1. Corzo Sánchez 1983, p. 15; Ramírez Delgado and Mateos Alonso 1985, pp. 78–80, fig. 2a, pl. 1a; Ciasca 1988, pp. 356, 367 (ill.); Corzo Sánchez 1989, p. 113, fig. 88; San Nicolás Pedraz 1992, pl. IV.4; Ramírez Delgado and Mateos Alonso 1993–94; García Alfonso, Martínez, and Morgado 1995, p. 43; Ferrer Albelda 1995–96, p. 64, fig. 1.1; Corzo Sánchez 1999, pp. 33–34; Aranegui Gascó 2000, p. 309, no. 167; Moneo 2003, p. 442; Garbarino Gainza et al. 2004, pp. 43–44; *Hannibal ad portas* 2004, p. 342, no. 21; Martín Ruiz 2004, p. 124, fig. 169; Fontan and Le Meaux 2007, p. 360, no. 240. 2. Moneo 2003, p. 442. 3. Ramírez Delgado and Mateos Alonso 1993–94, p. 95; compare with Ciasca 1988. 4. Ferrer Albelda 1995–97, pp. 64–65.



109. Male protome

Ceramic; H. 16 cm (6¼ in.)
Cádiz, Punta del Nao, beach of La Caleta
Phoenician-Punic, 6th–5th century B.C.
Museo de Cádiz (CE9545)

This hollow, bearded male protome wears a hairpiece with curls, represented by impressed circles; two ringlets at the sides provide openings for the ears. The long, tapered beard is bisected by a vertical line, giving the impression that it, too, is false. The prominent curved brows meet at the nose, and the eyes are small, as is the mouth. The face was made in a mold in several parts, with details retouched by hand afterward. The parts were later joined together, and the entire piece was covered in a thin varnish before firing. Based on the structure of the

THE CARAMBOLO TREASURE

110. Pectoral plaque or frontlet

Gold; H. 16.3 cm (6 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.), W. 14.3 cm (5 $\frac{5}{8}$ in.)
El Carambolo (Camas, Seville)
7th century B.C.
Museo Arqueológico de Sevilla; On permanent loan from the Municipal Collection of Seville (ROD5485)

111. Bracelet

Gold; H. 11 cm (4 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.), Diam. 11.5 cm (4 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.)
El Carambolo (Camas, Seville)
7th century B.C.
Museo Arqueológico de Sevilla; On permanent loan from the Municipal Collection of Seville (ROD5487)

112. Necklace

Gold; L. 45.5 cm (17 $\frac{7}{8}$ in.)
El Carambolo (Camas, Seville)
7th century B.C.
Museo Arqueológico de Sevilla; On permanent loan from the Municipal Collection of Seville (ROD5489)

In 1958, construction in the municipality of Camas led to the chance discovery of a vase containing a set of gold pieces, known today as the Carambolo Treasure.¹ The find provided material support for the existence of the legendary city of Tartessos, governed by a royal dynasty with mythical ancestors. The jewels presumably would have formed part of the crown and ornaments of a great prince or chief, a sign of his distinction and nobility. When placed on the arms, chest, waist (as a belt), and head (set into a crown), they would have conjured a ritually potent image for the wearer. The first interpretation assigned to the treasure, upheld until recently by the Spanish archaeological community, associated it with Argantonio, the long-lived king of Tartessos.²

The set, weighing a total of 2.392 kilograms, comprises a necklace with seven hanging seal-like ornaments, two bracelets, sixteen rectangular plaques, and two plaques in the shape of oxhides. The pieces are decorated mainly with two motifs: rosettes and hemispherical knobs.³ These are framed by gold wires and filigree patterns, made separately and soldered onto the base plate of each piece. In the manufacture of the treasure, two different techniques of goldsmithing have been identified. One falls within the Mediterranean tradition, while the other is linked to the metallurgy developed in the Atlantic regions during the Late Bronze Age.⁴

Recent excavations at the site (2002–5)⁵ have shed light on the set and confirmed the



interpretations put forward by a number of authors regarding the function that should be assigned to the Carambolo Treasure⁶ and to the settlement as a whole.⁷ On the spot where the treasure was found, a large ritual complex, standing on what was then the seashore, was uncovered.⁸ The establishment of this complex is related to the ancient Phoenician city of Spal (modern Seville). Use of the sanctuary began in the ninth century B.C. and concluded in the sixth century B.C., when the ritual of hiding the treasure took place. Studies of the paleoestuary of the Guadalquivir River have opened up a new perspective on the territorial character and location

of the settlement, revealing that El Carambolo was then a prominent coastal landmark at the point where the Guadalquivir meets the sea.⁹

In such a setting, the treasure would have formed part of the liturgical and ritual equipment of the temple dedicated to Astarte and Baal, divinities of the Phoenician tradition, who would have received ritual animal sacrifices there. We can imagine that a white cow would have been selected for Astarte and a chestnut bull for Baal, and the two beasts would then have been led to the sacrifice along the processional way to the temple. When an animal was selected for sacrifice, it acquired a





divine character and was therefore “dressed” for the ritual. Gold ornaments were placed on its forehead (plaques in the form of a stretched oxhide), and decorative fabrics were placed on its back and joined to the rectangular plaques. A priest, who would have worn the necklace and the bracelets, would have officiated at the sacred ceremony, which may have been held on

occasions such as the important ritual that coincided with the summer solstice.¹⁰

AN

1. After the discovery on land owned by the Pigeon Shooting Society of Camas (Seville), Juan de Mata Carriazo (1970) carried out and documented archaeological excavations at the site.
2. Amores Carredano and Escacena Carrasco 2011, p. 121.
3. The rosettes are symbolically identified with the goddess Astarte, and the hemispheres with the god Baal.
4. Perea and

- Ambruster 1998, pp. 132–33.
5. Fernández Flores and Rodríguez Azogue 2010, pp. 240–42.
6. Amores Carredano and Escacena Carrasco 2003, p. 48.
7. Belén Deamós and Escacena Carrasco 1997, p. 109.
8. It is important to stress the relationship between the objects in the treasure and the seated Astarte with votive inscription found at the same site, a possible indication of the consecration of the sanctuary to the goddess (see cat. 106).
9. Arteaga, Schulz, and Roos 1995.
10. Escacena Carrasco and Amores Carredano 2011, p. 134.

113. Vessel

Veined gray marble; H. 45 cm (17¾ in.), Diam. 33 cm (13 in.)

Almuñécar, Laurita necropolis

8th century B.C. context, Egyptian manufacture,

Dynasty 15, reign of Apophis (1581–1541 B.C.)

Museo Arqueológico de Almuñécar (M.A. 00018)

114. Vessel

Calcite alabaster; H. 45 cm (17¾ in.), Diam. 32.5 cm (12¾ in.)

Almuñécar, Laurita necropolis, tomb 17

8th century B.C. context, Egyptian manufacture,

Dynasty 22, reign of Osorkon II (874–850 B.C.)

Museo Arqueológico de Granada (8332)

115. Vessel

Calcite alabaster; H. 51 cm (20¼ in.), Diam. 25.5 cm (10 in.)

Almuñécar, Laurita necropolis, tomb 2

8th century B.C. context, Egyptian manufacture, probably

Third Intermediate Period (1070–712 B.C.)

Museo Arqueológico de Granada (8322)

These three stone vessels are inscribed with the names of Egyptian kings of the second and first



113



114



115

millennia B.C., but they were found in the south of Spain, at the other end of the Mediterranean. There, they were excavated at a Phoenician necropolis, dating approximately to the eighth century B.C., in which eighteen Egyptian stone vessels were used as cinerary urns.

Stone vessels served various purposes in ancient Egypt. They were luxury items often used to store cosmetic oils, ointment, or wine. The king could present such objects as gifts to members of the royal family and worthy officials.¹ Royal gifts of this type also accompanied Egyptian diplomatic missions to foreign courts, either as containers for other luxurious materials or as objects in their own right.² These three vessels may have originally contained wine, but their final use was to store the ashes of their owners.

Stone vessels inscribed with the names of Egyptian kings had appeared in Byblos by the Early Bronze Age, and similar vessels, inscribed with the name of Ramesses II, were deposited in the tomb of Ahiram, king of Byblos, toward the end of the second millennium B.C. The appearance of inscribed vessels in Byblos and at other sites bears witness to the economic and strategic importance of these cities throughout Egyptian history.

In the first millennium B.C., this type of stone vessel appears in a Phoenician context dating to the reigns of the Egyptian Dynasties 22 and 23.³ The name of Osorkon II (874–850 B.C.) is inscribed inside a cartouche on the ovoid jar with circular handles (cat. 114). The name appears twice on the jar, and in between the cartouches is the head of the Egyptian god Bes, who is shown wearing his characteristic feathered headdress. Another vessel (cat. 115) is probably of similar date; it bears an inscription in Phoenician-Punic that reads “Ashes of Magon, son of H[1]š.”

Even more intriguing is the vessel that bears a cartouche of Apophis (1581–1541 B.C.), one of the Hyksos rulers, whose dynasty originated from Syria-Palestine (cat. 113). Apophis reigned eight centuries before the vessel bearing his name was interred in the necropolis.⁴ The jar is dedicated to the king’s sister Tjawat, and her name appears twice on the vessel. Another inscription, which decorates the rim, reads: “The perfect god, lord of the two lands, whose powers bring the limits of victories, as no land is free of tribute for him. The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Useraare, son of Re, Apophis, given life. The king’s sister, Tjawat, may she live.”

It is unclear precisely how these vessels reached the site in southern Spain. As stone vessels were prestigious and durable, they often remained within the household for several generations and could later be used in trade and diplomatic exchange. Nevertheless, the journey

from Egypt to Iberia illuminates the long reach of the Phoenician trade routes in the early first millennium B.C. NA

1. Arnold and Pischikova 1999. 2. Sparks 2003, p. 41. 3. See Vittmann 2003, pp. 55–56. 4. See Lilyquist 1995, p. 22, no. 4, figs. 14, 15.

116a, b. Ewers

Bronze
 a. H. 25 cm (9 $\frac{7}{8}$ in.), Diam. 12.5 cm (4 $\frac{7}{8}$ in.)
 b. H. 25.3 cm (10 in.), Diam. 11.4 cm (4 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.)
 Huelva
 Phoenician, 8th–7th century B.C.
 Museo de Huelva (A/CE 02766, A/CE 02776)

Archaeological discoveries made in Huelva, on Spain’s southwest coast, have demonstrated the importance of this city throughout the first millennium B.C. Excavations at the site of Cabezo de La Joya (1966–71), in particular, have revealed the most important Orientalizing-period necropolis of the Iberian Peninsula.¹ These two ewers were found within two rich burials in the necropolis (18 and 17) next to other bronze objects, works of gold and ivory, and local and Phoenician pottery.² They exhibit the characteristic piriform (pear-shaped) silhouette of Phoenician ewers from the Iron Age, which are usually made of pottery (see cat. 118). Ceramic ewers have been found in Phoenician tombs, whereas metal ones have been found mainly in the richest local tombs, denoting ideological and ritual differences between the two communities.³ Metal ewers of similar shape have been found in Cyprus and Italy but are especially abundant in Iberia, where they adopt specific features.⁴ Both of these vessels reflect the peculiarities of the western Phoenician bronze workshops that characterize a Hispanic provincial production.

The zoomorphic ewer (cat. 116a) is from Tomb 18. Remains of cloth were found adhered to its surface.⁵ It is decorated with a sculptural group representing a deer’s head (without horns, probably the result of a fault during the casting process) and a bridled horse’s head. Such decorations are exclusive to the Iberian Peninsula, where other vessels with zoomorphic mouths have been found. Perhaps they relate to unknown mythological stories from what was a remote region of the western Mediterranean in the first millennium B.C.⁶

The floral ewer (cat. 116b), from Tomb 17, mixes elements from other, more “canonical” Phoenician ewers (mushroom-shaped rim, handle with snakes and a palmette) with unusual attachments such as the conical foot. This could indicate that it was manufactured earlier, before



the prototype was well defined, but it may also reflect the desire to create a unique piece in keeping with what we know was the ewer's elite destination.

The floral decoration on the neck deserves special mention. Although it is present on a large series of Phoenician bronze stands (the so-called Cypriot thymiateria) and incense burners,⁷ this is the only ewer where such a feature appears. Some scholars have identified this floral motif with a lily or lotus,⁸ both of which have magical and religious significance in Phoenician iconography. The motif is repeated on a large bronze incense burner and a bronze basin found in the tomb beside the ewer. The three pieces may have constituted a set used for symbolic and ritual functions related to the preeminent social role of the deceased. JJA

1. López de la Orden and García Alfonso 2010, pp. 310–11.
2. Garrido and Orta 1978. 3. Jiménez Ávila 2007, p. 159; Jiménez Ávila 2010. 4. Grau-Zimmermann 1978; Jiménez Ávila 2002, pp. 37ff., pls. I–VIII; Taloni 2012. 5. Garrido and Orta 1978, pp. 124ff., pls. LXXXVI–XC. 6. Jiménez Ávila 2002, pp. 343–45. 7. Jiménez Ávila 2000; Morstadt 2008. 8. Culican 1980.

117. Ewer

Ostrich eggshell, ivory, and gold sheet; H. 34 cm (13 3/4 in.), Diam. 13.3 cm (5 1/4 in.)

San Severino Marche, necropolis of Monte Penna, tomb 14

Museo Archeologico Nazionale delle Marche, Ancona (60843-4)

The necropolis of Monte Penna is situated in the region of the Marche, in eastern Italy. The wealth of luxury goods, including those of bronze and ivory, found at the site likely originated in Etruria, on the other side of the peninsula, across the Apennine Mountains. Etruria served as a nexus for the redistribution and transformation of exotic artifacts such as this ewer, which demonstrates the complexity and stylistic refinement achieved by Mediterranean artists during the Orientalizing period.

Ostriches lived in the steppes of Syria and Arabia and in the deserts of Egypt and North Africa. These swift animals were considered quarry worthy of Egyptian and Assyrian kings. Their feathers were used to make fans and to decorate the trappings of horses and chariots, and their eggs provided a significant food source. After consumption, the shells were collected and decorated with paint or incised using abrasive and acid. Early examples from Syria date to the Bronze Age. It is not clear when ostrich eggshells began to be exported from Carthage and other North African centers to Etruria, and it is still debated whether they were decorated before



export or by Etruscan artists. On this example, the dense composition is divided into several bands, filling the entire surface with the typically Orientalizing motifs of rows of sphinxes and griffins amid stylized trees. Bands of rosettes and lotus flowers are interspersed, possibly inspired by embroidered textiles.¹ This type of decoration can also be found on metal vessels and engraved tridacna shells.

Ostrich eggshells were often combined with other materials to form composite vessels like this one.² Here, the base and neck are missing and have been convincingly restored in the shape of the so-called Phoenician ewer, a type popular throughout the Mediterranean in red slip ware pottery as well as luxurious versions in metal (see cats. 116a, b, 118). The handle and mouth have both weathered to a light green color, typically indicating discoloration through contact with copper, which suggests that the missing neck may have been made of a bronze sheet. The spout, which opens in a “mushroom,” or trefoil, at the top, is in the shape of a

half-length female figure with a large head and short, fleshy arms grasping her striated tresses. Pottery vessels with modeled spouts in the shape of a female protome were not uncommon in archaic Cyprus and Greece. An example in ivory was found in the temple of Artemis Orthia in Sparta.³ A female figure made of carved horn that served as the handle for an instrument, found in another necropolis in the Marche, displays a similarly oversized head above an abbreviated body.⁴ The hairstyle and the tasseled fringe at the hem of her dress are, like the Monte Penna ewer, typical of the eclectic productions that found their way into the heart of Italy. AC

1. Maurizio Landolfi in Colonna and Franchi dell'Orto 2001, pp. 100–101, figs. 75, 76; Giuliano De Marinis, “Oenochoe,” in Stampolidis 2003b, p. 500, no. 944; Fontan and Le Meaux 2007, no. 195, ill. p. 176. 2. Early examples range from the Royal Tombs of Ur to Mycenae; Caubet 1983. 3. Stampolidis 2003b, no. 1042. 4. *Ibid.*, no. 1060.

118. Ewer

Ceramic; H. 31 cm (12 1/4 in.), Diam. 19.5 cm (7 3/8 in.)
Tel Akhziv

Iron Age II, 8th–7th century B.C.

The Israel Museum, Jerusalem (IAA 1967-668)

This beautiful jug was uncovered in the excavations of a tomb in one of the cemeteries at Tel Akhziv, an ancient harbor situated on the northern coastal plain of modern-day Israel, between Acre and Tyre.¹ The Phoenician tombs at Akhziv, dated to the eighth through the sixth century B.C., have yielded a wealth of funerary equipment, mostly decorated pottery vessels and jewelry.

Notable for its elegance, sharp, clean-cut form, and highly burnished red slip, this vessel has a long handle, carinated body, conical neck, and trefoil mouth. Red-slip ware represented much of the pottery in the Phoenician homeland. The distinctive features of this jug suggest that it imitates in pottery the bronze and silver vessels found at Phoenician sites (cats. 116a, b, 198).² Similar vessels (which together form the Akhziv Group) have been found on the Mediterranean coast wherever a Phoenician settlement or trading colony had existed—on the coast of Phoenicia and in North Africa, Sicily, and Spain.³ EA

1. Dayagi-Mendels 2002, pp. 1–2. 2. Markoe 2000, fig. 57; Maaß-Lindemann 2007, pp. 177, 179, nos. 188–91. 3. Moscati 1988a, pp. 612, 656, 712; Maaß-Lindemann 2007, no. 187.



119. Ewer

Travertine (Egyptian alabaster); H. 20.7 cm (8 1/8 in.),
Diam. 12.6 cm (5 in.)

El-Kurru, tomb of Queen Khensa (Ku. 4)
Dynasty 25, reign of Piankhy (Piye)—reign of Taharqo
(743–664 B.C.)

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; Harvard University—
Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition (21.2783)

The body of this ewer is pear-shaped, with a narrow neck and trefoil mouth.¹ It sits on a small disc base. A handle, now lost, extended from the rim to the shoulder, terminating in a distinctive palmette carved in raised relief. An incised band of hieroglyphs, painted red, encircles the body at the base of the neck. The vessel has been restored from numerous fragments, and parts of the inscription are now lost. Fortunately, the twin cartouches bearing the name of a queen, Khensa, are preserved.

That a vessel based on a metal prototype of Near Eastern origin, but made of Egyptian

stone and bearing a hieroglyphic inscription, should be found in the tomb of a Kushite queen in northern Sudan should not be surprising. Khensa, sister and “chief royal wife” of Piankhy (Piye), was buried during the reign of Taharqo. During her lifetime she witnessed the Nubian pharaohs of Egypt’s Dynasty 25 rise to superpower status; the borders of their territory stretched from the Upper Nile to the Mediterranean, and they had access to an extensive trade network.

Egyptian craftsmen were always adept at imitating foreign (and therefore exotic) luxury goods in local materials.² Stone vessel fragments found in Khensa’s tomb included pieces of a similar inscribed ewer as well as inscribed alabastra, another popular form with a wide distribution at this time.³ Although the tomb was heavily looted, the robbers also left behind a pair of silver vessels and two silver rods, all the more precious as the metal was presumably imported.⁴

LMB

1. Reisner 1921, ill. p. 30 (bottom row, second from left); Dunham 1950, pp. 31–33, no. 19-3-562, figs. 11c, 11k, pl. 29E. 2. A good example from an earlier period is the Aegean rhyton reproduced in Egyptian faience, MFA 00.702a-d; see Robert B. Koehl in Aruz, Benzel, and Evans 2008, pp. 426–30, no. 283. 3. Reisner 1921, ill. p. 30 (bottom row); Dunham 1950, pp. 31–33, nos. 19-3-560, 563, 564, 565, figs. 11c, 11k, pl. 29E. For other objects from the tomb, see also Kendall 1982, pp. 26–30, nos. 6–24. 4. Reisner 1921, ill. p. 30 (top left); Dunham 1950, p. 32, nos. 19-3-663, 664, 665 (MFA 21.3091, 3092, 325a-b), figs. 11e, 11f, 11h, pl. 64C; Kendall 1982, pp. 26–27, figs. 7–9.

PHOENICIAN AND ORIENTALIZING “IVORIES” IN THE IBERIAN PENINSULA

Pablo Quesada Sanz

Ivory is known to have been used as a raw material for sumptuary objects in the Iberian Peninsula as far back as the Chalcolithic period, and current research has documented patterns of trade in this material. Yet, despite a long-standing tradition of ivory use, it was only with the arrival of the Phoenicians that various ivory objects with a markedly Near Eastern character began to appear in the south of the peninsula. From the beginning, these finds have been associated with Tartessos, the indigenous culture the Phoenicians encountered upon their arrival in the Iberian Peninsula. From the first discoveries of ivories of this type in the late nineteenth century to the present day, they have been the subject of numerous studies, and various questions have been raised that have yet to find definitive answers. Indeed, there continues to be scientific debate on the authorship, provenance, and chronology of these ivories, and even, perhaps most important, on their cultural attribution.

Phoenician ivories are documented today in the southern half of the Iberian Peninsula as far as the coast, and two major groups can be clearly defined. The first includes ivories from various necropoleis in the rural district of Los Alcores, Carmona (Seville), many of which are now at the Hispanic Society of America, New York (cats. 120, 121), although the recent restoration of some of these pieces has revealed that they are made of bone, not ivory.¹ The second group comprises the sixty-three ivories from cremation burials of the necropolis of Medellín (Badajoz), dated between 650 and 475 B.C.² The rest of the finds are widely dispersed and fewer in number. Their context, when documented, is likewise funerary.³

Most of these pieces are combs, furniture plaques or overlays,⁴ small boxes (pyxides), and so-called cosmetic or ointment palettes, which have been, and remain, subject to various interpretations. They are richly decorated with Near Eastern imagery and iconography that has been attributed mostly to a Syro-Phoenician origin, giving rise to the debates mentioned above. Various researchers believe the ivories were imported goods for the indigenous elite, who would have adapted the iconography of these objects to their own religious or even political concepts related to sacred kingship. Others regard them as luxury items, also for the elite, and consider their decoration to be merely

ornamental in character, an idea that has now largely been discarded. Some authors have, meanwhile, questioned these theories, maintaining instead that the ivories were used by the Phoenician population who arrived in the Iberian Peninsula and penetrated into the interior, for whom the symbolic content of the iconography would have been familiar. The recent interpretation of the ointment palettes as small altars would mean a revelation of further aspects of the Phoenician presence in the Iberian Peninsula.⁵

Another controversial issue is that of the ivories' provenance or origin. Their similarity to pieces from Carthage has led to the notion that this important Phoenician colony might have been the center of production of the ivories in the Iberian Peninsula. Today, the study of their iconography, style, and technique, together with parallels from elsewhere in the Mediterranean, seems to indicate that they were manufactured in Iberia itself, although it cannot be ruled out that they may in certain instances have been imported. Another matter is the location of these supposed Iberian workshops. Cádiz and Carmona have been suggested as possible sites, but there is no archaeological record at present to support these hypotheses. The existence of ivory workshops in the Iberian Peninsula appears to be corroborated, however, by the more than fifty elephant tusks found in the shipwreck at Bajo de la Campana (Cartagena, Murcia), eleven of which bear Phoenician graffiti (see “The Bajo de la Campana Shipwreck and Colonial Trade in Phoenician Spain” in this volume, pp. 230–42). They are currently dated between the end of the seventh century B.C. and the beginning of the sixth century B.C.

120. Comb with incised lions and hares

Ivory; W. 12.8 cm (5 in.), H. 7.2 cm (2 $\frac{7}{8}$ in.)
Carmona (Seville), Cruz del Negro necropolis
Orientalizing, 7th century B.C.
The Hispanic Society of America, New York (D500)

121. Plaque with incised hunter-warrior between a griffin and a lion

Bone; W. 12.7 cm (5 in.), H. 5 cm (2 in.)
Bencarrón necropolis (Seville)
Orientalizing, 7th century B.C.
The Hispanic Society of America, New York (D513)

The collection of 165 ivory and bone objects of Orientalizing style housed at the Hispanic Society of America, New York, is one of the most important yet discovered in the Iberian Peninsula.¹ Since their first publication, in 1899, the date and cultural affiliation of these objects, which were collected by George Bonsor when he undertook the systematic exploration of the lower Guadalquivir River region from 1894 to 1898,² have been a source of discussion. Comparing their style and technique with those of objects from Nimrud (ancient Kalhu), in northern Mesopotamia, Bonsor catalogued them as “the work of Phoenician engravers, dating from 850 to 700 B.C.”³ Other scholars, however, have considered them to be either Carthaginian⁴ or indigenous,⁵ dating them from the ninth to the fifth century B.C.

The necropolis of Cruz del Negro, north of Carmona, included cremation burials discovered by Bonsor. The burned bones of the deceased were deposited in urns with grave goods, including jewelry, belt buckles, and ivories (mostly combs) as well as objects made of bone.⁶ The offerings must have been cast into the burials over hot ashes, since many show signs of burning.⁷ One impressive ivory comb from the site, reconstructed from thirty-three fragments, is missing its teeth and bears a light green stain, suggesting contact with bronze during burial (cat. 120). At each side there are arc-shaped indentations and figural decoration within borders of zigzag lines. On one face there is an unusual combination of a lion with his forepaw raised to attack a recumbent hare with long furry ears in a landscape evoked by two lotus flowers. The scene is repeated on the other face, with the addition of a bird on the back of the lion. Certain features characterize this work as Andalusian, such as the assured curvilinear outlines for animals and the extensive overlapping combined with poor execution, which obscures attempts to suggest modeling and depth of field. Imprecise linear incisions render the irregularly crosshatched mane of the



lion, whose head or ear is cut off by the border. Also, the teeth are interrupted by the line of the tongue, which protrudes over the forepaw, and the oversize background flora are interrupted by the massive animal bodies, which are otherwise marked with linear patterns. There may also be evidence of the transfer of characteristics from one animal species to another in the local repertoire. The lion's forelegs, in typical attack posture, are combined with a long tail, for example, which extends downward in front of the striding rear legs: a more common placement for bovine images. Similarly, one of the hares has the expected curving facial profile and rounded-dot eye, but the other has a leonine forehead bump and almond-shaped eye.

Perhaps the best known of the locally produced carvings were discovered by Bonsor in a cremation burial in the necropolis of Bencarrón. The tomb yielded six plaques, with the richest

iconography found among the so-called Carmona ivories, which are actually made of bone. The plaques have been reconstructed as a rectangular box with two internal dividers, and it has been suggested that the incised decoration constituted a hunt narrative. The most interesting figure, arguably, is a kneeling long-haired hunter-warrior with an oversize head, large facial features, and a pointed beard (cat. 121). He is armed with a stylized version of the plumed helmet worn by Greek hoplites.⁸ Clothed in a long belted tunic, he thrusts a spear toward a lion with his right hand. The spear tip is shown in front of the lion (rather than piercing its body), and the shaft is interrupted by the circular incision defining the hoplite-type shield. The lion's paws are lifted in attack position. Its large head is turned away, with the tongue hanging between bared teeth, and the tail is raised in typical leonine fashion.

Behind the warrior is a griffin with a distinctive hair curl derived from Near Eastern depictions, large wings in profile, and a front claw lifted toward the warrior. A landscape setting is suggested by a lotus with a bent stem. Once again we see a lack of artistic refinement combined with an ambitious attempt to create spatial depth by the (sometimes incoherent) use of overlap. There is also a dynamic sense of movement that animates the Near Eastern-type three-figure composition, a stylistic element that, like the hunter's armor, ultimately derived from the Greek world.⁹

CDA/JA

1. The collection includes twelve combs with incised decoration, twenty-four engraved plaques intended for small boxes, fragments of six cosmetic palettes carved in low relief, fragments of two pyxides, one rod, one bead, an Egyptian spatula, and many fragments. 2. Bonsor sold most of the objects to Archer M. Huntington, founder of the Hispanic Society. The rest of Bonsor's collection is now housed at the Museo Arqueológico de Sevilla, and at the Museo de Mairena del Alcor, in the province of Sevilla. See Maier 1999. 3. Bonsor 1899, p. 133, a position also maintained in Bonsor 1928, p. 10. Scholars of the same opinion include Frederik Poulsen (1912, p. 53) and William F. Albright (1941, p. 22). 4. Paris 1908, pp. 226–27. For the ivories of El Acebuchal, see Heuzey 1900; Poulsen 1912, p. 53; García y Bellido 1942, p. 227; Barnett 1948, p. 24; Bisi 1967–68, p. 47; and Cintas 1970, p. 586. 5. Blanco 1960b, p. 22; Arribas 1965, p. 58; Aubet 1979, pp. 70, 76; Bisi 1980, pp. 234–35; Hélène Le Meaux (2005, pp. 1117, 1132; 2006, pp. 205–6) emphasizes the originality of Peninsular production and the creation of a singular style there. 6. Most of these objects are housed in the Hispanic Society of America. Its archaeological collection is currently being studied and will be published in both English and Spanish as *Catálogo de los materiales arqueológicos procedentes de España en la Hispanic Society of America*, New York. 7. Bonsor 1899, pp. 76–88. 8. For warriors with hoplite-type armor on Phoenician bowls, see Markoe 1985, p. 248 (Cy4). 9. This is true as well of the other plaques. For instance, D516, one of the dividers, depicts a caprid apparently attacked by a griffin and a lion, its forelegs fully extended to create a sense of movement: Aubet 1981–82, p. 238, B.3. On the reverse is another three-figured scene with a bull, static except for its dramatically lowered head, which finds parallels on the ivories from Nimrud (e.g., MMA 64.37.4).

THE BAJO DE LA CAMPANA SHIPWRECK AND COLONIAL TRADE IN PHOENICIAN SPAIN

Mark E. Polzer

From ancient times to the present, the Phoenicians have been renowned as sailors, explorers, and maritime traders extraordinaire—“men famed for their ships” (*Odyssey* 15.415). And yet, despite their maritime exploits and colonial adventure, which dominated much of the Mediterranean during the first half of the first millennium B.C., there has been sparse evidence of them from the sea—from shipwrecks.¹ This quirk of archaeology has been addressed in part by the investigation of two sites in southeastern Spain: the remains of two small boats that sank off Playa de la Isla, Mazarrón, in the second half of the seventh century B.C. (see “The Phoenician Ships of Mazarrón” in this volume, pp. 243–44), and the Phoenician shipwreck at Bajo de la Campana.

Between 2008 and 2011, the Institute of Nautical Archaeology’s (INA) Claude and Barbara Duthuit Expedition to Bajo de la Campana excavated the remains of an Iron Age (ca. 600 B.C.) shipwreck off La Manga, approximately 30 kilometers northeast of Cartagena, in southeastern Spain.² The site was discovered at least as early as 1958 by commercial salvage divers, and in subsequent years by recreational divers, who picked up additional archaeological material, much of which was eventually turned over to the Ministry of Culture of Spain.³ After their own inspections of the site in 1972 and 1988, ministry archaeologists determined that the recovered artifacts represented at least three ancient shipwreck assemblages, the oldest material belonging to a Phoenician context of the late seventh or early sixth century B.C.⁴ INA initiated the current investigation of the site in 2007 with a signed agreement of cooperation with Spain’s Ministry of Culture. Its exploratory survey of the site revealed that it still contained significant remains, including a more diverse assemblage of materials than previously suspected: several elephant tusks, lead ore, ingots of tin, a double-ended wood comb, two small lumps of raw amber, fragments of various ceramic vessels, and pine nuts and pinecone scales. These finds foreshadowed the cargo uncovered in the subsequent four seasons of excavation: raw materials—ingots of tin and copper, mineral lead, amber, and elephant ivory—and an assortment of manufactured products and luxury goods. Conservation and analysis of the recovered artifacts are

incomplete and ongoing, but information and preliminary interpretations are contributing new details on the regional circulation of goods and interactions with indigenous populations by Phoenician colonists on the Iberian Peninsula.

The Site

Bajo de la Campana (the Bajo) is a small, submerged basaltic outcropping situated 4 kilometers from La Manga, a thin spit of land separating the Mar Menor, Europe’s largest lagoon, from the Mediterranean Sea. The outcrop rises from a bottom depth of about 16 meters to within a meter of the water’s surface, while the sea bottom falls away from the base of the rock at a gentle 17-degree gradient. At the western limit of the site, a large fissure, or crevice, cuts through the rock and opens onto the seabed (fig. 3.72). When excavations began, the crevice was filled with rocks and boulders of all sizes, along with gravel and finer sediment. The fissure undercuts the base of the Bajo to form a shallow recess, also filled with sediment and boulders. The early finds taken from the site reportedly came from the crevice and recess, and much more material was recovered there during the excavation. The rest of the artifacts were scattered over about 400 square meters of the rocky bottom extending downslope from the Bajo.

Demolitions and military activity during the twentieth century along with the turbulent and exposed conditions of the shallow site resulted in the highly fragmentary and scattered disposition of the wreckage and the dearth of hull or other wood remains. They also left most of the preserved artifacts broken or damaged. However, the dispersal patterns of the heavier materials, such as metal ingots, ore, and elephant tusks, provide some indication of how the ship sank and came to rest on the bottom, and of what happened to the wreckage over the ensuing two and a half millennia.⁵

The Finds

The Bajo de la Campana site yielded its archaeological treasures begrudgingly, and the full scope of material types and goods did not become known until the very last days of



Fig. 3.72. Archaeologist Neil Puckett preparing to excavate with airlift in crevice. Bajo de la Campana shipwreck, 2011

excavation. When it sank, the ship was carrying at least 4 tons of cargo comprising consignments of both raw materials and manufactured goods, including a varied collection of western Phoenician pottery and a number of more exotic items. The assemblage recovered here speaks to Phoenician trade among colonies on the Iberian Peninsula and with its indigenous inhabitants but also highlights interconnections with trade

circuits farther afield. Early results suggest that the raw materials may yield new information on where such commodities were sourced and processed and on the locations of the workshops where craftsmen turned them into valued trade goods. The exotic goods exemplify luxury products destined for an elite clientele and illuminate the role that such items played in indigenous relations and commercial dealings.

Raw Materials

Ivory Tusks

The shipwreck is best known for its cargo of raw ivory (cat. 122a–c). In 1979 sport divers turned over to Spanish authorities 13 elephant tusks in poor condition, as they had not received proper conservation treatment since their removal from the sea.⁶ The recently completed INA excavations at the site recovered at least an additional 41 tusks in various states of preservation, up to 146 centimeters long and 17 centimeters in diameter.⁷

The elephant species that produced these tusks has yet to be identified scientifically, but the proximity of the shipwreck site to North Africa together with the tusks' sizes and shapes points to the most likely case that the elephants were African (*Loxodonta africana*), probably the smaller subspecies of forest elephant (*L. a. cyclotis*), sourced from western North Africa.⁸ However, the physical characteristics of tusks are unreliable criteria for identifying elephant species, as they can vary significantly within each group and are affected significantly by environmental, nutritional, and other factors.⁹

Inscribed Ivory Tusks

A number of the tusks recovered from the shipwreck are exceptional in that they are marked with inscribed Phoenician letters or with some other minor working. The dearth of Phoenician inscriptions before 500 B.C. renders these examples significant.¹⁰ Four of the original thirteen tusks taken from the site bear inscriptions.¹¹ Five additional inscribed tusks were recovered during the INA excavations, and another two

appear to have been inscribed. With the addition of at least five new inscriptions, the entire group is being reevaluated.¹² All include a personal name, either alone or in conjunction with a request for blessing or a declaration of devotion. In total, five different names are presented, one attested in Phoenician onomastics for the first time. All five are theophoric, the attested divine elements being *štrt*, (possibly) *mlqrt*, *šmn*, *hmn*, and *mlk*.

The inscription on tusk 1528 (cat. 122b) is *bd'štrt* (Bod Ashtart), meaning “in the hand/protection of Ashtart.”¹³ The goddess Ashtart (or Astarte), associated with fertility, love, and war, was the chief female deity of the Phoenicians.¹⁴ The same name comprises the first line of the inscription on tusk 1529, which is followed on the line below by the term *'bd*, “servant” or “slave.”¹⁵ This Bod Ashtart could have served such a role, but most likely the term underscores his declaration of fervent devotion to the deity. The short inscription on tusk 1540 (cat. 122a), *m'*, is likely an abbreviated personal name, possibly *m(lqrtšm)* (Melqartsama).¹⁶

The inscription on 1537 is read by Joaquín Sanmartín Ascaso as *r'mlk 'nš*, which he interpreted as “from *r'mlk*, humbly.”¹⁷ However, upon closer examination, the inscription is better read as *mlk'n'*, a construct of the theophoric element *mlk* and a verb form that begins with *'n*; “answered” being a common enough possibility.¹⁸ Tusk BC07-0210 reads, *brk/šmnhlš*, “Bless Eshmunkhalots!”¹⁹ The attested Phoenician name *šmnhlš* combines the name of the god *šmn* and the verb *hlš*, “deliver” or “save”; thus, “May [the god] Eshmun deliver [someone from harm].”²⁰ The same two-line inscription is found on tusk BC10-1752.01, although the first



Fig. 3.73. Archaeologists Mark Polzer and Juan Pinedo examining two elephant tusks and a mortar. Bajo de la Campana shipwreck, 2010



122a



Details of inscriptions (left and below)



122b



122c



123a-d

122a-c. Tusks

Ivory

a. L. 82 cm (32¼ in.), Diam. 8.5 cm (3⅜ in.)

b. L. 88 cm (34⅝ in.), Diam. 8.5 cm (3⅜ in.)

c. L. 102 cm (40⅙ in.), Diam. 8.1 cm (3¼ in.)

Manga del Mar Menor, Bajo de la Campana shipwreck area
7th-6th century b.c.

Museo Nacional de Arqueología Subacuática, Cartagena
(1540, 1528, BC10-1926)

124a, b. Ingots

a. Tin; max. W. 12.8 cm (5 in.), Weight 890 g (31.4 oz.)

b. Copper; max. W. 14.3 cm (5⅝ in.), Weight 1085 g (38.3 oz.)

Manga del Mar Menor, Bajo de la Campana shipwreck
7th-6th century b.c.

Museo Nacional de Arqueología Subacuática, Cartagena
(BC08-541, BC10-1689.03)



124a

123a-d. Cuboid pan-balance weights

Lead-bronze composite

a. max. H. 7.4 cm (2⅞ in.), W. 7 cm (2¾ in.), Weight 2,840.4 g (100.3 oz.)

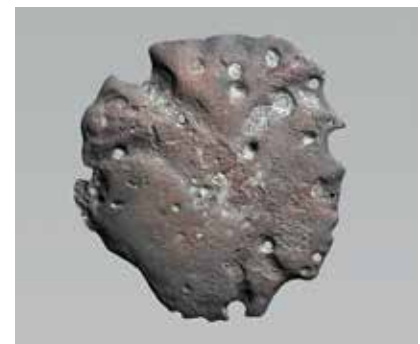
b. max. H. 5.6 cm (2¼ in.), W. 4.8 cm (1⅞ in.), Weight 913.7 g (32.2 oz.)

c. max. H. 4.7 cm (1⅞ in.), W. 4.3 cm (1¾ in.), Weight 493.7 g (17.4 oz.)

d. max. H. 3.8 cm (1½ in.), W. 2.8 cm (1⅛ in.), Weight 157.8 g (5.6 oz.)

Manga del Mar Menor, Bajo de la Campana shipwreck
7th-6th century b.c.

Museo Nacional de Arqueología Subacuática, Cartagena
(BC11-3183, BC11-3246, BC11-3202, BC11-3270)



124b

letter and part of the second are missing. The inscription on tusk BC10-1925 reads '[-]l . . . l 'dnḥmn. The first line is badly deteriorated and remains unknown. The second line gives another personal name, 'dnḥmn (Adon Khamon), "My lord is [the god] Khamon."²¹ Although ḥmn is the name of a well-known deity in the Phoenician world,²² and a common element of many names, until now it was not attested with 'adoní. Tusk BC10-1961 reads bd'strt, "Bod Ashtart," as in 1528 and 1529, above. Interestingly, however, the forms of several letters in this inscription — 'ayin and taw in particular — are different, and the inscription on tusk 1529 has two alternate forms of taw.²³

In addition to providing important onomastic data, the inscriptions also raise questions about the origin and function of these tusks. Previous interpretations of the first four inscriptions attempted to find indicators of merchant-captains,²⁴ procurement agents,²⁵ tax collectors,²⁶ or other administrative officials, clearly overly influenced by the shipwreck context of these finds. Instead, the tusks should be understood as votive offerings. The personal names and dedicatory inscriptions are typical of such offerings at temples and shrines, as are the valuable tusks themselves.²⁷ In fact, most Phoenician inscriptions from the western Mediterranean are votive.²⁸ The inscriptions therefore bear no direct connection to the ship or the commercial venture it represented. Given that dedicatory objects were meant to remain in the sanctuary wherein they were deposited, how and why they came to be on board the ship remains unknown.

Lead Ore

More than one ton of galena nuggets, the natural mineral form of lead sulfide and a primary ore of lead, was recovered from the shipwreck site. Preliminary analyses of the material show the ore to be quite pure and devoid of silver. A wood stave and fragmentary remains of basketry, found at the upper end of the crevice in association with the main concentration of galena, suggests that the ore (and probably metal ingots as well) was stowed in sturdy baskets in the hold and was some of the first material to spill out when the ship's bottom was ripped open.

Results of lead isotope analysis of a selection of galena nuggets show that the entire load of material probably was sourced from a single location. Comparative interpretation of these results with published geological data from known sites across Iberia and elsewhere in the Mediterranean indicates that the ore most likely came from mines in the Almería province of southeastern Spain, from either the Sierra de Gádor or the Sierra Alhamilla.²⁹

Tin and Copper

The ship was carrying a consignment of tin in the form of 163 small plano-convex ingots, mostly discoid in shape (cat. 124a); oval, loaf-shaped, piriform, and siluriform (the latter so called because of the shape and the presence of a small "tail" that turns down at the narrower end) ingots also are represented. They weigh between 300 and 2,900 grams, with an average weight of 1,042 grams and a diameter of 12 centimeters. They are raw, or "blister," ingots, some well formed, others with highly irregular shapes and surfaces. The ingots preserve good metal integrity beneath a thin surface oxidation layer.

The sourcing and movement of tin in the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages are largely unknown.³⁰ Classical authors reference tin from southern England (Cornwall and Devon) and Brittany (Armorican Massif), and deposits are known as well in the Massif Central of south-central France and in the Erzgebirge of Saxony-Bohemia.³¹ In the Mediterranean region, there are tin deposits at Monte Valerio in Tuscany and in southern Sardinia, but the most significant tin mineralizations are found on the Iberian Peninsula.³² The chronology of tin exploitation in Iberia is not yet well established, and good lead isotopic characterizations of known deposits are lacking. Tin deposits have been found at La Coruña, in northwestern Spain, and through the provinces of Pontevedra and Orense into northeast Portugal. In the southwest, the Ossa-Morena Zone, part of the Iberian Pyrite Belt, has tin mineralization, along with copper, gold, and mercury.³³ Smaller deposits also are known in the Murcia and Almería regions of the southeast.³⁴

Lead isotope analysis of the tin ingots has revealed that most of the metal was produced from a single deposit of ore. Copper ores from the Bilbao-La Coruña region have a comparable radiogenic curve, suggesting that much of the tin originally may have been sourced in the far northwest of Spain. The remaining ingots comprise two groupings, both of which may have originated in the Ossa-Morena but from different deposits.³⁵

Seven plano-convex discoid ingots (cat. 124b) and numerous small pieces or fragments of raw copper also were carried on the ship. The copper ingots have somewhat irregular surfaces and edges but are generally more consistent in shape, larger in diameter, and thinner than the tin ingots. They average almost 14 centimeters in diameter, 3 centimeters in thickness, and 1,563 grams in weight.

Copper plano-convex ingots of comparable size, mostly from the seventh and sixth centuries B.C., have been found in at least 20 sites across the Iberian Peninsula and Balearic

Islands.³⁶ They are significantly smaller than the plano-convex ingots circulating in the Mediterranean during the Late Bronze Age, exemplified by the 121 ingots carried onboard the Syro-Canaanite ship that sank off Uluburun, on the southern coast of Turkey.³⁷ The small size of the Iberian ingots may reflect a pre-Phoenician tradition of metalworking on the peninsula as well as an adaptation to the prevailing metallurgical technologies and commercial requirements within the region.³⁸

Lead isotope analyses of the copper ingots and fragments from the shipwreck show that the copper came from at least eight different mining regions—a surprising variety for such a small assemblage. Ores from Los Pedroches, Linares, Río Tinto, Aznalcóllar, and the Ossa-Morena Zone in Andalusia are represented, as is the mining region of Cartagena-Mazarrón, in southern Murcia. One small fragment of copper originated from the Apliki mine on Cyprus, and three other fragments may have come from Monte Sisini or Calabona on Sardinia. The provenance of two ingots and one copper fragment cannot be determined at this time.

Other Raw Materials

Other raw materials recovered from the site include five lumps of raw Baltic amber, fragments of three logs of branch wood, and thick globs of resin or pitch. Amber was a popular material for making beads and for inlay in jewelry and carved ivory;³⁹ this small allotment probably belonged to an individual merchant or craftsman aboard the ship. Documented on more than a dozen ancient shipwrecks,⁴⁰ resin was used to flavor wine,⁴¹ while pitch, often with wax or resin, was used to waterproof ships' hulls and cordage.⁴² If the latter, it may have come from the ship's onboard stores.

Manufactured Goods

The finished goods in the ship's cargo fall into two groups: pottery, sometimes containing agricultural products, and luxurious items made from costlier materials.

Pottery

Excavations recovered a wide array of ceramic vessel types, the vast majority of which are fragmentary and incomplete. However, sufficient diagnostic pieces remain to reconstruct the varied types of pots carried on board the ship, if not the complete profiles and exact count. The assemblage, entirely wheel made, includes transport amphorae, mortars, flanged plates, bowls, carinated bowls, oil bottles and other small unguentaria, cooking pots, casseroles, urns, and various jugs

and pitchers. The types represent much of the western Phoenician repertoire and place the ship and its cargo squarely in the western Phoenician and Orientalizing horizon (8th–6th century B.C.). A comprehensive petrographic study of this pottery, intended to help determine the location of their originating workshops, is nearing completion.⁴³

Two types of Phoenician transport amphorae are attested in the pottery assemblage, one with a distinct ovoid shape and the other with a carinated shoulder and a maximum diameter below the midlength (see cat. 132). The latter type, distributed widely from the Atlantic coast of Morocco to Sicily, was produced by colonial workshops in the environs of the Strait of Gibraltar from the late eighth into the sixth century B.C., especially during the seventh century, when the western colonies enjoyed their greatest period of growth and commercialization.⁴⁴ Preliminary characterization of the clay from some of the amphorae indicates that they were produced along the southern Andalusian coast, possibly at Cerro del Villar.⁴⁵ Amphorae from these potteries have been found throughout southern and eastern Spain, including at the indigenous settlement at Peña Negra (Crevillente) and the neighboring Phoenician colony of La Fonteta.⁴⁶ The Peña Negra amphora finds of this type are dated primarily from the late seventh to the first half of the sixth century B.C.⁴⁷ At La Fonteta, rim fragments comparable to the Bajo de la Campana pieces are distributed across most levels, making precise dating difficult. However, at least one amphora from the Bajo has a distinctive shoulder profile, inverted just before the carination, also seen in examples found in levels III–VI (670–560 B.C.) at La Fonteta.⁴⁸

The ovoid transport amphorae present on the ship, although few in number, are of a type produced by Phoenician potteries in the central Mediterranean colonies and are best represented at Carthage, Motya (Sicily), and Sulcis (Sardinia).⁴⁹ The clay fabric of the Bajo de la Campana examples exhibits typical characteristics of Carthaginian production.⁵⁰ In the far west such amphorae are attested predominantly along the Mediterranean coast of Spain, from Toscanos in the south to Sant Martí d'Empúries in the northeast, and especially on Ibiza, where their presence testifies to close trading links between the island and central Mediterranean centers.⁵¹ Generally dated from the end of the eighth or beginning of the seventh century to the first part of the sixth century B.C., the type enjoyed its peak production between 625 and 575 B.C.⁵² Jars of similar make were found at Sa Caleta (horizon M4, last third of the 7th century B.C.),⁵³ but very few at La Fonteta, and those mostly from the Archaic phases I–III (760–635 B.C.).⁵⁴

125. Pedestal altar

Limestone; H. 72 cm (28 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.), W. 34 cm (13 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.)
Manga del Mar Menor, Bajo de la Campana shipwreck
7th–6th century B.C.
Museo Nacional de Arqueología Subacuática, Cartagena
(BC08-324)



126. Arm with lotus

Bronze; L. 15.4 cm (6 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.)
Manga del Mar Menor, Bajo de la Campana shipwreck
7th–6th century B.C.
Museo Nacional de Arqueología Subacuática, Cartagena
(BC09-1389.05)



127. Tripod mortar

Ceramic; Diam. 30.5 cm (12 in.)
Manga del Mar Menor, Bajo de la Campana shipwreck
7th–6th century B.C.
Museo Nacional de Arqueología Subacuática, Cartagena
(BC10-1752)



128. Thymiaterion

Bronze; H. 20 cm (7 $\frac{7}{8}$ in.), W. 8.5 cm (3 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.)
Manga del Mar Menor, Bajo de la Campana shipwreck
7th–6th century B.C.
Museo Nacional de Arqueología Subacuática, Cartagena
(BC11-2932)



Eleven ceramic mortars along with numerous fragments also were recovered from the shipwreck. These dishes generally are thick coarse-ware bowls with enlarged rims, supported by either three legs, a ring base, or a simple flat base. The type evolved from stone mortars commonly found at Near Eastern sites of the first millennium B.C.⁵⁵ The tripod mortars in particular are emblematic of western Phoenician pottery production and are a primary indicator of Phoenician trade, influence, or settlement in a region.⁵⁶ In Iberia, examples have been found throughout the south, in colonial coastal settlements across the east and northeast, and in the indigenous hinterlands. Elsewhere, they appear in habitations and burials along the North African coast from Mogador (Atlantic Morocco) to Carthage, on the central Mediterranean islands, and on the Italian mainland.⁵⁷ They are most often found associated with amphorae, leading to speculation that they were used for grinding aromatic spices to flavor wine.⁵⁸

Except for two with ring bases, most of the Bajo de la Campana mortars are tripod mortars, commonly called tripod bowls (cat. 127). The variety of forms and styles is remarkable and includes two with a horizontal rim decorated with a groove, two small varieties with rounded rims and legs, and three that are decorated with concentric, circular grooves on the bottom of their exteriors. Similarly, at La Fonteta multiple variants coexisted across different phases of the settlement, thus precluding use of the vessel's typology for dating purposes, at least as a sole indicator.⁵⁹

Luxuries and Exotica

The third major part of the ship's cargo was a consignment of more prestigious objects for an elite clientele. The expedition recovered fragments of double-ended combs, probably more than twelve in total,⁶⁰ each carved from a single piece of boxwood (*Buxus* sp.) and decorated with simple, incised lines within the central field.

Several carved ivory pieces were found, including two small dagger handles with simple, rounded pommels and slots for the blade tangs, which were fastened to the handles with rivets centrally aligned along the lengths of the slots.⁶¹ Knives and daggers, especially with iron blades, were common in the western Mediterranean from the latter half of the eighth century until the sixth century B.C. They carried prestige significance beyond mere practical usage or the intrinsic value of their materials,⁶² and they represented elevated social status, as evidenced by their depiction in Near Eastern art, worn (often in pairs) by kings, supernatural beings, and important court officials.⁶³

The other ivory piece is a small spool-shaped ring base, again simple but elegantly carved, almost 3 centimeters high and with a diameter of about 8.5 centimeters.⁶⁴ A blue glass disc with a similar profile from the Uluburun shipwreck is identified as the base for an ostrich eggshell,⁶⁵ and the Bajo de la Campana piece may have served the same purpose, as several fragments of ostrich eggshell were recovered from the site. Two rim fragments, beveled outward, and the ivory base show that the eggshell was already fashioned into a luxury receptacle for elite consumption before it was placed in the ship.⁶⁶ The Phoenicians revived the use of ostrich eggs in art and ritual during the eighth century B.C. and spread it across the Mediterranean. In Spain ostrich eggs are prevalent in the seventh to fourth century but appear at some sites until the third and even first century B.C., the vast majority in burial deposits.⁶⁷

Finds of whole eggshells and fragments are distributed across southern and eastern Iberia, in both Phoenician and indigenous contexts.⁶⁸ The largest collection of these objects anywhere in the Mediterranean comes from the Phoenician/Punic necropolis of Villaricos, in southeastern Spain, with more than seven hundred examples.⁶⁹ Cut eggshells of the form represented at Bajo de la Campana have been found only on Ibiza.⁷⁰ Ceramic, alabaster, metal, and esparto (woven grass) supports with shapes generally similar to the ivory ring base from the shipwreck have been found in graves along with eggshells.⁷¹

Fragments of alabaster jars were recovered during the final excavation campaign. Alabaster jars of various types have been found at Sidon and at other Near Eastern sites as well as in Etruria and Carthage.⁷² Some fifty jars and twenty alabaster fragments dated to the seventh century B.C. have been recovered from sites on the southern Iberian Peninsula and Ibiza, with all but a few fragments used as cremation urns in elite burials. Many are Egyptian in origin and some carry hieroglyphic inscriptions (see cats. 113–115).⁷³

Bronze furniture elements were also among the manufactured goods, including the four legs of a small chair, stool, or table.⁷⁴ Cast hollow, the legs have a tapering, curvilinear shape, stand slightly more than 33 centimeters tall, and have a maximum diameter of 37 millimeters (at their upper terminus), with a single horizontal crosspiece that attaches to the leg just above the molding. None of these cross supports is preserved completely, but originally they would have extended more than 19 centimeters from the leg and reached at least 3 centimeters in diameter. In each leg, directly opposite the crosspiece join, there is a small rectangular hole that probably served to attach decorative elements such as carved ivory or wood panels, for which Phoenician craftsmen were renowned.

Another furniture piece comprises four corner elements of a couch frame, each integrating a cylindrical leg with four cuboid sockets into which the frame support beams would have fit.⁷⁵ These legs also have a small rectangular hole in their outer face, again for attaching decorative panels.⁷⁶ These pieces may well be parts of a *klinē*, and the others the legs of the accompanying side table, for use in reclined feasting and drinking.⁷⁷ They call to mind biblical references to luxurious furnishings, as in the warnings of Amos (6:4, 3:2) to the complacent of Israel, who “recline on beds of ivory and sprawl on their couches, [lest they be] snatched away—with the corner of a bed and the cover of a couch!” Beds and couches made from ivory, “SHA-wood” (probably an exotic species), and boxwood, some sumptuously inlaid and others overlaid with gold, feature prominently in lists of opulent furniture in the Assyrian annals.⁷⁸ The couch fittings have a close parallel in a single piece in the British Museum (BM 127213), acquired as part of an assemblage of grave goods supposed to have come from the necropolis at Tharros (Sardinia).⁷⁹

A small, hollow-cast bronze object in the form of a right forearm and hand clenching a stylized lotus blossom was



Fig. 3.74. Pedestal altar on seabed. Bajo de la Campana shipwreck, 2008

found together with the bronze furniture (cat. 126). Three holes in the underside of the blossom were presumably for attaching another element, now lost. Lotus blooms and palmettes are common decorative symbols in Egyptian and Near Eastern art of the Bronze and Iron Ages; kings, gods, and other exalted personages often were depicted with, or holding, stylized trees, flowers, or palm fronds. On Phoenician ivories, as on this piece, a symmetric volute delimits the juncture of flower and stem, although unusually here, the flower is held upside down.⁸⁰ The style of the lotus flower is virtually identical to that worn on the head of a bronze figure of Ashtart found at Cástulo and dated to the sixth century B.C.⁸¹ Its size and design suggest that this piece may have been part of a ceremonial object that symbolized rank and privilege, such as a staff.

The expedition team also recovered several pieces of a bronze cauldron or other vessel and the upper portions of two bronze stands for incense burners, or thymiateria (cat. 128), of Cypriot type. Other Cypriot thymiateria have been found in Phoenicia, North Syria, the Aegean, and Etruria, and on Malta, Sardinia, and the Iberian Peninsula.⁸² Two examples were among the grave furnishings of Tabnit, a sixth-century B.C. king of Sidon.⁸³ They were manufactured from the end of the eighth to the beginning of the fifth century B.C., and those from Sardinia and Iberia are some of the earliest, assigned mainly to the seventh century.⁸⁴ Because their provenance is well documented, the two from Bajo de la Campana provide important evidence for clarifying the chronology and production locations of these objects.⁸⁵

Two other objects that deserve mention are a long, slender wooden handle and a limestone pedestal. The handle has a flared end with a drilled central hole and may belong to a flywhisk or fan. Fans and flyswatters as well as parasols and standards were common royal attributes in Egypt and the Near East, and this object may have had similar connotations.

The pedestal (cat. 125, fig. 3.74) is assembled in three parts: base and pillar, volute capital, and abacus. The pillar stands on a stepped base with a rectangular plinth, is rectangular in section and tapers toward the top, and is fluted on its front and side faces. The wide necking comprises seven bands—the middle band being double the width—extending only around the front and side faces. Similarly, the spiraling volutes are inscribed only on the front face of the capital. The abacus extends beyond the front and rear face of the capital and has a central rectangular recess.

The size and shape of the pedestal are typical of altars, with the recess for receiving offerings or libations.⁸⁶ The volute capital is best known from the later Ionic order in Greece but

has antecedents in Iron Age architecture and architectural representations. Terracotta altars or architectural models found at Ta'anach and Tell el-Far'ah North similarly depict scroll-topped columns. Both examples date to the tenth century B.C. (see cats. 69, 70).⁸⁷ The simple symmetrical echinus of the Bajo de la Campana altar, with flat top and bottom faces that extend tangentially between the volutes, and the wide necking harken to Proto-Aeolic capitals used on rectangular piers, doorjambs, stelae, and altars, including votive examples, in the Near East and Cyprus.⁸⁸ In Spain, two similar pedestal altars of Hellenistic date (perhaps 3rd century B.C.) are known from Mas Castellar (Pontós, Gerona) and the sanctuary of Asklepios at Emporion (L'Escala, Gerona). These examples are cylindrical with splayed circular bases, fluted pillars, and Ionic volute capitals, but they are of similar size, as are their recesses.⁸⁹

Tools and Equipment

Beyond commercial goods, items such as galley wares, equipment, and personal effects can provide information about the crew, their tasks, and potentially the ship's port of origin. Other property such as weights and specialized implements can illuminate commercial aspects of trade and crafting. A limited number of items recovered from the Bajo de la Campana site fall into this category.

Eleven fine-grained, pale green to dark gray whetstones, representing three types, were recovered from the shipwreck. Three are large cylindrical andesite rods with a slightly rough finish that taper from their midpoint toward generally flat ends; they were probably used to sharpen bronze and iron implements. Similar objects, often perforated at one end and fitted with a metal ring for suspension from a belt, have been found in the Near East. Many examples, with or without attached handles,⁹⁰ were interred in tombs or dedicated as votive offerings. All but one of the remaining whetstones are slimmer with a fine, smooth finish and finely beveled ends. The majority are made from softer limestone and closely resemble a sandstone object from a late seventh-century B.C. tomb in the necropolis at La Joya, near Huelva.⁹¹

The last stone is thin and rectangular, with only one end preserved. The same tomb at La Joya contained a second stone implement similar to this one, reportedly made of quartzite.⁹² These latter two types of implements are perhaps burnishing or polishing stones and may have been used for fine work with ivory, jewelry, ceramics, or other materials.

Pan-balance scales and weights (cat. 123a–d) were essential in a precoinage economy, for merchants as well as for crafts-

men. Fifty-six metal pan-balance weights were recovered across the site but concentrated predominantly along the lower, eastern extent. The collection includes 43 cuboid weights, the majority of which are composite, comprising a bronze shell filled with lead. The shell has a projection that is centered on top and perforated, perhaps for tying with cordage, attaching a metal loop handle, or hanging from a hook.⁹³ The composite weights may constitute two sets, as the top features exhibit two distinct styles; they range in length from 6 millimeters to 7 centimeters on a side and, in mass, from less than 3 grams to almost 3 kilograms. One has the letter *het* inscribed on its top face,⁹⁴ curiously in an archaizing form from the tenth to eighth century B.C.⁹⁵

The corpus of known metal cuboid weights is large and chronologically broad, spanning the Mediterranean, but most are unprovenanced and difficult to date precisely.⁹⁶ Lead-bronze composite weights are known in the Late Bronze Age⁹⁷ but are virtually unattested in Iron Age contexts.⁹⁸ The examples from Bajo de la Campana are the largest collection of Iron Age metal cuboid weights and perhaps the only assemblage of bronze-lead composite weights from this period.

Excavations also recovered one intact oil lamp, essentially a small dish with a wide rim and two troughlike nozzles for wicks, formed by pinching the rim at one end. Charring around the nozzles indicates that the lamp was used by the ship's crew and, as a personal possession, may help identify the home region of the vessel and the crew that manned it. Lamps with two nozzles are found predominantly in the western Mediterranean, and this one is similar to, among others, examples from Castillo Doña Blanca (Cádiz), Laurita (Almuñécar), and Trayamar (Morro de Mezquitilla) along Spain's southern coast.⁹⁹ Several are known on Ibiza, at Sa Caleta and in the necropolis at Puig des Molins, the vast majority of which have two nozzles.¹⁰⁰ However, establishing a chronological sequence based on number of nozzles has proven problematic, and lamps with one or two nozzles have been found in seventh- and sixth-century B.C. deposits.¹⁰¹

Maritime Trade Networks of the Iberian Peninsula

Much of the pottery on the ship was produced by workshops in Phoenician settlements along the Mediterranean coast of Andalusia, especially the province of Málaga.¹⁰² Perhaps the most important of these establishments was Cerro del Villar, located in the Bay of Málaga at the mouth of the Guadalhorce River, the largest in the region. The settlement had excellent clay deposits nearby, good land for cultivation and grazing, a sheltered port with facilities to handle large

ships, and access to the hinterlands through the Guadalhorce Valley.¹⁰³ It was situated at the intersection of the sea-lanes connecting Gadir and the Atlantic circuits to the Mediterranean, and the main communication route from the Mediterranean to the rich mining regions of Tartessos. The colony had all the prerequisites of a cosmopolitan emporium.¹⁰⁴ Large dwellings built at least by the early part of the seventh century B.C. reflect the inhabitants' prosperity, which was based mainly on agriculture, animal husbandry, fishing, and the industrial production of metalwork, textiles, dye, and especially ceramics. Retail spaces, small metal workshops and forges, and lead pan-balance weights found at the site testify to the settlement's vibrant economy.¹⁰⁵ During the last quarter of the seventh century B.C., most of Cerro del Villar's population moved to the nearby Phoenician colony of Malaka, and the establishment became a specialized industrial enclave producing pottery, especially amphorae, for the new commercial center in the bay.¹⁰⁶ The region experienced tremendous economic growth during the seventh century B.C., spurred by industrial specialization and intensification of trade with the surrounding indigenous communities and with colonial and indigenous establishments along the eastern Iberian seaboard and in the northeast of the peninsula.¹⁰⁷

La Fonteta

This interregional trade was directed especially at the Phoenician colonies of La Fonteta and Sa Caleta and at indigenous communities farther north in Catalonia. La Fonteta was founded in the eighth century B.C. at the mouth of the Segura River, less than 45 kilometers north of Bajo de la Campana, in response to a thriving Atlantic-type metals trade and local mineral resources in the Sierra de Crevillente.¹⁰⁸ The Phoenicians at La Fonteta leveraged this situation to build a vibrant metalworking industry that included iron-, copper-, and bronzeworks as well as silver and lead production. Additionally, archaeological investigations of the surrounding indigenous townships of Peña Negra and Saladares have found evidence for Phoenician enclaves that produced ceramics and Orientalizing jewelry, indicating close relations between the colonists and local communities.¹⁰⁹

Excavations at La Fonteta recovered examples of virtually every type of ceramic vessel carried in the ship.¹¹⁰ Analysis of the collection has shown that, despite local production, the colony maintained a steady import of pottery from Cerro del Villar or other workshops along the Málaga coast. Amphorae, tripod bowls, red-slipped dishes, and oil bottles from these potteries also made their way into the local communities,

along with more exotic imports such as ivory bracelets, glass beads, scarabs, bronze objects, and iron knives.¹¹¹

Metallic and mineral lead, a copper ingot, and other metallurgical remains were found at La Fonteta.¹¹² Analyses of the lead materials show that the colony was importing galena from the same area in southeastern Spain that produced the galena on the Bajo de la Campana ship.¹¹³ The ore was used to produce metallic lead, which subsequently was employed in the cupellation of silver contained in complex copper ores, possibly mined in the same area.¹¹⁴ Fragments of litharge (lead oxide) found on the site match the isotopic signature of litharge cakes from ship 2 at Mazarrón (cat. 130),¹¹⁵ which sank near the Phoenician settlement of Punta de los Gavilanes, the site of a silver foundry that operated throughout the seventh century B.C.¹¹⁶ Litharge and other secondary products of silver production may have been transported to La Fonteta and co-smelted with galena to recover residual silver and produce metallic lead as a way of making the overall processing more efficient and cost-effective.¹¹⁷ The source of the copper ingot, raw material for the manufacture of copper and bronze objects, was indeterminate, but its isotopic data is most similar to copper ores from Sardinia or the Timna area of the Wadi Arabah in the Jordan Rift Valley.¹¹⁸

The Bajo de la Campana shipwreck and its galena cargo confirm that the Phoenicians of La Fonteta continued to exploit lead ore from the Almería region, a practice evident during the Archaic phase of the colony, longer than previously thought.¹¹⁹ The copper finds from the shipwreck and site are both limited and thus difficult to interpret but may reflect opportunistic supplementation of copper recovered from silver-bearing copper ores or from other sources. Whatever the case, if all the tin aboard the Bajo de la Campana ship was to be used in the settlement's workshops to produce binary and ternary bronzes,¹²⁰ then well over one and a half tons of copper would be required, an amount far beyond what is present and suggested in these remains.

Ibiza

Two hundred kilometers northeast of La Fonteta is the site of the Phoenician colony of Sa Caleta, situated on the southern end of the island of Ibiza. Founded at least by the beginning of the seventh century B.C., the settlement was inhabited until the early sixth century, when the colonists abandoned it for another site to the northeast on the Bay of Ibiza.¹²¹ Throughout that time, inhabitants imported virtually all their wheel-made pottery from the colonial workshops of southern Andalusia. The vessel types include almost all of those present in the shipwreck assemblage: transport amphorae, tripod

mortars, plates and bowls, carinated bowls, lamps with two nozzles, oil bottles, and various types of jugs.¹²² In addition, excavations recorded a significant number of ovoid-type amphorae from Carthage.¹²³ Evidence suggests that Sa Caleta's economy was based on milled grain and livestock, salt, fishing and the harvesting of mollusks, weaving and possibly dyeing, and metallurgy.¹²⁴ The colonists mined local iron mineral deposits and processed the ore in the settlement, produced lead and silver, and engaged in commercial recycling of copper and bronze scrap and the fabrication of bronze objects.¹²⁵

Metallurgical studies show that the colonists imported galena from the southeast of the mainland, in the vicinity of the Sierra de Cartagena in the region of Murcia, while also exploiting lead mineral deposits at the northern end of the island.¹²⁶ The galena was processed to recover silver and to produce metallic lead. However, judging by the amount of galena stored at the site, much greater than that required for cupellation, the colony was also exporting metallic lead. The trade link with Carthage evinced by the ovoid amphorae found at the site suggests that an exchange for this surplus may have been the *quid pro quo*.¹²⁷

Northwest Iberian Peninsula

It was long thought that Ibiza was the linchpin in the southern peninsula's colonial trade with the indigenous communities of the northwest.¹²⁸ Recent studies have provided new data for that area and a better understanding of its trading relations with Ibiza and the Phoenician ambit in the south.¹²⁹ Throughout Iberia's Orientalizing phase, the southern colonies extended their trade to the eastern coast of the peninsula and northward to the Ebro River and virtually the entire Catalonian coast. This process intensified during the seventh century B.C., such that, during the second half of that century until the middle of the next, Phoenician commercial interests maintained a monopoly on trade in the territory.¹³⁰ The nature of this exchange differed from that elsewhere on the peninsula in that it was focused on agricultural goods such as wine, olives and olive oil, salted fish, meat, and possibly wax and aromatic substances transported in amphorae, rather than luxury goods and pottery.¹³¹ Nevertheless, grave goods excavated from necropoleis in the region do include typical Orientalizing objects such as ceramic tableware, tripod mortars, oil bottles, decorated ostrich eggshells, and bronze furnishings.¹³² According to petrographic analyses of the numerous amphora finds from the region, some of the vessels came from coastal Andalusian workshops and some were of local manufacture, but a large percentage was manufactured somewhere in the southern peninsula between Granada

province and the region of Cartagena-Mazarrón, a production not attested on Ibiza.¹³³ One of the ceramic fabric groups distinguished so far in the petrographic study of the Bajo de la Campana pottery, a metamorphic type composed largely of phyllites and tentatively assigned to the Cartagena region, could represent a common production source.¹³⁴

In exchange for these goods, the Phoenicians received mineral and metal resources from the region, where evidence has been found for mining and processing of various minerals of copper, silver, and especially lead.¹³⁵ Lead isotope and elemental analyses of geological and archaeological metallurgical samples from the mining area of El Molar-Bellmunt-Falset and the nearby settlement of El Calvari (Priorat) show that the lead mineralization of the region is galena with extremely low levels of silver, meaning that it was exploited for the production of metallic lead.¹³⁶ Slag and lead samples have the same isotopic signature as the galena, indicating that at least some of the ore was processed locally. Furthermore, the isotopic data also matches some lead and silver subproducts from the Tartessian territory in the southwest, revealing that lead produced from galena mined in the northeast was used to cupel silver-bearing minerals in that region. These studies also show that, despite their geographical proximity, neither galena nor lead was being exported to Ibiza from the northeast of the peninsula, perhaps because of its low silver content.

Despite what must have been thousands of sea voyages undertaken by the Phoenicians in pursuit of their commercial and colonizing enterprises in the Mediterranean and Atlantic over half a millennium, testimony from the ships involved and the people, cargoes, and paraphernalia they carried has been largely mute. The Bajo de la Campana shipwreck is finally giving voice to such evidence.

The items recovered from the shipwreck place the vessel and those aboard squarely within a western Phoenician colonial milieu and confirm the commercial nature of the enterprise at the end of the seventh or the beginning of the sixth century B.C., when the Phoenician colonies on the Iberian Peninsula were flourishing. The colony of Cerro del Villar/Malaka, in particular, developed into a full-fledged commercial center that was a driving force in the expansion of trade and industrialization of the Spanish Levantine coast and northeastern corner of the peninsula. In addition to locally made pottery, most of the other cargo items carried aboard the ship would have been accessible at such a market port: the elephant ivory transshipped from North Africa along with those pieces inscribed from a temple somewhere on the

peninsula (Gadir, perhaps); tin from the mining regions of the northwest, either shipped by sea through the Strait of Gibraltar or via overland routes and through the Guadalhorce River Valley; copper from various mineral regions of upper Andalusia, transported south to the coast along the same land routes; and copper from more distant sources in the central and eastern Mediterranean, along with Baltic amber, Carthaginian amphorae, and ceramic vessels imported from the Near East, all transported by ship and likely through various intermediaries. The wine or fish products contained in the carinated amphorae probably were local products, while the antler (pin), boxwood (combs), brushwood (dunnage), and pine nuts (victuals) were all available in the environs. Likewise, the ship may also have been transporting some type of perishable bulk commodity, such as grain, cloth, wool or other raw material for textile production. Although there is no direct evidence for such a cargo, it would certainly fit the narrative based on the agricultural production and faunal remains in evidence at Cerro del Villar, and the spindles, whorls, loom weights, and mollusks encountered at Sa Caleta.¹³⁷ This also would help explain the low tonnage of the ship as inferred from the recovered remains. Any trace of a bulk organic cargo is unlikely to survive on an ancient shipwreck, especially one situated in a rocky and turbulent underwater environment such as at Bajo de la Campana.

Upon leaving port loaded with these and possibly other materials, the ship would have headed east along the Málaga-Granada coast; its probable destination was La Fonteta, more than 400 kilometers by sea to the northeast. The journey likely included one, and possibly two, intermediate stops: one at Abdera (Adra), a Phoenician settlement situated at the mouth of the Adra River at the western edge of Almería province, to acquire a load of galena¹³⁸ and possibly a supplementary assortment of pottery vessels; and another perhaps at Punta de los Gavilanes (Mazarrón) as part of a regular supply stop.

Passing Mazarrón and Cartagena, the coast turns northward, and the ship's path would have taken it around Cape Palos, past the Mar Menor, and on to the Segura River and La Fonteta. Unfortunately, upon rounding the cape, the ship likely sailed into a strong easterly wind, the Levante, which has a propensity to come up suddenly in this region. The ship was forced too close to shore, and although the helmsman managed to steer it past Isla Grosa and El Farallón rock, he was unable to avoid the final hazard—the lurking shoal of the Bajo.

Had the ship arrived safely at port, the entire cargo may well have been unloaded for trading at La Fonteta and in Peña Negra or another local settlement. Galena is well attested at the site, as is the pottery from the Andalusian coast, in both the colony and surrounding indigenous settlements. The luxury and prestige objects were probably destined for exchange with high-level persons in the local communities in order to maintain good relations, access, and ongoing industrial operations between townships. It is also within this framework—jewelry and metal crafts production—that the whetstones, amber, copper, and at least some of the ivory and tin make most sense.

Had the ship's original itinerary included onward trips to Ibiza or the northeast, a number of cargo goods would fit the known archaeometric data for the sites. The ship's ceramics cargo and amphora contents, including the central and eastern Mediterranean imports, could just as well have been destined for Sa Caleta. The aforementioned potential agricultural and textile goods would also fit this exchange narrative. As for the Priorat area and northeast, transshipment of the amphora contents and tripod mortars from Abdera, finished (and dyed) cloth from Sa Caleta, copper,¹³⁹ and the hypothetical bulk organic materials would all be compatible with the excavated evidence from the region. This is true as well for the Orientalizing goods, even if their sparse representation in the region's archaeological record would argue for Peña Negra and that region's indigenous communities as the more likely destination.

Ongoing studies of the finds from the Bajo de la Campana shipwreck and sites along the eastern Iberian seaboard demonstrate a much greater complexity in the circulation and processing of minerals and metals and in the distribution of ceramic vessels and produce than was previously presumed. Even as the data generated are helping to reveal and clarify certain aspects of this trade, many questions remain unanswered and new ones arise. What were the intended distributions of the tin and ivory from the ship? What are the reasons for the apparent counterflow of galena and lead across the peninsula? What goods would have been received in exchange for the ship's outbound cargo and transported home? Where were the bronze furnishings fabricated? These and many other lines of inquiry remain open, and their ongoing investigation will only help increase our understanding and appreciation of this dynamic period in the Phoenician adventure in the far western Mediterranean.

THE PHOENICIAN SHIPS OF MAZARRÓN

Iván Negueruela Martínez

The two small ships excavated in the Bay of Mazarrón from 1993 to 2001 provide the best source of information regarding shipbuilding in the first half of the first millennium B.C. The find documents shipping lanes in the far western Mediterranean for the first time and also attests to the exploitation of metals by the Phoenicians on the Iberian Peninsula, already well known from Classical texts. In addition, among the shipwreck finds was the world's oldest extant example of a worked anchor (that is, not a stone block). At present, the Mazarrón ships are among the oldest to be preserved through archaeological excavations.

Between October 1993 and June 1995, the remains of a Phoenician ship, Mazarrón-1, were excavated after first making an exhaustive survey of the 72,000 square meters of the bay. Preserved are the whole keel (4.5 m), the remains of nine strakes, and, on the latter, the remains of four frames. A special mold of silicon and polyester was made to move the ship to dry land, and it was transferred to the Museo Nacional de Arqueología Subacuática (ARQUA), Cartagena, on June 30, 1995.¹

A second ship, Mazarrón-2, excavated between October 1999 and January 2001, is preserved almost complete: keel, stem, sternpost, frames, and strakes up to the gunwale, though the latter only on part of the starboard side. Some beams are preserved in situ (fig. 3.75).² From prow to stern, the nearly complete vessel measures 8.15 meters in length, with a beam of 2.2 meters. Bending is still appreciable. Part of the interior was sealed by a 10- to 15-centimeter-thick layer of *Posidonia oceanica* sea grass.

Apart from a relatively empty space in the center, Mazarrón-2 was filled from prow to stern with lead ingots in the form of round caps, weighing 2,800 kilograms in total. In the central part of the ship, adjacent to where the missing mast would have stood, was a Trayamar-1 type amphora, broken but practically complete. Alongside it were various remains of ropes, as well as a basket of esparto grass (*Stipa tenacissima*) with a wooden handle. Also found were a granite hand mill in two pieces; a wooden pole with remains of a rope tied at one end; a loose wooden handle, which appeared at the bottom, toward the prow; and remains of animal bones.

The anchor was found, broken but almost complete, one meter from the prow, to starboard.

Made of wood and lead, it preserves the line or mooring rope that tied it to the vessel. The part that could be removed and was transferred to the museum consisted of nearly the whole shank with one of the two palms and much of the line. The remainder, including the stock and shackle, remained at the bottom of the sea, because it was buried much farther down into the seabed. The stock is a wooden box filled with lead.

Both ships date from the second half of the seventh century B.C. and have the same construction design—shell first, carvel build, mortise-and-tenon joinery, and sewn frames—as well as very similar dimensions.

The Construction of Mazarrón-2

The keel was laid first and a keelson fixed in the center. On its horizontal upper face are a number of mortises for securing the mast. Afterward, the strakes were laid in successive rows to port and starboard. The builders started with the two strakes alongside the keel, which were joined to it with mortises, tenons, and pegs. Further strakes were then added to port and starboard to form the hull. The strakes were carvel built, meaning the contact faces between two strakes were cut at right angles, joined edge to edge, and fixed with olivewood tenons. Upon reaching the eighth row of strakes, the mounts

for fitting the seven beams were attached. The frames must have been sewn on next. For this purpose, it was necessary to drill the hull at the points where they were to be attached. The mast, which could be set up in its carling and taken down again at will, has not been preserved. The rudder may well have been installed in the holes that can still be seen in beam 2, although it, too, has not survived.

The mortise-and-tenon construction system used in Mazarrón-2 represented a giant step forward in shipbuilding technology. It consists of joining one strake to the next by fitting tenons into mortises in the sides of the two planks to be joined. Afterward, to ensure the joint is firm, wooden pegs are driven through both boards and the adjoining tenon. An initial, approximate calculation indicates that Mazarrón-2 needed about 1,600 mortises and some 800 tenons: a considerable figure for a vessel of this size.

We do not know when or where this sophisticated technique was developed. It first appeared in the very sparse remains of the Uluburun ship, which wrecked around the late fourteenth century B.C.³ Previously, boats had traditionally been made by sewing the strakes together. A boat constructed using mortise-and-tenon joinery had an internal structure, visible on the exterior only in the round points marking the heads of the pegs. This completely solved the problem of having to sew the strakes together, which left visible lines all over the inside of the boat.



Fig. 3.75. Mazarrón-2 shipwreck in situ



Despite the use of mortise-and-tenon construction, the frames were still joined to the hull using the old system of sewing; they are extremely weak. They comprise long fig-tree branches that cross the hull from port to starboard and have simply been stripped of their lateral twigs in order to give them a roughly circular section. Not even the edges adjacent to the hull have been shaped, even though this would have made for a better join.⁴ Their average diameter is about 4 centimeters, while the distance between each varies between 40 and 50 centimeters. Their distribution is not, however, homogeneous. The three central frames are farther apart from one another than those toward the prow and stern. Once the hull was constructed, these rods were set in place and sewn to the hull. For this purpose, four holes were made at each point where the frame was to be sewn to the skin, taking advantage of the joints between strakes. A line was passed through these four holes and crossed in an X shape on the inside of the boat, at the same time strengthening the joints between strakes.

The heads at each end of the beams were carved into “dovetails.” Once the builders had laid the strake to which a particular beam was to be attached, these heads were fitted into specially made mortises on the top of the corresponding strake, each of exactly the right dimensions to accept the dovetail of the beam. This meant that the head of each beam projected through to the exterior of the boat. When the beam was properly fitted into these rabbets on both the port and starboard sides, the upper edge of the beam had to be perfectly level with the strake into which it had been inserted so that another row could be laid on top. Finally, another strake was placed over the previous one so that the head of the beam would remain firmly trapped. This system ensured that the beams could not be removed from the hull once they were fitted.

129. Crucible

Ceramic; H. 7 cm (2¾ in.), Diam. 25 cm (9¾ in.)
Mazarrón, Playa de la Isla
7th century B.C.
Museo Nacional de Arqueología Subacuática, Cartagena (MZ-98-V-83)

The importance of this small ceramic receptacle lies in the fact that it documents the processing of lead ore to obtain silver, which, as numerous Graeco-Roman sources relate, was the main motive for the arrival of the Phoenicians on the Iberian Peninsula. Crudely made, the bowl preserves some adhering remains of slag from lead ore and carbon from cupellation. In the latter process, after an initial phase of heating that separates out some of the impurities, the most purified fraction, or *regulus*, is fired again. The ore is remelted at a high temperature, completely separating its components into slag and metal. The crucible acts as a receptacle in which the lead oxide and silver are finally separated and the purified metal is collected.¹ AM

1. Museo Nacional de Arqueología Subacuática 2008, p. 120; Negueruela et al. 2001–2.

130. Ingot fragment

Litharge (lead oxide); H. 34.5 cm (13½ in.), W. 20 cm (7¾ in.), 9.5 kg (20.9 lbs.)
Mazarrón, Playa de la Isla
7th century B.C.
Museo Nacional de Arqueología Subacuática, Cartagena (MZ-2000-B2-469)

Evidence for the trade in metals during the Phoenician period, this ingot fragment was part of the cargo on the second ship found at Playa de la Isla. This vessel was found virtually complete, still containing 2,800 kilograms of metal in the form of round, plano-convex ingots.¹ The shape of the ingot was achieved by pouring the molten metal into a concave hollow in the sand.

Analyses show that these bun-shaped ingots are composed of lead oxide, or litharge, obtained from lead ore from which all the silver has been extracted, resulting in ingots of more than 90% lead. Tests on the lead isotopes suggest the ore was sourced from the region of Cartagena or Mazarrón.²

Finds of litharge bun ingots at other sites of the same period together with cultural context allow us to relate their use, among others, to the process of cupellation, which requires the addition of lead to certain ores to capture silver. This demonstrates the importance of a product that was formerly regarded principally as a waste material. AM

1. Negueruela et al. 2001–2. 2. Renzi, Montero-Ruiz, and Bode 2009, p. 2592

131. Scarab ring

Silver and soapstone; Diam. 4.2 cm (1½ in.)
Mazarrón, Playa de la Isla
7th century B.C.
Museo Nacional de Arqueología Subacuática, Cartagena (MZ-93-SUP-14-85)

This scarab ring of Egyptian type was found in 1993, during excavations at Playa de la Isla. The scarab has a curved back with the conventional markings of a beetle and a flat face carved in intaglio, on which three upright figures are represented walking to the right. The first has the appearance of a bird and holds what are perhaps





a scepter and a whip, followed by a possibly divine figure with a human body and a falcon's head, dressed in a long tunic and raising both arms in an attitude of prayer toward a solar disc overhead. The third figure, the smallest, has one arm raised and wears a headdress of undetermined type. The image combines an original, perhaps indigenous, Iberian subject with an Egyptianizing style.¹

The scarab is mounted on a silver swivel ring, a common setting in the seventh to sixth century B.C.² Such pieces are found in the Phoenician world and were used as seals as well as protective amulets at moments of risk, such as when undertaking a sea voyage. AM

1. Jiménez Flores 2007, p. 172. 2. López de la Orden 1994, p. 388. Analysis of the ring showed a composition of 94.62% silver and 5.27% copper.

132. Amphora

Ceramic; H. 70 cm (27 ½ in.), Diam. 35 cm (13 ¾ in.)
Mazarrón, Playa de la Isla
Phoenician, 7th–6th century B.C.
Museo Nacional de Arqueología Subacuática, Cartagena
(MZ-2000-B2-1873)

The shipwreck of Mazarrón 2 was found practically complete. The vessel's cargo of litharge (lead ore) ingots was still on board. The only



space left free of the cargo was around the mast area, where the objects related to life on board were discovered, among them this amphora.¹ It was found in many fragments, although it is preserved complete. This kind of amphora is one of the earliest Phoenician products made on the Iberian Peninsula. It belongs to a type common in western Phoenician centers from the eighth to sixth century B.C.² However, in this case, its raised rim and marked carination suggest a model dating from the last years of the seventh to the first decades of the sixth century B.C.³ The usual content of such amphorae is thought to have been wine, but in this case it is more likely to have carried water for the ship's crew.

AM

1. Negueruela et al. 2001–2. 2. Ramón Torres 1995, pp. 230–31, fig. 109. 3. Miñano n.d. (forthcoming).

133. Dish with red engobe

Ceramic; Diam. 27 cm (10 ⅞ in.)
Mazarrón, Playa de la Isla
Phoenician, 7th century B.C.
Museo Nacional de Arqueología Subacuática, Cartagena
(MZ-2001-SP-40)

Among the most representative examples of Phoenician ceramics are dishes covered in a red engobe (similar to a slip). This example was found complete, on the surface, during the underwater excavations carried out at Playa de la Isla, in Mazarrón, between 1991 and 2003. This type of dish was used as tableware, although the red engobe, which imitates the gleam of metal, suggests it could also have been suitable to include among grave goods, as a luxury item.

The dish has been dated by observation of the greater or lesser thickness of its rim in relation to its overall dimensions.¹ A date in the second half of the seventh century B.C. is indicated both by its specific form, with the rim differentiated only toward the interior of the dish, and by the breadth of the rim. AM

1. Schubart 2002–3.





IV

THE ORIENTALIZING ERA: IMPORTS AND INSPIRATION

Beyond “Orientalizing”: Encounters Among Cultures in the Eastern Mediterranean

ANN C. GUNTER

The idea of an “Orientalizing phase”—a pre-Classical era in which Egypt and the Near East decisively influenced Greek art and culture—first took shape in the late nineteenth century following a series of dramatic archaeological discoveries. Beginning in the 1830s, Etruscan cemeteries in Italy revealed spectacularly rich burials containing objects of foreign manufacture along with local works exhibiting the influence of Egyptian and Near Eastern shapes and decorative formulas.¹ As areas of the eastern Mediterranean and Near East under Ottoman Turkish rule became accessible to Britain and Europe, the biblical lands, of perpetual interest to Europe, were newly opened to traders, travelers, missionaries, and antiquarians. In the 1840s came sensational finds of decorated palaces and cuneiform archives in northern Mesopotamia, found along with Phoenician and Syrian metalwork and ivories, especially at the Assyrian royal center of Nimrud (ancient Kalhu).² From midcentury on, Phoenician metalwork, ceramics, and stone carving also came to light in the central and eastern Mediterranean, primarily from tombs in Italy and Cyprus.³ By the late nineteenth century, scholars acknowledged an “Orientalizing period” (traditionally the eighth to seventh century B.C.) when Greece had acquired from Egypt and the Near East essential features of its civilization, including an alphabetic writing system and sophisticated techniques of working or decorating stone and metal. Early Greek encounters with eastern neighbors were reconstructed largely on the basis of Homer’s epic poems, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, in which Greeks interacted with a broader eastern Mediterranean world and Phoenician merchants played an important role as cultural intermediaries.

The metalwork and ivories found in Assyrian palaces, especially at Nimrud, were crucial in formulating the concept of “Oriental” influence in Greek art and establishing its approximate date. Along with a chronological framework, they allowed a set of regionally defined styles to be identified, at first labeled “Phoenician” and “Assyrian,” for the

decorated metal vessels found in Italy and on Cyprus. Later, excavations of Iron Age tombs and especially sanctuaries in the Aegean region unearthed additional examples of metalwork and ivories in Egyptian, Phoenician, and Syrian styles, together with smaller quantities of objects representing other geographically defined production centers: Phrygia, Urartu, and Iran.⁴ In addition to actual imports, in both Greece and Italy locally crafted works in a wide range of media—mostly ceramic and metalwork—displayed Egyptian and Near Eastern influence in subject, shape, or ornament. These objects constitute the category usually labeled “Orientalizing” art. From the 1860s onward, exploration of cemeteries in the eastern Aegean, especially on Melos and Rhodes, produced large quantities of ceramic vases painted with what were termed “Oriental” (or “Orientalizing”) styles of decoration, whose imagery and ornament could often be traced to Egypt and the Near East. The so-called Wild Goat style of pottery (cat. 178), with its distinctive friezes of animal files and vegetal ornament, was one of the earliest Orientalizing schools of vase painting to be recognized and defined.⁵ Other ceramic vessels found in these tombs were decorated with images of exotic creatures, such as Gorgons and sphinxes, whose origins also seemed to lie in regions to the east (cats. 143, 179).

How did these encounters with eastern Mediterranean art and cultural traditions come about, and what were the mechanisms of cultural transmission? At first, most scholars considered this period of intense contact a consequence of overseas expansion inaugurated in the eighth century B.C., when Greeks began to establish trading outposts and other kinds of settlements in the eastern Aegean, along the northern Levantine coast, and on the southern Italian peninsula and adjacent islands.⁶ In most of these areas, Greeks encountered not only native peoples but also Phoenicians, who by the ninth century B.C. or even earlier had founded settlements across the Mediterranean from their homeland in the



Fig. 4.1. Drawing of bronze shield with hunt scene. Ida Cave. Orientalizing. Archaeological Museum, Heraklion, Greece (7)

area of modern Lebanon.⁷ But subsequent archaeological discoveries, especially on Crete and at Lefkandi, on the island of Euboia, clearly demonstrated that contacts with Cyprus and the Near East had commenced much earlier, in the ninth and even the tenth centuries B.C. Over the past few decades, fieldwork in the Aegean region and especially on Crete has unearthed pottery and funerary monuments of Phoenician type, confirming the key role of the Phoenicians in interregional exchange and cross-cultural interaction.⁸ Scholarly opinion began to favor Phoenicians, rather than Greeks, as the primary initiators in introducing Near Eastern artifacts, styles, and ideas to the Aegean realm. Moreover, as comparative studies of literature, religion, and other aspects of ancient culture and society increasingly concluded, Near Eastern influence seemed to pervade and engage a broad range of cultural and social institutions. Specialists have discerned numerous similarities between the Greek poet Hesiod's *Theogony* (Birth of the Gods) and

Ugaritic, Babylonian, and other Near Eastern cosmogonies, or creation myths.⁹ New studies also elaborate close ties between Greek and Mesopotamian literature in genres, themes, individual motifs, and narrative techniques.¹⁰

The idea of a distinct and temporally limited "Orientalizing" era often implied that foreign influence had been superficial and short-lived: "in a century or so most of the oriental elements were to be worked out of the tradition."¹¹ But given what we now know of the early inception and long duration of contacts between the Aegean and the Near East, many specialists consider this concept inadequate to explain the variety and depth of interactions among these cultures. Clearly, there were marked regional differences in the chronology and intensity of contacts with Cyprus, Egypt, and the Near East. The earliest finds of Near Eastern metalwork and ceramics in the Aegean come from the Toumba cemetery at Lefkandi, on Euboia (see fig. 3.4), and from Tekke (Knossos) on Crete (see fig. 1.9). Also, objects (and

individuals) moved both west *and* east: Greek pottery dating to the tenth and ninth centuries B.C. has been found at sites on or inland from the Levantine coast, chiefly in North Syria (Tell Afis, Ras el-Bassit) and Israel (Tel Dor, Tel Hadar, Tel Rehov).¹² Early studies of “Orientalizing” Greek art often postulated that key agents of Near Eastern influence were itinerant artisans from the Near East, immigrants who had set up local workshops to manufacture specialized kinds of objects. Scholars favored this explanation for particular groups of metal artifacts, especially decorated bronze shields found in cave sanctuaries on Crete (fig. 4.1) and gold jewelry found in burials in Athens and on Crete.¹³ The transfer of specialized techniques of working or decorating metal seemed to call for the actual presence of foreign experts. While today the hypothesis of mobile artisans is less often invoked, there is increasing evidence for resident settlements of foreigners, particularly Phoenicians, especially on Crete.¹⁴ Rather than assuming a single direction of influence, or that cultural change was inevitable, “Orientalizing” is now often understood as a process. This perspective emphasizes the circumstances under which new images and technologies were selectively adopted, and why.¹⁵

The relationship between the Greek world and its eastern neighbors in pre-Classical times has now emerged as a leading area of research in the study of Mediterranean antiquity. In addition to ongoing fieldwork that continues to produce new archaeological evidence of cross-cultural encounter, broader intellectual currents have also fueled interest in these interactions. In 1978, the literary theorist Edward W. Said published his seminal book *Orientalism*, which described and critically analyzed a Western colonial discourse about the Middle East, in particular the Arab world.¹⁶ Said himself traced the roots of this discourse in Greek literary representations of “Orientals” or “Easterners” dating to the early fifth century B.C., the era of the Persian Wars. His work helped stimulate reappraisal of ancient Greek perceptions and representations of “the Orient” and “non-Greek” peoples, especially the Achaemenid Persians.¹⁷ The publication of *Orientalism* also coincided with bold and far-reaching new approaches to the Achaemenid Persian empire, which, for the first time, drew extensively on a variety of Near Eastern written and archaeological sources, along with fresh approaches to long-known Classical texts.¹⁸ In turn, scholars trained both as Hellenists and as Orientalists have looked afresh at the background to the seemingly timeless opposition between Greek and Oriental encapsulated by the Persian Wars.

The Greek World and the Neo-Assyrian Empire

Scholars have begun to contemplate encounters between Greece and the Near East within a more specific historical framework: the Neo-Assyrian empire (ca. 911–612 B.C.), whose homeland lay in northern Mesopotamia. Beginning in the ninth century B.C., a series of military campaigns brought large areas of what is now the Middle East under Assyrian control. Under Tiglath-Pileser III (744–727 B.C.), the Assyrians achieved their goal of reaching the eastern Mediterranean coast, with its lucrative ports and access to regions farther west and south. By the seventh century B.C., Assyrian rule extended to Egypt and perhaps also to Cyprus. In addition to extensive archaeological evidence yielded by surveys and excavations at sites from Turkey to Iran, a wealth of cuneiform records documenting Assyrian imperial ideology and administrative practices is now available. Recovered mostly from nineteenth-century excavations at the Assyrian royal centers of Nimrud and Nineveh, these texts include royal inscriptions, letters, treaties, and palace and temple inventories.¹⁹ In association, these records allow a more detailed understanding of the empire’s economic and administrative infrastructure. Through outright conquest and incorporation as well as through treaties negotiated with client (vassal) states, the empire brought about dramatic changes both internally and beyond its frontiers. Among other consequences, Assyrian rule affected the availability of raw materials, the training and employment of artisans, and the distribution and consumption of luxury goods. From the late eighth century B.C., when Assyrian control extended to the coastal cities and states of southern Turkey and the Levant, Greek encounters with the Near East took place under radically altered political and economic circumstances.

The kingdoms and political elites of North Syria, Cilicia, and their neighbors were all too conscious of the expanding Assyrian empire, which forced them either to submit to Assyrian rule or to form alliances to resist it. As a result, the Greek elites who sponsored trading (and raiding) expeditions along the seacoast would have learned of the vast changes taking place throughout the region.²⁰ Conversely, it now seems clear that the Assyrians knew more about some of their western neighbors than was previously understood. Assyrian royal inscriptions and letters mention a place-name, Yaman (pronounced Yawan), translated as “Ionia,” and the name of a people, Yamanaya (Yawa-naha) or Yamnaya (Yawnaja), “Ionians” — that is, Greek-speaking peoples — who are described as raiding the eastern Mediterranean coast in the area of present-day northern Syria. Sargon II declared that in 715 B.C. he “fished out” the Ionians “who live in the sea,”

meaning those who had been carrying out attacks on Cilicia (Turkey's southeastern coast) and the Phoenician town of Tyre.²¹ A generation later, Esarhaddon's conquest of Egypt in 671 B.C. represented a dramatic expansion of Assyrian rule, which would surely have become widely known in the greater Mediterranean world.²²

Moreover, Assyrian imperial policies of mass deportation following the conquest of new territory, introduced in the late eighth century B.C., must have significantly altered the artistic landscape.²³ As a result of these forced population movements, entire communities—including artisans—were often relocated to distant areas of the empire, thereby dispersing workshops and production centers that had previously been regionally based. In addition, the vast palaces and other imperial building projects at Assyrian royal centers in northern Mesopotamia employed artisans from many regions of the empire, recruited both as skilled and unskilled labor.²⁴ Finally, the empire created a multicultural ruling elite defined in large measure through possession of luxury items produced in different styles: carved furniture fittings, garments, and personal ornament. Many of these luxury objects were exchanged not commercially but through diplomatic gift giving among the political and social networks created or promoted by court ceremonies.²⁵

Approaching the movement and impact of objects of Near Eastern type or style from the perspective of Assyrian imperialism can offer new insights into the character and chronology of Orientalizing developments. Many of the same kinds of objects that traveled west to the Aegean world also traveled east, to the Assyrian royal centers in northern Mesopotamia and even beyond the empire's eastern frontier. The immense quantities of carved ivories in Phoenician and Syrian styles found at Nimrud seem to have arrived as tribute or booty obtained from the empire's western regions and been kept in royal storehouses.²⁶ Assyrian kings particularly admired North Syrian art and other cultural traditions, including gardens, which they mentioned in royal inscriptions and imitated in the palaces they built at royal centers in the Assyrian heartland (see fig. 2.5).²⁷ Perhaps the large percentage of works in North Syrian/Neo-Hittite styles among the imports found in the Aegean world is not exclusively the result of ongoing trade contacts between Greeks and North Syrian coastal regions. Assyrian royal patronage and emulation may well have contributed to the prestige and appeal of works in North Syrian styles, both within the empire and beyond its borders. Scholars have often assumed that Greeks had little contact with the Neo-Assyrian empire, noting that only a few objects made in Assyrian style reached the Aegean sphere (for

example, cat. 168a, b). But the empire also created a multicultural ruling class in part defined by the possession of banqueting equipment, personal ornaments, and ceremonial weapons often crafted in "intercultural" styles. Officials of high rank in different areas of the empire owned ivory furniture in Phoenician and North Syrian styles as well as bronze weapons and banqueting equipment fashioned in multiple production centers.²⁸ From the late eighth century B.C. on, along the eastern Mediterranean coast, Greeks interacted with a different, now Assyrianized, world.

Near Eastern and Egyptian Imports in Greek Sanctuaries

Following the discoveries of Near Eastern and Egyptian works of art in Etruscan Italy, excavations at sites in the Aegean world unearthed similar kinds of objects: decorated bronze bowls and other vessels, bronze figurines, carved ivory furniture panels, and faience amulets and figurines. Found occasionally in burials but above all in sanctuaries, these objects constitute a corpus that is impressive both for its quantity and its quality. Decorated bronzes form a major category: horse trappings (blinkers, frontlets, cheekpieces); statuettes of humans and deities; personal ornament (fibulae and belts); and vessels (shallow bowls, animal-shaped drinking vessels, attachments for large cauldrons). Carved ivories form another sizable group, consisting primarily of furniture panels but also including such items as flywhisk handles and cosmetic spoons. Most imports belong to the regionally defined styles first recognized in the nineteenth century: Egyptian, Phoenician, Assyrian, and Syrian.²⁹ These styles have now been significantly refined through meticulous analysis of hundreds of objects recovered from multiple sites in the Near East, and their dates of production and sometimes even specific workshops of origin are now far more precisely defined. These studies indicate a significant gap between the date many imports were manufactured and the date of the context in which they were ultimately deposited. Examples include some of the bronze figurines from Mesopotamian workshops from the Hera sanctuary at Samos, referred to as the Heraion (see "The Heraion at Samos" in this volume, pp. 295–96).

The sanctuaries in which these objects were deposited are found throughout the Aegean world. They include pan-Hellenic sanctuaries, such as Olympia and Delphi, and centers devoted to more local cults, including Hera on Samos, Athena on Lindos, and Apollo in Eretria. During the eighth century B.C., sanctuaries increasingly became arenas of competitive display in the Greek world, replacing burials as the

preferred context for depositing objects often made of precious materials and further distinguished by their exotic, foreign origins. The establishment of the Olympic Games about 776 B.C. and the important role of the Delphic oracle in the founding of Greek settlements abroad earned new prestige for the pan-Hellenic sanctuaries. The cults of particular deities—Apollo, Artemis, Hera, and Athena—seem to have played a special role both in the growth and visibility of Greek sanctuaries and offerings as well as in the development of civic life in this period.³⁰

Who brought these objects of foreign workmanship or style to the sanctuaries? Were they Greeks who had traveled elsewhere as merchants, “tourists,” or mercenaries, or were they foreign visitors to Greek sanctuaries? The identity of their prior owners has been much debated, and the objects’ foreign styles suggest different answers to different scholars. Many donors must have indeed been Greeks, either local inhabitants or visitors, who offered these valuable objects to the sanctuary’s resident deity. This conclusion is supported by the divergence between the objects’ functions in their native cultures and their use as temple dedications, or burial gifts, in the Aegean sphere, for in the Near East the primary function of objects such as cylinder seals and horse harness elements was not as temple dedications.³¹ Various interpretations have been proposed for the bronze figurines of a bearded male figure accompanied by a dog, fashioned in Mesopotamian styles (cat. 169a–c): were they the gifts of foreigners or Greeks? Linking the figurines with the cult of the Mesopotamian healing goddess Gula, whose sacred animal was the dog, some scholars conclude that they belonged to foreigners who identified Hera with the Mesopotamian goddess.³² Observing that in Mesopotamia similar figurines were made as apotropaic images and typically placed in foundation deposits, other scholars argue that their different, votive function in Greek sanctuaries suggests instead that they were presented by Greeks as valuable objects worthy of dedication.³³

But some donors to Greek sanctuaries were unquestionably foreigners. According to the Greek author Herodotos, who wrote in the late fifth century B.C., they included rulers of Anatolian kingdoms often legendary for their wealth and Egyptian pharaohs of the Saite dynasty. King Midas of Phrygia dedicated a throne “well worth seeing” to the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi.³⁴ In Herodotos’s own day it was visible in the Treasury of the Corinthians along with many objects of precious metal dedicated by Gyges, king of Lydia, who apparently followed Midas’s example. Gyges’ gifts reportedly included six gold cauldrons weighing the immense total of

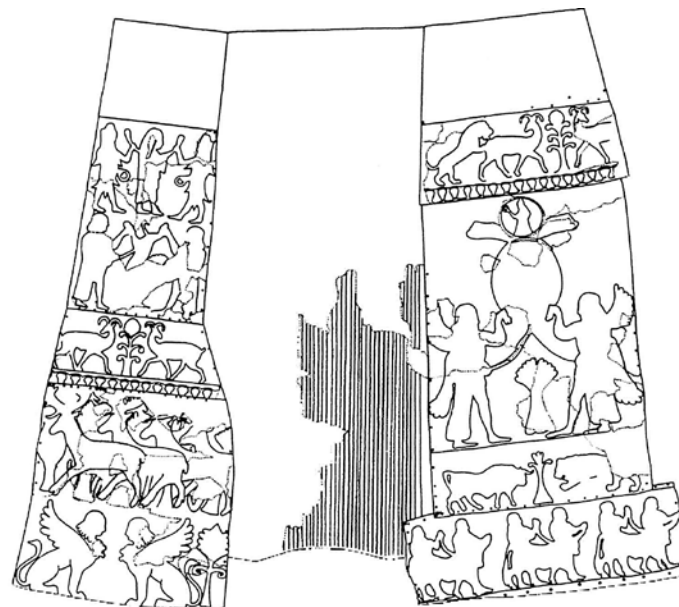


Fig. 4.2. Drawing of bronze repoussé sheet from a statue of a goddess, illustrated in fig. 4.3

thirty talents. Noting stylistic similarities with Phrygian sculptures and other works of art, some scholars have recently argued that the ivory figure holding a lion found at Delphi (cat. 180) is of Phrygian workmanship. The ivory’s findspot, together with its Phrygian style and probable date in the late eighth century B.C., suggests that it may even have formed part of Midas’s famous dedication, perhaps functioning as an arm support for the throne.³⁵ Although none of the precious-metal objects dedicated by Midas has survived, sirens attachments belonging to bronze cauldrons similar to examples from Gordion were found near the ivory figurine at Delphi.³⁶ The historical king Midas, known in Assyrian records as Mita of Mushki, was active during the reign of the Assyrian king Sargon II, mentioned earlier in connection with his attack on “Ionians.”³⁷

Many foreign objects ultimately deposited as sanctuary dedications were probably acquired initially as trade goods or casual imports resulting from commercial exchange. Perhaps they were kept for a while as prized personal possessions, or remained within families as heirlooms, before they were subsequently deposited as votives. Others were more likely brought as sacred objects, intended from the beginning for dedication or other sanctuary use rather than diverted from an overseas trading network. Several Egyptian bronze figurines of deities or priests found at the Heraion on Samos are inscribed, and in Egypt such objects would have been dedicated in temples. These objects probably arrived at the sanctuary as dedications, perhaps emulating the example set by the Saite pharaohs Necho II and Ahmose (Amasis).³⁸ In some



Fig. 4.3. Bronze repoussé sheets from statue of a goddess. Olympia, Well 17, near north wall of stadium of sanctuary of Zeus. Olympia Museum, Greece



instances, the presence or distribution of imports implies knowledgeable connections between votives and cults. Excavations in the Athena sanctuary at Ialysos and the Archaic Artemision at Ephesos brought to light identical Egyptian faience New Year's flasks, both decorated with imagery associated with the goddess Hathor and made in the same workshop.³⁹

Yet not all the foreign objects recovered from Greek sanctuaries may initially have arrived as dedications. Ingrid Strøm has observed that certain groups of Near Eastern imports have been found mostly at sanctuaries that are widely dispersed geographically but closely linked in terms of cult: Hera (Samos, Olympia, Perachora), Athena (Lindos, Miletos), Apollo (Eretria), and Artemis (Thasos). These objects include equestrian equipment, Phoenician bronze relief bowls, and North Syrian bronze cauldrons with cast siren attachments or animal handles. Strøm has proposed that these objects were transferred within religious networks, perhaps as cult-related acquisitions coordinated by sanctuary officials. Phoenician bronze relief bowls and North Syrian bronze cauldrons with cast siren attachments or animal handles found in sanctuaries belonging to these deities may represent banqueting and wine-drinking equipment introduced

as part of cult practices.⁴⁰ Perhaps another candidate for a sanctuary acquisition, rather than a dedication by an individual worshiper, is the lifesize image of a North Syrian goddess made of hammered bronze found at Olympia (fig. 4.3). It was the largest of three remarkable female statues made in the *sphyrelaton* technique, in which hammered bronze sheets are attached to a wooden core; unusually, the statues combine figural panels decorated in Greek and North Syrian/Neo-Hittite styles. Ursula Seidl has suggested that the original statue arrived at the sanctuary in one piece and was later dismantled, perhaps because its wooden core had disintegrated in Olympia's humid environment.⁴¹ By comparison with other Near Eastern imports recovered from Greek sanctuaries, this lifesize image of an Anatolian goddess stands out both in type and scale.

According to some recent studies, Near Eastern imports in Greek sanctuaries, especially in the ninth and eighth centuries B.C., seem to have produced few local imitations and exercised only a limited influence on Greek art. Yet other investigations point increasingly to the signal role that imports played in the construction of new social and religious identities in multiple regions of the Greek-speaking world in the early first millennium B.C.

134a, b. Scarab seals of the Lyre Player group

a. Blue steatite; L. 1.9 cm (¾ in.), W. 1.4 cm (½ in.)
Cyprus, Ayia Irini
Late 8th century B.C.
Cyprus Museum, Nicosia (A.I.2123)

b. Stone; L. 2.2 cm (7/8 in.), W. 1.6 cm (5/8 in.)
Euboia, Eretria
Late 8th century B.C.
Archaeological Museum, Eretria, Greece (ME 12297)

With their distinctive carved imagery, these two scarab seals belong to the so-called Lyre Player corpus, named after the figure playing a lyre that is conspicuous among the group's motifs.¹ Defined by both technique and iconography, the group is significant for the wide distribution of these seals, many in secure contexts, throughout the Mediterranean during the eighth century B.C.

The seal from Ayia Irini (cat. 134a) depicts a seated lyre player and a standing figure flanking a table, all above an incised groundline.² The standing figure wears a skirt decorated with vertical and horizontal lines and holds in upraised arms a tambourine, indicated by a drilled hole. The other figure sits on a high-backed chair and holds a lyre with both hands. Two pairs of widely curving bull's horns and a bucranium sit atop the table, which has angled legs. Below the groundline is a vertically hatched segment, or exergue; the entire scene is enclosed within an incised line.

The seal from Eretria (cat. 134b) depicts five figures on a groundline: one standing with a sword at the waist and holding a lyre; another kneeling with a tambourine; a standing figure holding a double flute to the mouth; and finally a group of two, one leaning toward the other, who sits on a high-backed chair, and apparently offers the seated figure an object, which has been interpreted as a container or a horned animal.³ As with the seal from Ayia Irini, the scene is enclosed within an incised border, and there is a hatched exergue below the groundline, here executed in a cleaner, more regular fashion than on the first seal. The carving technique on both is characteristic of the Lyre Player group, combining simple, bold incision with drilled blobs that are used particularly to render human heads and show volume. The use of lines, often forming right angles, and the effect of texture created by the frequent hatching are also characteristic of the group. The backs of both seals are worked and have markings suggesting a beetle, in keeping with their scarab type.

While a date during the second half of the eighth century B.C. is widely accepted for the Lyre Player group, their place of manufacture has been debated.⁴ First discussed by Edith



134a



134b

Porada, who proposed Rhodes for their origin, they were subsequently studied by John Boardman, who suggested they came from Cilicia or North Syria.⁵ These seals have been found across the Mediterranean, in eastern Anatolia, Syria, Cyprus, Rhodes, Crete, the Cycladic Islands, Euboia, the Peloponnese, Etruria, and now Huelva, in Iberia.⁶ It has been observed that their distribution, particularly in the Greek world, is unmatched by any other single Orientalizing artifact type.⁷ Consequently, they are at the nexus of discussions regarding cultural influence and contact in the early Iron Age Mediterranean world and the mechanisms of contact revealed by such distribution.⁸ In addition, differences in these seals' function, significance, and use seem to be indicated by the varied contexts in which they have been found. Those from the Aegean and Cyprus come mainly from sanctuaries, as is the case with both examples discussed here: one from Ayia Irini, on Cyprus, and the other a votive deposit at the temple of Apollo at Eretria. By contrast, a large number of Lyre Player seals from Etruria and the Greek colony of Pithekoussai, on the island of Ischia, in particular, have been found in tombs.

The varied iconography of this group and its possible sources are also significant. Although the lyre player can appear in a variety of scenes—in a procession with other musicians, approaching a seated figure, at a feast, or receiving an offering—this figure does not, in fact, appear in all seals of the group. The various subjects, including animals such as lions, birds,

fish, sphinxes, and griffins, as well as floral motifs and trees are united by their distinctive carving style. Parallels between subjects depicted on the seals and themes represented in Neo-Hittite reliefs have been made, and scholars have also noted the presence of Egyptianizing motifs in the glyptic imagery.⁹ YR

1. Porada 1956. **2.** This seal (A.I.2123) was excavated in 1929 at Ayia Irini by the Swedish Archaeological Expedition and entered the collections of the Cyprus Museum upon excavation. Porada 1956, fig. 5; Buchner and Boardman 1966, no. 125. **3.** This seal was excavated in 1978–80 at Eretria under the direction of Antoinette Charron of the École Suisse d'Archéologie in Greece and entered the collections of the Eretria Archaeological Museum upon excavation. Boardman 1990, no. 62^{quater}, fig. 17; Huber 2003, vol. 2, p. 61 (no. 0188). Its similarity to a Lyre Player seal in the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles (85.AN.370.3; see Spier 1992 p. 50, no. 93) has not been discussed in the literature. **4.** For a summary, see Huber 2003, vol. 1, pp. 91–92, and Hodos 2006, pp. 67–70. **5.** Porada 1956; Buchner and Boardman 1966; Boardman 1990. **6.** For the distribution, see Mirimanoff 2001 and Huber 2003, vol. 1, pp. 91–92; for the seal from Huelva, see Serrano Pichardo et al. 2012. **7.** Boardman 1990, p. 10. **8.** Boardman (1990) has suggested that they might have been brought west via the Euboian trading post at Al Mina in North Syria; Robin Osborne (2009, p. 101) has compared their distribution to Euboian pendent-semicircle skyphoi and plates. **9.** See Buchner and Boardman 1966, p. 60, for parallels with Neo-Hittite reliefs. Irene Winter (1995) has connected their iconographic repertoire with Phoenician Egyptianizing products and has identified parallels with incised ivories from the Carmona group.

THE WORLDS OF ODYSSEUS

Walter Burkert

There can be no better ancient testimony to the importance of maritime civilization to human culture than the *Odyssey* (*Odýsseia*), one of the oldest texts of Greek literature. From as far back as antiquity, the *Odyssey*, whose author is traditionally called Homer (*Hómēros*), has been thought to be a later composition than the *Iliad*. It is widely accepted that the written text of the *Iliad* was produced sometime from the eighth through the seventh century B.C., although another, less generally accepted view, but one based on sound arguments, dates the written *Iliad* to about 650–640 B.C.¹ Together, the two works constitute the basis of Greek literature and may have represented a decisive step toward literacy.

The *Odyssey*, with its structural peculiarities and details, was referenced in the poetry of Stesichorus before the middle of the sixth century B.C.² It should also be noted that the oldest vase paintings depicting scenes from the *Odyssey*, in particular the Cyclops story (fig. 4.4), are dated to about 670 B.C.,³ which means they are older than the written text. In fact, there are discrepancies between text and image: the description of the wooden spear used to blind the Cyclops (9.319–28) does not match the depictions, while the text neglects to mention that the Cyclops is one-eyed. This most unforgettable of Odysseus's adventures was so well known, apparently, that people did not notice the omission.

If our written text thus clearly points to a prehistory in Greek epic poetry, the theme of Odysseus seems to reach back even further. The form of the hero's name is telling. Homeric texts write *Odys(s)eus*, yet the name known and current in Athens, as seen in vase inscriptions, was *Olytteus*; a Corinthian vase is inscribed *Oliseus*; and the form of the name used in southern Italy was *Ulixes* until Livius Andronicus composed an *Odusia* around 240 B.C. Clearly this demonstrates that, even aside from the performances of epic singers, Odysseus was known throughout Greece and also in the western world.

Yet the world of Odysseus that emerges in our text was not a Bronze Age setting. Indeed, the excavations of Heinrich Schliemann at Hisarlik and the decipherment of Linear B archives have brought that period into greater focus. At Ithaca, there are Bronze Age remains, but no Mycenaean palace has been discovered. And

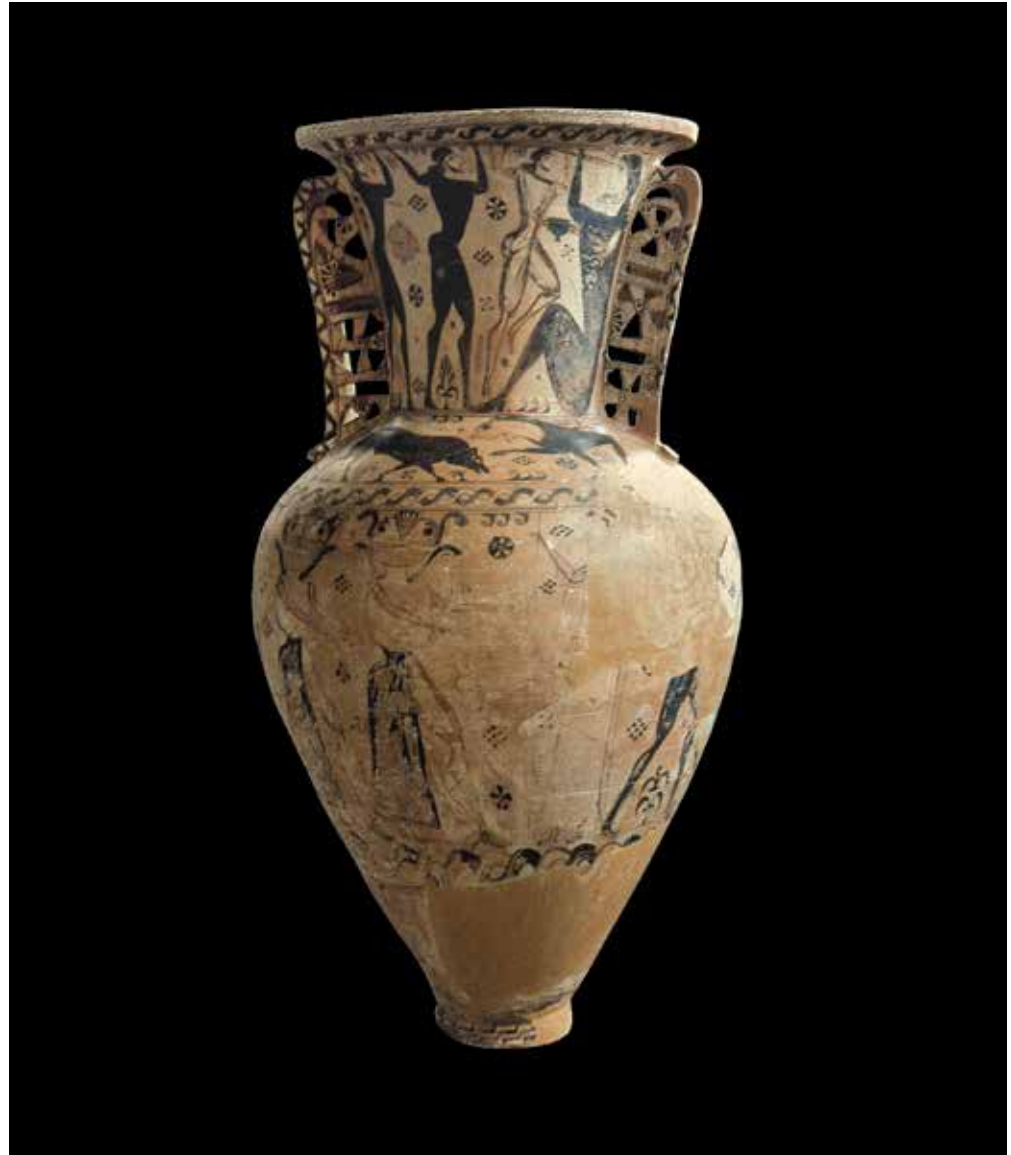


Fig. 4.4. Neck-amphora with blinding of Polyphemos (on neck) and Perseus and Gorgons (on body). Eleusis. Proto-Attic. Archaeological Museum, Eleusis, Greece (2630)

while it is true that the word *seirenes* (sirens) occurs in Linear B, which at once recalls the *Odyssey*, it describes a throne ornament,⁴ not an element of a seafarer's tale. The bow contest has an iconographic prehistory that leads back to the depiction of the fifteenth-century B.C. pharaoh Amenhotep II shooting through copper plates;⁵ yet there has been a transformation, as the Homeric text insists that the arrows of Odysseus "go through iron." The world of Odysseus presented by the poet thus conflates an age of the literary past, formed by the epic tradition, with two others: the realm of fantasy,

where wondrous events take place in actual geographic locations, creating an unforgettable mixture that constitutes the main attraction of the poem, and the world of historical reality, which one can recognize through modern scholarship. We lose poetry but gain certainties.

The world of the literary past, which the poet and his audience took for granted, is founded on epic poetry, as elaborated through generations of singers. The tales related in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were taken for factual history by the Greeks, including Thucydides, and still may be considered true in modern history

books.⁶ The central event is the Trojan War, a collective enterprise undertaken by Greek “heroes” against Ilion, the walled city at the Dardanelles, and motivated by the abduction of Helen, wife of Menelaos at Sparta. Led by Agamemnon, king of Mycenae, the campaign ends with the total destruction of Troy. It is here that Odysseus comes in: he devised the stratagem of the “wooden horse” (*doureios hippos*) that brought hidden warriors into the city and thus began the “destruction of Ilion” (*Iliou pér-sis*). This, the greatest success of Odysseus’s “many counsels” (*polýmetis*), earned him the epithet *ptoliporthos* (sacker of cities).

The *Odyssey* also directly refers to another theme, the *Argonautika*, or story of the Argonauts. Its description of the ship *Argo* as world-famous (“who is in all men’s minds”; 12.70) suggests that the story must have been popular at the time. The *Argo*’s passage through the “clashing rocks” is cited in the *Odyssey* as a precursor to Odysseus’s navigation of the dangerous strait between Skylla and Charybdis. It is plausible, as Karl Meuli argued,⁷ that other adventures follow the guidelines of the *Argonautika*, including the encounter with the Sirens (fig. 4.5). Family connections between the two poems are also evident, as Circe is the paternal aunt of the sorceress Medea (10.137).⁸

A broad survey of the mythical past is presented in *Odyssey* book 11. In the netherworld, women come to relate their lives and fates to Odysseus (11.225–327). We are informed about local myths from Thessaly and Iolkos, Thebes and Orchomenos, down to Sparta and Crete: the Greek world as reflected by established mythology. The realm of fantasy, in which Odysseus travels across the Mediterranean, in fact constitutes the enduring fame of the *Odyssey*. Whether the poets and their audiences had a concept of “fiction” versus reality is a complicated question, as it was difficult at that time to verify poetic details through firsthand experience. It is significant, however, that the poet of the written text makes an attempt to conceal any aspect of Odysseus’s wanderings that could be tied to reality. For instance, the territory of the Phaeacians, called Scheria in the poem, is depicted as a lively and realistic community but is made inaccessible by the will of Poseidon (13.125–87); thus it is implied that Odysseus’s experiences there will never happen again. Nevertheless, this did not prevent the later identification of Scheria with Corfu (Thucydides 1.25.4).

Throughout the wanderings of Odysseus, there are glimpses of geographical reality that contradict one other. For example, a strange mixture of truth and fiction characterizes the treatment of Ithaca, the home of Odysseus. It is described, together with the neighboring

islands, as in the northwest: “last of all on the water toward the dark, with the rest below facing east and sunshine” (9.25–28). This is absolutely realistic and was of decisive importance, as Ithaca is the last station for Greeks traveling west. Corfu was in the hands of “barbarians” until the eighth century B.C., and the *Odyssey* keeps to the earlier state of things. Although there had been important connections among Greece, southern Italy, and Sicily since the Bronze Age, our poem pretends that nothing at all is known beyond Ithaca apart from the barbarous land (*Épeiros*) ruled by a king known as the “maimer of men” (18.85, 116; 21.308). There must have been frequent travel to the west for centuries, but this is not reflected in the epic, which refers only to fantasy voyages, in which, for instance, a magical ship of the Phaeacians might show up at the coast of Ithaca on any night.⁹

Another discrepancy in the text concerns the Cave of the Nymphs at the “harbor of Phorkys” (13.96), where Odysseus hides the tripods he has received from the Phaeacians (13.103–12, 363f.). Ithaca does have a remarkable cave at Polis Bay, where archaeologists have excavated quite a collection of Geometric and Early Archaic bronze tripods¹⁰ and have also found a later votive dedication that bears the name of Odysseus. Yet the real Polis cave does not match the detailed description provided in our text; the “harbor of Phorkys” cannot be found. The conclusion is paradoxical, yet compelling: our poet did not know Ithaca from personal experience but was following from memory the epic texts, which had incorrectly located the cave. He may have had some indirect knowledge of the tripods, but they, of course, are not from the Mycenaean Age but from the eighth century B.C.

Except for the connection with the *Argo*, we do not have sources for the other Odyssean stories. It has often been assumed that such seafarers’ tales originated with the Phoenicians, who developed Mediterranean sea trade before the Greeks. Unfortunately, Phoenician literature remains a blank for us, and not one text of this kind has survived. We may, however, call attention to the book of Jonah in the Hebrew Bible as the only comparable text. There we have fantastic seafaring to the west, with the storm at sea and the famous devouring fish, as well as the route to Nineveh, the city facing destruction. Yet this text must postdate the actual destruction of Nineveh, in 612 B.C., and hence be somewhat later than the written *Odyssey*.

Poetic imagination is also evident in the false tales told at Ithaca by Odysseus in disguise. When met by Eumaios (14.198ff., 246–359), Odysseus presents himself as a Cretan of royal descent, who, after his Trojan adventures, impulsively sailed to Egypt with his comrades,

manning nine ships with the intent to plunder. He relates how he surrendered to Egyptian armed forces, submitted to the king, and lived a prosperous life in Egypt for seven years. He then became partner to a man from Phoenicia, where he settled for a whole year. Together they embarked on a trip to “Libya” with a ship full of goods (*phoros*; 14.296) and the prospect of “immense profit” (14.297). The treacherous Phoenician partner intended to sell Odysseus as a slave, but his plan failed when the ship was sunk by a thunderstorm beyond Crete (14.300). The narrator survived and landed at Thesprotia/Epirus, in the northeast rather than the southwest, as planned, and whence there were regular ships to Ithaca. After the sinister plot to enslave him was repeated on one of those ships, Odysseus had a narrow escape that, he says, brought him to Eumaios.

This is a fierce world dominated by profit and brigandage. Thucydides (1.5) notes that, “in old time,” robbery was considered normal and respectable, which contradicts the description in the *Odyssey*, “recklessly roving as pirates do, . . . bringing evil to alien people” (3.72f.; 9.253f.). The Greek word for “pirate,” *peiratés*, is not used in the passage from Thucydides, but its literal meaning is well illustrated in Odysseus’s account. The *peiratés* is “the man who tries,” who goes to sea in search of riches; let us “try” to sack Egypt. This is not simply a poetic invention. The oldest testimony to Greeks in Assyrian texts, a letter from about 730 B.C., speaks about the Ionians (“people of the land Iauna”) who “attacked the cities.”¹¹ These “Ionians” were evidently pirates, possibly from Euboea. Sanctuaries on that island and on Samos were found to contain bronze horse trappings inscribed with the name of Hazael of Aram-Damascus (see cat. 165).¹² How did these get from Syria to Greece? Were these noble gifts, or the plunder of pirates? (For other suggestions, see “Beyond ‘Orientalizing’: Encounters Among Cultures in the Eastern Mediterranean” in this volume, pp. 248–53).

Robbery is ubiquitous in Homer, but there is also buying and selling as well as “immense profit” to be made by trade, including the trading of slaves. Communication and trade are carried out by ship. Trade unfolds between Thesprotia and Ithaca on the one side and Phoenicia, Egypt, and Libya on the other, with Crete in the middle. Traveling from Phoenicia to Libya, one has to pass Crete, where on the southern shore, at Kommos, there was indeed a harbor used by both Phoenicians and Greeks.¹³ Cyprus is also involved (4.83), singled out by the poet for its sanctuary of Aphrodite at Paphos (8.362–66), a site archaeologically attested since the twelfth century B.C.¹⁴ Inner Anatolia is not mentioned

in Homer, but the “Solymoi mountains” (5.283), to be seen from the sea beyond the southern shore of Anatolia, are a landmark. When Euboea is mentioned as the farthest destination from Phaeacia (8.321), this implies that, in the Greek view, Euboea is at the center of Greek activities.

In yet another false tale in the first book of the *Odyssey* (1.184), Athena, alias Mentēs, says “he” is carrying a load of “shining iron” in his ship that he will trade for bronze at Temesa (Tamassos, Cyprus?).¹⁵ Trade in metals was of special importance, as iron was replacing bronze in the early first millennium B.C. Phoenicians were leaders in this trade, but the Greeks also became major participants. Sidon, in particular, is mentioned as a home of ships (13.285) and a center of metalworking and wealth (*polýchalkos*; 15.425), and we are told that an exquisite silver mixing bowl was fashioned by a Sidonian craftsman (4.618; 15.118). Archaeologists have documented “Phoenician” bowls from Cyprus,¹⁶ and excellent Phoenician ivory work plundered by the Assyrians formed part of the Nimrud ivories.¹⁷ Our poem, referring to “sawed ivory” (18.196; 19.564),¹⁸ shows an awareness of this advanced Near Eastern craftsmanship.

References to the supposedly sinister practices of Phoenician traders appear in the *Odyssey* in

the biography of Eumaios (15.403ff.). We learn that he was kidnapped as a child by Phoenician traders from his home on “Syrios” and sold at Ithaca for a good price to Laertes (15.483). The Phoenician slave girl active in this plot had been kidnapped herself at Sidon and sold to Eumaios’s parents (15.425–29).

Any knowledge of Egypt remains minimal in the *Odyssey*. Although “Aigýptos” was known as early as the Bronze Age, it is assumed to be the name of the river Nile (4.477, 581), for which Hesiod, however, used the correct word, “Neilos” (*Theogony* 338). The poet of the *Odyssey* has Menelaos arrive in Egypt to find himself directly at Thebes, “where most riches lie in the houses” (4.127), a phrase taken directly from the *Iliad* (9.382), clearly unaware that Thebes is about seven hundred kilometers south of the Mediterranean. The poet also invents a nonexistent island, Pharos (4.354–58), one day’s trip to the north. For ancient geographers¹⁹ this was a desperate puzzle until it was decided to identify “Pharos” with the small isle that closes the bay of what was to be Alexandria.

In contrast, we encounter a clear map of the Aegean in the *Odyssey*. At Lesbos, as Nestor later recalls, the Greeks were thinking of traveling home “seaward of rugged Chios . . . keeping Chios itself on our left, or to landward of Chios past windy Mima” (3.168–72), that is, close to

the Anatolian mainland. Through a divine sign, they decided to choose the direct route, through the “midst of the sea” to Euboea, where they passed the night on the eastern shore, at Geraiastos (3.173–78). Traveling on, they reached “Sounion, the cape of Athens” (3.278). The strikingly detailed description of Athens (7.80) suggests that the poet of the *Odyssey* seemed to know that city far better than Ithaca. The other Greek city given prominence is Sparta, where Telemachos meets Menelaos. We know that this famous Dorian settlement is post-Mycenaean, plausibly settled by about 1000 B.C.²⁰ The poet of the *Odyssey* gives it a unique splendor, outdoing even that of Nestor’s Pylos (4.45f., 71–73).

The world of the *Odyssey* is, in fact, a world of cities. “Community and city” (*démon te pólin te*) is a recurring phrase in the text. The central role is played by a “king” (*basileús*) who “rules” (*anássei*). The royal family is described in the episode of Odysseus among the Phaeacians,²¹ and the plot of the *Odyssey* is indeed a king’s return. Yet we learn little about the administrative or financial activities of the king. There is some indication that extraordinary expenses, such as those for gifts, were met by “collecting” contributions from all the citizens, “man by man” (13.14f.). It is also said that a common decision about “collecting” could be made by the whole community (22.55)—perhaps the beginning of taxation? Communities appear to have had financial responsibilities, including even compensation of the victim in cases of robbery (21.16–38). The founding of cities as described in the *Odyssey* points directly to the Greek epoch of colonization. When Nausithoos moved the Phaeacians to Scheria, “he drew a wall around the city and built houses, he made temples of the gods, and he divided the fields” (6.37ff.). This appears to idealize the process of colonization at a time when Greek colonies were being established in southern Italy and Sicily.

Tradition, fiction, and the experience of contemporary realities thus combine to make Odysseus’s world a multifarious one. Maritime civilization is presented in the midst of myth: the cannibalistic Cyclopes are portrayed as a kind of anticulture; they lack agriculture, doing no plowing, sowing, or reaping (9.108–9), they live in caves, and they have neither “assemblies for council . . . nor appointed law” (9.112). The reason for this primitivism is the absence of ships, “which should perform all their wants, passing to the cities of other folk, as men often cross the sea in ships to visit one another . . . which could bring everything to perfection” (9.125–30). Communication makes human civilization, communication by seafaring. And this, of course, is the pride of Greece as presented in the *Odyssey*.



Fig. 4.5. Detail of Attic red-figure stamnos showing the ship of Odysseus passing the Sirens. Said to be from Vulci. The Trustees of the British Museum, London (1843,1103.31)

NEAR EASTERN IMAGERY IN GREEK CONTEXT: GEOMETRIC AND ORIENTALIZING POTTERY

Anastasia Gadolou

In every historical period and civilization, art has reflected the social, political, and economic environment of its creators. Toward the end of the second millennium B.C., the collapse of the Mycenaean palatial centers in Greece and the reorganization of society into small autonomous settlements contributed to differentiation in pottery production. The main characteristic of this production was the subjection of each decorative theme—even the human figure—to the strict discipline of the geometric structure, rendered with clarity and rigorous consistency. The decorative organization resulting from the application of this structure was severe and precise. The postpalatial economic and political reorganization also led to the formation of many local workshops and styles.

The archaeological record shows that contacts with peoples outside the Greek borders (especially those in the Near East), which were generated by trade in the Mycenaean era, continued in the following centuries. This sustained interaction affected the configuration of the artistic language of vase painting.¹ Thus, in the second half of the eighth and the beginning of the seventh centuries B.C., and even earlier in some regions, the emergence in Greece of the so-called Orientalizing style can be traced in the adaptation and transformation of certain Near Eastern decorative motifs as well as in the freer use of curvilinear elements and a more organic sense of form. Nevertheless, any Near Eastern influence on Greek vase painting occurred through other media, since painted pottery was a minor craft in the east.²

The use of the phrase “Orientalizing revolution”³ is not entirely appropriate insofar as pottery production is concerned. Every historical revolution is a culmination of various events followed by dramatic changes; however, such changes have not been observed in the Greek pottery produced from the Late Geometric to Early Archaic periods. Instead, an “Orientalizing style,” brought about mainly by the human interactions that followed the sociopolitical and economic characteristics of the new era, seems more apt.

Contacts with the Near East are well attested in the archaeological record of mainland Greece from as early as the tenth century B.C.⁴ The



Fig. 4.6. Ceramic krater attributed to the Cesnola Painter. Euboian manufacture; said to be from Kourion, Cyprus. Late Geometric. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; The Cesnola Collection, Purchased by subscription, 1874–76 (74.51.965)

tenth-century “hero’s burial” in Toumba indicates that the community of Lefkandi in a sense never lost touch with the Levant.⁵ Early Near Eastern influence may be detected in the inclusion of the tree of life motif in the decoration of a funerary krater from the site.⁶ Yet, even though the site is rich in Levantine or Egyptian imports, the decoration of locally produced pottery was not influenced by Near Eastern imagery, which was present on imported Near Eastern bowls (see fig. 3.4). However, the foreign motifs were not copied, as was the case in later periods.⁷

An old Near Eastern motif — a group of goats framing a tree — appears on a hydria from Chalkis, another Euboian town, as well as on several Greek island vases of the later eighth century B.C.⁸ Heraldic groups derived from Near Eastern art are common, although they were already well known in the Greek Bronze Age.⁹ But Attic-inspired geometric decoration predominates on the Cesnola krater, a masterpiece of Euboian Late Geometric art (fig. 4.6). It is only in the central panel, where two goats flank a tree, that any Levantine influence can be identified.¹⁰

Even though the Euboians collaborated closely with the Phoenicians on the trade routes of the Mediterranean and their pottery has been excavated at various sites in the Levant, they were selective with what they borrowed from the Phoenicians.¹¹ The Euboian adoption of the Phoenician alphabet and the westward migration of eastern craftsmen, the latter owing mainly to Assyrian expansion and the spread of trade in metal ores in the Mediterranean basin,¹² are historical facts. One should be skeptical, however, about the utilization of phrases such as “the Oriental culture of Greece” to explain changes in art.¹³

The Geometric style was born in Attica as early as the tenth century B.C., and from its very beginnings traces of figural representations can be detected. The small horse depicted near the handle of a Protogeometric amphora from the Kerameikos cemetery¹⁴ demonstrates that, while painters were aware of figural motifs, they did not want to break the tectonic organization of the vases’ decorated surface. During the same period, on the island of Crete — an important international nexus of art and trade situated along the Mediterranean trade routes and in close proximity to Cyprus — a pottery workshop emerged in which Near Eastern influence can be detected quite early on: the so-called Cretan Protogeometric B style.¹⁵ Near Eastern influence on Cretan vase painting can also be observed on a seventh-century B.C. dinos from Arkades with griffin’s-head attachments and crowned sphinxes depicted on metope-like panels



Fig. 4.7. Skyphos with mythical animals, armed warriors, and procession. Athens, Kerameikos cemetery. Late Geometric. National Archaeological Museum, Athens (784)

around the vase (cat. 146).¹⁶ This vase is said to imitate North Syrian cauldrons,¹⁷ but the Geometric spirit is evident in the concentric circles on its lower part and the zigzag below the rim.¹⁸

After Crete, Corinth seems to have been next in incorporating eastern motifs into its ceramic repertoire, in the last quarter of the eighth century B.C. There is no doubt that Corinth was the first Greek city to develop the Orientalizing style on Proto-Corinthian ware, in about 720 B.C. But richly decorated pots¹⁹ were very much in the minority. Most Proto-Corinthian pottery is painted in a plain or linear style. Examples of vessels used for scented oils and for pouring or drinking can be found both in Orientalizing figural and plain linear styles (see cats. 137, 138). One could explain this phenomenon by noting that the elaborate Orientalizing vessels functioned as a kind of advertisement for the qualities that were supposed to inhere in alabaster and perfume flasks. Proto-Corinthian potters managed to adapt Near Eastern patterns and figures for the ceramic medium, the certain needs of Greek art, and the production of a luxury ware.²⁰

Returning to Attica, mention should be made of a long debate over whether the Geometric figural art that emerged around the middle of the eighth century B.C. and is represented by the Dipylon workshop owes its appearance to contacts with the Near East. The Dipylon Master²¹ must have been familiar with and yet ignored the freer style of Near Eastern-influenced gold diadems of early Late Geometric date²² when he was devising his abstract formulas for figures. Some decades later, another vase painter, the creator of the skyphos NAM 784 (fig. 4.7), seems not only to have been aware of Near Eastern imagery but also to have taken great effort to represent certain mythical creatures and to combine them with a ritual or royal scene: a procession toward a seated god or ruler. Near Eastern



Fig. 4.8. Hydria with dancers and chariot parades, by the Analatos Painter. Analatos, cemetery. Proto-Attic. National Archaeological Museum, Athens (313)

shallow metal bowls with concentric zones of analogous figural decoration have been recognized as the prototype for this scene.²³ The combination of the procession with armed Greek warriors seems incongruous for a Near Eastern artist and instead reflects the reawakening of Greek religious imagery at the close of the eighth century B.C. In Attica, one can trace step by step the evolution from the Geometric figural style to that of the Proto-Attic.²⁴ Even though

new decorative motifs such as hooks, cables, rays, volutes, palmettes, lotus flowers, buds, and rosettes have eastern models, the Greek versions are more stylized in detail, and such ornaments generally had a subordinate function.²⁵ The founder of the Proto-Attic style, the Analatos Painter, was heir to a figural tradition extending as far back as the Dipylon Master; thus, despite his eager adoption of a wide range of Near Eastern flora and fauna, his linked dancers and chariot parades were kept under control (fig. 4.8). In one of his later works, a krater now in Munich,²⁶ his geometrically rendered chariot horses acquire curly manes and the base rays grow hooks. Still, the main components of the decoration are executed in a purely geometric artistic language. More interesting, Orientalizing monsters are found on the vases attributed to the Mesogaia Painter. On one of his hydriae, however, even though the odd shape of the sphinxes' wings recalls an eastern fashion, no fewer than six of the subsidiary friezes were painted with a multiple brush, following the Geometric tradition.²⁷

What, then, were the sources of inspiration for Late Geometric figural vase painting? Opinions range from those who argue that Late Helladic IIIC decorated pottery inspired Late Geometric artists to those who see representations on Geometric vases as inspired by the art of the Near East (Egypt, Syria-Palestine, and Phoenicia).²⁸ The first view has drawn increasing support following recent discoveries of Late Helladic IIIC figural scenes. Nevertheless, the question remains open, since there is a hiatus of several centuries between the end of Late Helladic IIIC and the mid-eighth century B.C., when such scenes begin to appear with greater frequency.²⁹ The Greeks' debt to their Bronze Age past can be easily exaggerated but not ignored.³⁰ Studies advancing the second hypothesis are far more numerous, according to which inspiration from the east is claimed not only for the figural scenes but also for several Greek myths (see "The World of Odysseus" in this volume, pp. 255–57).³¹

The repertoire of animal and floral motifs that Greek painters inherited from Near Eastern imagery was treated in vastly different ways in different places. Two eastern pictorial motifs—exotic, composite creatures (namely, griffins, sphinxes, and sirens) and the Mistress of Animals—will be discussed further.

Griffins and sphinxes, evident in the pictorial art of the Minoan and Mycenaean age, were adopted by Greek vase painters in the last decades of the eighth and the beginning of the seventh centuries B.C., but to completely different ends.³² Greek artists copied sphinxes without reference to their original meaning, and the



Fig. 4.9. Neck-amphora with Mistress of Animals. Thebes. Sub-Geometric. National Archaeological Museum, Athens (220)

representational sphinx scenes cannot be interpreted as illustrations of Greek legends. The sphinx wearing a Corinthian-type helmet³³ on an alabastron from Fortetsa shows clearly, in the present author's opinion, its main use as a purely decorative pattern.

Although its roots lie in the Minoan era, the well-known Mistress of Animals, or Potnia Theron, motif—the representation of the goddess of nature flanked by wild animals or fantastical monsters arranged in a heraldic composition—was a favorite in Greek pottery of the early seventh century B.C. Its origin in Near Eastern art is indisputable. The Mycenaeans adopted the iconographic theme as well as the heraldic composition and made further innovations to it to fit the context of their religious imagery. The result combined eastern compositions with Aegean form and style.³⁴ Centuries later, on a Sub-Geometric amphora from Thebes

(fig. 4.9), the well-known symmetrical image of the nature goddess returns, reflecting renewed influence from the Near East and leading to a long series of seventh-century B.C. representations of the Potnia. The most remarkable Greek examples, with narrative scenes influenced by Hesiod's divine genealogy and Homer's poetry, can be found on clay relief pithoi from the Cycladic island of Tinos.³⁵

Finally, special reference should be made to the Argolid, where the leading Geometric figural style of the Peloponnese emerged. The Argive style is original, unique; no Near Eastern elements can be discerned.³⁶ This example is sufficient to support the view that what we call the "Orientalizing revolution" in Greek art was nothing more than a short phase during which certain pottery workshops adopted particular motifs or artistic expressions to suit their own needs.³⁷



135. Band diadem

Gold with repoussé decoration; L. 37 cm (14½ in.), W. 3 cm (1⅛ cm)
Athens, Kerameikos
Late Geometric, ca. 750 B.C.
National Archaeological Museum, Athens (A726)

This diadem consists of a thin piece of gold sheet bearing a repoussé frieze of two lionesses ambushing from behind two unsuspecting, grazing deer, while a third attacks head-on. The frieze is interrupted in the middle by a vertical border, suggesting that the motifs were impressed into the soft metal using a large mold with vertical sides, which was perhaps designed to make metal revetments for wooden boxes. The two holes at each end of the diadem served to fasten it to the head.¹

The convention of depicting two successive acts as occurring simultaneously—here, the peaceful grazing of the deer and the lions' violent attack—is one of the characteristics of Geometric art. While the Geometric style was initially characterized by severity and absolute discipline with respect to design principles and decorative motifs, exposure to works of art of Near Eastern origin led to the relaxation of this severity, especially from the early seventh century B.C. on. Nevertheless, the naturalistic character of Near Eastern art was never completely assimilated into the Greek Geometric style.

This Late Geometric diadem is typical of the period and reflects the journeys of the Greeks to the east and their contact with Near Eastern art. Near Eastern sources of inspiration are evident in jewelry made in the first centuries of the first millennium B.C. in Attica, Euboea (see cat. 7), and Corinth, and later in the Aegean Islands, especially Melos and Rhodes. In the seventh century B.C., workshops in the aforementioned areas formed the staging posts between the Near East and Greece and produced a range of elaborate jewelry in which foreign influence can be detected.² This period of Near Eastern influence on Greek art lasted until about 600 B.C., by which time the new elements had been completely absorbed into an authentic Greek idiom.³ AG

1. Elisabeth Stasinopoulou-Kakarouga in Kypraiou 1997, p. 71, no. 51; Ohly 1953, pp. 9, 15–18, no. A1, pls. 1, 1. 2. C. Karouzos and S. Karouzou 1981, p. 26, pl. 38; Despini 1996, p. 212, fig. 14 (with earlier references). 3. Higgins 1961, p. 95.

136. Fibula catch-plate

Ivory; H. 8 cm (3⅓ in.), W. 5.5 cm (2⅛ in.)
Sparta, sanctuary of Artemis Orthia
Early Archaic, 660 B.C.
National Archaeological Museum, Athens (A15502)

Most of the objects found at the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia relate to the world of women: finery with images expressing their beliefs and utensils for domestic tasks. The goddess Artemis appears on this ivory as the Mistress of Animals (Potnia Theron). She stands in frontal view holding a bird in each hand; two more birds perch on her shoulders. The entire composition is executed in relief. Incorporated into the reverse of the plaque, which serves as its catch-plate, is a bronze fibula.

The figure's face, with features characteristic of the Daedalic style of Greek art, is framed by tresses that fall in front of the shoulders. The garment is rendered with particular care. Alternating incised motifs of lozenges and hatching denote weave patterns and emphasize the formality of the long robe.¹

The composition is completed by the presence of the four birds, divided into two pairs of unequal size. The birds identify the figure as the Mistress of Animals, a common aspect of Artemis that reflects a belief in her power over fertility. The theme of the Mistress or Master of Animals, which originates in Bronze Age traditions,² gained new vitality and increased in popularity during the early seventh century B.C.³



Fig. 4.10. Ivory figurine. Athens, Odos Peiraios, grave 13. Late Geometric. National Archaeological Museum, Athens (776)

The plaque is significant not only as a votive offering but also as an elegant example of the art of ivory and bone carving. A host of corresponding artifacts attests that this art was highly developed in Sparta in the seventh century B.C. Ivory objects provide the clearest expression of the ideology of an international elite, whose members possessed them and also exchanged them as gifts throughout the Mediterranean. The exotic origin of ivory carving is indisputable. Homer imagined it to be a product of Anatolia, carried out by artists from Maionia or Caria (*Iliad* 4.141–45), while poets also wrote of international connections that bridged the Aegean, Egypt, and the Levant. Ivory statuettes from Late Geometric tombs in Athens (fig. 4.10) and sanctuaries in the Peloponnese appear to have been carved in the Greek Geometric style and to have adapted certain Near Eastern motifs to Greek taste.⁴ Greek ivory carving⁵ led eventually to the production of magnificent works of art, particularly chryselephantine sculpture.

AG

1. Anastasia Gadolou in Kaltsas 2006, p. 71, with further bibliography. 2. The earliest examples of this particular theme have been found on seals from Susa and the region of Luristan. See also Aruz, Benzel, and Evans 2008, p. 409. 3. Burkert 1992, p. 19, n. 22; Johnson 1988. 4. For the Athenian tombs, see Zosi 2012, pp. 146ff., figs. 4–7; for the Peloponnesian sanctuaries, see Dawkins 1929, pp. 208ff. 5. Boardman 1980, pp. 62ff.

137. Fragment of conical lekythos-oinochoe with animals and cauldron

Ceramic; H. 9.2 cm (3 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.), max. Diam. 16.4 cm (6 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.)

Said to be from Cumae, Italy
Early Proto-Corinthian, ca. 700 B.C.
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York;
Rogers Fund, 1923 (23.160.18)

138. Oinochoe with animal frieze and scale pattern

Ceramic; H. 26 cm (10 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.)
Corinth, attributed to the Chigi Group
Proto-Corinthian, ca. 625 B.C.
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York;
Bequest of Walter C. Baker, 1971 (1972.118.138)

During the Orientalizing period in the eighth and seventh centuries B.C., motifs inspired by the art of the Near East permeated the decoration of Greek vases, as these two examples illustrate.¹ The lekythos-oinochoe, a type of vase used for perfumes and scented oils, has a conical body and a flat base. On this example, the base of the strap handle is preserved, but the long, narrow neck and trefoil mouth are missing. The



central decorative frieze features a tall, long-necked marsh bird, a cauldron, a wolf pursuing two horses, six fish, and three spiral-shaped plants; a snake fills the lowest frieze. In addition to the animals and plants—all traditional motifs integrated in the iconography of Greek vase painting—the painter added a representation of an exotic cauldron and stand, a rare motif on Proto-Corinthian vases.² That the painter had almost certainly seen real bronze cauldrons and stands is indicated by the numerous details included in his rendering. Two wide-eyed bird heads with sharp beaks represent griffin protomes on the cauldron's rim, which has a zigzag line above it forming four triangles. White stippling decorates the cauldron's body.³ The cauldron's conical stand is very large in proportion to the vessel, a feature reminiscent of similar ensembles from the Barberini Tomb in Etruria and indeed echoing the conical form of the lekythos-oinochoe itself.⁴ In addition to

their functions as burial offerings in Etruria, Urartu, Phrygia, and Cyprus, cauldrons with animal-shaped attachments were dedicated at sanctuaries and presented as prizes for athletic contests and funeral games in Greece (see “Cauldrons” and “Levantine and Orientalizing Luxury Goods from Etruscan Tombs” in this volume, pp. 272–73 and 313–17).

The oinochoe (jug) is attributed to the Chigi Group, a prominent workshop in Corinth, where the animal style flourished and was enriched by a new bestiary and other motifs borrowed from the Near East during the late eighth and seventh centuries B.C.⁵ The high handle and trefoil lip reflect its principal use as a pouring vessel.⁶ Animals in black glaze decorate a central frieze, including a lion, a bull, a waterbird, a pair of heraldic sphinxes on either side of a waterbird, two bulls that appear as if they are about to lock horns, a panther, and a stag and goat. Added red glaze highlights various muscles and body parts, while details such as the eyes and feathers are incised. The animal iconography on this example attests to the thoroughgoing assimilation of Eastern motifs in Greek vase painting by the late seventh century B.C.

BF-C

1. Debate about whether the lekythos-oinochoe was produced in Cumae rather than Corinth underscores the difficulties in distinguishing between pottery from colonial workshops and from Corinth itself. Martine Denoyelle and Mario Iozzo (2009, p. 49) attribute the lekythos-oinochoe to the Cumae Group, a workshop in the Bay of Naples area greatly influenced by Corinthian pottery. Anne Coulié (2013, p. 140, n. 282) argues against the attribution. See also Moore 2009, pp. 5–6. 2. Martin Robertson (in Heurtley and Robertson 1948, p. 47) lists only six vase paintings of cauldrons with stands known to him: these range in date from the Early to the Late Proto-Corinthian period. A comparable marsh bird and cauldron pairing appears on a Proto-Corinthian aryballos (Antikensammlung, Berlin, 3409). See Amyx 1988, vol. 1, p. 18, pl. 2, no. 3a–b, and Moore 2009, p. 7, n. 23, pl. 3, nos. 2, 3. 3. Mary Moore (2009, p. 17) suggests that the stippling may represent the toolmarks visible on a metal cauldron. 4. Robertson in Heurtley and Robertson 1948, p. 47. 5. Amyx 1988, vol. 1, p. 38, no. 9. 6. There are also bronze and silver versions of the same shape, including a bronze oinochoe in the Metropolitan Museum (45.11.3); see Mertens 2010, p. 60, fig. 28.

DEMONS, MONSTERS, AND MAGIC

Sarah B. Graff

The early first millennium B.C. in the Near East and Mediterranean was a time of heightened interest in the supernatural.¹ Diviners and exorcists, highly trained professionals in what today would be called magic, vied for the patronage of the Assyrian court, from which comes the most complete documentation of their practices. Assyrian scribes compiled lists of omens and handbooks of incantations and rituals for use in specific situations, many of which were appropriated from Babylonian temple and private archives by Ashurbanipal for his great library at Nineveh, where they form the largest group of canonical texts of this type (see “Ashurbanipal’s Library at Nineveh” in this volume, pp. 68–69).² In several cases, evidence proves that elaborate magical rituals were actually carried out as described in the texts. Clay figurines of mythical beings such as fish-men, lion demons, and winged bird-headed sages were excavated from deposits beneath the floors of buildings in Assyria and Babylonia, where they had been placed more or less in accordance with the instructions recorded in the rituals.³

In terms of material culture, a dazzling array of fantastic composite creatures populates the art of the Near East and the Aegean world during this period. These regions already had long-standing traditions governing the representation of monstrous beings—endless combinations of human features, attributes of animals, and characteristics of supernatural beasts—that provide the necessary context against which to consider the increase in the number of magical figures and of texts concerning them in the Near East during this period.⁴ Some scholars have argued that this development reflects rising superstition and fear of demons in Assyria at the time.⁵ Another interpretation suggests that the intense activity surrounding magical practices, particularly during the ninth and eighth centuries B.C., was driven by the efforts of ancient scholars to fit the images into the same overarching system as texts on magic. In Richard Ellis’s words, “the system of ideas about the use of protective images was in the process of formation and adjustment.”⁶ Such a development perhaps reflected an impetus to centralize and systematize important knowledge by the Assyrian kings rather than changes within Mesopotamian society at large. In any case, although there is a disproportionate wealth of textual information for magical practices and supernatural creatures from the Neo-Assyrian

period, these matters were likely also vital concerns during earlier periods for which we lack similar documentation.⁷ Other Near Eastern regional powers, such as Urartu, were strongly influenced by developments in Assyria but expressed these ideas in culturally specific ways. For instance, the profusion of newly invented fantastic creatures that appear in Urartian art has been considered an important trait in itself, and one of the rare elements of Urartian material culture not directly influenced by Assyria.⁸ Meanwhile, Aegean material culture adapted various supernatural creatures from Near Eastern sources for quite different purposes.

In the Aegean, fantastic creatures such as griffins had been characteristic of the Bronze Age cultures of the Minoans and Mycenaeans but went through significant transformations during the eighth and seventh centuries B.C., reflecting the formative processes shaping Greek societies at the time. Susan Langdon has argued that the special interest in monsters and demons in the Greek world of this period was engendered by conflicting forces: anxiety connected with the unknown, and especially with the dangers of sea travel, joined with an insatiable curiosity for exotic goods and esoteric knowledge, through which rising elites could assert increasingly exalted status. In their combination of contradictory elements (such as animal and human features), fantastic creatures represented transgression and chaos and were ideal adversaries for the Greek divine hierarchy under the rule of Zeus. Through myths of their defeat, the patriarchal order of Greek society could be symbolically reenacted and reinforced.⁹ Furthermore, as Ann Gunter has convincingly argued, Assyrian material culture (including objects collected from elsewhere and displayed in Assyrian imperial contexts) was recognized throughout the eastern Mediterranean and the Greek world as the predominant visual signifier of elite status.¹⁰ The choice of Near Eastern imagery to express concepts fundamental to the social order of the Greek world was likely a deliberate borrowing of the visual language associated most closely with power and hegemony throughout the Mediterranean.

Although we have established that many different types of supernatural creatures circulated in the art of this period, we only partially understand the precise distinctions ancient people made among them. Each type of monster or fantastic creature was understood in antiquity to have a character and



Fig. 4.11. Bronze plaque with Pazuzu and Lamashtu. Mesopotamia. Neo-Assyrian. Musée du Louvre, Paris (AO 22205)

functions that differed markedly from other monsters; they cannot be summed up in a single category, and indeed there is no single Akkadian or Greek word for these supernatural entities. In these polytheistic societies, a vast company of beings existed side by side with gods and heroes but with very different abilities and duties. They could relate to the human world as messengers, protectors, or tormentors, among other roles, and had complex relationships with each other as well. Similar types of creatures also had very different purposes and identities in Near Eastern and Greek societies. Edith Porada's pragmatic designation of four-legged fantastic animals as "monsters" and creatures with two legs (that is, with primarily human bodies) as "demons" has been widely accepted,¹¹ although both terms carry associations that color the modern understanding of these creatures, who are difficult to classify as strictly good or evil.¹² Even figures who are widely characterized as benevolent, such as the seven antediluvian sages known as *apkallu*, were important primarily for their connections with the primeval rather than as moral arbiters.¹³ Demons have been characterized by F. A. M. Wiggermann

as occupying the position of gods without a cult, and thus neglected, perpetually restless, and unsatisfied.¹⁴ They were considered to be present in the human world, as opposed to the world of the gods, and thus had the ability to affect people for good or—more frequently—for ill.¹⁵ As we will see, monsters were also thought to be present in the terrestrial realm, although they lacked the complexity that was characteristic of demons.

Lamashtu and Pazuzu

The two most prominent Near Eastern demons of the early first millennium B.C., Lamashtu and Pazuzu, are linked by an adversarial relationship. Lamashtu, daughter of the sky god Anu, was cast out of heaven after requesting to dine on the flesh of human babies and thereafter wreaked havoc below on earth.¹⁶ Although babies were particular targets of her attacks (because their innocence was an effective counterpoint to her pure evil), she also injured men, animals, and the environment, destroying roads and stripping date palms of

their fruit. Thus, the common perception of Lamashtu as solely the embodiment of diseases specific to childbearing cannot be supported by the evidence. She was a powerful destructive force, set above most other demons as a being with divine parentage and correspondingly broad reach to harm anything or anyone on earth.¹⁷ Rituals to protect against her attacks date back to the early second millennium B.C., while her iconography was developed during the Middle Assyrian period (ca. 1400–1000 B.C.).¹⁸ In subsequent centuries her image spread throughout the ancient Near East on protective amulets, not only in Babylonia and Assyria but to the west as well, where amulets against her derive from Zircirli, Byblos, the Judean Shephelah, and perhaps even Etruria if a seventh-century B.C. image from Poggio Civitate, which is difficult to interpret, does indeed depict Lamashtu.¹⁹

A dangerous force like Lamashtu required powerful protection in the form of the demon Pazuzu, often shown reduced to his head and neck on pendants and fibulae intended to be worn close to the body. Like the Lamashtu amulets, Pazuzu's image was found widely dispersed throughout the Near East and eastern Mediterranean, primarily in Babylonia and Assyria but also at Susa and Nush-i Jan to the east, and at Megiddo and the Greek sanctuary at Samos to the west (cat. 171). Three Pazuzu representations were found in Grave I of the royal women's tombs at Nimrud, placing the earliest secure date for his appearance during the time of Sargon II.²⁰ Inscriptions identify Pazuzu as the son of Hanbu and as king of the evil wind demons; like Lamashtu, he is unusual among demons for having a lineage and royal status. Pazuzu embodies the freezing winds from the mountains east of Mesopotamia and is an inherently negative force whose power can be directed against a fellow evil creature for apotropaic purposes.²¹

Pazuzu's iconography may have been influenced by that of the Egyptian protective god Bes.²² Both he and Lamashtu possess leonine (or possibly canine) elements, such as the muzzle tensed in a snarl with bared teeth; Anthony Green classified the two as variations on the image of the lion demon.²³ Their affinities perhaps made Pazuzu especially effective as Lamashtu's counterpoint, even as they retained important differences. Pazuzu is clearly male, with a snake-headed phallus, and also bears a scorpion tail and wings in addition to his composite body, which includes a monstrous ribbed neck, dog's body, human arms, and taloned bird feet (cat. 139). Lamashtu also has talons and human arms, while her gender is emphasized by her hanging breasts at which two young animals (usually a puppy and a piglet) suckle; she often holds a pair of snakes while kneeling on the back of a donkey. Several

plaques show the two interacting, with Pazuzu doubled: his figure or head faces Lamashtu and drives her back to the underworld, with her journey represented by a boat and river and by gifts meant to appease her (such as a comb and a fibula), while a second large Pazuzu figure embraces the entire plaque and peers over the top edge (fig. 4.11). These plaques are arranged in registers that seem to correspond to the levels of Mesopotamian cosmology. The major gods, shown in symbolic form, are at the top, above minor protective gods; below them is the earthly realm the afflicted person inhabits, and the two demons are in the netherworld at bottom.

Humbaba and the Gorgon

In the early first millennium B.C., images of Near Eastern demons were adopted in Greece and the Mediterranean world to express local beliefs. Perhaps the best-known demon during this period is the Gorgon, a Greek demon with a rich literary and iconographic repertoire. Less well-known is the degree to which the Greek image drew from ancient Near Eastern sources. The first unambiguous representations of Gorgons date to the early seventh century B.C. and show an image in the process of formation, including a centaur-bodied form on a relief pithos from Boiotia, which may have been a local variant,²⁴ and a daringly experimental cauldron-headed type on the monumental amphora from Eleusis (fig. 4.4).²⁵ The Eleusis Gorgons have heads and torsos in the form of cauldrons with snake- and lion-headed protomes, paralleling actual vessels of this type that have been found in Greece and Etruria (fig. 4.12). Cauldron attachments are characteristic of the interconnected world of the Near East and eastern Mediterranean in the seventh century B.C. (see "Cauldrons" in this volume, pp. 273–73), and their inclusion in these unique Gorgon images testifies further to the receptivity of Greek artisans to foreign ideas at this time. Additionally, the protomes' sinuous shapes may have provided the original inspiration for the snake hair of the Gorgon, which became a standard attribute.²⁶

Another canonical attribute, the grimacing frontal face, also appears to have been adapted from Near Eastern sources. A group of terracotta plaques from the archaic sanctuary on the acropolis of Gortyn, Crete (cat. 142), bear a striking resemblance to earlier images of the wrinkle-faced Mesopotamian demon Humbaba.²⁷ A similar group of plaques was dedicated at the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia in Sparta (fig. 4.13).²⁸ Humbaba, the guardian of the Cedar Forest, was a powerful demon and the adversary of Gilgamesh and Enkidu in the Gilgamesh epic. His character played a



Fig. 4.12. Gilded silver lebes with procession of soldiers and snake protomes. Praeneste, Bernardini Tomb. Etruscan, Orientalizing. Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia, Rome (61566)

complex, apotropaic role in Mesopotamian literary and omen texts as well as in visual media, from glyptic, metalwork, and terracotta plaques to monumental stone sculpture (cat. 141).²⁹ Defining features of Humbaba's fearsome visage frequently include large eyes, a grimacing mouth, a wide nose, and whiskers or wrinkles. While the Humbaba-like wrinkles that appear on the Gortyn plaques were dropped in subsequent Gorgon images, the frontality and grimace were retained, frequently along with the beard, which suggests that these facial features derive from a male creature. Other Near Eastern elements in the early Gorgon image include the bent-knee posture, characteristic of Humbaba and Lamashtu, and the heraldic composition flanked by animals, known as the Mistress (or Master) of Animals (cat. 143).³⁰ These appear in monumental form in the pediment of the early sixth-century B.C. temple of Artemis at Corfu, emphasizing the goddess's role as mistress of wild nature.³¹

While these demons played various roles in different cultures, they share several aspects in common: all are hybrid in their composition, and all are depicted in ways that draw attention to their eyes and gaze. The purely destructive force of Lamashtu is diverted by representing her only in profile, so her damaging gaze is not directed outward, while the opposite is true for the gaze that conveys the apotropaic power of Pazuzu, Humbaba, and the Gorgon, all depicted in frontal view. This emphasis on the exertion of magical power through the eyes is most evident on the plaques where Pazuzu is represented facing Lamashtu, driving her away, and again as a

frontal figure in the viewer's space. The ancient practitioner could direct the powers of destructive demons toward supernatural aggressors and away from himself or herself, exerting control through images, inscriptions, and ritual practices.

Monsters: Griffins and Sphinxes

The Near East was the immediate iconographic source for nearly all monsters that appear in Greek art of this period, including characteristically Greek creatures such as centaurs and the Minotaur.³² However, Greek culture endowed them with mythological contexts that transformed and set them apart from their Near Eastern predecessors.³³ Among ancient monsters, griffins and sphinxes are the most prominent in both the Near East and the Aegean. Both could serve as guardian figures in certain contexts, but there were important distinctions between the two.

Griffins combine a lion's body with the features of a bird of prey, including talons, wings, and/or head; both lion-headed and eagle-headed variations are attested.³⁴ In the Near East, both types of griffins could be shown in combat with other animals or flanking the sacred tree; the lion-griffin could also serve as the mount of a deity or draw a god's chariot.³⁵ The Akkadian term for griffin may have been *kuribu*, a name that appears in a text recording supernatural creatures that appeared in an Assyrian prince's dream,³⁶ suggesting a connection with the biblical cherubim, who were envisioned as fearsome guardians.³⁷ However, like the demons discussed

above, griffins were neither inherently good nor evil, although their power could be used by a successful adversary. The motif of a young hero or god defeating an eagle-headed griffin is attested in ivory carving in Cyprus and the eastern Mediterranean during the Late Bronze Age and, remarkably, survived into the Iron Age in the same medium (fig. 3.37).³⁸ Farther west, among the most characteristic objects of the Orientalizing period are the bronze cauldrons to which griffin protomes have been added, often found as dedications to Greek sanctuaries.³⁹ The debate continues concerning the origins of these cauldrons and their attachments, although it is likely that the griffin protomes represent iconography with Near Eastern roots transformed in a western context, perhaps by transplanted Near Eastern artisans.⁴⁰

Originating in Egypt, sphinxes combine a lion's body, often winged, with a male or female human face. The pharaoh could be represented in the form of a sphinx trampling enemies of Egypt underfoot. When they enter the Near Eastern repertoire, sphinxes shed their direct association with the pharaoh and rarely appear in combat scenes. Instead, they are most frequently found guarding important ritual and royal sites. Their iconography varies greatly according to regional traditions. Orthostats or sculptures in the round depicting sphinxes are especially widespread in the Syro-Hittite region, including the temples at 'Ain Dara and on the Aleppo citadel as well as palaces or fortifications at Tell Halaf, Carchemish, Karatepe, Zincirli, and Sakçegözü.⁴¹ Syro-Hittite sphinxes are occasionally shown with an



Fig. 4.13. Terracotta mask. Sparta, sanctuary of Artemis Orthia. Archaic. Archaeological Museum, Sparta, Greece (1)

additional lion's head below the human head, a regional variant that may have influenced the later fantastic creature known as the chimera.⁴² An orthostat depicting a sphinx (fig. 3.49), carved in the South Syrian style identified in ivory carving by Irene J. Winter, is a rare survival from the temple of the storm god at Damascus.⁴³ The monumental guardian figures familiar from Assyrian palaces, known as *lamassu*, are another variant on sphinxes (see fig. 2.1). Their dignified, static appearance when depicted in stone contrasts sharply with the playful and energetic *lamassu* shown in the incised decorations on reliefs from the Northwest Palace at Nimrud, perhaps because the garments they adorn were created by artisans working in a different stylistic tradition.⁴⁴

In Phoenician art, sphinxes played the role of "some form of a 'national emblem' in the art of a region characterized by a pronounced polycentrism."⁴⁵ They could be represented with the head of the god Bes as well as that of a falcon or ram, the last especially popular on the Phoenician ivories collected en masse by Assyrian kings (see fig. 3.33).⁴⁶ Sphinxes are also essential aspects of royal iconography, in the form of the Phoenician sphinx throne: a type of ceremonial chair flanked by sphinxes, likely influenced by Egyptian palanquins.⁴⁷ These thrones were used by Phoenician kings, as on the Ahi-ram sarcophagus and on a Late Bronze Age ivory plaque from Megiddo, but have also been compared with the biblical reference to the cherubim as guardians of the tree of life (Gen. 3.24).⁴⁸ Along these lines, Eric Gubel has noted that the seat of the ivory throne from Salamis is flanked by a unique pair of sphinx and sacred tree plaques (see fig. 3.7).⁴⁹

While demons and monsters served crucially important roles in the ancient world, these roles could not be transferred among cultures as easily as their images. The supernatural realm in the ancient Near East took part in a complex belief system developed over millennia, with a variety of active traditions that functioned at many levels, from popular superstition to royal ideology. Fantastic creatures could also express less serious concepts such as humor or imaginative delight, as in the contradiction embodied by the cat-headed bird that decorates a Urartian belt.⁵⁰ In the Greek world, the supernatural bestiary was in the process of development, and fantastic creatures were primarily used as foils for human heroes, with their originally awe-inspiring power diminished to a sense of wonder as a result.⁵¹ In spite of these important distinctions, there were common threads among the apotropaic uses of demons and monsters and in the liminal position they occupied—in terms of their composite identities and their place between the terrestrial and divine worlds—that made them especially well suited as guardians.

139. Statuette of the demon Pazuzu

Bronze; H. 15 cm (6 in.), W. 8.6 cm (3⅜ in.)

Mesopotamia

8th–7th century B.C.

Musée du Louvre, Paris, Département des Antiquités Orientales (MNB 467)

Pazuzu, king of the *Lillu* demons, was a formidable creature belonging to the lower level of the Mesopotamian pantheon.¹ He did not appear in iconography and exorcist texts until the early first millennium B.C. and is related to more ancient demons, such as Humbaba and the West Wind. Associated with the foul winds that plague the steppe, he was believed to cause headaches (carried from the desert by the western winds) but also to protect humans from the wind's ill effects through his role as a beneficent domestic spirit. Pazuzu was also invoked in exorcism rituals to dispatch to the underworld

malefic demons that found their way into dwellings and to prevent them from causing harm, especially the terrible *Lamashtu*, who attacked pregnant women and newborns.

Pazuzu's iconography is well established. His head is half-animal and half-human, and pendants in the form of his head alone suggest that it is here where his apotropaic and exorcistic powers reside. The god's monstrous features include a flat nose, bulging eyes, and gaping mouth. He has a human body with male attributes, but the visible ribs and the prominence of the thorax evoke the breastbone of a bird. His four wings, to which his arms are attached, his segmented and curved scorpion's tail, and his predator's talons also show that he belongs to the supernatural world.

The suspension ring at the top of this statuette suggests that it was hung on the wall of the room that required its presence. Amulets of

Pazuzu, often consisting only of the demon's head, were placed in dwellings, either fastened to sickbeds—as spelled out in exorcist texts—or suspended from the necks of patients, pregnant women, and babies. Some pendants representing Pazuzu also take the form of cylinder seals. In his role as a protector of humans and an exorcist of the female demon *Lamashtu*, he appears on plaques intended to ward her off: a large image of him watches over the scene to ensure the exorcism ritual is properly executed (see fig. 4.11). Pazuzu's image could also be used during magic rituals, as indicated by the standardized incantations usually engraved on representations of him.² Here, the inscription that identifies him covers the back of the wings and makes reference to his role as king of the winds: "I am Pazuzu, son of Hanbu, king of the *Lillu* demons; I have scaled the powerful mountains, they trembled; the contrary winds were



headed west; one by one, I broke their wings.”

With its simple forms, this statuette is one of the finest known exemplars of three-dimensional representations of Pazuzu.³ In terms of its size and the quality of its workmanship, it is comparable to one found during excavations at Tell Sheikh Hamed, in northern Syria, in 1989, which has been dated to the seventh century B.C. on the basis of its archaeological context and its more “baroque” iconography.⁴ BA-S

1. Primarily Heeßel 2002; Wiggermann 2004. 2. Borger 1987. 3. For the principal sources, see Lenormant 1873, p. 249, no. 95; Lenormant 1874, p. 48; Perrot and Chipiez 1884, pp. 495–96, fig. 222; Thureau-Dangin 1921, pp. 189–90; Pottier 1924, pp. 131–32, no. 146, fig. 31; Lambert 1970, p. 42; Spycket 1981, p. 374, fig. 242; Béatrice André in André and Ziegler 1982, p. 254, no. 204; Braun-Holzinger 1984, pp. 75–76, no. 254, pl. 52; Heeßel 2002, pp. 96, 119–20, pl. 12; Béatrice André-Salvini in André-Salvini 2008, pp. 216–17. 4. Hartmut Kühne in Rouault and Masetti-Rouault 1993, pp. 469–70, no. 366, ill. p. 374; Kühne 1993–94, pp. 270–72, fig. 97; Heeßel 2002, pp. 115–16, pl. 2.

140. Amulet depicting Lamashtu

Stone; H. 12.7 cm (5 in.), W. 6.4 cm (2½ in.)

Mesopotamia

Ca. 800 B.C.

The Trustees of the British Museum, London (BM 117759)

This fine-quality amulet was commissioned for a woman about to have a baby.¹ Depicted here in characteristic form is the demon Lamashtu, which of all evils feared in ancient Mesopotamia is the one of whom we have the clearest representations and understanding. Lamashtu preys on women in labor and on newborn babies; she is described as striding down the street looking for victims and can slip easily into a house and wreak destruction. Here she is shown riding on an ass, suckling a wolf and a hound, and clutching snakes. Around her are items associated with women: a spindle, pot, and comb, which allude to the established cuneiform ritual to banish her. In that ritual, according to a group of tablets dating to the first millennium B.C., she should be installed in a model boat with these necessary items as a distraction so that the rapid waters of the Tigris will carry her safely away.

The reverse of the amulet carries two Babylonian spells in cuneiform, the first referring to Lamashtu as a “seizer,” a “devourer,” and the daughter of Anu, god of the heavens, while the second describes her as a bringer of nightmare, “passing by the edge of my bed.” Other incantations list all her secret names, showing that the exorcist knew for certain who she was so that there could be no escape. It is possible that the remote origin of this malevolent creature lay



in the understandable fear and personification of the dangers of childbirth and infant mortality. For the sophisticated rich of the first millennium B.C., however, such apprehensions could be allayed by investing in a costly amulet such as this, which would be hung up over the bed during confinement and the first weeks of care. Other such amulets sometimes recruit the help of a fellow character from the shades: the demon Pazuzu, shown peeping over the top with a hideous grimace (see fig. 4.11). Since women often wore little Pazuzu heads of bronze on a necklace as a protection against Lamashtu, it is evident that the very sight of him as she glanced into a house was enough to encourage her to move along. IF

1. Budge 1930, p. 97, no. 3, pl. XIII. This amulet came to the British Museum from the archaeologist Leonard Woolley.

141. Orthostat with combat scene

Basalt; H. 62.6 cm (24¾ in.), W. 42 cm (16½ in.)

Tell Halaf

Syro-Hittite, ca. 9th century B.C.

The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore; Museum Purchase, 1944 (21.18)

This relief shows a central, unarmed figure, bearded and depicted frontally, attacked by two identical beardless enemies in a highly symmetrical composition. The legs of the three figures are entwined, as in scenes from Late Bronze Age Mitannian glyptic,¹ although since the feet do not actually press against the legs of the central figure the composition lacks real tension. The attackers plunge blades into the victim's head, on either side of a cylindrical element emerging from the top of the head; alternatively, their action could be understood as grasping projections sprouting from the head.²

The frontality of the central figure and the interlocked legs point in favor of identifying this relief as the battle with Humbaba, the first great adversary of the heroes Gilgamesh and Enkidu in the Gilgamesh epic.³ However, the relief lacks certain details associated with this scene as it appeared on Old Babylonian terracotta plaques, such as attackers with identifying features suggesting Gilgamesh and Enkidu, or a monstrous appearance for the central figure. The imagery seems to reflect the iconography of the terracotta plaques only indirectly and is closer to the scene as it appeared in Mitannian glyptic, in which the demonic and supernatural aspects of the victim were dropped. The transformed motif thereby retains some formal similarities with earlier representations, lending it a generally heroic character, but loses its direct connection to the Gilgamesh episode and may here be used to represent a local myth or historical episode.

Not found in earlier depictions are the features projecting from, or stabbing into, the victim's head. This aspect was likely influenced by Humbaba-related iconography originating in the Levant, in which the central victim in a three-figure combat is represented with horns or headdress elements that his adversaries seize. It can be seen on a Canaanite electrum and silver appliqué probably from Kamid el-Loz⁴ and on two Phoenician objects from Nimrud, a bronze bowl and an ivory plaque.⁵ These representations likely developed from the common motif of Humbaba's attackers holding him by the hair, seen, for example, on another Phoenician bowl from Nimrud.⁶ The locks grasped by the flanking attackers on this bowl appear as horn-like elements on the relief. These attributes vividly characterized the victim's monstrous identity, which was signaled iconographically during the Middle Bronze Age by the wrinkled



142. Relief plaque with the face of Humbaba

Ceramic and paint; H. 8 cm (3 1/8 in.), W. 7 cm (2 3/4 in.)
 Crete, Gortyn, acropolis sanctuary
 Orientalizing, ca. 7th century B.C.
 Archaeological Museum, Heraklion, Greece (Π 11526;
 GO1954–97a)

The plaque, which was made in a mold, depicts a grotesque face in relief. It has a flat back and is unpierced, and its edges closely follow the oval contour of the face. Dark brown paint was used to indicate certain facial details. The features include large eyes with accentuated pupils, large arched eyebrows, a closed mouth, and areas of dark paint possibly indicating a mustache and beard. Deep wrinkles flank the wide horizontal line of the mouth, forming arcs that descend from the nostrils and converge at the pointed chin. Across the forehead six spiral-formed curls diverge from the medial axis of the face. The rendering of the ears is stylized.

Although the face recalls that of the Greek Gorgon, it lacks the Gorgon's characteristic protruding tongue and grimacing mouth in which both rows of teeth are fully exposed. The iconographic type seen here probably derives instead from images of the Mesopotamian demon Humbaba or Huwawa, guardian of the Cedar Forest in the Babylonian epic of Gilgamesh. Humbaba's image served as an apotropaion in its Near Eastern context,¹ and the Gortyn plaque may have been made with a similar purpose in mind.

The plaque was discovered during excavations by the Italian School of Archaeology at Athens in 1954.² A votive, it was dedicated along with a second identical, complete example and

and grimacing face. After the face took on a more human aspect in the Late Bronze Age, the figure was still clearly indicated as monstrous by the addition of supernatural features. Not only does the relief demonstrate the survival of this important iconography into the early first millennium B.C., it also exemplifies the blending of cultural influences across time and space in the crucial border region occupied by the Syro-Hittite states (see cat. 40).

SBG

1. Graff 2012, pp. 50–56. 2. Winfried Orthmann (1971, p. 407) suggests that the relief carver misunderstood this element. 3. *Ibid.*, p. 412. 4. Hansen 1994; Graff 2012, no. 229. 5. For the bronze bowl, see Barnett 1935, pp. 202–3, and Graff 2012, no. 227; for the ivory plaque, see Herrmann 1986, p. 188, no. 929, pl. 240, and Graff 2012, no. 228. 6. Barnett 1960, pl. ivb; Graff 2012, no. 226. Apparently both motifs—seizing the hair and seizing projections from the head—existed simultaneously in the Phoenician artistic repertoire, suggesting that this specific three-figure combat scene had become open to experimentation and was no longer firmly connected with Humbaba by this time.



fragments of six others on the altar of the sanctuary at Gortyn, which was probably related to the cult of the goddess Athena. This location may indicate that they functioned as amulets to the worshiped deity. ET

1. See Graff 2012. 2. Levi 1955–56; Rizza and Scrinari 1968, pp. 155, 183, 260–61, pl. XXXII.

143. Plate with the Gorgon Medusa

Ceramic; H. 2.5 cm (1 in.), Diam. 32 cm (12½ in.)
Rhodes, Kameiros
Orientalizing, ca. 610–580 B.C.
The Trustees of the British Museum, London
(GR 1860.0404.2)

The representation of the Gorgon Medusa on this East Greek plate is a striking example of the way early Greek art gave shape to its mythical monsters through creative recourse to Near Eastern ideas and motifs.¹ A female figure wears a long belted garment that splits to reveal her advancing left leg. Her large, frontal face, framed by long tresses of hair, is square in shape, and bearded; her tongue protrudes from an immense mouth ringed with teeth and framed by tusklike fangs. From her shoulders extend two pairs of long curving wings, and from her hands dangles a pair of long-necked birds, probably geese. The distinctive visage identifies the figure as Medusa, whose “terrible and fearful” face (Homer, *Iliad* 5.742), according to Greek myth, could turn onlookers to stone and who was beheaded by the hero Perseus (Hesiod, *Theogony* 270–86). The story echoes the Babylonian myth of the hero Gilgamesh and the demon Humbaba, whose monstrous, masklike face as represented in Near Eastern art is one of several sources of inspiration for the Gorgon’s, along with those of other demons such as Lamashtu and Pazuzu.²

One of the earliest representations of the Medusa myth, on a Proto-Attic amphora of ca. 670 B.C. (fig. 4.4),³ shares with this plate the feature of the exposed leg and split skirt: a Near Eastern motif used in depictions of Babylonian and Assyrian supernatural figures, including deities such as Ishtar.⁴ Medusa’s bearded face on the plate is one step closer to the canonical form of the sixth and later centuries B.C., even if lacking the characteristic leonine nose and wrinkles. The tattoo-like rosettes on the figure’s skin (rare, but not unparalleled in the period) may have been intended to further emphasize her supernatural nature, together with her wings, a popular motif in East Greece from the seventh to the sixth century B.C.⁵ Their use in Greek art again owes much to Near Eastern inspiration; sets of four wings are common in



North Syrian and Assyrian art, though the curved shape seen here is East Greek.

The figure exemplifies a small group of seventh- to sixth-century B.C. representations that combine the Gorgon’s features with those of the Mistress of Animals (Potnia Theron in Greek), namely, a frontal figure flanked by animals.⁶ The term “Potnia Theron” is used in the *Iliad* (21.470) for the goddess Artemis, yet Aphrodite also appears as Mistress of Animals in Archaic Miletos,⁷ while on this plate it is Medusa (whose name means “protectress” or “mistress”) who holds power over nature, animals, and fertility. Close parallels for the figure on the plate appear on ivory fibula plaques from the Spartan sanctuary of Artemis Orthia (see cat. 136), in Corinthian vase painting,⁸ and in objects from East Greece, such as the seventh-century B.C. gold and electrum jewelry from Rhodes (see cat. 176a, b).⁹ Images of a Mistress of Animals from early seventh-century B.C. Greek art are somewhat indebted to Greek Bronze Age antecedents but inspired especially by Near Eastern concepts and imagery.¹⁰

Although no findspot is recorded, it is probable that the plate, like many others, was an offering in a tomb in the necropolis of Kameiros.¹¹ Unusually for painted East Dorian

plates, though, it features a single mythological figure.¹² Recent clay analysis has established Kos as a center of manufacture for this style of pottery.¹³ AV

1. Schiering 1957, pp. 103–4; Arias 1962, p. 280, no. 29; Kardara 1963, pp. 204–7, no. 1, figs. 173, 174; Walter 1968, pp. 79, 127, no. 626, pl. 130; E. Simon 1981, pp. 55–56, no. 32; Krauskopf 1988, p. 310, no. 280, pl. 182; Thomsen 2011, pp. 149–51, fig. 64, p. 428, no. O1; Herda 2012. 2. Krauskopf 1988, pp. 316–17; Burkert 1992, pp. 82–87. 3. E. Simon 1981, pp. 41–42, pl. 15. 4. Collon 1995, pp. 170–71, fig. 136d. 5. Thomsen 2011. 6. C. Christou 1968, pp. 136–53, especially pp. 137, 227, no. 1; cf. also Marinatos 2000. 7. Graeve 2013, pp. 12–13. 8. Cf. C. Christou 1968, pp. 61–77; e.g. Kahil 1984, p. 626, no. 23, and p. 627, no. 42. 9. Especially British Museum GR 1860.0201.76 (Jewellery 1131), which also features birds; see Kahil 1984, p. 627, no. 41, pl. 446. 10. Marinatos 2000; Barclay 2001. 11. Tomb contexts suggest a date range from the early to later sixth century B.C.; Walter-Karydi 1973, pp. 89–95; Cook and Dupont 1998, pp. 61–63; and Melina Filimonos-Tsopotou in Stampolidis, Tassoulas, and Filimonos-Tsopotou 2011, pp. 367–75. The Gorgon plate appears to be among the earliest examples of the group, to which the Euphorbos plate also belongs; Walter 1968, p. 127, no. 623, pl. 129.623. It shares some filling motifs with another early plate, decorated with a chimera; Walter-Karydi 1973, p. 149, no. 1070, pl. 133. 12. A rare later parallel is a plate with a running figure (Perseus); Walter-Karydi 1973, pp. 93, 150, no. 1121, pl. 136. 13. The chemical (NAA) group (RHc1), to which many examples (including the Euphorbos plate) belong, could be assigned to Kos, as already suspected by Hans Walter (1968, p. 79) on the basis of the clay of stamped amphora handles; Lentini 2008, pp. 111–19; Mommsen, Haugwitz, and Jöhrens 2010; and Herda 2012.

CAULDRONS

Joan Aruz, with technical comments by Jean-François de Lapérouse

Cauldrons with animal-shaped attachments are among the most impressive of the objects dedicated at sanctuaries in Greece and deposited in burials in Urartu, Phrygia, Cyprus, and Etruria. In an often-quoted passage from the *Histories* of Herodotos, the magnificence and cultic significance of these cauldrons are linked to wealth accumulated by seafaring. We learn that after a very profitable voyage beyond the Pillars of Hercules to Tartessos, captained by a man from Samos named Kolaïos,

*... the Samians withdrew six talents—a tenth of their profit—and commissioned a bronze vessel, in the style of an Argive bowl. There were protruding griffin heads around it; they dedicated the bowl in the temple of Hera, and supported it on a group of three kneeling bronze figures, each seven cubits high.*¹

These exotic creations of Near Eastern derivation provide evidence for the lavish use of bronze at a time when the alloy began to be utilized more sparingly for tools and weapons and when more easily obtained iron (although difficult to produce) became the metal of choice for such items.² A number of cauldrons adorned with the heads of lions and bulls have been attributed to both Near Eastern and western manufacture (see “Levantine and Orientalizing Luxury Goods from Etruscan Tombs” in this volume, pp. 313–17). Those with griffin protomes are thought by many scholars to be a Hellenic adaptation based on a Near Eastern type.³ They are occasionally depicted on Greek pottery together with native ring-handled tripod cauldrons. At least in the Greek world, both appear to have been “statements of power and social status” and to have functioned in a similar manner as elite votives and prizes, providing a “performative backdrop, if not the scenic epicenter, of . . . rituals of collective character.”⁴ On a large funerary vase from the Kerameikos cemetery that has ring handles characteristic of tripod cauldrons and a conical stand, cauldrons with griffin protome attachments are depicted in the midst of a dance performance, perhaps during the funeral rituals for the deceased.⁵

Burial and domestic contexts in Etruria suggest a somewhat different primary use for the vessel type, one more closely related to their



Fig. 4.14. Gordion, Tumulus MM, south wall of tomb chamber during excavation, 1957. Left: bronze cauldron MM-3 (Gordion inv. B-842); right: bronze cauldron MM-2 (Gordion inv. B-786)

original function in the Near East, where cauldrons are depicted on conical stands in Assyrian banqueting scenes.⁶ This appears to have also been the purpose of splendid cauldrons with siren- (human-headed bird) and bull-shaped attachments found in the royal tumulus at Gordion, which formed part of a set of tableware for an enormous funerary feast that may have had a dedicatory component (fig. 4.14).⁷ Patrick McGovern has identified the original contents of some cauldrons as a fermented beverage that combined grape wine, barley beer, and honey mead. After this beverage had been poured into drinking vessels, the empty cauldrons were filled with jars of leftover spicy stew from the funerary meal.⁸

In a pit at Ficana, in Latium, associated with the remains of a house, a seventh-century B.C. ceramic banquet set for more than thirty people was discovered. Along with drinking vessels and plates in forms recalling Phoenician types, the set included four large stands for cauldrons with outward-facing griffin protomes, which appear to imitate the bronze versions from sites such as Praeneste. A similar phenomenon also occurred in the cemetery at Pizzo Piede in Narce, not far from the Etruscan city of Veii (fig. 4.15).⁹ Annette Rathje notes that Phoenician wine amphorae have been found in Latium and that wine and drinking sets for banqueting were favorite items of east-west trade.¹⁰

The griffins on the ceramic and bronze cauldrons from Italy, like those found in a royal

burial at Salamis, on Cyprus, share some characteristic features with the numerous griffin attachments of Greek manufacture found in the sanctuaries of the Aegean islands and the Greek mainland.¹¹ Another supernatural creature that may be combined with griffin heads on cauldrons found in Greece and Italy is the siren.¹² With a body composed of elaborate wings and tail feathers, this figure of Near Eastern derivation evokes imagery of the sea nymphs that lured sailors to a watery grave in Greek mythology (fig. 4.5). Most recovered examples are female, but there are also bearded males, who resemble the four-winged figures wearing elaborate garments depicted on some engraved tridacna shells (see “Tridacna Shell” in this volume, pp. 163–64). Some male siren attachments are Janus-headed and some have distinctive headgear. Based on surviving examples from Phrygia, Greece, and Etruria that are still attached to cauldrons (cat. 147, fig. 4.14), sirens were placed on the rim in antithetical pairs facing in, usually with loop handles at their backs. A rare exception is the cauldron from the royal tomb at Salamis, where uniquely rendered Janus-headed sirens with modeled bodies and griffin protomes attached to their wings face out and do not act as vessel handles (cat. 76a).

Facial characteristics and hairstyles have allowed scholars to identify siren attachments found in the Near East as products of Mesopotamian (cats. 149b, 150) or, more frequently, North Syrian workshops, as in the case of the

two cauldrons at Gordion, each of which has four sirens. Their presence in the king's tomb (Tumulus MM) implies that they arrived as items of elite gift exchange, although, with the redating of the tomb to around 740 B.C., one cannot be certain that they are "material reflections of an alliance, like that between Phrygia and Carchemish in 717 B.C.," as Oscar White Muscarella has suggested.¹³ The cauldrons that arrived in Greek sanctuaries—from Samos and Rhodes to Olympia—inspired imitations in the distinctive Daedalic style. The adaptation of this foreign type of vessel has been considered by Muscarella to be among the best evidence for the Orientalizing phenomenon.¹⁴

Technical Comments

Cauldron attachments and protomes, which survive in far greater numbers than the thin-walled vessels to which they were joined, provide important evidence of the westward transmission of Near Eastern motifs and metallurgical technology during the Orientalizing period. Attachments unearthed in Greece have

been identified as imports or locally produced imitations based on stylistic analysis and comparison with examples recovered from excavations in the Near East. Although the attribution of individual examples remains problematic, Muscarella's review of the available evidence has clarified the broad outlines of this process.¹⁵

Cast attachments served a functional purpose, allowing the cauldrons to be suspended in lieu of or in addition to resting on a conical stand or tripod. In order to distribute the weight evenly and stiffen the rim of the vessels, it was necessary that the joining rivets be spaced apart. In early bull's-head attachments, such as those found on a cauldron in Tumulus MM at Gordion, such spacing was achieved using a simple T-shaped plate at the base of the neck. This arrangement evolved into a much broader, winged form that has outstretched wing and tail feathers, which on larger cauldrons are often delineated with chasing.

Winged-bull attachments found in the Near East can be divided into two groups: an Urartian type, in which the head was made separately and inserted into a separate winged plate without any suspension rings (the head itself being used for suspension), and a more general Near Eastern type that was cast in one piece with a ring for suspension. No example of the former type has been found outside of an Urartian context, perhaps indicating that the direct influence of Urartian metalworking was not as widespread as sometimes supposed.¹⁶ Of the approximately forty winged-bull attachments found in Greece, no more than six (from six different cauldrons) appear to be imports.

Siren attachments may be a slightly later variation of the bull's-head type. Imported and locally produced siren attachments can be distinguished by discernible differences in facial traits and hairstyles. Nearly two-thirds of the almost ninety extant siren attachments have been recovered from Greek soil, and slightly more than half of these appear to have been imported, most likely from production centers in North Syria. The close similarities between imported and domestically produced bull's-head and siren attachments attest to the high value placed on Near Eastern-style cauldrons as dedicatory objects and the degree to which the forms and style of the foreign prototypes were studied by local craftsmen and assimilated into their artistic repertoire.

Identifying the origin of the griffin protomes that rise dramatically from the rims of cauldrons found in Greece and Etruria is more problematic. Most likely serving an apotropaic function, these protomes have often been found on Near Eastern cauldrons together with siren attachments. While the griffin was a eastern invention,

similar protomes are not found on any cauldrons or depictions of cauldrons in the Near East. The earliest examples were made of worked copper-alloy sheet over a bitumen core; later versions were either partially or fully cast. Pierre Aman-dry has argued that the use of bitumen points to Near Eastern manufacture.¹⁷ However, Greek craftsmen had their own sources, such as the pools of bitumen cited by Herodotos near Limni Keri, on Zakynthos, and the possibility of bitumen being traded as a commodity cannot be excluded. Moreover, J. L. Benson, expanding on Ulf Jantzen's study, has shown that these griffins differ from the more naturalistic renderings found in Near Eastern art.¹⁸ Indeed, the four large griffin heads originally attached to the same cauldron from Olympia, one now in the collection of The Metropolitan Museum of Art (1972.118.54), reflect an amalgam of Near Eastern animal imagery with the tendency toward geometric abstraction found in earlier Hellenic art, resulting in works of considerable elegance and dramatic power achieved by the technique of lost-wax casting.¹⁹ Closely related, at least in function, are the lion-head protomes found on cauldrons in Etruria (cat. 197).

Owing to the uncertainties introduced by the frequent reuse of metal, compositional analysis does not provide a reliable means of determining the provenance of cauldron attachments. One can assume, nevertheless, that metal craftsmen in the west paid close attention to the appearance and working qualities of the imported copper-alloy objects that they sought to emulate. These qualities largely depended on the amounts of tin and lead present in the copper alloy: tin imparting strength and hardness, lead facilitating the flow of the metal during casting. The cauldrons themselves were made using relatively pure copper, which is malleable and can be worked into shape by hammering, providing it is frequently heated (or annealed) to relieve work-induced hardness and restore its ductility.

Unlike iron and, to a lesser extent, copper, sources of tin were relatively rare, and supply often depended on long-distance trade. Although tin is found in copper-alloy objects produced in mainland Greece during the Mycenaean period (until the mid-11th century B.C.) and continued to be available in Cyprus and Crete in succeeding centuries, it was largely absent in copper-alloy objects from the Greek homeland until the Late Geometric period (second half of the 8th century B.C.).²⁰ It has been suggested that the use of tin in cauldron attachments made in Greece reflects the westward migration of Near Eastern metalworkers,²¹ but it is more likely that the renewed trade that brought their handiwork to Greece and Etruria also brought tin and other useful commodities.



Fig. 4.15. Ceramic cauldron and stand. Etruscan, Orientalizing. Narce, Pizzo Piede necropolis, tomb 19 (XLI). Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia, Rome

144. Griffin cauldron attachment

Bronze; H. 28 cm (11 in.), Diam. of ring at base 9.7 cm (3¾ in.)

Rhodes, Kameiros, deposit of so-called Temple A
Orientalizing, mid-7th century B.C.
Archaeological Museum, Rhodes, Greece (14714)

The neck of this griffin protome is long and S-shaped, the beak wide-open, the ears raised, and the eyes almond-shaped with hollow interiors where the irises would have been inlaid in a different material. The eyes, beak, and ears are accentuated with relief lines. On top of the head there is the so-called club, a round knob that is a common attribute of Greek griffins. The neck, with the exception of the wide band around the base, is densely covered with scales interrupted by long curls in the form of smooth, thin bands that start behind the ears, fall to the sides of the neck, and end in spirals just a little above the base. The curl bands are decorated with groups of four incised short lines.

This protome was attached with rivets to the rim of a bronze cauldron. Such cauldrons with griffin protomes were precious offerings at important Greek sanctuaries, including Olympia, the Acropolis of Athens, Delos, and other sites. They have been found in princely tombs in Etruria and Latium.¹ In Greece, they were manufactured from the end of the eighth century B.C. and the beginning of the seventh, with production continuing during the sixth century as well. The workshops of Olympia, others in the Peloponnese, and Samos were especially important. It is believed that workshops also existed in Ionia, the Greek islands, Italy, and elsewhere.² According to one opinion, there may have been a workshop on Rhodes as well, although very few protomes have so far been discovered on the island.³ The Peloponnesian workshops must have played a pioneering role, since it was there that the oldest examples were created, by shaping hammered bronze sheet around a bitumen core. Both the Samian and Olympian workshops produced great numbers of cast protomes, with Samos reaching its peak of production around the middle of the seventh century B.C., slightly later than the workshop of Olympia. This griffin from Rhodes has been attributed to the Samian workshop,⁴ as have a second, smaller example, also from the Kameiros deposit,⁵ and two griffins now in the British Museum, London, one from Rhodes and the other from Kalymnos.⁶

The prototypes for the Greek cauldrons originated in the Near East and were decorated with handles in the form of bull, lion, and siren protomes. However, the addition of griffin protomes to a cauldron is considered by some scholars to be a Greek innovation, since it is not

found in the Near East.⁷ The griffin had certainly been known since the Bronze Age in the Near East, and from there it was transported to Greece, with the painted griffins guarding the throne in Knossos as a famous example of the motif. During the Orientalizing period, the griffin reappears in the decorative repertoire of Greek art, along with other motifs borrowed from the Near East, and certain of its features are believed to have come from Neo-Hittite art.⁸ This fantastic creature, full of animalistic strength, demonstrates the interest in the exotic typical of Greek art during this period. In addition to an apotropaic and protective role, it must also have symbolized divine presence and perhaps political power,⁹ which would have added prestige to the valuable offerings as well as to their illustrious patrons.¹⁰ Herodotos (4.152) has preserved the name of one of them: Kolaios, a Samian merchant, who dedicated to the Heraion of Samos a colossal cauldron approximately 5 meters in height, set on a base of kneeling human figures. With his precious offering, Kolaios wished to elevate his position in local society and to thank the gods for a successful trading agreement with distant Tartessos in Spain. Herodotos's narration indicates the importance of bronze cauldrons as well as of the trading activities of the time, which brought various cultures from one end of the Mediterranean to the other and resulted in creative contacts and interaction.

VP



1. For compilations of examples, see Bernardini 2006, pp. 65–66, n. 566, and Stampolidis 2003b, pp. 421, 425–30. 2. For the workshops, see Jantzen 1955; H.-V. Herrmann 1979, especially pp. 155–60; Gehrig 2004, pp. 152–76. 3. H.-V. Herrmann 1979, p. 157; Gehrig 2004, pp. 103–4. 4. For the present work, see Jacopi 1932–33, pp. 343–44, fig. 76; Jantzen 1955, p. 17, no. 56, and p. 61; Bernardini 2006, pp. 65–66, no. 59, pl. XIV. See also H.-V. Herrmann 1979, p. 39, no. G75, pl. 45 and p. 111, n. 38. 5. Jacopi 1932–33, p. 344, fig. 77; Jantzen 1955, p. 17, no. 57, and p. 61; Bernardini 2006, pp. 66–67, no. 60, pl. XIV. 6. Jantzen 1955, p. 20, no. 88, pl. 33, and p. 71 (Rhodes), and p. 23, no. 117, pl. 41.1 and p. 74 (Kalymnos). See also Blinkenberg 1931, p. 218, no. 707 (fragments from four hammered protomes). 7. For the relations with the Near East, see Jantzen 1955, pp. 41–52; H.-V. Herrmann 1979, pp. 136–46; Akurgal 1992; and Gehrig 2004, pp. 158–68. 8. For the origins and iconography of the griffin, see Akurgal 1992; Benson 1960, pp. 58–65; Goldman 1960; H.-V. Herrmann 1979, pp. 10–13; and Bernardini 2006, p. 66, n. 568. 9. For griffin symbolism, see Benson 1960, pp. 65–68; Goldman 1960, pp. 327–28; H.-V. Herrmann 1979, pp. 5–7; and Gehrig 2004, pp. 168–71. 10. For colossal cauldrons and their patrons, see Mattusch 1990.

145. Griffin cauldron attachment

Bronze; H. 11.1 cm (4 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.)
Samos, Heraion, south of the altar
Orientalizing, 570 B.C.
Archaeological Museum, Vathy, Samos, Greece
(B 1645/A 708)

On top of this griffin's head is a globular knob with spiral curls to the left and right and a small curl in relief at the front.¹ Larger curls executed in relief start from the back of the head and fall to the neck, where they form small discoid protrusions without further decoration. Nine holes for attaching the protome to the rim of a cauldron are located in the narrow neck ring, which is decorated with an element in the shape of a polygon. The ends of the ears are damaged; the absence of a section of the ring at the front of the neck is probably a result of the protome's manufacture. The neck is hollow, but the head is solid-cast. The eyes, which would originally have been inlaid with a contrasting material, are encircled by incised eyelashes.



Herodotos mentions the use of griffin protomes to decorate the rims of bronze cauldrons.² Samos was one of the centers for the production and export of griffin protomes to Etruria and beyond. Archaeological excavations at the Heraion of Samos uncovered the largest group of early hammered griffins as well as an even larger group of locally made, cast-metal examples dating to the seventh century B.C. The latter were made with molds³ in the workshops of Samos and reached up to 80 centimeters in height. Smaller protomes dated to 600–575 B.C., such as this example, form an additional group. MV-S

1. Homann-Wedeking 1965, p. 433, fig. 7, text 439; Gehrig 2004, pp. 203–4, no. 64, pl. 23. 2. Herodotos 4.152. 3. See Gehrig 2004, pp. 203–4, no. 64, pl. 23.

146. Cauldron with griffin protomes

Ceramic and paint; H. 21 cm (8 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.), max. Diam. 33 cm (13 in.)
Crete, Afrati, Tomb L
Orientalizing, 7th century B.C.
Archaeological Museum, Heraklion, Greece (I7944)

Deposited in a tomb as a burial gift, this cauldron has a deep globular body and is decorated with three modeled griffin protomes and elaborate painted motifs. The lower part is covered

with painted bands and a row of concentric circles. The upper part is divided into six panels. In three of the panels, griffins' heads in the round and their painted bodies are placed on the shoulder of the vessel and flanked by palmettes and lozenges. Decoration in the other panels includes a seated sphinx with a diadem and collar enclosed by two vertical meander bands; two pairs of birds facing one another; and a seated lion.

Herodotos gives an account (4.152) of a ship's captain named Kolaios, from Samos, who had a successful commercial venture at Tartessos, in southern Spain, and upon his return dedicated a bronze cauldron with attached griffin protomes to the sanctuary of Hera. The story indicates the great value attached to such vessels and explains the popularity of ceramic imitations of metal cauldrons with griffin attachments during the early Iron Age in Greece. Clay reproductions of such vessels in Crete have also been found in Gortyn and Knossos. It is generally assumed that the shape of the vessel was inspired by Near Eastern bronze cauldrons with griffin's or lion's heads, but the precise source and the route by which this type reached the Aegean through the complex network of contacts, influences, and inspirations in the Mediterranean during the Late Geometric–Archaic period remain open questions. KA

147. Cauldron fragment with siren attachment

Bronze; H. 16.5 cm (6½ in.)
Boiotia, temple of Apollo Ptoon
North Syrian, late 8th–early 7th century B.C.
National Archaeological Museum, Athens (X 7384a)

This is one of two rim and shoulder fragments of a cauldron excavated at the temple of Apollo Ptoon in Boiotia that each had an attachment in the form of a siren.¹ The ring on the back of the figure served originally as a handle. Two rivets on the edges of the wings and one on the figure's tail affixed the attachment to the vessel.

The siren is depicted with spread wings and extended arms overlapping the wings. A semi-circle executed in relief with rich incised decoration marks the transition between the wings and the body. Large eyes with accentuated eyelids in relief, a generous mouth with strong, fleshy lips, and a thick nose characterize the creature's triangular face. The hair is flat on top, uniformly tufted at the sides of the neck, and divided at

the back into horizontal bands with incised vertical lines—a rendition with parallels in Assyrian art.² The manner in which the incised details of the plumage are represented is also characteristic of Near Eastern siren attachments.³ The figure wears clothing with rich incised and stippled decoration as well as a necklace. The iconographic model for the siren may have been depictions of Ashur, god of the heavens and primary deity of the Assyrians, as a bearded male protome emerging from a winged sun disc.⁴

The cauldron, which would have stood on a tripod, might have also been decorated with attachments in the form of a griffin or lion protome or in a combination of both.⁵ It was likely manufactured at a Near Eastern center of production by artisans influenced by Assyrian art. Its secondary use, as an object dedicated to the temple of Apollo Ptoon, attests to the active connections between the Greeks and the people of the Near East during the early first millennium B.C.

NP

1. H.-V. Herrmann 1966, p. 58, nos. 52, 53. Ducat 1971, pp. 65–72, no. 42, pls. XIII–XV. A similar fragment of the same vessel is on view at the National Archaeological Museum, Athens (X 7382b). The cauldron's total diameter was estimated by the excavator to be approximately 80 centimeters. See *ibid.*, p. 66 n. 1. 2. H.-V. Herrmann 1966, p. 33. 3. *Ibid.*, p. 34. 4. For the winged sun-disc motif, see cat. 183. 5. Ducat 1971, pp. 67, 72.

148a, b. Siren cauldron attachments

Bronze
a. H. 16 cm (6¼ in.), W. 22.5 cm (8⅞ in.)
b. H. 14.5 cm (5¾ in.), W. 23.5 cm (9¼ in.)
Vetulonia, Circolo dei Lebeti
North Syrian, late 8th–early 7th century B.C.
Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Florence (9619/a, b)

In 1905 two large circular graves were excavated by Isidoro Falchi and Luigi Pernier in the area of Vetulonia. One was named the Circolo dei Lebeti after the two large cauldrons buried within the chamber. The grave circle, more than 21 meters in diameter, was faced with stone slabs around the perimeter and had a single rectangular burial pit roughly in the middle.¹ The two large bronze cauldrons were found in the southwestern corner of the pit together with other bronze and iron fragments, including what are probably the remains of a tripod stand for one of the cauldrons. Other noteworthy finds in the grave included two iron chariot wheels, several bronze discs, and six bronze horse bits. In the larger cauldron was an amber scaraboid seal bearing the incised image of a quadruped monster, which has been interpreted as local in origin with Levantine influence.²

The bronze cauldrons originally had diameters of 53 and 65 centimeters. Two winged sirens and six lion protomes were still attached to the rim of the larger one when found.³ The second



147, detail of front





148a



148b

cauldron bore two winged Janus-headed bearded figures and six griffin heads.⁴ In both cases the winged figures, each bearing a ring on the back that functioned as a handle, were arranged symmetrically facing each other across the rim.

The Vetulonia sirens find exact parallels on cauldrons from other Greek and Near Eastern sites, especially Olympia and Gordion. Cast in bronze and bearing chased details on their surfaces, they were attached to the cauldron rim by three rivets. The sirens differ from one another in the details of their garments: one garment (cat. 148a) has vertical bands, rosettes, and a V-shaped neck, while the other (cat. 148b) features a row of triangles on the breast and a neckband with hatched lines and circles. The hair treatment is also slightly different, with the latter siren having locks characterized by incised horizontal lines, and the former a single horizontal line running over the locks at the level of the shoulders.

Other cauldrons have been found in Etruria, namely, in the Regolini-Galassi Tomb, Caere,⁵

and the Barberini and Bernardini Tombs, Praeneste. However, it is only in the Bernardini Tomb that a similar cauldron appears:⁶ there, two winged sirens stand symmetrically among a row of six griffin protomes, three on each side, exactly as in Vetulonia. The sirens are similar to those from Vetulonia, with only slight differences in the treatment of feathers, garments, and coiffure. It is most likely that both the Vetulonia and Praeneste cauldrons were imported from North Syria, the core area of Syro-Hittite culture.⁷ ss

1. Falchi and Pernier 1913, p. 429. 2. *Ibid.*, p. 430, fig. 12; Boardman 1990, pp. 3–4; and, more recently, Giovanelli 2012, pp. 189–90. 3. Falchi and Pernier 1913, p. 430, figs. 7, 8; H.-V. Herrmann 1966, pl. 6. 4. Falchi and Pernier 1913, pp. 433–34, figs. 14, 15; Muscarella 1962, pl. 103:c; H.-V. Herrmann 1966, pl. 7. 5. Pareti 1947, p. 234, no. 196, pls. XX, XXI (cauldron with six lion protomes facing inward); *ibid.*, pp. 306–7, nos. 307, 308, pl. XL (two cauldrons with five lion protomes facing outward); Sannibale 2012, p. 312; Maurizio Sannibale, “Lebete con cinque protomi,” in Stampolidis and Giannopoulou 2012, p. 320, no. 7. 6. Canciani and Hase 1979, pp. 46–47, pls. 27, 31:1–3. 7. Muscarella 1962; H.-V. Herrmann 1966, pp. 71–81; Winter 1988, pp. 198 and 207; for a different opinion, see K. R. Maxwell-Hyslop (1956, p. 151), who asserted an Urartian origin.

149a, b. Siren cauldron attachments

Bronze

a. H. 13.5 cm (5 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.), W. 22 cm (8 $\frac{5}{8}$ in.)

Greece, Delphi

b. H. 6 cm (2 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.), max. W. 14.5 cm (5 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.)

Greece, Delphi, Hermeion

Ca. 725–675 B.C.

Archaeological Museum, Delphi, Greece (8397, 8395)

Winged protomes identified as mythical sirens, such as these two examples,¹ were frequently used as decorative attachments for bronze cauldrons made in the Near East and for their Orientalizing imitations. The face of one (cat. 149a) is triangular and is characterized by almond-shaped eyes, strong eyebrows, fleshy lips, a narrow forehead, and the so-called archaic smile. The coiffure imitates an Egyptian wig, parted in the middle. A necklace with pearl-like beads is indicated by incision. The wings and the tail have scalloped edges and are decorated with an incised herringbone pattern with semi-circles, representing the plumage. Part of the



149a



149b

left wing is missing. The curved protrusion above the head invokes representations of crests on the helmets of Near Eastern warriors.

The other attachment (cat. 149b) displays a shorter tail, with the outer surface of the wings and tail decorated with incised herringbone and chevron patterns. The features are softly modeled, and the hair rests on the shoulders in two voluminous bunches. On the chest is an incised decoration of chevrons.

Each protome would have been fastened by rivets to the wall of the cauldron at the rim, as suggested by the two holes on the wings of catalogue number 149b. Two of the three rivets that would have kept catalogue number 149a in place still remain. On the back of each object is a semicircular ring into which a free-swinging loop handle would have been inserted for transporting the cauldron.

The greatest number of cauldron attachments from Greece have been discovered in sanctuaries, as were these two examples, but they have also been found as grave offerings. Their origin cannot often be determined with certainty, since during this period Greek craftsmen absorbed



150

and transformed Near Eastern imagery, creating an entirely new, hybrid artistic idiom. It has not been ascertained whether these two sirens originated from a Near Eastern workshop or from local artisans stimulated by foreign imagery to produce objects in the Orientalizing style. AP

1. Muscarella 1962; Rolley 1979, fig. 16; *Guide de Delphes* 1991, p. 153; Muscarella 1992, pp. 16–24, pl. 1b; Stampolidis 2003c, p. 65 (694).

150. Siren cauldron attachment

Bronze; W. 21.6 cm (8½ in.), H. 19 cm (7½ in.)
 Babylonian (?), ca. 700–500 B.C.
 The Trustees of the British Museum, London (ME 22494)

This fine cauldron attachment is cast in the form of a female siren with outspread wings, with a ring at the back to allow the vessel to be carried.¹ It has been suggested that the attachment might be Babylonian, and certainly the style, general appearance, and hairstyle find parallels in Mesopotamian art of the late seventh century B.C. The object has sometimes been described as coming from Nimrud, but this is probably a misunderstanding arising from the gallery in which it was originally displayed at the British Museum. In fact, the attachment most likely derives from the excavations of Hormuzd Rassam, either at Toprakkale or, more probably, in Babylonia. Although objects from Austen Henry Layard's excavations at Nimrud and elsewhere are largely well documented, this is not the case for material from Rassam's excavations in Babylonia between 1879 and 1882, for which there is often no exact information about the discoveries.²

If this attachment is in fact Babylonian, then by analogy it is possible to identify other similar attachments, known from Greece and elsewhere, as Assyrian or Babylonian (see cat. 149b). Considerable stylistic variation in the siren attachments found in the west also suggests that some, including this example, are the work of Near Eastern craftsmanship, while others are local products. NT

1. Curtis 1994b, pp. 11–14, figs. 23, 24. 2. Reade 1993, pp. 39–62.

151. Storage vessel with bull's heads

Ceramic; H. 50 cm (19¾ in.), Diam. 51 cm (20⅝ in.)
 Karmir Blur
 Urartian, 8th–7th century B.C.
 History Museum of Armenia, Yerevan (2010–20)

The lip of this large vessel, called a *karas*, is decorated with a row of yellow and gray rectangles.



It has a black, polished surface, wide neck, and small base. The ornamental band running along the center of the body is decorated with black and cinnamon-colored circles on a yellowish base. Three sculpted bull's heads are attached along the band. This example is a ceramic imitation of a type of Urartian bronze vessel frequently decorated with attachments in the shape of bull's and lion's heads.¹ IM

1. See Piotrovskii 1950, pp. 70–71, fig. 43, and Piotrovskii 1962, p. 110, fig. 74.



151, detail

152. Handle in the form of a winged bull's head

Copper alloy; H. 16.5 cm (6½ in.), W. 17.5 cm (6⅞ in.)
 Toprakkale
 Urartian, 8th–7th century B.C.
 The Trustees of The British Museum, London (ME 91242)

Few examples of large Urartian copper-alloy cauldrons remain intact, but their handle attachments, often shaped like winged bulls, sirens, and lions, have survived in larger numbers. Such cauldrons were exported from the Near East to Cyprus, Greece, and Italy and in turn stimulated the production of local copies.¹ The term “cauldron” is perhaps misleading, as these were probably not used for cooking but for holding water or wine or mixing the two.²

This handle in the form of a winged bull's head is one of a pair found during excavations conducted at Toprakkale in eastern Anatolia in 1880 by Captain Emilius Clayton, Dr. G. C. Reynolds, and Hormuzd Rassam on behalf of the British Museum.³ The wings were fastened to the wall of the vessel by rivets. Originally there may have been four such heads located just below the vessel's rim; an example found in a chamber tomb at Altuntepe displays this configuration.⁴

Large metal cauldrons on tripods were placed outside temples, as depicted on an Assyrian

relief from the palace of Sargon II at Khorsabad showing the sack of the temple at Musasir (see fig. 2.16).⁵ Sargon's account of this campaign lists "enormous quantities of metal vessels taken from the temple as booty."⁶

A F

1. Merhav 1991b, pp. 226–34; Van Loon 1966, pp. 103–14.
 2. Van Loon 1966, p. 103. 3. Found with ME 91240; see Barnett 1950. 4. Merhav 1991b, pp. 227–28, fig. 7. 5. The relief itself was lost during shipment but published as a drawing in Botta and Flandin 1849, pls. 140, 141. 6. Mayer 1979.

153. Bull protome

Bronze; H. 14.5 cm (5¾ in.), W. 11 cm (4⅜ in.)

Delphi, sanctuary of Apollo

8th–7th century B.C.

Archaeological Museum, Delphi, Greece (2351)

Originally employed as a cauldron attachment, this cast bull protome with a flattened forehead and bulging eyes retains one of its crescent-shaped horns.¹ The nape of the neck has a ring for the insertion of a loop handle that would have been used to transport the cauldron. To the left and right of the neck are winglike protrusions, one of which still has a hole through which a rivet was inserted to fasten the protome to the wall of the cauldron. This particular protome belongs to a group of works of Near Eastern origin that were transported in the seventh century B.C. to the Aegean, where they inspired Greek artists to create new types of objects combining Near Eastern and Greek styles and imagery.

Throughout antiquity, bulls played crucial roles in agricultural and pastoral societies, especially through ensuring the continued fertility of the herd. As a result, they were widely associated with primary deities in many Near Eastern and Mediterranean societies.² Bulls were the sacred animals of several gods, including Apis in Egypt, El of the Canaanites, and the Greek Zeus. In ancient Greek mythology, the animal was also associated with fertility gods such as Helios (Sun), Artemis, Selene (Moon), and Dionysos. By the time this representation was created, bulls' horns had been used for millennia to indicate divinity in Near Eastern art, and it is possible that the image of the bull still retained some of this divine power.

A P

1. Perdrizet 1908, p. 77, no. 329, and pl. 14, no. 2; Muscarella 1992, pp. 25–35. 2. See *Bull in the Mediterranean World* 2003.





154. Cauldron with bull's-head attachments

Bronze; H. 28 cm (11 in.), Diam. 36.5 cm (14 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.)
 Said to be from Cumae
 North Syrian(?), late 8th–early 7th century B.C.
 Nationalmuseet, Copenhagen (4952)

Acquired in 1900 from an antiquities dealer in Naples, this bronze cauldron was allegedly found at Cumae. Some scholars have argued in favor of Urartu or Phrygia in Anatolia as its source, but the cauldron's bull's-head attachments are perhaps best paralleled in the Syro-Hittite art of North Syria.¹ Cumae, the first Greek colony on the Italian mainland, was founded about 725 B.C., judging by the date of the earliest finds made at the site.² According to the geographer Strabo (5.4.14), one of its two founders, Hippokles, originated from Chalkis on the Greek island of Euboea. Euboians were among the first Greeks to establish trade connections with the northern Levant.³ Hence, they formed a link of sorts—together with Phoenician traders, who

were also active players on both scenes—between the Near East and the Greek world. Such connections may help to explain why Near Eastern objects such as cauldrons with attachments in the form of griffins, sphinxes, and bulls became popular in the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. in the Aegean and Italy, where local craftsmen produced imitations of them. In its new home, the Cumae cauldron was probably used first as a prestigious bowl for mixing wine and water at elite banquets and later as an urn in a burial, perhaps accompanying its erstwhile owner.⁴ JL

1. Breitenstein 1952, pp. 12–13 n. 10, fig. 5; Amandry 1956, pp. 242–43, pl. 28; H.-V. Herrmann 1966, pp. 7, 84 n. 27, 118, 120, 122, 123, 128, 129 n. 45, 142 n. 1; Liepmann 1968, pp. 54–56; Buhl 1974, p. 74, no. 74; Kyrieleis 1977, pp. 74–75 n. 29; Gehrig and Niemeyer 1990, pp. 188–89, no. 143; Boardman 1999, pp. 65–66, no. 104, 169 n. 27, fig. 42; Coldstream 2003, p. 213 n. 33.
 2. Ridgway 1992, pp. 118–20; Boardman 1999, pp. 168–69; Coldstream 2003, pp. 212–15; K. Walker 2004, p. 140; Osborne 2009, pp. 90–92.
 3. K. Walker 2004, pp. 139–40.
 4. See, for instance, Rathje 1995 and Pontrandolfo 1995.



154, detail

NEAR EASTERN IMPORTS AND IMAGERY ON CRETE DURING THE EARLY IRON AGE

Nicholas Chr. Stampolidis

Any archaeological treatise dealing directly or indirectly with the changes that took place throughout the Mediterranean—more in its eastern but also in its central and western regions—during the Early Iron Age (12th–7th century B.C.)¹ must address, irrespective of the reasons that caused these changes, the role of Crete as well as that of Cyprus and, especially, the transition from bronze to iron as a primary material, with the resulting introduction of new technology. These two great islands were in one way or another the protagonists along the routes of the Mediterranean, named the Great Green Sea in Egyptian texts and the wine-dark sea in Homer.² During the last fifteen years there have been numerous studies, international conferences, and essays in exhibition catalogues on the subject of imports to Crete from other areas in the eastern Mediterranean, including Egypt and the Near East.³ This essay focuses on one dimension of critical importance in relation to Crete: the island's contacts and imports from regions to the east and the way they were received by Cretan societies of the Early Iron Age. In our effort, we will focus mainly on objects included in this exhibition.

For millennia, natural elements in the form of winds and sea currents⁴ had directed ancient seagoing ships between Crete and Cyprus, making the islands great hubs for the circulation of people and ideas.⁵ Crete, in particular, is located at the center of a crossroads that connects the Balkan Peninsula and mainland Greece to North Africa, and the Near East to regions to the west. At the same time, the natural wealth of the local economies of both islands, which included agriculture, animal husbandry, botany, and metal and mining industries,⁶ combined with the unique character of the people—their curious, intelligent, voyage-loving, industrious, and creative spirit as well as their imagination and ability to synthesize different traditions—created the preconditions for the development of a distinctive artistic style and of remarkable craft techniques during the Early Iron Age.

It is important to note in this context that the duration of the so-called Dark Ages, especially on Crete, has recently been reduced to a span of a single generation, down from two hundred years, as was previously believed by archaeologists,

although the phrase continues to be used to define the history of many other regions. The brevity of Crete's period of isolation is a key to understanding the development of art during this period, as are the island's connections to Cyprus—and via Asia Minor and Cyprus to the eastern Mediterranean and the Near East (or vice versa)—as well as the relationships between Euboia and the Cyclades and Crete and Cyprus throughout the Early Iron Age, except for some windows or gaps.⁷

From the twelfth through the tenth century B.C.—after the decline of the Creto-Mycenaean centers of the Peloponnese, mainland Greece, and Crete, and contemporary with turmoil in the Aegean Islands and the eastern Mediterranean⁸—the documented migration of Achaeans to Cyprus⁹ created the preconditions necessary for the continuation of sea trade in the Mediterranean (compare contacts with Crete and finds as far away as Sardinia).¹⁰ Indeed, it is not surprising that, after the collapse of Bronze Age palatial societies, the Cypro-Achaeans resumed trade using sea routes that had been established by the Mycenaeans, such as those from the Aegean to the western coasts of central Italy and Sardinia as well as to Iberia (Córdoba).¹¹ New corridors of interaction were also developed in the northern Aegean alongside Euboian-Cycladic initiatives,¹² which extended along the eastern Mediterranean coast to Crete and Cyprus and set the stage for Phoenician expansion.

In addition, the *Story of Wenamun*¹³—in which the protagonist, a priest of Amun, is thwarted in his long voyage to secure cedar logs to make the god's sacred barque—refers to strong Egyptian contacts with the cities of the Syro-Palestinian coast. Both ancient written sources and archaeological remains indicate that the agreements and collaborations between Tyrians and Israel beginning in the tenth century B.C. were aimed at bypassing what remained of the Egyptian monopoly to the east and south (i.e., via the Red Sea) at a time when the power of the pharaohs had started to weaken considerably.¹⁴ Furthermore, this “takeover” of the eastern-southern trade route and the bypassing of Egypt is one of the reasons for the Phoenician presence only on Cyprus in the eleventh and tenth centuries B.C. and not farther west.¹⁵ Phoenician expansion toward the west was slower, commencing only at the end of the tenth century B.C. or in the early ninth with an advance toward Crete

(Kommos-Knossos)¹⁶ and, by the end of ninth century B.C., with the founding of Carthage,¹⁷ perhaps as a result of Assyrian pressure in the north during the reigns of Ashurnasirpal II (883–859 B.C.) and Shalmaneser III (858–824 B.C.).¹⁸

The preceding conclusions, drawn from recent studies, are vividly borne out in the arts. A common pictorial style of vase painting seems to have been stimulated by Cretan art and the weakened elements of Mycenaean art, as demonstrated by examples of pottery not only from Crete but also from Euboea (Lefkandi) dated as early as the eleventh century B.C., as well as similar examples from Cyprus.¹⁹ A series of pottery shapes, such as amphoroid kraters that evoke metal prototypes, certain decorative motifs, including that of the comb, and other works in clay or metal bear witness to relations between the Near East and Cyprus with Crete and, of course, with the Dodecanese and the other Aegean islands. The time span of vase painting in this style might have extended beyond the eleventh and tenth centuries and continued into the ninth and eighth centuries B.C.²⁰ Among these early works is the group of bird-shaped vessels (*askoi*) that had long been traditional on Crete and features a subject apparently shared with Cyprus and the Euboean *koine*.²¹ In metallurgy, vessel stands are another indication of contact between the regions of the eastern Mediterranean in this early period. These are primarily four-sided, like a Cypriot example related to the clay stands found on the Syro-Palestinian coast and on Crete, although tripod stands are also known from Crete, Euboea, Cyprus, and the Syro-Palestinian coast (Beth Shean).²² Other objects that show such connections are bronze jugs with papyrus flowers and *situlae*, which coincide in their early chronology with the bronze cauldrons and bowls with handles terminating in lotus blossoms, undoubtedly of Cypriot production.²³ One should keep in mind that in pre-coinage societies like those of the Early Iron Age, Phoenician merchants might have exchanged or traded metal (gold, silver, or bronze) vessels for products that left no material traces and, conversely, might have been compensated with similar metal vessels or exchanges.²⁴

This dissemination throughout the eastern Mediterranean and the Aegean during the early phase of the Iron Age (11th–10th century B.C.) is particularly interesting with regard to what it tells us about sea routes as the means of communication (or at least as one of the main routes of communication) linking the eastern Mediterranean (Egypt, the cities of the Syro-Palestinian coast) to Cyprus, southern Asia Minor, the Dodecanese and Crete, the Cyclades, Euboea, and so forth.²⁵ Furthermore, the arrival on Crete of Cypriot, Phoenician, and Euboean merchants or “travelers,” along

with those from the Cyclades, becomes evident from the finds discovered in the previously mentioned areas. Such finds have come to light in many regions of Crete, including Kommos, the Ida Cave, Knossos, and Eleutherna—to name the most well known—and they coincide with the almost complete lack of evidence for Cretan items in these areas. Moreover, the presence of Cypriot, Phoenician, Cycladic, Euboean, Argive, and other material remains on Crete also expands in range from the tenth through the seventh century B.C. The Cypriot (or Cypro-Phoenician) presence can therefore be considered at least as intense and apparent in Early Iron Age Crete as the many contacts between the island and Attica, the



Fig. 4.16. Top: Gold pendant; bottom: gold, rock crystal, and amber pendant on gold chain. Knossos, Khaniale Tekke, tomb 2. Orientalizing. Archaeological Museum, Heraklion, Greece (X-A 648, X-A 649)



Fig. 4.17. Bronze fluted omphalos bowl. Eleutherna, Orthi Petra necropolis, tomb A1/K1. Late Geometric. Archaeological Museum, Rethymnon, Greece (M 2805)



Fig. 4.18. Bronze omphalos bowl. Eleutherna, Orthi Petra necropolis, tomb A1/K1. Late Geometric–Proto-Archaic. Archaeological Museum, Rethymnon, Greece (M 1664)

Cyclades, and Euboea.²⁶ In addition to imported works of art, there are also hybrid creations and imitations in different materials during the ninth and eighth centuries B.C., and even in the seventh. One of these is the clay lebes with griffin protomes found in Afrati on Crete (cat. 146), where a clay griffin's head used as a positive mold for metalwork also originated.

Relations among the regions previously mentioned become clearer with an examination of a series of clay and metal vessels, figurines of elephant and hippopotamus ivory, and jewelry, mainly of gold, that originated in large numbers on Crete. A semicircular bronze bowl with a Phoenician inscription, found in the Tekke Cemetery of Knossos and dated to the second half of the tenth century B.C. (see fig. 1.9), is considered an import from the Near East.²⁷ A hoard of gold jewelry and precious raw materials from a tholos tomb at Khaniale Tekke, near Knossos, dated to the late ninth century B.C., displays techniques such as inlay, granulation, and filigree (fig. 4.16) that were already known on Crete during the Late Bronze Age. Whether these techniques and forms survived into the Early Iron Age or whether the artists who created these pieces were immigrants to Crete from the Near East remains a subject for debate.²⁸

Other likely imports, dated to the eighth and seventh century B.C. chronological horizon, include a shallow bronze bowl of Egyptianizing Phoenician style (cat. 155) from the necropolis of Orthi Petra in Eleutherna²⁹ that is similar to examples from the Ida Cave.³⁰ The latter was the site of numerous votive dedications during this period, especially bronze shields with elaborate figural decoration in relief and, often, an animal protome in the center; these are comparable to the votive shields dedicated at the important sanctuary

at Musasir of the god Haldi, the chief deity of Urartu (see fig. 2.16). The workshops that created these shields may have employed metalworkers from the Near East, who synthesized their own traditional stylistic and iconographic elements into new combinations meant for a Cretan audience. A tympanum dedicated at the Ida Cave epitomizes this blend of foreign and Cretan elements (see fig. 3.5). According to one view regarding the meaning of the scene, one might recognize the Kouretes—the attendants of the infant Zeus, who closely resemble the winged creatures familiar from Assyrian palatial art—clashing cymbals to cover up his cries.

Another site on Crete that provides important evidence of interactions with other regions in the Early Iron Age is Eleutherna and, in particular, its Orthi Petra necropolis, where finds from rich burials have recently been excavated.³¹ Dozens of cinerary urns and a wide variety of burial gifts, including bronze cauldrons and phialai, were discovered in tomb A1/K1. Because it had not been looted, the tomb provides answers to many of the questions raised by analogous Early Iron Age tombs in Crete, serving as a sort of time capsule for the period from approximately the first quarter of the ninth through the middle of the seventh century B.C. (880/70–660/50 B.C.). The cinerary urns from the tomb are mainly clay pithoi (storage jars) of various types, amphorae, and even bronze cauldrons; the mouths of the urns were often covered by bronze vessels, although clay vases were also used. In addition to jewelry, burial gifts found inside the urns include small clay perfume vases, faience vases, and iron and bronze weapons. Larger vases and tools were placed next to the urns. After the door of the tomb was shut, cinerary urns continued to be placed in the dromos. A bronze bowl from Eleutherna with a low omphalos at the bottom surrounded by a narrow

undecorated strip from which sprout thirty-nine tongue-shaped flutes in relief (fig. 4.17)³² is considered an import from North Syria or Assyria, like one from Nimrud in the British Museum, London. An exact parallel of Cyprian Archaic I or II date comes from the sanctuary of the Western Citadel at Idalion.³³ A bronze bowl recently found at Patras, in the temple of Ano Mazaraki, an apsidal Geometric-period structure, is a similar example.³⁴ The Eleutherna bowl was discovered inside the intact chamber tomb A1/K1, which was sealed in the second quarter of the seventh century B.C., a date that provides the terminus ante quem for this particular vessel.³⁵

Isolated examples of bronze omphalos bowls existed in Greece perhaps as early as the second millennium B.C., and they became more frequent from the ninth century B.C. on.³⁶ The form probably originated in the Near East, where examples of omphalos vessels already appeared in the Late Bronze Age and were especially popular during the late eighth century B.C.³⁷ The omphalos form was introduced into Greece around 700 B.C. as part of an influx of eastern influences.³⁸ That such bowls were used for libations as well as for drinking explains their discovery as offerings in sanctuaries as well as in tombs as burial gifts. These vessels were not equipped with handles; instead, they had a conical or hemispherical cavity at the center of their exterior surface that allowed them to be grasped by the finger. The height-diameter ratio of this type of bowl serves as a chronological criterion, with a 1:3 or, less commonly, 1:4 ratio typical for examples from the seventh century B.C.

There are various types of omphalos bowls; the type with rings around the omphalos originated in Phrygia, where comparable bowls have been found in tumuli.³⁹ A bronze omphalos bowl of this type decorated with four concentric rings comes from Eleutherna (fig. 4.18).⁴⁰ It was imported from Anatolia, as were other similar examples from Eleutherna and Inatos on Crete.⁴¹ The height-diameter ratio of the bronze omphalos bowl from Eleutherna is slightly less than 1:4 and thus suggests a seventh-century B.C. date. Silver bowls of a similar type, dated to the late eighth to seventh century B.C., have been found in a Phrygian tumulus near Elmalı, in Lycia.⁴² Several variants of this type from tombs in the Phrygian capital at Gordion and at other sites, including Carchemish and Zincirli in North Syria and Ephesos in Ionia,⁴³ date to this period.

We do not know the place of manufacture of a bronze bowl found at Orthi Petra and decorated with friezes of an animal hunt as well as grazing bovines (cat. 158). Dated to the end of the eighth century B.C., the bowl is a product of an

international style that is also demonstrated in the imagery of other objects discovered at Eleutherna.⁴⁴ A shield in the so-called Ida Cave style (cat. 157) excavated from the same tomb at Eleutherna is also of uncertain origin. However, it is one of the rare examples of a shield that has precise stratigraphic data, which allows it to be dated to between the end of the ninth century B.C. (820–800 B.C.) and approximately 735 B.C.⁴⁵ The shield belongs to Emil Kunze's early (if not the earliest) chronological group, and in terms of style it seems to have been the prototype that inspired the dissemination of related motifs, figures, and styles observed on the other great "shields" from the Ida Cave.

The identity of the artisan who created the Eleutherna shield remains a question for debate. Technical details, motifs, and other features that seem Cretan—for example, the so-called Cretan foliate band, characterized by fine incising and the geometric symmetry of its execution—indicate that the shield's creator might have combined Near Eastern prototypes with elements of a personal, self-contained style, thus creating a hybrid that would have appealed both to a Cretan patron and to the society that viewed the shield. Alternatively, the artist could have been a foreigner⁴⁶ from the Near East who had completely assimilated the taste of Cretan society in which he lived or worked. A similar situation may apply to the works in ivory from Crete at this time. The ivory head from the Ida Cave, for example, clearly an object of eastern origin dated to the eighth century B.C. (cat. 162), finds parallels in the Layard Group from the Northwest Palace at Nimrud.⁴⁷ This is possibly also the case for the nude female figurine from Inatos, dated to the first half of the seventh century B.C. (cat. 164), which has all the characteristics of so-called Egypto-Phoenician syncretism.⁴⁸ Such imported objects have also been found at the Ida Cave, along with another group, including a slender ivory goddess figurine, that incorporates some degree of Near Eastern inspiration but on the whole exudes Creto-Aegean spirit.⁴⁹

With regard to gold jewelry, a pendant from the Khaniale Tekke Tomb (fig. 4.16, bottom) is likely the only imported piece on Crete, or the one closest to Phoenician prototypes, as indicated by its central, crescent-shaped element, its three pendant crescents with discs, and the chain with snake's-head terminals. Similar, although later, examples of works with possible Phoenician origin or inspiration include jewelry from Phoenician colonies in the west (Carthage) as well as Etruscan jewelry and pieces from Vani, in Georgia.⁵⁰ The crescent or boat-shaped base of other jewelry from Crete, such as another pendant from the Khaniale Tekke Tomb (fig. 4.16, top), two from Eleutherna (cat. 160a, b), and others, including

one that depicts the Master of Animals (fig. 4.19), are similar in form to jewelry from the Near East, including Phoenician examples and others from Anatolia (from Gordion, for instance).⁵¹ Caution is necessary, however, regarding the date of transmission of influences, since we have examples of this shape in actual Cypro-Mycenaean earrings of the thirteenth century B.C.⁵² and in other jewelry from the tenth to ninth century B.C.⁵³ The guilloche decoration on the Khaniale Tekke jewel might derive from Syrian guilloche motifs, but the additional elements of birds and human heads are clearly datable to Iron Age Crete. Similarly, the gold jewelry from Eleutherna also displays Creto-Aegean iconographic motifs, including animal protomes (cat. 160a; either of a calf, according to the shape of the head, or of a lion, if one accepts that the rendition of the lower legs with granulation indicates the presence of claws, which is less plausible),⁵⁴ warrior heads wearing specific types of helmets (see discussion in cat. 160b), and decorative meander and meandering spiral motifs. The examples with warriors' heads cited here were found in Burial Building M, a stone structure built and first used during the late eighth and seventh centuries B.C., and now located in the north sector of the Orthi Petra cemetery's excavated area. They were among the lavish burial goods that accompanied the skeletal remains of four closely related elite women, perhaps priestesses, ranging in age from thirteen and a half to approximately seventy-two.⁵⁵

Two pieces from Orthi Petra made of cutout gold sheet, one with sphinxes and the other with three metopes (cat. 159a, b),⁵⁶ present us with a similar combination of foreign and Cretan imagery. The image of the sphinx already existed in the Creto-Mycenaean world, and by the eighth century B.C. it reflected an increased Near Eastern influence,



Fig. 4.19. Gold pendant with Master of Animals. Eleutherna, Sector III West, Tomb M. Proto-Archaic. Archaeological Museum, Rethymon, Greece (AKM M4552)

especially from North Syria, with the adoption of an Egyptian-style wig. Yet these features are combined with other elements: the heraldic rendition with frontal heads (also found on a clay plaque and a Cretan pithos of the seventh century B.C.), together with what may be Corinthian influences, seen in the sharp-angled wings and in other iconographic details paralleled on a band from the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Such a combination of elements could be said to represent a distinct Cretan artistic idiom, which is also evident when examining the cutout gold band with metopes. The two metopes flanking the central panel depict what appears to be a baetyl, or aniconic stone cult image, with a crescent above that is clearly of Oriental-Phoenician derivation. On the other hand, the slender goddess holding fawns by their hind legs in the central metope is a typical Cretan Mistress of Animals, resembling the ivory goddess from the Ida Cave.⁵⁷ An even stronger “Hellenized” style is apparent in objects made of humbler materials, such as clay, that date to the seventh and even the sixth century B.C. This is especially notable in the geometric symmetry of the figures depicted on molded-clay plaques from Gortyn, which are drawn from both the Near Eastern and the Creto-Mycenaean traditions and include griffins, sphinxes, and the demon Humbaba (cat. 142).

In summary, aside perhaps from the so-called tympanum from the Ida Cave (see fig. 3.5),⁵⁸ whose Assyrian character is obvious even if one accepts that it was created on Crete, the objects discussed here demonstrate the uniquely Cretan artistic idiom that arose in the Early Iron Age. This idiom was the product of stimulation provided both by imports from the Near East and by contacts, direct or indirect, between Cretan artists and the eastern Mediterranean and Near East as well as the Cyclades, Euboea, the Dodecanese, and mainland Greece. Among its various components were materials imported from regions to the east and from Africa, such as elephant and hippopotamus teeth. Objects of trade or artistic production and technologies, belief systems, ideologies, and mythologies—as well as their visual expressions through adaptations of images of Near Eastern fantastic beings—were likewise absorbed by Cretan society of the early first millennium B.C., one that simultaneously reflected the legacy of the refined Minoan and dynamic Mycenaean artistic traditions. In this new and robust era of Greek art in its Geometric and Orientalizing phases, it is important to weigh the nature and extent of foreign stimuli (imports, imitations, and amalgams as well as their numbers and quantities) against the strength of Cretan local traditions in order to determine the lasting effect of such imports on the overall culture of the island.

155. Bowl with Egyptianizing motifs

Bronze; Diam. 21.2 cm (8 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.), H. 3.2 cm (1 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.)
Crete, Eleutherna, Orthi Petra necropolis, tomb A1/K1
Phoenician, 720/710–680 B.C.
Archaeological Museum, Rethymnon, Greece (M 1695)

156. Bowl with Egyptianizing motifs

Bronze; Diam. 21.7 cm (8 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.), H. 2.9 cm (1 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.)
Nimrud, Northwest Palace, Room AB
Phoenician, ca. 9th–8th century B.C.
The Trustees of the British Museum, London
(N.9, BM 115505)

These vessels belong to a group of Phoenician bronze bowls with similar imagery found separated by great distances: on Crete and in northern Mesopotamia. One was discovered in the Orthi Petra necropolis at Eleutherna, two come from a ritual setting in the Ida Cave, and another was discovered among a hoard of bronzes in the Northwest Palace at Nimrud. The bowls share a composition of multiple registers of palmettes between guilloche bands and a large outer frieze depicting sphinxes and other Egyptianizing motifs.

The Eleutherna bowl (cat. 155) comes from a tomb rich in bronzes of foreign and local manufacture; it covered the mouth of a clay Thera stamnos that was used as a cinerary urn.¹ Its center is marked by an incised rosette with six double-outlined petals inscribed within a guilloche circle, with palmettes extending from three of their tips and dot rosettes between them.² The outermost decoration consists of three pairs of confronted sphinxes wearing Egyptian aprons and Hathor crowns with sun discs. They raise their far forelegs and frame a cluster of three papyrus plants, with the falcon god Horus shown in profile to the left and seated on the middle one. Scarab beetles with spread wings above a lotus bud flank each pair of sphinxes. In contrast, the sphinxes on the bowls found in the Ida Cave wear the double crown of Upper and Lower Egypt and stride in the same direction; they are interrupted by papyrus columns surmounted by scarab beetles and *uraei* on one bowl and bulls on altars on the other.³

The Nimrud example (cat. 156) was found in a cache of bronzes that included cauldrons and more than 150 bowls with designs in a wide range of styles, indicating multiple sources of production (see cat. 53 for another example from Nimrud). They must have arrived at the capital as either booty or tribute from campaigns in Syria and the Levant, such as those of Tiglath-Pileser III or Sargon II. As on the



bowl from Eleutherna, the feline creatures on the outer band are depicted in a symmetrical arrangement, but here they have falcon heads, wear the Egyptian double crown, and are shown trampling their enemies, a scene also found on Phoenician ivories from Nimrud (see fig. 3.34). Four pairs of the felines each flank a winged sun disc above a thin papyrus stalk; the pairs are divided by papyrus columns. Above the central one is a scarab beetle with its wings spread and grasping a sun disc with *uraei*.⁴

There can be no doubt that all four bowls were created in the Phoenician tradition, but questions remain regarding their places of manufacture and the ways in which these similar objects, although varied in the quality of their craftsmanship, were distributed both eastward to Nimrud and westward, where they were used as votive dedications and a lid for a burial on the island of Crete.⁵ Glenn Markoe suggested that an itinerant craftsman working in Assyria may have actually emigrated to Crete, “inspiring a contemporary workshop tradition represented by the three Cretan examples.”⁶ NS / JA

1. For the publication of the bronze phiale in connection with the Thera stamnos and references in Herodotus concerning Phronime, see Stampolidis 2006. 2. Unpublished. See also Stampolidis 2004, p. 277, no. 249. For the shape and the decorative arrangement, compare Stampolidis in Stampolidis and Karetsou 1998, pp. 248–49, nos. 307, 308. 3. Markoe 1985, pp. 163–64, 234–35, Cr2 and Cr3. 4. Curtis and Reade 1995, pp. 134–37. 5. Markoe 1985, pp. 113–14. 6. Markoe 2003, p. 211.

157. Lion-head shield

Bronze; Diam. 40 cm (15¾ in.), H. 10.6 cm (4⅞ in.)
Crete, Eleutherna, necropolis of Orthi Petra, tomb A1/K1
Orientalizing, ca. 830–730 B.C.
Archaeological Museum, Rethymnon, Greece (M 2803)

This bronze object takes the form of a shield, although it is unlikely that such an ornately decorated piece was ever used in battle. It has a relatively low profile, with a strongly upraised edge along its periphery decorated at the rim and base with a row of raised circles. A wide, plain strip defining the periphery of the body is followed by a thin band with a guilloche motif bordered by two thin raised strips. The central area of the shield is surrounded by a wide band with relief decoration depicting felines attacking bovines; this is followed by another guilloche bordered by two thin relief strips. The center of the shield bears a frontal feline head, executed in the round and hollow inside, with precisely rendered facial characteristics: half-open mouth with teeth indicated, wide-open eyes, and strongly furrowed face, muzzle, and cheeks. In the decorative zone that surrounds the central head, the lion's forelegs are shown



frontally in low relief. They end not in paws but in human hands, which rest with palms outward over the bodies of a pair of confronted sphinxes, depicted with crouching forelegs and extended hind legs. A frontal naked female figure is shown standing upon the feline's neck, her extended arms slightly bent at the elbows and touching the muzzles of a pair of lions that flank her, each of which raises one foreleg to touch her hip.

Similar shields with feline protomes and, more rarely, protomes of birds of prey have been found at other sites on Crete, including the Ida Cave,¹ Palaikastro,² Phaistos,³ and the cemetery of Arkades.⁴ In addition, fragments of bronze discoid objects that have been identified as shields have been discovered at the temple of Rhea at Phaistos and at Temple B at Kommos.⁵ The shields are considered works of Cretan artists who were inspired by Near Eastern—Urtian



or Assyrian—prototypes.⁶ The motifs on this and other shields also occur in various media during this period.⁷

The Eleutherna shield provides answers to several questions regarding the chronology and use of such objects.⁸ It is not unlikely that it functioned as a lid for a cauldron employed in rituals.⁹ Discovered not in a votive context but in a well-dated burial, it sealed the mouth of a Protogeometric/Early Geometric B clay cinerary

pithos dated to the ninth century B.C. A group of vessels found above it, including a small lekythos, all dated to the Late Geometric period (735–730 B.C.), provide a terminus ante quem for the dating of the shield. NS

1. Kunze 1931, pp. 6ff., nos. 1–7, p. 14, no. 10, p. 15, nos. 12–14, pp. 16–18, no. 15bis and 25. 2. *Ibid.*, pp. 12ff., no. 8. 3. *Ibid.*, pp. 13ff., no. 9. 4. *Ibid.*, p. 14, no. 11; for Arkades, see Levi 1931, pp. 335ff., fig. 440, pl. XXII. 5. Shaw 1980. 6. Coldstream 1977b, pp. 287–88, fig. 93b. 7. For the feline head, compare the

clay bowls in Gabelmann 1965, pp. 34–35, pl. 3:1–2, and Hampe 1969, pp. 15ff., pls. 8–12. For the Mistress of Animals on a shield from the Ida Cave, see *ibid.*, p. 22, pl. 17, as well as similar nude female figures in the round from the Ida Cave (see Lagogianni-Georgakarakos 2000; for the motif in general, see Böhm 1990). For the motif of the guilloche, or foliate scroll, see Markoe 1985, pp. 158–59, type G. 8. For its discovery, see Stampolidis 1996a, pp. 65–69, and Stampolidis 1998a, pp. 182–83; for its preliminary publication, Stampolidis 1998b, pp. 9, 182. 9. For a more detailed discussion and a wider approach to the topic, see Stampolidis 2003c, pp. 59–60; Stampolidis 2005–6; and Stampolidis 2007.

158. Bowl with hunting and animal attack scenes

Bronze; H. 6.5 cm (2½ in.), max. Diam. 28 cm (11 in.)
Crete, Eleutherna, Orthi Petra necropolis, tomb A1/K1
Orientalizing, 720–700 B.C.
Archaeological Museum, Rethymnon, Greece (M 2806)

One of a number of imported and locally made bronze vessels discovered in a rich cremation tomb at Eleutherna, this elaborately decorated bowl was found with a clay cinerary pithos that it probably originally covered. The bowl is hemispherical in form with a slightly incurving rim; corrosion obscures some of the figures, who are rendered in repoussé with incised outlines and punched details. Two small, closely spaced holes below the rim suggest that a handle was once affixed to the bowl.

The low omphalos at the bottom forms the center from which sprout thirty-four rosette petals. It is surrounded by two friezes of figural decoration divided by double raised bands with rope-like, foliate bands of Cretan type framing a row of circles.¹ On the lower decorative zone, six bovines stride to the right, their heads lowered, and another, facing left, is caught between two lions, one of whom has attacked it, pulling the animal down by the back of the neck. The theme of feline predators interrupting a circle of bulls, which we also see on the Eleutherna shield (cat. 157), appears to derive from depictions on Phoenician bowls.

The upper frieze includes three rosettes rendered in repoussé and a fourth that is rendered in the round and attached to a similar one on the vessel's outer surface where a strong fracture appears on the body, indicating an ancient repair. Vegetal motifs with palmettes sprout from the rosettes, recalling the tendrils on Syrian ivories from Nimrud (see fig. 3.30).² Framing the attached rosette are two pairs of kneeling hunters attacking feline predators between them. The remaining surface is occupied by two felines attacking three wild goats and a winged griffin.

The animal attack scenes have prompted comparisons with Bronze Age imagery, particularly the felines in flying gallop, who are depicted as both predators and prey.³ One particularly well-preserved example, possibly a leopard, has a catlike head and a sleek, elongated body punctuated by rows of dots. Short curved lines mark the ribs; one rear leg extends along the long line of the body while the other seems to dangle in a manner that finds parallels in the art of fourteenth-century B.C. Crete and on works with Aegean elements found in the Levant and Egypt.⁴ Another feline predator, a griffin with a comblike crest, closed mouth, and massive neck, is clearly reminiscent of Bronze



Age depictions of this creature in the Aegean and eastern Mediterranean.⁵ Griffins with upright curls or a crest, massive necks, and straight wings are also depicted (either rampant or under attack by spearmen) on ivories from Nimrud (see fig. 3.42) as well as on Cypro-Phoenician and Aramaean bowls (see cats. 52, 183). On those works the position of the rear limbs resembles that of the Eleutherna griffin, who, however, is not in its death throes but, rather, assumes a stalking posture.⁶

The kneeling archers on the bowl are armed with bows and quivers stuffed with arrows and

wear helmets of a form that perhaps resembles a Near Eastern type.⁷ Three of them are in dynamic postures: the head and upper body turned back in the act of shooting an arrow at a feline predator and the legs facing the opposite direction. One, however, faces his feline adversary, like the archers on a bronze bowl from Armou on Cyprus, on the Hunt Shield from the Ida Cave (see fig. 4.1), and on the upper frieze of a splendid gold jug discovered in a burial of a royal woman at Nimrud (see fig. 3.17).⁸ The kneeling archer pose also has precursors in the Bronze Age Aegean, as do the animal attack

scenes, with their allusions to the Aegean animal style. Kneeling archers are also prominent in scenes of war and hunt in Assyrian art.⁹

Whereas the adaptation of contemporary elements from the art of the Near East is not surprising, their seamless fusion on the Eleutherna bowl with imagery that would otherwise characterize the Aegean animal style—which survived intact on Cypriot metalwork—is remarkable (see cat. 2). Whether the bowl was produced on Cyprus or on Crete itself, most probably during the late eighth to seventh century B.C., remains to be determined. Its mixture of motifs and styles from different sources and eras is somewhat reminiscent of the hybrid nature of the metalwork discovered centuries earlier in the eastern Mediterranean.¹⁰ NS / JA

1. For a broader discussion of this bowl, see Stampolidis and Aruz 2013; for Cretan cableband, see Markoe 1985, p. 159, Type G, and Cr4, pp. 164–65 and 236, but corrosion makes it difficult to discern the exact form used on the Eleutherna bowl. Rows of circles appear on Cypro-Phoenician bowls; see *ibid.*, Cy2, pp. 170–71 and 245. 2. For an Egyptian parallel, see Stampolidis 1998b, p. 180, and Hermary 1985, p. 664, fig. 6. 3. Stampolidis 2003c, p. 66. 4. Evans 1906, pp. 55–58, fig. 59; Joan Aruz in Aruz, Benzel, and Evans 2008, p. 141, no. 80, and p. 417, fig. 131. 5. Loud 1939, pl. 9,32a. 6. See Herrmann 1986, pl. 71, no. 316; Stampolidis 2003c, p. 66, for griffin posture. 7. They differ from the helmets on the Hunt Shield from the Ida Cave and other Cretan works; see Markoe 1985, p. 369. 8. For the Armou bowl, see V. Karageorghis 1981. 9. For the Bronze Age Aegean, see Phylactopoulos 1974, p. 287. For a late eighth- to early seventh-century B.C. example of kneeling archers on either side of a “temple” structure on the block of a limestone frieze from Chania, see most recently Stampolidis 2008, pp. 147–50, and Stampolidis 2014b (in press). 10. See Aruz 2008a.



159a



159b

159a, b. Cutout plaques

Gold

a. H. 2.6 cm (1 in.), L. 5.1 cm (2 in.)

b. H. 2.6 cm (1 in.), L. 4.2 cm (1 5/8 in.)

Crete, Eleutherna, Orthi Petra necropolis

Orientalizing, 7th century B.C.

Archaeological Museum, Rethymnon, Greece
(AKM M2811, AKM M2813)

Found together in a cinerary urn, these cutout plaques depict figures within a rectangular frame. Pieces of gold sheet like these were used to decorate the surface of objects made of perishable materials, such as wood, bone, ivory, and leather, or were sewn onto fabrics.¹ The first example (cat. 159a) is decorated with a guilloche border on the sides and divided into three panels, or metopes.² In the central metope, a standing female figure with a narrow waist and slim upper body is represented; the lower body is elongated and the hips accentuated. The facial details and the thick hair, which falls like a wig to the shoulders, are embossed. With her extended and slightly raised hands she grasps

the hind legs of two upside-down animals, probably fawns, whose heads turn toward her.³ In each of the flanking metopes a baetyl is depicted, above which is placed a reversed crescent moon with fine, dense decoration. Within the left baetyl, one can discern a nude female figure; inside the right baetyl, a sharply pointed element is visible.

A close analogy for the central female, in terms of iconography as well as body shape, can be seen in the goddess represented on a small ivory plaque from the Ida Cave who should perhaps also be identified with the Potnia Theron (Mistress of Animals), although the animals to her left and right unfortunately have not been preserved.⁴ Depictions of the Potnia Theron, winged or not and flanked by deer or felines, continued into the sixth century B.C., as can be seen in the representation of Artemis on the handle of the François Vase.⁵ The baetyl with reversed crescent moon on either side here probably stands for a symbolic representation of

Astarte, in the manner of Carthaginian votive stelae, which bear renditions of baetyls, lozenges, piers, and other aniconic images, almost always accompanied by astral symbols such as the crescent moon and the solar disc.⁶

The second plaque (cat. 159b) depicts a symmetrical pair of winged sphinxes within a frame, whose sides are decorated with thin, diagonal lines.⁷ The bodies of the sphinxes are shown in profile, while their heads are frontal. Each wears on its head a low polos with a long, curled tendril sprouting from the center and extending over the back. The curls of the wig, which fall to the base of the neck, are rendered with horizontal lines in relief. The sharply pointed wings are decorated with fine incisions along their outlines. The lowered tails end in spiral curls between the hind legs.

In addition to the examples in gold, similar small Cretan cutout plaques in bronze as well as clay relief appliqué that decorated storage jars are dated to the seventh century B.C.⁸ With respect

to its technique and in part to its iconography, the plaque with sphinxes can be compared to a similar piece in the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin dating to 675–600 B.C.,⁹ shared iconographic elements include the sharply pointed, straight wings and the low polos, although the head of the Berlin sphinx is rendered in profile. The gold plaques from Eleutherna have been assigned to the mid-seventh century B.C.; however, the not-quite-oval faces and the short wigs that characterize the Eleutherna sphinxes may point to an earlier dating.¹⁰ NS

1. For the use of gold cutout pieces with framed figural representations, see Ohly 1953, pp. 40ff. In general, for the technique of cutout gold sheet, compare the small votive plaque with a representation of a pair of helmeted warriors from the Ida Cave (Sakellarakis 1988, pp. 177–81). 2. Unpublished. See Stampolidis 2004, p. 291, no. 387. For the use and production method of cutout pieces of gold sheet as well as their dating, see Stampolidis and Karetsou 1998, pp. 268–69, no. 337. 3. For the motif of reversed animals held by a female deity, compare the naked winged goddess with reversed lions on a bronze horse trapping from Cyprus (Stampolidis and Karetsou 1998, p. 257, no. 322). 4. See *ibid.*, p. 272, no. 343. 5. See Boardman 1980, p. 41, pl. 46:2. 6. See Moscati 1988a, pp. 304–27. 7. Unpublished. See also Stampolidis 2004, p. 291, no. 386. 8. See Boardman 1961, pp. 46–48, and Dunbabin 1952, p. 154. In general, for the iconography of the sphinx on clay reliefs, its influences from Corinthian pottery, and its combination with the local, Cretan tradition, see Bosana-Kourou 1979, pp. 97–98. 9. See Reichel 1942, p. 57, no. 40c, pl. XII. For a recently discovered piece of gold sheet from Eleutherna with the same motif, see Stampolidis 2012a, p. 206, no. 3. 10. For observations and relevant discussion, see Stampolidis and Karetsou 1998, pp. 268–69, no. 337, and Stampolidis 2003b, p. 569, no. 1148.

160a, b. Pendants

Gold

a. Diam. 3.4 cm (1 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.), H. 2.7 cm (1 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.)

b. Diam. 3.4 cm (1 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.), H. 2.8 cm (1 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.)

Crete, Eleutherna, Orthi Petra necropolis, Burial Building M Orientalizing, 8th–7th century B.C.

Archaeological Museum, Rethymnon, Greece (AKM M4553, AKM M4570)

These pendants, decorated with filigree and granulation, each comprise a crescent-shaped element that encloses a cutout piece of gold sheet. One depicts an animal protome,¹ the other a pair of confronted helmeted warriors' heads flanking a discoid cavity with filigree work, into which a precious or semiprecious stone could have been set.² The back side of the crescent-shaped components is formed by a flat piece of gold sheet, while the front is divided into horizontal zones with a horizontal zigzag line above and below. A central register with a left-facing meander decorates the pendant with animal protome; the pendant with warriors has two central registers, each with a spiral meander. Both pendants were fitted with two suspension loops made from spool-shaped pieces of

gold sheet attached to the upper part of the reverse. The central cutout elements have been fastened to the crescent-shaped frame with four small rectangular pieces of gold sheet placed at the edges of the upper and lower rear surfaces.

This type of ornament is of Near Eastern origin, with parallels to earrings from a Bronze Age hoard discovered at Tell el-Ajjul.³ Very few examples have been found in the Hellenic world: three (including the two examples discussed here) from Burial Building M of the Orthi Petra necropolis in Eleutherna,⁴ one from the tholos tomb of Khaniala Tekke (see fig. 4.16, top),⁵ and a comparable gold earring from the Ida Cave.⁶

Helmets of a similar type to those on the warriors' pendant, but with larger crests and decorated with an abacus motif, can be seen on the famous clay shield with a battle scene from Tiryns.⁷ Another parallel is the representation on the relief pithos from Mykonos of the Greek soldier carrying spears who climbs over the front part of the Trojan Horse.⁸ There are also warriors with similar but less elaborate helmets on metalwork, such as the bronze quiver from Fortetsa and the cutout gold sheet.⁹ It seems therefore that this kind of helmet—favored on Crete and the Cyclades as well as in the Argolid, especially at the end of the eighth century B.C. and the beginning of the seventh—is an

“Aegean” type related to similar eastern (Phrygian or Assyrian) helmets.

Representations of animal protomes, either bovine or feline, with frontal heads and forelegs below, are known from Mycenaean art¹⁰ but are not often seen in the art of the early Iron Age.¹¹ The Eleutherna pendant with animal protome, the product of a Cretan workshop, is representative of the art of the period in its characteristic combination of diverse elements drawn from Minoan, Mycenaean, Geometric, and Near Eastern artistic traditions. NS

1. For a first mention, see Stampolidis 2012a, p. 208, no. 8. Whether the animal is a lion or a bovine is unclear, since there are doubtful indications for both. 2. Preliminary publication in *ibid.*, p. 208, no. 7. 3. See Maxwell-Hyslop 1971, pp. 116–17, pls. 78–81 (earrings, Ajjul Hoard). 4. Stampolidis 2012a, p. 207, no. 6. 5. See Boardman 1967a, p. 68, no. 2, pl. 11. 6. Levi 1945, pp. 317–18, figs. 23, 23bis. 7. Lorimer 1950, pp. 170–71, pl. IX; Hampe and Simon 1981, p. 66, pl. 95. 8. Ervin 1963, especially pp. 68–69, pls. 17, 18, 20a. 9. See Sakellarakis 1988, pp. 177–79, 181, figs. 7–10 (cutout gold sheet representing a pair of confronted helmeted warriors, Ida Cave). For the bronze quiver, see Brock 1957, Tomb P, no. 1569, pp. 135–36, 198–99, pls. 116, 169 (the second frieze from top). See also Boyd 1901, pp. 147–48, figs. 10, 11 (piece of bronze sheet, Kavousi). 10. See Sakellariou 1964, p. 80, no. 64, and p. 100, no. 84. 11. Orsi 1897, pp. 255–58, fig. 4; Kunze 1931, p. 6, no. 2, pl. 3; Levi 1945, pp. 317–22, figs. 23, 23bis; Coldstream and Catling 1996, vol. 2, T.134.47, pl. 174; Stampolidis and Karetsou 1998, pp. 114–16; Stampolidis, Karetsou, and Kanta 1998, p. 80; Stampolidis 2003c, pp. 60–61, and Stampolidis 2008.



160a



160b

161. Plaque with mythological scene

Ivory; H. 13.6 cm (5 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.), W. 7 cm (2 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.)

Probably Crete

Orientalizing, early 7th century B.C.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (17.190.73)

This intriguing figural group is a spectacular example of the complex exchange of art, identity, and meaning in the Mediterranean world during the eighth to seventh century B.C.¹ It is carved in the form of a thick plaque of elephant ivory, an exotic material that since the Bronze Age had been reserved by artists in Greece for artifacts of great value and probably imported from Africa via the Phoenician trade. The relief may originally have been designed to decorate a chest and would have been set in a framework of another material, probably wood.

The figures have been identified by Andreas Rumpf as the daughters of Proitos, king of Argos, who displeased Dionysos and were punished by the god with madness and sexual frenzy of the kind experienced by the Maenads.² The figure on the right is shaking loose her long tresses and has let her mantle slip, revealing her pubis. The figure on the left, although still covered, is untying her girdle, a sexually charged gesture, and her right sleeve falls away from her body. A number of traits in this vivid scene assign it a significant place in the development of the Daedalic art of Crete during the seventh century B.C. Most significant are the athletic anatomy, with the long and muscular thighs attached high on the torso, the heavy-jawed face, and the triangular, wiglike braided hair. In addition, meander designs such as those on the figures' garments and triangular sleeves may be observed in Cretan vase painting³ and in monumental sculpture from the island, like the emblematic Lady of Auxerre in the Louvre,⁴ which is probably the work of an artist from Eleutherna.

The artist who carved this group may have had in mind a whole repertoire of images from the Near East, such as Syrian cylinder seals engraved with scenes of Ishtar opening her cloak to reveal her nudity as well as other nude goddesses depicted on small, easily portable artifacts. Such objects, including ivory mirror handles, gold jewelry, and terracotta figurines, tend to show the goddess in a frontal and static attitude, exuding majesty. These stately representations may have inspired small sculptures, such as the four ivory figurines of nude females discovered in an elite woman's tomb in Athens (see fig. 4.10), where they were deposited together with Egyptian or Egyptianizing faience lions.⁵ Early monumental art from Crete also invested nude female figures with superhuman



grandeur, evident, for example, in a relief from Gortyn depicting three frontal goddesses.⁶

The ivory plaque depicts a narrative that circulated in oral or written form, if not in both. Although few such narratives have survived from the Near East, the many similarities between the Ugaritic poems of the Bronze Age and the Homeric epics suggest that Canaanite and Greek literature coexisted and inspired each other. Cultured elites in the eastern Mediterranean shared an appreciation and understanding of heroic epics, regardless of origin. Precious artifacts illustrated passages of favorite stories,

and artists who themselves had admired monuments on foreign shores drew their inspiration from such cross-cultural encounters, laying the foundations for later Greek art. AC

1. Richter 1945; Picard 1946; Richter 1953, pp. 31–32, 295 n. 21, pl. 20a; Picard 1954; Rumpf 1956, p. 50; Picón et al. 2007, pp. 57, 416, no. 43. 2. Rumpf 1956, p. 50. 3. For example, on a vase from Arkades now in the Archaeological Museum, Heraklion; see Demargne 1964, fig. 444. 4. *Ibid.*, figs. 463, 464. 5. See Zosi 2012. 6. Demargne 1964, fig. 459.



162. Face plaque

Ivory; H. 2.9 cm (1 1/8 in.), W. 2.5 cm (1 in.)
 Crete, Ida Cave
 Phoenician, ca. 8th century B.C.
 Archaeological Museum, Heraklion, Greece (O-E 639)

The most important cave sanctuary of Crete, the Ida Cave, on the Psiloritis plateau, has provided rich diachronic evidence for the cult of Zeus and for the initiation rites that took place there. The renewal of contacts between Crete and the Near East during the Iron Age is amply documented by votives dating to the ninth century B.C. Especially significant among the other artifacts that testify to this cultural interaction are numerous ivory inlays, which were probably initially fitted on to wooden furniture or other valuable items of Near Eastern craftsmanship or inspiration. Most of them come from a disturbed layer that contained pottery dating to the prehistoric, Subminoan, Geometric, and Roman periods¹ and can be dated only through stylistic comparisons.

This head with a headdress is carved in low relief and is highly polished. Its back is flat and bears many shallow and irregular incisions, possibly aimed at facilitating its attachment to another piece.² The eyebrows are rendered with a curved incised line, and the elongated eye sockets must have been inlaid with vitreous material.³ The rendering of the face recalls a Phoenician plaque of a female sphinx from Nimrud.⁴ Its strong stylistic allusions to Egypt also argue that it was produced by a Phoenician workshop.⁵ Stylistic parallels, including the shape of the enlarged ears, for example, suggest that it probably represents the head of a sphinx with Hathor attributes. An additional piece denoting the hair was obviously attached on top of the flat end of the head, which bears rectangular hollow grooves for joining.⁶ Whether it was part of a composite statuette, as implied

from its wedge-shaped neck, or was an appliqué ornament must remain an open question. GF

1. Sakellarakis 1984, p. 558. 2. Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellarakis 2013, pl. 105. 3. Pappalardo 2004, no. 24. 4. Iraq Museum, Baghdad, IM 61882, from Fort Shalmaneser, Room S30. See Winter 1976b, p. 6, pl. IIIa. 5. Stampolidis and Karetso 1998, p. 270, no. 339; Pappalardo 2011, p. 404, fig. 3; and Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellarakis 2013. 6. Sakellarakis 1984, p. 562.

163. Couchant calf

Ivory; L. 3.6 cm (1 3/8 in.), W. 2.6 cm (1 in.)
 Crete, Ida Cave
 Syrian, 8th century B.C.
 Archaeological Museum, Heraklion, Greece (O-E 679)

One of three couchant calves that originally decorated the top of a pyxis lid, this figure and the other two calves were all found in the same spot during the most recent excavation in the Ida Cave.¹ Another piece of the lid was discovered during the first excavation of the cave, by Federico Halbherr, in 1885.² The two vertical holes in the base of each animal correspond exactly to the three pairs of holes in the lid, and the incised decoration of a double leaf around the rim is interrupted at the point where the hoof of the animal would rest.³ The pyxis itself is in an excellent state of preservation.⁴ The identities of the owners and dedicators of such luxury artifacts in the Ida Cave remain open questions in the scholarship on these objects.

The surface of the calf's head is convex and polished. A series of vertical and curved incisions create slight bulges, rendering the folds of the skin. The horn and a triangle for the ear are attached with a small knob. The vertical lines of the head and the neck, and the absence of lines along the belly, recall the North Syrian tradition of ivory carving, specifically the "flame and frond" school.⁵ MK

1. Sakellarakis 1984, p. 543. 2. Halbherr 1888; Kunze 1935–36, pp. 218–34, pl. 85, n. 10. 3. Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellarakis 2013, pp. 182–83. 4. Sakellarakis 1989, p. 114. 5. Herrmann 1989, pp. 85–86.



164. Female figure

Ivory; H. 8.4 cm (3 1/4 in.), W. 2.6 cm (1 in.)
 Crete, Inatos, Eileithyia Cave
 Early 7th century B.C.
 Archaeological Museum, Heraklion, Greece (O-E 297)

This figure of a standing nude woman, carved in low relief, has a flat back, full breasts, and a rounded belly. The pubic area is indicated as a triangular zone with two incised lines. The head is covered by an Egyptian-style wig and a low polos. She stands on a small rectangular plinth.

According to Nanno Marinatos,¹ this type of figurine is attested on the Syro-Phoenician coast but also recalls the Egyptian female figurines of Dynasty 25. Its function is unknown, but it was likely displayed on a flat base, as indicated by the carved projection for insertion under the feet, similar to Egyptian female figurines created as part of a toiletry set.² It remains ambiguous whether the figure represented a human or a sacred figure, like the Phoenician Ishtar, since the Eileithyia goddess was, like Ishtar, a goddess of fertility, and thus offerings to her could have represented either worshippers or the goddess herself. MK

1. See Marinatos in Stampolidis and Karetso 1998, p. 271, no. 342. 2. Barnett 1935, p. 182.



THE HERAION AT SAMOS

Wolf-Dietrich Niemeier

Although not a pan-Hellenic sanctuary like Olympia or Delphi, the sanctuary of Hera on the island of Samos was one of the major sites of cult activity in ancient Greece. No other Greek sanctuary has produced so many imported items from foreign lands, especially from Cyprus, Egypt, and the Near East. The Heraion is situated near the sea in the marshy basin of the Imbrasos River, 7 kilometers to the southwest of the ancient city (modern Pythagorion). The adherence to this disadvantageous place is explainable only by the cult's attachment to it. Pausanias (7.4.4) handed down the local legend according to which the goddess Hera was born on the bank of the river under a lygus tree (*Vitex agnus-castus*). This sacred tree of Hera, the immovable cult mark of the sanctuary, still existed in the Roman Imperial period.

The history of the Heraion reaches back to the Bronze Age. After the abandonment of a large settlement at the site of the early second millennium B.C., the first sanctuary—a paved square with a mud-brick altar, Minoan pottery, and cult objects—was founded in the seventeenth century B.C., when Minoan Crete dominated the Aegean. After a subsequent Mycenaean phase, a sequence of six stone altars, each one encasing its predecessor, was constructed from about 1000 B.C. to 650 B.C. The first temple, a long, narrow structure typical of that time, was built about 700 B.C. Measuring 100 feet in length (approx. 33 meters), it was named the Hekatompedos, meaning “hundred feet.”

In the second half of the eighth to the seventh century B.C., Samos developed into a maritime trading center with wide-ranging connections, from Egypt and the Near East to Spain. It is probable that, by about 750 B.C., the Samians had already set up the trade colonies at Kelen-deris and Nagidos, in Rough Cilicia, which brought them straight to the border of the Assyrian area of interest and facilitated their access to sea routes to Cyprus and northern Syria. In the second half of the seventh century B.C., Samos founded, together with several other East Greek cities, the trading settlement at Naukratis in the Nile Delta, in which they also established a branch of the Samian Heraion. Herodotos (4.152) relates the story of the Samian captain Kolaïos, whose ship was blown off course on its way to Egypt, ending up beyond the Strait of Gibraltar at the legendarily rich

city of Tartessos, in what is now southern Spain. Kolaïos returned to Samos with an extremely lucrative cargo and dedicated very precious votives in the Heraion, among them, possibly, his ship: a foundation of nine parallel stone walls, their lengths decreasing toward the two ends of the installation situated to the south of the Hekatompedos, formed the base for a real ship.

The growth of Samos's wealth is reflected in the remodeling of the sanctuary starting in the mid-seventh century B.C. The Hekatompedos was rebuilt and surrounded by a colonnade of wooden columns. To the south, along the river, the South Hall was built, a predecessor of the columned hall, or stoa, that later became widely distributed throughout the Greek world.

The growth of the urban population and the concentration of wealth owing to trade, piracy, and war expeditions led to fundamental political changes at the start of the sixth century B.C., similar to those taking place in other Greek cities such as Corinth and Athens. Previously a group of aristocratic families had ruled; now individual members of the aristocracy whose power was based on economic and military superiority, the “Tyrants,” seized power. The first tyrant of Samos was Demoteles (ca. 600 B.C.), while the most famous was Polykrates (538–522 B.C.). The tyrants' desire for self-aggrandizement brought about a monumental reorganization of the sanctuary, which previously had been accessible only from the sea. Now a Sacred Road connecting it to the city was constructed. A gigantic new temple measuring 52.5 by 105 meters and with a monumental altar in front was built, outmatching in size and boldness any work of architecture created in Greece up to that point. About the same time two more large temples were built, one to the north and the other to the south. The sacred area was enclosed by a wall, and the long North Hall was built along its northern part. Numerous votive statues were erected along the Sacred Road, among them two colossal kouroi three times lifesize.

After only a few decades, however, the temple was pulled down again. Displacements in the foundations had caused irreparable damage. The building of a new temple was started under Polykrates. This temple, with a layout of 55.2 by 108.6 meters, was somewhat larger than its predecessor. Herodotos (3.60.4) called it the

largest temple in Greece. Of the original 115 columns, only half of one is still standing today. Under Polykrates, Samos became a great power. As Herodotos (3.40–43) reports, Polykrates and the pharaoh Amasis of Egypt formed a friendly alliance. Amasis dedicated two wooden statues of himself, which stood in the temple to either side of the entrance door (2.182). The supremacy of Samos came to a sudden end when Polykrates was drawn into an ambush and killed by Oroites, the Persian governor of Sardis. The political and economic power of the island decayed once and for all.

Numerous votives of international character have been found in leveling strata and the fillings of wells caused by activities during the great reorganization of the sanctuary about 600 B.C. and can be dated to the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. They came from a wide geographic sphere extending from Iran to Spain and from the Caucasus to Egypt. These dedications included not only manmade artifacts but also hippopotamus teeth, antelope horns, tridacna shells, and ostrich eggs. Also found were several bronze objects from Mesopotamia, including an Assyrian statuette of a praying man (cat. 168b); Babylonian statuettes of a worshiper with a dog (cat. 169b); an Assyrian or Babylonian statuette of the monster known as a *mushhushshu*, who was connected with Marduk, the city god of Babylon also revered in Assyria (cat. 170); and an Assyrian or Babylonian mace-head decorated with multiple heads of the demon Pazuzu (cat. 171). Objects from Urartu include a statuette of a god with a horned tiara (cat. 168a); from Syria, a statuette with horned tiara of the Syrian war god Hadad, who was equated with the Phoenician/Canaanite god Reshef (cat. 168d), and a statuette of a god of Assyrian type but made in Syria in the local style (cat. 168c); and from North Syria, a horse frontlet with an inscription of Hazael of Aram-Damascus, who is mentioned in the Hebrew Bible (cat. 165).

How did these “exotic” objects come to arrive at the Heraion at Samos? There are two main groups of Greeks who would have dedicated Egyptian and Near Eastern objects in the sanctuary. The first were the Samian merchants who made long voyages to the harbors of Egypt and the Near East. The others were the East Greek mercenaries, Samians certainly among

them as well, who served at this time in the armies of Assyria, Babylonia, Judah, Phoenicia, and Egypt. These mercenaries were members of the elite who had been driven out of their native country, either by war or economic problems, or who had been exiled as a result of conflicts between aristocratic families, all typical phenomena of this time. Alternatively, they may have been searching for a new type of aristocratic life centered on Homeric values like courage, honor, and glory. On their return they transferred foreign ideas to their homeland and dedicated “exotic” votives in their sanctuaries.

Among the possible dedications made by Near Easterners in the Heraion are three Babylonian statuettes of a worshiper with a dog (for one example, see cat. 169b). They are adorants of the Babylonian goddess Gula, whose attributive animal is the dog. As the spouse of the weather god Ninurta, Gula has mythological parallels to Hera. Therefore, in this case, visitors coming to Samos from Babylonia may have seen in Hera the same goddess known to them at home as Gula (see “Beyond ‘Orientalizing’: Encounters Among Cultures in the Eastern Mediterranean” in this volume, pp. 248–53). The equation of Greek and Near Eastern deities is a well-documented phenomenon in the history of Greek religion. Additionally, the many bronze statuettes of Egyptian deities and priests, which are unique in the Greek world, may have been offered by Egyptian visitors to the Heraion.

Before these objects were buried in the leveling strata and the fillings of wells about 600 B.C., they must have been previously visible in the sanctuary, where pieces from local workshops stood in the open, beside foreign offerings, for all to see. The technically advanced figures from Egypt, the Near East, and Cyprus must have made a great impression on local artists, whose works in clay and wood were, by comparison, less sophisticated. From the votives in the Heraion it is clear that exchanges between east and west, not only on the material but also on the intellectual level, were already happening in the seventh century B.C. Locally produced votives demonstrate that, by the beginning of the sixth century B.C., the Samians had adopted eastern techniques, such as the hollow casting of bronzes, as well as ideas, including monumental stone architecture and sculpture.

165. Horse frontlet with nude females

Bronze; H. 23.7 cm (9 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.), max. W. 17.5 cm (6 $\frac{7}{8}$ in.)
Samos, Heraion, area to the southeast of the Great Altar
Syrian, 9th century B.C.
Archaeological Museum, Vathy, Samos, Greece
(B 2579 / A 1306)

The central space of this trapezoidal horse frontlet¹ is decorated with two rows of nude female figures in relief. In the lower row, a female figure stands on a feline head and holds two more in her hands. In the upper row, three female figures hold their breasts; the middle figure stands on the head of the female figure in the row below, while the other two stand on the feline heads. The figures’ almond-shaped eyes are incised, while the rest of their features are

rendered in repoussé. They have long hair with curls reaching down to their shoulders. They wear necklaces, and the incised lines on their wrists and ankles are probably meant to indicate bracelets. The scene is crowned by a winged sun disc. Along the left side is an Aramaic inscription that identifies the frontlet as a gift to the biblical king Hazael of Aram-Damascus. The person who dedicated this plaque to the goddess Hera of Samos in the seventh century B.C. did so without erasing the earlier inscription. A frieze of ibexes, bulls, felines, and birds frames the scene on three sides. The small holes on the upper side of the plaque and on each corner of its lower side were used to attach it to another material, perhaps fabric or leather.

The imagery of female nudity has suggested to some scholars a link to sacred prostitution as





a practice connected with the worship of the goddess of love. It is possible that the frontlet belongs to the same group as two blinkers dedicated at the temple of Apollo Daphnephoros in Eretria, since one of them carries an inscription similar to the one on the Samos piece.² Together, these texts are among the oldest Semitic inscriptions to have been discovered in a Greek archaeological context. MV-S

1. Jantzen 1972, pp. 58–59, pl. 52; Kyrieleis and Röllig 1988, pp. 37–75, pl. 9; Viky Giannouli in Stampolidis 2003b, p. 477, no. 860. 2. Strøm 1992, p. 48; Gunter 2009, p. 126.

166. Horse blinker with Master of Animals

Bronze; L. 19 cm (7½ in.), W. 11.8 cm (4⅞ in.)
Euboia, Eretria, sanctuary of Apollo Daphnephoros
Syrian, 9th century B.C.
National Archaeological Museum, Athens (X 15070)

This horse blinker was excavated at Eretria,¹ at the sanctuary of Apollo Daphnephoros,² the city's most important temple, which reached its peak during the eighth century B.C. At the center of the scene is depicted a Master of Animals, that is, a male figure flanked by wild animals that he dominates.³ Shown wearing a belted garment, with his legs in profile and his upper body frontal, the figure raises and extends his arms to grasp two felines by their tails. To the left of the scene, a third feline is represented;

to the right, an eagle appears to be shown atop a column or a palm tree. The blinker was manufactured by hammering.

According to an Aramaic inscription engraved above the Master of Animals and toward the narrow side of the object, the blinker was “That which Hadad gave our lord Hazael in the year that our lord crossed the river.”⁴ It was probably originally presented as a gift to Hazael, ruler of Aram-Damascus, bearing the same inscription as on a frontlet dedicated in the Samian Heraion (cat. 165; see “Art and Networks of Interaction Across the Mediterranean” in this volume, pp. 112–24). Like the frontlet, the Eretria horse blinker had a later, secondary use as a dedication in a Greek sanctuary to the god Apollo.

As a North Syrian creation, the blinker attests to contacts between Eretria and the Syro-Palestinian coast.⁵ It might have been brought to the temple by an elite individual from Eretria who had obtained it while conducting sea trade or traveling in the eastern Mediterranean. It could also have been sent to Greece as a gift.⁶ Bronze objects from the eastern Mediterranean were commonly dedicated by worshipers at Greek sanctuaries or deposited as burial gifts in the graves of wealthy individuals. NP

1. Kourouniotes 1910, p. 268. 2. Verdán 2010, pp. 239–51. 3. For a similar blinker from Eretria (Archaeological Museum, Eretria, ME 7007), see Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1995, p. 78, fig. 58, and Stampolidis 2003b, p. 477, no. 861. 4. Kourou 1990–91, pp. 248–49. 5. Touloupa 2010, p. 258, and Kourou 1990–91, pp. 248–51. 6. Adam-Veleni and Stephani 2012, p. 48.

167. Horse frontlet with Master of Animals

Bronze; H. 20.6 cm (8⅞ in.), W. 15.2 cm (6 in.)
Tell Tayinat
Syro-Hittite, ca. 800–738 B.C.
The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago
(OIM A22209 / T.218)

This bronze plaque was found during the University of Chicago's 1935 excavations of a Syro-Hittite *bit hilani* palace at the site of Tell Tayinat.¹ The plaque (field no. T.218) was discovered in a small room adjacent to the throne room of the palace and is suggested by Helene Kantor to have fallen from an upper story.² More recent studies of the field records, however, suggest it should be reassigned to the lowest levels of the palace, thought to have been destroyed in the conquest of the Assyrian ruler Tiglath-Pileser III in 738 B.C.³ Commonly identified as a horse harness frontlet, the plaque is decorated in high relief with human and animal figures in the North Syrian style.⁴ It seems most likely that it was produced using the lost-wax casting technique, given the thickness of the metal (0.2 cm) and the depth of the figures, although the use of repoussé and chasing cannot be ruled out. Incised details of hair and clothing are clearly visible on each figure.

The central, kneeling Master of Animals on the plaque grasps the tails of two female winged sphinxes⁵ and stands on the upraised tails of two lions. This ancient Near Eastern motif is thought to represent control over the chaotic



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Fig. 4.20. Phoenician-style ivory horse frontlet with nude female holding lotus flowers and lions. Nimrud, Fort Shalmaneser, SW 37. Neo-Assyrian period. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Rogers Fund, 1961 (61.197.5)



168a–d. Near Eastern statuettes

Bronze

a. H. 21.3 cm (8 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.)

b. H. 14.9 cm (5 $\frac{7}{8}$ in.)

c. H. 20.6 cm (8 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.)

d. H. 30 cm (11 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.)

Samos, Heraion

Late 8th–7th century B.C.

Archaeological Museum, Vathy, Samos, Greece

(B 1217/A 943, B 1594/A 630, B 1218/A 945,

B 1285/A 921)

Like other works of art imported from the Near East that have been discovered in the Heraion of Samos, these statuettes date to the late eighth to seventh century B.C. They may have originally been furniture elements, such as those shown as components of thrones on Assyrian reliefs, or votive or cult statues.¹ It remains a question for debate whether they were chosen as dedications for reasons connected with their original significance or simply as prized exotica from foreign lands.

The frontal, standing, beardless male figure (cat. 168a) wears a long garment with an incised belt and a fringe, indicated by incised wavy lines. The figure raises his open right hand and bends his left arm at the elbow. An object would have been held in the closed left fist, which is pierced by a vertical hole. The figure's hair, rendered by vertical, shallow incisions ending in voluminous curls in the round, falls to the shoulders. He wears a horned polos, indicating his divine status. A hole in each foot originally secured the statuette to a base. One of the few freestanding bronze statuettes of Near Eastern origin found in the Heraion, it was likely imported from Urartu. This type of divine figure derives from Assyrian art, in which the deity would have been represented bearded, but in Urartian art the figure is shown as beardless. The horned headdress, also characteristic of Urartian art, appears on a bronze sphinx and an ivory statuette from Toprakkale.²

The statuette of a bearded male figure making a gesture of worship (cat. 168b) wears a long fitted garment with short sleeves indicated on the upper arms. His feet stand on a rounded base, which is hollow and filled with lead. The right hand of the figure is open and raised; the left is missing. The hair falls to his shoulders and is tied with a ribbon. The style of the statuette indicates it derives from an Assyrian workshop.³

The third statuette, also of a bearded male figure (cat. 168c), wears a long fitted garment like that worn by the previous example. His feet stand on a small rectangular base with a central tenon underneath. His arms are raised slightly; he holds a vessel in his right hand, and although his left hand is now empty, it may originally have held an object. On his head he wears a horned

forces of nature.⁶ According to Kantor, images of the kneeling Master of Animals from the Near East may have inspired representations of the “kneeling master” in the Archaic Greek world (800–480 B.C.). The lower register depicts two nude females clasping their breasts, each standing on lions' heads, perhaps representing the goddesses Qudshu, Astarte, and/or Anat (or their servants), who have also been identified as Mistresses of Animals (for an ivory from Nimrud with similar imagery, see fig. 4.20).⁷ Similar plaques in the North Syrian style have been found at Aegean sites, including Miletos and Samos.⁸ Phoenician, Greek, and North Syrian merchants and itinerant craftpersons may have helped transfer such exotic objects and ideas between east and west.⁹

JDMG

1. Kantor 1962, pp. 93–108, pls. XI–XV. 2. Kantor (ibid., pp. 94–95) suggested it had fallen from “the highest floor of the building, that is from the floor above the Tiglath-Pileser III level.” 3. Heather Snow, personal communication. 4. Compare depictions from Zincirli: Kantor 1962, fig. 2; Barnett 1957, p. 100, fig. 37; and from Assyrian relief sculpture: Kantor 1962, pp. 93, 95–96, fig. 3, referencing Layard 1849a, pl. 13. 5. Compare MMA 53.120.1–2 (Kantor 1962, p. 97, fig. 6). 6. See Counts and Arnold 2010. 7. This type of frontal female figure, here with the lion denoting divine status, is commonly referred to as the “naked goddess.” As noted by Kantor (1962, p. 100) lions are commonly associated with the goddesses Cybele, Ishtar (Astarte), and Qadesh (Qudshu). Some suggest “Qudshu” was a syncretic title for the goddesses Anat, Astarte, or Asherah, whereas others suggest she was a deity in her own right. Anat and Astarte were associated with war and hunting and were also Mistresses of Animals. Astarte is further identified as an equestrian goddess; see Cornelius 1993, pp. 23–25. Kantor (1962, pp. 100–101) suggested a connection between the naked goddess and Potnia Theron in Greek tradition, the Mistress of Animals. See Day 1992, Cornelius 1993, and Cornelius 2004. 8. Kantor 1962, pp. 108–9, figs. 13a,b. 9. See Burkert 1992, Treister 1995, and Whitley 2001, chap. 6.



168a, front and back

headdress, indicating that he, like catalogue number 168a, is a deity. The modeling of the figure, especially the facial features, is somewhat crude, but fine detail is evident in the hair and garment, which are rendered with stippled lines. Originally thought to have been made in Assyria,⁴ its place of manufacture is now thought to have been a provincial workshop with an unusual style that cannot yet be definitively assigned to any region.⁵

The fourth statuette represents a war god (cat. 168d). The male figure is shown striding with his left leg forward, left arm extended, and right arm bent at the elbow, with the hand clenched in a fist. A hole pierced through the fist indicates that he originally held a weapon, now missing. He wears a short garment with a wide belt and is bare-chested. On his head is a conical headdress, with five partially preserved horns, topped by a knob. A protective flap covers the back of the neck, and there are two semicircular appendages at the top of his ears, probably for their protection. The belt, hem of the garment, and crown are decorated with cross-hatching, as are the beard and neck flap. Since its closest parallels were found at the Levantine sites of Byblos, Ugarit, and Megiddo, the statuette likely depicts the great Syrian god Hadad.⁶

MV-S



168b



168c



168d

1. Curtis 1994b, pp. 6–8. 2. Walter and Viernseil 1959, pp. 35ff., no. 3, Beil. 79, 80,1; Jantzen 1972, pp. 76–78, pl. 783; Kyrieleis 1983, p. 33, pl. 20; and Maria Viglaki in Stampolidis 2003b, p. 458, no. 810. 3. Jantzen 1972, pp. 70–73, pl. 70. 4. Walter and Viernseil 1959, pp. 35ff., no. 4, Beil. 80,2, 81,1; Jantzen 1972, pp. 70, 72, 73, pl. 69. 5. Curtis 1994b, p. 2, n. 4. 6. Jantzen 1972, p. 66, pl. 64.

169a–c. Figurines of men and dogs

Bronze

a. H. 7.3 cm (2 $\frac{7}{8}$ in.)

Babylonian (?), ca. 7th century B.C.

The Trustees of the British Museum, London (BM 94346)

b. H. 8.6 cm (3 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.)

Samos, Heraion

Babylonian (?), ca. 7th century B.C.

Archaeological Museum, Vathy, Samos, Greece (B2086)

c. H. 10.5 cm (4 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.)

Susa

Babylonian or Neo-Elamite, ca. 7th century B.C.

Musée du Louvre, Paris, Département des Antiquités Orientales (Sb 5632)

Although each of these three figurines depicts a standing man accompanied by a sitting or squatting dog, there are certain variations among them. The group from the British Museum (cat. 169a) shows the man resting his left arm on the shoulders of the dog while his right hand touches his face in a gesture of salutation.¹ He wears a cap and a full-length tunic apparently without a belt, but the group was very crudely cast and is corroded, so details are obscure. In the figurine from Samos (cat. 169b), the man's right arm is upraised and his left hand rests on the dog's neck.² He is bearded and has a full head of hair bunched at the back of his neck. His full-length, belted tunic falls in pleats at the back below the belt; a single band or sash passes over his left shoulder. The third figure, found at Susa (cat. 169c), represents the man with his

right arm upraised and his left around the neck of a large dog that squats on its haunches.³ This man's beard and hair are similar to those of the man in the figure from Samos. He also wears a full-length, belted tunic, with two sashes or straps crossing over on his chest.

Bronze groups showing a man and dog have been discovered at a number of sites in the ancient Near East and beyond. Apart from those described above, there are two more examples from Samos⁴ and one from Isin.⁵ A bronze man and dog were discovered together with six bronze dogs at Nippur⁶ in the same level as fragments of an inscribed cylinder of the Assyrian king Esarhaddon (680–669 B.C.). The Nippur man has crossed bands on his chest like those on the Susa example. Despite the three figurines found in the temple of Hera at Samos, it seems clear that these objects should be associated with the Mesopotamian world, in which case the Samos examples would be votive deposits like many of the other Near Eastern or Orientalizing objects from the site. The circumstances in which such objects were brought to Samos are obscure.

It has been claimed that the crossed bands on the chest of the Samos figurine indicate a Babylonian origin,⁷ but a North Syrian origin has also been suggested.⁸ Babylonia seems more likely, as it does for the figurine without provenance (cat. 169a). It is possible that the figurine from Susa may also have originated in Babylonia, but it could be a local Elamite copy as well. On the basis of the comparative material and the men's hairstyles, we may hazard a dating to the seventh century B.C. for all three.

The precise purpose of these man-and-dog figurines is unclear, but it is possible that they are related to the model clay dogs discovered in buildings of Assyrian, Babylonian, and Achaemenid date. The set of five clay dogs found in the North Palace at Nineveh was painted in various colors and had different inscriptions such as "Loud is his bark" and "Don't think, bite!"⁹ These were deposited in a niche on one side of a door in the palace. According to a contemporary ritual,¹⁰ model clay dogs should be deposited in groups of ten, in which case there would probably have been another five on the other side of the doorway. Sometimes these clay dogs were placed in brick boxes under the floor, as at Ur.¹¹ In both cases, however, it seems the purpose of the animals was the same: to act as substitutes for real dogs and protect the buildings with which they were associated. There is, however, another class of clay dogs found in Mesopotamia that were not protective in function but, according to their inscriptions, were votive offerings to Gula, the goddess of healing, whose associated animal was a dog.¹²

In the man-and-dog figurines, the person with the dog is always male, but he does not seem to be a god or a protective spirit. He may be the person making the votive offering to Gula or, more likely, simply the dog's master. Anthony Green tentatively suggests that model bronze dogs may have been deposited in groups of seven, rather like *apkallu* (clay figurines of human figures with fish cloaks or bird heads), pointing out that seven such dogs were appar-



169a



169b



169c

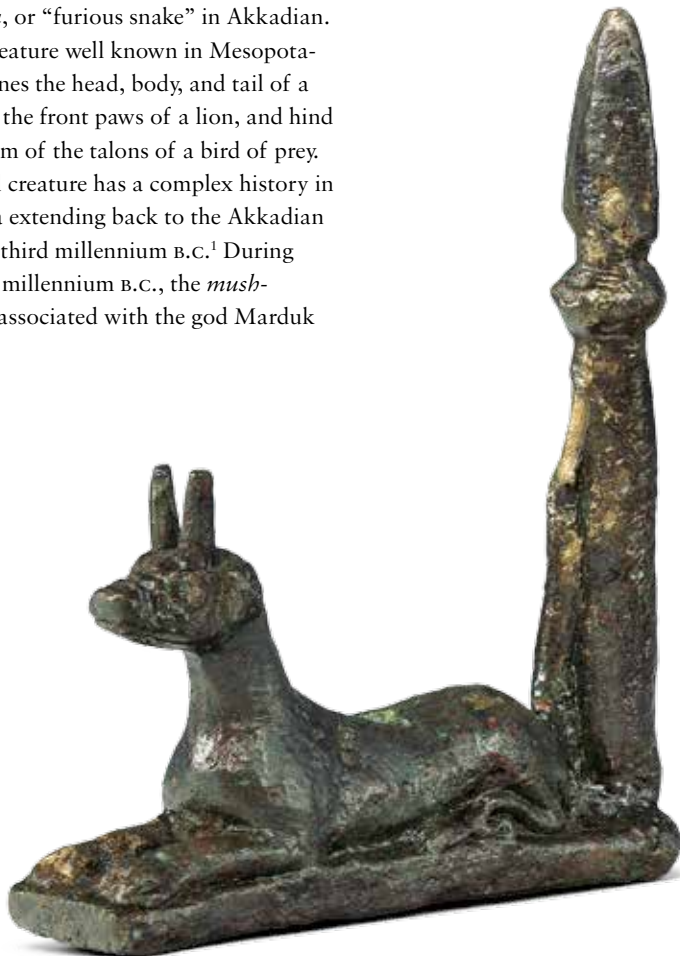
ently found in a well in the Northwest Palace at Nimrud and that seven others (one together with a man) were discovered at Nippur.¹³ Another four bronze dogs were found under a pavement at Ur.¹⁴ This would seem to suggest that our man-and-dog figurines were originally associated with sets of bronze dogs and had a protective or apotropaic function rather than being votive deposits. JC

1. Braun-Holzinger 1984, no. 327, pl. 64; Curtis and Reade 1995, no. 78. 2. Kyrieleis 1979, figs. 1–6; Braun-Holzinger 1984, no. 331, pl. 63; Curtis 1994b, figs. 16, 17; Braun-Holzinger and Rehm 2005, p. 87, no. 13, pl. 19. 3. Dieulafoy 1893, p. 437, fig. 327; Spycket 1981, p. 391, pl. 252; Braun-Holzinger 1984, no. 329 (with earlier references), pl. 63. 4. Jantzen 1972, p. 70, pl. 72, BB 779; Kyrieleis 1979, figs. 7–19, B 2078. 5. Hrouda 1977, pls. 12, 25. 6. Crawford 1959: photo on p. 81. 7. Braun-Holzinger 1988, pp. 127–28. 8. Braun-Holzinger and Rehm 2005, p. 89. 9. Green in Curtis and Reade 1995, p. 116. 10. Rittig 1977, pp. 163–170. 11. Woolley 1965, p. 94, pl. 32. 12. Green in Curtis and Reade 1995, p. 116. 13. *Ibid.*, pp. 116–17. 14. Woolley 1962, p. 16, pl. 25.

170. Mushhushshu figurine

Bronze; H. 10.5 cm (4 1/8 in.), L. 8.9 cm (3 1/2 in.)
Samos, Heraion
Babylonian, late 8th–early 7th century B.C.
Archaeological Museum, Vathy, Samos, Greece
(B 1124/A 31)

The animal represented by this figurine is a *mushhushshu*, or “furious snake” in Akkadian. A fantastic creature well known in Mesopotamia, it combines the head, body, and tail of a horned viper, the front paws of a lion, and hind legs in the form of the talons of a bird of prey. This mythical creature has a complex history in Mesopotamia extending back to the Akkadian period of the third millennium B.C.¹ During the early first millennium B.C., the *mushhushshu* was associated with the god Marduk



and his city, Babylon (see cat. 210), although after the Assyrian king Sennacherib’s conquest of Babylon it was sometimes depicted accompanying certain Assyrian gods, including the chief god, Ashur.

The figurine is rendered frontally and recumbent on a rectangular base. The hind legs are undersize in comparison with the forelegs, which extend in front of the body. The head is crowned by horns, and the neck is held straight. The tail is raised against a cylindrical element that ends in a flat knob below a pointed spade or lance blade. The details of the head are rendered in relief, whereas those of the rest of the body are incised. The surface is heavily corroded. A circular hole runs through the base and the animal’s body, suggesting the bronze may have been mounted on a rod. Alternatively, the hole may have been used to fix a separately made statuette of Marduk to the back of the sacred animal.² The figure was likely made in Babylonia and deposited at the Heraion on Samos as a votive offering to the goddess, although the specific reasons for dedicating this object so far from the place of its origin are not known.³ MV-S

1. Black and Green 1992, p. 166, s.v. “snake-dragon.” 2. Jantzen 1972, pp. 71, 74, pl. 72. 3. Curtis 1994b; *contra* Jantzen 1972, who assigns it to an Assyrian workshop.

171. Pazuzu mace-head

Bronze; H. 6.2 cm (2 1/2 in.), max. Diam. 6.5 cm (2 1/2 in.)
Samos, Heraion, “South Building” on west section of South Stoa
Assyrian or Babylonian, 9th–7th century B.C.
Archaeological Museum, Vathy, Samos, Greece
(B 1076/A 1323)

The sides of this cylindrical bronze object are decorated in the round with four identical heads of a demonic creature—rendered with a grinning mouth, snarling canine muzzle, thick horizontal eyebrows, and horns—above a spool-shaped base. Hollow and partially filled with lead, it is pierced vertically, suggesting the object was used as a mace-head. An agate mace with bulls’ heads from Cyprus has been suggested as a parallel.¹

The demon depicted, Pazuzu, originated in Mesopotamia (see “Demons, Monsters, and Magic” in this volume, pp. 263–67) and was a powerful apotropaic figure in the early first millennium B.C. Amulets with Pazuzu’s image, often in the shape of his head, were popular at this time throughout the Near East and eastern Mediterranean. This object, however, is the only known mace-head decorated with Pazuzu heads. Nils Heessel has proposed that it could have been used to ritually destroy clay figurines of evil demons, directing Pazuzu’s strength against them in the service of the person conducting the ritual.² It is unlikely that such a usage for this object would have been known in Samos, and its deposition in the Heraion more likely reflects a secondary reuse outside its original Mesopotamian context. MV-S

1. Jantzen 1972, p. 57, pl. 51; Richter 1915, p. 458, no. 1814. 2. Heessel 2002, p. 53.



RHODES

172. Female head

Ivory; H. 3.5 cm (1 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.), max. W. 2 cm ($\frac{3}{4}$ in.)
Rhodes, lalysos, deposit of the Athena sanctuary
8th century B.C.
Archaeological Museum, Rhodes, Greece (7942)

Depicted frontally, this female head has large, almond-shaped eyes with pupils formed as cavities that were originally inlaid with a contrasting material. She wears a diadem or low polos decorated with alternating vertical lines and discs. At the center of the crown, above the forehead, is a rectangular ornament with hanging fringes. Short, vertical curls frame the forehead and long ones fall on either side of the face. A hooped earring with small hanging spheres can be seen in the remaining right ear. The detailed rendering of the facial characteristics, hair, and elaborate jewelry link this head to the ivory-carving style of North Syria,¹ which constitutes, along with the Phoenician and South Syrian styles, one of the three major schools of ivory-working in the early first millennium B.C.²

The fragmentary state of this object provides no evidence of its original placement. However, similar female protomes and full-length nude figures, sometimes wearing the polos or the characteristic forehead ornament seen here, were used to decorate rhyta, cosmetic containers, horse trappings, and items of furniture. They could also form the handles of flywhisks and mirrors or be freestanding figurines (see “Nimrud Ivories” in this volume, pp. 141–50). The nudity of these female figures—especially when combined, as here, with the characteristic forehead ornament and the earrings, both also known from representations on “women at the window” plaques (see cat. 51b)—indicates that they may have been associated with the cult of Astarte. They have therefore been identified as either the so-called nude goddesses or as Astarte herself.³

Ivories with nude goddesses have been discovered in Neo-Assyrian palaces as well as in some Greek sanctuaries, including those of Hera at Samos, Artemis Orthia at Sparta, Athena at Lindos⁴ and Kameiros⁵ on Rhodes, and the Ida Cave in Crete.⁶ The small ivory plaques with this image from the deposit of the temple of Athena at Kameiros, now in the British Museum, London, are products of local workshops dated to the seventh century B.C. Their schematic and concise rendering differentiates them from their Near Eastern prototypes. In contrast, the present example closely resembles a head from the Northwest Palace at Nimrud in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.⁷



1. Barnett 1975b, pp. 51 and 128, pl. 15; Martelli 2000, pp. 105–6, pls. 2–4. 2. For the workshops, see Winter 1976b; Winter 1981; Barnett 1982; and Herrmann and Laidlaw 2009, pp. 75ff. 3. For the “nude goddesses” and their use in the decoration of ivory objects, see Mallowan 1966, pp. 211–15, 538, fig. 549; Orchard 1967, pp. 27–31, nos. 136–49, pls. XXVII–XXXII (horse trappings/equipment); Barnett 1975b, pp. 101–8, 202, no. S. 146, pl. LXIII (horse trappings), pp. 204–10, nos. S. 172–252, pls. LXX–LXXVII (only heads), pp. 213–17, nos. S. 308, S. 334, fig. 85, pl. XCI, XCII (handles); and Herrmann and Laidlaw 2009, p. 137, nos. 41–43, pl. 6, pp. 187–89, nos. 236, 237, pls. 50–58, pp. 206–7, no. 287, pl. 94. See also Böhm 1990, pp. 125ff., especially 132–33. 4. Blinkenberg 1931, pp. 399–400, no. 1582; Böhm 1990, pp. 40–41, fig. 59, p. 159, no. E 14–1, pl. 16a–c; Martelli 2000, p. 105, n. 14. 5. Schofield 1992, pp. 174–75, pl. 1; Böhm 1990, pp. 158–59, nos. E10–E13, pls. 12, 13a; Martelli 2000, p. 111, figs. 15–26; Böhm 2003, p. 364, fig. 4. 6. For ivories with nude goddesses in Greece, see Böhm 1990, pp. 24–25, 156–59, no. E1–E16, pls. 6–9, 12, 13, 16, and Böhm 2003. 7. Mallowan 1966, pp. 211, 213, figs. 148, 149; Lines 1955, p. 236. For the facial characteristics, see Barnett 1975b, p. 216, no. 334o, pl. XCIII.

173. Window plaque

Ivory; H. 7.5 cm (3 in.), W. 6.3 cm (2 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.)
Rhodes, lalysos, deposit of Athena sanctuary
Early 8th century B.C.
Archaeological Museum, Rhodes, Greece (7955)

A simplified variation of the motif known as the “woman at the window” is shown on this small plaque.¹ It depicts a narrow, elongated window framed on three sides by three tiered bands. Below the window are four small columns with capitals shaped like palm trees, crowned by a rail. In more complete versions of these plaques, a frontal female head, often wearing an Egyptian wig, appears in the opening of the window. This iconographic theme has been associated with the worship of Astarte, the Phoenician goddess of love and fertility. It has been argued, on the basis of a passage from

Herodotos (1.199), that sacred prostitution was an aspect of the goddess’s worship and that this is expressed in the depiction of the female figure on plaques of this type, who appears at the window gazing intensely at the viewer.²

Woman-at-the-window plaques were considered a Phoenician invention, as their form closely follows that of Phoenician architecture.³ They have been found in the palaces of Nimrud, Khorsabad, Arslan Tash, Samaria, and elsewhere, both in complete and in abbreviated versions (see cat. 51b, fig. 3.31).⁴ Used as decorative elements of luxurious chairs or beds, they were originally enhanced by inlays and gilding.⁵

The existence of contacts between Rhodes, Phoenicia, and the Syro-Palestinian coast during the early first millennium B.C. is clearly indicated not only by literary evidence but also by exotic objects found in Rhodian sanctuaries—such as this plaque, tridacna shells from the sanctuary of Athena at Lindos, a limestone sphinx figurine with an illegible Phoenician inscription from the sanctuary of the archaic settlement at Vroulia, south Rhodes, and small clay lekythoi either imported from Phoenicia or made as Phoenician imitations—as well as by Phoenician inscriptions. These contacts may indicate that Phoenician craftsmen, who traded extensively with the people of Rhodes, may also have temporarily settled on the island.⁶

1. For the plaque, see Barnett 1975b, pp. 128–29; Martelli 2000, pp. 106–7, fig. 7; Patsiada 2012, p. 147, no. 85. 2. For the significance of the plaques, see Barnett 1975b, pp. 149–51; Suter 1992; Washbourne 1999. 3. Barnett 1975b, pp. 146–47, fig. 53; Suter 1992, pp. 12–21; Martelli 2000, p. 10 nn. 20–22; Herrmann and Laidlaw 2009, pp. 71, fig. 20, 84, 153–57, nos. 110–22, pl. H and 18–19. 4. For plaques without the female protome, see Barnett 1975b, p. 149, fig. 55 (from lalysos), fig. 56; Herrmann 1986, pp. 105–6, nos. 239–42, pl. 51; Herrmann 1992, p. 93, nos. 259–62, pl. 51, and pp. 122–23, no. 437, pl. 89; Martelli 2000, p. 10, figs. 8, 9; Herrmann and Laidlaw 2009, p. 154. 5. Thimme 1973, pp. XIII–XIV. 6. Coldstream 1969, pp. 1–8; Kourou 2003; Bourogianis 2012; Patsiada 2012; Stampolidis 2012b, pp. 56, 58.



174. Striding deity with a conical headdress

Bronze; H. 21.2 cm (8 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.), W. 6.1 cm (2 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.)
Rhodes, sanctuary of Athena at Lindos
8th century B.C.
Nationalmuseet, Copenhagen (10431)

175. Relief panel with an offering scene in Egyptian style

Ivory; H. 9.1 cm (3 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.), W. 3.8 cm (1 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.)
Rhodes, sanctuary of Athena at Lindos
5th–4th century B.C. (?)
Nationalmuseet, Copenhagen (10341)

Between 1902 and 1905, a Danish archaeological expedition carried out extensive excavations in the sanctuary of Athena on the acropolis of Lindos on Rhodes.¹ The architectural remains date mainly from the fourth to the second century B.C. or later, but votives offered by worshippers to the goddess show that the sanctuary was active from at least the ninth or eighth century B.C. onward. Most of these offerings were manufactured locally or regionally, but others originated far from the Aegean. A case in point is the bronze figurine of a striding deity,² identified as the Near Eastern god Reshef (cat. 174). This statue was probably made in North Syria in the eighth century B.C.³ Other votive gifts originated in Cyprus,⁴ Phoenicia, and Egypt, such as the fragmentary ivory panel in Egyptian style, which probably decorated a small box (cat. 175).⁵ The relief depicts a young woman grasping a jar in her left hand. A lotus flower hangs from her fingers and a duck from her elbow, and she carries a small basket in the right hand. A calf, probably an offering for sacrifice, can be seen in the background, and a boy wearing a loincloth stands in front of her. The date of this ivory has been debated. Comparable in style to Egyptian stone reliefs of the fourth century B.C.,⁶ it has been suggested that the plaque could have been part of an ivory box donated to Athena by Ptolemy I (323–283 B.C.), who is known to have visited Lindos. He was the first ruler of the Ptolemaic kingdom, of which Alexandria was the capital.⁷ There is almost no documentation of the existence of an ivory-carving industry in Alexandria at this time,⁸ however, and later Alexandrian ivories are in a different, more Greek style,⁹ perhaps the reason why Irene J. Winter associated the fragment with earlier “Phoenician” ivory carvings.¹⁰ Yet the Phoenician ivories datable to the first centuries of the first millennium B.C. are likewise in a different style.¹¹ Richard D. Barnett more convincingly dated the panel to the fifth to fourth century B.C.,



implying that it was an Egyptian (not necessarily Alexandrian) work,¹² but our knowledge of ivory carvings in Egypt in those centuries is almost as limited as that of Phoenicia.¹³ Be that as it may, both the bronze figurine and the ivory relief reflect the long-standing international character of the sanctuary of Athena at Lindos, which was one of the venues where Greeks could experience “exotic” objects from the Levant and Egypt firsthand.¹⁴

JL

1. Blinkenberg 1931 and 1941; Dyggve 1960; Lippolis 1996.
2. Blinkenberg 1931, pp. 395–99, no. 1572, pl. 64.
3. Canby 1969, pp. 147–48 n. 30, pl. 41.b; Buhl 1974, pp. 84–86, no. 74; Seeden 1980, p. 126, no. 1810, pl. 113; Alroth 1989, p. 86, no. 13, n. 526, fig. 44; Lambrou-Phillipson 1990, pp. 391–92, no. 590, pl. 18; Bonnet 1995, p. 659; Kourou 2003, p. 252.
4. Cf. V. Karageorghis et al. 2001, pp. 58–61 and 77–89.
5. Blinkenberg 1931, p. 214, no. 686, pl. 28.
6. Buhl 1948.
7. Buhl 1974, pp. 49–53, no. 40; Dietz and Trolle 1974, pp. 98–99, fig. 100.
8. Cf. Barnett 1982, p. 66 n. 19; Rodziewicz 1998, pp. 135–37; Rodziewicz 2007, pp. 37–38.
9. See, e.g., Marangou 1976; Rodziewicz 1998 and 2007.
10. Winter 1973, p. 22; Winter 2010, p. 203.
11. Barnett 1982, pp. 46–48; Winter 2010, pp. 187–224.
12. Barnett 1982, p. 22 n. 94, pl. 8.b, and p. 66.
13. Ibid., p. 22; Eric Gubel, “Ivoirerie,” in Gubel 1986, p. 231.
14. For the temple of Athena Lindia as a museum, see Shaya 2005.

176a, b. Plaques

Gold
a. H. 5.2 cm (2 in.), W. 2.9 cm (1 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.)
b. H. 3.5 cm (1 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.), W. 2.7 cm (1 in.)
Rhodes, Kameiros
Orientalizing, 660–620 B.C.
The Trustees of the British Museum, London
(GR 1861.0425.3 [Jewellery 1107]; GR 1860.0201.61 [Jewellery 1109])

Groups of rectangular plaques made of gold with varying amounts of silver,¹ worn strung together or stitched on clothing, were frequent finds in the rich inhumation burials in chamber tombs excavated in the Kameiros cemeteries on Rhodes during the nineteenth century. They bear witness to the high level of skill of the Rhodian goldsmiths, who catered to a discerning local market, making Rhodes, like Melos, a major production center for jewelry in the Orientalizing period.

Catalogue number 176a, an exquisitely worked piece that was probably either one of a pair² or the terminal piece from a set of six or seven (fig. 4.21),³ combines human and animal figures molded from thin sheet gold, decorated with finely detailed granulation, and attached by soldering to a rectangular backplate.⁴ In the center, raised above the groundline, stands the winged Mistress of Animals holding a lion upside down in each hand. She wears a dress decorated with granulation and stands on a triangle

pattern representing mountainous terrain. Her triangular, Daedalic-style⁵ face is framed by hair indicated by vertical strips of granulation. The lions arch their backs and twist their heads back to bite the goddess. Their open, snarling mouths are reminiscent of those of the Late Proto-Corinthian lions that echo Assyrianizing ones in Near Eastern bronzes and ivories.⁶ Two hawks perch on the upper rim; between them, a large ten-petaled star or rosette, now missing its central element (perhaps a lion's head, as on the similar plaque now in Berlin),⁷ conceals a suspension pin. Two loops and two pierced holes at the bottom indicate where added elements, perhaps pomegranates (a long-established symbol of fertility), were originally attached. A four-strand braided strip frames the image.

The winged figure must represent either the goddess Artemis or a related deity shown as the Mistress of Animals (Potnia Theron in Greek).⁸ Such representations emphasize the goddess' control of the most powerful of beasts, the lion. As in the temple of Artemis at Ephesos, hawks also played an important role in these images, which were most likely derived from an Anatolian cult.⁹ The goddess dominates the animal kingdom, controls animal and human fertility, and protects vulnerable mothers and children.¹⁰ The great many surviving variants show that she was the most popular form of decoration for such plaques, which both adorned and protected the wearer.¹¹

A striding sphinx with a frontal human head, placed above three Daedalic-style heads, appears on the second plaque (cat. 176b), one of a pair.¹² The sphinxes and heads were clearly impressed from molds or dies and added by soldering. In the field are teardrop-shaped cloisonné cells, now empty, plus one circular cell above each sphinx's back.¹³ The whole is surrounded by a braided border. Granulation was added to details of the wigs and wings, while the muscular legs were modeled in repoussé. Along the upper edge are three tubular suspension loops, while below four pomegranates, hollow and suspended on chains from small loops, jingle very satisfyingly. A thin plate of gold was added at the back to strengthen the plaques, and three depressions behind the Daedalic heads indicate clearly where their hollow shells were attached.

Egyptian in origin but widely represented in the Near East, notably in Syria and Phoenicia, the sphinx was a protective guardian, popular in Greece during the Mycenaean period but lost and then reintroduced to Greece from the Near East during the Iron Age.¹⁴ Like many of the most powerful monsters of the Greek imagination, Greek sphinxes were female, although in Egypt and the Near East they could also be



Fig. 4.21. Seven gold plaques with the Mistress of Animals. Rhodes. Orientalizing. The Trustees of the British Museum (1861.II-11.1, 3, 4 [Jewellery 1128-30])

male. Along with the Mistress of Animals, the bee goddess Melissa, and the centaur carrying his prey, the sphinx was a common motif in this type of jewelry.¹⁵ V W

1. Laffineur 1978, pp. 165–66. 2. Marshall 1969, no. 1107, pl. XI; Laffineur 1978, no. 35, fig. 8, pl. VI; Higgins 1980, pl. 19E; and H. Tait 1986, pp. 79–81, no. 92. 3. See the string of seven plaques and the two end pieces with attached rosettes in Marshall 1911 (nos. 1129, 1128, 1130). The best illustration appears in Despini 1996 (p. 146, no. 133, colorpl.). 4. For techniques, see Marshall 1911, pp. 26–27, under no. 1107; Higgins 1980, pp. 11–34; and Jack Ogden in Williams and Ogden 1994, pp. 27–28, and references therein. 5. R. Jenkins 1936; Davaras 1976, pp. 64–65.

6. See the lion on the Proto-Corinthian Macmillan Aryballos, a little earlier than our sprightly examples (Pedley 2002, p. 130, fig. 5.3), and on the aryballos pictured in Dunbabin 1957, pl. 15.1. Both are inspired by models in Neo-Hittite Assyrianizing art, for example at Tell Tayinat; *ibid.*, pp. 47–48, pl. 14.3. 7. Laffineur 1978, no. 3, pls. 1.3, 1.4; Despini 1996, p. 148, colorpl.; Greifenhagen 1974, pp. 20–21. 8. Homer, *Iliad* 21.470; see Burkert 1985, p. 149. 9. Hogarth 1908, p. 202, pl. 43, nos. 1–4, and for gold and other materials, pls. 4, 7, 10, 11, 15, 25; compare gold examples in Marshall 1911, pl. 10, nos. 1036, 1037, 1039, 1041, 1042 (some mounted as fibulae, see figs. 16 and 17); for glazed-ware hawks, Dawkins 1929, pl. 206.4; see also ivory plaques with frontal-facing Potnia Theron, holding geese, with hawks on shoulders, *ibid.*, pls. 98.1, 98.2. 10. Fischer-Hansen and Poulsen 2009, p. 23. 11. Higgins 1980,

p. 116, nos. 2–5. **12.** Marshall 1911, p. 87, nos. 1108, 1109, pl. 11; Laffineur 1978, nos. 36, 37, pl. 6; and Higgins 1980, pl. 19C. Both the sphinx and the heads below have the hairstyle/“wig” divided into horizontal tiers, which typifies the Daedalic style originating in Crete. Such female heads are usually identified as representing the Near Eastern “woman at the window,” or Astarte; Barnett 1982, p. 50, pl. 50b. **13.** The two sphinx “shells” were attached at different angles, leaving two randomly shaped spaces above to be filled—a corroboration of the method of manufacture suggested. For inserts, early Orientalizing jewelry from Crete (Khaniale Tekke) has rock crystal and amber paste (?); Boardman 1967a, pp. 57–75. A Geometric earring from Athens is missing its insert; see Marshall 1911, no. 1240; and H. Tait 1986, p. 80, no. 87. Other materials possibly include glass or faience paste. Scientific analysis might clarify the answer to this question. **14.** See a gold diadem from Kos from the same workshops as our piece in Georgoula 1999, pp. 127–28, no. 31; and Laffineur 1978, nos. 40–42, pl. 6, with the head at a similar angle. For more information on the sphinx in this period, see Demisch 1977. **15.** Higgins 1980, no. 8, p. 117.

177. Rosette with the head of a griffin

Gold; H. 2.2 cm (7/8 in.), Diam. 4.1 cm (1 5/8 in.)

Rhodes (?)

Orientalizing, ca. 630–620 B.C.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Rogers Fund, 1912 (12.229.24)

After the collapse of the Late Bronze Age Mycenaean world, objects made of precious materials became scarce on the Greek mainland and the Aegean Islands. However, during the eighth and seventh centuries B.C.—the so-called Orientalizing period in Greece—jewelry and other luxury goods began to flourish once again, especially in areas east of the mainland. An exceptionally striking example of fine goldsmithing work from the period is this rosette, which is connected to Rhodes by provenance but related to examples from Melos in type.

The intricately designed ornament was fashioned from a flat sheet of gold, cut out in the shape of a rosette with six petals. The contour of the flower is accentuated by the placement of one row of beaded wire next to one of granulation, and numerous small rosette clusters decorate the interior space of the flower. A small but elaborately constructed element—consisting of a domed rosette with edges of wire and granulation laid over a domed and repoussé star shape—embellishes each of the six petals. Three of these elements have a hole in the center, perhaps for the attachment of an additional component, such as the bees that survive on a comparable jewel from Melos.¹ Each of the six miniature versions of the overall ornament is raised off the surface by means of interlocking tubes, with one tube attached to the surface fitting, sleeve-like, into another attached to the underside of the flower. The three-dimensionality of the



piece is further enhanced by an even more elevated central rosette from which the head of a horned griffin rises theatrically. This rosette, like its six smaller counterparts, is decorated with wire and granulated edges, while the facial features of the griffin are highlighted primarily with granulation but also with some wirework. The griffin's eyes are repoussé; its sheet-gold ears and extended tongue were formed and attached separately, as was its horn.

A series of similar rosettes, varying in decorative details, were found on the island of Melos.² It was originally thought that these exquisite creations served as ornaments for headbands or diadems, since many comparable rosettes decorate headgear on ivories and reliefs across the Near East and the Mediterranean during this period, in addition to existing as actual examples.³ However, because the back of the present ornament shows several perforations, rather than a runner for sliding over a metal headband, it is possible that this rosette was sewn onto cloth or leather—whether a headband or some other type of garment. It is equally plausible that the ornament was meant as a decorative element or inset for a larger object, such as a casket, which, if placed horizontally, would best exploit the visual effect of the dramatically gaping griffin.

KB

1. See Deppert-Lippitz 1985, pl. VI. **2.** *Greek Art of the Aegean Islands* 1979, pp. 154–55, nos. 101–4. **3.** *Ibid.*, p. 153, no. 100.

178. Oinochoe in the Wild Goat style

Ceramic; H. 33 cm (13 in.), max. Diam. 25 cm (9 7/8 in.)

Rhodes, Kameiros acropolis

Orientalizing, ca. 620 B.C.

Archaeological Museum, Rhodes, Greece (14807)

The decoration of this oinochoe, or wine jug, is organized in registers. Directly above the base is a band with a series of rays, followed by one with lotus blossoms and buds and then by two wider zones with, respectively, files of deer and wild goats walking to the right. The main decorative zone is on the shoulder, where the motifs are organized around a central composite vegetal ornament. Immediately to the right of this element are depicted antithetically placed waterbirds, followed by griffins, deer with their heads turned back over their bodies, and lastly swans, with their tall necks turned toward the central vegetal ornament. The space between the animals is filled with various motifs, including pairs of confronted swallows set against semi-circles. On the shoulder, the decorative zone is interrupted at the handle, where there is a section painted with brown slip. The neck is decorated with rhomboid ornaments, rosettes, and squares as well as with a guilloche around its base, all executed in white on a background painted in brown slip.

This oinochoe¹ belongs to the so-called Wild Goat style, the most characteristic product of the pottery workshops of East Greece from approximately the middle of the seventh



Fig. 4.22. Bronze vessel with animal friezes. Northwestern Iran. Iron Age II. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Purchase, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 1964 (64.257.1a, b)

century B.C. to the middle of the sixth. An extraordinary Near Eastern prototype for its figural decoration can be seen in a bronze vessel attributed to Iran and dated two centuries earlier (fig. 4.22).² Syrian and Phoenician small-scale art and metallurgy more directly influenced the creation of this pottery style, as was the case with other art forms of the Orientalizing period. Nevertheless, the East Greek pottery workshops did not merely imitate Near Eastern prototypes, but transformed them by depicting primarily local fauna, with the wild goat, the trademark of this style, being the most characteristic example. The naturalistic rendering of the animals may convey a love for nature or, from another viewpoint, for the world of the hunt, a favorite pastime of the elite of eastern Greece.³

Since examples of this pottery style were first discovered in great numbers during nineteenth-century excavations on Rhodes, earlier research pointed to that island as its place of origin. However, recent petrographic analyses of material from excavations at cities in Anatolia, the Black Sea, and North Africa have revealed that workshops of this style existed in various East Greek cities,⁴ and it has been argued that all the pottery in the Wild Goat style found on Rhodes was imported.⁵ The great metropolis of Miletos is considered the place of origin of the style. Other workshops were active in Aiolis and in northern Ionia, while workshops of lesser influence existed in Thasos, Caria, and in Miletos's colonies on the Black Sea and in North Africa. The so-called workshop of East Doris (or East Dorian workshop) is linked with the Dodecanese

and particularly with the islands of Nisyros, Kos, and Kalymnos (see cat. 179).

This oinochoe, which was produced in the pioneering workshop of the Wild Goat style at Miletos, is one of the finest examples of the style to have been found on Rhodes. Its body shape and the manner in which the decoration is executed classify it in the third phase of development of the Miletos workshop, which is placed chronologically, according to recent dating, in 630–610 B.C.⁶ The axial arrangement of the shoulder decoration, known from a number of other oinochoai, was inspired by a skilled practitioner of the style, best known for the Lévy Oinochoe, today in the Musée du Louvre, Paris. The present vessel, although not attributed to the painter of the Lévy Oinochoe, was nevertheless heavily influenced by his work.⁷ v p

1. For the oinochoe, see Jacopi 1932–33, p. 219, pls. VI, VII; Walter-Karydi 1973, pp. 50 and 132, no. 514, pl. 62; Coulié 2013, p. 160, pl. XI, fig. 153. 2. Muscarella 1972. 3. Tietz 2001; Coulié 2013, pp. 142–44. For the animals of the style, see also Schiering 1957, pp. 43–69; Kardara 1963, pp. 139–58. 4. For the pottery style and the various workshops, see Schiering 1957; Kardara 1963; Walter-Karydi 1973; Boardman 1998, pp. 141–51; Cook and Dupont 1998, pp. 29–68; Schlotzhauer and Villing 2006; Coulié 2013, pp. 142–87 (with the most recent references). 5. Cook-Dupont 1998, p. 60. 6. In Phase SiA Ic. For the dating system, see Kerschner and Schlotzhauer 2005; Schlotzhauer 2006; Coulié 2013, pp. 149–55. 7. Coulié 2013, pp. 160, and 163–65, pl. X and fig. 152 a–b, for the Lévy Oinochoe. Compare also with the Malibu Painter Oinochoe (ibid., p. 160, fig. 151) as well as with two more oinochoai from Kameiros (Walter-Karydi 1973, pp. 50, 132, nos. 511 and 513, pl. 67).

sections, the lower densely filled with tongue-shaped ornaments, the upper decorated with a single animal, usually a dog or sphinx, more rarely a lion, wild boar, sheep, or wild goat. A number of examples, probably slightly earlier in date, display decorative zones of floral and geometric ornaments surrounding the main motif.⁵ The workshop of East Doris is best represented by a small group of well-known plates depicting mythological figures and scenes, such as Perseus, the Gorgon, and the combat between Hector and Menelaos for the body of Euphorbos.⁶ The present example has many similarities with two plates from either the East Doris or Nisyros workshop, one discovered at Kameiros in the cemetery of Makry Laggoni⁷ and the other at Taucheira, in modern Libya.⁸

1. See Jacopi 1932–33, pp. 369–70, figs. 416, 417, and Kardara 1963, p. 287, fig. 271. 2. For the workshops of East Doris and Nisyros, see Kardara 1963, pp. 276–89; Cook and Dupont 1998, pp. 61–63; Walter-Karydi 1998, pp. 292–93; Schlotzhauer and Villing 2006, p. 60; Filimonos-Tsopotou 2011, pp. 367–70; Coulié 2013, pp. 184–85. 3. Attula 2006. 4. Cook and Dupont 1998, pp. 63–70; Attula 2006; Mommsen et al. 2006; Villing and Schlotzhauer 2006, pp. 62–65; Denti 2008. 5. Kardara 1963, pp. 284–89; Walter-Karydi 1998, pp. 292–93; Filimonos-Tsopotou in Stampolidis, Tassoulas, and Filimonos-Tsopotou 2011, pp. 367–69, 375; Coulié 2013, pp. 184–85. 6. Kardara 1963, pp. 204–7; Boardman 1998, p. 143, figs. 290, 296, 297; Attula 2006, pp. 86–87, fig. 5; Coulié 2013, p. 184, pl. XIX. 7. Jacopi 1932–33, p. 277, no. 12975, figs. 307, 308. 8. Boardman and Hayes 1966, pp. 43 and 49, no. 613, fig. 24, pl. 33. Compare also the dishes from Nisyros (Jacopi 1932–33, p. 498, no. 14207, fig. 25, p. 534, no. 14206, fig. 71, and p. 540, no. 14327, fig. 82).

179. Plate with standing sphinx

Ceramic; Diam. 32 cm (12 $\frac{5}{8}$ in.), H. 2.1 cm ($\frac{7}{8}$ in.)
Kameiros, Kechraki cemetery, Grave 213 (19)
Orientalizing, 600–570 B.C.
Archaeological Museum, Rhodes, Greece (12576)

A horizontal band framed by pairs of lines and filled with a zigzag line divides the bottom of this wide, nearly flat plate into two unequal semi-circular sections. The lower section is densely covered with tongue-shaped ornaments, radially placed. In the upper section, a sphinx is shown in profile to the left. The field around the creature is filled with various decorative motifs: a foliate band, a meander, a triangle topped by a spiral, small crosses, and dotted rosettes. Two small holes at the edge of the plate used for suspension suggest it was intended for display.

This plate belongs to a subgroup of vessels in the Wild Goat style, most discovered on the small Dodecanese island of Nisyros, that have thus been designated as the Nisyros Group or workshop.¹ The islands of Kos and Kalymnos and the city of Knidos have additionally been suggested as production centers of the workshops, with Rhodes, undoubtedly the most powerful center in the region, being the notable exception.² Recent petrographic analysis of sherds from Knidos³ has confirmed that this city, in the vicinity of Rhodes and Kos, was a center of production for plates of this East Dorian workshop. As demonstrated through further petrographic analysis, pottery in the Wild Goat style was also produced by local workshops in the far-flung Greek colonies on the Black Sea and in North Africa as well as in Greek and Etruscan cities in Italy;⁴ additional investigation is necessary to confirm the existence of local workshops on Rhodes and Nisyros as well.

The plates of the Nisyros or East Dorian workshop are characterized by the division of the vessel's center into two unequal semicircular



DELPHI

180. Male figure with lion

Ivory; H. 22.5 cm (8 $\frac{7}{8}$ in.), max. W. 6 cm (2 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.)
Delphi, Apollo sanctuary, deposition pit on Sacred Way
Phrygian(?), 7th century B.C.
Archaeological Museum, Delphi, Greece (9912)

This figurine, which has no exact parallels, can be placed among the various types of luxury objects that circulated throughout the Mediterranean beginning in the ninth century B.C., some of which reached the great Greek sanctuaries as offerings. Initially attributed to a Greek artist under strong Near Eastern influence, more recently the figurine has been convincingly suggested to have originated from a Phrygian workshop.¹ It has also been proposed that this unique object was made as a decorative attachment for the magnificent throne of Midas, which Herodotos (1.14) records as a dedication by the Phrygian king to the oracle at Delphi.

The front of the figurine² is carved in the round, but the back, with the exception of the coiffure, is only roughly worked. Rectangular mortises on the back indicate that the figurine was meant to be attached to another element. The surface of the ivory is burned, giving it a gray color overall. The male figure, rendered in a frontal pose, rests his left hand on the head of a small lion, as if taming it. In his right hand he holds a spear against his chest. The lion is shown rampant, with a frontal head and the body in profile. The low base on which the figure stands is divided into two parts, the lower curved and decorated with incised lance-shaped leaves, the upper formed like a narrow band and decorated with an incised meander motif. He wears two garments: a short tunic that is partly visible in front beneath a belted cloak, which covers the entire back of his body. His distinctive features include large almond-shaped eyes, originally with pupils inlaid in a different material; eyebrows rendered with incised arched lines; round cheeks; and a small mouth with a faint “archaic smile.” His hair, parted in the middle, is framed by two curls that end in rosettes on the chest. The figure’s high status is indicated by the spear and fine garments. The artist clearly intended to emphasize the lion’s great strength and aggressiveness. Although small, the animal has a muscular body, sharp, extended claws, which he raises against the male figure, and an erect phallus.

The male figure can be identified with the Master of Animals, a god or a hero who controls wild animals: a popular motif on these international prestige objects. Here the animal is represented as smaller in size than the human figure



and, although still dangerous, in a submissive posture. This statuette would have served as an appropriate dedication if contextualized as an allusion to Pythios Apollo himself, upon whose arrival, according to Aeschylus’s *Eumenides*, nature is tamed.

The figure came from two deposits excavated in 1939 in the area of the Alos, the most sacred area of the Delphi sanctuary. According to myth, it was here that Apollo killed Python, a serpent or dragon who was the son of the original deity of the sanctuary, Gaia (Earth). The deposits held the remains of precious offerings ranging in date from the end of the eighth to the end of the fifth century B.C. which were reverently buried there after an incident of destruction around 420 B.C. AP

1. DeVries and Rose 2012. 2. Amandry 1939, pp. 107–9; Amandry 1944; *Guide de Delphes* 1991, pp. 199–201, pls. 9, 10, with earlier references; Elena Partida in Stampolidis 2003b, p. 536, no. 1054.

181. Male figure with lion

Limestone with traces of paint; H. 21.3 cm (8 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.),
W. 6.4 cm (2 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.)
Naukratis, sanctuary of Aphrodite
Cypro-Archaic II, ca. 580–560 B.C.
The Trustees of the British Museum, London
(1888,0601.27)

This young god or hero mastering a lion¹ was dedicated in the sanctuary of Aphrodite at Naukratis, an Egyptian-Greek trading port in the Nile Delta home to several Greek sanctuaries.² Likely made on Cyprus, and combining Near Eastern, Greek, and Egyptian motifs, the statuette exemplifies the networks of intense contact and exchange that linked the civilizations of the eastern Mediterranean in the seventh and sixth centuries B.C.

The nude youth stands frontally and holds the legs and (probably) the tail of a lion, whose head is held downward and whose tongue protrudes. Faint traces of black, red, and yellow paint are preserved in places, including perhaps parts of a painted mustache. The youth’s body is rendered schematically, with little indication of musculature or bone structure.

The lion tamer was a key figure in the Cypriot pantheon and in Cypriot sculpture from around 600 B.C. through the Classical period. Appropriating—and modifying—the ancient Near Eastern motif of the divine, heroic, or royal lion-slayer (fig. 4.23), he appears in a number of incarnations that display varying degrees of Near Eastern and Greek iconographic influence. Most common are lion-skin-clad figures, sometimes in a smiting pose, who are often labeled as Cypriot Herakles or Herakles-Melqart.³

The figurine belongs to a small group of limestone or gypsum lion tamers, all between 20 and 50 centimeters tall and produced between the late seventh and early sixth centuries B.C., associated with the Greek god Apollo in his role as Master of Animals.⁴ The other examples also combine Greek, Egyptian, and Near Eastern motifs, in particular, a kouros-like physique, ultimately inspired by Egyptian models; nudity (often), as in a typical Greek kouros; and a grasping of the vanquished lion, like a Hittite or North Syrian Master of Animals.⁵ As most examples of the type have been found outside Cyprus,⁶ scholars have tended to attribute their hybrid style to having been manufactured at a multicultural site such as Naukratis,⁷ and some consider them to have been crucial in transmitting Egyptian motifs to Greece. Yet recent limestone analysis confirms that the figures are made of Cypriot limestone.⁸ They most likely represent yet another instance of special production by the highly versatile Cypriot workshops that catered to an extremely mobile East



Greek clientele. These traders and travelers sought stone figures of lions, sphinxes, birds, kouros, bearers of sacrificial animals, and tammers of lions to replace the monumental Cypriot terracotta sculptures that had been popular as dedications in East Greek sanctuaries in the late seventh century B.C.⁹ AV

1. Gardner 1888, pp. 57, 87, pl. 14.10; Möller 2000, pp. 159–60, 162, n. 597; Nick 2001, p. 193, fig. 1, pp. 211–12, no. 1; and Nick 2006, pp. 46–51, 109–10, no. 12, pl. 7. 2. On Naukratis, see Villing et al. n.d. 3. Nizette-Godfroid 1975; Nick 2001; Nick 2006, especially pp. 46–51; and Counts 2008, with a critical assessment of identifications with Greek or Near Eastern divine entities. 4. Nick 2001; Ursula Höckmann (2007, pp. 96–100) also discusses the possibility of an identification with Herakles. The findspots of the figurines, at any rate, encompass sanctuaries dedicated to a wide variety of deities, including female ones.



Fig. 4.23. Hero with lion. Khorsabad, palace of Sargon II, throne room facade (N). Neo-Assyrian, reign of Sargon II. Musée du Louvre, Paris (AO 19862)

5. Cf. Nizette-Godfroid 1975, pp. 98–99; Nick 2001, pp. 203–4; and U. Höckmann 2007, pp. 96–97, n. 809. Patrick Schollmeyer (2008, pp. 209–11) argues for Egyptian influence on the development of the Master of Lions iconography. 6. At Naukratis (sanctuary of Aphrodite and unknown findspots); Lindos and Kameiros, Rhodes (sanctuaries of Athena); Samos (Heraion); Knidos-Emecik (sanctuary of Apollo); Miletos (sanctuary of Aphrodite); and Cyprus (Salamis). See Nick 2001. 7. Möller 2000, pp. 160–61; Fourrier 2001; and Berges 2006, pp. 87–89. Cf. Kourou et al. 2002, pp. 31–35, and U. Höckmann 2007, pp. 110–13. 8. Kourou et al. 2002; Polikreti et al. 2004; and cf. Jenkins 2001. 9. Cf. also Höckmann (2007, pp. 99–113, 143–49), who argues along similar lines but nevertheless considers some manufacture in Naukratis possible.

182a–c. Plaques with animal imagery

Gold

a. H. 35.5 cm (14 in.), W. 13.5 cm (5 3/8 in.)

b. H. 35 cm (13 3/4 in.), W. 14 cm (5 1/2 in.)

c. H. 10 cm (4 in.), W. 10 cm (4 in.)

Delphi, sanctuary of Apollo, Sacred Way deposit Orientalizing, 6th century B.C.

Archaeological Museum, Delphi, Greece (9796, 9797, 9756)

During the excavation of the two deposits of the Delphic Alos, these gold sheets were discovered among the fragmentary remains of three chryselephantine (gold and ivory) statues that may have been cult images of Leto, Apollo, and Artemis. The statues, which have been attributed to Greek artists influenced by Near Eastern and Ionian art, underscore the cosmopolitan nature of the sanctuary at Delphi.¹ Since the eighth century B.C., the oracle's fame had spread throughout the Mediterranean basin because of its seemingly irrefutable prophecies. Its renown, recorded by Herodotos (1.14), inspired rich dedications that were presented to Pythios Apollo by Near Eastern kings such as

Midas of Phrygia and Croesus of Lydia.

These remarkable examples of archaic gold-work² were probably created by carefully hammering sheet gold against a mold into which decorative motifs had been carved. The decoration of both large plaques is organized into eight rectangular panels arranged in two columns, and the plaques are nearly mirror images of one another. Each panel depicts a real or mythical animal, Orientalizing in inspiration. Shown on plaque (a) are an ibex and a winged horse; a lion devouring its prey and a griffin; a bull and a lion with a roe deer; and a roe deer and a sphinx. Plaque (b) depicts a winged horse and an ibex; a griffin and panther; a lion with roe deer and a bull; and a sphinx and deer. The volume of the animals' bodies is rendered with great skill, as are details such as the texture of their fur, the hair of the sphinx, the graceful stride of the winged horse, the sensitive way the calf turns its head backward, the proud gaze of the roe deer, and the ferociousness of the lion with its prey. These animal representations led Pierre Amandry to conclude that the two gold sheets had adorned the garment of a chryselephantine statue of a seated deity.³ Both were attached to the statue with gilded silver nails that had heads in the shape of rosettes with enameled petals.

The square gold sheet (c), also made with the impressed technique, depicts a griffin in profile facing left. This mythical creature with a lion's body and the head of a bird of prey is rendered in movement with the right foreleg raised and bent. At the front of the head there is a forehead knob, an element also known from bronze griffin protomes attached to cauldrons. The S-shaped neck, erect, lance-shaped ears, hooked beak, and pointed tongue enhance the creature's frightening appearance, while the consistent use of spiral forms for the tail, side



182c



182a

curl, and crest heighten its decorative quality. Originally attached with eight small nails to a bronze plaque, the gold sheet was probably a chest ornament for a chryselephantine statue.



182b

The creature closely resembles griffins from Delphi that were rim attachments on cauldrons and had an apotropaic character.

AP

1. Lapatin 2001, pp. 57–60. 2. *Guide de Delphes* 1991, pp. 206–17. 3. Amandry 1962.



OLYMPIA

183. Inscribed bowl

Bronze; Diam. 20.4 cm (8 in.), H. 3.1 cm (1¼ in.)
 Olympia
 Late 8th–early 7th century B.C.
 National Archaeological Museum, Athens (X 7941)

This bowl was found on the banks of the Alpheios River at the end of the nineteenth century,¹ before the start of systematic excavations at the pan-Hellenic sanctuary of Olympia. The center of the vessel is decorated with an incised eight-rayed star, with rosettes placed between the rays. A decorated band encircles the periphery, and columns topped by lotus flowers divide the figural decoration into sections. Four of the sections depict frontal figures—either a standing, bearded male wearing a belted garment or a standing nude female holding her breasts—in a setting that appears to be a temple. Each of these figures is crowned by a winged sun disc, which indicates divine protection of the figures. Interspersed between the figures are four narrative scenes: three musicians playing flute, tympanum, and lyre walk toward the temple with the male figure; a figure sits on a throne before an offering table as another stands and performs

a sacrifice; two male figures with spears attack a griffin; and a seated figure nurses a baby as a standing figure performs a sacrifice before an offering table. The decoration is executed in repoussé. On the exterior surface of the vessel, there is an engraved inscription in Aramaic naming the owner.

The imagery and iconography on the bowl² as well as the rendering and details of the figures find parallels in Egypto-Phoenician and Syrian art. The central star device, for example, relates this work to a bowl discovered in the Northwest Palace of Nimrud that has been designated as Aramaean in origin (see cat. 53). The language in which the inscription is written, Aramaic, further indicates that its owner was likely a Syrian. The winged sun disc³ on the head of each divine figure symbolizes the Egyptian god Horus, god of the sun and sky, who was the patron deity of the city of Edfu,⁴ located on the west bank of the Nile and itself a symbol of pharaonic power.

From the ninth through the seventh century B.C., many of the offerings dedicated in pan-Hellenic sanctuaries and other important centers of worship—such as the temple of Apollo in Delos, the temple of Hera on Samos, the temples of Athena at Kameiros and Lindos on Rhodes, and the temple of Apollo Daphnephoros at



Fig. 4.24. Drawing of cat. 183

Eretria—were created by Near Eastern workshops and artists.⁵ Meanwhile, owing to maritime contacts and trade during the eighth and seventh centuries B.C., bowls of Near Eastern origin, mainly from Phoenicia, Syria, and Cyprus, became popular throughout the eastern Mediterranean as well as in Greece. The discovery of an imported bowl that had been deposited in the pan-Hellenic sanctuary at Olympia attests to this international exchange. NP

1. Ridder 1894, p. 19, no. 66. 2. Markoe 1985, pp. 204–5, no. G 3, pls. 316–19; Hasserodt 2009, p. 209 and 386, no. 27; Nomiki Palaiokrassa in Adam-Veleni and Stephani 2012, pp. 180–81, no. 138. 3. R. Wilkinson 1994, pp. 127–29. 4. Bard 1999, pp. 269–71. 5. Kourou 2007, p. 137.

184. Cauldron attachment

Bronze; H. 10 cm (4 in.), W. 20 cm (7 $\frac{7}{8}$ in.)
Olympia
Syrian, 725–700 B.C.
National Archaeological Museum, Athens (X 6122)

Found during excavations at Olympia in front of the west side of the Prytaneion, this winged male figure is depicted with wings and arms spread.¹ The figure's triangular face is characterized by large eyes with outlines rendered in strong relief, fleshy lips, and a thick nose framed by a stylized beard. The hair, which frames the face, is similarly stylized and resembles a wig. Various incised motifs decorate the figure's garments. Two rivets, one on either side, were used to attach the object to a bronze cauldron. A handle, now missing, was affixed to the ring on the back of the figure.

This attachment is the product of a Near Eastern workshop. The rendition of the beard in tiers and of the hair as uniform masses to the sides of the neck and flat on the top of the head find parallels in Assyrian art.² The details of the coiffure at the back of the neck, which is rendered as vertical incised lines enclosing small sections of short, incised diagonal lines, resemble those found on examples from North Syria.³ The incised details of the plumage are also characteristic of most Near Eastern cauldron attach-



ments.⁴ The protome both decorated the rim of a cauldron and served as an attachment for the handle of the vessel. It was probably a creation of North Syrian artisans. As an offering at the pan-Hellenic sanctuary of Olympia, it attests to the contacts between the Greeks and the people of the Near East during the early first millennium B.C. NP

1. Furtwängler 1890, p. 115, no. 783, pl. 44; H.-V. Herrmann 1966, pp. 30, 188, no. A 1, pl. 7. 2. H.-V. Herrmann 1966, p. 33. 3. *Ibid.*, pp. 33–34. 4. *Ibid.*, p. 34.

185. Griffin protome

Bronze with amber inlay; H. 20.5 cm (8 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.), Diam. of ring at base of neck 7.7 cm (3 in.)
Olympia
Orientalizing, 680–650 B.C.
National Archaeological Museum, Athens (X 6161)

Excavated at Olympia, west of the monument known as the Pelopion (tomb of Pelops),¹ this griffin protome has all the typical features of the period:² S-shaped neck; open beak with broad tongue; raised ears with pointed ends; large, circular eyes inlaid with amber; eyelids rendered in high relief; a poppy-shaped knob on the top of the head; and incised scales on the neck. Additionally, there are three appendages on the forehead. A pair of incised vertical lines ending in spirals decorates the sides of the neck. The base, ornamented with an incised zigzag motif, is pierced with three holes for attaching the protome to a cauldron's rim with rivets. The attachment is hollow-cast, and its interior surface bears traces of the clay used for the mold. It has been assigned to an Aegean workshop.³ The Olympia excavators recorded that the amber for the eyes came from Sicily.⁴

The griffin is a mythological, demonic creature that combines the features of an eagle and



a lion. This example originally decorated a cauldron's shoulder. Griffin protomes were initially creations of Near Eastern—probably North Syrian—workshops. Greek bronzeworkers,⁵ who were exposed to these objects through contacts with Near Eastern peoples, subsequently created griffins in a characteristically Greek style at the end of the eighth and the beginning of the seventh centuries B.C. The large number of griffin protomes discovered at the Heraion, the temple of Hera on Samos, probably confirms the hypothesis that the majority of cast griffin protomes such as this example were created by Samian artists.⁶ NP

1. Furtwängler 1890, p. 122, no. 804, pl. 47. 2. Jantzen 1955, p. 16, no. 49, pp. 60–61, pl. 16,2; Akurgal 1992, pp. 42, 48. 3. Gehrig 2004, pp. 106–7, 325, no. 122. 4. H.-V. Herrmann 1979, p. 36, no. G 65, and pp. 100, 102, 108, 147, 164, no. 128, pl. 38,1,2. 5. Akurgal 1992, pp. 38–40. 6. Gehrig 2004, pp. 152–53.

LEVANTINE AND ORIENTALIZING LUXURY GOODS FROM ETRUSCAN TOMBS

Maurizio Sannibale

During the so-called Orientalizing period, luxury goods, ideas, and knowledge were introduced to Etruria from Egypt, the Aegean sphere, and the Near East.¹ In fact, this widespread cultural phenomenon involved the entire Mediterranean basin,² taking place against the backdrop of Phoenician expansion and Greek colonial movements. Although the Orientalizing period has traditionally been associated with investigations into the origins of the Etruscans—the most ancient literary tradition maintains that they migrated from the Near East,³ a hypothesis ostensibly supported by archaeological evidence—in reality the Etruscan ethnos appears to have been well defined by the Late Bronze Age. Indeed, the Orientalizing phenomenon did not arise in a vacuum; it emerged within the dynamics of exchange and contact related to the search for metals and westward navigation to the end of the known world, a process that was already taking place in the Bronze Age. The protagonists in this encounter were the Aegean and Levantine worlds and the larger Mediterranean islands, including Crete, Cyprus, and Nuragic Sardinia, with which Etruria maintained intense and early relations.

From its brilliant beginnings, Etruscan civilization was characterized by the birth of cities and a host of other notable advancements. Alphabetic writing, for example—a Phoenician invention adopted by the Etruscans from the model developed by the Euboian Greeks—was introduced, along with monumental architecture, sculpture, and painting. Wealthy Etruscan elites took the splendor of the Near Eastern courts as their inspiration. The practice of gift exchanges between equals, which formed the core of commercial and diplomatic relations, resulted in a wide distribution of goods and created ties of reciprocity. The lavish furnishings of Etruscan tombs reflect the functions and rituals reserved for the ruler in life and, in a sense, after death as well. These new luxury goods included objects of bronze, silver, and gold; exotic materials such as ivory and ostrich eggs; and amber, vitreous materials, wood, and iron. Whether imported or produced locally by immigrant artisans, they are characterized by expressions of virtuosity and eclecticism that tend to exploit all the qualities of the materials.

Introduced along with them were subjects, iconographies, and technologies from the eastern Mediterranean and the Near East, including Urartu and Mesopotamia. At the same time, objects made in Etruria, principally bronzes and bucchero ware, reached the Greek sanctuaries and various sites around the Mediterranean.⁴

For many decades it was widely thought that the Etruscan Orientalizing period comprised merely a random confluence of exotic goods that had been received by western *nouveaux riches* in exchange for metals, agricultural and pastoral products, salt, and perhaps slaves. Today scholars believe instead that the cultural knowledge underlying these often symbolically weighted gifts traveled westward with the objects themselves, conveying new cultural models and information to the Etruscan princes. Given that the acquisition of such works appears to have been deliberate and selective, the notion that they were the products of a dialogue between cultures is more plausible than a “silent trade.”

The Orientalizing phenomenon in Etruria appeared first in the southern cities (Veii, Caere, and Tarquinia, followed by Vulci), which were engaged in dealings with the mineral-bearing areas of the Tolfa hills, near the coast, and thus more readily available to outside contact. To the north, on the sea, was Populonia, with its ties to the mineral resources of the Colline Metallifere and the island of Elba; inland, the largest metropolises included Chiusi, Vetulonia, and Volterra. A trend toward monumentality is visible in the development of these cities, an expression of cultural contacts with the east. The same phenomenon is also evident in Etruscan cemeteries. First at Caere and then elsewhere, monumental tumuli appeared suddenly, revealing the influence of Phrygia and Lydia,⁵ while the tombs’ stonework harked back to the architecture of North Syrian palaces.⁶ It has been proposed that master artisans from the eastern Mediterranean were responsible for one of Tarquinia’s earliest pictorial documents: the wall paintings discovered in the so-called Queen’s Tumulus, which have been dated to about 630 B.C., at the beginning of the late Orientalizing period, and which differ from Etruscan paintings in their use of alabaster gesso as the support. This practice was developed in Egypt, the Syro-Palestinian area,



Fig. 4.25. Ivory pyxis with scenes from the *Odyssey*. Chiusi, Pania necropolis. Etruscan, Orientalizing. Museo Archeologico, Florence (73846)

and Cyprus but, being unsuited to the Italian climate, was ultimately abandoned in Etruria.⁷

At the peak of colonization in the west, contacts with the east drove the acquisition not only of goods but of cultural models as well. Central among these was the practice of banquets offered at court, following a Greek custom that was itself of Near Eastern origin.⁸ The ritualized consumption of wine—an exotic and costly beverage first imported and then later produced in Etruria itself—constituted an exclusive privilege of elite groups. Decisions, alliances, and foreign embassies revolved around these convivial events, and it is not by chance that various luxury goods, either imported or imitated locally, relate to banqueting.⁹

The political and economic transformations of the first millennium B.C. may have favored the circulation of free artisans, a model closer to the one that would characterize the Classical world. The question remains, however, of whether specialized Levantine master artisans arrived in eighth- and

seventh-century B.C. Etruria.¹⁰ If so, they should be categorized as “goods” rather than as active subjects within the dynamics of gift exchanges, in accordance with the ancient Near Eastern tradition that survived from the Middle Bronze Age into the first millennium B.C. In that model, artisans—a category that included doctors, priests, and sorcerers—were considered luxury goods, imbricated into palace bureaucracies, and could even be the objects of long-distance gift-giving or diplomatic exchange.¹¹

By the second half of the seventh century B.C., Near Eastern influence in Etruria was waning, while influence from the Greek world was on the increase. In the Plikašna situla, which was found at Chiusi but likely manufactured at Caere, the tradition of Cypro-Phoenician goblets was combined with Hellenic-style iconographic themes, including funerary games and warriors with Corinthian-type hoplite armor.¹² Something similar occurred with the ivory pyxis, carved in relief, from the Pania necropolis at Chiusi, which, like the situla, was produced in southern Etruria (fig. 4.25). In this case an exotic material (ivory) and a Levantine-derived artisanal tradition (relief carving) were used to depict mythological subjects and Greek heroes, with which the Etruscan aristocracies seem to have strongly identified.

Gold- and Silverwork

The primary techniques of Etruscan goldwork, filigree and granulation, appeared suddenly at the beginning of the Orientalizing period, with neither technological nor formal precedents that would suggest any significant experimental phase.¹³ A “Villanovan” fibula from a well tomb at Tarquinia, dated about the mid-eighth century B.C.¹⁴ on the basis of the decoration and, especially, the technique of granulation with silver-salt soldering, recalls Near Eastern goldwork traditions. Similarly, traditional Near Eastern techniques appear in goldwork from Cumae, where toward the end of the eighth century B.C. we see one of the first instances in Italy of the technique of fine granulation with copper-salt soldering, typical of Etruscan goldwork. This region was probably one of the “laboratories” in which the encounter between cultures produced a specific technological advance.¹⁵

This phenomenon had broad cultural implications, because an intangible heritage of formal concerns—iconography, symbols, and messages—traveled westward alongside the transmission of technologies.¹⁶ For example, it is possible that the symbolic importance of gold in eastern cultures preceded its monetary value and influenced the increasingly notable preference for its use. In the ancient Near East and

Egypt, gold was at first tied to the divine sphere and to kingship. The material always retained this magico-religious significance, although it had begun to fade by the beginning of the first millennium B.C. In Egyptian funerary rituals, gold was associated with the concept of the incorruptibility of the body and the regeneration of the deceased, who passed from the human state to the divine.¹⁷ In the Near East, craft technologies retained a kind of ritual immutability precisely because they were associated with objects intended to be sacred and symbolic and whose very construction represented a ritual action codified in terms of both actions and materials. Even the passing of specific knowledge from father to son—either biological or metaphorical, since the relationship extended to guild members—was cloaked in an aura of magic.¹⁸ The Semitic inscriptions with artisans' names on two Phoenician goblets found in Italy—"Eshmunya'ad son of 'Ashto," at Praeneste, and "Balashi son of the founder," at Pontecagnano, respectively—could, in this light, be understood as having ritual significance.

The symbols and motifs introduced from the Near East fulfilled more than a merely decorative function. The disc-shaped pendants found throughout Etruria, Latium, and Campania as well as in Rhodes over the course of the eighth century B.C. echo Near Eastern symbols of divinity such as lunar crescents, solar discs,¹⁹ and Inanna/Ishtar's star/rosette,²⁰ which appears on a pendant from Tarquinia.²¹ Certain goldwork motifs recall similar Levantine traditions. For example, in Phoenician-Punic goldwork we find the looped double spiral, originally the symbol of the Mesopotamian fertility goddess Ninhursag, which was condensed into the looped double-spiral motif first attested in Tomb 45 at Ashur during the Middle Assyrian period (14th–13th century B.C.).²² More explicit are the heads of female deities with hair reminiscent of the wig worn by Hathor, the Egyptian goddess of the heavenly realm, fertility, and regeneration; the anchor-shaped symbol may represent a stylized version of the hairstyle.²³ The palmette, an abbreviated form of the sacred tree or tree of life, as it appeared in Assyrian reliefs, is one of the most frequently seen motifs in these luxury goods. The lotus flower, often associated with the palmette, represents the primordial element in the cosmogony of ancient Egypt; the creation of the world begins with the lotus, and it symbolizes the power of regeneration.

In Etruria a vegetal motif that B. B. Shefton has dubbed the Paradise flower²⁴ is especially widespread; although it has been confused with papyrus in the literature, it may in fact depict a stylized form of the Egyptian lily, or blue lotus. This floral motif, one of several in the Egyptian style, occurs both

alone and as a blossom in the sacred tree along with palmettes and double spirals. It was developed by Phoenician ivory carvers and goldsmiths, who were closely connected to a court, probably on Cyprus. It appears with a palmette on the handles of silver oinochoai found in Italy (see cat. 198) as well as in bronzework and ceramics. These oinochoai are characterized by the application of gold leaf, known to be a distinctive sign of Phoenician artisanship.²⁵ Gold overlay was also used on objects with divine imagery, as in the aedicule enclosing the Bes pendant from Vulci, at Ponte Sodo,²⁶ and covering the ivory statuette of a goddess from Marsiliana.²⁷

In terms of iconography, Etruscan goldwork displays a repertoire of real and fantastic exotic animals. Lions and griffins appear in a generically Orientalizing style, while sphinxes exhibit more markedly Syro-Phoenician elements.²⁸ The latter influence appears as well in the subject of the Master and Mistress of Animals, both of which are featured in the sophisticated decoration of the Regolini-Galassi goldwork (cat. 194). The Master of Animals also appears amid the dense painted decoration of animal subjects in the contemporaneous Tomb of the Painted Lions, likewise at Caere. A crowded procession of real and fantastic animals accompanying the deceased, similar to that seen in the painted tombs, was crafted in repoussé on a house-shaped, silver cinerary urn from the Tomb of the Duce at Vetulonia (cat. 200).

In terms of typology, Etruscan jewelry sometimes reprised or exuberantly recast traditional styles, such as fibulae (cat. 201), using à jour filigree and granulation to achieve original, innovative forms. These include comb clasps (cat. 188), openwork filigree bracelets, and the breastplate-pectorals from the Bernardini and Barberini Tombs at Praeneste (cat. 189). The latter are adorned with hollow animal figures in the round, molded in two halves, and then soldered together and decorated with granulation, elements that connect them with the parade fibula from the Regolini-Galassi Tomb at Caere, an unsurpassed masterpiece of goldsmithing (fig. 4.26). The technique of repoussé executed with chisels and punches was applied with superb refinement in the diadem from the Isis Tomb at Vulci and on the urn from Vetulonia noted above, among other Etruscan works in precious metal.

Also found in the Regolini-Galassi Tomb was a unique object—a so-called pectoral—whose shape and symbolism reveal ties to the Egyptian *wesekh* collar, which was associated with kingship and served to protect the body of the deceased and assure its incorruptibility (fig. 4.27).²⁹ This element, entirely foreign to the local culture, was evidently transmitted to Etruria through the Levant.³⁰

Ivory, Ostrich Eggs, Shells, and Gems

Ivories were among the most commonly seen Near Eastern products in the mid-Tyrrhenian region of Italy. The first few imports arrived in Etruria in the first half of the seventh century B.C., heralding the onset of locally carved ivory work by immigrant artisans.³¹ Both North and South Syrian influences are evident in Etruscan ivory carving. Phoenician artisanship is demonstrated not only in the use of characteristic stylistic and iconographic features, as on a plaque with a Nilotic scene from the Bernardini Tomb (cat. 190), but also through the introduction of sophisticated techniques such as *à jour* carving and a taste for multiple materials in a single object. Such Phoenician-style ivories were enriched, for example, with polychrome glass and amber inlays, the latter especially in the west; sometimes they were covered in gold leaf. In the Bernardini and Barberini Tombs at Praeneste—a Latin city, but one with a special relationship with the southern Etruscan sphere and with Caere, in particular—we find inlaid ivory objects as well as ivories displaying singularly fine carving that were perhaps produced locally by Near Eastern masters, as in the case of an arm-shaped flabellum handle (cat. 191).

Ivories with Near Eastern features also arrived in centers in the Maremma (southwestern Tuscany), perhaps brought by itinerant artisans; one example comes from the Circle of the Ivories (a circular grave) in the Banditella necropolis at Marsiliana d'Albegna (cat. 202). An ivory statuette of a nude woman with her hands at her breasts, from the Circle of the Fibula at Marsiliana (675–650 B.C.), evokes both a goddess of fertility and regeneration after death; she is modeled on the “Mother Goddess” and her traces in the cults of Turan, Ishtar/Astarte, Aphrodite, and Venus.³² Nude female figures were already represented in the material culture of Italic protohistory, either singly or with ritual vessels, and may have had symbolic significance. The same semantic value may be inherent in the caryatids on stemmed goblets, made of ivory or in bucchero, who hold their braids and lift their hands to their breasts, gestures of Near Eastern origin typical of fertility goddesses.³³

By the second half of the seventh century B.C., ivory was particularly popular in inland northern Etruria. Local workshops were established that built on the traditions of the earliest immigrant Levantine masters, with iconographic touches derived from Greece. For example, the cycle of ivories from the Montefortini Tumulus at Comeana (Prato)³⁴ is assigned to a workshop in Chiusi, while the production of pyxides with narrative themes can be attributed to Vulci (see fig. 4.25).



Fig. 4.26. Gold fibula. Caere, Regolini-Galassi Tomb. Etruscan, Orientalizing. Museo Gregoriano Etrusco, Musei Vaticani, Vatican City (20552)



Fig. 4.27. Gold pectoral. Caere, Regolini-Galassi Tomb. Etruscan, Orientalizing. Museo Gregoriano Etrusco, Musei Vaticani, Vatican City (20553)

Other exotic materials found in Etruria include the shells of the rare mollusk *Tridacna squamosa*³⁵ and ostrich eggs (cats. 58, 117). The latter sometimes served as the body of vessels (ewers and cups) and were decorated with painted or incised figured friezes,³⁶ an evocation of their Punic origins.³⁷ All eggs found in Etruria were imported by the Phoenicians. While some had been decorated by Punic artisans, others were embellished locally, perhaps in Vulci, with Orientalizing iconography and, in some instances, isolated Etruscan letters.

Gems of various materials and sources, carved into scarab or scaraboid shapes, were imported into Etruria beginning in the early eighth century B.C. from Egypt, Syro-Phoenicia, or the Greek islands. A distinctive group among these, called the Lyre Player group, has been attributed to carvers from North Syria, Cilicia, or Rhodes (see cat. 134a, b). As with Etruscan goldwork, the carved semiprecious stones conveyed not just their technological legacy but also magical and symbolic meanings inherent in their materials and shapes. Gem production during the subsequent Archaic period in Etruria also witnessed the work of immigrant masters from eastern Greece.³⁸

Glasswork

The earliest glass objects imported into Etruria from the eastern Mediterranean at the beginning of the Orientalizing period have been attributed to Phoenician artisans. These include unguent containers made in the core-formed technique and goblets, either hemispherical or with a ribbed cup, cast in a mold. Local manufacture of glasswork began around the mid-seventh century B.C. and included characteristic products such as pyxides, unguentaria with spikes, and reproductions of spindles and distaffs for ritual use. Glass was also employed to make pendants and necklace beads and to cover fibulae, replacing the gems, stones, and amber.³⁹ The production of the latter in Italy (Etruria, the Po Valley, and the Veneto) goes as far back as the eighth century B.C.

Vessels and Utensils

Several objects that have been found in mid-Tyrrhenian “princely” tombs and which relate to forms of aristocratic banquets also hark back to the Near Eastern world. An exceptional form of bronze rhyton with a lion protome—a drinking vessel of Assyrian type depicted in reliefs at Khorsabad dating to the reign of Sargon II (721–705 B.C.)—was exported

to Veii in the second half of the eighth century B.C.⁴⁰ Another example of the type was deposited in Tumulus MM (the “Midas Mound”) at Gordion at around the same time.⁴¹ The monumental bronze cauldrons with lion- or griffin-head attachments, and which sometimes rest on cone-shaped bases, are thought to have originated in Urartu and North Syria.⁴² North Syrian cauldrons were probably exported to Greece and the west—including the example found in the Bernardini Tomb—where they were then reworked and inspired local production. The twin cauldrons with lion protomes in the Regolini-Galassi Tomb (cat. 197) may be examples of such local products. A third cauldron in the same tomb is of a different type (cat. 195); it has six inward-facing protomes similar to one from the Urartian site of Karmir Blur inscribed with the name of Sarduri II, king of Urartu (756–730 B.C.) (cat. 196).⁴³ It is likely that the cauldron’s protomes—like other significant and valuable objects in these tombs—may have arrived in Etruria only after extensive travels.⁴⁴

Cypro-Phoenician bowls with narrative scenes, objects worthy of a king, display subjects related to kingship, such as the hunt, war, the pharaoh’s triumph, and the nursing goddess, an image with dynastic and eschatological symbolism.⁴⁵ These were the prized productions of the Phoenician workshops, including those on Cyprus, which drew on an Egyptianizing iconographic repertoire with Near Eastern elements. Sent as luxury gifts to the Etruscan princes, especially at Caere, and to the lords of Praeneste and Pontecagnano (cats. 192, 193),⁴⁶ they were reworked in Etruria. In the case of the Regolini-Galassi example, a dedicatory inscription was incised and some of the gilding was removed.⁴⁷ Protomes were mounted onto the silver-gilt cup from the Bernardini Tomb at Praeneste, transforming it into a small cauldron (see fig. 4.12).⁴⁸

Drinking vessels made of precious metal display an assortment of shapes and influences. Those from the Regolini-Galassi Tomb bear Etruscan inscriptions chiseled by their maker, which proves they were made for a local commission.⁴⁹ Prominent among the forms of Levantine origin is the typical Phoenician ewer,⁵⁰ of which versions are known in bronze; precious metal; ceramic, especially bucchero;⁵¹ and, later, ivory and ostrich egg in combination with other materials.⁵² Subsequently, luxury vessels ceased to be produced and were replaced by pottery versions of the so-called Astarita type.⁵³ Technical analysis suggests that the shape of these vessels was initially conceived to be made in bronze, in which case the characteristic small raised collar at the base of the neck would have served as a metallurgical join.⁵⁴



Fig. 4.28. Faience necklace pendants. Euboea, Lefkandi, Toumba necropolis, tomb 22. Protoegeometric period. Archaeological Museum, Eretria, Greece (8766)

186. Necklace pendants

Faience; each pendant, H. 3 cm (1 1/8 in.)
 Tarquinia, Monterozzi necropolis, Bocchoris Tomb
 Phoenician, early 7th century B.C.
 Museo Archeologico Nazionale Tarquiniense (RC 2062)

187. Situla

Faience; H. 22.2 cm (8 3/4 in.), Diam. 12.5 cm (4 7/8 in.)
 Tarquinia, Monterozzi necropolis, Bocchoris Tomb
 Egyptian or Phoenician, early 7th century B.C.
 Museo Archeologico Nazionale Tarquiniense (RC 2010)

This necklace and situla were among the finds unearthed at the so-called Bocchoris Tomb, discovered at Tarquinia in 1895. Although the tomb is no longer visible, its original location in the Monterozzi necropolis is given by Wolfgang Helbig, who notes that it was “above the tombs known as the Tomb of the Painted Vases and the Del Vecchio Tomb and about 150 meters from the small road that cuts across Monterozzi.”¹ The tomb had previously been plundered by grave robbers, who entered the chamber through a hole made in its ceiling, leaving the tomb’s entrance intact. Helbig reports, in fact, that the three stone slabs used to seal the tomb—and an important part of the find within it—were still in place.

The tomb takes the form of a small hypogeum with a double-gabled roof. Pottery finds included imitation Corinthian vases, impasto pottery with a pair of holmoi, and earthenware pots, one with a lid.² Several fibulae and a pair of handles were the only bronze objects found, but other metal vessels were present, as well as



ivory objects and wood vases decorated with bronze bosses.³ The objects discovered suggest that the tomb held at least one female body. However, Helbig mentions numerous objects that can no longer be identified, including gold plates with holes that were most likely sewn to funerary garments as ornaments; a gold pectoral; several bronze fibulae; and a hairpin.⁴

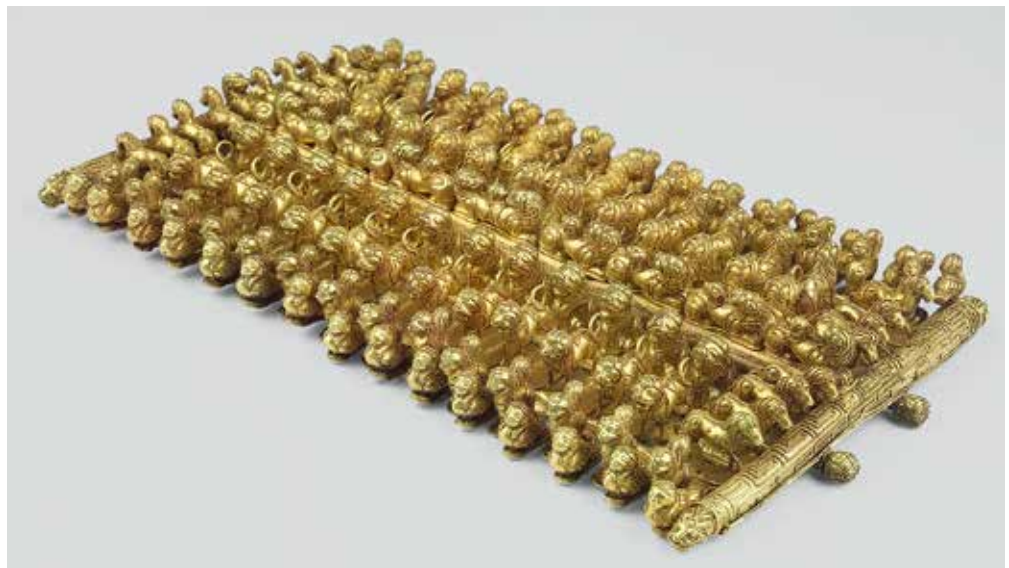
A rich hoard of objects made from faience was found in the tomb, including a necklace and a situla as well as two pendants in the form of the god Bes with silver mounts. The necklace (cat. 186) consists of forty-five pendants, each the same size and representing the Egyptian gods Sekhmet and Nefertum. These pieces belong to a group of small objects of Egyptian inspiration but made in Phoenicia. They were imported into Etruria, most likely through Rhodes, from the second half of the eighth century through the middle of the seventh century B.C.⁵ One very similar necklace was discovered in a tomb at Lefkandi (fig. 4.28).

The situla (cat. 187) has figural decoration executed in low relief in two registers. The upper frieze depicts two cult scenes inserted into a landscape, as indicated by the slender papyrus plants separating the scenes and figures. In the first scene a pharaoh appears between the goddess Neith, patron deity of the Dynasty 24 pharaoh Bakenrenef, and the falcon-headed god Horus.⁶ In the second scene, the same pharaoh is being led by the hand to the temple of Horus by a male ibis-headed god, identified with Thoth.

The lower register depicts kneeling Nubian prisoners, their arms bound either behind their backs or above their heads. This scene is located in a landscape with palm trees with monkeys clinging to them. A cartouche at the center of the upper register bears the name of Bakenrenef (*Bknrnf*), who resided at Sais in the Nile Delta and ruled for six years in the penultimate decade of the eighth century B.C.

There is still some debate about the cultural and artistic milieu of this vessel. One theory suggests that it is an Egyptian creation brought west by the Phoenicians, while another posits that it is a Phoenician copy of an Egyptian original. The first hypothesis was corroborated in a number of ways by Gioacchino Falzone, who identified the situla as one of many royal gifts produced in Egypt that were then diffused throughout Etruria and regions to the west by Phoenician traders.⁷

The finds in the Bocchoris Tomb are of great importance for understanding the Orientalizing period and remain the reference point for the period's chronology in Etruscan art. They also provide an excellent illustration of how an aristocratic Etruscan family of this period represented



itself through the valuable objects buried with its members. Andrea Babbi has already noted the ostentatious display of wealth and power in the Tomb of the Warrior (found in 1869 in the necropolis of Tarquinia “Monterozzi”)—expressed by means of the intrinsic and the symbolic value of the objects buried in it—and the same is true of the Bocchoris Tomb.⁸ The presence of items used for banqueting suggests that the deceased woman was a member of the Etruscan aristocracy, while the precious situla reveals her participation in the practice of elite gift exchange.⁹ This tomb, which has been dated to 700–690 B.C., has most recently been analyzed by Maria Lucilla Medori, who, on the basis of her reexamination of the white-on-red ceramics, has suggested a slightly later date, in the first quarter of the seventh century.¹⁰ BC

1. Helbig 1896, p. 15. 2. For a description of the impasto pottery and the white-on-red ceramics in particular, see Medori 2010, pp. 104–5. 3. For a description of all the finds in the tomb, see Cataldi 1985. 4. Helbig 1896, pp. 16–20. 5. Hölbl 1979, pp. 106–7. 6. Falzone 2006, p. 103. 7. *Ibid.*, pp. 107–10. 8. Babbi and Peltz 2013, p. 68. 9. *Ibid.*, pp. 82–83. 10. Medori 2010, p. 105.

188. Clasp in the shape of a comb

Gold; W. 16.5 (6½ in.), H. 6.3 cm (2½ in.)
 Praeneste, Colombella necropolis, Bernardini Tomb
 Orientalizing, early 7th century B.C.
 Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia, Rome (61553)

189. Plaque decorated with animals

Gold; W. 17.3 cm (6⅞ in.), H. 10.3 cm (4 in.)
 Praeneste, Colombella necropolis, Bernardini Tomb
 Orientalizing, early 7th century B.C.
 Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia, Rome (61545)

A group of tombs discovered at the Colombella necropolis at Praeneste (modern Palestrina) between 1855 and 1876 yielded an extraordinary hoard of sumptuous funerary objects. These treasures are still among the richest finds from the Orientalizing period in Latium (modern Lazio). Two complexes in particular, known as the Barberini and Bernardini Tombs, contained objects that confirm that the Orientalizing period in Italy was characterized by a single culture, which encompassed centers in Latium, Campania, and southern Etruria.

The Bernardini Tomb, named for the brothers who discovered it, is one of the benchmarks for our understanding of the ancient Orientalizing period in Italy. The tomb represents a transitional moment between trench tombs and chamber tombs and is most closely related to tombs at Pontecagnano, in Etruscan Campania. The treasures from the Bernardini Tomb, which allow us to date it to the second quarter of the seventh century B.C.,¹ bear a close affinity with those found in the principal centers of southern Etruria, Caere (modern Cerveteri) in particular. The gold, bronze, and ivory objects found in the tomb exemplify the distinctive components of the material culture of the Orientalizing period in Italy: imports from the Near East, from places like Urtu, Syria, Assyria, and Phoenicia; products of immigrant artisans, who created a clearly defined local style over the span of a generation; and items typical of the Greek tradition, coming both from Greece itself and from its western colonies. What resulted were variegated and extraordinarily rich creations.

The clasp (cat. 188) consists of a finely decorated rectangular plate to which a comblike fringe made of gold wire was originally soldered, now preserved only at the ends. The central plate, made of a thin gold sheet with the edges folded over, bears refined filigree decoration around the edges, made from a thin, intertwined, and undulating gold wire framed by decorated borders. Two winged sphinxes, shown facing away from one another, dominate the decoration. Their bodies are depicted in profile, their heads frontally. Three birds in flight—clearly Egyptianizing Phoenician in origin—flank the pair on either side, and at each end of the plaque are rampant lions, oriented at right angles to the scene. The decoration is heightened by the use of granulation, double lines of which fill the empty spaces in V-shaped motifs.

The function of this comblike fastener, found with three other similar clasps along the deceased's flank, can be understood by comparing it with some small statues found at Caere, which show similar objects fastening a cloak

around the figure's shoulders. Although the decorative details suggest Orientalizing influence, objects such as this clasp were likely manufactured locally in Etruscan or Etruscanized areas. The refinement of the decoration and the animal motifs suggest that this clasp was made in an Etruscan workshop in central Italy, probably at Caere.²

The plaque (cat. 189) is remarkable for its rich miniature decoration, consisting of various real and fantastic animals arranged in orderly rows. One of the most accomplished examples of Orientalizing goldsmithing, it is no doubt the work of artisans of Near Eastern origin or training. The upper side is reinforced by a central longitudinal cylinder and a transverse one at either end, which form part of the plaque's fastening system. Atop the central cylinder are nine chimeras with heads turned back over their shoulders; the central figure has two heads and is flanked by four that face to the right and four to the left. Each side of the plate bears a row of twelve lions, some crouching and others standing, preceded by a row of fifteen seated sirens and another of fourteen seated chimeras with human heads, again looking backward. On each short side are eight horses, facing out toward the transverse cylinders. The cylinders, decorated with a granulated double meander pattern along their length, bear a lion protome at each end. Two Janus-like heads on one of the short sides decorate the end of two rows of eyelets, into which silver pins, some of which survive in part, were inserted to fasten the clasp.

All the animals were made by soldering together two halves of stamped gold sheet, with the lions' and horses' feet and tails fashioned separately from thin gold wire. The chimeras were soldered directly to the central cylinder, and their bases are surrounded by gold wire.

Found near the head of the deceased, this precious plaque likely functioned as a clasp for a mantle, a hypothesis supported by the eyelets for the pins by which it could have been fastened to fabric. In fact, some accounts record that traces of cloth were stuck to the back of the

plaque when it was found.³ The entire group of gold objects found in the Bernardini Tomb appears to be both chronologically and stylistically homogenous. The richness of motifs on this plaque, arranged in parallel processions across its surface, is extraordinary. Some, like the lions, sphinxes, and sirens, derive from an Egyptianizing Phoenician tradition, while others, like the horses and chimeras, are Greek in origin. However, the varied linear decorations such as the swastikas must have come from a local tradition. This and other similar objects were perhaps personal adornments that constituted a typical element of the dress of upper-class Etruscans or Etruscanized peoples.⁴ R Z

1. Canciani and Hase 1976, pp. 221–26; Canciani and Hase 1979; Rizzo 1983, pp. 253–57; Neri 2000, pp. 53–63. 2. Canciani and Hase 1976, p. 231 n. 8, pl. 47; Canciani and Hase 1979, pp. 16–17, pl. 2, nos. 2, 3, and pl. 8, no. 2; Rizzo 1983, p. 254, no. 10. 3. M. G. Benedettini in Moretti Sgubini and Boitani 2013, p. 207, no. 172. 4. Canciani and Hase 1976, p. 229 n. 1, pl. 46; Canciani and Hase 1979, pp. 18–19, no. 8, pls. 4–6, 1; Rizzo 1983, p. 255, no. 13; Benedettini in Moretti Sgubini and Boitani 2013, p. 207, no. 172.

190. Tripartite plaque with a ritual scene

Ivory; central panel, W. 19 cm (7½ in.), H. 4.8 cm (1⅞ in.);

Praeneste, Colombella necropolis, Bernardini Tomb
Phoenician or Orientalizing, early 7th century B.C.
Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia, Rome
(61770+61771)

These three small ivory plaquettes make up a single object depicting a ceremonial scene set in a Nilotic landscape. The center panel, the largest, shows a papyrus boat with two oarsmen. On board are two women dressed in transparent robes who bring offerings to a seated figure, while a third woman pours liquid into a large container. The papyrus flowers at each end of the boat are decorated in the cloisonné technique. The two other panels show the succeeding scenes in the narrative, and the engraved



decoration includes lotus flowers, palms, and birds. The right panel depicts waves, represented by fragmentary horizontal lines, and the end of the boat's oar.

Probably used to adorn furniture or a box, these plaques can be compared stylistically with the richly decorated vessels known as Phoenician bowls. They take their inspiration from ivory panels of Near Eastern origin that are similar in size, form, technique, and iconography. In the Orientalizing period, ivory-carving techniques of eastern origin (deriving from Egypt and Syria-Levant in particular) were modified and used in local workshops in the western Mediterranean. These plaques and others from the Bernardini Tomb were made by a number of different local artisans and workshops.¹ (For another view, see “Levantine and Orientalizing Luxury Goods from Etruscan Tombs” in this volume, pp. 313–17.)

L M e

1. Canciani and Hase 1976, p. 243, no. 97; Aubet 1971, pp. 69–75, no. 1, pl. 1 A, fig. 1; Canciani and Hase 1979, p. 67, no. 118, pls. 54,1–4, 55,2; Neri 2000, pp. 62–63, fig. 27.

191. Handle

Ivory; L. 18.5 cm (7 ¼ in.), max. Diam. 3.4 cm (1 ⅜ in.)
 Praeneste, Colombella necropolis, Barberini Tomb
 Orientalizing, early 7th century B.C.
 Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia, Rome (13231)

Carved in the shape of a right forearm, this ivory handle bears eight bands of relief decoration alternating between vegetal motifs and processions of animals, predominantly lions. A bracelet with fine horizontal striations is depicted around the wrist. Traces of red paint survive on the palm of the hand.¹ This luxury object and six others of similar form but decorated primarily with images of animals are at the center of a lively scholarly debate concerning their function. The hole for attachment to another element, visible at the end of the handle in each example, seems to indicate that they were flabellum (or fan) handles. The entire group of related objects, similar in their manufacturing technique and decorative style, can be attributed to a single workshop in Etruria—perhaps at Caere—that adapted Near Eastern and Greek models, reworking them to suit local taste.

L M e

1. Aubet 1971, pp. 144–47, n. 37, fig. 30, pl. 19a; Maria Anna De Lucia Brolli in *Principi etruschi* 2000, p. 242, no. 283.



192. Bowl with Egyptianizing motifs

Gilded silver; Diam. 18.9 cm (7 $\frac{5}{8}$ in.), H. 3.3 cm (1 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.)
Praeneste, Colombella necropolis, Bernardini Tomb
Phoenician or Orientalizing, early 7th century B.C.
Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia, Rome (N61565)

The embossed and engraved decoration inside this bowl, consisting of two concentric friezes around a central medallion, depicts multiple scenes with human figures. The complexity of the imagery suggests it represents a heroic narrative. The principal scene in the central medallion shows a male figure striking another figure to his right, who is also being attacked by a dog. To the left is a man bound to a post, and below him is another figure on his hands and knees, also savaged by a dog. Running around the central scene, the inner frieze depicts a procession of striding horses and long-necked birds in flight.

The outer frieze presents a richer narrative: a scene representing a royal hunt. A king departs a walled city in his chariot and is subsequently attacked by a monstrous figure, which he defeats with the assistance of a winged goddess. At the conclusion of the episode, he returns victorious to the same city from which he had departed. The edge of the bowl takes the form of the body of a serpent, with scales rendered by an embossed design.

This bowl and two other similar examples belong to a group of objects known generally as Phoenician bowls, which have been found in Assyria, Cyprus, Greece, and Italy. The presence of decorative motifs that are not Near Eastern in origin, such as the shields with figural emblems deriving from the Greek tradition, has suggested to some scholars that this plate may have come from Cyprus. However, it is more likely that it instead belongs to a type represented in a number of Etruscan tomb paintings and that it was made in Etruria by a specialized craftsman, representing local production of the highest quality.¹

L.M.c.

1. Canciani and Hase 1976, p. 233, no. 18; Canciani and Hase 1979, p. 37, no. 18, pls. 15.1, 3.1; Neri 2000, pp. 18–22, pls. 3, 4.

193. Bowl with Egyptianizing motifs

Gilded silver; Diam. 19.4 cm (7 $\frac{7}{8}$ in.), H. 3.7 cm (1 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.)
Caere, Sorbo necropolis, Regolini-Galassi Tomb
Phoenician, 675–650 B.C.
Museo Gregoriano Etrusco, Musei Vaticani, Vatican City (20368)

This bowl was found in the Regolini-Galassi Tomb along with fragments of two others and a goblet, all attributed to the same source of production.¹ Their exact placement inside the grave



is uncertain. Earlier scholars situated them either in the principal chamber or in the cella on the left; the latter placement has been conventionally accepted.² Like other elements of the funeral furniture, the bowl was nailed to the tomb wall, as evidenced by a square hole in the center with traces of iron oxides and remains of the nail. The body, which forms a simple, shallow spherical shape, is embellished with rich, articulated figural decoration executed in repoussé and chasing and distributed over the center and on two concentric bands. In the center, a pair of lions attacks a bull. On the innermost band, in a landscape defined with a hillock and palm, sycamore, and papyrus plants, are two episodes of lion hunting and a scene of antelope hunting, with armed men on foot and on horseback. On the outermost band is a series of four groups, each comprising a figure on horseback followed by five foot soldiers, at the head of which processes a chariot, with the sovereign and charioteer, followed by three foot soldiers.

The bowl belongs to a category of precious vessels in a Levantine tradition that were produced from the ninth to the first half of the seventh century B.C. and whose wide distribution throughout the Mediterranean encompassed Greece, the Aegean Islands, Palestine, and Assyria (see “Metalwork” in this volume, pp. 157–59). In the area reached by Etruscan culture, decorated silver bowls are documented only at Caere, Praeneste, and Pontecagnano, where they constitute an outstanding feature of the aristocratic tombs of the Orientalizing period.³ The examples discovered in Italy, which fall chronologically between the end of the eighth and the first half of the seventh century B.C., make up a distinct group within the broader Levantine production of decorated vessels. Their place of manufacture has not been precisely identified, but various hypotheses suggest the workshops were most likely situated in Cyprus, Syro-Phoenicia, and/or North Syria.⁴

The contribution of Phoenician craftsmanship is particularly evident in this bowl, in which the Egyptianizing background is combined with the use of narrative, as in Neo-Assyrian historical reliefs, thereby presenting an original work that synthesizes the two figurative languages. Two bowls discovered in Italy—in the Bernardini Tomb at Praeneste and at Pontecagnano, respectively—even bear Semitic inscriptions identifying their makers.⁵ The silver-gilt bowls with military scenes from the Regolini-Galassi Tomb and from Praeneste⁶ as well as that from the Bernardini Tomb depicting the “king’s hunting day”⁷ (cat. 192) likely originated in a single workshop. These, in turn, are so close to Cypriot examples from Idalion and

Kourion as to suggest a single workshop or the exploitation of the same repertoire. They were certainly not made in Italy by itinerant artisans, given their clear differences from other works in the Near Eastern tradition transplanted in Etruria.⁸

These bowls are characterized most notably by their subject matter, which relates to war and kingship, the use of precious materials, and the technical precision of their execution. They were no doubt sought-after luxury goods, possibly the result of a nearly exclusive royal commission if we consider the significant inscriptions incised on two examples from Cyprus describing them as owned by Akestor, king of Paphos (see cat. 52), and Diweithemis, another personage of royal lineage.⁹ Thus, it is quite clear that the Etruscan dynasts of ancient Caere, having been honored by the gift of such objects, were considered in every way the equals of their Cypriot counterparts. MS

1. See Pareti 1947, pp. 314–15, no. 323, pl. xlv; Strøm 1971, pp. 124, 126, fig. 77; Rathje 1980, p. 10, b10, fig. 17; Francesco Roncalli in *Vatican Collections* 1982, pp. 192–93, no. 110; Cristofani and Martelli 1983, p. 264 n. 40; Francesco Buranelli in *Cristofani* 1985, p. 85, no. 3.1.1; Markoe 1985, pp. 194–96, 292–93, e6; Buranelli in *Les Étrusques et l'Europe* 1992, p. 398, no. 470, ill. p. 333; Buranelli in *Principi etruschi* 2000, pp. 230–31, no. 257; Buranelli and Sannibale 2003, pp. 58–59, ill. p. 72; Maurizio Sannibale in *Stampolidis* 2003b, p. 439, no. 747; and Sannibale in *Sommella* 2008, pp. 92–93, no. 31. 2. Cf. Pareti 1947, pp. 107, 112–14, 312ff. 3. Canciani 1979; Rathje 1980; Markoe 1985;

Moscati 1988b; Markoe 1992; Markoe 1992–93; Neri 2000; Strøm 2001; and Buranelli and Sannibale 2005. 4. For Cyprus, see Gjerstad 1946 and Hermary 1987, p. 194; for Syro-Phoenicia, see Strøm 1971, pp. 126–27; Rathje 1979 and 1980, p. 18; for North Syria, see Barnett 1977 and Canciani 1979, pp. 2–3. 5. Markoe 1985, E1, E10, respectively. 6. *Ibid.*, E5, from the Barberini Tomb (Rome, Villa Giulia 13205); see also E2 (Rome, Villa Giulia 61565). 7. *Ibid.*, E2; Neri 2000, pp. 18–22, pls. iii, iv. 8. For an overview of the production, comparisons between Italian and Cypriot examples, and the location of the workshops, see Buranelli and Sannibale 2005, pp. 220–22, nn. 6, 7, 14, and, most recently, Sciacca 2006–7, pp. 283–90. 9. Respectively, Cesnola goblets 4554 and 4552a; Markoe 1985, pp. 78, 156, Cy 8, Cy 14; cf. Matthiae 1997, pp. 243–46.

194. Bracelet

Gold; Diam. 10 cm (4 in.), W. 6.7 cm (2½ in.)
Caere, Sorbo necropolis, Regolini-Galassi Tomb,
last room (the so-called cella)
Orientalizing, 675–650 B.C.
Museo Gregoriano Etrusco, Musei Vaticani, Vatican City
(20563)

This bracelet and an identical example belonged to a sumptuous gold parure that either adorned or accompanied a woman of royal birth interred in the Regolini-Galassi Tomb.¹ The set was found in the tomb’s most important room (the so-called cella), which was separated from the antechamber by a window left open for ritual purposes.² The body, whose skeletal remains were not found, lay exposed in the middle of the





room, placed on a “bed” formed by a slight rise on the ground.

Made of a rectangular rolled band, the bracelet is divided into panels with figural decoration executed in repoussé and granulation. The panels are framed by geometric motifs and bands of lines rendered only with granulation. The corner edges of the bands are decorated with small hollow human heads in full relief. The clasp consists of a ribbed bar and a small hooked chain with several bird- or serpent-head terminals, embellished with granulation.

In the middle panels are three female figures with hairstyles typical of the Egyptian goddess Hathor. Wearing long bell-shaped robes, they hold hands and grasp scepters crowned with Paradise flowers and palmettes. In each of the two end panels, framed by guilloches, a similar female figure with a scepter in each hand stands between two confronted, rampant lions, each of which is, in turn, grasped and stabbed by a male figure. This imagery recalls the Potnia Theron—the Mistress of Animals, and thus of life and death—identifiable in the Greek world with Artemis, who in turn embodies the attributes of a more ancient Aegean divinity. In this case the subject appears to be combined with her masculine counterpart, the Master of

Animals, embodied in the heroic figure who kills the lion.³

The Regolini-Galassi bracelets and a near-replica found in the Galeassi Tomb at Praeneste,⁴ are characterized by iconographic motifs derived from the Syro-Phoenician repertoire. In particular, comparisons of the female figures and the motif of the Master of Animals have been made with the Syrian-style carved ivories from Nimrud.⁵ Also from the Phoenician milieu is the elaboration of the Paradise flower, which appears here as a sacred and royal sign on the scepters brandished by the female personifications and is comparable, for instance, to the scepter held by an enthroned figure on a Phoenician ivory.⁶ MS

1. Pareti 1947, pp. 182–84, no. 4, pl. VI; Pallottino 1955, p. 34, no. 103, pl. XXII; Francesco Roncalli in *Vatican Collections* 1982, p. 192, no. 109; Cristofani and Martelli 1983, p. 263, no. 36, ill. on p. 100; Hase 1995b, pp. 535, 550–51, figs. 10, 11; Sannibale 2003b, p. 58, ill. on pp. 68–69; Sannibale 2008a, pp. 354–55, fig. 27; Sannibale 2012, p. 317, no. 2. 2. For the Regolini-Galassi Tomb, see Sannibale 2012, with previous bibliography. 3. The Master of Animals appears alone in the central emblem on the Regolini-Galassi pectoral. Pareti 1947, pp. 190–92, pl. IX, no. 28; Sannibale 2003b, p. 57, ill. on pp. 63–65. 4. Marshall 1911, p. 123, no. 1356. 5. Cristofani and Martelli 1983, p. 263, no. 36, with reference to Barnett 1957, p. 67, fig. 20, pl. XII. 6. Shefton 1989, p. 97, fig. 4 (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford; 1957.224).

195. Cauldron with lion attachments

Bronze; Diam. of rim 37.5 cm (14¾ in.), max. H. 33 cm (13 in.)
Caere, Sorbo necropolis, Regolini-Galassi Tomb, last room (so-called cella)
Urartian and Orientalizing, 675–650 b.c.
Museo Gregoriano Etrusco, Musei Vaticani, Vatican City (20207)

This cauldron, with a horizontal, narrow-lipped rim, is elaborated with rich repoussé decoration over its entire surface.¹ Two guilloche bands define two registers, between which confronted lions and winged bulls are repeated. There is a guilloche-framed rosette on the bottom. Six lion’s-head protomes facing into the vessel are attached with rivets. The protomes are hollow-cast by the lost-wax method and finely chased.

A possible support (holmos or hypokraterion) for the cauldron, decorated in repoussé with friezes of bulls and lions with and without wings, griffins, and sphinxes, was also found in the tomb.² The relationship between the two objects has been debated owing to conflicting information about their location within the tomb. It has been proposed that the support, which displays North Syrian and even Urartian influences, was

the work of an immigrant artisan, probably Phoenician.³ The repoussé work on the body of the cauldron is the same as that on the support and could likewise be attributed to the work of an artisan who immigrated to Etruria.

In terms of its manufacture, quality, smaller size, inward-facing protomes, and iconography, the cauldron is notably different from two others found in the antechamber of the tomb (see cat. 197).⁴ It is possible that the lion's-head protomes came from Urartu. They could have come into the possession of immigrant merchants and artisans—by means of trade networks and complex circumstances unknown to us—and later been attached to the cauldron, which was likely crafted in Etruria about a century after the protomes. An extraordinary discovery at Karmir Blur of a protome resembling those on the Regolini-Galassi cauldron supports this idea (cat. 196).⁵ The protome is inscribed with the name of the Urartian king Sarduri II (756–730 B.C.), not only indicating the original area of production of this protome type⁶ but also confirming their status as luxury goods. It is no accident, then, that they ended up adorning this cauldron, which was intended for an Etruscan royal tomb at Caere. MS

1. See Pareti 1947, p. 234, no. 196, pls. xx, xxi; Marunti 1959, p. 68, no. 7, pl. xiii; Buranelli 1992, p. 133, no. 110; Buranelli and Sannibale 1998, pp. 277–79, no. 117, figs. 119, 120; Buranelli and Sannibale 2003, pp. 57–58, ill. on p. 67; and Sannibale in Sommella 2008, p. 88, no. 27. 2. Pareti 1947, pp. 103–5, 304–5, no. 303, pl. xxxix; Sannibale in Sommella 2008, p. 89, no. 28. 3. Sciacca 2012, pp. 247–48. 4. Pareti 1947, nos. 307–10; Sannibale 2012, p. 320, no. 7. 5. Piotrovskii 1962, p. 65, figs. 36, 37; Piotrovskii 1965, p. 416, pls. 98.3, 98.4; Merhav 1991b, pp. 234–35, fig. 11; A second, similar lion's-head protome that entered the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin from the antiquities market might be assignable to the same bronzeworking shop; see Christof Berns in *Principi etruschi* 2000, pp. 130–31, no. 82. 6. For the question of models from Urartu in Etruria, see Pallottino 1957.

196. Lion cauldron attachment

Bronze; H. 13 cm (5 1/8 in.), W. 4.7 cm (1 7/8 in.)
Karmir Blur
Urartian, 8th century B.C.
History Museum of Armenia, Yerevan (2783-79)

This arched cauldron handle terminates in the modeled head of a lion, depicted with its teeth bared.¹ In a band running longitudinally from top to bottom, the handle is decorated with a row of buds, a motif characteristic of Urartian art. On the neck beneath the mane is a cuneiform inscription in two lines: “Sarduri, the son of Argishti,”² referring to the Urartian ruler Sarduri II (756–ca. 730 B.C.).

Urartian cauldrons frequently had attached fittings in the form of bulls' heads, sirens, or



lion's heads, with the last group being the least common. This example resembles in its form the lion heads on a cauldron found at Olympia³ as well as those on a cauldron from the Regolini-Galassi Tomb in Etruria (cat. 195), attesting to the wide circulation of this attachment type in regions west of Urartu. IM

1. See Platt 1995, p. 104, no. 116; Avetisian et al. 2008, p. 82, no. 41. 2. Piotrovskii 1959a, p. 178, fig. 41; Piotrovskii 1960, pp. 120–21, fig. 1; Piotrovskii 1962, p. 65, fig. 37; Piotrovskii 1970, figs. 64, 65; Arutjunjan 2001, p. 284, no. 287; M. Salvini 2012, p. 53, B9-24. 3. Merhav 1991b, pp. 226–43.

197. Cauldron with lion attachments

Bronze; H. 46.5 cm (18 1/4 in.), Diam. of rim 47 cm (18 1/2 in.)
Caere, Sorbo necropolis, Regolini-Galassi Tomb
Orientalizing, 675–650 B.C.
Museo Gregoriano Etrusco, Musei Vaticani, Vatican City (15065)

This cauldron¹ was deposited in the Regolini-Galassi Tomb along with another, identical one, probably in the antechamber. It is possible that the two cauldrons originally rested on the tall iron tripods placed at the head of the bronze bed, also in the antechamber, rather than on supports with conical bases (hypokrateria), as in the Barberini and Bernardini Tombs.² Of slightly elongated hemispherical shape, the large vessel is made of a single hammered sheet, the upper edge of which curls outward to form the rim. The five lions' heads, turned outward and attached with rivets, were hollow-cast using the lost-wax method, while the tubular attachments, incorporated during casting, were made from sheets of bronze.

The twin cauldrons from the Regolini-Galassi Tomb constitute a distinct group among those found in Etruria and Latium. The lion protomes appear to be inspired by the attachments of two



similar cauldrons—from the Barberini Tomb at Praeneste³ and the Circolo dei Lebeti (Circle of the Cauldrons) at Vetulonia⁴—that are believed to have been imported; such is also the case with the cauldron with griffin protomes from the Bernardini Tomb at Praeneste, assigned by some scholars to North Syria.⁵ It has been proposed that the cauldrons from Caere are of local manufacture.⁶ Like their Near Eastern prototypes, the lion protomes display prominent teeth in the round. The prototypes were established in the Anatolian highlands and Armenia, where the kingdom of Urartu arose, and spread first to Assyria and the Neo-Hittite kingdoms of North Syria and southeastern Anatolia. They later spread to Greece and the west, where they were reworked.⁷

Monumental cauldrons placed on tripods or conical supports were obtained by elites in Etruria and other outlying areas of the Greek world, such as Cyprus and Lycia, for use in banqueting and for inclusion in high-ranking tombs.⁸ Thus, they retained in the west their identity as luxury goods with ceremonial importance, as they had in the east, where they were objects of tribute to the Assyrian kings.⁹ In Greece, cauldrons, other types of metal vessels, and tripods tended to be consecrated in sanctuaries rather than made for tombs, even when won as prizes for athletic contests.¹⁰ MS

1. Pareti 1947, p. 307, no. 308, pl. XL; Marunti 1959, p. 67, no. 5, fig. 1b; Sannibale 2003b, p. 58, figs. on pp. 36, 70–71; Sannibale 2012, p. 320, no. 7. 2. Pareti 1947, pp. 307–8, nos. 309, 310. 3. C. D. Curtis 1925, pp. 45–46, no. 81, pls. 29–31, with alternating lion and griffin protomes. Curtis proposed that one of the griffin protomes was a local replica; Marunti 1959, p. 66, no. 1, pl. XI a; most recently Sciacca 2012, pp. 244–45, fig. 26, also on the North Syrian production of the repoussé hypokrateria of the Barberini and Bernardini cauldrons (see note 5, below). 4. Marunti 1959, p. 67, no. 2; Camporeale 1969, pp. 102–4, pls. XXXVI,1, XXXVII,1. 5. Marunti 1959, p. 71; Canciani and Hase 1979, pp. 46–47, no. 42, pls. 27–31. 6. Marunti 1959, p. 75. 7. See *Ploes/Sea Routes* 2003, pp. 421–30. 8. Delpino 2000, pp. 194–95. 9. Liverani 2000, pp. 8–9. 10. D'Agostino 2000, pp. 46–48.



198. Ewer

Silver and gilding with gold leaf; H. 21 cm (8¼ in.), Diam. of foot 6.3 cm (2½ in.)
 Caere, Sorbo necropolis, Regolini-Galassi Tomb
 Orientalizing, 675–650 B.C.
 Museo Gregoriano Etrusco, Musei Vaticani, Vatican City (20461)

This ovoid oinochoe has a trilobed mouth, a truncated-cone neck attached to the body at a juncture marked by raised cording, and a ring foot.¹ The double-ribbed handle ends at the bottom in two gilded appliques: a small ribbed band and a plaque decorated with a Paradise

flower and a palmette. During a nineteenth-century restoration fragments were inserted in two separate places to partly fill the lacune on the body. These may have belonged to a second oinochoe found in the tomb, of which only the handle's palmette-shaped plaque remains.² One of the fragments bears the following incomplete and upside-down inscription: [—]ia, restored as [larθ]ia or [mi larθ]ia, currently read as "(I am) Larth's" by analogy with other inscriptions present on precious-metal vessels from the same tomb.³

The shape, which circulated widely throughout the Mediterranean, reflects Phoenician trade

and craftsmanship; distinctive features include the use of gilding and the Paradise flower motif.⁴ This Phoenician type of oinochoe is characterized by the use of diverse materials: ceramics, silver, and bronze, but also ivory and composite materials (cats. 116–119).⁵ The princely tombs of the Orientalizing period discovered in Italy have yielded several examples of this type of oinochoe in silver that resemble the two from the Regolini-Galassi Tomb at Caere, specifically at Vetulonia, Praeneste, Cumae, and Pontecagnano. Bronze versions have come from the Tripod Tomb,⁶ adjacent to the Regolini-Galassi tumulus, and from the Rocca di Papa



Tomb in Latium.⁷ Technical analyses support the proposal that the bronze version represents the form's prototype.⁸

MS

1. See Pareti 1947, p. 224, no. 165, pl. 17; Cristofani and Martelli 1983, pp. 264–65, no. 42; Sannibale 1995, pp. 90–91, no. 1; Arietti and Martellotta 1998, pls. xvi, xvii, 4; Buranelli and Sannibale 1998, pp. 268–71, figs. 107–9; Sannibale in Sommella 2008, p. 95, no. 32. For the inscription, see Buranelli and Sannibale 2001, pp. 362–63, no. 30. 2. Pareti 1947, no. 166. 3. Rix 1991, vol. 2, Cr 2.10–14. 4. Shefton 1989, pp. 97–98, fig. 1. 5. Culican 1976, pp. 83–89; Grau-Zimmermann 1978, pp. 189, 202, 214 (k11), pls. 38a, b, 43b, type bi; Martelli 1991, p. 1063; *Principi etruschi* 2000, pp. 204–5, no. 216 (G. Ghini), and p. 215, no. 240 (F. Sciacca). 6. Di Blasi 2003, pp. 230–34, no. 52. 7. Arietti and Martellotta 1998, pp. 70–75, no. 22, pls. xii, xiii. 8. Sannibale 2003a, pp. 291–92, fig. 10.

199. Situla with winged lions and griffin

Silver over a modern, reconstructed support; H. 23 cm (9 in.), Diam. 11.6 cm (4 $\frac{5}{8}$ in.)
Caere, Sorbo necropolis, Regolini-Galassi Tomb, last room (so-called cella)
Orientalizing, 675–650 B.C.
Museo Gregoriano Etrusco, Musei Vaticani, Vatican City (20471)

This cylindrical situla originally had a wooden body, now reconstructed, which served as the support for the silver sheets decorated with repoussé and cut out using the à jour technique.

Its fully cast, movable handle, decorated with fluting and two lion-protome termini, is inserted into a buttonhole juncture embellished with two double-protome confronted lions. A small double chain inserted into the handle terminates in a ring tied to a plaque with a Paradise flower and a palmette. The two free ends of the chain are adorned with two small spheres and bear a bent-back wire that may once have received further decorative elements.¹

The situla is decorated in three registers divided by guilloche bands. In the uppermost register a confronted winged lion and griffin are separated by a vertical guilloche band; preceding the lion are two similar lions facing right. In the two lower registers are two friezes of palmettes above small interlaced arches.

With its à jour decoration technique, the situla resembles the one from the Castellani Tomb at Praeneste,² while the animal repertoire was once compared with that on the silver urn from the Tomb of the Duce at Vetulonia (cat. 200).³ Given its obvious symbolic meaning, the situla may have hung in the “window” overlooking the principal burial. The shape derives from the Near East and Egypt, where situlae were in use beginning in the second millennium B.C. In fact, it was in pharaonic Egypt that the situla was first employed for specific rituals, extending to funerary cults; significantly, its use as a container for the sacred water of the Nile, and for milk, was tied to the concept of regeneration.⁴ In the Assyrian reliefs, the cylindrical situla is a consistent attribute of the winged figures shown approaching the tree of life.⁵ On the Regolini-Galassi situla we find an abridged reference to the tree of life in the small interlaced arches and the palmettes. The lions and griffin depicted here belong to the group of animals derived from the Near Eastern sphere, both real and fantastic, that, like the sphinx, retained their symbolic meaning as the guardians and tutelary spirits of passages, including the one beyond this world.

MS

1. Pareti 1947, pp. 217–18, no. 151, pl. XV; Helbig 1963, p. 489, no. 636; Camporeale 1967, pp. 143ff.; Ström 1971, p. 165; Gran Aymerich 1972, pp. 24ff.; Cristofani and Martelli 1983, pp. 263–64, no. 38, ill. on p. 102; Sannibale 2008b, pp. 108–10, fig. 31. 2. Antonella Magagnini in *Principi etruschi* 2000, pp. 282–83, no. 360, ill. on p. 281; Magagnini in Sommella 2008, p. 125, no. 65. 3. Camporeale 1967, pp. 141ff. 4. Bommas 2005. In Egypt, situlae were somewhat breast shaped. 5. See, for example, the winged human-headed figure on the Northwest Palace, relief 8, Room T, Brooklyn Museum, New York (55.152); Matthiae 1996, p. 66, fig. 3.8.



200. Cinerary urn with animal procession

Silver plate, originally attached to bronze urn; L. 63 cm (24¾ in.), W. 37 cm (14⅝ in.), H. 42 cm (16½ in.)
 Vetulonia (Grosseto), Poggio al Bello, Tomb of the Duce
 Orientalizing, 650–625 B.C.
 Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Florence (7095)

This urn, now in a fragmentary state, is in the form of a miniature house with a gabled roof.¹ The decoration on the four sides of the house consists of processions of real and fantastical animals, arranged in horizontal registers and separated by bands of interlocking arches surmounted by palmettes. The sloping roof panels, each divided into two sections, are also decorated with processions of animals, including lions, sphinxes, and griffins, interspersed with vegetal motifs that include palmettes. These ornamental motifs are typical of the Orientalizing period, and the technique in which they were cre-



ated, which combines repoussé with engraving, can be connected with a workshop in Caere. The shape of the urn itself is most closely related to that of finds from southern Etruria, especially Praeneste and Caere itself, where small clay urns of similar form have also been found.

The urn was used to hold ashes from a cremated body that was wrapped in a linen cloth, a small fragment of which is preserved. This type of cremation burial was common, especially in the mid-Tyrrhenian region, between the second half of the eighth century and the third quarter of the seventh century B.C. Similar funerary rituals are described for dead heroes in Homer's *Iliad*, including both Patroklos (23.25off.) and Hector (24.79off.). After cremation, the bones of both of these deceased heroes were smeared with grease and wrapped in a length of cloth, then deposited in gold containers—in Hector's case a larnax (chest), perhaps intended to

symbolize the house that the hero would occupy in the afterlife.

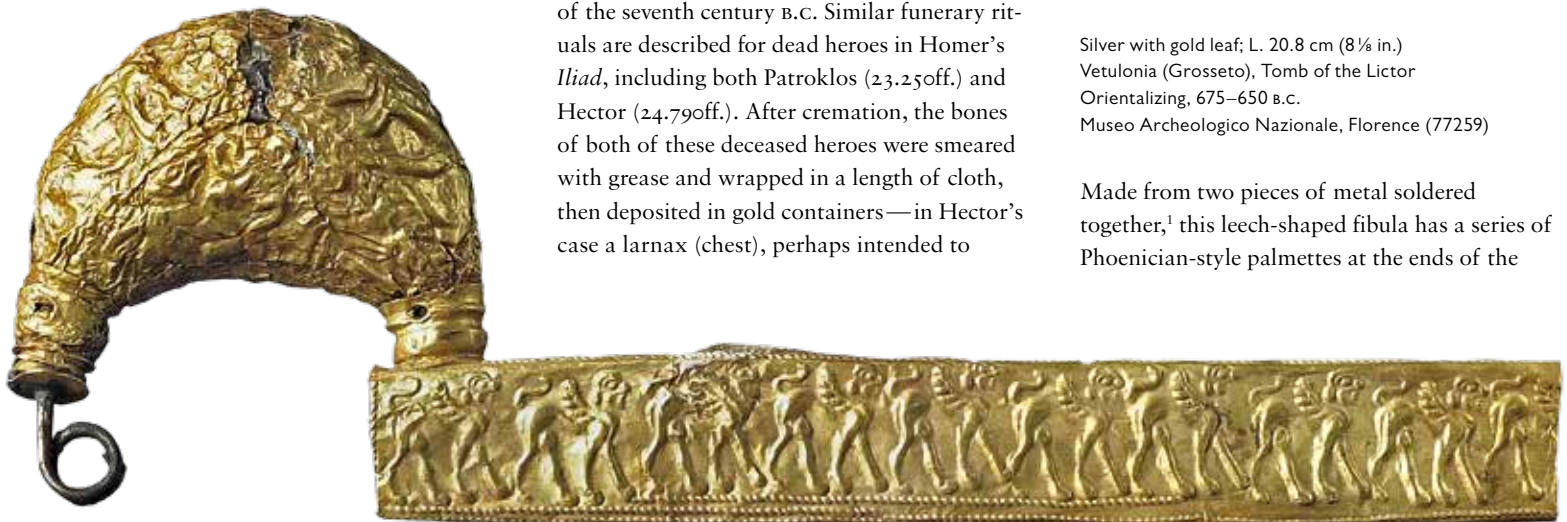
In the case of the present example, the deceased clearly belonged to an upper level of society. This is confirmed by an Etruscan inscription, “mi rachus kakanas,” or “I belong to Rachu Kakanas,” scratched into the bottom of a silver cup found among the burial goods in the tomb. The man's name given here was probably that of the deceased interred in this urn. The alphabet used in the inscription connects it with southern Etruria, especially Caere, where an inscription with the same family name has also been found, scratched into an impasto chalice dated to the mid-seventh century B.C. G C C

¹ Falchi 1887, pp. 503ff.; Camporeale 1967, pp. 141–56, no. 127; Torelli 2000, p. 585, no. 134; Celuzza and Cianferoni 2010, p. 127, no. 3.1. The urn is currently being restored in collaboration with The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

201. Fibula with sphinxes and griffins

Silver with gold leaf; L. 20.8 cm (8⅞ in.)
 Vetulonia (Grosseto), Tomb of the Lictor
 Orientalizing, 675–650 B.C.
 Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Florence (77259)

Made from two pieces of metal soldered together,¹ this leech-shaped fibula has a series of Phoenician-style palmettes at the ends of the



curved element and is decorated on both sides with a pair of sphinxes facing one another and flanking a vegetal motif. The long rectangular element is embellished with a procession of five sphinxes alternating with five griffins, all facing right. The upper edge of this element bears sixteen Phoenician palmettes, and the lower, a procession of small sphinxes.

The grave goods from the tomb where this fibula was found included two other examples, identical in dimensions and very similar in form and decoration to this one, as well as a series of gold objects. As a whole, the group is important for our understanding of goldsmithing at the time, owing to the quantity and size of the pieces as well as to their refined decoration, which was executed in various techniques such as embossing and minute granulation, or *pulviscolo*. These techniques were borrowed by artisans at Vetulonia from goldsmiths working in southern Etruria, probably Caere. The large number of pieces of this kind from Vetulonia, their homogeneity and organic unity, and the peculiarity of the figural style used to decorate them together suggest that they were made in a workshop at Vetulonia that specialized in these decorative techniques.

The Tomb of the Lictor takes its name from the double-headed iron axe found there in a fasces, or bundle of wooden rods, that was an attribute of the Roman civil servant of that name. Although the burial is quite clearly that of a man, the tomb yielded a series of gold pieces typically associated with women, which had been placed in a lead case that disintegrated as soon as it was excavated, according to Isidoro Falchi, who discovered the tomb. However, this box was covered with gold leaf, a few small fragments of which survive. Falchi, followed by other scholars, speculated that this collection of gold objects had been deposited in the grave as an offering by the deceased man's wife.

The picture that emerges from an examination of the tomb complex is of a hoard of objects of the highest quality, seeming to indicate that the deceased was a man of high rank. The axe, sword, and chariots all point to a tomb intended for a leader or chief, and the series of extraordinary gold objects also found there underscores this identification. GCC

1. Falchi 1898; *Schätze der Etrusker* 1986, p. 187 n. 19; Celuzza 2009, p. 148, no. 3.67; Celuzza and Cianferoni 2010, p. 163, no. 4.11.



202. Comb with winged lions and sphinxes

Ivory; H. 9.5 cm (3¾ in.), W. 11 cm (4¾ in.)
Marsiliana d'Albegna (Grosseto), Banditella necropolis,
Circolo degli Avori
Orientalizing, 675–650 B.C.
Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Florence (93437)

The lunette-shaped handle of this comb is decorated with low-relief carvings; one side has two winged sphinxes facing one another, the other has two winged lions, also facing each other.¹ Atop the handle is a lotus flower flanked by two felines facing away from each other, and a griffin protome extends from each side. The thin, rectangular teeth are formed from the same piece of ivory as the handle.

In its curved form, the handle recalls examples found in Greece, although the comb is likely of northern Etruscan production. The decorative motifs, carved both in the round and in low relief, are clearly borrowed from the repertoire of Orientalizing iconography. Identifying the comb's exact place of manufacture is difficult, however, in part because it has been credibly suggested that ivory objects in Etruria were made by itinerant artisans.

Like the other ivory objects discovered in this tomb and in others in the necropolis at Marsiliana, the comb can be classified as a luxury item

solely on the basis of its material, which was certainly imported. Its presence in the tomb suggests the deceased was of high social rank. The richness and variety of the decoration on the comb, combined with its fragility, suggest it was a ritual or symbolic object not intended for regular use.

The tomb in which the comb was found, called the Circolo degli Avori in modern scholarship, is one of the richest in the necropolis at Banditella and is among the most important princely burials of the late Orientalizing period. The tomb chamber takes the form of a rectangular trench containing the remains of three people placed side by side and surrounded by a circle of stones set into the ground. Judging from the objects buried with them and their arrangement, the individuals in the center and on the left side of the trench have been identified as men. A series of objects associated with women, including this ivory comb, in the right-hand burial suggests that the third individual was a woman. GCC

1. Minto 1921, pp. 122–23, 226, 228, fig. 13, pl. XVIII; Benzi 1966, pp. 263–65; *Schätze der Etrusker* 1986, p. 163, no. 12; *Etrusker in der Toskana* 1987, p. 155, no. 206; *Principi etruschi* 2000, p. 133, no. 89; *Moda, costume, bellezza* 2003, p. 61, fig. 9 and p. 148, no. 157; *Ore e i giorni delle donne* 2007, pp. 158–59, no. 12; Celuzza 2009, p. 116, no. 4.1; Celuzza and Cianferoni 2010, p. 163, no. 4.11.





V

THE CONQUEST OF
ASSYRIA AND THE
RISE OF THE
BABYLONIAN EMPIRE

From Nineveh to Babylon: The Transition from the Neo-Assyrian to the Neo-Babylonian Empire

MARC VAN DE MIEROOP

Around 650 B.C., after a century of almost incessant military campaigns, the Assyrian empire was at the height of its powers. Some twenty years into his reign, Ashurbanipal, who would hold the throne for almost half a century (668–627 B.C.)—one of the longest reigns in Assyrian history—could look back at a series of successes against the powerful rivals that had surrounded his state. Early on he had followed his father’s lead in seeking access to the vast wealth of Egypt, then under the dominion of rulers from Nubia, to its south. The two outside powers fought over the country, with its age-old history and prodigious resources (including rich gold mines), trading control several times. For the Assyrians, Egypt was too remote to be subjected to direct rule, but in 664–663 B.C. Ashurbanipal’s troops nonetheless reached its religious capital, Thebes, and carried off an enormous amount of booty. They handed power over to Egyptian vassals who were expected to represent Assyria’s interests.

Somewhat later, Ashurbanipal defeated Babylonian rebels led by his older brother, Shamash-shuma-ukin. The latter had become frustrated with being ruler of Babylonia but also subject to his own brother, who regularly took actions in the country. Ashurbanipal, for example, restored the temple in Borsippa but only briefly acknowledged Shamash-shuma-ukin. It took the Assyrian king four years to defeat the Babylonian uprising (652–649 B.C.), but when he succeeded—and having placed a powerless vassal, Kandalanu, on Babylon’s throne—it was clear to all who was in charge. Finally, in 647 B.C., Ashurbanipal crushed and humiliated the kingdom of Elam, in southwest Iran, a longtime thorn in Assyria’s side (see cat. 21). The destruction of its capital, Susa, was so methodical that the bones of earlier kings were exhumed and ground up to remove any trace of them. When the Assyrians retreated, they left behind a wasteland.¹

The spoils collected by Assyria in these ventures were mind-boggling, and not all in the form of monetary treasure. Acquisition records from the royal library at the imperial capital, Nineveh, show that Ashurbanipal’s men brought back some two thousand cuneiform tablets and three hundred writing boards, stolen from the personal libraries of Babylonian scholars.² The king added these to his already vast collection of tablets and writing boards; the effort shows that he wanted to accumulate all Babylonian literate scholarship in his library, the largest in world history up to that moment. Scribes there copied out the manuscripts onto standardized tablets ending with the *ex libris* “palace of Ashurbanipal, king of the universe, king of Assyria” (see “Ashurbanipal’s Library at Nineveh” in this volume, pp. 68–69). Assyrian power was at its apex, and its ruler seems to have been confident enough to devote himself to matters of the mind rather than of state.

But perhaps the empire had overextended itself, because the Assyrians did not benefit from the territories they had just subjected beyond the loot they collected from them. Egypt’s Assyrian vassals soon claimed independence, Elam remained in chaos, and the puppet ruler in Babylonia seems to have accomplished little. The empire even lost control over long-held territories such as the southern Levant. Ashurbanipal’s death, in 627 B.C., only exacerbated the problems, leading to a civil war among his son Ashur-etil-ilani, his designated heir; another son, Sin-shara-ishkun; the high official Sin-shumlishir; and Nabopolassar, a member of the Chaldean tribes, who had long contested Assyria’s hegemony in Babylonia. In 626 B.C. the latter was able to set up a new dynasty in Babylon.³ Not all Babylonians saw him as a liberator, however, especially residents of urban centers. In the cities of Nippur and Uruk, for example, which stubbornly continued to support the Assyrian king, the inhabitants resisted attacks that cut them off from their fields and starved many to death.



Fig. 5.1. View of the site of Babylon showing the restored Southern Palace of Nebuchadnezzar II

Yet Nabopolassar was able to gather enough military strength to challenge Assyria, and by 616 B.C. at the latest he began to raid the empire's heartland. In 615 B.C. he laid siege to the ancient Assyrian city of Ashur, triggering a counter-offensive. Sensing weakness, other regional powers turned against the empire as well. The Medes, inhabitants of the Zagros Mountains between modern-day Iraq and Iran, took advantage of the power vacuum Assyria had created in eliminating Elam to organize into a fearsome fighting force. In 614 B.C., they threatened the imperial capital, Nineveh, and captured Ashur so suddenly that Nabopolassar could not reach them in time to participate in the city's defeat. But he concluded a treaty with them, and two years later the Babylonians and the Medes jointly attacked Nineveh, which they conquered and destroyed after a three-month siege. Assyria's king probably died in the battle, but the empire did not fold

overnight. A last ruler, called Ashur-uballit II, set up court in the city of Harran, in northern Syria, and for at least another two years maintained Assyria's control over the western regions of the empire. Even after Harran fell to the Babylonians, Assyria continued to resist for years with extensive backing from Egypt. Local rulers, too, tried to influence the situation. In 609 B.C., for example, Josiah of Judah lost his life at Megiddo in an attempt to stop an Egyptian advance to support Assyria. Cities such as Harran changed hands repeatedly, and it was only in 605 B.C., after a major battle at Carchemish, on the Euphrates in northern Syria, that matters turned definitively in Babylon's favor. In several subsequent campaigns, the new king of Babylonia, Nebuchadnezzar II (604–562 B.C.), consolidated his control over the region, violently crushing any opposition. Archaeology shows massive destruction layers at the Philistine cities of Ashkelon, whose

conquest in 604 B.C. is mentioned in the Babylonian Chronicles, and Ekron, whose king, Adon, wrote in vain to Egypt's pharaoh asking for help at about the same time.⁴ Nebuchadnezzar's attempt to invade Egypt in 601 B.C. was a failure, however. The armies confronted each other in open battle, and after major losses on both sides the Babylonians withdrew. They nonetheless considered themselves sovereign over the entire region, down to Egypt, and tolerated no opposition. Thus Nebuchadnezzar infamously besieged and captured Jerusalem in 597 B.C. and installed a puppet ruler, Zedekiah. When Zedekiah rebelled nine years later, Nebuchadnezzar returned with his army. An eighteen-month-long siege ensued, forcing the city to its knees, and Babylon's revenge was severe. Nebuchadnezzar destroyed the Temple and deported thousands of the city's inhabitants and its king, resettling them in the Babylonian heartland, an event lamented in the Hebrew Bible as among the most traumatic in Judean history.

Babylonia's behavior as an expansionist empire continued the practices the Assyrians had established long before, although Babylonian sources are much less explicit than the notorious Assyrian annals; the data provided here are gathered from terse summaries in the Babylonian Chronicles.⁵ They were equally ruthless and regularly took revenge upon civilian populations. This feeling was particularly strong when they dealt with Assyrians, extending beyond the immediately physical. Assyria's capital, Nineveh, was a special target of their ire. Less than a century before its destruction, Sennacherib (704–681 B.C.) had chosen it as the empire's new capital and had enlarged and embellished it with lavish temples and palaces. The same Sennacherib was hated in Babylon for his destruction of that city in 689 B.C. Frustrated by fifteen years of Babylonian rebellions and usurpations of the throne (including by a Chaldean, Marduk-apla-iddina II; see cat. 204) as well as the murder of his son in 694 B.C., Sennacherib decided to annihilate Babylon. Sennacherib's accounts state that he returned the site to the condition of primeval chaos. We know from archaeological evidence that this was an exaggeration, but Sennacherib did indeed ransack the city and its temples, carrying off the wealth and statues of the gods, including that of Marduk, Babylon's patron deity, an act of desecration that seventy-eight years later the Babylonians had still not forgotten.

Although the Babylonians did not leave detailed descriptions of Nineveh's ruin in their own writings, their actions made such an impression on the ancient world that Classical and biblical sources relate elements of its destruction.⁶ Archaeology, too, shows how systematic the destruction was.

It also reveals that the Babylonians and their Median allies went through the palaces and destroyed the images of individuals who had done them special harm in the past. The faces of representations of Sennacherib and Ashurbanipal were mutilated, as were those of Assyrian soldiers depicted decapitating the king of Elam on Ashurbanipal's behalf. Only after these ritual punishments of hated people of the past had been accomplished did they burn down the buildings and then take some of the ashes with them for display in Babylon.

As had been done to Babylon in 689 B.C., Nineveh was wiped off the face of the earth, at least according to written accounts (archaeology shows that a small settlement survived on Nineveh's ruins).⁷ Remarkably, the Babylonians did not imitate the Assyrians in one respect: they turned their backs on Ashurbanipal's massive library, leaving it behind in the ruins of his palace. They must have felt confident that they were the guardians of a literary tradition whose manuscript collections were complete and superior to those accumulated by the Assyrian king.

Although the so-called Neo-Babylonian empire (a modern designation for the final phase of Babylonia's history as a dominant power in the ancient Near East) lasted less than a century before being conquered by the Persians in 539 B.C., it must be seen as a successful reinvigoration of the Neo-Assyrian imperial model, with additional expansion at the edges of its territory. As mentioned above, it annexed Judah in the Levant, which Assyria had allowed to remain a vassal kingdom. Babylonia also reached farther into Anatolia and probably, more important, deep into the Arabian desert. In fact, the last king of Babylon, Nabonidus (555–539 B.C.), moved to an oasis there, Teima, which is closer to the Red Sea than to the Persian Gulf. Records state that caravans went back and forth between his residence in Teima and Babylon, indicating that he had pacified the desert tribes.⁸

Nabonidus's move is quite startling: why would the ruler of a vast empire with its core in the rich agricultural lands of Babylonia move into the inhospitable desert? A poem, found at Babylon and written soon after Nabonidus's overthrow or perhaps even in his final years as king, depicts him as having gone mad. The author of an unfortunately very fragmentary text, which we now call *The Verse Account of Nabonidus*, accused the king of abandoning that city's patron deity, Marduk, in favor of the moon god Sin. We know that Nabonidus restored temples in Sin's traditional cult centers at Ur, in Babylonia's south, and at Harran, in northern Syria, and the move to the desert, where the moon god was supreme, may have been inspired by the same religious ideas. According to *The Verse Account*, Nabonidus made Teima Babylon's equal, an action

no traditional Babylonian would have supported.⁹ At the end of the poem the author names Babylon's savior: the Persian king Cyrus. In the famous Cyrus Cylinder as well, that king is portrayed as Marduk's champion and the liberator of the Babylonians. And, indeed, in October 539 B.C., Cyrus captured Babylon and exiled Nabonidus to southern Iran. Babylonia's empire became part of the vast Persian empire, which at its height stretched from the Indus Valley to eastern Europe and from Central Asia to North Africa.

But was Nabonidus truly mad? His religious beliefs certainly did alienate the powerful priests of Babylon, one of whom may have written *The Verse Account* at the end of Nabonidus's reign to turn his colleagues against the king. His long absences made the celebration of the New Year's festival impossible for many years. Perhaps the move to Teima was not a religious folly, however, but a clever acknowledgment of the new geopolitical situation. Persia's rise to the east of Babylonia and its conquest of the regions to its north threatened the old trade routes from Babylon to the Mediterranean Sea, and Nabonidus may have sought to open a new route through the desert. We will never know his exact motives. In any case, the literature his actions provoked—be it after Cyrus's conquest of Babylon as a justification for Persian rule or during Nabonidus's reign in order to undermine his authority—have made him one of the most interesting characters of ancient Mesopotamian history. He was the last native king in Babylonia's ancient history; from then on the region was always part of large empires ruled by foreign dynasties.

The spoils of empire provided the Babylonians with massive resources, which they used to develop their homeland. This was a period of great prosperity for the region, and, as Assyrian rulers had done before them, the new Babylonian kings set aside part of their wealth to enhance their capital city. Nebuchadnezzar, especially, wanted to show off Babylon as the true center of a world empire. The biblical Book of Daniel (4:30) puts these words in his mouth: "Is not this great Babylon that I have built by my mighty power as a royal residence and for the glory of my majesty?" His development of the city demonstrates his vision of Babylon as the center of the universe both in material and ideological terms. The Babylon we best know today is, in fact, the one he constructed. Sennacherib's destruction of the city in 689 B.C. provided Nebuchadnezzar with a clean slate (even if there had been some building activity in the interim, including that by Ashurbanipal), and his architects developed a clear message: Babylon was a beacon of order in a chaotic world. This idea pervaded the city from its overall layout to its details.¹⁰



Fig. 5.2. Cuneiform tablet with a map of the world. Sippar. Neo-Babylonian. The Trustees of the British Museum, London (92687)

Babylon was truly gigantic in size. At close to 900 hectares (2,225 acres), it was the largest city of the ancient Mediterranean world until imperial Rome, some 600 years later (fig. 5.1). Its plan shows a large outer triangle, mostly abutting the east bank of the Euphrates, and a smaller, rectangular inner city of about 1.6 by 2.75 kilometers. The latter, likely fully built up with residences and public buildings for the royal court and the gods, was the most important area of the city and was considered the heart of the universe, as illustrated by a unique cuneiform tablet written around this time (fig. 5.2). The tablet contains a map of the world, rendered as a flat circular disc floating in the ocean, or the "Salt Sea," according to the text. On the sea's outer edges are eight triangular zones where, so the text tells us, mythological figures reside. At the center of the world-disc is an elongated rectangle identified as Babylon in the accompanying legend. Other geographic entities named on the map include Assyria and Elam. The map is not the only instance of the city of Babylon being celebrated as the center of the world: the axis mundi, or pole, that holds the various levels of the universe together. One of Babylon's epithets (used elsewhere) was "the bond of heaven and the underworld."¹¹ And, indeed, when looking at

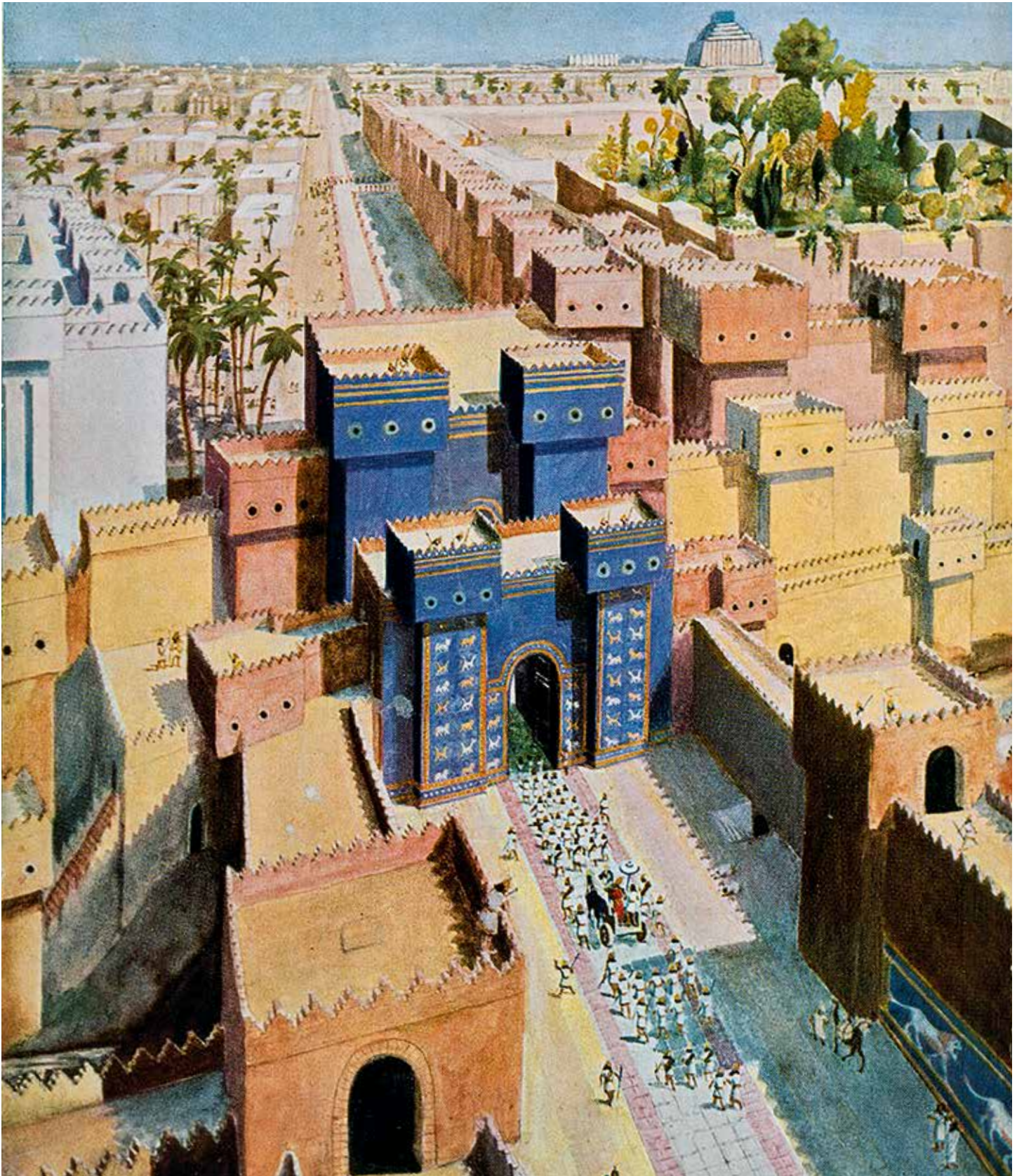


Fig. 5.3. Herbert Anger (1892–1945), *Reconstruction of the Ishtar Gate and Processional Way*, 1927. Color print after watercolor. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Vorderasiatisches Museum (VA Bab 01408-01456)

the city from afar, a visitor to ancient Babylon would have grasped that image immediately, for the city walls emerged out of the waters of the moat that surrounded them like the primordial mound that arose from the ocean at the time of original creation.

The image of a vertical axis was even more accentuated by Babylon’s ziggurat, the famous Tower of Babel from the Bible. Its ancient Babylonian name was Etemenanki, meaning “House, Foundation Platform of Heaven and Underworld.” An awe-inspiring construction in Nebuchadnezzar’s day, it

has now totally disappeared after being dismantled by Alexander the Great, whose intention to rebuild it never materialized. But ancient descriptions of the ziggurat leave no doubt about its imposing size. The Greek historian Herodotos (1.181), who claims to have visited Babylon, states that its square base was one *stade* (600 feet, or 180 meters) long on each side and that the ziggurat had eight steps. The Book of Genesis, while giving no details, uses the Tower of Babel as a symbol of human hubris in trying to reach heaven. No reliable ancient Babylonian depictions exist, and there is still no scholarly consensus on what the ziggurat would have looked like.¹² Be that as it may, the tall and massive temple tower must have been visible from a great distance and could easily have been regarded as the central axis of the universe (for a later, fanciful interpretation, see fig. 6.5).

As they got even closer to the city, visitors would have been confronted by Babylon's massive walls: three lines of them enclosing the outer triangle, and two of them, 7 meters apart, containing the rectangular inner city. It is no surprise that the walls of Babylon ranked among the seven wonders of the ancient world in early versions of that list. According to Herodotos (1.179), a four-horse chariot could ride on top of them, and the archaeological remains show that this may have been possible. Naturally, city walls require openings to allow entry to and exit from the city, and Babylon was no exception. Its modern fame, in fact, derives in great part from the Ishtar Gate, situated in the center of the northern wall of the inner city (fig. 5.3). German excavators in the early twentieth century found the gate so impressive that they shipped it back to Berlin, to be exhibited next to the Pergamon Altar and the Market Gate of Miletos as an architectural masterpiece of the ancient world (see ill. pp. 330–31).

The Ishtar Gate was a favorite project of Nebuchadnezzar's, and his inscriptions reveal that he rebuilt it several times. The gate's impact derived from its massive size, layout, and decoration of glazed baked bricks. Military historians also admire its architecture, for after crossing the bridge over the moat an enemy had to pass between 200 meters of high walls without shelter before reaching the gate itself. The ancient Babylonians probably saw the representations on the walls and the gate as even more effective. Images of 120 lions, an animal associated with the goddess Ishtar, lined the long road (cat. 211), while on the gate itself depictions of some 150 bulls of the storm god Adad and dragons of the god Marduk (cat. 210) challenged anyone approaching. The gate was so daunting that, according to Greek accounts, when Cyrus the Great of Persia attacked Babylon, instead of assaulting the city through the gate he instead diverted the waters of the Euphrates River and marched his troops through its bed.

The gate was nonetheless a point of access, too, drawing visitors into the inner city and leading them to the sacred precinct in its center on a processional road paved with stone slabs. On the edge of each slab Nebuchadnezzar had this text written, unseen to the person walking over them:

Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon, son of Nabopolassar, king of Babylon, I am. In the street of Babylon used for the procession of the great lord Marduk I made the road smooth with limestone slabs. May Marduk, my lord, give a long-lasting life.

The religious center of Babylon consisted of the ziggurat, which was set in a large courtyard, and Marduk's temple, called the Esagil, or "House whose Top is High." The latter was the heart of Babylon's cult, the place where its patron deity resided and held court as king of the gods. Within it was the "pure hill," the mound that, according to the Babylonian Creation Myth, had emerged from the primordial sea as the first place with solid ground, thus setting creation into motion. There was also the court of the gods' assembly, where Marduk had been made king after he defeated the forces of chaos contained within this sea. Especially during the twelve-day-long New Year's festival at the spring equinox, this role of Babylon and its god was celebrated. The god's statue left the city for three nights and then reentered it along with statues of all the other gods of Babylonia, who visited from their hometowns: Anu from Uruk, Nabu from Borsippa, and so on. Upon their return the king met them at the Ishtar Gate, and together in procession—and displaying booty captured in that year's wars—they moved back into the temple. Proper order was thus reestablished through an annual repetition of the original creation. The king himself had to be present for the festival to take place; this explains why Nabonidus's long stay in Teima was so abhorrent. Although we can only imagine the details of the grandeur that must have characterized this occasion—the richly adorned divine statues, the wagons piled high with gold, silver, and other loot—the archaeological remains are still able to amaze us. Only the empire made this possible; it gave Nebuchadnezzar the resources to make real his message that Babylon was the most important city in the world. He was so successful that when Cyrus and, later, Alexander conquered Babylon, both kept it as a prominent royal residence.

Cities are more than buildings for ceremonial occasions, however. They are centers where people interact and engage in all sorts of activities, both mundane and exalted. This aspect of life in Babylon and Babylonia in general is richly documented in textual sources, which describe great activity and creativity in this period. We have to remember that Babylon

was the heart of a large empire that ruled many countries and peoples with different cultural backgrounds, some of whom came to Babylonia voluntarily for business purposes, while others arrived there involuntarily as deportees. In a large city like Babylon, people from western Iran and southern Anatolia mixed with Phoenicians from the Mediterranean coast and with Egyptians. In the Babylonian countryside were entire settlements of deportees, such as the Judeans. Also, people from outside the empire were drawn to it when seeking to make their fortunes, including mercenaries. In a brief poem, the Greek Alcaeus welcomed back to Lesbos his brother, who had served in Nebuchadnezzar's army: "You have come from the ends of the earth with a gold-bound ivory sword-hilt. . . . As an ally of the Babylonians you performed a great feat and you rescued them from trouble by killing a warrior who was only one palm short of five royal cubits."¹³ Although all of the preserved writings from the city are in cuneiform script and in the Babylonian language, no doubt the population of Babylon spoke a multitude of languages: the confusion of tongues in the Book of Genesis was not pure fantasy. Most likely the numerous peoples present in the city dressed differently, enjoyed various cuisines, and followed particular social practices, but they must have been forced to intermingle. Texts from the Neo-Babylonian and subsequent Persian eras show that the Judeans in Babylonia, for example, kept naming some of their children with traditional Hebrew names.¹⁴ Thus, even within the imperial structure, there was the possibility of claiming a particular heritage.

Because of the peaceful conditions that prevailed in much of the empire, Babylonia's economy flourished at this time. The agricultural development of the region was intense and included large irrigation projects. Textual evidence shows the involvement of trading families who managed these resources and transported the produce to cities like Babylon, with its large urban population.¹⁵ The empire also secured the safety of long-distance trade within its borders, and Babylonia was a popular destination for foreign merchants. As colonization of the Mediterranean by Greeks and Phoenicians reached its peak, Babylonia provided a tempting market for luxury items. It is no surprise that Athenian Greek pottery was found in Babylon. Products from the east—from Iran and beyond—must also have reached the city. It was truly cosmopolitan.

Throughout world history, wealth regularly leads to cultural and intellectual developments, and Babylonia in the sixth century B.C. was no exception, even if the work was mostly building on earlier foundations. The Babylonians themselves were very much aware of the fact that they were



Fig. 5.4. Cuneiform tablet with impression of an inscribed stone of the Akkadian king Shar-kali-sharri (ca. 2217–2193 B.C.). Nippur. Neo-Babylonian. University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Philadelphia (CBS 16106)

heirs to a great past and actively explored it. Like true archaeologists, kings regularly unearthed remains of earlier buildings and identified who commissioned them. When old inscriptions emerged, their origins were a point of interest. A scribe called Nabu-zeru-lishir found a 1,700-year-old inscribed stone of the Akkadian king Shar-kali-sharri, made an impression of it on one side of a clay tablet, and wrote on the back where he had seen it (fig. 5.4).¹⁶ Institutions kept collections of old objects as museum pieces. The temple of Shamash at Sippar, for example, held items dating as far back as 3000 B.C. from Babylonia and neighboring regions, including inscribed stone bowls, statues, boundary stones, and other objects. People tried to establish how long ago such things were made, usually overestimating their age.¹⁷

Older was better to the Babylonians, and that was also true for the scholarship they preserved and expounded. A Catalogue

of Texts and Authors, which predated the Neo-Babylonian period, makes this very clear.¹⁸ It gives the god of wisdom, Ea, precedence as the “author” of highly respected titles, such as the massive collection of celestial omens called *Enuma Anu Enlil*, as well as the texts used by exorcists and lamentation priests. Antediluvian sages came after him, and the fact that their writings had survived the Flood gave them great authority. In third place were the learned men who came after the Flood. Babylonian scholars saw themselves as working within an age-old tradition, and although they often proclaimed that they reproduced what they had seen in older manuscripts, they did not just copy mindlessly. Because we can trace the histories of literary and scholarly texts through the centuries, we know that they elaborated on existing texts, adding passages or modifying them. They also wrote commentaries to explore their meaning further.

Even during the politically tumultuous period of the Assyrian empire in the seventh century B.C., as described above, Babylonian scholars continued to write, and their work was considered so superior that Ashurbanipal wanted it for his library. With the peace and prosperity of the Neo-Babylonian empire, this scholarly activity flourished both in private settings and in temples. The Esagil, Marduk’s temple in Babylon, contained a reference library that seems to have aimed at collecting all scholarship and literature. What we consider high literature, such as the *Gilgamesh* epic or the Babylonian Creation Myth, made up only a small part of such collections. Scholarly works predominated, and those had a practical bent to them. Most extensive was exorcistic literature, that is, incantations and the like designed to ward off evil of every conceivable kind and specified in minute detail. The exorcist (Akkadian *ashipu*) was the most prominent scholar of the era.¹⁹ Another massive category of writings related to the art of divination. Every aspect of the universe was considered inscribed with messages from the gods about what the future would bring, and in this period writings on occurrences in the sky—from the planets and stars to the weather—predominated. The well-known mathematical knowledge of the Babylonians, combined with the observation of patterns of celestial behavior, most likely had already led to the development of mathematical astronomy before the Persian and Hellenistic eras, but it is only in manuscripts written then that it becomes evident.

These and other sciences were rooted in a written tradition, to which our modern viewpoint is obviously biased as we study these matters on the basis of textual evidence. The study of writing and language itself was also important to the Babylonians, who developed grammatical analyses

of the long-dead and purely literary language of Sumerian, parsing words into separate elements. They also commented on individual words and phrases in literary and scholarly texts, sometimes clarifying archaic vocabulary but oftentimes trying to reveal further meaning through elaborate interpretations of elements and references to esoteric writings. Most Babylonian scribes wrote out only official and private legal documents, such as letters, but in various cities (Babylon, Borsippa, Sippar, Uruk) this scholarship often occurred within a family setting, with fathers passing on their knowledge to sons. These conditions survived into subsequent periods, even after political power had passed to foreigners, and became both the hallmark of Babylonian science and the envy of other cultures. While Greek intellectuals, for example, had to teach fee-paying students to survive, in Babylonia the temples supported scholars so that they could devote themselves fully to their studies. The pursuit of scholarship also had popular support, it seems, for the patron god of writing, Nabu, was the most frequently invoked deity in the names that people of the time gave their children. Indeed, the Babylonians’ excellence in divination became their key characteristic in the eyes of others, to the extent that during the Roman Empire the term “Chaldean” was used for anyone engaged in the discipline.

In 689 B.C. the city of Babylon was at the lowest point in its millennia-long history, and probably the entirety of Babylonia was in deep trouble. One hundred years later the situation was fully reversed and the country was flourishing, the result not only of Babylonia’s vast foreign dominions but also of the development of its own rich agricultural resources. Nebuchadnezzar and others used the wealth at their disposal to rebuild Babylon as the grand capital of a world empire. The city was also seen as the center of the universe, where people of all known nations could mingle, and a seat of culture and learning. In that sense the Babylonians foreshadowed what the Abbasids would accomplish in nearby Baghdad some 1,300 years later. But unlike the latter, the Babylonians stuck to their native traditions and ignored all foreign cultural achievements, including, even, the royal Assyrian collection of Babylonian writings. So successful were they in their sponsorship of scholars, both private and in temples, that when they finally had to yield political power to outsiders—the Persians (Achaemenids), the Greeks, and then the Persians (Parthians) again—those foreigners did not interrupt their work. On the contrary, they continued to support it as a venerable tradition. Only through internal processes, and long after its political might had vanished, did Babylonia’s culture die out.



203. *Kudurru* of Marduk-zakir-shumi I

Limestone; H. 33 cm (13 in.), W. 15 cm (6 in.)
 Uruk
 Neo-Babylonian, ca. 850 B.C.
 Musée du Louvre, Paris, Département des Antiquités
 Orientales (AO 6684)

204. *Kudurru* of Marduk-apla-iddina II

Marble; H. 45 cm (17¾ in.), W. 32 cm (12⅝ in.),
 Neo-Babylonian, end of 8th century B.C.
 Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Vorderasiatisches Museum
 (VA 2663)

Legal transactions in Babylonia, especially those having to do with ownership of land, were usually confirmed by written documents, which as a rule were given to the purchaser; later it was common to produce copies for both parties. This was the case as well for the acquisition of land



by high officials, priests, and even the royal family. Since such property transfers were of public interest, beginning in the Middle Babylonian period (after ca. 1500 B.C.) these transactions were attested by stone monuments meant to offer the gods' protection to the process. The Babylonians referred to these monuments as *kudurru*. This type of monument, combining text and images, especially divine symbols, is well known from Babylonia from the mid-second millennium to the early first millennium B.C.¹ These two examples are some of the last *kudurru* known.

Kudurru were fashioned out of valuable stones, scarce in Mesopotamia, on which the original legal texts written on clay documents were prominently and carefully copied. The texts could also be accompanied by pictorial images and symbols of gods. It is not known where the *kudurru* were displayed: perhaps in places where

they could be easily seen, or alternatively they may have been dedicated in temples.²

The earlier of these two *kudurru* (cat. 203), which has a curved top, is engraved on both faces with a long, two-column inscription concerning a land grant made by the Babylonian king Marduk-zakir-shumi I to a priest, Ibni-Ishtar. The text records that the priest and scribe of the great temple of Inanna, the Eanna, in Uruk was allocated major resources by the king: about 250 acres of land, eight houses next to the Eanna, a slave and his family, and shares of the sacrifices offered to various gods of the Eanna or portions of the temple's general revenues.³ The king and priest are represented at the top of the stele facing each other. The king wears the conical hat characteristic of Babylonian rulers and holds a staff, insignia of his rule. They are surrounded by symbols of deities, guarantors of the transfer of land.⁴ From left to right,

these are: the spade of Marduk; the stylus of Nabu; the ram of Ea; the lamp of Nuska; and, in the field, the thunderbolt of Adad and the bird's head of Zamama. Appearing on the reverse is a serpent, symbol of Ishtar; the scorpion of Ishhara; the lion of Ishtar; the seven discs of the seven gods, or Sebittu; the sword of Marduk; the fox of Erra; the bird of Papsukkal; and the bird of Shuqamuna and Shumaliya. On the narrow sides are the dog of Gula, the griffin of Nergal, the turtle of Ea, and horned tiaras placed on altars, symbolizing Adad, Enlil, and Ninhursag. Visible along the top are the star of Ishtar, the sun of Shamash, and the moon of Sin. These various symbols might have been connected with specific constellations.⁵

The other, equally impressive example (cat. 204), is the *kudurru* of Marduk-apla-iddina II (721–711 B.C.). Like other rulers, this king utilized royal lands to reward specific persons with gifts of plots and thereby secure their loyalty. The text not only records the land transfer and the removal of its residents, but also lists the merits of the recipient, the high provincial official Bel-ahhe-eriba. The extent of the estates' agricultural land, whose locations are precisely described, was considerable, and a source of major potential income. The land grant was guaranteed both by the image of the king on the front of the *kudurru*, who approaches the recipient in greeting, and by the symbols of specific gods shown as witnesses to the legal transaction. Represented by their animal symbols placed atop bases are the chief god, Marduk (*mushbushshu* dragon, spade), the fertility god, Ea (ibex, ram), and the god of writing, Nabu (*mushbushshu* dragon, stylus). The mother goddess, Nintu, is represented by an omega-shaped sign. Symbols of the sun god, Shamash (sun), the moon god, Sin (crescent moon), the god of healing, Gula (dog), and others are also depicted. In addition, as on clay tablets bearing similar texts, the attending witnesses are named before confirmation of the place and date of the gift. The end of the text consists of a number of curses, reading in part: "Whoever later, whether a king, a king's son, an agent . . . develops any kind of ploy, incites anyone, contracts . . . someone who does not fear the great gods, changes its position, throws it in the water, . . . erases the inscribed names to take away the land . . . that Marduk-apla-iddina, king of Babylon, has given to Bel-ahhe-eriba, the *shakin temi* of Babylon . . . An, Enlil, and Ea, the great gods, will afflict that man with an intractable curse, a distortion of the eyes, deafness in the ears, [and] paralysis of the limbs, and he will contract evil."⁶

The rulers depicted on these two *kudurru* were witness to the changing relationship between Babylonia and Assyria. Marduk-zakirshumi I succeeded Nabu-apla-iddina, who had restored order in Babylonia after the unrest of the late second millennium B.C. When his younger brother revolted against him, Marduk-zakirshumi obtained aid from the Assyrian king Shalmaneser III (fig. 1.6). Later, he would in turn help Shalmaneser's successor, Shamshi-Adad V of Assyria, accede to the throne. However, his equal footing with the powerful Assyrian kings farther to the north did not last, and Shamshi-Adad V later conducted several destructive campaigns in northern Babylonia, perhaps as a response to Babylonian attempts to gain the upper hand over their neighbors.⁷ These campaigns would weaken Babylonia in a lasting manner, to the advantage of the Chaldean confederations, which had long controlled the far southern part of Mesopotamia and would take over the whole of Babylonia in the seventh century. Marduk-apla-iddina II, a Chaldean, claimed Babylonia for himself during the rebellions in the empire that marked the start of Sargon's rule and again during the reign of his successor, Sennacherib. During this period of protracted struggle Babylonia repeatedly fought back against Assyrian domination, and its intractable resistance eventually led Sennacherib to destroy the great city of Babylon. JM / AT

1. The obelisk of Manishtusu (ca. 2269–2255 B.C., Musée du Louvre, Paris, Département des Antiquités Orientales, Sb 20) is considered an antecedent. 2. Slanski 2003, pp. 55–59. 3. Thureau-Dangin 1919, p. 123. 4. The text cites the goddesses Nanaya and her daughter Kanisurra; the great gods Anu, Enlil, Sin, Ea, Shamash, and Marduk; Marduk's consort, Sarpanitu; Nabu, Nergal, Ninurta, Zamama, and the goddess Ishtar. Most are represented as symbols on the monuments alongside other deities not cited in the text: Gula, Ninhursag, Adad, and Nuska. 5. Seidl 1968, p. 57, no. 99. 6. Quoted from Paulus 2011, p. 66. 7. Joannès 2001, p. 119.

205. Cylinder seal of the god Adad

Lapis lazuli; H. 12.5 cm (4 $\frac{7}{8}$ in.), Diam. 3.2 cm (1 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.)
Babylon, Tell Amran ibn-Ali (the so-called Hoard)
Neo-Babylonian, probably 9th century B.C.
Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Vorderasiatisches Museum
(VA Bab 647)

This uncommonly large lapis lazuli "cylinder seal" depicts the weather god Adad with lightning bolts in each hand. It was found in 1900 in Babylon together with numerous other inlays, ornaments, jewelry, and seals of semiprecious stone that had been collected in baskets in antiquity.¹ The collection may have belonged to

a seal cutter, who had gathered the precious materials for reuse. The findspot lay prominently between the south side of the enclosure wall of the Etemenanki ziggurat and the north wall of the Esagil, the main temple of the city god Marduk. It is uncertain whether the collection was simply abandoned during the hasty evacuation of the building in the Seleucid era or was buried and hidden in Parthian times.²

On account of the circumstances of the find and the seal's inscriptions of three different dates, it is clear that it was used for several centuries. The seal was created for the god Adad probably in the ninth century B.C. and thus belongs among the so-called deity seals.³ The main inscription reads: "Seal of the god Adad." Added to this later was the notation "Treasury of the god Marduk . . . from the Esagil Temple."⁴ In this second period, the cult of the god



Adad in Babylon may have been shifted to a chapel in the Esagil.

Even though it resembles a cylinder seal in its shape and longitudinal boring, it was not primarily intended to function as a seal, as it is carved in relief rather than intaglio.⁵ It could have been a prestigious attribute of the god, one with which contracts were symbolically sealed with the name of Adad.⁶ The size of the piece and the fact that lapis lazuli had to be imported from the east, presumably from present-day Afghanistan (Badakhshan), underscore its importance.⁷

The seal's imagery aids in reconstructing statues of gods that have not survived. The weather god, crowned by a tall feathered polos, stands atop a base carved with three rows of a zigzag pattern. On his floor-length skirt are three star-shaped ornaments, which on a cult image would probably have been made of precious metal; the ornaments are depicted increasing in size from top to bottom.⁹ The god wears a chain around his neck from which hangs a stepped object generally considered to be a depiction of a ziggurat.¹⁰ Additional ornaments can be seen on his garment and his arms. At his feet lie his two animal attributes—a lion-griffin and a bull—each wearing a leash that he holds in his left hand. In addition, in each hand he clutches a pair of lightning bolts, his right hand raised to his head in a pose typical of this god.¹¹

In the early seventh century B.C. the seal was stolen along with the rest of the Marduk Temple treasury by the Neo-Assyrian king Sennacherib when he conquered Babylon. His successor, Esarhaddon (680–669 B.C.), brought it back to Babylon as a gesture of appeasement. The third inscription reads: "To the god Marduk, the great lord, his master, Esarhaddon, king of the universe, king of Assyria, has donated this seal for his life."¹² The temple and its inventory evidently fell out of use over time. Several centuries later portions of the temple treasury were then collected as raw materials for reuse,¹³ but for unknown reasons the planned reappropriation of this piece never happened.¹⁴

BH

1. Koldewey 1900a, pp. 12–13; Koldewey 1900b, pp. 4–6; Koldewey 1911, p. 48, fig. 75; and Wetzel, Schmidt, and Mallwitz 1957, pp. 34–45, no. 14, pls. 43a–d, 44a. 2. Klengel-Brandt 1992, p. 130; Moorey 1994, p. 91. 3. K. Watanabe 1985, pp. 389–91; Collon 1987, pp. 131–34, no. 563; Collon 2007a, p. 112, fig. 7.23. 4. K. Watanabe 1985, pp. 390–92; Klengel-Brandt 1992, p. 129. 5. Wetzel, Schmidt, and Mallwitz 1957, pp. 36–37; Collon 2007a, pp. 110–11. 6. K. Watanabe 1985, pp. 390–91. 7. Moorey 1994, pp. 85–92. 8. Sallaberger and Schmidt 2012, p. 583. 9. Evelyn Klengel-Brandt in Marzahn and Schauerte 2008, pp. 185–86, no. 85, fig. 116. 10. Klengel-Brandt 1992, p. 129; Wetzel, Schmidt, and Mallwitz 1957, pp. 37–38. 11. For the god Adad, see Black and Green 1992, p. 111, fig. 89; for the weather god Iskur-Adad, see A. R. W. Green 2003, pp. 27–34, 85–88. 12. Klengel-Brandt 1992, p. 129. 13. Moorey 1994, p. 91. 14. Klengel-Brandt 1992, p. 130.



206. Stele of Ashurbanipal

Marble; H. 36.8 cm (14½ in.), W. 22.2 cm (8¾ in.)
Babylon, Esagil Temple
668–655 B.C.
The Trustees of the British Museum, London (ME 90864)

Among the most important of the official roles of an Assyrian king was the restoration and maintenance of state buildings, particularly temples. Here, on this small stone stele, Ashurbanipal, the last great king of Assyria, is shown carrying a basket of earth on his head, echoing images of much earlier kings on foundation monuments.¹ It might seem somewhat incongruous that Ashurbanipal is represented in full

royal dress, especially since the crown makes it impossible to show the basket actually on the king's head, but this only underscores the entirely symbolic nature of what was intended to be seen as an act of extreme piety. The inscription, partly cut over the image of the king, is a record of the Assyrian king's restoration of the shrine of the god Ea within Esagil, Babylon's greatest temple and the home of Marduk, Babylonia's supreme deity.² In Ashurbanipal's case this work was especially important as the king's grandfather, Sennacherib, had, in an act of desperation after all other Assyrian-imposed political settlements had failed, sacked Babylon after the city had once again rebelled

against Assyrian rule. Ashurbanipal and his father, Esarhaddon, both had to work to rebuild the city and with it, they hoped, Babylonian willingness to accept Assyrian dominance.

Although Ashurbanipal was king of Assyria and the empire, Esarhaddon had bequeathed the kingship of Babylon to another of his sons, Shamash-shuma-ukin (see “From Nineveh to Babylon” in this volume, pp. 332–39). This stele was certainly made during their dual kingship; in the inscription, Ashurbanipal describes Shamash-shuma-ukin as his “favorite brother” and offers him a blessing: “may his days be long and may he be fully satisfied with (his) good fortune!”³ A monument of Shamash-shuma-ukin similar to this one⁴ was defaced in antiquity, presumably following his revolt and eventual defeat by Ashurbanipal.

In describing his building work at Babylon, the king refers to the imported and luxury goods that were used:

*I completed the work on Esagil which my father [Esarhaddon] had not finished. I roofed it with immense beams of cedar and cypress, the produce of Mount Amanus and Mount Lebanon. I had doors made of boxwood, musukannu-wood, juniper, and cedar and I hung (them) [in] its gates. I had vessels made of gold, silver, bronze, iron, wood, and (precious) stones and I placed (them) inside it.*⁵ NT

1. Porter 2004; J. Oates 2005, pp. 121–23. 2. Frame 1995, pp. 199–202, B.6.32.2.1. 3. Ibid., p. 201. 4. British Museum, London (BM 90866). See also a second stele of Ashurbanipal: British Museum, London (BM 90865). 5. Frame 1995, p. 201.

207. Cylinder seal and modern impression: winged hero contesting with a lion for a bull

Carnelian with copper setting preserved at both ends; H. 3.85 cm (1½ in.), Diam. 1.8 cm (¾ in.)
Mesopotamia
Neo-Babylonian, ca. 800–650 B.C.
The Morgan Library and Museum, New York; Acquired by Pierpont Morgan between 1885 and 1908 (Morgan Seal 747)

Among the finest cylinders of Assyro-Babylonian art of the ninth to seventh century B.C., this seal stone is inscribed in Akkadian with the name of a Neo-Babylonian seal owner: “(Belonging) to Nabu-nadin-shumi son of Ashur . . . may Nabu grant (him) life!”¹ The inscription appears to be secondary to the seal, as there was no space set aside for it and it is read directly from the seal rather than the impression. The seal, therefore, probably served as a votive object in its secondary use.



In the miniature space of the surface the artist created a contest of monumental proportions: a demonic lion facing a winged superhuman hero. The stance of the lion and the articulation of its body, with its twisting human torso, give the figure a demonic appearance. The lion’s threatening gestures and the tension in the outstretched, sharp claws further suggest his evil power. But the hero will be the victor; taller than the lion, he acts with a calm force, and the bull, the victim of this contest, remains in his power. The smooth muscular forms of the human figure are set off by the carefully detailed and ornamented flounced garment. The lion’s strength is indicated by a similar contrast in patterning. Despite the violence of the action, the figures seem frozen in time owing to the symmetry of the composition. The elegance and refined execution of this seal are characteristic of Neo-Babylonian style. Typical Neo-Babylonian features include the pointed diadem worn by the hero, the sickle-sword lowered behind the figure, and his position with one foot on the bull’s head.²

Contest scenes in which a domesticated animal such as a bull is attacked by a wild animal, usually a lion, and often with a heroic male figure intervening are among the most prominent subjects on cylinder seals.³ Perhaps their earliest surviving manifestation in Mesopotamian art is painted on the inside of a vessel from the Halaf period (ca. 6500–5500 B.C.) found at Tell Arpachiyah.⁴ Part of the scene shows a lion attacking a calf as a hero with a bow and arrow rushes to the calf’s aid. Over the course of centuries, this subject, which represented a real threat to the daily existence of these early communities, acquired a profound symbolic meaning and its representation became stylized. It is a favored motif of seals from the later Early Dynastic period (ca. 2550–2250 B.C.), where the contesting figures are presented in an interconnected frieze and perhaps represent the struggle between the forces of order (the domesticated animals and man) and the chaos of the natural world (the lions).⁵ By the first millennium B.C., as

represented by this remarkable seal, the motif had been completely transposed from the natural world into the realm of the supernatural. Here the vitality of the rendering of the subject vividly expresses the conflict, which by this period was perhaps symbolic of the forces of civilization opposing an evil or demonic power. SB

1. Porada 1948, pp. 90–91, 179, pl. CXII. 2. For a summary of the criteria that make seals such as this Babylonian as opposed to Assyrian, see Collon 2001, pp. 154–55. 3. Collon 1987, pp. 193–97. 4. Hijara 1980, pp. 143–44, 148, fig. 10. 5. Hansen 1998, p. 50.

208. Cylinder seal and modern impression: worshiper before two altars

Lapis lazuli; H. 3.9 cm (1½ in.), Diam. 1.8 cm (¾ in.)
Mesopotamia
Neo-Babylonian, ca. 6th–5th century B.C.
The Pierpont Morgan Library and Museum, New York;
Acquired by Pierpont Morgan between 1885 and 1908
(Morgan Seal 781)

A male worshiper stands before two altars.¹ He has a domed hairstyle, delineated with oblique lines ending with a band above his eye, and his beard and shoulder-length hair are indicated by horizontal lines. He faces right and gestures with one hand; his arm is raised from the elbow and his palm is up. The figure’s garment is plain, with fringe at the bottom below two lines, and he wears a belt from which hang some strands near the front. A vertical line down the side perhaps represents the edge of the fabric that was wrapped around the body. The gesture of worship with one hand as well as the decoration of the garment only at the bottom distinguishes this type of Babylonian worshiper from his Assyrian counterparts.²

The two altars are similar in construction and consist of a rectangular block marked with four equally spaced vertical lines, perhaps suggesting paneling. At the top and bottom of



these blocks are horizontally placed rectangular elements that extend beyond the block itself. The first altar is narrower and higher than the second. It is surmounted by an elongated ovoid object, perhaps a stone, decorated down the center with a ladder pattern. This object serves as a base for a crescent moon, which has been attached to a pole. The crescent is the symbol for the moon god, Sin, who was particularly venerated at Ur, in southern Mesopotamia. However, during the Neo-Babylonian period the temple at Harran, in northern Syria, became another important cult center. On the second altar is the image of a dog with alert ears and a curled tail, sitting on its haunches and facing left. The dog was the sacred animal and symbol of Gula, the goddess of healing and a patroness of physicians, who was particularly venerated at the Babylonian city of Isin.

On seals that show a worshiper before an altar, the male figure may represent a priest. A number of similar scenes showing beardless male figures with shaved heads first appear near the beginning of the reign of Nabonidus (555–539 B.C.) and continue even into the reign of the Persian king Xerxes (485–465 B.C.).³ Since the figure appears here with a beard and full hairstyle, this seal may belong to the preceding period, perhaps the reign of Nebuchadnezzar II (604–562 B.C.). The ample space above and below the figures on these types of seals was perhaps intended to accommodate impressive gold seal caps. Additionally, all the empty space around the figures focuses the viewer's attention on the act of piety itself, the worshiper, and the objects of his devotion. These scenes of a worshiper, whether a priest or a ruler, before divine symbols on altars also became a favored motif carved on stamp seals of the period.⁴

SB

209. Eye stone amulet with a dedication inscription of Nebuchadnezzar II

Banded agate; Diam. 3.8 cm (1½ in.)
Mesopotamia
Neo-Babylonian, 604–562 B.C.
The Morgan Library and Museum, New York; Acquired by Pierpont Morgan between 1885 and 1908 (MLC 2624)

Taking advantage of the stone's natural banding, this agate was carved to resemble an eye. Around the outer edge of the dark brown center is a dedication to the god Marduk carefully written in delicate cuneiform signs: "To Marduk, his lord, Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, son of Nabopolassar, gave this for his life."¹ Eye stone amulets were believed to have inherent power that would help protect the life of the person named in the inscription. The votive nature of the inscription on this example indicates that it was likely placed on an altar or in a temple as a gift to a deity.² Judging by the chipped state of the rim, this amulet originally had a precious gold setting from which it was forcibly removed at some time in the past. Its valuable setting suggests that the amulet probably adorned the cult statue of the god named in the inscription.



Nebuchadnezzar is one of the most famous figures in ancient history and is best known from biblical accounts. A great general and statesman, he was also an ambitious, imaginative builder whose surviving monuments are without rival in Mesopotamia. Babylon, as recorded by Herodotus (c. 484–425 B.C.), was largely the work of Nebuchadnezzar's architects. This banded agate eye stone was probably found at Babylon, where Marduk was the patron god of the city.³ Other eye stones with different votive inscriptions naming Nebuchadnezzar have survived.⁴ These objects were surely commissioned by the king to ensure the protection and divine intervention of the various deities named in the inscriptions.

SB

1. Clay 1923, p. 47, pl. 45, fig. 48, pl. VI (upper row, right).
2. In discussing several of these amulets and their votive nature, Lambert (1969, p. 70) mentions that although some have thought the amulets may have been used as actual eyes for cult statues, no evidence has been found for such use.
3. Clay 1923, p. 47.
4. Berger (1973, pp. 13–15, 150–62) presents twenty-four examples with ten different inscriptions. George (2011, p. 184) includes two more.

210. Relief of a *mushhushshu* dragon

Glazed and molded brick; W. 166 cm (65½ in.), H. 116 cm (45½ in.)
Babylon, Ishtar Gate
Neo-Babylonian, 604–562 B.C.
Staatlich Museen zu Berlin, Vorderasiatisches Museum (VA Bab 4757)

*(For that reason) I cleared away these gates and placed their foundation directly against the groundwater with asphalt and bricks and had them built out of bricks with only blue glaze on which bulls and dragons were artfully depicted.*¹

This excerpt from the foundation inscription of Nebuchadnezzar II (604–562 B.C.) describes the rebuilding of the Ishtar Gate, the greatest of the eight gates in the inner city wall of Babylon. The walls of the gate were faced with glazed brick reliefs of wild bulls and dragons, creatures associated with the weather god Adad and with Marduk, city god of Babylon. Interestingly enough, lions, the animal associated with Ishtar—goddess of war but also of sexual allure and fertility—are not represented on the Ishtar Gate, but they appear on the walls of the Processional Way, which passed through the gate and connected the temple of Marduk in Babylon to the New Year's Festival House outside the city. The dragon, known in Babylonian as a *mushhushshu* ("furious snake"), was originally the attendant of Enlil, the father of the gods, and the Sumerian serpent god Tishpak. Only later did it become associated with Babylon's

1. Porada 1948, p. 95, no. 781, pl. CXIX. 2. Ibid., p. 95.
3. Collon 2001, p. 193. 4. Porada 1948, pls. CXX, CXXI.



city god, possibly after Hammurabi's conquest of Eshnunna, Tishpak's city, in the 1760s B.C., an event reflected in mythology by the transfer of the dragon of Tishpak to Marduk.² The creature also appeared as the symbol of Nabu, god of scribes, as early as the second half of the second millennium B.C. The close connection between Marduk and Nabu, documented from the time of Hammurabi, finds its ultimate expression in their shared association with the *mushbushshu*.³

The application of the reliefs to the gate's outer walls was intended to ward off enemies and evil. This hybrid creature, with the head of an Arabian horned viper, a scaly body, forelegs with a lion's paws, hind legs ending in a raptor's claws, and a tail with a scorpion's stinger combined characteristic features of animals considered dangerous in the ancient Near East. A powerful "gatekeeper," it could kill the enemy by spraying it with venom. The structure of the

Ishtar Gate itself comprised a double gate with a total length of 48 meters. Approaching from the exterior, one first entered a cross-axis antechamber that was followed on the city side by another, elongated main chamber. Two projecting towers protected each of the passageways on the outside. According to the structure's inscriptions, its doors, no longer preserved, were made of cedar with bronze fittings and thresholds of metal.

From February to November 1902, Robert Koldewey concentrated excavation work in Babylon on exposing the Ishtar Gate. A large number of broken glazed bricks with fragments of images of wild bulls and dragons on a rubbish heap in the vicinity of the Ninmah Temple led him to look there for the gate, and an inscribed limestone slab found shortly afterward confirmed the identification.⁴ This relief, comprising 77 bricks, each reassembled from many original fragments, is only one of the

roughly 575 animals depicted in glazed, molded brick that, according to the calculations of the excavators, adorned the Ishtar Gate during its last building phase.⁵ LMA

1. Marzahn 1981, pp. 27–28. 2. Wiggermann 1989, p. 121.
3. Groneberg 2004, pp. 120–21. 4. Koldewey 1918, p. 1, fig. 1.
5. Joachim Marzahn in *Vorderasiatisches Museum* 1992, p. 122.



211. Relief of a striding lion

Glazed and molded brick; W. 232 cm (91 3/8 in.),
H. 127 cm (50 in.)
Babylon, Processional Way
Neo-Babylonian, 604–562 B.C.
Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Vorderasiatisches Museum
(VA Bab 4376)

Heading north from the temple of Marduk, the Processional Way, in the heart of Babylon, passed through the Ishtar Gate and led toward the New Year's Festival House outside the city. The stretch directly outside the gate was enclosed by walls and ornamented for a length of roughly 180 meters with an elaborately decorated polychromatic frieze.¹ An impression of its original appearance, although reduced in length and breadth, is provided by the reconstructed Processional Way in Berlin's Vorderasiatisches Museum: a long frieze of striding lions bordered

above and below by rows of rosettes and three-colored bands. On both sides of the street the lions stride in a strictly rhythmic alignment, one behind the other: two lions on each projecting tower, and two lions each on the wall surface between the towers.

In their original arrangement, the lions were heading away from the city. This lion, striding to the right, comes from the west side of the Processional Way. Like all the other glazed relief animals, it was not found in situ on the wall but rather has been reconstructed by fitting together countless brick fragments. The relief is made up of 15 rows of bricks with a total of 113 colored molded bricks in the size and shape typical for Babylonia in this period (33 × 33 × 8 cm). After the glazes were fired, the bricks were then assembled with the aid of a system of position marks on their upper surfaces that ensured each

brick its proper place in the composition. The individual bricks of this lion, reconstructed in its present form in 1930, are made up of the original fragments embedded in plaster.

Iconographically, the lion is associated with the goddess Ishtar. Together with rosettes, also a symbol closely linked to Ishtar, the lion is the dominant image in the bottom zone of the walls along both sides of the Processional Way. As a member of Babylon's triad of chief deities, along with the wild bulls and *mushbushshu* dragons on the Ishtar Gate (symbolic of the gods Adad and Marduk, respectively), the lion/Ishtar can be seen as a guarantor of eternal protection for the monumental gate complex and its approach.

R-BW

¹ Marzahn in *Vorderasiatisches Museum* 1992, pp. 114–17, nos. 57, 58, figs. pp. 114–17; Marzahn 1992, pp. 7–16, figs. 2, 3.

GODS AND THEIR IMAGES IN THE BIBLE AND BABYLONIA

Ira Spar

As the villages of the Babylonian countryside lay in ruins and the cities of Mesopotamia became covered with layers of dirt and sand, the rituals, gods, myths, and theologies of this once-great civilization ebbed from the minds of the scholars and religious thinkers who lived in the period following the destruction of the Second Temple in Jerusalem, in A.D. 70.¹ At that time, both Jews and nascent Christians, under the influence of Greek philosophical thought,² grappled with what they believed were disturbing aspects of the biblical description of their deity.³ How could God, it was thought, be transcendent but also an immanent being? How could references to independent divine beings (angels) and to a celestial being called the Son of God (Dan. 3:25) be understood and reconciled with the belief in only one deity? The many biblical descriptions of the deity in human terms as both young and old as well as human physiological descriptions (anthropomorphisms) of God and angels raised further questions.⁴ The answers to these complex issues lay buried amid the ruins of the forgotten civilizations of the ancient Near East.

In contrast to the later monotheistic beliefs of Jewish, Christian, and Islamic theologians, ancient Near Eastern religious texts describe a universe populated and controlled by a host of deities, supernatural spirits, ghosts, demons, and monsters (see “Demons, Monsters, and Magic” in this volume, pp. 263–67). Most gods were thought to be like humans, in fact, with feelings and intelligence. Male and female gods had spouses, offspring, and kin; some engaged in incest. They differed from humans in their remarkable abilities and by virtue of their immortality, although in some instances they, too, could be killed.⁵ And like humans they were unpredictable, reacting sometimes with reason but at others with unbridled emotion. The gods also created and controlled nature, and it was thought that without them creatures would not procreate, grain and other vegetation would not grow, and rain would not fall from the sky.⁶

In Mesopotamian mythological compositions and the so-called God Description Texts, deities are typically described as resembling humans.⁷ The texts list each body part of a given god and associate it with an animal, plant, tree, metal, food, or object (e.g., “the tip of his nose is a pickaxe”), beginning with the head and ending with the toes. Among the human features mentioned in various documents, for example,

are hairstyle, head, whiskers, ears, neck, eyes, eyelids, tip of the nose, mouth, teeth, top(?) of the teeth, tongue, lips, face, jaw, throat, chest, heart, stomach, armpit, forearms, fingers, thighs, flesh, backbone, breasts, waist, navel, kidney stone, groin, penis, buttocks, knees, lower leg, ankle bones, and feet. Bodily fluids and secretions include nose mucus, pus, semen, earwax, blood, and tears. Texts also describe gods in terms of metaphors, comparing them to real animals such as a wolf, lion, bird, snake (signifying speed), or gazelle (grace and beauty). Demons could assume the shape of fantastic animals.⁸ A deity could also be represented with an emblem or as a physical object, such as a weapon (a symbol of power) or a tree (a symbol of fertility).

Statues of the major deities were fashioned out of either a wood or bitumen core and plated with gold and silver. Polished to a high luster to signify the god’s radiance, they were then inlaid with precious stones. Figures of lesser gods were made of stone, clay, or metal. These cult statues were clothed with special garments, often decorated with ornaments of gold and silver, and outfitted with jewelry.⁹ By the middle of the third millennium B.C., representations of deities were differentiated from those of humans by the addition of horned crowns, a mark of their divinity.

After the physical form of the statue was crafted by artisans,¹⁰ a ritual washing of the image was required to establish its purity. To enable the statue to smell incense and partake of food and drink, an incantation was recited first to wash its mouth and afterward to activate its senses through a ritual of opening its mouth.¹¹ Further rituals and incantations transformed the image from a cold, material artifact of human hands into the god itself. The statue was now a living entity: no longer a symbol but an active, animated presence empowered to act and speak. As a corporeal being, the statue had to be provided with food, drink, and clothing, otherwise the deity could abandon its worldly form. It also had to be protected, for if the statue was desecrated or destroyed by enemies, then it lost its power and became a disembodied *zaqiqu*, or ghost.¹² Once dressed, purified, and fully operative, the deity was established in its temple, where it was ready not only to partake in ceremonies but also to journey in procession to other temples and meet with other gods to “decree the fates” of their respective cities.

The temple where the cult statue (or its symbol) resided was known as the “house” of the god, where he lived together with his wife, offspring, and servants. There, he slept, ate, drank, entertained guests, and received petitions and judged legal disputes. Each city had a main temple, the seat of the city god. Lesser and foreign gods had their own temples and shrines. During the third millennium each of the major gods was considered to be the patron deity of only one city; later, as Mesopotamian political and religious influence spread, both a god and its body, expressed in the form of separate statues, could be active in several cities at once. City pantheons varied over time as a result of political circumstance.

By the Middle Ages, Judeo-Christian and Islamic theology was based exclusively on belief in a single, all-powerful, non-corporeal and sovereign deity, and all traces of an Israelite god who in body resembled either a Canaanite or Mesopotamian deity, together with a divine retinue, had either vanished or been suppressed. Yet as in Mesopotamia, Israelite religion encompassed a world of multiple deities and powers. Archaeological discoveries and a close reading of the biblical text beginning in the nineteenth century have revealed that the biblical view of the deity more closely resembled concepts found in the ancient Near East.¹³

Israel’s main deity, Yahweh,¹⁴ is described in the Bible as being surrounded by lesser deities with restricted power, some of whom were malevolent. Yahweh is also spoken of as a warrior-god who helps Israel to defeat its enemies.¹⁵ In Exodus 15:11, for example, the Israelites rejoice at Yahweh’s victory over the Egyptians: “Who is like You among the gods, O Yahweh?” Psalm 89:7–8 likewise refers to the pantheon that surrounds Yahweh: “For who in the skies can equal Yahweh, can compare with Yahweh among the divine beings, a God greatly dreaded in the council of holy beings, held in awe by all around Him?” Job 1–2 refers to divine beings (literally “sons of the gods”), a group of lesser divinities with great powers who are assigned by Yahweh to oversee life on earth. Other members of the divine retinue include angels and the heavenly host (1 Kings 22:19), identified with the moon and stars (Job 25:5). The divine council is noted in Genesis 1:26 when God addresses his court and says, “Let us make man in our image, after our likeness.”

Who were these divine beings, and what was their mission? According to passages in Genesis 10, the Dead Sea Scrolls, and later Jewish sources, there are seventy nations in the world, representing the descendants of Noah. In Ugaritic mythology there are also seventy divine beings—the offspring of the goddess Athirat and El, her consort—which in the biblical text and later Dead Sea Scrolls and Jewish sources

are recognized as the seventy divine beings who rule over the nations.¹⁶ In Israel these supernatural beings included divine emissaries/envoys, servants, spirits, and the heavenly host. One of Yahweh’s subordinates, called “the Destroyer” (Exod. 12:23), acted as a divine agent for punishment. Other lesser deities were assigned to a heavenly court to ensure justice for the poor and needy (Ps. 82:2). In the period before the Flood, some of the divine beings acted independently upon seeing “how beautiful the daughters of men were and took wives from among those that pleased them” (Gen. 6:1–4). Their offspring, according to an old tradition, were the primeval giants (Nephilim) who once dwelt in the land in prehistoric times (see Num. 13:32–33).

Israelites also pictured Yahweh as a physical being. He sits on his throne in Daniel 7:9–10, Isaiah 6:1–3, 1 Kings 22:19–23, and in Psalm 82; his nostrils and mouth are described in Judges 5, his feet in Psalm 18:10–11. In Genesis 4 he walks (presumably on two legs) and speaks with Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden, and in Genesis 18 Yahweh and two companion deities (angels) recline, wash their feet, and consume human food. Yahweh’s face, hands, and back are described in Exodus 33:18, 22 and Ezekiel 1:26–28, and in Genesis 32:23–33 God assumes the shape of a man and wrestles with Jacob.¹⁷ God’s physical form is described in detail in the first chapter of the Book of Ezekiel, when the prophet sees a vision of the Lord:

Above the expanse over their heads was the semblance of a throne, in appearance like sapphire (i.e., lapis lazuli); and on top, upon this semblance of a throne, there was the semblance of a human form. From what appeared as his loins up, I saw a gleam as of amber—what looked like a fire encased in a frame; and from what appeared as his loins down; I saw what looked like fire. There was radiance all about him. Like the appearance of the bow which shines in the clouds on a day of rain, such was the appearance of the surrounding radiance. That was the appearance of the semblance of the Presence of the Lord. When I beheld it, I flung myself down on my face. And I heard the voice of someone speaking.¹⁸

Here Ezekiel reflects the ancient Near Eastern belief that gods possess luminosity.¹⁹ It was believed that if one were to make eye contact with a god when this radiance was activated, then the sighting could be lethal.

New archaeological discoveries confirm that Israel’s God, like other Mesopotamian deities, could manifest in two places at once. Two large storage pots (pithoi) excavated by an Israeli archaeological team in the northeastern part of the Sinai

Peninsula in 1975–76 contain drawings with Hebrew inscriptions written in black ink. An inscription on Pithos A refers to “Yahweh of Samaria” and “Yahweh of Teman,” referring, respectively, to the northern capital of Israel and to a location in the south. The inscription suggests that Yahweh had shrines or temples in these areas and could be worshiped, probably in the form of a symbol, at both places at the same time. Yahweh of Teman is also mentioned in Habakkuk 3:3. In a similar fashion, the Mesopotamian goddess Ishtar was known as both the Lady of Nineveh and the Lady of Arbela, meaning that she could be active simultaneously at distinct localities.²⁰

While Yahweh was worshiped in the Jerusalem Temple, cults of other deities together with their symbols were worshiped at shrines and temples throughout ancient Israel, which at the time was divided into two separate political entities. The northern kingdom, Israel, had its capital at Samaria, built by Omri, the king, and was known in Assyrian sources as the House of Omri. Ahab, Omri’s son and successor, “took as wife Jezebel daughter of king Ethbaal of the Phoenicians, and he went and served Baal and worshiped him. He erected an altar to Baal in the temple of Baal which he built in Samaria” (1 Kings 16:31–32). Ahab also made a sacred post or tree (asherah), symbol of the Canaanite goddess Asherah,²¹ and placed it in Samaria (1 Kings 16:33; 2 Kings 13:6). The cults of Baal and Asherah were supported by hundreds of prophets, who ate at Jezebel’s table (1 Kings 18:19; 2 Kings 10:19). Other gods and molten images were worshiped at Israelite shrines (1 Kings 14:9), including statues of golden calves placed in the northern shrines at Bethel and Dan (2 Kings 10:29).²²

The southern kingdom, with its capital at Jerusalem, was called Judah. There, Baal altars (*mizbechot*) and their pillars (*matzevot*) were placed at shrines along with the Asherah post/tree. A bronze serpent, Nehushtan, set up in the Jerusalem Temple was destroyed in a religious reform by Hezekiah (2 Kings 18:4). Placed atop a pole that according to an old tradition was made by Moses (Num. 21:4–9), the serpent was most likely an apotropaic symbol made to promote healing. The pole/tree has been interpreted either as a symbol of Yahweh or of Asherah as his consort.²³

Jerusalem Temple rituals described in the Book of Leviticus mention only offerings made to Yahweh and say nothing of rituals pertaining to the images of foreign gods. Liturgies preserved in part in the Book of Psalms, however, reflect recognition of and borrowing from Mesopotamian and Egyptian liturgical poetry. Psalm 13, for example, closely parallels

the Babylonian Lament to Ishtar, and prayers in Psalm 20 appear to be similar to passages in Papyrus Amherst 63.²⁴ Other Psalms, including 13, 29, and 104, reflect imagery of the storm god found in Ugaritic literature.²⁵

What becomes clear is that the multiplicity of gods worshiped by the many peoples who lived in ancient Israel was a reflection of a common ancient Near Eastern belief regarding nature and the cosmos. According to both Israelite and Babylonian mythology, the world was divided into distinct realms that included the heavens, earth, and an underworld.²⁶ In this arrangement, which is represented both in Genesis 1–11 and in Mesopotamian myth, humans dwell on earth surrounded by nature and all types of creatures, each controlled by a variety of forces that determines their fates. It thus made sense to them to try and appease each of these forces through sacrifice, praise, and worship in order to secure their allegiance. Religious structures and the images placed in them were a means to communicate with divinities as part of this effort to achieve order, security, and prosperity.

For the population of ancient Israel, which comprised many peoples, including groups deported by the Assyrians to live in the conquered lands of northern Israel, Yahweh was the chief patron god of the nation, but as in Mesopotamia, where temples and shrines of many deities dotted the city landscape, he was not the only god:

Each nation (in Israel) continued to make its own gods and to set them up in the cult places which had been made by the people of Samaria; each nation [set them up] in the towns in which it lived. The Babylonians made Succoth-benoth, and the men of Cuth made Nergal, and the men of Hamath made Ashima, and the Avvites made Nibhaz and Tartak; and the Sepharvites burned their children [as offerings] to Adrammelech and Anamelech, the gods of Sepharvaim. They [all] worshiped Yahweh, but they also appointed from their own ranks priests of the shrines, who officiated for them in the cult places. They worshiped Yahweh, while serving their own gods according to the practices of the nations from which they had been deported. To this day they follow their former practices (2 Kings 17:29–34).²⁷

Indeed, prior to the centralization of worship in the Jerusalem Temple (Deut. 12:1–11), shrines could be found throughout ancient Israel. Better to seek the assistance of several gods, it was thought, than to rely only on one, possibly capricious deity.





VI

LEGACY OF THE AGE OF GREAT EMPIRES

The Assyro-Babylonian Age in Western Artistic and Literary Tradition

MICHAEL SEYMOUR

From the profound impact of the great empires of Assyria and Babylonia to the more fluid, mercantile spread of Phoenician and Greek culture and art in the west, centuries of increasing interaction shaped the future course of politics and culture in an increasingly interwoven Mediterranean and Near East. This interaction also provided a wealth of shared stories and ideas, many of which would survive long after much of the specific history of the period was forgotten. The centuries of the early first millennium B.C. have some claim to lie at the root of Western literature, since they encompass the formation of the vast bulk of the Hebrew Bible as well as the foundational epic literature of Greece. Much more is lost—Aramaic and Phoenician, so fundamentally important to the interconnected Mediterranean of the early first millennium B.C., survive only in the most limited form—but the biblical and Greek sources, alongside the wealth of surviving cuneiform literature, allow some understanding of the stories and ideas that traveled with merchants and colonists and of the great cross-pollination into which they fed.

Despotism and Decadence: Assyria and Babylonia in Western Tradition

For nearly two thousand years, Assyria and Babylonia, the dominant polities and literate cultures of the early first millennium B.C., were remembered to an extremely limited and imperfect degree, and even then entirely through the words and perspectives of others. Although the demise of the cuneiform script, foreshadowed by the rise of the Aramaic language and the simpler, alphabetic scripts used to write it, as well as Hebrew, Phoenician, and Greek, took centuries (the last vestiges of cuneiform scribal tradition can still be seen in the Babylonia of the first century A.D.), the extinction was nonetheless complete. Prior to the excavations of the great Assyrian sites and successes in cuneiform decipherment of the mid-nineteenth century, it was simply impossible to know anything about either state through its own written sources.¹ Instead, the only surviving traditions were biblical

and Classical, and each in its own way was problematic from the Mesopotamian standpoint.²

Biblical sources on Mesopotamia, which include much contemporary or near-contemporary testimony on major events in Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian politics, are extremely valuable, but inevitably they are far from straightforward. The perspectives of ancient Israelite and Judean writers were profoundly shaped by the military force and mass deportations that played such a significant role in Assyrian and Babylonian imperial policy in the Levant. As a result, Sennacherib and Nebuchadnezzar, in particular, have been remembered as despots.³ The Classical tradition tends to reinforce this picture, depicting eastern kings as decadent and corrupt. Eugène Delacroix's *Death of Sardanapalus*, arguably the most famous modern image of a Mesopotamian ruler, is a perfect example (fig. 6.1). As Nineveh burns and the Assyrian empire falls to Median and Babylonian armies in what we now know was the sack of 612 B.C.,⁴ Sardanapalus reclines on a gigantic bed and watches as his concubines are murdered. This image of the king seems to be based on a passage from the first-century B.C. *Library of History* of Diodorus Siculus (2.23.1–2), itself drawn from the fourth-century B.C. *Persica* of Ktesias of Knidos. The description of Sardanapalus provides a distillation of later Greek attitudes to the kings of the East:

He took to wearing female clothing and made up his face and his whole body with white lead, and other things courtesans customarily use, more delicately than any luxury-loving woman. He purposely adopted a woman's voice and during his drinking sessions not only did he continually enjoy such drinks and food as were capable of providing the most pleasure, but he also pursued the delights of sex with men as well as women; for he freely enjoyed intercourse with both, not worrying at all about the shame engendered by the deed.⁵

Delacroix took his initial inspiration from Byron's play *Sardanapalus* (1821). However, Byron's king is a more



Fig. 6.1. Eugène Delacroix (1798–1863), *The Death of Sardanapalus*, 1827. Oil on canvas, 392 × 496 cm (154 ¼ × 195 ¼ in.). Musée du Louvre, Paris (R.F. 2346)

romantic figure; he allows his court and servants to flee the palace while he builds his pyre, and his favorite, the slave girl Myrrha, joins him voluntarily, out of love. Delacroix's Sardanapalus is instead the king of the ancient Greek accounts, specifically Diodorus, confining his concubines and eunuchs to burn with him. The negative image of Near Eastern kings was intended to contrast with one of Greek self-denial and hardihood, a characterization whose correspondence with reality was equally problematic. The entire trope is undoubtedly a response to the wealth, courtly sophistication, and differences in custom Greeks met with in Asia, also reflected in the “golden touch” of the Phrygian king Midas and the legendary wealth of the Lydian king Croesus in Anatolia (see “Kingdoms of Midas and Croesus” in this volume, pp. 104–9).⁶ As for Sardanapalus, his name derives from that of Ashurbanipal, one of the Assyrian empire's

most successful rulers. The Sardanapalus story is in reality a product not of the fall of Nineveh but of one of the other great—and traumatic—events of Assyrian history: the war between Ashurbanipal and his brother, the king of Babylon Shamash-shuma-ukin (see cat. 206).⁷ This conflict ended with Ashurbanipal's victory, Babylon's surrender following years of siege, and Shamash-shuma-ukin's death by fire. A surviving Aramaic account reveals that the story once existed with both names,⁸ but in the Greek version only Ashurbanipal's name survived (as Sardanapalus) and the roles were reversed, so that it was this Sardanapalus, rather than Shamash-shuma-ukin, who presided over the falling city, and the setting was accordingly transferred to the Assyrian capital, Nineveh.⁹

If Ashurbanipal fares badly, Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon is perhaps even more unfortunate. Over his forty-two-year reign, the historical king presided over Babylonia's rise as a



Fig. 6.2. William Blake (1757–1827), *Nebuchadnezzar*, 1795/ ca. 1805. Ink and watercolor on paper, image 54.3 × 72.5 cm (21 3/8 × 28 1/2 in.). Tate, London (N05059)

great imperial power and the rebuilding of the city of Babylon itself on an unprecedented scale, but in later tradition he was vilified, primarily owing to the prominent biblical narrative of his campaigns against Judah and the deportation of Judeans to Babylonia, most evocatively remembered in Psalm 137: “By the rivers of Babylon we sat down and wept.” Nebuchadnezzar is also reputed to have suffered seven years of madness (Dan. 4), though this is in fact the result of conflation with his religiously unorthodox successor, Nabonidus, and the latter’s long sojourn in Arabia. Today the best-known depiction of Babylon’s greatest ruler is William Blake’s monstrous, pitiable image of a man trapped by unreason (fig. 6.2).¹⁰ Nabonidus himself was forgotten; his name survived only in the account of Berossus, a Babylonian priest writing in Greek in the third century B.C., and (probably) as the Labynetus of Herodotos. In the Bible, the fall of Babylon to Cyrus, though a major event receiving substantial attention, is associated either with an unnamed king or, as in Daniel, with Belshazzar, the crown prince who in the Bible is made king. The Belshazzar of Daniel commits the hubristic act of using the gold and silver of the Jerusalem Temple as tableware at a gigantic feast.¹¹ His doom is prophesied in the writing on the wall, which can be interpreted only by the prophet Daniel, and within hours Babylon falls to the Persians. The subject has been treated by many artists over the centuries. The doom-laden character of John Martin’s early nineteenth-century vision of the scene (fig. 6.3) was intended to evoke the apocalypse that the artist, a millenarian, believed to be imminent in his own time.¹² Martin’s imagined Babylon, produced twenty years before the first European excavations of the real Mesopotamian palaces, was a reconstruction based on biblical and Classical texts and a fusion of Roman, Egyptian, and Indian architectural styles.

Towers and Gardens

The name of Babylon is most familiar today in connection with two legendary structures: the Tower of Babel and the Hanging Gardens. The first, described in the Book of Genesis (Gen. 11), has a clear origin: the relatively brief biblical account is packed with useful detail and forms of language that leave no doubt the tower is a Mesopotamian ziggurat.¹³ Whether this ziggurat is Etemenanki, the imposing temple-tower at Babylon seen by Judeans in the time of Nebuchadnezzar, is open to question; it is possible that the Hebrew text predates Nebuchadnezzar’s deportations after the destruction of Jerusalem,¹⁴ or that the story from which it derives has some far more ancient origin in Mesopotamia. Nonetheless, one is tempted to associate the legendary structure with Etemenanki—the largest and, in this period, most important of all ziggurats—and the supposition seems reasonable given the historical circumstances of the Exile (fig. 6.4). More certain is that this structure is also the temple of Bel (Marduk) described by Herodotos (1.181–82):

There is a fortress in the middle of each half of the city: in one the royal palace surrounded by a wall of great strength, in the other the temple of Bel, the Babylonian Zeus. The temple is a square building, two furlongs each way, with bronze gates, and was still in existence in my time; it has a solid central tower, one furlong square, with a second erected on top of it and then a third, and so on up to eight. All eight towers can be climbed by a spiral way running round the outside, and about half-way up there are seats and a shelter for those who make the ascent to rest on. On the summit of the topmost tower stands a great temple with a fine large couch in it, richly covered, and a golden table beside it. The shrine contains no image and no one spends the night there except, as the Chaldaeans who are the priests of Bel say, one Assyrian woman, all alone, whoever it may be that the god has chosen. The Chaldaeans also say—though I do not believe it—that the god enters the temple in person and takes his rest upon the bed.¹⁵

Setting aside questions of its exact identity, the tower has had a long life in Western culture. Transported into later contexts, it evolved into a universal symbol of human discord, and the confusion of tongues became a Reformation-era metaphor for religious schism and the dangers of human pride.¹⁶ Themes of hubris and human folly as well as veiled political references made the tower a popular subject for Flemish and Dutch painters of the late sixteenth century (fig. 6.5). In the twentieth century the Tower of Babel took on a new role in



Fig. 6.3. John Martin (active ca. 1884–after 1915), *Belshazzar's Feast*, June 1, 1826. Mezzotint with etching (proof), image 47 × 71.9 cm (18 ½ × 28⁵/₁₆ in.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1949 (49.40.262)

art and literature as a symbol of the cultural and linguistic diversity of modern cities or of modern alienation.¹⁷

The Hanging Gardens, by contrast, present a difficult puzzle. Among the canonical seven wonders of the world of the ancient Greeks,¹⁸ the Hanging Gardens are unique in that their specific site—indeed, their very existence—has never been satisfactorily determined.¹⁹ So great are the uncertainties that a case can be made for locating the gardens not in the Babylon of Nebuchadnezzar but a century earlier, in the Nineveh of Sennacherib.²⁰ Most scholars do believe the gardens to have been located in Babylon—although Sennacherib's royal gardens, described in his own royal inscriptions, were spectacular feats of engineering,²¹ and their fame may well have contributed to the otherwise spuriously precise Greek descriptions of architectural detail—but the real gardens' relationship to the surviving textual accounts is distant. If Berossus is correct, then the gardens were built by Nebuchadnezzar and were located between the Southern Palace and the Euphrates.²² In other matters Berossus has proved an extremely reliable guide, as his account was based on cuneiform sources, but the gardens do not appear in any known cuneiform text (save a list



Fig. 6.4. Scale model of the ziggurat Etemenanki at Babylon, based on archaeological and cuneiform sources. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Vorderasiatisches Museum



Fig. 6.5. Flemish School, *Tower of Babel*, late 16th century. Oil on panel, 49.5 × 66.5 cm (19½ × 26⅞ in.) Pinacoteca Nazionale di Siena (N.534)

of some of the plants in the garden of Marduk-apla-iddina II),²³ and, crucially, it is also possible that the relevant passage was added by a later redactor.²⁴

The *Odyssey* and the First Millennium B.C.

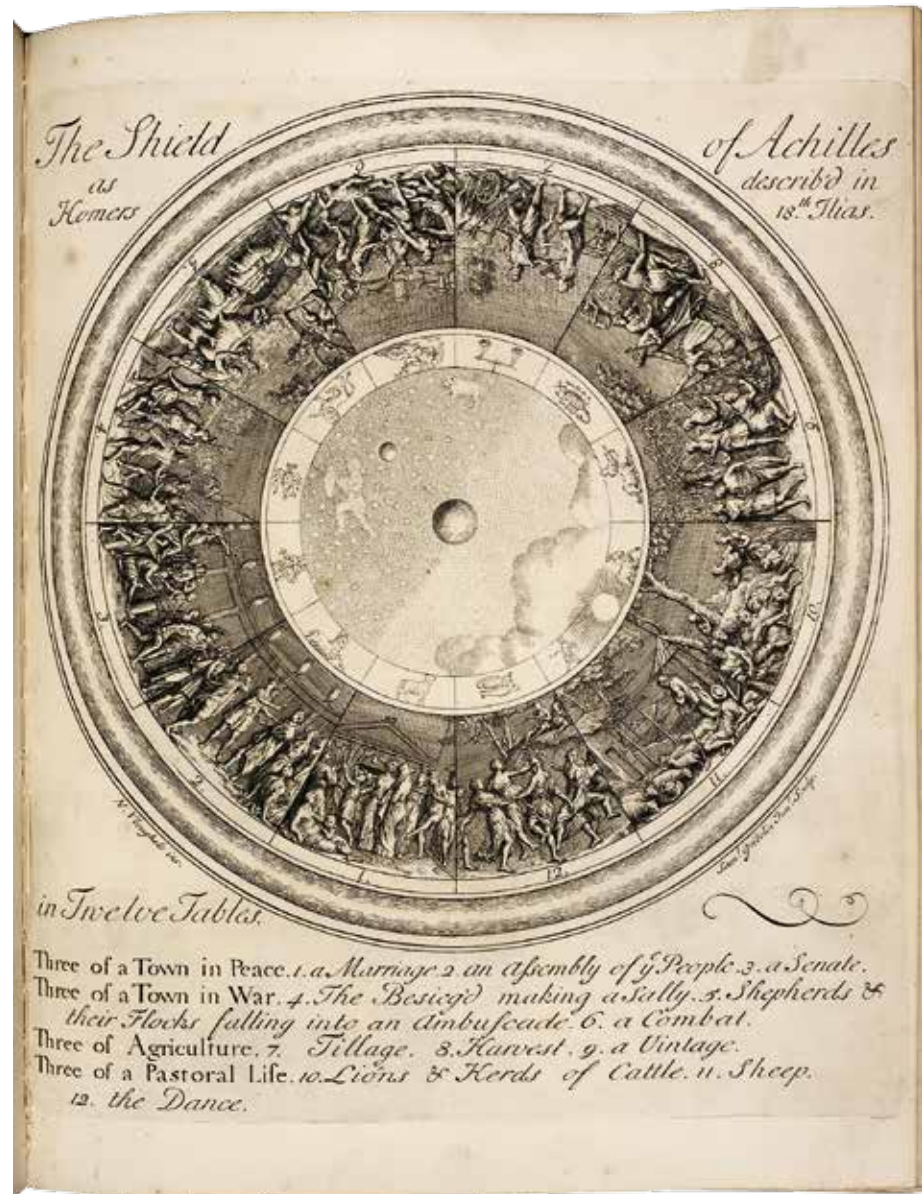
The Homeric epics sing, in theory, of the Late Bronze Age. However, this earlier, very different Mediterranean world was based on a system of elite connections that broke down (although by no means completely) in the late second millennium B.C., centuries before the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were written down in the form familiar to us today. It is right to speak of the “Ages of Homer,”²⁵ because inevitably the epics conflate the heroic past of their subject matter with the practical commercial and political realities of their period of composition, in the early first millennium B.C. As a result, the *Odyssey*,

in particular, is a valuable resource on the mores and practices of Iron Age seafaring and commerce.

Although focused heavily on Greek concerns, the Homeric epics do include several mentions of Phoenician sailors. These are usually portrayed in modern scholarship as entirely negative, but in fact the picture is mixed. In one of Odysseus’s stories (albeit one he has made up on the spot), Phoenician sailors are shown to help a castaway and honor an agreement on pay;²⁶ elsewhere the quality of Phoenician craftsmanship is stressed.²⁷ Where the references are negative,²⁸ it seems probable that the relevant prejudice in Homer is not ethnic but based on social class, and held not against Phoenicians but against merchants, who naturally represented a mobile and potentially chaotic element in the lives of settled aristocrats.²⁹

One Homeric motif of special relevance to the theme of artistic and cultural interconnections is the shield of Achilles.

Fig. 6.6. Alexander Pope (1688–1744), Imaginative reconstruction of the shield of Achilles, *The Iliad of Homer*, transl. Alexander Pope. London, 1715–20 (6 vols.)



This ornate piece of armor, fashioned by the god Hephaistos, is described as carrying a seemingly impossible quantity and richness of detail.³⁰ In his famous attempt to reconstruct the shield, Alexander Pope produced a drawing that resembles nothing so much as a Phoenician bowl (fig. 6.6). The imagery of the shield drives an extended passage in Homer, reminding us both of the potential depth of meaning in such decoration and its scope as a visual aid in the telling and remembering of stories. Some Phoenician bowls do depict narratives, whose full meanings are lost to us but surely were well known to their users (see cat. 192, ill. pp. 246–47). Other Near Eastern connections in the shield are even more intriguing. The section of the shield that represents the stars and constellations shows clearly the degree to which, centuries before any transmission of mathematical astronomy can be detected,³¹ Greek descriptions of the stars were already rooted in Babylonian models.³²

Journeys to the West

The story of the Greek goddess Aphrodite's birth might at first seem unpromising in terms of historicity. According to the myth, after Kronos castrated Uranos and cast his genitals into the sea, the goddess emerged from the waves and foam off the coast of Cyprus.³³ Here, however, myth tallies well with history, for Aphrodite did indeed come to the Greek world via Cyprus, and to Cyprus from the sea, via Phoenician sailors who brought with them their cult of Ashtart/Astarte. Their shrine to the goddess at Paphos became, in due course, the famous sanctuary of Aphrodite, and the Greek goddess retained many of Ashtart/Astarte's characteristics.

One story that perhaps preserves an echo of this history is that of Pygmalion.³⁴ Ovid wrote his version of the tale in the first century A.D., yet the original name of its protagonist (Pumayyaton) is Phoenician. Pygmalion sculpts a nude female



Fig. 6.7. Joseph Mallord William Turner (1775–1851), *Dido Building Carthage*, 1815. Oil on canvas, 155.5 × 230 cm (61 ¼ × 90 ½ in.). The National Gallery, London (NG498)



Fig. 6.8. Mosaic depicting the abduction of Europa, Byblos, 3rd century A.D. National Museum, Beirut

statue; his “art conceals art” so perfectly that he falls in love with the statue as with a human being, and the goddess Venus (that is, Aphrodite) eventually grants it life. The story not only reminds us of the westward diffusion of nude goddess imagery associated with the cult of Astarte, but also perhaps hints at the impact of such imagery on folklore and myth long before Praxiteles’s famously lifelike fourth-century B.C. Aphrodite of Knidos.

Pygmalion’s daughter, Paphos, married a Phoenician from Tyre, and their daughter, Dido, was the legendary founder of Carthage. Historically, Carthage was founded in the early first millennium B.C. as part of the broader process of Phoenician expansion (see “From Carthage to the Western Mediterranean” in this volume, pp. 202–4), but in Classical legend the city’s origins are linked with the Homeric Late Bronze Age. Aeneas, journeying west after the sack of Troy, reaches Carthage, newly founded by Tyrian refugees. The Classical setting of an early nineteenth-century rendering of the tale by J. M. W. Turner underscores the degree to which ancient Mediterranean history came to be seen through a Graeco-Roman lens (fig. 6.7). (Indeed, Turner’s painting is itself heavily influenced by Claude Lorrain’s *Embarkation of the Queen of Sheba*, 1648 [National Gallery, London], another strongly Classicizing retelling of Near Eastern history of the early first millennium B.C.) Aeneas and Dido fall in love, only to be separated by Mercury, who orders Aeneas onward, eventually to found Rome; his departure drives Dido to suicide.³⁵

Another Greek epic that gives us some sense of the maritime journeys of Greeks in the Geometric and Orientalizing periods is Apollonius of Rhodes’s *Argonautika*, which tells the story of Jason and the Argonauts and the quest for the Golden



Fig. 6.9. Gerard de Jode (1509/17–1591) after Maarten de Vos (1532–1603), *Jonah Cast on Shore by the Fish*, ca. 1585. Engraving, plate 21 × 25.1 cm (8¼ × 9⅞ in.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1928 (28.4[164])

Fleece. Although composed in the third century B.C., the tale is set in a more distant past and draws on older stories and traditions. The description of Colchis depends on a certain awareness of the wealth and customs of Anatolian courts, while Medea’s own journey to Corinth, with its tragic end, echoes the real movement of elite individuals through marriage.

Perhaps most telling in its symbolism is the story of Europa,³⁶ who first appears in Homer and in a Hesiodic fragment.³⁷ Europa, a Phoenician princess, is carried off from her home city of Tyre by Zeus, in the guise of a white bull, and taken to Crete.³⁸ The story is an allegory of European origins; the historical reality it overlays is that of the role of Phoenician trade and, more broadly, of maritime contact with the Near East in the formative period of what would become known as Classical civilization. The cultural and artistic fusion that ultimately resulted from this interaction is neatly reflected in a Roman-period mosaic of the story from Byblos, in the Phoenician heartland (fig. 6.8). Following Europa’s abduction, her brother Kadmos is sent by their father, Agenor, king of Tyre, to search for her.³⁹ After wandering the world, Kadmos follows a sign from Apollo and eventually founds Thebes, thus bestowing a mythic Phoenician ancestry on the Greek city.⁴⁰ Europa, as mother of Minos, Rhadamanthys, and the first Sarpedon,⁴¹ would bring a similar association to Crete. Kadmos also retained an association with the alphabet and its spread to the west, with Greeks referring to the script they adopted and adapted as “Kadmeian” or “Phoenician” letters.

Even farther to the west, some journeys of the first millennium seemed to reach the very ends of the earth. The Pillars of Hercules marked for the ancient Greeks the westward limit of human navigation. The Phoenicians sailed beyond them,⁴² but the name itself likely derives from literal twin pillars set up by Phoenicians at an Iberian site as part of the cult of Melqart, whom the Greeks identified with Herakles.⁴³ Much of the Phoenician interest in the far west was in raw materials, notably the silver mines of Tarshish. When Jonah attempts to flee from God, he does so by taking passage to Tarshish (Jon. 1:3), presumably because it was the most distant imaginable port, though of course he never reaches his destination (fig. 6.9).

Processes of Transmission

In the humanities, the process of “dethroning the Classical”—reversing a long-standing bias in European scholarship toward the elevation of Classical Greece and Rome above all other ancient cultures—has been a preoccupation of scholars for at least a century.⁴⁴ Where in the late nineteenth and

early twentieth centuries the issues contested frequently related to value or to the perceived quality of art or literature, modern approaches have been more concerned with examining the depth and nature of interconnections between societies and thereby beginning to break down the modern disciplinary divisions between, for example, Classical and Near Eastern studies. The present catalogue is an example of this process in art, but such interconnections are equally evident in literature. Although the strength of such links has been the subject of great debate, all scholars agree that some connections are visible. Broad commonalities in genre and subject matter, for example, have been noted in heroic narratives, cosmogonies, and other myths. In his influential study of the phenomenon, Martin West argues that “Greek poets of the Archaic age were profoundly indebted to western Asia at many levels. They were indebted for mythical and literary motifs, cosmological and theological conceptions, formal procedures, technical devices, figures of speech, even phraseology and idioms. The debts continued to mount between the seventh century and the fifth.”⁴⁵

That much of this transmission occurred during the early first millennium B.C. seems certain, but more precise or confident dating is another matter, and in some ways is more difficult than the tracing of connections in art. There are problems in both the preservation of texts and the dating of influence. Written on perishable materials, ancient Greek texts survive only when they have been copied repeatedly over generations or owing to exceptional circumstances of preservation. By contrast, a large proportion of Near Eastern texts, at least until the mid-first millennium B.C., were written on clay and thus survive in far larger quantities. Yet the remarkable conservatism and endurance of a literary canon in Mesopotamia mean that we cannot expect Greek sources to afford many clues as to the particular moment of transmission. Epics such as *Gilgamesh* form part of what the Assyriologist Leo Oppenheim called the “stream of tradition”—the body of literature carefully copied and recopied as part of the core material of Babylonian and Assyrian scribal curricula—with the result that texts could remain stable in content and language over many centuries (see “Ashurbanipal’s Library at Nineveh” in this volume, pp. 68–69).⁴⁶

What were the mechanisms of transmission? Plausible vehicles in the written sources are few. The Greek world seems to have lain effectively beyond the reach of Assyrian and Babylonian cuneiform. Phoenician, Aramaic, and Hebrew, rendered in alphabetic scripts, seem more likely, but it is generally thought that the vast majority of transmission occurred orally, compounding the difficulty of reconstructing

the process. Oral transmission of stories and myths is not, theoretically, a necessity of trade, yet it is hard to imagine frequent business transactions occurring without some associated sharing of ideas. This cultural element might thus be regarded as a by-product of the economic interaction that tended to be the primary purpose of voyages from the Levant to the west, but this is only part of the story. Such communication was no doubt more sustained, deeper rooted, and more influential where people lived side by side. Thus our picture of the fusing of Near Eastern with Greek and other western mythologies should allow a major role for colonists and settlers, whether these were Near Eastern artisans who worked in Greek communities or entire settlements, such as the Phoenician colonies in Crete, North Africa, Sardinia, Sicily, and Iberia. Cyprus, home to large numbers of Greeks and Phoenicians, provided an excellent setting for sustained contact and interaction. One element of Near Eastern culture that spread throughout the Mediterranean world and is frequently represented as a motif in art is some form of banqueting (see cat. 22). Perhaps here we see not only an example of the transmission of imagery (the banqueting motif itself), but also the representation of one of its possible vehicles: a common social context in which stories might be told, retold, and reinterpreted for new audiences.

The very fact that the movements and cultural interactions of the early first millennium B.C. are woven so deeply into the fabric of the Western artistic and literary canon says much about the period’s formative influence on the later Mediterranean and Near East. By 539 B.C., when Cyrus’s conquest of Babylon inaugurated a new political era across the region, much of the vast territory brought under Persian control was already bound together by economic, political, and cultural ties. In the Near East many of these connections were the product of earlier imperial rule under Assyria and Babylon as well as social and cultural traditions shared to some extent throughout the Bronze and Iron Ages. Farther west, other links owe more to processes such as Phoenician and Greek trade and colonization. The Persian court style that emerged in art and architecture under Darius the Great was itself hybrid, drawing on iconography and craft specialists from many regions. Later, following the campaigns of Alexander, Hellenistic art, whose form had been strongly shaped by the Near Eastern contacts of the early first millennium, would be imported back into Asia as Greek. In the Aegean, many of the motifs seen in this catalogue survived into and indeed shaped what is now called the Classical period in Greek art, leading to their permanent incorporation into the language of Western art and architecture.

Notes

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Photograph Credits

Notes to Essays

Introduction

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I. THE AGE OF TRANSITION

Crisis in the Eastern Mediterranean and Beyond: Survival, Revival, and the Emergence of the Iron Age

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9. See the important essays on the archaeology of the "Dark Ages" in Snodgrass 2006.
10. Boardman 1999, pp. 272–77.
11. Boardman 2002 explores the physical and literary sources for Greek "myth-history"; Boardman 2008 discusses the full range of apparent sources for Greek myth. For the heroic in Greek tragedy and later, see E. Hall 1989 and 2008.
12. Tandy 1997.

Lefkandi and the Era of Transition

1. Popham 1994, p. 11; Lemos 1999; Dickinson 2006, pp. 58–78.
2. Evely 2006, p. 309; Dickinson 2006, p. 64.
3. Sackett et al. 1966.
4. Lemou 2010.
5. Popham and Milburn 1971, pp. 333–49, pl. 54,2; Vermeule and Karageorghis 1982, p. 144, no. XI.91; Crouwel 2006, pp. 233–55, pl. 67.
6. Archaeometric tests have confirmed the microscopic observations; see Jones 1986, pp. 474–76.
7. Popham, Schofield, and Sherratt 2006, pp. 164–65.
8. Lena Papazoglou-Manioudaki in Demakopoulou 1988, p. 128, no. 68.
9. Crouwel 2006, p. 254.
10. See Irene Lemos's yearly reports on the Lefkandi excavations in *Archaeological Reports* 50 (2003–4), pp. 39–40; 51 (2004–5), pp. 50–52; 52 (2005–6), pp. 62–63; 53 (2006–7), pp. 38–40; 54 (2007–8), pp. 51–54; 55 (2008–9), pp. 47–49; and 56 (2009–10), p. 87.
11. Popham, Sackett, and Themelis 1980, pp. 101–2, 287; Evely 2006, p. 1.
12. Lemos 1998; Lemos 2002, pp. 212–17; Stampolidis 2003c.
13. See Desborough 1976.
14. Lemos 1998; Lemos 2001.
15. J. Papadopoulos 2011.
16. Mazarakis Ainian 2012.
17. Popham, Sackett, and Themelis 1980, pp. 101–2.
18. Crielaard 1992; Antonaccio 1995; Lemos 2001, p. 219.
19. Lemos 2002, p. 186.
20. Popham, Sackett, and Themelis 1980, pp. 105, 108, 168–96; Popham, Touloupa, and Sackett 1982a; Popham, Calligas, and Sackett 1988–89.
21. Popham, Touloupa, and Sackett 1982b; Calligas 1988; Coulton 1993, p. 49; Mazarakis Ainian 1997, pp. 48–57; Lemos 2002, pp. 140–46.
22. In the *Iliad* (23.163ff. and .237–57) there is a description of the funeral pyre of Patroklos, in whose honor four horses were sacrificed. Catling 1995, pp. 123–26.
23. Stampolidis 1996, pp. 201–3; Lemos 2000, p. 17.
24. Lemos 2002, pp. 167–68.
25. Jack Ogden in *Eretria* 2010, pp. 98–99.
26. Popham, Calligas, and Sackett 1988–89, pp. 117–29, fig. 23; Popham and Lemos 1996, pl. 136j.
27. Antonaccio 1995; Ogden 1998; Lemos 2000.
28. Jewelry with the same motif has been found in Grave III of Mycenae's Grave Circle A, in Grave O of Mycenae's Grave Circle B, in the tholos tomb of Pylos, and in the tomb at Lakkithra in Kephallonia. Lena Papazoglou-Manioudaki in Demakopoulou 1988, p. 138, no. 87.
29. Marangou 1996, pp. 146–47, nos. 224, 225.
30. Popham, Touloupa, and Sackett 1982a.
31. *Ibid.*, p. 243, pl. 31b; Popham and Lemos 1996, pl. 141h.
32. Crielaard 2006; Lemos 2011–12.
33. Calligas 1984, p. 88; Papageorgiou 2004, p. 278.

Sea Peoples and Philistines

1. Pritchard 1969, p. 262.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 262–63.
3. Grandet 1994.

4. Pritchard 1978, pp. 76–77.
5. Tubb 2000, pp. 186–89.
6. See Oren 1973.
7. T. Dothan 1979.
8. For Tell el-Yahudiyeh, see Naville and Griffith 1890, pp. 15–17, 42–48, pls. 12, 13, XIV, XV; for Tell Nebesheh, see Petrie 1888, pp. 20ff., pls. I, II, XVI.
9. Moran 1992, p. 150.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 111.
11. Gardiner 1947, vol. 1, p. 196.
12. Gardiner 1960, pp. 7, 57–58.
13. Faulkner 1975, p. 233.
14. Gardiner 1947, vol. 1, p. 24.
15. Bliss and Macalister 1902, frontis., pp. 89–96, 138, 170, pls. 20, 35, 37–42, 44. For a recent overview of the results, see Maier 2013.
16. Phythian-Adams 1923, p. 62, fig. 3.
17. See T. Dothan and M. Dothan 1992; and for Tell Qasile, see A. Mazar 1980 and 1985.
18. See T. Dothan 1982, pp. 237–49.
19. *Ibid.*, pp. 29–33.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 41, pls. 6, 7.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 84, n. 332, pl. 21.

The Cuneiform Scribal Tradition and the Development of the Alphabet

1. Major works were completed: the *Enuma elish* glorifies Marduk, while providing the definitive and synthesized version of the Babylonian epic of creation, and the poem *Ludlul bel nemeqi* (I Want to Praise the Master of Wisdom), written in a complex, learned language, develops the theme of questioning that deity's unpredictable behavior in the face of human suffering.
2. That inscription, on the handle of an earthenware jar, was discovered by James B. Pritchard in Sarafand-Sarepta in 1971. See Bordreuil 1979. For the notion that alphabetical cuneiform writing is an adaptation of a linear alphabet, see Millard 2007, pp. 86–87, and Lemaire 2012, p. 2.
3. Curtis 1994b.
4. Dalley 1998, p. 98.
5. For a recent bibliography on the many theories concerning the origin and spread of the alphabet, see Lemaire 2012.
6. Powell 1989, p. 350; Powell 1991, pp. 182ff.
7. For a more thorough study of cuneiform literature and the Mediterranean world, see Dalley 1998, pp. 94–105; André-Salvini 2008, pp. 16–23; and, most recently, Haubold 2013.
8. Weidner 1939; Pedersén 2005a, pp. 111–27; Pedersén 2005b, pp. 267–72; Olof Pedersén in André-Salvini 2008, p. 183.
9. See especially Jursa 2005 and Beaulieu 2008.
10. Beaulieu 2006; Joannès 2008; Joannès 2009.
11. In anticipation of the complete publication of the some two hundred texts from Al-Yahudu, see especially Abraham 2010 and Magdalene and Wunsch 2011. See, more generally, Cavigneaux 2008.
12. Musée du Louvre, Paris, AO 19536; see Arnaud 1973.

II. THE ASSYRIAN IMPERIAL AGE

Assyria: Establishing the Imagery of Empire

1. D. Oates 1968, p. 44.
2. For example, Sennacherib besieged Jerusalem in 715 b.c. after Hezekiah refused to pay tribute.
3. Grayson 1991, p. 227.
4. Piotrovskii 1967, pp. 8–10.
5. J. Oates and D. Oates 2001, p. 36.
6. J. Russell 1991, p. 80.
7. Layard 1853a, p. 589.
8. Verri et al. 2009.
9. Nunn 1988; Albenda 2005.
10. Reade 1963.
11. Curtis, Collon, and Green 1993, figs. 21–26.

12. L. King 1915; Curtis and Tallis 2008.
13. Curtis and Tallis 2008, pp. 75–83.
14. Andrae 1925; Reade 1975.
15. Postgate, D. Oates, and J. Oates 1997, pl. 8b.
16. E.g. Ataç 2010a.
17. Grayson 1991, p. 291.
18. This led nineteenth-century art historians to be rather dismissive of ninth-century b.c. Assyrian art, particularly when comparing it with the art of fifth-century b.c. Greece. Even Rawlinson himself, in a letter to Layard of August 1847, compared the Assyrian reliefs unfavorably with the Elgin Marbles. See Esposito 2011, pp. 28–29.
19. Grayson 1991, p. 105.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 290.
21. Luckenbill 1926–27, vol. 2, p. 177.
22. The word "paradise" is ultimately of Iranian origin and signifies some kind of enclosed garden or park. There was evidently a long tradition of such gardens in the ancient Near East.
23. Finkel and Seymour 2008, figs. 88, 89.
24. Dalley 2013.
25. Winter 1981.
26. Herrmann and Laidlaw 2009, pp. 7–12.
27. Curtis 2013.
28. *Ibid.*, pp. 77–90.
29. L. King 1915; Curtis and Tallis 2008.
30. Curtis 1983; Curtis 2008a.
31. Curtis 2012.
32. Damerji 1999.
33. Curtis 1994b; Braun-Holzinger and Rehm 2005.
34. A. R. Green in Curtis and Reade 1995, pp. 112–17.
35. J. Oates 1959, pp. 135–36.
36. Barag 1985a, pp. 52–54; Curtis and Reade 1995, pp. 146–47.
37. Collon 1987, pp. 75–80; Collon in Curtis and Reade 1995, pp. 179–89.
38. Curtis 1994b, figs. 21, 22.

The Black Obelisk

1. H. 186 cm (73 ¼ in.), max. W. 59 cm (23 ¼ in.), max. D. 40 cm (15 ¾ in.). The depth below the level of the plinth is inaccessible and unknown but roughly 10 cm, according to drawings published by Layard (1849a, pls. 53–56). The dimensions here are measurements taken from the original in the British Museum in 2005 by the author and Dominique Collon.
2. For the original Akkadian text of the Black Obelisk inscriptions, see Grayson 1996, pp. 62–71, 148–51.
3. Excavations in this region at Hasanlu (on behalf of the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Philadelphia) have recovered good evidence for contacts with Assyria in this period.
4. Davidson 1933, p. 167.

Ashurbanipal's Library at Nineveh

1. Translation after Livingstone 2007, p. 100.
2. Author's translation; cf. Frame and George 2005, pp. 280–81.
3. See The Ashurbanipal Library Project, <http://oracc.org/asbp>.

Assyria's Eastern Frontier

1. Grayson 1991, p. 207.
2. Altaweel et al. 2012, p. 14.
3. Edmonds 1975.
4. Sokoloff (1999, p. 115), writing of the Bukan or Qalaichi inscription, from Iranian Azerbaijan, noted, "The fact that an inscription from the eighth century b.c.e. found so far to the east of the centre of the Aramaean population was written in flawless Aramaic, with essentially no

- Akkadian influence, points to the presence of native Aramaean scribes who emigrated to the region and served the rulers of the native kingdoms." Teixidor (1999, p. 121), however, points to the use of Aramaic QRBT, meaning "field, pasture, land," revealing the influence of Akkadian *qerbetu*, and to an Akkadian-sounding curse formula at the end of the text.
5. Lamprichs 1995; Yamada 2000.
 6. Na'aman and Zadok 1988, p. 40. On the "cities of the Medes," see also Diakonoff 1991.
 7. Compare, for example, Delitzsch 1881; Streck 1898–1900; Forrer 1920; Speiser 1926–27; Levine 1974; Reade 1978; Reade 1995a; and Parpola and Porter 2001.
 8. Zimansky 1990, p. 9.
 9. Marcus 1996, pp. 43–44, 114–25.
 10. Muscarella 1980, pp. 148–57.
 11. Winter 1980, pp. 13–16.
 12. Thornton and Pigott 2011, pp. 170, 174.
 13. Hassanzadeh 2006; Hassanzadeh 2009; and Hassanzadeh and Mollasalehi 2011.
 14. For an early attempt to identify Mannean settlements, see Boehmer 1964.
 15. Reade 1995a, pp. 39–40.
 16. H. Russell 1984, p. 193.
 17. See, for example, Thureau-Dangin 1912; Levine 1977; Mayer 1983; Muscarella 1986; Zimansky 1990; Fales 1991; Fales 2003, pp. 40–41; Kravitz 2003; Tadmor 2007, pp. 232–35; Grekyan 2010; and Van de Mierop 2010.
 18. Grayson 2002, p. 212. Compare Reade 1995, pp. 38, 41.
 19. For examples, see, e.g., Fuchs 1994, p. 318, where Sargon II refers to the erection of his "royal image" at Kar-Nergal. Compare Radner 2003b, pp. 119–21.
 20. Levine 1972; Reade 1977; Zadok 1981–82, pp. 135–36; Fales 2003; and S. Alibaigi, Shanbehzadeh, and H. Alibaigi 2012.
 21. Wäfler 1975, pp. 266–82; Gunter 1982.
 22. Radner 2003b, p. 119.
 23. Leichty 2011, p. 20.
 24. Vallat 1987.
 25. E.g. Billerbeck 1898, p. 93; Eilers 1954, p. 309 n. 1; Zadok 2002, p. 55. Contra Louis Levine (1974, pp. 118–19), who identified Mount Bikni with the Kuh-e Alwand (Avestan Aurvant, Pahlavi Alvand, Greek Mount Orontes), which, in the words of the great American Iranologist A. V. Williams Jackson (1906, p. 146), "towers six thousand feet above" Hamadan, "and stretches for miles away, guarding the approach . . . and keeping watch by night over the sleeping town like some giant sentry."
 26. General Albert Houtum-Schindler reported seeing Damavand from the hills of Natanz, about 175 miles away. See Shah of Persia and Houtum-Schindler 1888, p. 632. On the other hand, General William Monteith, of the Madras Engineers (East India Company's Service), reported seeing it "from the summit of one of the range of mountains across the Caspian Sea. The distance from me was 248 miles, and I was at an elevation of 7000 feet at the time." See Thomson and Kerr 1858–59, p. 18.
 27. Herzfeld 1968, p. 318; Daryaei 2002, pp. 19 §28, 38. Compare Windschmann 1863, p. 8; Spiegel 1871, p. 61; Reade 1995a, p. 40; Zadok 2002, p. 55; and Dandamayev and Medvedskaya 2006.
 28. In the text (DN c) inscribed on Darius's tomb at Naqsh-e Rostam. See Kent 1953, p. 140. The association between Gobryas's gentilic and Middle Persian Padišxwārgar was first made by Friedrich Spiegel (1856, p. 45).
 29. Leichty 2011, p. 20.
 30. Luukko and Van Buylaere 2002, pp. 128–29.
 31. Fuchs and Parpola 2001, p. 36. Compare Klauiber 1910, p. 107; Forrer 1920, p. 89.
 32. Starr 1990, pp. 33–40.
 33. *Ibid.*, pp. 24–25.
 34. *Ibid.*, p. 28. For the location of Hubushkia, see, e.g., Herzfeld 1968, p. 175; Reade 1979, pp. 178–79; and Lanfranchi 1995.
 35. See Radner 2003a for a detailed study of this topic; see also Radner 2013.
 36. Zadok 1981–82, p. 135.
 37. Tadmor 1958; Waters 1999, pp. 102–3. Although Ellipi "was influenced by Elamite culture," Iranian names are attested there by the eighth century b.c. See Zadok 2011, p. 121. Some Ellipian royalty had Kassite names, however. See Zadok 2013, p. 411.
 38. Potts 1999, pp. 259–307; Reade 1976.
 39. Waters 2013.
 40. Streck 1916, p. 53. The ziggurat of Susa is clearly illustrated in a relief adorning one of the walls of Room I in his palace at Nineveh. See Dombart 1928.
 41. Álvarez-Mon 2013.
- Elam**
1. Definitions based primarily on political geography restrict Elamite territory to the highlands of the south-central Zagros. For a full discussion, see Potts 1999, pp. 1–9.
 2. Miroschedji 2003, table 3.3, fig. 3.4.
 3. Potts 1999, table 7.2, summarizes the texts from Kabnak; table 7.6 (Shutruk Nakhunte's letter to the Kassites) describes the history of diplomatic marriages.
 4. Carter 1999.
 5. Brinkman 1968, pp. 86–91; Potts 1999, pp. 231–58.
 6. Miroschedji 1981.
 7. Brinkman 1968, pp. 268–84; Brinkman 1984a, pp. 11–29.
 8. Stronach 1974; Carter 1994.
 9. Roaf 1995.
 10. Gerardi 1987, pp. 257–59.
 11. Waters 2000, pp. 111–16.
 12. Cole 1996.
 13. Miroschedji 2003.
- The Myth of Ararat and the Fortresses of Urartu**
1. This began with the publication of the first inscriptions, discovered in 1827 by the pioneering scholar Friedrich Eduard Schulz; see Schulz 1840.
 2. Wartke 1990.
 3. Piotrovskii 1969.
 4. Several objects found at Karmir Blur, in particular inscribed bronzes dated to the eighth century b.c., were dedicated to the city of Erebuni (Arin-berd) by Argishti I and Sarduri II. See M. Salvini 2012, inscribed bronzes on pp. 19–118.
 5. Kleiss 1979; Kleiss 1988.
 6. Çilingiroğlu and M. Salvini 2001.
 7. M. Salvini 1995.
 8. B. Salvini and M. Salvini 2003. See also Marinković 2012.
 9. Wiseman 1956, *Babylonian Chronicle* 3, pp. 34–38; Borger 1956, p. 121.
 10. On all these aspects, see Çilingiroğlu and M. Salvini 2001.
 11. Luckenbill 1926–27, vol. 2, pp. 235–36, nn. 606, 607; Borger 1956, p. 102.
 12. For the dates of Urartian kings, see M. Salvini 1995, p. 207.
 13. André-Salvini and M. Salvini 1992.
 14. All the Urartian texts are published in M. Salvini 2008 and 2012.
 15. André-Salvini and M. Salvini 2006.
 16. M. Salvini 1995, pp. 133–35.
 17. M. Salvini 1992.
 18. M. Salvini 2008, vol. 1, pp. 496–97, text CTU A 10-2.
 19. André-Salvini and M. Salvini 2002.
 20. André-Salvini and M. Salvini 1999; Bashash Khanzaq et al. 2001. See M. Salvini 2008, vol. 1, pp. 542–44, texts CTU A 11-4–6.
21. For the Old Persian version, see Schmitt 2009, pp. 37–91 (Armina p. 39 § 6 l and *passim*); for the Akkadian version, see Malbran-Labat 1994, especially p. 172 (KUR urashtu).
- Syro-Hittite States: The Site of Tell Halaf (Ancient Guzana)**
1. Lipiński 2000, pp. 123–33; Dornauer 2010, pp. 47–67; Novák 2013, pp. 266–69.
 2. Grayson 1991, p. 153 (A.O.99.2: 100–104).
 3. For Oppenheim, see Teichmann 2001. The excavation results from the years 1911–13 and 1929 are published in H. Schmidt 1943; Langenegger, Müller, and Naumann 1950; Moortgat 1955; and Hrouda 1962. In the summer of 2006, excavations were resumed at Tell Halaf. The results of the first five campaigns are available in two preliminary reports: Baghdo et al. 2009 and 2012.
 4. Cholidis 2010, pp. 309–12.
 5. On the small orthostats, see Cholidis 2010, pp. 136–95.
 6. Schaudig 2011, pp. 359–63. Mirko Novák (2013, p. 273) presumes that the palace was still in use up to the end of Assyrian domination, but there are no certain indications of this.
 7. Cholidis 2010, pp. 87–88.
 8. *Ibid.*, pp. 303–5.
 9. See, in detail, Cholidis, Dubiel, and Martin 2010, pp. 345–54.
 10. *Ibid.*, pp. 354–62; Novák, however (2013, p. 279, table 2), has Kapara's reign around 950 b.c., or before Bachianu and Abisalamu.
 11. Moortgat 1955, pp. 5–7; Cholidis, Dubiel, and Martin 2010, pp. 354–62.
 12. Orthmann 2002, pp. 47–52.
 13. Niehr 2006, pp. 124–27.
 14. *Ibid.*, pp. 129–33.
 15. Pfälzner 2011.
 16. Drüppel et al. 2011.
 17. M. Oppenheim 1933, pp. 84–85.
 18. Layard 1853b, pls. 13–15.
 19. Cholidis and Martin 2013, pp. 331–49.
 20. Cholidis 2002, pp. 43–52.
 21. *Berliner Volkszeitung*, July 17, 1936, n.p.
 22. Cholidis 2010, pp. 368–69; Cholidis and Stern 2003, pp. 25–38.
 23. For a narration of the catastrophe, see Drüppel and Lehmann 2009 and Drüppel 2010, pp. 394–402.
 24. Martin 2011, pp. 293–98.
 25. Cholidis and Dubiel 2011, pp. 299–307.
 26. On the restoration, see Geismeyer 2010.
- Kingdoms of Midas and Croesus: Western Anatolian States and Sanctuaries**
1. Sams 1988, pp. 9–10; Muscarella 1995; Sams 2011, p. 607; Voigt 2011, p. 1077.
 2. Sams 1994, p. 176; Vassileva 2005, p. 232.
 3. Sams 2011, p. 607.
 4. Alfred Körte identified the site as Gordion based on its size and geographic location, and although no inscribed material has yet been found that would make this identification explicit, it remains widely accepted. See G. Körte and A. Körte 1904.
 5. As Midas was a Phrygian dynastic name, it is likely that there were in fact several kings of this name besides the Midas of legend; see Berndt-Ersöz 2008 for a recent discussion.
 6. *Ibid.*, pp. 17–18; Vassileva 2010.
 7. Berndt-Ersöz 2008, pp. 20–21.
 8. DeVries and Rose 2012.
 9. DeVries 2011, p. 13.
 10. Voigt and DeVries 2011.
 11. The question has been extensively debated in the literature; for the most recent statement from the Gordion Project researchers, see Rose and Darbyshire 2011, *passim*, with extensive bibliography.
 12. Muscarella 2003; Muscarella 2008.

13. Voigt 2011, p. 1078.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 1080.
15. Young 1965; note that the published drawing contains inaccuracies, as pointed out in Simpson 2010, p. 49 n. 123.
16. M. Ballard et al. 2010, pp. 203–23; M. Ballard 2012, p. 165.
17. Young 1960, pp. 237–43; Young 1962, pp. 160–67; Voigt 2011, p. 1081; Vassileva 2012, p. 111.
18. Vassileva 2012, p. 111.
19. Steinberg 1977, pp. 62–70.
20. Muscarella 1967, p. 82.
21. Vassileva 2010, p. 167.
22. Simpson 1988; Simpson 2010.
23. Vassileva 2012, p. 124.
24. Roller 2012b; Berndt-Ersöz 2007, pp. 33–35.
25. Berndt-Ersöz 2006; for the only Phrygian idol found in situ, at the city gate of Kerkenes Dağ (probably ancient Pteria), see Summers 2006.
26. Voigt 2012.
27. Glendinning 2005, p. 97.
28. Mellink 1987, p. 20; Sams 2011, p. 610.
29. Voigt and DeVries 2011, pp. 24–25.
30. Liebhart 2012, p. 129, with detailed discussion of construction techniques.
31. Young 1981; for a summary reflecting recent research, see Simpson 2010, pp. 7–11.
32. Young 1981, p. 265; Sams 1993, p. 553.
33. Sams 1993, p. 553; Stronach 1996, pp. 182–84.
34. McGovern 2000.
35. Simpson 2010, pp. 128–30.
36. Stronach 1996.
37. Sams 1993, p. 551; Young 1981, pp. 21–26, 50–56; Simpson 2010.
38. Sams 1994, pp. 165–73.
39. Sams 1993.
40. Roller 2005; Roller 2007, p. 209; Roller 2009.
41. Young 1962, pp. 166–67.
42. Young 1960, p. 240; Sams 1993, p. 552.
43. Simpson 1988; Simpson 2010.
44. Simpson 1988, pp. 28–29.
45. İ. Özgen and E. Özgen 1988, pp. 32–49.
46. Şare 2010, p. 60.
47. *Ibid.*, pp. 75–76.
48. Mellink 1987, p. 18.
49. Greenewalt 2011, pp. 1112–13; see p. 1125 for a short history of excavations at Sardis.
50. *Ibid.*, p. 1125; see also Greenewalt and Majewski 1980 on textiles.
51. Roosevelt 2009, pp. 20–21.
52. A. Ramage 1987, p. 8.
53. Roosevelt 2009, pp. 22–26; Greenewalt 2011, pp. 1116–17; see Herodotos 1.6.3: “Before the reign of Croesus, all Greeks were free. . . .”
54. Roosevelt 2009, pp. 193–94.
55. *Ibid.*, p. 23.
56. Rein 1993, pp. 9–10. Note that this goddess is most frequently called Kybele / Cybele in accordance with modern convention; the name Kubaba is retained here for clarity. On the gold-refining complex, see A. Ramage and Craddock 2000.
57. Roller 1999, pp. 45–46.
58. Rein 1993, pp. 5–27; Roller 1999, pp. 44–53.
59. Croesus dedicated the decorated columns for the later Artemision, of which fragments are preserved; see Muss 1994, pp. 5–50.
60. Rein 1993, pp. 21–22, 58–63.
61. Roosevelt 2009, p. 82, with earlier references.
62. *Ibid.*, pp. 165–71, with earlier references.
63. Mellink 1987, p. 20.
64. Luke and Roosevelt 2009, p. 211.
65. Greenewalt 2003, pp. 40–41; Christina Luke and Christopher Roosevelt (2009, p. 203) note that the tumulus is larger than all but one of the Pyramids.
66. İ. Özgen and Öztürk 1996.
67. *Ibid.*, pp. 29–30.
68. A. Ramage 1987, p. 11; Greenewalt 2011, p. 1117.
69. A. Ramage and Craddock 2000.
70. Roosevelt 2009, pp. 194–201.

III. ASSYRIA TO IBERIA: CONQUEST AND COMMERCE

Art and Networks of Interaction Across the Mediterranean

Note: Unless specified otherwise in a note, all biblical translations are from *The Jewish Study Bible 2004* or *The Holy Bible, New International Version 1988*.

1. Spar 2008; Pulak 2008; Aruz, Benzel, and Evans 2008, pp. 281–87.
2. Kantor 1956, p. 174.
3. Sass 2002.
4. Ehrlich 1996, pp. 63–65; Katzenstein 1997, p. 121.
5. Margueron 2008, pp. 236–38; Joan Aruz in Aruz, Benzel, and Evans 2008, pp. 239–41, no. 146, and p. 408, no. 261.
6. This occurred in the time of Jehoahaz (814–798 b.c.); 1 Kings 20:34; 2 Kings 13:7.
7. See Markoe 2000, p. 41, fig. 5.
8. Winter 2010, p. 608.
9. For the beginning of Phoenician expansion before Assyrian imperialism, see Niemeyer 2004, p. 246.
10. Moshe Greenberg (1997, pp. 556–57) interprets that Aram, mentioned in Ezek. 27:16, refers to Edom. For relations between Damascus and Tyre, see B. Mazar 1962, pp. 113, 116.
11. Saggs 1955, pp. 127ff., ND 2715, ll. 3–29; Oded 1974, pp. 47–49; Katzenstein 1997, pp. 189, 217, 222.
12. Katzenstein 1997, p. 219.
13. Braudel 1979, p. 25. Janet Picton (2000), in discussing Phoenician involvement in the Nile Delta, invokes the world system suggested as a model by Philip Kohl in which multiple core areas coexisted and intermittently came into direct or indirect contact.
14. Bikai 1978, p. 75. For imported Greek pottery found in Tyre, see Coldstream 2008a.
15. Katzenstein 1997, pp. 238–44; Radner 2010, pp. 440–45; Reyes 1994, pp. 51–56; Gunter 2009, p. 20; for the Assyrian prism referring to the stele, see Shafer 1998, p. 262.
16. Bondi 1988, p. 43; see also Pritchard 1950, p. 290, text i9-54; Radner 2010, p. 439.
17. Herrmann and Laidlaw 2009, p. 11; Markoe 2000, p. 46; for the post-Assyrian history of Tyre, see Katzenstein 1997, chap. 12.
18. For intellectual and ritual traditions, see “The World of Odysseus” in this volume, pp. 255–57.
19. Tadmor 1994, p. 69.
20. See Greenberg 1997, pp. 568–71.
21. For geographic designations, routes, and goods, see *ibid.*, pp. 558–59.
22. Translation by Robert Fagles (1990, p. 205).
23. Frayne 1993, pp. 28–29.
24. Gunter 2009, p. 157.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 158.
26. 1 Kings 5:25 and 5:26; see also Katzenstein 1997, p. 101.
27. Liverani 1987, pp. 72–73.
28. See P. King and Stager 2001, p. 170, for the “gold of Ophir.”
29. Patch 2008; Lilyquist 2012. See also the Amarna Letters, which list dowries sent to Egypt with the daughters of Mesopotamian kings: Moran 1992, pp. 21–37, 51–61, 72–84.
30. Wicke 2010, pp. 120ff. Dirk Wicke (*ibid.*, pp. 116ff.) also notes the close parallel with the silver vessel from Golgoi-Atheniou; Markoe 1985, pp. 31–33, 361, comp. 7. See also the bowls in the Tell Basta treasure (Lilyquist 2012, pp. 30–32) and from Praeneste with similar imagery; Markoe 1985, pp. 32, 274–77, E1; Bongioanni and Croce 2003, p. 404.
31. Gubel 2000, p. 195; see also Meyer 1987 and Boschloos 2009, pp. 291–94.
32. Glenn Markoe (1985, pp. 31–32) assigns the Golgoi-Atheniou bowl to Dynasty 21 Egypt. Markoe (2007, p. 169 n. 165) places it in a Cypro-Phoenician workshop.
33. For the quantities of silver and gold tribute paid by Hezekiah, see Röthlin and Le Roux 2013.
34. See Markoe 1985, p. 10, for instances in which gold foil was applied to the entire inner surfaces. *Ibid.*, p. 75; for the Tell Basta treasure, see Lilyquist 2012, especially pp. 24–31.
35. Bongioanni and Croce 2003, pp. 412–13, 414–15.
36. Van De Mierop 2011, p. 268; he does note, however, that the king wore a gold face mask and large quantities of gold jewelry.
37. For Tarshish in the Bible, see Greenberg 1997, p. 583. Jeremiah (10:9) mentions “silver, beaten flat, that is brought from Tarshish.”
38. Neville 2007, pp. 140–41.
39. *Ibid.*, pp. 156–58. See also Blanco and Luzón 1969.
40. S. Sherratt and A. Sherratt 1993, p. 365.
41. See Markoe 2003, p. 214; see also Camporeale 1992, pp. 34–36.
42. Nimrud: Barnett 1974; Megiddo: Markoe 1985, pp. 213–14.
43. See Markoe 1985, pp. 72–73, 178.
44. Suter 2011, p. 223.
45. Markoe 2000, p. 150; Markoe 2003, pp. 213–15.
46. Markoe 2000, p. 173, fig. 70; Markoe 2003, p. 212.
47. On the complexity of interaction beyond commerce and trade, see Purcell 2006, pp. 24–25.
48. There were also monkeys as well as ivory obtained from a sea creature; see Herrmann and Laidlaw 2009, pp. 7–8. For gift exchange, see Liverani 1992, pp. 160–61; Markoe 2000, p. 39; and Gunter 2009, p. 111.
49. Markoe 2000, p. 149; see also Popham, Calligas, and Sackett 1988–89; Popham 1995; Popham and Lemos 1996, pls. 133, 134.
50. Popham 1995, pp. 104–5; Markoe 1985, pp. 246–47, no. Cy3.
51. See Curtis 1994b, pp. 1–2.
52. Liverani 1992, pp. 161–62; John Curtis (1994b, p. 11) refers to the Akkadian term for “siren attachment” and gives an example with Babylonian features (cat. 150).
53. Strøm (1992, p. 54) believes that hammered griffin (and lion) heads were part of the imported ensemble; see, however, Muscarella 1992, p. 36.
54. Muscarella 1992, pp. 39–45; Ingrid Strøm (1992, pp. 55, 60) discusses interpretations related to votive offerings, athletic prizes, and banqueting as well as the possible role of Greek sanctuaries in organized trade to acquire such objects.
55. V. Karageorghis 1973, pp. 97ff.; Hundt 1973, pp. 214–21.
56. See Edith Porada in V. Karageorghis 1973, pp. 84–85.
57. Strøm 1992, p. 48; see Gunter 2009, p. 126, for various interpretations of the booty of Hazael.
58. For Egyptian bronze statuettes found at Samos, see Jantzen 1972, chap. 1; for the superb bronze statuettes of the Third Intermediate Period in Egypt, see Hill 2007a.
59. Herrmann and Laidlaw 2009, p. 26; see also Hulin 1963, p. 56, l. 49 of the inscription on Shalmaneser’s throne base.
60. Herrmann and Laidlaw 2009, p. 26.
61. Pfälzner 2013.
62. Grayson 1991, p. 26, col. 6, ll. 70–75; for discussion of elephants in Syria, see also Pfälzner 2013, p. 120.
63. Gubel 1983, p. 26.
64. Herrmann and Laidlaw 2009, pp. 93, 187–88, no. 236; Herrmann 1989, p. 89, pl. VIII.
65. Caubet 2008, p. 407, fig. 127.

66. Pfälzner 2013; see Caubet and Poplin 1992, pp. 94–95; Caubet and Poplin 2010, p. 6.
67. Caubet 2013, p. 455.
68. See Pulak 2008, pp. 328–30; Caubet 2013, pp. 455–56.
69. For a summary, see Herrmann and Laidlaw 2009, pp. 5–52; Annie Caubet (2013, p. 456) mentions the lack of inscribed evidence.
70. Herrmann and Laidlaw 2009, p. 113; Suter 2011, p. 223.
71. Herrmann and Millard 2003, pp. 389–90.
72. Suter 2011, p. 224; see also Herrmann and Millard 2003, p. 398, for the proposal that ivories were not particularly appreciated by the Assyrians, who preferred bronze cladding.
73. Irene Winter (2010, p. 526) notes that the king and queen are depicted on furniture similar to pieces carried off by Sennacherib's soldiers from a captured citadel. See also Amos 6:4. Ann Gunter (2009, p. 37) notes that Assyrian-style furniture was also removed from conquered cities.
74. Rehm 2005, pp. 196–203.
75. Herrmann 2000, pp. 275–76; Herrmann and Laidlaw 2009, pp. 53–100; Winter 2010, pp. 187–333, 381–403; Herrmann and Laidlaw 2013, pp. 26–112.
76. Gubel 2009, pp. 323–26.
77. In contrast to V. Karageorghis 1973, pp. 120–22; see also “The ‘Royal’ Tombs of Salamis on Cyprus” in this volume, pp. 188–92. David Rupp (1988, p. 116) dates Tomb 79 to 760–740 B.C.; for the Assyrian impact on the arts in the Salamis tomb, see Reyes 1994, pp. 65–67, and Gunter 2009, pp. 27–28.
78. Annette Welkamp and C. H. J. De Geus (1995–96, p. 97) suggest they may have formed a symmetrical composition with perhaps a lost sphinx also flanking the central tree, as suggested by parallels at Nimrud. Herrmann (1986, p. 35) points to a parallel (albeit less elegantly rendered) in Fort Shalmaneser (SVV 37, no. 1107). However, the chair grooves are only the size of the individual surviving ivories, each of which have protrusions to fit into them.
79. V. Karageorghis 1973, p. 95; Herrmann 1986, p. 35.
80. Suter 2011, p. 220.
81. Herrmann 1986, pp. 33–35; Suter 2011, p. 221.
82. Georgina Herrmann (1986, pp. 37, 41) highly doubts this possibility.
83. Gubel 2009, pp. 321–23.
84. Gubel 2000, pp. 197–98; see Ciafaloni 2009, p. 311.
85. G. Tait 1963, p. 136; see also Gubel 2009, p. 322.
86. See Boschloos 2009.
87. G. Tait 1963, pp. 133, 134, 136; for the significance of Hermopolis as a halfway point between the Delta and Thebes in Dynasty 22, see *ibid.*, p. 134.
88. Herrmann 1986, p. 39, citing spell 15 from the Egyptian Book of the Dead.
89. G. Tait 1963, pp. 113–14.
90. Gubel 2009, pp. 329–30; Gubel 2001, pp. 41–44.
91. Gubel 2000, pp. 197–98, 206. Pharaonic imagery in the form of sphinxes and griffins, as in the New Kingdom, continued to proliferate in the Near East; Davide Ciafaloni (2009, p. 311) suggests a link to Assyrian royal imagery.
92. Gubel 1991, p. 133; Rolf Stucky (1974, p. 95) notes that the shells come from contacts throughout the seventh century B.C.; Hodos 2006, p. 66; on the other hand, Baruch Brandl (2001, p. 323) believes that shell production was largely a post-Assyrian industry.
93. For the contemporary Greek expansion in the Mediterranean, see Boardman 1999 and, most recently, Broodbank 2013, pp. 512–84.
94. During the Persian empire, craftsmen in the Tomb of Petosiris are shown making Achaemenid-type rhyta; see Aruz 2008b, p. 238 n. 40. For Greeks in Syro-Cilicia, see Boardman 1999, pp. 50–51, and Katzenstein 1997. For mention of deportees constructing Khorsabad (Dur-Sharrukin), see Gunter 2009, p. 161.
95. See also Guralnick 2004 on the use of Near Eastern metalwork to create three korai “sphyrelata,” discovered in the sanctuary of Olympia.
96. Greenblatt 2010, p. 4.
16. M. Oppenheim 1933.
17. Bryce et al. 2009, pp. 12–15, 271–72.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 595.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 130.
20. Assaf 1990.
21. Luschan 1898, p. 1902.
22. I am grateful to my colleague at the British Museum Dr. Rupert Chapman, Curator of the Ancient Levant, who has recently researched the *bit hilani* and kindly provided this paragraph for inclusion in the essay.

The Gold of Nimrud

1. For more complete publication of the Nimrud tombs and their finds, see Damerji 1999, Hussein and Suleiman 2000, and Curtis et al. 2008.
2. The five neatly arranged lines on the seal are considered by some to be Egyptian hieroglyphic writing. However, according to Marsha Hill, curator in the Department of Egyptian Art at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, the symbols are epigraphically inconsistent with Egyptian manufacture and not readable in a manner that produces a coherent transliteration and translation.
3. Curtis 1994a, p. 54.
4. Curtis 2008b, p. 252 and fig. 29-t.
5. Gubel 2008, p. 183.
6. Mallowan 1966, vol. 1, pp. 114–15, fig. 58.
7. Mallowan 1966, vol. 1, pp. 115, 328 n. 21; Maxwell-Hyslop 1971, pp. 234–35, fig. 124b; Curtis and Maxwell-Hyslop 1971, p. 105; Gubel 2008, p. 179.
8. Mallowan 1966, vol. 1, p. 115; Curtis and Maxwell-Hyslop 1971, p. 105; Gubel 2008, p. 179.
9. Hussein and Suleiman 2000, pp. 407–8, figs. 189, 190.
10. Kamil 1999; Melville 2004; Damerji 2008; al-Rawi 2008. It is also possible that Yaba' and Baniti were the same person, if Stephanie Dalley's interpretation is correct that *banitu* (constituting the adjective “beautiful” in Akkadian) is the equivalent of Yaba' (a West Semitic name that may mean “beautiful”); see Dalley 2008.
11. See MMA 31.72.2.
12. Damerji 1999, pl. 30 (top and bottom); Hussein and Suleiman 2000, pp. 232–35, ills. 30–32; Curtis et al. 2008, colorpl. II a–d.
13. See discussion in Collon 2008, p. 117.
14. See drawing of bands in Curtis et al. 2008, p. 116, fig. 14s.
15. Collon 2008, p. 117.
16. It has been suggested that the pomegranates and rosettes may instead represent poppy seedpods and flowers; see Muayad Damerji's comment in Collon 2008, p. 106.
17. Al-Gailani Werr 2008, p. 155.
18. See discussion in Collon 2008, p. 106.

Phoenicians and Aramaeans

1. See Tubb 2008.
2. Markoe 2000, p. 29.
3. See Tubb 2006, pp. 64–67, 72.
4. See Markoe 2000, p. 97 n. 13, with earlier references.
5. See Doumet-Serhal 2013, pp. 108–12, with earlier references.
6. Bikai 1978.
7. Pritchard 1978, pp. 76–77.
8. *Ibid.*, pp. 111–48.
9. See, e.g., Montet 1928–29, which in reality is little more than a catalogue of retrieved antiquities.
10. *Ibid.*, pp. 228–38.
11. Albright 1947.
12. The marriage is referred to in 1 Kings 16:31.
13. See Aubet 1993, chap. 7.
14. For this traditional view, see Lipiński 2000.
15. Bryce 2012, pp. 163–64.

Nimrud Ivories

1. Barnett 1957; Mallowan and Davies 1970; Herrmann 1986; Herrmann 1992; Herrmann and Laidlaw 2009; Herrmann and Laidlaw 2013.
2. Collins 2009, pp. 15–16.
3. See Herrmann and Laidlaw 2009, pp. 5–26.
4. For the characteristics of the North Syrian style, see Winter 2010, chaps. 5, 6, and 9; Herrmann and Laidlaw 2009, pp. 91–100; and Herrmann and Laidlaw 2013, pp. 95–112.
5. Mallowan 1966, pp. 204–5.
6. Mallowan 1966, pp. 211–14, 344; Moortgat 1955, p. 12, figs. 11, 12.
7. Barnett 1957, pls. lxxiii–lxxxiii; Mallowan 1966, p. 211, pl. III; for similar handles in the Syrian Intermediate style at Nimrud, see Scigliuzzo 2009.
8. Mallowan 1966, pp. 211, 344–45. For Egyptian mirror handles with nude females, see Lilyquist 2007, pp. 96–102.
9. Loud 1939, pl. 39.
10. Mallowan and Herrmann 1974, pls. CV–CVII.
11. Joan Aruz in Aruz, Benezel, and Evans 2008, pp. 411–12, no. 264; Herrmann 1992, pls. 41, 195; Herrmann and Laidlaw 2013, colorpl. LX.
12. For a detailed discussion of this corpus of materials, see Winter 2010, chap. 6; for ideas on production centers for North Syrian ivories, see Winter 2010, pp. 250–51; Herrmann and Laidlaw 2009, p. 14; Herrmann and Laidlaw 2013, pp. 14, 98, and 104. See also Mazzoni 2009.
13. J. Oates and D. Oates 2001, pp. 144–48.
14. Herrmann 1986, p. 49; Mazzoni 2009, pp. 113, 119, 120; Winter 2010, chap. 7.
15. Mazzoni 2009, pp. 113–14; Winter 2010, pp. 320–21.
16. Gubel 2005, pp. 129–31.
17. *Ibid.*; Barnett 1957, pp. 145–51.
18. Barnett 1957, p. 145.
19. Herrmann 1992, p. 10.
20. Herrmann and Laidlaw 2013, pp. 81–83; Gansell 2009, pp. 157–58.
21. Herrmann 1992, pp. 118–19, pl. 406; Herrmann and Laidlaw 2009, p. 84; Herrmann and Laidlaw 2013, pp. 80–83.
22. Herrmann 1992, pp. 118–19, no. 406, pl. 85; see also Herrmann and Laidlaw 2009, pp. 60–62, 84–85, which relates this work and related sphinxes from Khorsabad to the “wig and wing” group, with parallels among the woman-at-the-window plaques.
23. Herrmann 1986, p. 37, and pp. 151–52, no. 622, pl. 149.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 156, no. 656, pl. 160; see also Herrmann and Laidlaw 2013, p. 68, where it is compared with a blinker in “Classic Phoenician” style with similar imagery.
25. Ciafaloni 2009, p. 311.
26. Herrmann and Laidlaw 2013, p. 68; Gubel 2005, pp. 135–37; for pyxides with same imagery, see Herrmann 1986, pl. 20.
27. J. Oates and D. Oates 2001, pp. 159–62 (where the horned animals are identified as antelope and oryx), 164–65; Herrmann 1992, pp. 98–101, nos. 298–303, pls. 56–59.
28. Herrmann 1986, pls. 17–19, 71, 72.
29. Herrmann and Laidlaw 2009, p. 58, fig. 14; Herrmann and Laidlaw 2013, pp. 80, 85.

30. Mallowan 1966, vol. 2, pp. 572–73, fig. 527; Harper et al. 1971, p. 322; Herrmann 1986, p. 234, no. 1258, pls. 326, 327; for the Northwest Palace room V/W inlay, see Herrmann and Laidlaw 2009, pp. 165–66, no. 158, pls. F, G, and 23.
31. Teissier 1996, pp. 26–28, 47–55.
32. Gubel 2000, pp. 196–98.
33. *Ibid.*, pp. 200–201, fig. 21.
34. Gubel 2001, pp. 37–38; Serena Cecchini (2005, p. 246) cites Guy Bunnens's interpretation (1995, p. 219) of the scenes as the deification of the ruler.
35. Gubel 2001, p. 40; see also Cecchini 2005, p. 248.
36. Thomason 2005, pp. 139–40.
37. See Locke 2008.
38. Caubet and Gaborit-Chopin 2004, p. 15.
39. Barnett 1982, pp. 10–13; Moorey 1994, pp. 124–27; Caubet and Gaborit-Chopin 2004, p. 18; Gachet-Bizollon 2007, pp. 15–22.
40. Herrmann and Laidlaw 2009, pp. 62–65.
41. *Ibid.*, pp. 165–66.

Ivories of Arslan Tash

1. Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres 1928, p. 274.
2. Turner 1968; Cecchini and Venturi 2012.
3. Thureau-Dangin et al. 1931, pp. 89 fig. 31, 90 fig. 32, and pl. XVII, 1 and 2. These ivory strips are not reproduced in the publication and were not preserved, with the exception of two at the National Museum of Aleppo (inv. 834–835).
4. Thureau-Dangin collaborated with Barrois, Georges Dossin, and especially Maurice Dunand to produce the 1931 report.
5. In accordance with the regulations of the French mandate for Syria and Lebanon, the ivories were divided between the two institutions.
6. Winter 1981, p. 104, n. 19; Jean-Baptiste Humbert, "De pierre et d'argile," in *Jérusalem de la pierre à l'esprit* 1990, pp. 80–81, nos. 18, 19, pls. IV, V; Fontan n.d. (forthcoming).
7. Cf. figs. 3.50, 3.51; Fontan and Le Meaux 2007, pp. 16, 377, no. 311.
8. Gehrig and Niemeyer 1990, p. 125, no. 33; Fontan and Le Meaux 2007, p. 377, no. 312.
9. Thimme 1973; Rehm 1997, pp. 103–4, 127–44.
10. Muscarella 1979, pp. 274–84.
11. Minutes of the curators' committee, May 30, 1929, Archives of the Musées Nationaux.
12. For Borowski's acquisition, see the article by the author known only as J. M. (Anon. 1995). This fantastic account includes inaccuracies, but I was able to certify, based on the evidence, that the restorations attributed to Vincent Diniacopoulos were fairly interventionist.
13. A new publication of all the ivories of Arslan Tash is being prepared. The staff charged with studying and publishing them is composed of Giorgio Affanni, Annie Caubet, Serena Maria Cecchini, Elisabeth Fontan, François Poplin, and Maria-Giulia Amadasi. Examination of the works in the museums was accompanied by restoration campaigns at the Louvre, assigned to Juliette Levy, Agnès Cascio, and Anne-Laure Goron, and at the National Museum of Aleppo by Juliette Levy and Marie-Emmanuelle Mehoyas, within the context of cooperation between the Musée du Louvre and the Directorate-General of Antiquities and Museums in Syria.
14. AO 11496 a; Thureau-Dangin et al. 1931, pl. XXX, 28; Affanni 2011, pp. 115–16, fig. 3.9.
15. Thureau-Dangin et al. 1931, pl. XLVI, 104.
16. *Ibid.*, pl. XLVI, 105–7.
17. Rehm 1997, p. 127, S1, pl. XIV.
18. Sale, Drouot Montaigne, Paris, March 15, 1989, lot 605.
19. Winter 1981, pp. 103–9, pls. VII–XV.

Metalwork

1. Translation by Richmond Lattimore (1951).
2. Markoe 1985.
3. Barnett 1967.
4. Winter 1988, pp. 199–200.
5. Markoe 1985, pp. 6–8.
6. Onnis 2009.
7. Popham 1995; Popham and Lemos 1996.
8. Majidzadeh 1992; Álvarez-Mon 2010, pp. 122–43.
9. For the Etruscan burials, see Markoe 1985, pp. 80–81; for the Greek burials, see Popham and Lemos 1996.

10. Markoe 1985, pp. 75–79.
11. For the Kefar Veradim bowl, see Alexandre 2006; for the bowl inscribed for Yaba', see Wicke 2010.
12. Riva 2010.
13. Bonatz 2000; Struble and Herrmann 2009.
14. Gilibert 2011, p. 90.
15. Markoe 1985, no. 1s1.
16. Curtis 2013, pp. 3–6.
17. MMA 74.51.4557; V. Karageorghis, Mertens, and Rose 2000, no. 307.
18. Stronach 1996.
19. Matthäus 1999.
20. Markoe 1985, pp. 81–83; Strøm 1992.
21. Tsukimoto 1985.
22. Greer 2010.

Tridacna Shell

1. Stucky 1974; Reese 2009.
2. Stucky 2007.
3. Reese 2009.
4. Collection of Walter Kempner, M.D., gift of Barbara Newborg, M.D., acc. no. 2006.1.216; Antonaccio and Dillon 2011.
5. Culican 1970a.
6. Stucky 2007.
7. Brandl 2001; Hauser 2004.
8. Zayadine 1986, p. 25, fig. 19.
9. For the archers, see Musée du Louvre, Paris, AO 7680.
10. Stucky 1974, no. 79.
11. A unique terracotta plaque from the Old Babylonian period (ca. 1800–1700 b.c.) in the British Museum depicts a nude goddess as the "Queen of the Night." Her legs end in birds' talons, and she is flanked by a pair of owls (Collon 2007b).
12. Herrmann and Laidlaw 2009, p. 191, no. 240, pl. 67.
13. Stucky 1971.
14. Furtwängler 2011.
15. González Reyero 2007.

Phoenician and East Mediterranean Glass

1. John Curtis in Curtis and Reade 1995, pp. 146–47, nos. 115, 116.
2. See Harden 1981.
3. *Ibid.*; John Curtis in Curtis and Reade 1995, pp. 146–47, nos. 115, 116.
4. Arveiller-Dulong and Nenna 2000.
5. Stampolidis 2003a.
6. André-Salvini 1999.

The Lands of the Bible

1. Rainey and Notley 2006, pp. 30–42.
2. For various views on the historicity of the biblical narrative, see the summary of the traditional view in A. Mazar 1990, pp. 368–402; see also Rainey and Notley 2006, pp. 157–99. For a more radical view, see Finkelstein and Silberman 2001, pp. 340–44; for a presentation of the opposing views, see Finkelstein and A. Mazar 2007, pp. 107–40.
3. A. Mazar 2010a.
4. Hundreds of books and papers have been published on various aspects of the history and archaeology of Israel and Judah. Only a few can be cited here. For general surveys of the history of Israel and Judah, see Miller and Hayes 1986, pp. 218–313. For a general survey of the archaeological evidence, see A. Mazar 1990, pp. 403–530; Barkay 1992; Herr 1997b; and Finkelstein and Silberman 2001. On daily life, see P. King and Stager 2001; on society: Dever 1995 and Faust 2013; on religion: Zevit 2001 and Hess 2007; and on Judah in the seventh century b.c.: Stern 2001, pp. 130–216. See also, most recently, Finkelstein 2013; *Oxford Encyclopedia of the Bible and Archaeology* 2013, vol. 1;

and *Oxford Handbook of the Archaeology of the Levant* 2013, chaps. 44, 47–52.

- For various views on the archaeology of Jerusalem, see the papers in Vaughn and Killebrew 2003.
- See note 4 above.
- Gitin 1998; Master 2003.
- LaBianca and Younker 1995; Stern 2001, pp. 236–94. On Moab, see the collection of essays in *Biblical Archaeologist* 60 (December 1997), pp. 194–248.
- Levy et al. 2008.
- Ussishkin 1982.
- Stern 2001, pp. 3–57.

Cyprus in the Early Iron Age

- Peltenburg 1996, pp. 27–29; Goren et al. 2003.
- Bell 2006, p. 113.
- Iacovou 2008.
- J. Smith 2003; J. Smith 2009, pp. 28–29.
- Olivier 2007; Ferrara 2012.
- Masson 1983, pp. 246–48, no. 220.
- Hadjicosti 2012, p. 67.
- Pickles and Peltenburg 1998, pp. 90–91.
- Westerberg 1983, pp. 28–34.
- For Tyre, see Bikai 1978. For Palestine, see Gilboa 1989 and Bikai 1994, pp. 31–37.
- Coldstream 1995, p. 195.
- V. Karageorghis 1969.
- D. Christou 1996.
- Iacovou 2012, p. 64.
- Lipiński 2004, pp. 51–52.
- Yon 1995.
- J. Smith 2009, pp. 11–13.
- Lipiński 2004, pp. 63–76.
- Childs 2012.
- Pilides and Destrooper-Georgiades 2008.
- Markou 2012, fig. 14.1.
- Ulbrich 2012, p. 101.
- J. Karageorghis 2005, p. 35.
- Ibid., pp. 92–95, 99–100.
- Childs 2001, pp. 122–26.
- J. Karageorghis 2005, p. 162.
- Kilikoglou et al. 2009, p. 200.
- Counts 2001.
- Hermay 1989.
- Fourrier and Queyrel 1998.
- V. Karageorghis and Kouka 2009.

The “Royal” Tombs of Salamis on Cyprus

- For a short account on the position of the Cypriot kingdoms during the Cypro-Archaic period, see V. Karageorghis 2002a, pp. 154–57; see also Iacovou 2005, pp. 131–32; Iacovou 2013, p. 142.
- V. Karageorghis 1980, pp. 153–55; Yon 1980.
- V. Karageorghis 1980, pp. 153–55.
- V. Karageorghis 2002a, p. 55; Keswani 2004, p. 115.
- Coldstream 1977b, p. 530. For a discussion, see V. Karageorghis 2002b.
- For a relevant discussion, see V. Karageorghis 2000a.
- Gjerstad 1980.
- V. Karageorghis 2002a, pp. 168–69.
- Reyes 1994, p. 63; see also V. Karageorghis 2001, p. 56 (with earlier references); 2002a, pp. 165, 168; and 2002b, p. 27.
- Markoe 1985, pp. 156, 185–86.
- V. Karageorghis, Mertens, and Rose 2000, pp. 164–65.
- V. Karageorghis 2002a, p. 168.
- V. Karageorghis 1967, pp. 46–48.
- Marinatos 2000, pp. 8–9, 18–24.
- For further commentary on the bronze accessories of chariots and horses and remarks by Edith Porada, see V. Karageorghis 1973, pp. 81–86.

- For further comments on the cauldrons, see *ibid.*, pp. 97–114.
- Vohnhoff 2011 (with earlier references).
- For further comments on the Salamis thrones, see V. Karageorghis 1968.
- V. Karageorghis 2002a, p. 156, fig. 322.
- See P. King 1988, pp. 139–49, and Campbell 1998, pp. 311–12.

Jewelry from a Tomb at Kition

- Hadjisavvas n.d. (forthcoming), pp. 1–3.
- For the pieces discussed here, see *ibid.*, pp. 22, 25–26; p. 28 (contribution on seals by John Boardman); and pp. 31–33 (contribution on scarabs by Gisèle Clerc).
- Hadjisavvas 2008.
- Bikai 1987, no. 185.
- Hadjisavvas 2012, p. 233.
- Hadjisavvas n.d. (forthcoming), pp. 5–16.
- Boardman in *ibid.*, p. 28.
- Scarabs were popular in Cyprus, where they are found as heirlooms in burial contexts dating from the Bronze Age to the Roman period; see Clerc in *ibid.*, pp. 30–33, 104–5.
- Birmingham 1963, pp. 100–103.
- For the Metropolitan Museum example (74.51.3209), see V. Karageorghis, Mertens, and Rose 2000, p. 192, no. 313. For the British Museum example (1873.0320.334), see Birmingham 1963, p. 100.
- Hjelmqvist 1973, p. 245, fig. 5.

Egypt in the Neo-Assyrian Period

- See Vittmann 2003, pp. 1–14, which summarizes the work of Anthony Leahy and Karl Jansen-Winkeln, among others. The chronology of these centuries is under continuing discussion. Dates in this essay reflect accepted revisions to the reign dates of Kushite kings.
- J. H. Taylor 2000, pp. 336–37.
- For a concise history of the Kushite period, see *ibid.*, pp. 352–68, and for the institution of the God’s Wife at this time, see Ayad 2009.
- See most recently Kahn 2006.
- Vittmann 2003, p. 35; Ryholt 2004.
- Fazzini 1988.
- Ibid., p. 9.
- Bulté 1991.
- Aufrère 1998.
- From Yoyotte 1987, p. 74, called attention to by Fazzini 1997, p. 115.
- Lichtheim 1976, pp. 224–30.
- Vittmann 2003, pp. 46–52.
- Mumford 2007, p. 225 n. 2.
- Ibid.
- Ibid., p. 236.
- Ibid., p. 260. Ivories are briefly discussed on pp. 255–56.
- Ibid., p. 248.
- Ibid., p. 259.
- Kemp 2006, pp. 332–34.
- Ibid., p. 333.
- Gubel 1994, pp. 346–48.
- Vittmann 2003, p. 61; Aston 1996, pp. 84–86, for more specifics.
- Gubel 2009.
- “Naukratis: A City and Trading Port in Egypt,” introduction 2, in Villing et al. n.d., accessed March 4, 2014.

From Carthage to the Western Mediterranean

- Velleius Paterculus, *Historiae Romanae* 1.2.1–3.
- Strabo 17.3.3; Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* 19.63.
- For a general view, see Niemeyer 1982; Aubet 2001; Bondi et al. 2009; and Schmitz 2012.

- Ruiz-Gálvez 1998. See also Lo Schiavo 2003.
- According to the legend recorded by Menander of Ephesos, princess Elissa, sister and rival of Pygmalion of Tyre, fled and founded the “new Tyre” in the seventh year of the reign of this monarch, or about 814 B.C. (Josephus, *Against Apion* 1.125).
- For the main results of the German excavations in the framework of the UNESCO archaeological campaigns, 1986–95, see Docter 1997; Rakob 1997; Vegas 1998; Rakob 1999; and Docter, Niemeyer, and Schmidt 2007.
- For a general discussion, see Torres 1998; Nijboer 2005a; Brandherm 2006; C. Sagona 2008; and Van der Plicht, Bruins, and Nijboer 2009.
- Docter et al. 2005; Schubart 2006. The new absolute chronologies raise the possibility that the early western colonies—Carthage, Gadir, Morro de Mezquitilla—were founded before Kition, on Cyprus, which until recently was considered the oldest Phoenician colony in the Mediterranean, a traditional theory based on a gradual colonial movement starting in Kition and ending in the far west (Carthage–Gadir–Lixus). See Pingel 2006.
- Frankenstein 1979; Frankenstein 1997.
- Aubet 2008b.
- González de Canales, Serrano, and Llopart 2004. For the new proposed dates for these precolonial contacts, see Nijboer and Van der Plicht 2006; Gilboa 2013, p. 328; and Nuñez 2014 (forthcoming). For recent findings in the area of Cádiz–Gadir that would date the arrival of the Phoenicians in the Strait of Gibraltar close to their arrival in Carthage and Málaga, see Zamora et al. 2010 and Gener et al. 2012. See also Roselló and Morales 1994.
- Rodríguez et al. 2013. For the increase in the amount of silver in the Levant coming from the west (?) at the beginning of the Iron Age, see Thompson 2007.
- Bafico et al. 1997. See also Oggiano 2000.
- Pellicer 2007; Schubart and Maaß-Lindemann 2007.
- For Mogador, see López Pardo and Mederos 2008 and Marzoli and El Khayari 2010. For Lixus, see Aranegui and Hassini 2010. For Portugal, see Arruda 2000 and Mayet and Tavares 2000. For the Balearic Islands and Ibiza, see Gómez Bellard 1990 and Ramón 2007.
- P. Bartoloni 2009.
- P. Bartoloni and Campanella 2000.
- Di Stefano 1998; Nigro 2005.
- Celestino and Jiménez 2005; Riva and Vella 2006. For the Orientalizing period in Tartessos, see Álvarez Marti-Aguilar 2011.
- Aubet 2005.
- Aubet 1995; Aubet et al. 1999.

Carthaginian Jewelry

- Quillard 2013, p. 36 nn. 217, 220, fig. X.
- Ibid., pp. 71–74.
- Ibid., pp. 83–90, 204–5, figs. 139–41, 150.
- Ibid. For that type of pendant, see *ibid.*, pp. 36–47, 190–91, figs. 37–54, 227, figs. 44, 47, 52.
- Ibid., p. 116 (type G).
- Ibid. For that type of pendant and variants, see *ibid.*, pp. 31–36, 188–89, figs. 21–36.
- See Bénichou-Safar 2004, especially pp. 149–63.
- Quillard 1979, pp. 36 and 42.
- Quillard 1987, pp. 23–24 (nos. 72–93), 130–35, pls. VIII, XXXII, 1–5; and Brouillet 1994, p. 42 (nos. 6–7). For Sardinia, see also Pisano 1987, p. 81, Type IV; *I gioielli di Tharros* 1990, nos. 13–17; for Sicily, Di Stefano 1998, pp. 129 (no. 21), 207 (VG 44); for Ibiza, Almagro Gorbéa 1986, pl. LXIII, 187.

10. Dayagi-Mendels 2002, p. 69, fig. 4.15 (no. 6). Listed in Golani 2013, p. 113, as well as the exemplar of Sarafand, for which the author pushes the date back by a century vis-à-vis that assigned by the discoverer (Saidah 1983, p. 216, pl. LIV, 3). A third specimen, of unknown provenance, is in a museum in Jerusalem: see Quillard 1987, p. 133.
11. Maxwell-Hyslop 1971, p. 237, fig. 127 (no. 6).
12. See Lancellotti 2002, pp. 19–39, pls. I–IV.
13. Quillard 1987, pp. 24–27 (nos. 94–99), 135–39, pls. XXXII, XXXIII, and Brouillet 1994, p. 42 (no. 4). For Sardinia, compare to Pisano 1987, pp. 78–79 (Type I), and *I gioielli di Tharros* 1990, nos. 1, 9, 10; for Sicily, to Di Stefano 1998, pp. 138 (no. 80), 207 (VG 45), 400 (G34). The “bushel” or “ball and cage” pendant is another characteristic and widespread model, cf. Quillard 2013, pp. 22–30, 184–87, figs. 9–20.
14. Two variants with a falcon.
15. Spanò Giammellaro 1995, p. 51, pl. I (necklace).
16. Quillard 1987, pp. 38–40 (nos. 257–63), 78, 167–70, pls. XIV, XV (nos. 1–3), XXXVIII (Type A1); Brouillet 1994, p. 43 (no. 8). See the following note.
17. See, for Malta, C. Sagona 2002, p. 326, fig. 6 (no. 3); for Palermo, Di Stefano 1998, pp. 385, 401 (G 38); for Trayamar, Nicolini 1990, pp. 352–53 (no. 119), pl. 77 (a, b).
18. Golani 2013, pp. 136–37, 249, fig. 15 (nos. 23–25); V. Karageorghis, Mertens, and Rose 2000, pp. 194–96.
19. Quillard 1987, pp. 46–47 (no. 274), 172, 176 (Type B2), 186–88, pl. XVII, XXXIX.
20. Redissi 1999, p. 35.
21. Bonnet 1988.

The Phoenicians in Sardinia

1. The westward Phoenician expansion is deeply connected to the flourishing of Tyre (in modern Lebanon), one of the main Phoenician cities, between the ninth and eighth century b.c.
2. The importance of the Gulf of Oristano for the Phoenicians is also well attested at Othoca, the foundation of which seems to have taken place about the second half to the end of the eighth century b.c.
3. Additionally, the fortifications of Nuraghe Sirai (about 1 kilometer south of Monte Sirai), a site that housed a mixed community of indigenous peoples and Phoenicians, can be dated to the end of the seventh century b.c. On the opposite coast of the island, owing to the intensification of contact between Sardinia and central Italy, Cuccureddus of Villasimius was founded about the second half of the seventh century b.c.
4. At more or less the same time, the *tophet* was founded outside the inhabited area.
5. However, it has to be noted that some settlements—such as Cuccureddus of Villasimius and Monte Sirai—seem to have suffered acts of destruction at the end of the sixth century b.c.; at the same time, some sites (Othoca, Bithia, and Sulcis) experienced contraction, while others (Tharros and Karalis) developed. These events and processes probably were connected to the beginning of Carthaginian politics and to the consequent preference given to specific territories.
6. The plans of the African metropolis during this period are well indicated—for example, by the presence of fortified walls in the main urban centers and the diffusion of numerous small sites in the countryside, mainly aimed at crop production (particularly in the Campidano and Oristanese regions)—and legitimized by the second treaty between Carthage and Rome (348 b.c.), which refers to the Punic conquest and foundation of cities. Even after the Roman conquest of Sardinia in 238 b.c., the cultural

dimension that matured during the long Phoenician presence continued to influence many of the insular customs, as represented by a Punic inscription of the second to third century A.D. found in the so-called temple of Bes in Bithia. It mentions some primary political institutions of the Punic world, such as the suffetes (similar to judges), testifying to the pervasiveness of centuries-old Phoenician traditions.

Phoenician Metal Production in Tartessos

1. For ancient accounts of the Phoenicians' pursuit of silver, see Torres Ortiz 2002, pp. 107–9.
2. Jiménez Ávila 2010, p. 42; Jiménez Ávila 2004, p. 13.
3. Jiménez Ávila 2002, p. 140.

Phoenician and Orientalizing “Ivories” in the Iberian Peninsula

1. Lapérouse 2008, p. 306.
2. See Almagro Gorbea 2008.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 487, fig. 612.
4. Martín Ruiz 2006, pp. 126ff.
5. See Escacena Carrasco and Coto Sarmiento 2010.

The Bajo de la Campana Shipwreck and Colonial Trade in Phoenician Spain

1. Of the 1,259 sites listed in A. J. Parker's catalogue of ancient shipwrecks, a mere 26 date between 1200 and 500 b.c., and only 9 of these are potentially Phoenician (Parker 1992, p. 10). Another three shipwreck sites of this period have since been discovered: Ashkelon (Tanit and Elissa), in deep water off Israel, eighth century b.c. (R. Ballard et al. 2002); Kekova Adası, Turkey, seventh century b.c. (Greene, Leidwanger, and Özdaş 2011); and Mazarrón 1 and 2 (Negueruela et al. 1995 and 2000).
2. The excavation was conducted in cooperation with the Ministry of Culture of Spain (now part of the Ministry of Education, Culture, and Sport), with permission from the government of the Autonomous Community of the Region of Murcia. Major funding support for the excavation and research was provided by Claude and Barbara Duthuit, the Expeditions Council of the National Geographic Society, Lucy Darden, David Hadley, John DeLapa, Peter Way, the Spain-USA Foundation, the Program for Cultural Cooperation between Spain and United States Universities, the Center for Maritime Archaeology and Conservation at Texas A&M University, and the University of Western Australia.
3. Roldán Bernal, Martín Camino, and Pérez Bonet 1995, p. 12.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 12, 42–45.
5. Polzer and Pinedo 2011, pp. 6–7.
6. Más García 1985, pp. 156, 158, fig. 4; Roldán Bernal, Martín Camino, and Pérez Bonet 1995, pp. 12, 16.
7. Owing to the fragmentary nature of many of the recovered tusks, this number represents a minimum count, and the total could be as many as 49–57.
8. Krzyszkowska 1990, pp. 16–17.
9. *Ibid.*
10. Except for a few inscriptions, there is a general gap from the tenth to the fifth century b.c.; Benz 1972, p. 10.
11. These being tusks 1528, 1529, 1537, and 1540. After their initial publication by the site's original investigator (Más García 1985, pp. 159, 160, pl. I), the inscriptions were treated more fully by Sanmartín Ascaso 1986, pp. 89–91, 93 fig. II, 97–98, photos 1–4; and subsequently commented on by others (López Pardo 1992,

pp. 291–92; Roldán Bernal, Martín Camino, and Pérez Bonet 1995, pp. 28–30, 57, fig. 23; Mederos Martín and Ruiz Cabrero 2004, pp. 270–71, 275–77.

12. The inscriptions currently are under study by Jo Ann Hackett, University of Texas at Austin, who provided the readings given here. The most recently discovered inscription is severely deteriorated and has not yet been discerned.
13. Benz 1972, pp. 82–88, 283–86, 386–87.
14. In the Bible she is identified as Ashtoret (Judg. 2:13; 1 Sam. 7:3, 31:10), of the Sidonians (1 Kings 11:5, 33), the Sidonian abomination (2 Kings 23:13). See also Blázquez Martínez 2001, pp. 119–28.
15. Benz 1972, p. 283, see pp. 369–72 for theophoric names constructed with 'bd.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 141, and cf. pp. 137–46 for alternative name possibilities.
17. Sanmartín Ascaso 1986, pp. 90–91.
18. Benz 1972, p. 381. The supposed letters *resh* and 'ayin are much fainter than the other letters, which are more deeply and confidently carved, and they do not conform to the same regular spacing. Más García 1985, p. 159, did not include the *resh* in his original reading, although he did the 'ayin. The last letter (formerly read as *shin*) is now recognized as *aleph*, a well-attested hypocoristic ending on Phoenician names. For *mlk*, see Benz 1972, pp. 344–45.
19. Benz 1972, pp. 279, 291–92.
20. *Ibid.*, pp. 278–79, 311. Eshmun was one of the great gods of the Phoenician pantheon, associated with healing (*ibid.*, pp. 278–79; Blázquez Martínez 2001, p. 129, and pp. 128–33 in general).
21. For 'dn, “Lord,” an appellative for various Phoenician deities, see Benz 1972, pp. 260–61. For the theophoric *hmn*, “Lord of the Incense Altar,” see *ibid.*, p. 312.
22. As Baal Ḥamon, he was chief god at Carthage (*ibid.*, p. 312).
23. Something not altogether uncommon in Semitic inscriptions; Demsky 2007, p. 70.
24. Más García 1985, p. 159.
25. López Pardo 1992, p. 292.
26. Mederos Martín and Ruiz Cabrero 2004, pp. 276–77.
27. Scullard 1974, p. 261.
28. Benz 1972, pp. 10–11.
29. Stos-Gale, Polzer, and Woodhead 2014 (forthcoming).
30. See Alvar Ezquerro 1980 for an overview of the problem of the Atlantic tin trade.
31. Muhly 1985, pp. 287–89; Tylecote 1992, p. 30.
32. Muhly 1985, pp. 285–86; Tylecote 1992, pp. 27–28.
33. Tornos et al. 2004.
34. Tylecote 1992, p. 28.
35. Tornos and Chiaradia 2004.
36. Montero-Ruiz et al. 2011, especially p. 119, fig. 8.
37. Pulak 2008, pp. 292, 308, no. 185d.
38. Montero-Ruiz et al. 2011, p. 111; p. 109 for the axe-ingots of the Alicante region, which weigh less than 200 grams each.
39. For an excellent example, see the engraved tusk with amber inlay from the seventh-century b.c. Barberini Tomb, Praeneste (Moscati 2001, p. 624).
40. Parker 1992, nos. 47, 308, 373, 376, 451, 499, 517, 578, 746, 750, 830, 831, 879, 1160, 1193.
41. Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* 14.24 and 16.22.
42. Casson 1995a, p. 211, and as documented on numerous ancient shipwrecks.
43. Polzer, Milá Otero, and Rodríguez Iborra 2014 (forthcoming).
44. Ramón Torres 1995, pp. 56, 281–81, 230–31, 462–63, 559–61, 648 map 109; Roldán Bernal, Martín Camino, and Pérez Bonet 1995, pp. 16–19.

45. Polzer, Milá Otero, and Rodríguez Iborra 2014 (forthcoming); see also Roldán Bernal, Martín Camino, and Pérez Bonet 1995, pp. 16–17; Docter 1997, p. 120; Mederos and Ruiz 2004, p. 266.
46. González Prats 1986, pp. 283 fig. 2, 285, 292–94; González Prats 2011, pp. 291–95.
47. González Prats 1986, p. 292.
48. González Prats 2011, p. 294.
49. Ramón Torres 1995, pp. 56, 177–78, 279–80, 374, 515–16; Mas García 1985, pp. 156, 157, fig. 3:1; Roldán Bernal, Martín Camino, and Pérez Bonet 1995, pp. 19–21.
50. Ramón Torres 1995, pp. 258–59.
51. *Ibid.*, p. 606, map 25; Vives-Ferrándiz Sánchez 2004, p. 28, fig. 6.
52. Ramón Carbonell 1986, p. 110; Ramón Torres 1995, p. 280; Roldán Bernal, Martín Camino, and Pérez Bonet 1995, p. 20.
53. Ramón Torres 2007, p. 110; Ramón Torres 2010, p. 225.
54. González Prats 2011, pp. 298–99, 306–16.
55. Culican 1970b, pp. 11–16.
56. González Prats 2011, p. 375.
57. Culican 1970b; Vives-Ferrándiz Sánchez 2004.
58. Vives-Ferrándiz Sánchez 2004, pp. 25–30. For the small versions of this vessel type, Alfredo González Prats (2011, p. 376) proposes the related function of mixing honey for the sweetening of wine.
59. González Prats 2011, pp. 375–76.
60. The poor and fragmentary preservation of the majority of these pieces makes establishing an exact count impossible.
61. Polzer and Pinedo 2009, p. 6, fig. 6. A small, thin piece of iron was recovered that may be the remnants of one of the knife blades; part of the tang is preserved.
62. Mancebo Dávalos 2000, although against this see Joan Ramón Torres (2007, pp. 120–21), who is unconvinced of any ritual or symbolic meaning. The daggers from Bajo de la Campana have a Near Eastern style and probably were fitted with straight blades rather than the curved blades and rectangular handles typical of the more common, so-called *añalcatados* knives found throughout the Iberian Peninsula.
63. Of the many examples, see especially the Assyrian bas-reliefs, such as those from the Northwest Palace of Ashurnasirpal II (Nimrud, 9th century b.c.) in Reade 1998.
64. Polzer and Pinedo 2011, p. 12, fig. 15.
65. Pulak 2008, pp. 294, 324–25, no. 194b.
66. San Nicolás Pedraz's (1975, p. 78, pl. II, and p. 81, pl. III) form III 6b, or possibly form IV 6b.
67. *Ibid.*, pp. 96–98; Pellicer Catalán 2007, pp. 65–67.
68. San Nicolás Pedraz 1975, p. 77, pl. I; Pellicer Catalán 2007, pp. 65–67.
69. San Nicolás Pedraz 1975, p. 98.
70. *Ibid.*
71. *Ibid.*, pp. 95–96, 97, pl. VIII.
72. See López Castro 2006, p. 79, fig. 3.
73. *Ibid.*, pp. 78–81, 84.
74. Polzer and Pinedo 2009, p. 7, fig. 10.
75. *Ibid.*, pp. 6, 7, figs. 7, 9.
76. Richard Barnett (1935, pp. 184–85), for example, attributes ivories from the Northwest Palace of Ashurnasirpal to a sumptuous couch.
77. Oswyn Murray (1995, p. 225) notes that “the *klinē* and side tables were often finely made and decorated with inlay; there were elaborate cushions and other coverings.” He suggests as well that the Greeks adopted their commensal custom of reclining from the Phoenicians (p. 224).
78. Luckenbill 1989, §§466, 475–77, 501. It is worth noting here the presence on the ship of a number of short lengths of boxwood with octagonal sections, which may be “blanks” from which legs or feet, staves, connectors, or other furniture parts would have been carved.
79. The grave contents can be dated no more precisely than the eighth to third centuries b.c., and the bronze object itself was interpreted as “part of a bed, wagon, or carrying-chair”; see Barnett and Mendleson 1987, pp. 154–55, fig. 22, pl. 87.
80. Winter 1976b, pp. 6, 16, pls. Ia, IIIa, IVb, VIa,b.
81. For a drawing of the figure, see Blázquez Martínez 2006, p. 96, fig. 6.
82. See Jiménez Ávila 2002, pp. 171–73, 178, fig. 122.
83. Hamdi and Reinach 1892, p. 90, fig. 35.
84. Jiménez Ávila 2002, pp. 173–74.
85. *Ibid.*, p. 174.
86. Altars served primarily as platforms on which to deposit and burn offerings, such as incense, cakes, blood and other liquids, or animal flesh; Larson 2007, p. 8. See also Lipiński 1992, pp. 80 fig. 51, 382 figs. 278, 279, for scenes of altar sacrifice on Punic votive stelae.
87. Muller 2002, nos. 143, 157; see also no. 180.
88. On the origins of the Ionic order, see Dinsmoor and Anderson 1950, pp. 58–63.
89. Adroher, Pons i Brun, and Ruiz de Arbulo 1993, pp. 41–46, figs. 7–10.
90. For examples from Luristan, where a rich metalworking tradition flourished from the turn of the millennium to the seventh century b.c., see Moorey 1974, pl. IV, A–C; Curtis 1990, pp. 28, 29 fig. 34.
91. Garrido Roiz and Orta García 1978, pp. 140 fig. 88, 143, pls. LXXX.2 and XCVII.1.
92. *Ibid.*, pp. 141 fig. 89, 143, pls. LXXX.2 and XCVII.2.
93. Several Phoenician dome-shaped balance weights from the Near East show similar top projections, except that they are much larger and are described as handles; see J. Elayi and A. Elayi 1997, p. 74 and pl. VI, nos. 122 and 124, p. 77 and pl. VIII, no. 134.
94. The letter *het* is one of several letters and other designations commonly found inscribed on bronze cuboid weights; Birney and Levine 2011, p. 482. See also J. Elayi and A. Elayi 1997, p. 378 fig. 10 (A II 1), pl. IV:31–33, 49, 51–52, 61 and pl. V:81 (with only two oblique strokes).
95. J. Elayi and A. Elayi 1997, p. 278.
96. See, for example, J. Elayi and A. Elayi 1997; Kletter 1998; García Bellido 2013; Birney and Levine 2011.
97. Some of the nineteen bronze-cast zoomorphic weights recovered from the Uluburun shipwreck were filled with lead; Pulak 1998, p. 209.
98. Bronze and lead are found together in some weights that were intentionally modified to change their mass (e.g., Kohlmeyer 1985, pp. 282, 284, nos. 127, 128). For examples of similar alterations to stone weights, see Birney and Levine 2011, pp. 479–80.
99. Maaß-Lindemann 1985, p. 232.
100. Ramón Torres 2007, pp. 108–9.
101. Moyano Cerrato 2011, pp. 473–74.
102. Polzer, Milá Otero, and Rodríguez Iborra 2014 (forthcoming). Apart from the few imports from the east, these workshops produced all of the pottery types carried in the ship. See Aubet et al. 1999, pp. 194–277, 304–5. The fabric of this production is distinguished by schist, mica, and quartz temper; see *ibid.*, p. 187.
103. *Ibid.*, pp. 42, 45, 286–305.
104. Aubet 1997, p. 16.
105. Aubet et al. 1999, pp. 43–45, 146–47, 156, 307–24; Delgado 2008, pp. 77–79.
106. The move was in response to periodic flooding and silting of the river caused by deforestation and erosion; Aubet et al. 1999, p. 147.
107. Aubet 2001, pp. 324–25; Delgado 2008.
108. González Prats, García Menárguez, and Ruiz Segura 2002, p. 124.
109. González Prats 1986, pp. 297, 301.
110. González Prats 2011.
111. González Prats 1986, pp. 285, 299.
112. Renzi, Montero-Ruiz, and Bode 2009, pp. 2584–87, figs. 2, 3.
113. Sierra de Gádor or Sierra Alhamilla, Almería province; see *ibid.*, p. 2591.
114. *Ibid.*, pp. 2593–94.
115. Negueruela et al. 2000, p. 1674.
116. Aubet 2001, p. 340.
117. Renzi, Montero-Ruiz, and Bode 2009, p. 2594.
118. *Ibid.*, pp. 2592–93.
119. *Ibid.*, p. 2594.
120. *Ibid.*
121. Ramón Torres 2007, p. 143.
122. *Ibid.*, pp. 137, 188–09.
123. *Ibid.*, pp. 88, 109–10.
124. *Ibid.*, pp. 137–40.
125. *Ibid.*, pp. 120, 138–39.
126. Ramón Torres et al. 2011, pp. 75–76. Excavations found galena, lead castings, remains of a furnace, and two storerooms for lead ore and smelted metal (Ramón Torres 2007, pp. 37–45, plan 3, 121). The isotopic characteristics of the imported lead ore have some overlap with lead mineralizations in the Sierra de Cartagena but are distinct from those in the environs of Mazarrón; see Ramón Torres et al. 2011, p. 61.
127. Ramón Torres et al. 2011, p. 76.
128. For example, Aubet 2001, p. 341; Ramón Torres 2007, pp. 140–45.
129. See Rafel et al. 2010, p. 177 n. 1; Ramón Torres et al. 2011, p. 77 n. 1.
130. García i Rubert and Gracia Alonso 2011, p. 38.
131. *Ibid.*, pp. 38–44.
132. *Ibid.*, pp. 41, 45.
133. Rafel et al. 2010, p. 184.
134. Polzer, Milá Otero, and Rodríguez Iborra 2014 (forthcoming).
135. Rafel et al. 2010, p. 183.
136. Montero-Ruiz et al. 2010, p. 117.
137. Aubet et al. 1999, pp. 43, 307–18; Ramón Torres 2007, p. 138.
138. The Adra River Valley provides direct access to the mining regions in the Sierra de Gádor, from where the galena from Bajo de la Campana and La Fonteta possibly was mined. The site also has yielded various archaeometallurgical finds (Suárez Márquez et al. 1989).
139. Analysis of several bronze objects from the lower Priorat showed that they were made of metal produced from ores from Linares (Jaén) and southeastern Iberia (Rafel et al. 2008, p. 261), source regions compatible with some of the copper on the ship.

The Phoenician Ships of Mazarrón

1. See Negueruela et al. 1995 and 2000.
2. For details, including the methodology and technical equipment employed, see Negueruela 2004 and 2005. These essays contain a detailed overall description of the ship, and the second also includes a more exhaustive description of each of its pieces.
3. See Pulak 2008, with additional references.
4. This contrasts with the larger Jules Verne vessel in Marseilles. See Pomey 1997.

IV. THE ORIENTALIZING ERA: IMPORTS AND INSPIRATION

Beyond “Orientalizing”: Encounters Among Cultures in the Eastern Mediterranean

1. “Introduction,” in Riva and Vella 2006, pp. 4–7.
2. J. Oates and D. Oates 2001, pp. 36–77, 226–56.
3. Markoe 2000 and Aubet 2001.
4. Braun-Holzinger and Rehm 2005 provides a recent catalogue of many imports, with rich bibliography.
5. Boardman 1998.
6. Boardman 1980, pp. 35–84. Tsatsikis 2006–8 offers an extensive new survey of Greek overseas settlements.
7. C. Sagona 2008 offers a detailed examination of the evidence and chronological debates.
8. Stampolidis and Kotsonas 2006; Whitley 2009, pp. 287–88.
9. López-Ruiz 2010, with extensive bibliography. See also Burkert 2004 and Bremmer 2008.
10. Haubold 2013.
11. Boardman 1967b, p. 108.
12. J. Luke 2003, pp. 31–44; Hodos 2006, pp. 33–37.
13. Hoffman 1997, pp. 160–65; compare with Braun-Holzinger and Rehm 2005, pp. 178–81.
14. Kotsonas 2006, pp. 149–60.
15. Whitley 2001, pp. 102–6.
16. Said 1978, pp. 55–57. See also S. Hauser 2012 for a thoughtful discussion.
17. B. Cohen 2000; Hall 2006; Gruen 2011.
18. Briant 2002 and Kuhrt 2007. New research is published regularly on the Achemenet website (www.achemenet.com).
19. The following websites furnish excellent surveys of the material, useful links, and extensive bibliography: Assyrian empire builders (www.ucl.ac.uk/sargon); Materialities of Assyrian Knowledge Production (oracc.museum.upenn.edu/nimrudempire); and State Archives of Assyria (www.helsinki.fi/science/saa/saa.html).
20. Lanfranchi 2011, pp. 225–30.
21. See Rollinger 2001 and 2011, both with further references. See also the Melammu Project website (www.aakkl.helsinki.fi/melammu).
22. Vittmann 2003, pp. 21–37.
23. Gunter 2009, pp. 160–64, with additional bibliography.
24. Parpola 1995.
25. Ebbinghaus 2010, pp. 181–86; Gunter 2009, pp. 171–75, with earlier references.
26. Herrmann and Laidlaw 2009; Cecchini, Mazzoni, and Scigliuzzo 2009.
27. Bonatz 2004b, pp. 393–99; Gunter 2009, pp. 39–40, with earlier references.
28. Herrmann and Millard 2003.
29. Riva and Vella 2006, pp. 4–10, surveys the nineteenth-century sources, with further bibliography.
30. Polignac 1995, pp. 25–31; Saint-Pierre 2009.
31. Braun-Holzinger and Rehm 2005, pp. 168–76.
32. Kyrieleis 1993, p. 146.
33. Braun-Holzinger and Rehm 2005, pp. 79–80.
34. Herodotos 1.14.
35. DeVries and Rose 2012, pp. 189–98. New radiocarbon dates and stylistic analyses of artifacts have determined that Gordion’s citadel was destroyed about 800 b.c. rather than a century later, as was long thought. This new chronology also affects the date and historical circumstances of the rich tumulus burials at the site, including the so-called Midas tomb (Tumulus MM); see Rose and Darbyshire 2011. Future studies of Phrygian imports in the Aegean world need to consider this evidence.
36. DeVries and Rose 2012, p. 196.
37. Bryce 2012, pp. 277–80, with earlier references.
38. Herodotos 2.159, 2.182; Leahy 1988.
39. Skon-Jedele 1994, pp. 2589–609. For other examples, see *ibid.*, pp. 1743–44; C. Simon 1997.
40. Strøm 1992, pp. 56–57.
41. Seidl 2007, pp. 232–41, and Saint-Pierre 2007, both with further references.

The Worlds of Odysseus

1. West 2011, pp. 15–19.
2. Stesichorus’s works *Helen*, *Wooden Horse*, *Sack of Troy*, *Homecomings of the Heroes*, and *Oresteia* are based on earlier stories of the Trojan War such as the *Iliad*. Stesichorus Fr. 209 is particularly close to *Odyssey* 15.161–78 and evidently based on it.
3. Scheffold 1993, pp. 158–63.
4. Heubeck and Hoekstra 1989, pp. 118–20; Hofstetter 1997.
5. See “Von Amenophis II zur Bogenprobe des Odysseus,” in Burkert 2001, pp. 72–79.
6. For ongoing discussions concerning the historicity of the “Trojan War,” see Latacz 2010; Renegakos and Zimmermann 2011.
7. Meuli 1921.
8. The *Iliad* also drew upon Argonaut stories, including the sailors’ adventure at Lemnos (7.468ff.). No written text of *Argonautika* survived into later times, and the subject was left to the learned Hellenistic poet Apollonios of Rhodes (*Argonautika*, 3rd century b.c.).
9. We should, however, note that “Sicilians” (Sike-loi) appear once in the poem (20.383), and the last book has a handmaid described as Sikele (24.211, 366, 389).
10. Wace and Stubbings 1967, pp. 418ff.
11. Burkert 1992, p. 12.
12. Kyrieleis and Röllig 1988.
13. Shaw 2006.
14. Burkert 2011, pp. 81ff.
15. Heubeck, West, and Hainsworth 1988, p. 100.
16. Markoe 1985.
17. Barnett 1957.
18. Treu 1955.
19. See Strabo, *Geographia* 17.791f.
20. Burkert 2001, p. 228.
21. *Odyssey* books 6–13.

Near Eastern Imagery in Greek Context: Geometric and Orientalizing Pottery

Warmest thanks are due to Dr. Maria Andreadaki-Vlazaki, General Director of Antiquities of the Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Athletics, and to Michael Antony Fowler, Ph.D. Candidate, Department of Art History and Archaeology, Columbia University.

1. See Whitley 2001, pp. 106–15, for a short summary of the main cultural and linguistic characteristics of the Near East in the first millennium b.c. and for a discussion of mobility and cultural interactions in the wider eastern Mediterranean (with earlier references); also Coulié 2013, pp. 105–7, for a short presentation of the Orientalizing phenomenon together with a critical history of the research.
2. Cook 1972, p. 41.
3. Mainly expressed by Burkert 1992.
4. See Stampolidis, Karetsou, and Kanta 1998, pp. 68ff., for an extended presentation of mobility and interaction in the eastern Mediterranean during the period under discussion.
5. Popham, Touloupa, and Sackett 1982b; Popham et al. 1993.
6. Boardman 1980, p. 81; Catling and Lemos 1990, pp. 25–31, and pl. 54 (krater 327); Boardman 1998, p. 84; Whitley 2001, p. 117, fig. 6.7.

7. Lemos 2000, pp. 12–18.
8. Boardman 1998, pp. 110–12, and figs. 246, 247. For the Orientalizing style in the Greek islands and especially the Wild Goat style, see Coulié 2013, pp. 142–47, 228–50.
9. Boardman 1980, p. 79.
10. Whitley 2001, p. 118; Coldstream 2008b, pl. 35.
11. Lane Fox 2008.
12. Burkert 1992, pp. 6, 14–15.
13. S. Morris 1995, pp. 101–24.
14. Desborough 1952, pl. 5, no. 560 (18).
15. Whitley 2001, pp. 120–12, fig. 6.9; Boardman 1998, pp. 112, 113, figs. 146, 147. Boardman refers to “the odd proto-orientalizing of PGB” and goes on to say “Cretan orientalizing pottery stayed idiosyncratic to the last, aware of but not much led by mainland styles.”
16. Stampolidis, Karetsou, and Kanta 1998, p. 136, no. 89.
17. Boardman 1998, fig. 265.
18. See also the Knossian alabastron in *ibid.*, fig. 264.1.2, which bears an interesting depiction of a sphinx with cross-bared wings of Syrian type and wearing a Greek-style helmet.
19. Whitley 2001, fig. 6.1.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 123.
21. Coldstream 2008b, pp. 29–41.
22. Ohly 1953, pls. 1.1 (Athens 813), 1.2 (Athens 15309).
23. Langdon 2008, pp. 170–71, fig. 3.22.
24. As Boardman (1998, p. 88) has mentioned: “there is much residually Geometric in Early Protoattic.”
25. Cook 1972, p. 43.
26. Boardman 1998, fig. 190.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 89, fig. 194.
28. Boardman 1983, with extensive discussion of the range of opinion on the sources of inspiration for Late Geometric iconography.
29. See the various papers on the subject in Rystedt and Wells 2006, especially Coldstream 2006.
30. Boardman 1980, p. 78.
31. Burkert 1992; Kopcke and Tokumaru 1992; S. Morris 1995; Powell 1997, pp. 154–93.
32. Dessene 1957.
33. Verdélis 1951, pp. 6–7, fig. 4.
34. Coldstream 1977a.
35. Scheffold 1966, figs. 12, 13.
36. Boardman 1998, p. 50; Coldstream 2008b, pp. 125–46, pls. 27–31; Croissant 2010, p. 331. For a different view, see Langdon 1989, pp. 198–200.
37. As Burkert (1992, p. 129) has written, “Culture is not a plant sprouting from its seed in isolation; it is a continuous process of learning guided by curiosity along with practical needs and interests.”

Demons, Monsters, and Magic

1. See Farber 1995 for a detailed overview.
2. See Maul 1999, p. 129, for discussion of the practical importance of this type of knowledge in Assyria.
3. Rittig 1977; A. R. Green 1983; see also the interpretation of Nakamura 2004.
4. On the continuity of depictions of fantastic creatures from the Late Bronze Age to the Iron Age across the Near East and into the Mediterranean, with a particular emphasis on the important Syro-Hittite border region, see, for example, Gonnella, Khayyata, and Kohlmeyer 2005 on the temple of the storm god in Aleppo, and Kubala 2008 on glyptic.
5. A. R. Green 1984, p. 80, citing Porada 1981–82, p. 182, with reference to the arguments of Elena Cassin and Dessa Rittig.
6. Ellis 1995, pp. 164–65.
7. Leichty 1997, p. 161.
8. Seidl 2004, p. 206.

9. Langdon 2008, pp. 119–24.
 10. Gunter 2009; Gunter 2014.
 11. Porada 1987, p. 1.
 12. A. R. Green 1984.
 13. *Ibid.*, pp. 86–87.
 14. Wiggemann 2000b, pp. 235–36.
 15. Sonik 2013.
 16. Wiggemann 2000b, p. 225.
 17. Farber 2007.
 18. Wiggemann 2000b, pp. 218, 224.
 19. *Ibid.*, pp. 222–24; Patzek 1988.
 20. Heeßel 2002, pp. 27, 82.
 21. *Ibid.*, pp. 82–84.
 22. A. R. Green 2000; Heeßel 2002, pp. 68, 85. On Bes more generally, see Romano 1989.
 23. A. R. Green 1986, p. 151.
 24. Langdon 2008, pp. 113–14.
 25. Krauskopf 1988; Tsiafakis 2003, pp. 83–90.
 26. Graff 2012, pp. 183–91.
 27. Rizza and Scrinari 1968, pp. 183, 260–61, nos. 215 a–h; on Humbaba, see Graff 2012.
 28. J. Carter 1987.
 29. Graff 2012.
 30. H. Payne 1931, p. 84; Hopkins 1934; Kantor 1962; Graff 2012, pp. 164–66.
 31. Kantor 1962, p. 111.
 32. An architectural terracotta plaque from Gordion depicts a battle between a man and a Minotaur-like figure; see Young 1951, p. 8; for centaurs, see Padgett 2003, p. 6, and Langdon 2008, p. 95.
 33. Burkert 1992; Tsiafakis 2003.
 34. A. R. Green 1997, pp. 256–57 (“Griffin”), and p. 258 (“Lion-griffin”); see also discussion in Goldman 1960, p. 321; the combination of lion and eagle features suggests a connection with the much earlier Anzu bird; *ibid.*, p. 326.
 35. Börker-Klähn 1971.
 36. Bellucci 2013, p. 101, n. 10.
 37. Faraone 1992, p. 27. See also Richard Barnett’s linguistic argument for an identification of the griffin as the form of the biblical seraph; Barnett 1957, pp. 74–75.
 38. D’Albiac 1992.
 39. Muscarella 1992.
 40. Goldman 1960.
 41. Pappi 2009, p. 644.
 42. Soldi 2012, pp. 102–4.
 43. Trokay 1986; Gubel 2000, pp. 188–90.
 44. Canby 1971.
 45. Gubel 2000, p. 205.
 46. *Ibid.*, pp. 205–6.
 47. Gubel 1987, pp. 37–75.
 48. Barnett 1957, pp. 86, 141–42.
 49. Gubel 1987, pp. 53–54.
 50. Kendall 1977, pp. 51–53.
 51. Burkert 1992, p. 87.
- Cauldrons**
1. Herodotus 4.152; translation by Robin Waterfield (1998, p. 286). Catherine Morgan (1993, p. 33) cites this passage in a discussion of the coordinated acquisition of exotic luxuries in Ionian sanctuaries.
 2. Papalexandrou 2005; Morgan 1993, p. 22; Oscar Muscarella (1992, p. 41) also comments on these “status-enhancing” objects.
 3. Benson 1960; Muscarella 1992, pp. 35–36; Coldstream 2003, p. 365.
 4. Papalexandrou 2005, pp. 4 and 196.
 5. Coldstream 2003, pp. 119, 121, fig. 37b; see also *ibid.*, p. 363, fig. 114, and Papalexandrou 2005, p. 198.
 6. McGovern 2000, p. 22, fig. 3.
 7. Muscarella 1992, p. 40; a similar interpretation is suggested for the Salamis cauldron.
 8. McGovern 2000, pp. 24, 25.
 9. See Rathje 1983, p. 17.
 10. Rathje 1988, p. 83.
 11. These features include open mouths, equine vertical ears, forehead knobs, and Aegean-type spiral curls. See Barnett 1948, p. 10 and fig. 9, for their possible derivation in the Near East; see also a gold griffin head from the Ziwiye Treasure, Porada 1965, pp. 134, 135, pl. 39; Rathje (1979, p. 165) believes that the griffins on a cauldron from the Bernardini Tomb in Praeneste were of Near Eastern origin.
 12. Muscarella (1992, pp. 35–36) discusses whether this combination originated in the west.
 13. *Ibid.*, p. 41. See “Beyond ‘Orientalizing’: Encounters Among Cultures in the Eastern Mediterranean” in this volume, pp. 248–53, in which Ann C. Gunter alludes to the possibility that the siren attachments at Delphi, like the Midas throne, could have arrived (albeit indirectly) from Phrygia.
 14. Muscarella 1992, p. 16; see also Coldstream 2003, pp. 362–66.
 15. See Muscarella 1962 and 1992.
 16. This argument is made in Muscarella 1962, pp. 322–25. However, a lion’s-head protome (cat. 196) unearthed in Armenia inscribed with the name of an Urartian king closely resembles those on the cauldron from the Regolini-Galassi Tomb (cat. 195); see “Levantine and Orientalizing Luxury Goods from Etruscan Tombs” in this volume, pp. 313–17.
 17. Amandry 1958, pp. 85–86.
 18. Benson 1960, pp. 61–64.
 19. For a detailed description of the manufacture of these protomes, see Mattusch 1990.
 20. Rolley 1983, pp. 14 and 51.
 21. Filippakis et al. 1983.
- Near Eastern Imports and Imagery on Crete During the Early Iron Age**
1. See, for example, *Ploes/Sea Routes* 2003, pp. 41–79, mainly p. 41, with earlier bibliography. For recent similar texts, see, for example, Abulafia 2011, chaps. 1–3.
 2. Homer, *Odyssey* 5.127.
 3. See, for example, Hoffmann 1997; Karageorghis and Stampolidis 1998; Stampolidis and Karetsou 1998; Stampolidis, Karetsou, and Kanta 1998; Jones 2000; Karetsou and Andreadaki-Vlazaki 2000; *Ploes/Sea Routes* 2003; and Stampolidis 2003c.
 4. See O. Höckmann 1985, p. 12; Mantzourani and Theodorou 1991, pp. 39–44; Aubet 1993, pp. 139ff.; Bartoloni 1995, pp. 282ff.; Georgiou 1997, pp. 117ff.; and Pomey 1997.
 5. *Ploes/Sea Routes* 2003, p. 43.
 6. For Crete, see, for example, Stampolidis 1993a, pp. 45–46; Chaniotis 1999; and Stampolidis 2008, pp. 156–57, 162–63.
 7. *Ploes/Sea Routes* 2003, pp. 45–57.
 8. See Sandars 1978; Abulafia 2011, pp. 69ff.; and Barako 2003.
 9. See the finds from Palaepaphos in Karageorghis 1992; Iacovou 1994. See also Raptou and Karageorghis (forthcoming).
 10. See Lo Schiavo 2001; Lo Schiavo 2003; Marazzi 2003; and Santoni 2003.
 11. See *Ploes/Sea Routes* 2003, pp. 25ff., 108ff., and 207ff.
 12. See Lemos 2001; Lemos 2002; and Lemos 2003.
 13. See Lefebvre 1949, pp. 204ff.; Dunand 1973, pp. 88ff.; Goedicke 1975; Bunnens 1978; Scheepers 1991; Casson 1995b, pp. 41–66; Stampolidis 1998a, p. 69; and *Ploes/Sea Routes* 2003, p. 42.
 14. On this, see 1 Kings 1:5, 1:20–24, 5:25, 7:13–14, 9:10–14, and especially 1:9, 26:8, 10:11; 2 Chron. 8:17–18:9, 10; Aubet 2000, pp. 88–90; and *Ploes/Sea Routes* 2003, pp. 52–53.
 15. See Bikai 1983, pp. 396ff.; Bikai 1987; and Bikai 1994, pp. 31ff.
 16. See Bikai 2000, pp. 307–8, 314; and *Ploes/Sea Routes* 2003, pp. 53–55, 590, no. 1203.
 17. See *Ploes/Sea Routes* 2003, pp. 56–57.
 18. See Abulafia 2011, pp. 109–13, 135; *Ploes/Sea Routes* 2003, pp. 47–48, 52–57.
 19. For the pictorial style before the eleventh century b.c., see Kanta 2003, p. 34. For what is written here, see Yon 1994, pp. 189ff.; Popham, Sackett, and Themelis 1980, pp. 127, 348, pls. 210c, 270d; and *Ploes/Sea Routes* 2003, p. 48.
 20. See *Ploes/Sea Routes* 2003, p. 48, with references and illustrations.
 21. *Ibid.*, pp. 48, 498, no. 938.
 22. *Ibid.*, pp. 48–49, with references and illustrations.
 23. *Ibid.*, p. 50, with references and illustrations.
 24. See also Abulafia 2011, p. 112.
 25. See *Ploes/Sea Routes* 2003, p. 51.
 26. For Crete (Knossos, etc.) see Coldstream 1990, pp. 25ff. For other sites on Crete, see Jones 2000. For more systematic contacts between Euboians and Cyprus after the end of the tenth century b.c. and later as well as for Attic pottery on Cyprus after the middle of the ninth century b.c., see Gjerstad 1977, pp. 23ff.; Kourou 1990–91, pp. 17ff.
 27. See Stampolidis and Karetsou 1998, pp. 238–39, no. 286, with bibliography.
 28. Hoffman 1997, pp. 191–245. See also Stampolidis and Karetsou 1998, p. 110; Stampolidis, Karetsou, and Kanta 1998, p. 76; *Ploes/Sea Routes* 2003, p. 57; Stampolidis and Kotsonas 2006, pp. 349–51.
 29. See *Ploes/Sea Routes* 2003, p. 438, no. 744.
 30. See Stampolidis and Karetsou 1998, pp. 248–49, nos. 307–8.
 31. See Stampolidis 2008, with all recent bibliography.
 32. See Stampolidis 1994, p. 118, fig. XVIIb; Stampolidis 2004, p. 278, no. 351.
 33. Matthäus 1985, p. 150, no. 409, pl. 30.
 34. Petropoulos 1999, pp. 151, 156, fig. 13, although the published image, and therefore the parallel, must remain unconfirmed.
 35. For this type of bowl, see Stampolidis 1994, pp. 117–18, nos. 69, 70, with earlier references; and Stampolidis and Karetsou 1998, pp. 244–45, 441, nos. 300, 302, 752, with variations.
 36. Compare, however, the small omphalos bowl, inscribed (in Linear A), in the Archaeological Museum, Chania; see Marangou 1992, p. 233 (inv. no. 385).
 37. For a typology, see Knudsen 1961; Howes Smith 1981, pp. 77ff. In general, see Richter and Milne 1935, pp. 29ff.; Luschet 1939. For the dissemination of the omphalos bowl, see Matthäus 1985, pp. 137ff. (with references to specific examples). For a detailed bibliographical account, see Marangou 1985, p. 160.
 38. For the bowl from Perachora, see H. Payne 1940, pls. 55, 4.5.
 39. Classified as Knudsen’s (1961) type IIa. For similar bowls from the Gordion tumuli, see Young 1981, pp. 15–16, nos. 13–21, pls. 9F, G, 10A, B, C, D (Tumulus P), and pp. 143–45, nos. 137–42, pls. 72B, C, D, figs. 91F, G, 92A (Tumulus MM). There are, however, other bowls with more or fewer rings from Tumuli P, MM, and W; see *ibid.*, pls. 9, 10, 71–73, 90, figs. 87, 91, 92. Tumuli P, MM, and W are probably dated between 750 and 700 b.c.; see *ibid.*, pp. 10, 198ff., and Muscarella 1988c, pp. 182–83 (where the dating of the tumuli is reexamined). See also Caner 1983, pp. 190–91, pl. 82d, from Eskisehir. Similar omphalos bowls with rings are also reported from other areas in Phrygia; see Howes Smith 1981, p. 9 n.61; Caner 1983, p. 190; and Muscarella 1988c.

40. See Stampolidis and Karetsou 1998, pp. 240–41, no. 292.
41. For the Eleutherna bowls, see Stampolidis 2008, pp. 152, 156–57, figs. 107a–b, 114. For Inatos, see Stampolidis and Karetsou 1998, p. 241, no. 293.
42. Stampolidis 1993a, pp. 66–67, room A, case XII, no. 42, figs. 24, 25; Stampolidis 1994, pp. 114–15, fig. XVIII.
43. For the bowl from Ephesos, see Hogarth et al. 1908, pl. 15.13.
44. See *Ploes/Sea Routes* 2003, p. 437, no. 742; Stampolidis and Aruz 2013.
45. See Stampolidis and Karetsou 1998, p. 255, no. 319.
46. For the Phoenician presence in the Aegean, especially on Crete and Eleutherna, see Stampolidis 2003a; Stampolidis and Kotsonas 2006.
47. See Stampolidis and Karetsou 1998, p. 270, no. 339.
48. *Ibid.*, pp. 271–72, no. 342.
49. *Ibid.*, p. 272, no. 343.
50. For similar jewelry shapes with crescents from Carthage, see Fantar 1998, p. 99 (6th century B.C.); for crescent- or boat-shaped pieces from Vani, see Kacharava and Kvirkvelia 2008, pp. 154, 168, pls. 9:d (first half of the 4th century B.C.), 30.
51. See Bingöl 1999, pp. 57–59, nos. 20–25 (7th–4th century B.C.).
52. Compare, for example, the earrings from Tell el-'Ajjul; see Maxwell-Hyslop 1971, pp. 116–17.
53. Compare, for example, the crescent from Lefkandi; see *Ploes/Sea Routes* 2003, p. 561, no. 1119.
54. Our difficulty in identifying the animal also derives from a much more clear representation on a Late Geometric cup from Tomb 134 of the North Cemetery at Knossos; see Stampolidis and Karetsou 1998, p. 206, no. 229. The animal protome on the cup lacks the typical characteristics of a lion's head, the lower legs end in hooves, and the decoration of the body imitates or resembles feline fur. In this case, it is very possible that we are faced with a mixture, which could appear on small metal objects such as jewelry.
55. Stampolidis 2012a, pp. 175–88.
56. See Stampolidis and Karetsou 1998, pp. 268–69, nos. 336, 337.
57. *Ibid.*, p. 272, no. 343.
58. See Demopoulou-Rethemiotaki 2005, p. 399, with illustration.
- at the same time as the Pelasgians, who by that time had already colonized the Greek islands of Lemnos and Imbros. Finally, Dionysius of Halicarnassus himself considered the Etruscans to be an indigenous population of ancient Italy (*Antiquitates Romanae* 1.29–30). For contemporary theories on the origins of the Etruscans, see Bellelli 2012; Bagnasco Gianni 2013; and Briquel 2013.
4. Naso 2001.
5. Naso 1998; Naso 2011.
6. The contemporaneous emergence of monumental statuary in Etruria has been attributed to Levantine artisans following Syro-Hittite models. See Colonna and Hase 1984. Today, we are inclined to identify the Orientalizing stone monuments of the Etruscan Po Valley as also being the work of artisans trained in the northwestern Syrian sphere of influence, who arrived there by way of southern Etruria. See Marchesi 2011, pp. 219–22.
7. Cataldi and Mandolesi 2010; Mandolesi and De Angelis 2011.
8. Rathje 1988; Rathje 1990. Ingrid Strøm (2001) discusses in depth the possible role of Cyprus.
9. There is archaeological evidence at Populonia of a ceremonial libation by one hundred individuals about 700–675 B.C. taking place on the acropolis in the just-destroyed “king's house,” marking, perhaps, a change in leadership. See Bartoloni 2011.
10. For the arrival of immigrant master artisans in Etruria and their hierarchical relations with merchants, see Camporeale 2011.
11. Zaccagnini 1983.
12. Martelli 1991, pp. 1061–63.
13. For the earliest hypotheses on the arrival of Near Eastern goldsmiths in Etruria, see Hase 1975; Martelli 2008, p. 126 (with earlier references); Sannibale 2008a; and Formigli and Scatozza Hörich 2010. Bert Kaeser (1984) highlights affinities with the Greek Geometric repertoire.
14. Hencken 1968, p. 184, figs. 169c, 169d; Nestler and Formigli 1994, p. 30, fig. 21.
15. Formigli and Scatozza Hörich 2010.
16. For a broader discussion and bibliography, see Sannibale 2008a and 2008b.
17. On the cultural and magical significance of gold and minerals in ancient Egypt, see Aufrère 1991, pp. 308–92.
18. Burkert 1992, pp. 25ff., 45ff.
19. Maxwell-Hyslop 1971, pp. 102–4, 141, pls. 69, 108, 109.
20. *Ibid.*, pp. 140–43, 151, pl. 108.
21. Hase 1975, p. 118, pl. 23, lower left; Strøm 1971, p. 69, s38.
22. For the looped double spiral, symbol of Ninursag, see Maxwell-Hyslop 1960, pp. 107–12, pls. xi, 4 (Ur), xii, 4 (Ur), xiii, 1 (Nimrud), p. 108, fig. 3 (Tepe Hissar); see also Sannibale 2008a, pp. 349–52. For Tomb 45 at Ashur, see Maxwell-Hyslop 1971, pp. 172–73, figs. 103, 104; Kim Benzel in Harper et al. 1995, pp. 92–93, no. 55, fig. 24.
23. Culican 1971, pp. 1–12, pls. i–iii, ivc.
24. Shefton 1989.
25. Prayon 1998.
26. Cristofani and Martelli 1983, p. 279, no. 93; Prayon 1998, pp. 332–33, fig. 3.
27. Huls 1957, p. 40, no. 13, pl. ix; Prayon 1998, pp. 335–36, fig. 6.
28. For the animal repertoire in the Orientalizing period in Italy, see Biella, Giovannelli, and Perigo 2012. For the sphinx in Etruria, the Near Eastern contribution, and the subsequent Hellenic influences, see Sciacca 2012.
29. This is especially emphasized by Friederike Bubenheimer-Erhart (2005, pp. 154–62), who also addresses other aspects of funerary rites.
30. For the Phoenician role in the propagation in Etruria of Egyptian motifs and trade goods between the mid-eighth and mid-seventh centuries B.C. as well as Caere's particular role, see Camporeale 2006.
31. For the ivories found in Etruria, see Huls 1957. For a summary, see Martelli 2008, pp. 124–25; Naso 2012, pp. 434–35.
32. Delpino 2006, pp. 51–54 (with earlier references). For the ivory statuette from Marsiliana, see note 27.
33. Camporeale 1963, p. 292; Brocato and Regoli 2011, pp. 216–27; and De Puma 2013, pp. 978–80.
34. Nicosia and Bettini 2000.
35. Martelli 2008, p. 122.
36. Pisano 2005; Colivicchi 2007, pp. 215–23; Martelli 2008, p. 124 n. 32; and Naso 2012, pp. 435, 452 n. 32 (with earlier references).
37. Savio 2004.
38. Hansson 2013, pp. 928–33.
39. For glass in Etruria, see Martelli 1994 and Colivicchi 2007, pp. 73–88; for arch fibulae with a single glass bead, Koch 2010; for glass and glazed vessels, Koch 2011; Naso 2012, pp. 442–43 (with earlier references).
40. Marinella Marchesi in *Principi etruschi* 2000, p. 128, no. 78.
41. Filippo Delpino in *Principi etruschi* 2000, pp. 96, 98, ill.; Rose and Darbyshire 2011, pp. 3, 16, 24ff., 92ff., 166, fig. 1.2. Gordion's Iron Age chronology has been revised on the basis of a combination of archaeological data with dendochronological and radiocarbon dating. Many tumuli, such as Tumulus MM, turn out to be contemporaneous with the phase of reconstruction of the Middle Phrygian Citadel during the eighth century B.C., during which time there existed a degree of interconnectedness with the Levantine milieu produced by the exchange of goods and wares.
42. Marunti 1959; Canciani and Hase 1979, pp. 46–47; and Gehrig 2004.
43. Maurizio Sannibale in Sommeilla 2008, p. 88, no. 27.
44. For the presence of bronzes imported into Etruria from Urartu and Assyria between the last thirty years of the eighth century and the turn of the seventh century B.C., especially the lobed paterae, see Sciacca 2006.
45. Barnett 1957, pp. 143–45; Matthiae 1962; Hölbl 1979, vol. 1, pp. 321–22; Buranelli and Sannibale 2005, pp. 222–23. On sacred nursing, see also Leclant 1951 and Deonna 1955.
46. Canciani 1979; Rathje 1980; Markoe 1985; Moscati 1988b; Markoe 1992; Markoe 1992–93; Neri 2000; Strøm 2001; and Buranelli and Sannibale 2005.
47. Buranelli and Sannibale 2005, pp. 227–28.
48. Canciani and Hase 1979, pp. 36–37, no. 16, pls. 12,3–13.
49. Sannibale 1995; Sannibale in Sommeilla 2008, pp. 94–97.
50. Grau-Zimmermann 1978; Di Blasi 2003, pp. 230–34.
51. De Puma 2013, pp. 978–80.
52. Rocco 1999, pp. 69–70, no. 95, pls. xxxvi, xxxvii.
53. Sgubini Moretti 1994, p. 33, pl. xiii, nos. 30, 31.
54. Sannibale 2003a, pp. 291–92.

Levantine and Orientalizing Luxury Goods from Etruscan Tombs

- On imports from and the influences of the eastern Mediterranean in Etruria, see Rathje 1979; Martelli 1991; Hase 1995b; Geppert 2006; Gubel 2006; Martelli 2008; and Naso 2012.
- For overviews of the Orientalizing period, see Strøm 1971; Burkert 1992; d'Agostino 1999; Naso 2000; Prayon and Röllig 2000; *Principi etruschi* 2000; Bonfante and V. Karageorghis 2001; Stampolidis 2003b; Bartoloni and Delpino 2005; Della Fina 2006; Riva and Vella 2006; Sciacca 2006–7; Della Fina 2007; Botto 2008; Celuzza and Cianferoni 2010; Naso 2011; Turfa 2012; and Sannibale 2013.
- According to Herodotus (1.94), the Etruscans originated in Lydia, in Asia Minor, and were led to Italy by Prince Tyrrhenius. A second tradition, put forth by Hellanicus and recounted by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Antiquitates Romanae* 1.28, 4) equates the Etruscans with the mythical Pelasgians, a diasporic people of Thessalian origin who migrated to various regions throughout the Mediterranean. As recounted by Strabo in *Geographia* (5.2, 4), Anticleides hypothesized that the Tyrrhenians came to Italy

V. THE CONQUEST OF ASSYRIA AND THE RISE OF THE BABYLONIAN EMPIRE

From Nineveh to Babylon: The Transition from the Neo-Assyrian to the Neo-Babylonian Empire

1. For a survey of military events in the late Neo-Assyrian empire, see Van De Mierop 2007, chap. 13.
2. Parpola 1983.
3. The history of this period is very confusing. Liebig 2000 provides one possible reconstruction of events.
4. For summary of the evidence on Ashkelon, see Fantalkin 2011; for a translation of the Aramaic letter written to Egypt by the king of Ekron, see Porten 2003.
5. For a translation of the Babylonian Chronicles, see Finkel and Van der Spek 2006.
6. See Machinist 1997.
7. For this cycle of revenge, see Van De Mierop 2003b; for the destruction of images, Bahrani 1995.
8. Dougherty 1930.
9. For a translation of *The Verse Account of Nabonidus*, see A. Leo Oppenheim in Pritchard 1969, pp. 313–15.
10. See Van De Mierop 2003a for a description and interpretation of Nebuchadnezzar's Babylon.
11. George 1997, pp. 127–29.
12. Doubts exist about the authenticity of the image of a ziggurat carved on a Nebuchadnezzar stele in a private collection; see George 2011, pp. 153–69, no. 76.
13. Radner 2011, p. 37; note that Alexander Fantalkin (2011) doubts that this is a historical document.
14. Zadok 1979.
15. For example, the Egibi family; see Wunsch 2007.
16. Clay 1912; see also Frayne 1993, pp. 197–98.
17. For antiquarianism in this period, see Beaulieu 1994 and Winter 2000.
18. Lambert 1962.
19. Beaulieu 2007.

Gods and Their Images in the Bible and Babylonia

1. See Walton 2006.
2. In Aristotle's *Metaphysics* (Book 12), his description of a noncorporeal First Mover laid a philosophical basis for the theologians' belief in the existence of a single, transcendent deity. For Stoic views on the nature of the gods, see Long and Sedley 1987, pp. 139–49, 266–74.
3. See Boyarin 2004.
4. In *On the Migration of Abraham* (47–48), the Hellenistic Jewish philosopher Philo attempted to reason away biblical descriptions of a corporeal, speaking God: "For this reason, whereas the voice of mortals is judged by hearing, the sacred oracles intimate that the words of God . . . are seen as light is seen, for we are told that *all of the people saw the Voice* (Ex. 20:18), not that they heard it; for what was happening was not an impact of air made by the organs of mouth and tongue, but the radiating splendour of virtue indistinguishable from a fountain of reason." Cited in Boyarin 2004, p. 114.
5. For an elaboration on the concept of the immortal god, see Machinist 2011.
6. See the Sumerian hymn Enlil in the E-Kur (Enlil A), translated at <http://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk/section4/tr4051.htm>, as well as the Greek Stoic philosophers' view that "the whole world and heaven are the substance of god" and that god

is the causal agent immanent in matter "which sustains the world and makes things grow." Diogenes Laertius 7.148–49. See also Long and Sedley 1987, pp. 266–67.

7. See Livingstone 1986 and Reynolds 2002. See also *The Syncretic Hymn to the Warrior Deity Ninurta* at www.aakkl.helsinki.fi/melammu/database/gen_html/a0000061.php.
8. For the Leviathan serpent-monster, see Isa. 27:1; Ps. 74:13–15. For the primeval chaos monster Rehab, see Ps. 89:11; Job 26:12; Isa. 51:9. Biblical monsters (probably of Canaanite origin) are mentioned in allusions to a great mythic battle against the forces of chaos that occurred during the creation of the world. Biblical demons include the seductress Lilith (Isa. 34:14), who may be related to the Akkadian *Lillu* demon, although this is not certain.
9. See Zawadzki 2006.
10. In a third- or second-century B.C. apocryphal Letter of Jeremiah, an unknown author harangues Babylonians for their worship of false images made by human hands: "How then can one fail to see that these are not gods, for they cannot save themselves from war or calamity? Since they are made of wood and overlaid with gold and silver, it will afterward be known that they are false. It will be manifest to all the nations and kings that they are not gods but the work of men's hands, and that there is no work of God in them" (cited in Walker and Dick 1999, pp. x, 55). See also Isa. 44:9–20; 46:5–7; Jer. 10:1–6; 2 Kings 19:18; and Dan. 2:31–35. References to idols in the words of the prophets and the Letter of Jeremiah indicate an awareness of the techniques of idol manufacture, but they purposefully misrepresent the nature of idolatry. Statues by themselves had no power until activated through ritual and incantations.
11. Walker and Dick 2001.
12. In the ancient Near East an invading force would often completely destroy statues or take them from their resident shrines and bring them back to their native lands believing that, although absent from their original dwelling, they still possessed divine powers. If a cult statue embodying the deity was destroyed or stolen, a new symbolic, nonrepresentational image could be employed until a replica of the original statue could be fashioned. At the end of the second millennium B.C., after the cult image of the sun god Shamash in his temple (Ebabbar) at Sippar had been destroyed by Sutu invaders, a sun disc was fashioned as a temporary replacement for worship, indicating that a symbol as well as a statue could contain divine power. The symbol was not a total replacement, however, as it could not participate in all ritual functions, such as consuming meals or presiding at the New Year's festival (*akitu*). The loss of a cult image was interpreted as resulting from divine anger. *Ibid.*, p. 8. In a Moabite inscription dating to about 835 B.C., Mesha of Moab describes the destruction of Israelite forces and his capture of the vessels of Yahweh, which he then presented to his god, Kemosh. For a translation of the text, see Hallo and Younger 2000, pp. 137–38.
13. It is now generally recognized that the first five books of the Bible (Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy), referred to in Jewish tradition as the Torah, are not the work of a single author. Each book is a composite of different sources, oral and written, compiled and edited by different hands or schools. See Friedman 1997.
14. The biblical name for God was probably pronounced Yahweh. Derived from the Hebrew root "to be," it means "He [who] is or will be" or "He [who] causes to exist." In most English Bibles the name is translated as "the Lord/LORD." In scholarly editions of the Bible the name is usually transcribed only with its consonants as Yhwh or YHWH.
15. The Bible refers to a now-lost ancient book entitled "Book of the Wars of Yahweh" (Num. 21:14), probably a collection of epic poems relating to Yahweh's battles against the enemies of Israel. The gods Deber and Reshef are mentioned as members of Yahweh's army in Habakkuk (chap. 3). See P. Miller 1973 and Longman 1984.
16. See Deut. 32:8, which refers to the sons of Elohim, another of the many biblical names for God. See also M. Smith 2008, pp. 142, 197–203, and n. 29, and Wyatt 2007. In Babylonian mythology, Marduk, the patron deity of the city of Babylon, is given "supreme power over all peoples"; see the prologue to the Laws of Hammurabi in the translation by Martha Roth (2000, p. 76). Mark S. Smith (2011) points out that the biblical writers identified and recognized the existence and divine powers of other gods such as Kemosh, the chief god of the Moabites, and Milkom, the main Ammonite deity. The recognition of the existence and power of "other" national/city gods was a common feature found in ancient Near Eastern treaties. See Wiseman 1958 and Lauinger 2012. West Semitic treaties also invoke the gods of each party. See, for example, the Sefire Treaty in Hallo and Younger 2000, pp. 213–17. When Cyrus the Great of Persia took control of Babylon in 539 B.C., he not only accepted Marduk as the chief god of the city, he also indicated that Marduk had chosen him to liberate its citizens from the yoke of its sacrilegious king. See Finkel 2013.
17. See Hamori 2008. For further bibliographic references, see Mark Smith, "The Three Bodies of God" (forthcoming). Although Yahweh can appear on earth in the shape of a human, his magnitude when seated on his temple throne indicates, according to Smith, a "super-sized" body. In Isaiah 6:1, the prophet sees a vision of Yahweh seated "high and lofty" upon his throne in the Jerusalem Temple. In 1 Kings 6:23–28 God's magnificent seat is described as perched on the bodies of two cherubs, each one 10 cubits (or about 15 feet) in height. This suggests a deity seated 15 feet above floor level, recalling Phidias's huge statue of Zeus at Olympia, with "his head almost touching the ceiling" (Strabo, *Geographia* 8.3.30; Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 5.11.1–9), and the superhuman image of Shamash on the Stone Tablet of Shamash in the British Museum. The image of the Lord as an enormous, herculean being also accords with his description as a divine warrior thundering across the sky as he rides upon storm clouds (2 Sam. 22:9–14; Ps. 18:8–13; Ps. 29).
18. Translation from the New Jewish Publication Society's Tanakh, with author's emendations.
19. See A. L. Oppenheim 1943 and, most recently, Aster 2012. One of Marduk's many names is Namru, "The Bright One," reflecting his astral association. See Rochberg 2011, p. 124. Astral deities set up in the Jerusalem Temple were removed in the reforms of Josiah (2 Kings 21:5; 23:4–5; Jer. 8:2). For the Deuteronomic denunciation of astral worship in ancient Israel, see Deut. 4:19; 17:3. In Ps. 82:1–8, the poet makes it clear that God (Elohim) controls the celestial bodies.
20. In Ugaritic texts, the Canaanite god Baal is also associated with various place-names, including Tzaphon, Shamayin, Peor, Ugarit, Lebanon, and Sidon. See Sommer 2009, pp. 24–26. The author(s) of the Book of Deuteronomy rejects

the notion that God has many bodily forms and appears in many geographical places. According to Benjamin Sommer, Deut. 6:4 ("Yhwh is our God—Yhwh is One") refers not to the notion of God alone (monotheism) but to the Deuteronomist's belief that Yahweh has only one body and may not be simultaneously manifest in different shrines or temples (Sommer 2009, p. 66, n. 52, and pp. 220–21). For other interpretations of Deut. 6:4, see Tigay 1996, pp. 438–40.

21. The author(s) of Deuteronomy, writing from the perspective of the southern kingdom of Judah, rejected the northern custom of Asherah worship: "You shall not set up a sacred post/tree . . . beside the altar of Yahweh" (Deut. 16:21). The identification by some scholars of certain terracotta figurines or of an iconographic type of female figure or symbol found on stamp or cylinder seals as being the Israelite goddess Asherah is open to skepticism. As far as this writer is aware, there are no unambiguous divine names associated with images that can clearly be identified as Asherah. There is also no definitive evidence that a deity was represented by only one type of image or symbol. See Keel and Uehlinger 1998 and Cornelius 2004.
22. In Ps. 132:2, Yahweh is called "the Mighty One (literally "bull") of Jacob." It remains unclear whether the calf images at Bethel and Dan represent emblems of Yahweh or the Canaanite gods El or Baal.
23. An inscription on Pithos B, excavated at Kuntillet Ajrud, in the Sinai Peninsula, has been interpreted by some scholars as reading, in part, "may you be blessed by Yahweh and by His Asherah," indicating that in early Israel Yahweh was worshiped together with a consort and that the pole/tree was the goddess's symbol. For a different interpretation of this inscription, see Ze'ev Meshel et al. (2012) and Benjamin Sommer (2009), who maintain that Asherah refers to an emblem of Yahweh and that the translation "His Asherah" is not grammatically possible (other scholars dispute this conclusion). Furthermore, according to Sommer (ibid., pp. 58–79), Deuteronomist and Priestly traditions as well as the prophet Ezekiel, in reaction to earlier theological belief, rejected the concept of the deity embodied in an emblem and stressed instead that Yahweh was manifest in the Jerusalem Temple only in the form of his name (*shem*) and glory (*kavod*) while he physically resides in heaven. However, the Deuteronomist also makes it clear that Yahweh was the head god of the universe who supervised other gods who ruled over foreign nations: "And when you look up to the sky and behold the sun and the moon and the stars, the whole heavenly host, you must not be lured into bowing down to them or serving them. These Yahweh your God allotted to other peoples everywhere under heaven" (Deut. 4:19, cf. Deut. 29:25; 32:8–9).
24. Ziony Zevit (2001, pp. 669–73) speculates that passages in the Egyptian text may be a translation from Ps. 20.
25. For Egyptian influence on Prov. 22, see the Instruction of Amenemope in Lichtheim 2006, pp. 146–49.
26. See Zevit 2001, pp. 664–67. In Babylonian mythology there were three distinct levels of heaven. See Rochberg 2011, pp. 130–31.
27. Even though the biblical prophets denounced worship of foreign gods, offerings continued to be made to non-Israelite gods and goddesses. The Babylonian goddess Ishtar, a god of war and love known to Judeans as the "Queen of Heaven," was particularly beloved by women, who poured out libations and made offerings, as did their fathers, kings, and officials (Jer. 44:15–19).

VI. LEGACY OF THE AGE OF GREAT EMPIRES

The Assyro-Babylonian Age in Western Artistic and Literary Tradition

1. For a history of the crucial early period of excavation and decipherment, see Larsen 1996.
2. On the broad consequences of this legacy, see McCall 1998; Finkel and Seymour 2008; Seymour 2014.
3. On this trope, see Bahrani 1998.
4. For the final years of the Assyrian empire, see "From Nineveh to Babylon" in this volume, pp. 332–39.
5. Translation by Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones and James Robson (2010).
6. On Croesus's proverbial wealth, see Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 10.5.13, and Herodotos, *Histories* 1.30. For Midas's golden touch, see Aristotle, *Politics* 1.1257b, and Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 11.85–193.
7. See also Brinkman 1984a and Frame 1992.
8. Steiner and Nims 1985; André-Salvini 2008, p. 394, no. 331.
9. On the literary relationship between Nineveh and Babylon, and the resulting confusion, see Van De Mierop 2004; Dalley 2008a; and Dalley 2013.
10. Finkel and Seymour 2008, pp. 166–69.
11. Belshazzar (Babylonian Bel-sharra-usur) certainly played an important role, acting as regent during Nabonidus's decade-long absence in Arabia, but by the time of the Persian conquest Nabonidus had returned to Babylon.
12. Feaver 1975, pl. 3, nos. 32, 33, 60. See also Finkel and Seymour 2008, pp. 176–77. For Babylon and nineteenth-century apocalyptic, see Seymour 2013.
13. See Schmid 1995; George 2005–6; and Finkel and Seymour 2008.
14. On the arguments, see entries in the *Anchor Bible Dictionary*.
15. Translation by Aubrey de Sélincourt, revised by John Marincola (2003).
16. Wegener 1995; Finkel and Seymour 2008, pp. 132–41; Seymour 2014.
17. Seipel 2003; Finkel and Seymour 2008, pp. 203–12.
18. The lists varied. On the seven wonders in general, see Clayton and Price 1989.
19. Though there have been several attempts: Koldewey 1914, pp. 95–96 (Babylon Southern Palace, "Vaulted Building"); Budge 1920, p. 297 (Ecbatana, modern Hamadan, Iran, based on the accounts of Hyginus [*Fabulae* 233], and Pliny the Elder [*Natural History* 19.19.49]); Wiseman 1983; Wiseman 1985 (Babylon, west of Southern Palace); Stevenson 1992 (Babylon, west of Southern Palace); Dalley 1994 and Dalley 2013 (Nineveh, beside Southwest Palace); and Reade 2000 (Babylon, "Western Outwork," beside Southern Palace). On the common misunderstanding that places terraces of greenery on a ziggurat to form hanging gardens, see Dalley 2013, pp. 18–20.
20. Dalley 2013.
21. J. M. Russell 1991; Dalley 1994; Dalley 2013.
22. See Josephus, *Against Apion* 1.141; cf. Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* 10.11.
23. Finkel and Seymour 2008, p. 110.
24. On Berossus's sources, see Van der Spek 2008 and De Breucker 2011. My own opinion is that the information given on the gardens' location, though probably not the architectural detail, does originate with Berossus (Seymour 2014).
25. The title of the important study of the Homeric world and Homeric legacy edited by Jane Carter and Sarah Morris (1995).
26. Homer, *Odyssey* 13.270–89.
27. Ibid., 4.609–20, 15.110–20.
28. Ibid., 14.285–300.
29. Boardman 2001, p. 39. For a detailed study of the representation of Phoenicians in Homer, see Winter 1995.
30. *Iliad* (18.478–609).
31. For the later transmission of mathematical astronomy, see Rochberg 2004.
32. David Pingree (1998, pp. 129–30) notes the ordering of elements reflecting parts of Mul.Apin and Enuma Anu Enlil and the inclusion of one certainly Babylonian constellation.
33. Hesiod, *Theogony* 179–205. An alternative story, less dramatic, makes Aphrodite the daughter of Zeus and Dione (Homer, *Iliad* 5.312, .370).
34. Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 10.243–97.
35. Virgil, *Aeneid* 4.474–5.1.
36. The origin of the name Europa is unclear. One possibility is the Greek *eurys* (wide) plus *ops* (faced), a reference to the moon. Another is Semitic: Akkadian *erebu* (to go down or set, in reference to the sun), or Phoenician 'ereb (evening, west). Both possibilities involve Near Eastern connections; a link between Europa and the moon might explain a passage in *On the Syrian Goddess* (4), traditionally ascribed to Lucian of Samosata, in which a connection is made between Europa and the temple of Astarte at Sidon.
37. As the "daughter of Phoenix," one of several paternities given for Europa in Classical mythology (Homer, *Iliad* 14.321), and by name in the Oxyrhynchus papyri (fr. 19, 19a).
38. See Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 2.844–75, for the story, including Europa's Tyrian origin. An alternative tradition is that Europa, a nymph, was the daughter of Tethys and Ocean (Hesiod, *Theogony* 357). A lesser-known tradition on Europa's abduction holds that she was taken not by Zeus but by a group of Minoans, though with the same final result that she came to Crete.
39. Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 3.1–130, immediately following the story of Europa's abduction. This is the best-known version of Europa's parentage.
40. Ibid., 3.129–32.
41. From whom the Trojan War hero of the same name was descended.
42. Herodotos mentions (4.195–96) that "the Carthaginians say that they trade with a race of men who live in a part of Libya beyond the Pillars of Heracles."
43. West 1997, p. 464; cf. Herodotos on temples of "Herakles" (Melqart) at Tyre and Thasos (2.44).
44. For a detailed study of the German case, see Marchand 1996; on the problems facing Near Eastern and Egyptian material in nineteenth-century Britain, see Jenkins 1992 and Moser 2006.
45. West 1997, p. 586.
46. A. L. Oppenheim 1977, p. 13. For a more recent discussion of the phenomenon and its historical development, see Veldhuis 2003.

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From Majizadeh 1992, drawn by R. Vatandust: fig. 3.52

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(photographs by Mark Morosse)

Drawing by Helene Morel, courtesy Jacqueline Gachet,: ill. p. 10, bottom left

From Penelope Mountjoy, "Mycenaean connections with the Near East in LH IIIc: Ships and Sea Peoples," in *Emporia: Aegeans in the Central and Eastern Mediterranean*, ed. Robert Laffineur and Emanuele Greco (Liège and Austin, 2005): fig. 1.7

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Courtesy the Oriental Institute of the University of

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From Ezio Quarantelli, *The Land Between Two Rivers: Twenty Years of Italian Archaeology in the Middle East* (Turin: Quadrante, 1985): figs. 3.27, 3.55

© RMN-Grand Palais / Art Resource, NY: cats. 25, 44a, 70, 88, 89, 90, 91, 95, 169c; figs. 3.47, 3.48, 4.11; fig. 2.7 and cats. 23, 24, 42, 43, 47, 59 (photographs by Franck Raux); cat. 45 (photograph by Christian Jean/Jean Schormans); cats. 51, 54 (photographs by Raphael Chipault); cat. 94 (photograph by Hervé Lewandowski); cat. 139 (photograph by Thierry Ollivier); cat. 203 (photograph by Les Frères Chuzeville)

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ISBN 978-0-300-20808-5



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PRINTED IN SPAIN