

## **Bastet/Sekhmet (Levant, Phoenician colonies)**

**I. Introduction.** *Egyptian goddesses*, →DDD Bastet. B. (Eg. *Bꜣstjt*), chief deity of Bubastis, was a →lion goddess of fertility, hence her association with and transformation into the image of a cat (OTTO 1975). Worshipped because of her benign and motherly character, B. was also a patroness of festivity and merrymaking, which explains her association with perfumes and intoxication, a role she shares with →Hathor. In the Levant, depictions of the leonine- or cat-headed goddess are rarely accompanied by an inscription (e.g., 43\* and 45) which secures her identification, while the theonym is well attested in Northwest Semitic onomastics since the 8th cent. at Carthage (RIBICHINI 1975: 11; LIPÍŃSKI 1983: 125–134; LEMAIRE 1986: 88, 92f; LIPÍŃSKI 1995: 325f, 348f). Glyptic inscriptions on scarabs imported from Egypt with the formula *Bꜣstt dj nfr*: “B. provides good” (→**Monkey 96–98**; HÖLBL 1979 II: no. 100) or names such as *pꜣ dj Bꜣstjt* (SCANDONE MATTHIAE 1984: 142) no doubt contributed to this process. A statue found at Amrit probably dating to the Saite Period (664–525, if not to the Third Intermediate Period) and originating “from the temple of Bastet, Mistress of Ankh-tawi (*‘nh ꜥwj*)” attests that B. was also identified with →Astarte at Memphis (RENAN 1864: 64; GUBEL 2002: no. 17).

The main cult center of leonine-headed S. (Eg. *Shmt*) was Memphis. Her name “The Mighty One” epitomizes her dangerous and wild character, which she shares with other lion goddesses, for example, the ferocious →Tefnut (VERHOEVEN 1986: 298f). Her dangerousness was not only used as an apotropaic force, it also had to be averted for one’s own protection (BONNET 1952: 646). Her identification with the peaceful character of B. was one means to this end (HORNUNG/STAEHELIN 1976: 99). S.’s leonine appearance, the proximity of her center of worship with that of B., and their common protective role as mothers facilitated the close connection between the two goddesses. Since the New Kingdom S. appears together with her husband →Ptah and son →Nefertem in the so-called Memphite triad. She puts her protective power and apotropaic charisma into the service of the king (STERNBERG 1984: 325), a role which is also documented in visual art (HORNUNG/STAEHELIN 1976: 99). It is her wild character that also links her to militant Astarte, with whom she can be depicted (STERNBERG 1984: 327) or even identified

(CORNELIUS 2004: 43, 93). Her lifesaving qualities come into play in her role as mistress of disease (STERNBERG 1984: 325); the *ankh* sign and papyriform scepter with which she is associated testify to this.

In terms of geographical scope this entry covers finds from the Levant and Phoenician colonies, or Phoenician products discovered elsewhere.

## **II. Typology**

**General remarks.** When B. and S. appear on their own as a leonine- or cat-headed goddess it is virtually impossible to differentiate between the two (HÖLBL 1979: I 108; STERNBERG 1984: 324f; HERRMANN 1994: 146ff). Therefore the iconographic discussion below most often considers both deities as possible options. However, certain constellations, such as the Memphite triad →Ptah-S.→Nefertem (see § II.2.A.1.2; for possible combinations with →Tefnut and Mahes see § II.1.A.3.3 and § II.1.B.2), particular attributes (STERNBERG 1983: 329, n. 9; 50), an inscription (see § I), or other associated animals (see § II.2.A.2.1–2, B.2.2) allow identification of the goddess. On the basis of the literarily attested relationship between B./S. and Mut in the late New Kingdom, HÖLBL (1979: I 108f) suggested that in certain cases the leonine- or cat-headed goddess should be identified as S.–Mut (HÖLBL 1979: II pl. IV:1). However, HÖLBL does not provide iconographic arguments which would allow the validation of his proposal.

### **II.1. Phenotypes**

**A. HYBRID** 1. LEONINE- OR CAT-HEADED GODDESS 1.1. Standing 1.1.1. With empty hands (1–7) 1.1.2. Holding a scepter and *ankh* (8–35, →**Harpocrates 32**, →**Ptah 61, 88**) 1.2. Striding 1.2.1. With empty hands (36–39) 1.2.2. Holding a scepter (40–42, →**Harpocrates 33**, →**Ptah 23, 61**) 1.2.3. Carrying an udjat-eye (43) 1.3. Enthroned 1.3.1. With empty hands (10, 44–46) 1.3.2. Holding scepter, flail, or sistrum (9–10, 47–50) 2. PROBABLE: Sphinx (51–56) 3. POSSIBLE *B. THERIOMORPHIC* 1. CAT (57–82) 2. LION (83–84) 3. LION’S OR CAT’S HEAD WITH AEGIS (85–120) 4. LEONINE OR CAT’S HEAD (121) **C. ANTHROPOMORPHIC**: POSSIBLE

#### **A. HYBRID**

### **1. LEONINE- OR CAT-HEADED GODDESS**

#### **1.1. Standing**

**1.1.1. With empty hands.** Standing B./S. without a scepter is attested in Palestine/Israel mainly in the form of figurative amulets which were imported from Egypt (1\*–5). Common to all these depictions are the arms hanging down alongside the body; in most cases the goddess is wearing a wig (1\*–4). B./S. may be represented with a mane (1\*), but is frequently depicted without it (3–5). The latter type can have her head surmounted with a →sun disk and

→uraeus (3). In only one example a uraeus is possibly depicted on her head (1\*). Sometimes she wears a long dress (1\*-2), but also appears nude with indicated breasts (5). In glyptic art a scarab from Acco depicts the standing leonine- or cat-headed goddess in a cartouche. The arm points downward and a →sun disk appears above her head (6). On a bulla from the same site a leonine- or cat-headed goddess with a sun disk with uraeus on her head raises her hands in adoration toward →Isis→Hathor (7).

**1.1.2. Holding a scepter and sometimes an ankh.** Phoenician ivory panels from Nimrud (8\*) feature a leonine- or cat-headed goddess standing and holding a *wadj* scepter in one hand, i.e., a staff in the form of a papyrus stalk; in the other hand she holds an *ankh* sign in accordance with Egyptian prototypes. The combination of a *wadj* or *was* scepter with an *ankh* sign also occurs on golden amuletic strips from Carthage (9: register II, 2nd figure in 3rd row; 10: register I, 1st figure), one of which also shows the standing goddess in a long dress holding only a *wadj* scepter (9: register III, 2nd figure in 2nd row). Amulets from Palestine/Israel depict B./S. holding a scepter and with (11–12) or without (13–14) a mane; in the latter case the head is often surmounted by a →sun disk and →uraeus (15–19) (for three early but not well-illustrated examples from Megiddo see LOUD 1948: pl. 205:6–8). The scepter, held with the left hand in front of the goddess, is staff-like in shape, sometimes widening at the upper end. Similar amulets from Italy indicate their proliferation further abroad in the wake of the Phoenician expansion (HÖLBL 1979: nos. 380–381). A stamp seal from Tell el-Far‘ah (South) shows a similar sign of authority (20), which recalls the papyrus-form scepter frequently depicted with B./S. on stamp seals from Palestine/Israel (21–26, →Ptah 61\*, 88; probably also intended on 27) and Carthage (28–32, →Harpocrates 32). On scarabs from Sardinia the same scepter is not only attested with B./S. (33) but also with S. (34), as suggested by the association with a child (→Nefertem?) and →Ptah; unique is the *wh* fetish conjointly held by B./S. and the pharaoh (→King [Egypt]; 35; see in addition also HÖLBL 1986: I 171 n. 52). An unpublished scarab from ‘En Nashab in the Beth-Shean valley (→Ptah 62) depicts S. with a staff-like scepter with no widening at the upper end, similar to the scepter on amulets. In glyptic art the goddess, whose head is often rendered very schematically, may have a sun disk hovering above her head

(20, 24, 27, 29, 33, 35, →Harpocrates 32). In the case of →Ptah 61\* it is equipped with →Hathor horns and a uraeus (for Hathor horns with B./S. see also HÖLBL 1979: II pl. IV:1). In some instances only a uraeus rises from the goddess’s forehead (20; see also 13). In regard to the area below the arm hanging down alongside the body of the leonine- or cat-headed figure on →Ptah 61\*, GUY suggested that it may represent a basket, which would identify the goddess with B., and ROWE argued that it is an *ankh* sign. However, KEEL’s (2006: 267) suggestion that the seal is simply damaged at this spot is most likely.

### 1.2. Striding

**1.2.1. With empty hands.** B./S. in striding posture without a scepter in the form of an amulet does not differentiate from the standing type. The attested examples with a mane depict the goddess nude with displayed navel (36\*–37); the type without a mane depicts a →uraeus on her head (38). The →sun disk as headgear is not yet attested. On a finger ring from Ekron a large uraeus rises from the striding goddess’s head, who is wearing a long dress (39).

**1.2.2. Holding a scepter.** No particular differences to the standing type exist on amulets, except that no example with the →sun disk as headgear is attested to date (40–42). On scarabs this type may appear without (→Harpocrates 33) and with a sun disk (→Ptah 23, 61\*).

**1.2.3. Carrying an udjat-eye.** Striding B. is depicted in one example as a figurative amulet from Lachish, carrying an →udjat-eye (43\*) in her open left palm, held in front of her waist. On the back of the amulet an inscription reads: “Words spoken by B.” (see also 45).

### 1.3. Enthroned

**1.3.1. With empty hands.** In Palestine/Israel enthroned B./S. occurs to date as a figurative amulet only with a mane (44–46). In the case of 45 the goddess is identified as B. by the same inscription as on 43\*. A →uraeus can decorate the goddess’s head (45–46). On a golden amuletic strip from Carthage the enthroned goddess appears once enthroned with empty hands (10: register II, figure no. 22).

**1.3.2. Holding scepter, flail, ankh, or sistrum.** Phoenician ivory panels depict B./S. seated on a →throne, which can be set up in a barque, holding a *was* scepter and *ankh* sign (47\*). On golden amuletic strips from Carthage the enthroned leonine- or cat-headed goddess is outfitted with the *wadj* scepter and the flail (9: register I, figure no. 12 in 1st row; 10: register I, fig-

ure no. 13), the flail and *ankh* (10: register I, figure no. 18), or only with the flail (10: register I, figure no. 15). On a Phoenician scarab from Carthage the enthroned leonine- or cat-headed goddess with a surmounting →sun disk on her wig is shown holding a lanceolate shaped scepter or spear (48). A similar object is held by an enthroned cat- or lion-headed goddess on a Phoenician scarab from Ibiza. One papyrus stalk in front of her and four behind frame the scene (49). Most likely a fragmentary amulet from Megiddo, which depicts B. holding a sistrum, should be classified among the enthroned representations of the goddess (50; see possibly also HERRMANN 1994: no. 81).

**2. PROBABLE: Sphinx.** Ivory panels from Salamis decorating a bed head (51), a fragmentary ivory panel or eye-blinker from Nimrud (52–53), Phoenician scarabs from Amrit (54) and Kourion (55), and an amulet from Lachish (56) depict sphinxes with youthful heads and the coiffure of Nubian wet nurses, elsewhere termed as “B. →sphinxes” (GUBEL 1998: 637–645). These again point to B. and Bubastis as the source of inspiration for this hybrid creature presumably linked with female intimacy.

### 3. POSSIBLE

**3.1.** Scarabs from Palestine/Israel depict a lion or cat-headed deity in squatting posture with a papyrus on its knees (KEEL 1997: Achsib no. 53, Aschkelon no. 88; STARKEY/HARDING 1932: pl. 55:66). The papyrus in particular, so prominently documented with B./S. on stamp seals (see § 1.1.2), may indicate an identification with her.

**3.2.** A winged leontocephalic deity is flanked by two others on several Phoenician green jasper seals (BOARDMAN 2003: pl. 4:6/10, 6/13), recalling the triad B., →Shu, and →Tefnut in Egypt (OTTO 1975: 629) or Phoenician →Astarte, →Anat, and Asiti (GUBEL 2004).

**3.3.** A plaque from Nimrud shows two leonine-headed nursing deities flanking the sun child. Since one of them is textually identified as →Tefnut (NAGUIB 1991: fig. 2) the other may represent B.

**3.4.** Early 1st mill. Aramaean and Phoenician documents such as bronze work, ivories, and seals represent winged lions, occasionally adorned with an aegis, apron, and a solar →crown between cow horns. Although the awesome aspect of these creatures may actually point to S. (if not to the Levantine →lion goddess Labat), a manifestation of B. cannot be excluded (GUBEL 2008).

## B. THERIOMORPHIC

**1. CAT.** B. can be represented in the form of a cat, i.e., an appeased version of the →lion(ess). Amulets of a seated cat were widely distributed in Palestine/Israel (57–72; HÖLBL 1986: I 22, 24), Carthage, Sardinia, and Ibiza (HÖLBL 1979 I: 103; HÖLBL 1986 I: 132f), with a few samples from Italy (HÖLBL 1979: I 126). This should be distinguished from seated male cats on a lotus flower (HERRMANN 1994: 525), which represent the youthful sun god (HORNUNG/STAEHELIN 1976: 120; →Solar deities). Amulets of recumbent cats are attested less often (73–74; HÖLBL 1986 I: 36). Not surprisingly (see § I), cats flank a →Hathor fetish on a scarab from Lachish (75). Cats as secondary motifs appear on ivories (76) and on the Sidonian bowl from Praeneste (77), whereas cats seated on an *nb* decorate several 7th cent. Egyptian faience imitations of cowry shells from Cerveteri (78–79; HÖLBL 1979 I: 128; II nos. 93, 97). Variations on the latter motif recur on Phoenician scarabs (80–82).

**2. LION.** Phoenician ivories from Nimrud depict seated lions surmounted with a →sun disk wearing an aegis (83\*–84). The erect ears and the wig recall seal representations (see below 118). Ivory plaques from Nimrud depict a lioness suckling a manned cub, which may possibly represent B. with her son Mahes. (HERRMANN 1986: pl. 263:1015, 1016).

**3. LEONINE OR CAT’S HEAD WITH AEGIS.** In the Levant representations of B./S. in the form of Egyptian aegis amulets, a neck collar with a leonine or cat’s head is well attested (85–103; HÖLBL 1986 I: 21–24, 28, 31f). Typically the animal’s head is surmounted with a sun disk and a rising →uraeus. A wig and mane are mostly indicated. In the wake of the propagation of B./S. amulets, B./S. aegisses were also reproduced in Northwest Semitic glyptics (104–107\*). The B./S. aegis on the seal of *kpr* is winged (105\*). A Phoenician scarab from Jerusalem (106) and the seal of a certain ‘Amas’el (107\*) acquired in Amman reduce the animal’s head with its ears (see below 121\*) to a drilling hole with two projections. Even more schematic are forms, which only show the neck collar with a v-shaped projection (KEEL 1997: Achsib no. 131; AVIGAD/SASS 1997: no. 110; for a v-shape fitted into the neck collar see LAMON/SHIPTON 1939: pls. 67:44, 45; 72:12). Although the reduction of the head and the domination of the neck collar is also attested by amulets (96), there is insufficient evidence that the v-shaped projections are stylized animal’s ears, which would allow

the identification with a B./S. aegis. In the case of a name seal bought in Jerusalem, only the collar is depicted (AVIGAD/SASS 1997: no. 1175), giving no clue which figure it should be associated with. Representations of B./S. aegisses also occur in Phoenician ivories (108–112) and on bronze bowls from Nimrud (113; GUBEL 2004), as well as on a few other recipients. Among them are so-called Phoenician aegis jugs (CULICAN 1981). The head of the lioness on such a gilt wine jug or oinochoe from Carthage (114; GUBEL 1985: 200–202) should be associated with B./S., even though the collar in this instance is missing. Egyptianizing archaic Greek faience vessels (115) may also depict B./S. aegisses. The use of the B./S. aegis as ritual object is attested by Phoenician bone and ivory plaques from Ephesus (116–117), and as an object of veneration on a Nimrud bronze bowl (118) and an ivory plaque from the same site (119). Such a function can also be attributed to ivories in the form of a B./S. aegis (120).

**3. LEONINE OR CAT'S HEAD.** The Hebrew seal of 'Uzza, son of *hts*, depicts a leonine or cat's head with erect ears and a wig (121\*).

**C. ANTHROPOMORPHIC: POSSIBLE.** Considering the popularity of →Hathoric capitals at Bubastis (WAGNER 1980: 158f), also used for (barque) shrines in the Egyptian cult of B. (MEYER 1987), the question arises as to whether the adoption of these architectonic devices in (Cypro-) Phoenician art (WAGNER 1980: 158–165) do not point to B. or her equivalent in the Levant (GUBEL 2008: 140–142 for possible candidates). It remains an open question whether this applies to the many amulets (HERRMANN 1994: 252), ivories (HERRMANN 1986: pl. 49:231), seals (BOARDMAN 2003: pl. 4:6/1, 6/3, 6/5–6/6), and terracotta plaques (CAUBET/PIC 1982) representing →Hathoric heads on aegisses and lotus flowers.

## II.2. Associations

**A. HYBRID** 1. ASSOCIATED WITH DEITIES/DEMONS 1.1. Isis–Hathor (7, 35) 1.2. Ptah, Nefertem (30, 34, →Ptah 23–26, 60–62, 88) 1.3. Osiris (48) 1.4. Harpocrates (→Harpocrates 32–33) 1.5. Re (25, 32) 1.6. Thoth (47) 2. ASSOCIATED WITH ANIMALS 2.1. Uraeus (23) 2.2. Falcon (26) 3. ASSOCIATED WITH HUMANS: KING (6, 21–22, 24, 31, 35) **B. THERIOMORPHIC** 1. ASSOCIATED WITH DEITIES/DEMONS 1.1. Hathor (77) 1.2. Astarte (116–117) 1.3. Winged genius (119) 2. ASSOCIATED WITH ANIMALS 2.1. Sphinx (110, 118) 2.2. Uraeus (104–105, 110, 121) 2.3. Fish, scarab, bird (107, 121) 3. ASSOCIATED WITH HUMANS 3.1. King (77) 3.2. Name seal (104–105, 107)

## A. HYBRID

### 1. ASSOCIATED WITH DEITIES/DEMONS

**1.1. Isis–Hathor.** On scarab 7 from Acco B./S. venerates →Isis→Hathor with raised arms. Indirectly associated with Isis–Hathor is B./S. on a scarab from Sardinia (35). For B./S. with Hathor horns see →Ptah 61\*.

**1.2. Ptah, Nefertem.** Based on the Memphite triad, the leonine- or cat-headed deity associated with →Ptah most likely represents S. (30, 34, →Ptah 23–26, 60–62, 88; see →Ptah § II.2.1.3).

**1.3. Osiris.** On a Phoenician scarab from Carthage, enthroned B./S. faces mummified →Osiris with a gesture of benediction (48).

**1.4. Harpocrates.** A leonine- or cat-headed goddess facing →Harpocrates, often identified with S., can also be identified with B. from an iconographical point of view (→Harpocrates 32–33). For a possible association with Harpocrates see also 33.

**1.5. Re.** On scarabs from Ashkelon (25) and Carthage (32), probably falcon-headed Re is facing B./S. (the same motif is also possibly attested on an Egyptian steatite scarab from Italy dating to 725–700: HÖLBL 1979: II pl. 98:1).

**1.6. Thoth.** Behind B./S., who is depicted enthroned in a barque, ibis-headed →Thoth is represented standing in the stern of the boat, holding a rudder in each hand (47\*).

### 2. ASSOCIATED WITH ANIMALS

**2.1. Uraeus.** On a scarab from Achzib a large →uraeus is depicted before B./S. (23\*), indicating that probably S. is meant (see § B.2.2)

**2.2. Falcon.** The →Horus falcon with flail appears in one example before standing B./S. on a scarab from Jericho (26). Since S. and the falcon are closely tied to the king, it suggests that the hybrid goddess on this seal is S. rather than B.

### 3. ASSOCIATED WITH HUMANS:

**King.** On a scarab from Acco (6), B./S. standing in a cartouche is adored by two flanking kneeling figures. They have been identified as kings due to the uraei on their heads. For an identical representation of a kneeling figure with a uraeus see 21 (compare also with 31). In two examples *mn-k3<w>r'* “Menkaure” in a cartouche appears above B./S. (22, 24; for a related motif with *Mn-ḥpr-r'*, throne name of Thutmose III, see a scarab from Italy dating to 725–700: HÖLBL 1979: II pl. 103:2). On a scarab from Sardinia the leonine- or cat-headed

goddess faces a standing pharaoh (→King [Egypt]) conjointly holding a scepter (35).

### B. THERIOMORPHIC

#### 1. ASSOCIATED WITH DEITIES/DEMONS

1.1. **Hathor.** On a scarab from Lachish (75) the close association between B. and Hathor is indicated by cats flanking the head of →Hathor.

1.2. **Astarte.** The goddess holding an aegis engraved by a Phoenician craftsman on an ivory respectively a bone plaque from Ephesus (116–117) possibly represents →Astarte (HÖLBL 2000: 132).

1.3. **Winged genius.** On a Nimrud ivory a B./S. aegis on a lotus (see also 119) is protectively flanked by two winged figures.

#### 2. ASSOCIATED WITH ANIMALS

2.1. **Sphinx.** On a Phoenician bronze bowl from Nimrud (118) the B./S. aegis placed on a papyrus stalk (symbolizing the goddess *Wadjit* [?]; see also 119) in between two falcon-headed →sphinxes likely expresses the concept of divine protection of royalty, similar to the winged →scarab on comparable stalks (BARNETT 1974: pl. 13). The glyptic evidence corroborates that the aegis's protective value extended to a broader user group (GUBEL 2008: 136–141). As a decoration of the apron of an androcephalic →sphinx on a bowl from Nimrud (110\*), the B./S. aegis serves as an apotropaic amulet, transforming B. into her manifestation as S. (GUBEL 2008: 140f).

2.2. **Uraeus.** Five →uraei are virtually surrounding a B./S. aegis on an ivory equestrian bridle-harness ornament from Nimrud (110\*). In glyptic art B./S. aegisses (104–105\*) and a leonine or cat's head (121\*) are also associated with uraei. Since the uraeus is the particular animal of S. (STERNBERG 1984: 325f), it suggests that the hybrid goddess on these representations is S. rather than B.

2.3. **Fish, scarab, bird.** On a Hebrew name seal (121\*) a tilapia (→Fish) and →scarab flank the leonine or cat's head of B./S., and on an Ammonite seal aegisses are associated with birds (107\*).

#### 3. ASSOCIATED WITH HUMANS

3.1. **King.** On the bronze bowl from Praeneste a seated cat appears behind a smiting pharaoh (77).

3.2. **Name seal.** An Aramaic (104) and Ammonite (107\*) name seal and one of disputed ethnic association (105\*) are decorated with aegisses. For an unprovenanced Hebrew name seal with a leonine or cat's head see GUBEL 2008: fig. 1.

### III. Sources

III.1. **Chronological range.** The earliest representation of S. in Palestine/Israel occurs on a scarab (→Ptah 61\*) from the LB II (14th–13th cent.). Somewhat earlier in date could be a scarab from Lachish (75) with a →Hathor fetish flanked by cats, probably representing B. with whom Hathor shares characteristics (see § I). B./S. amulets from Palestine/Israel were imported from Egypt as early as the LB IIB (13, 15, 73–74, 85; LOUD 1948: pl. 205:6–8; TUFNELL et al. 1958: pl. 29:59). They are contemporary with depictions of S. and →Ptah (→Ptah 26, 60–62), and of the Memphite triad including →Nefertem (→Ptah 23, 25). A number of Egyptian finger rings from Palestine/Israel (20, 27, 39) dating to the 12th–10th cent. precede or partly overlap the zenith of the B./S. amulet importation, which peaked in the Levant in the 10th–8th cent. (3–4, 14, 18–19, 36\*–38, 40–43\*, 45–46, 56–66, 72, 89–98) with only a few pieces in later periods (67–70, 72, 99–101; HÖLBL 1986: I 50; HERRMANN 1994: 174). This highlights the intense relations with the Libyan dynasts originating from Bubastis. Phoenician ivories (8\*, 47\*, 51–53, 83\*–84, 108–110\*, 119), mostly from Nimrud, as well as bronze bowls from the same site (113, 118) and seals from the Levant date to the 9th–7th cent. (104–107\*, 121\*). Levantine, predominantly Phoenician, adaptations of the iconography of B./S. occasionally survive in glyptic art of the 7th–5th cent. (6–7, 21, 23\*, 26, 54, →Ptah 24, 88). A few Egyptian seal imports (22, 24–25) date to the same period. At Phoenician trading posts in the western Mediterranean, the earliest imports of Egyptian amulets (78–79) and seals (34–35; for related Egyptian scarabs from Italy see HÖLBL 1979: I 172f) and Phoenician seals (55) date back to the later 8th cent. They are followed from the 7th–4th cent. by another wave of objects such as Egyptian steatite scarabs (33), Phoenician hard stone and glass scarabs (48, 49, 80–82), and some of composite material (28, 30–32), as well as products manufactured in metal (9, 10, 77, 114), ivory (117), and bone (116).

#### III.2. Geographical distribution.

B./S. representations in the Levant are mainly attested in Palestine/Israel (1\*–8\*, 11–27, 36\*–46, 50, 56–75, 85–103, 106, →Ptah 23–26, 60–62, 88), and rarely in Jordan (107\*) and Syria (54, 81). Seventy percent of the representations in Palestine/Israel come from the south with sites along the coast, in the Negev, the Shephelah, and Judea; main centers occur at

Lachish, Tell el-Far'ah (South), Gezer, and Tell Abu Salima. The most important site in the north is Megiddo. North of the Carmel all objects have been found along the coast. In Mesopotamia B./S. is known from Phoenician ivories and bronze bowls discovered at Nimrud (8\*, 47\*, 52–53, 76, 83\*–84, 108–113, 118–120). The prominent find site in the Western Mediterranean is Carthage (9–10, 28–32, 48, 82, 114). Others comprise Cyprus (51, 55), Sardinia (33–35, 80), Ibiza (49), Italy (77–79), Rhodes (115), and Greece (117).

**III.3. Object types.** In terms of numbers, figurative amulets represent B./S. most often (1\*–5, 11–19, 36\*–38, 40–42, 46, 50, 56–74, 78–79, 85–103), followed by stamp seals (6–7, 21–26, 28–35, 48–49, 54–55, 75, 80–82, 104–107\*, 121\*, →Ptah 23–26, 60–62, 88). Ivory carvings (8\*, 47\*, 51–53, 83\*–84, 108–109, 117, 119–120), are also substantial in numbers, among them at least one equestrian bridle-harness ornament (110\*) and possibly an eye-blinker (52). Bone was used for carving the design in one example (116). Other media comprise finger rings (20, 27, 39), amuletic gold strips (9–10), bronze and silver bowls (77, 113, 118), and vessels (114–115).

**IV. Conclusion.** The popularity of B. in the Levant was due primarily to her equation with womanhood, highlighting the notions of fertility (see in this regard also 75, which depicts in the lower part a couple holding a papyrus column) and nursing, as defined by her feline appearance. Less gender-defined aspects appealed to a broader audience, for instance her protective power which she shares with S. (HORNUNG/STAEHELIN 1976: 99) and is particularly expressed by the aegis (see § II.1.B.3). In addition, the papyriform scepter and *ankh* sign she holds (see § II.1.A.1.2) ascribe to her regenerative vigour. The rejuvenative potency (HORNUNG/STAEHELIN 1976: 120) of the leonine- or cat-headed goddess is furthermore underlined by her solar affinity. Not only is she depicted frequently with a →sun disk (3, 6–7, 15–19, 20, 24, 27, 29, 33, 35, 40–42, 47\*–48, →Harpocrates 32–33, →Ptah 23, 61\*), she is also associated with the juvenile sun god →Harpocrates (33, →Harpocrates 32–33). Because the latter can be depicted sitting on a lotus flower (→Harpocrates § II.1.A.7), the male cat occurs in an identical constellation (see § II.1.B.1), tying the feline motif to the rising sun. Not surprisingly, the sun god →Re is therefore associated with the leonine- or cat-headed goddess (26, 32; see also the association with the

falcon on 26, which could also refer to Re; HORNUNG/STAEHELIN 1976: 96), who in the role of S. is also known to support Re in defeating his enemies (STERNBERG 1984: 327). The status of the B. aegis as part of the royal insignia of the Bubastite pharaohs and the fashionable title “son of B.” (YOY-OTTE 1998) stimulated her adoption in an age in which ties between and Egypt and Phoenicia were revitalized. This is exemplified by, for example, the royal sculptures of Sheshonk I (945–924), Osorkon I (924–889), and Osorkon II (874–850) sent to the court of Byblos. The association with the →king is therefore not unexpectedly attested in glyptic art on Egyptian and Phoenician scarabs (see § II.2.A.3). In addition to Bubastis, from which most of the inspiration for B. representations (and related deities such as →Atum and Mahes) was undoubtedly canalized into the Levant, B. was also worshipped in the vicinity of the “Waters of →Re” in the Eastern Delta, where Phoenicians exploited the →fish (see § II.2.B.2.3) resources (LIPINSKI et al. 1992: 18). On the other hand, the residing Phoenicians’ familiarity with B.’s Memphite cult explains her interchangeability with S. and personification of foreign →Astarte (see § II.2.B.1.1), possibly the Sidonian goddess Asiti/Astarte-*hr*. Her inclusion in the cycle of →Hathor (see § II.2.A.1.1) and →Tefnut (see § II.1.3.3–4) as a manifestation of the foreign goddess and the divine eye may thus explain the use of B. in emulations in Phoenician art.

#### V. Catalogue

1\* Amulet, composition, 30 x 10 x 8 mm, Megiddo, 1250–1100. HERRMANN 1994: no. 66. Chicago, Oriental Institute, A20532 2 Amulet, composition, Tell el-Far'ah (South), 1100–1000. HERRMANN 1994: no. 115 3 Amulet, Tell Abu Salima, 1100–900. HERRMANN 1994: no. 91 4 Amulet, Tell Abu Salima, 900–700. HERRMANN 1994: no. 92 5 Amulet, Gezer, 1100–1000. HERRMANN 1994: no. 94 6 Scarab, enstatite, Acco, 664–525. KEEL 1997: Akko no. 71 7 Bulla, burnt clay, Acco, 664–400. KEEL 1997: Akko no. 6 8\* Plaque, ivory, 63 x 35 x 7 mm, Nimrud 850–720. HERRMANN 1986: pl. 5:28. Baghdad, Iraq Museum, IM 65237 9 Amuletic strip, gold, Dermech, 500. GUBEL 1987: pl. 28:85 10 Amuletic strip, gold, Dermech, 600–550. GUBEL 1987: pl. 30:87 11 Amulet, composition, Gezer (?), 1250–1000. HERRMANN 1994: no. 67 12 Amulet, Beth-Shemesh, 1100–1000. HERRMANN 1994: no. 68 13 Amulet, composition, Tell el-Far'ah (South), 1300–1150. HERRMANN 1994: no. 98 14 Amulet, composition, Lachish, 900–700. HERRMANN 1994: no. 100 15 Amulet, composition, Tell el-Far'ah (South), 1300–1000. HERRMANN 1994: no. 122 16 Amulet, composition, Beth-Shean, 1250–1000. HERRMANN 1994: no. 123 17 Amulet, composition, Tell el-Far'ah (North), 1100–1000. HERRMANN 1994: no. 124 18 Amulet, composition, Tell el-Far'ah (South), 1100–900. HERRMANN 1994: no. 125 19 Amulet, composition, Tell Abu Hawam, 1000–900. HERRMANN 1994: no. 126 20 Ring, faience, Tell el-Far'ah (South), 1190–945 (21st–20th dyn.). PETRIE 1930: pl. 35:402 21 Scarab, composition, Megiddo, 700–539. LAMON/SHIPTON 1939: pl. 67:37 22 Scarab, steatite, Hanita, 664–525. GIVEON 1988: no. 64 23\* Scarab, composition, 16.6 x 12 x 7.3 mm, Achzib, 728–525 (25th–26th dyn.). KEEL 1997: Achsib no. 30. Jerusalem, Israel Antiquity Authority, 48-387 24 Scarab, enstatite, Achzib, 664–610 (Psammetichus I). KEEL 1997: Achsib no. 52 25 Scarab, enstatite, Ashkelon, 664–525. KEEL 1997: Ashkelon no. 76 26 Scarab, Jericho, enstatite, 700–650.

KENYON/HOLLAND 1983: fig. 353:5 **27** Ring, gold, Deir el-Balah, 1190–945 (21st–20th dyn.). GIVEON 1977: pl. 3:1 **28** Scarab, composition, Dermech, 700–500. VERCOUTTER 1945: no. 437 **29** Square-shaped plaque, bone or ivory, Douimes, 700–500. VERCOUTTER 1945: no. 470 **30** Scarab, composition, Douimes, 700–500. VERCOUTTER 1945: no. 68 **31** Scarab, composition, Douimes, 700–500. VERCOUTTER 1945: no. 69 **32** Scarab, composition, Ancona (Dermech), 500–400. VERCOUTTER 1945: no. 235 **33** Scarab, steatite, Sardinia, 500–300. AVIGAD/SASS 1997: no. 733 **34** Scarab, steatite, Sardinia, 728–525 (25th–26th dyn.). HÖLBL 1986: II pl. 97:2 **35** Scarab, steatite, Sardinia, 728–525 (25th–26th dyn.). HÖLBL 1986: II pl. 97:3 **36\*** Amulet, composition, 41 x 11 x 12 mm, Lachish, 900–700. HERRMANN 1994: no. 69. Cambridge, Cambridge University, 61.D.138a **37** Amulet, composition, Jerusalem, 900–700. HERRMANN 1994: no. 71 **38** Amulet, composition, Lachish, 1000–900. HERRMANN 1994: no. 95 **39** Ring, composition (?), Ekron, 1190–945 (20th–21st dyn.). GITIN/DOTHAN 1987: 217; DOTHAN/GITIN 1990: 32 **40** Amulet, composition, Lachish, 900–700. HERRMANN 1994: no. 73 **41** Amulet, composition, Lachish, 900–700. HERRMANN 1994: no. 74 **42** Amulet, composition, Ashkelon, 900–700. HERRMANN 1994: no. 113 **43\*** Amulet, composition, 48 x 11 x 12 mm, Lachish, 900–700. HERRMANN 1994: no. 76 **44** Amulet, composition, Megiddo, 1050–1000. HERRMANN 1994: no. 77 **45** Amulet, composition, Tell el-Far'ah (South), 900–700. HERRMANN 1994: no. 78 **46** Amulet, composition, Lachish, 1000–900. HERRMANN 1994: no. 79 **47\*** Plaque, ivory, 64 x 11 x 8 mm, Nimrud, 850–720. HERRMANN 1986: pl. 267:1029; NAGUIB 1991: pl. 9:1. Baghdad, Iraq Museum, IM 65381 **48** Scarab, greenstone facies, Ben Attar (Dermech), 400–300. VERCOUTTER 1945: 565; GUBEL 1987: pl. 30:89 **49** Scarab, greenstone facies, Puig des Molins, 500–400. GUBEL 1987: pl. 32:99 **50** Amulet, composition, Megiddo, 900–700. HERRMANN 1994: no. 80 **51** Plaque, ivory, Salamis, 760. KARAGEORGHIS 1974: pls. 100, 242; GUBEL 1998: fig. 6 **52** Panel or eye-blinker, ivory, Nimrud, 850–720. GUBEL 1998: pl. 3:1 **53** Plaque, ivory, Nimrud, 850–720. MALLOWAN 1966: no. 479 **54** Scarab, jasper, Amrit, 700–500. DE RIDDER 1911: pl. 17:2589; GUBEL 1998: pl. 3:2 **55** Scarab, onyx, Kourion, 750–675. BOARDMAN 1968: pl. 1:24; GUBEL 1998: pl. 3:3 **56** Amulet, composition, Lachish, 900–700. HERRMANN 1994: no. 277; GUBEL 1998: fig. 5 **57** Amulet, composition, Tell el-Far'ah (South), 900–700. HERRMANN 1994: no. 759 **58** Amulet, composition, Tell Abu Salima, 1100–700. HERRMANN 1994: no. 760 **59** Amulet, composition, Tell el-Far'ah (South), 900–700. HERRMANN 1994: no. 761 **60\*** Amulet, composition, 32 x 18.5 x 10 mm, Lachish, 900–700. HERRMANN 1994: no. 762. Jerusalem, Rockefeller Museum, 36.1586 **61** Amulet, composition, Lachish, 900–700. HERRMANN 1994: no. 763 **62** Amulet, composition, Tell Jemmeh, 900–700. HERRMANN 1994: no. 764 **63** Amulet, composition, Tell el-Far'ah (South), 900–700. HERRMANN 1994: no. 765 **64** Amulet, composition, Beth-Shemesh, 900–700. HERRMANN 1994: no. 766 **65** Amulet, composition, Lachish, 900–700. HERRMANN 1994: no. 767 **66** Amulet, Achzib, 900–700. HERRMANN 1994: no. 769 **67** Amulet, Gezer, 900–600. HERRMANN 1994: no. 770 **68** Amulet, Gezer, 900–600. HERRMANN 1994: no. 771 **69** Amulet, Tell Abu Salima, 900–600. HERRMANN 1994: no. 772 **70** Amulet, Gezer, 600–37. HERRMANN 1994: no. 773 **71** Amulet, composition, Tell el-Far'ah (South), 1000–700. HERRMANN 1994: no. 775 **72** Amulet, Tell Abu Salima, 900–600. HERRMANN 1994: no. 778 **73** Amulet, carnelian, Deir el-Balah, 1300–900. HERRMANN 1994: no. 776 **74** Amulet, carnelian, Megiddo, 1300–900. HERRMANN 1994: no. 777 **75** Scarab, enstatite, Lachish, 1479–1292. TUFNELL et al. 1958: pl. 38:307 **76** Plaque, ivory, Nimrud 850–720. HERRMANN 1986: pl. 264:1018 **77** Bowl, silver, Praeneste, 710–675. HÖLBL 1979: II pl. 160:618a; Markoe **78** Cowry shell amulet, faience, Cerveteri, 750–650. HÖLBL 1979 II: pl. 64: 1a **79** Cowry shell amulet, faience, Cerveteri, 750–650. HÖLBL 1979 II: pl. 64: 2a **80** Scarab, glass (?), Sardinia, 500–300. HÖLBL 1986: I no. 230 **81** Scarab, carnelian, Byblos, 500–300. MENANT 1903: no. 2605 **82** Scarab, agate, Ard el-Kheraib (Carthage), 400–300. VERCOUTTER no. 703 **83\*** Plaque, ivory, 110 x 115 x 10 mm, Nimrud, 850–720. MALLOWAN 1966: no. 420; HERRMANN 1992: pl. 95:456. London, British Museum, 132258 **84** Plaque, ivory, Nimrud, 850–720. MALLOWAN 1966: no. 421 **85** Amulet, composition, Tell el-Far'ah (South), 1300–1100. HERRMANN 1994: no. 130 **86** Amulet, composition, Megiddo, 1250–1000. HERRMANN 1994: no. 131 **87** Amulet, composition, Megiddo, 1100–1000. HERRMANN 1994: no. 132 **88** Amulet, composition, Megiddo, 1100–1000. HERRMANN 1994: no. 133 **89** Amulet, composition, Megiddo, 1000–900. HERRMANN 1994: no. 134 **90** Amulet, composition, Megiddo, 1000–900. HERRMANN 1994: no. 135 **91** Amulet, composition, Lachish, 1000–900. HERRMANN 1994: no. 136 **92** Amulet, Gezer, 1000–900. HERRMANN 1994: no. 137 **93** Amulet,

Gezer, 1000–900. HERRMANN 1994: no. 138 **94** Amulet, composition, Beth-Shemesh, 1000–700. HERRMANN 1994: no. 139 **95** Amulet, composition, Tell Abu Salima, 1000–700. HERRMANN 1994: no. 140 **96** Amulet, composition, Megiddo, 900–700. HERRMANN 1994: no. 141 **97** Amulet, composition, Tell el-Ajjul, 1000–700. HERRMANN 1994: no. 142 **98** Amulet, composition, Lachish, 900–700. HERRMANN 1994: no. 143 **99** Amulet, Megiddo, 700–600. HERRMANN 1994: no. 144 **100** Amulet, Gezer, 600–37. HERRMANN 1994: no. 145 **101** Amulet, Megiddo, 700–600. HERRMANN 1994: no. 146 **102** Amulet, Tell en-Naşbeh. HERRMANN 1994: no. 147 **103** Amulet, Tell Abu Salima. HERRMANN 1994: no. 148 **104** Scaraboid, quartz, 800–600. AVIGAD/SASS 1997: no. 785 **105\*** Scaraboid, carnelian agate, 14 x 11 x 6 mm, 725–675. AVIGAD/SASS 1997: no. 1086. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des médailles, De Clercq collection, 2514 **106** Scarab, Jerusalem, 800–700. COUROYER 1970: pl. 10h, j **107\*** Scarab, limestone, 20 x 16.5 x 7.5 mm, Amman, 750–675. EGGLEGER/KEEL 2006: 'Amman no. 68. Amman, Jordan Archaeological Museum, J 1920 **108** Plaque, ivory, Nimrud, 850–720. HERRMANN 1986: pl. 42:186 **109** Plaque, ivory, Nimrud, 850–720. HERRMANN 1986: pl. 42:189 **110\*** Equestrian bridle-harness ornament, ivory, 110 x 56 x 17 mm, Nimrud, 850–720. ORCHARD 1967: pl. 38:183. Baghdad, Iraq Museum, IM 65928 **111** Plaque, ivory, Nimrud 850–720. HERRMANN 1992: pl. 48:238 **112** Plaque, ivory, Nimrud, 850–720. HERRMANN 1986: pl. 52:249 **113** Bowl, bronze, Nimrud, 750–500. LAYARD 1853: pl. 68, 2nd row; MARKOE 1985: 359, comparative photograph 5 **114** Jug, bronze, Carthage, 600–500. GUBEL 1985: fig. 13 **115** Vessel, faience, Papatishures, 700–600. HÖLBL 2000: pl. 4:2 **116** Plaque, bone, Ephesus, 650–575. HÖLBL 1993: pl. 22:1 **117** Plaque, ivory, Ephesus, 650–575. HÖLBL 1993: pl. 22:2, HÖLBL 2000: pl. 4:1 **118** Bowl, bronze, Nimrud, 700. BARNETT 1974: pl. 10 **119** Plaque, ivory, Nimrud, 850–720. MALLOWAN 1966: no. 482 **120** Plaque, ivory, Nimrud, 850–720. HERRMANN 1986: pl. 355:1366 **121\*** Scaraboid, carnelian, 15 x 11 x 6 mm, 750–700. AVIGAD/SASS 1997: no. 298. Jerusalem, Hebrew University, 4000

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