

Female solar deities

I. Introduction. In some Northwest and South Semitic languages the →sun [ANE] is of female gender. In Mesopotamia the Sumerian male sun god (→Solar deities) Utu determined the gender of the Assyro-Babylonian sun god →Shamash, which in Syro-Phoenicia and Palestine/Israel led to the adoption of the masculine gender for the solar deity (LIPÍŃSKI 1991: 58; LIPÍŃSKI 1995: 307f).

Noteworthy sun goddesses of the 2nd mill. are Shepesh (→Shemesh/Shepesh) at Ugarit (CAQUOT 1959), and the “Sun goddess of Arinna” in Syro-Anatolia who was later also identified with the Syrian goddess →Hebat (HAAS 1994: 386; for other sun goddesses of Hittite Anatolia see also § IV and IDD I/1: figs. 1-2, 5).

In Northwest Semitic literature of the 1st mill. sun goddesses are not attested (however, cf. reminiscences of the personified female sun as guard of truth as, e.g., in 2 Sam 12:11: *lě'ênê haššemeš hazz'ôt* “before the eyes of this sun” [fem.]; HARTMANN 1976: 994). This literary silence stands in contrast to the pictorial testimony of the same period, which indicates that the female solar deity was still well known. This iconographic evidence will be discussed below.

II. Typology

II.1. Phenotypes

1. WINGED SUN DISC AS BODY 1.1. Lotus flower in either hand (1-6) 1.2. No object in hands (7-43)
2. WINGED ANTHROPOMORPHIC BODY 2.1. Palmettes in either hand (44) 2.2. Lifting up a chariot (45-46)
2.3. No object in hands (47-49) 3. ANTHROPOMORPHIC BODY (50) 4. BIRD AS BODY AND BIRD-LIKE BODY (51-52) 5. SCARAB AS BODY (53-58)

1. WINGED SUN DISC AS BODY

1.1. Lotus flower in either hand.

On several North Syrian ivory chair-back panels from Room SW 7 of Fort Shalmaneser at Nimrud, the upper register depicts a sun disc with horizontally fanned-out wings, which is surmounted by a female torso (1*-6). The *en face* represented chubby face is framed by double →Hathor-like hair curls and fringes on the forehead. From the double locks the arms, decorated with bracelets, extend horizontally and rest along the top of the wings, each hand holding a lotus flower.

The frontal representation may be related to the *Henkelattaschen* (see § 1.2, III.1). However, Urartian fan-shaped chariot yoke standards from about 825-810 already depict a male solar god-in-the-winged-and-tailed-ring (→Figure in winged disc) in full-face view (MAASS 1987: pls. 4-5).

The beaded sun disc of 1* is likewise related to the same iconographic tradition,

since it is regularly used for the god-in-the-winged-and-tailed-ring on Urartian chariot fittings and horse trappings (MERHAV 1991: 53-109; for an occurrence on arm guards [?] see MERHAV 1991: 121, no. 6; for an ivory horse frontlet from Gordion see YOUNG 1962: pl. 46:24 = PRAYON 1987: 184f fig. 30; for an orthostate from Karatepe see AKURGAL 1961: pl. 149; ÇAMBEL/ÖZYAR 2003: pl. 27; furthermore, see also an ivory winged sun disc, possibly from Nimrud, in BARNETT 1957: pl. 123 V 12).

The solar god on the yoke standards mentioned above is furthermore related to the Nimrud ivories since the outstretched arms also hold a floral element (i.e., branches with pomegranates; see BARNETT 1975: pl. 14), a feature which is also characteristic of the winged goddess on the Tridacna shells of Group I (see § 2.1).

1.2. No object in hands. Numerous bronze attachments or so-called *Henkelattaschen*, which are placed on the rim of cauldrons, have the shape of a winged and tailed female torso whose outstretched arms rest on the outspread wings. The overall iconographic design of the Oriental type (for the Greek version see HERRMANN 1966: 90-113; MUSCARELLA 1992: 20f), which originates from the Syro-Anatolian border region (MUSCARELLA 1992: 21f; HERRMANN 1966: 59-67) but was found in Assyria, Urartu, Phrygia, Greece, and Italy (7*-43; for unpublished and/or unprovenanced pieces of the female type see HERRMANN 1966: 56-58, nos. 7-9, 37, 45-48, 58-59, 62-63; p. 186 inv. No. 6105), is related to the female solar deity of the Nimrud ivories. Particular solar features are the semicircle to which the wings are attached and, on some examples, the remains of the volutes of the Anatolian sun disc (11-12, 22 with AKURGAL 1961: pl. 134).

2. WINGED ANTHROPOMORPHIC BODY

2.1. Palmettes in either hand. Engraved Tridacna shells, produced in Middle or Southern Syria but recovered from Mesopotamia to Italy, have already been referred to by MALLOWAN (1966: II 496) as parallels for the solar deity of the Nimrud ivories (1*-6). Shells of Group I (STUCKY 1974: 19f) show the winged female deity with her outstretched arms holding two palmettes in either hand (44*); for fragments of Group I type shells see STUCKY 1974: nos. 5-6, 46, 55, 61, 78-79, 81, 87). In the case of the Tridacna shells of Group I the solar nature of the goddess is not indicated by a particular solar feature but by a general affinity to the solar goddess of the Nimrud

ivories (1*-6), with her outspread wings and arms holding a floral element.

2.2. Lifting up a chariot. A second parallel to the solar deity of the Nimrud ivories cited by MALLOWAN (1966: II 496) is a Phoenician silver bowl from the Bernardini tomb at Praeneste in Etruria (45*). A silver bowl from Kourion (46) displays the same hunting episode in the outer register as 45*. After shooting and flaying a stag, the royal hunter is depicted in scene no. 5 as making an offering in the presence of the winged sun disc. The following episode shows how the royal hunter, under attack by a →monkey, is rescued by a winged female deity by lifting him up in his chariot. Apart from the winged female torso, two aspects related to representations of solar deities: the Hathor-like hairstyle (see 1*, 51*-52*; for the identical hairstyle as 46 with bundled hair see the Hathoric head surmounted by a winged sun disc on bronze plaques, placed below bull attachments on a cauldron from Salamis found together with 51* [KARAGEORGHIS 1973: 112, fig. 28, pl. 243]); and the close association of the chariot and horse with the solar deity as known from Urartian chariot fittings and horse trappings (see § 1.1, IV).

2.3. No objects in hand. On Tridacna shells of Group II (STUCKY 1974: 20 fig. 5) the winged goddess's solar affinity is likewise not indicated by iconographic markers of her own but rather hinted at by the torso of a sun god in a lotus nimbus engraved on the exterior of the shell (47*-49; for shell fragments of Group II see STUCKY 1974: nos. 2-3, 7, 12-13, 15-20, 22, 25 [restored: BRANDL 1984: 77 fig. 1 = KEEL/UEHLINGER 1998: 346 fig. 337a], 28-32, 34, 36, 38-41, 43-45, 47-54, 56-60, 62-67, 69-72, 74-76, 80, 82, 86a, 89-90; GEVA 1980: 42 fig. 1-2). The solar nature of this male deity is indicated by the central medallion that is related to Syro-Anatolian solar symbolism; and corroborated by the middle ring of the nimbus, consisting of plain and cross-hatched triangles. The same pattern in varied execution also decorates the semicircle-shaped solar disc of the *Henkelattaschen*, as well as the dress of their winged solar deities (STUCKY 1974: 61f).

The combination of a female and male solar deity reminds of the Anatolian divine solar system, which has solar deities of both sexes whose roles are not always clearly separated (see fem. Hattic *Eštan* > masc. Hitt. *Ištanu* and the sexual ambivalence of the Hattic-Hittite sun deity, which resulted in the substitution of the male ^D*Ištanu(s)* by the female ^DUTU ^{URU}*Arinna*; see FAUTH 1979: 241f).

3. ANTHROPOMORPHIC BODY. In contrast to the above phenotypes, a different compositional concept is involved on an alabastron from the Isis tomb at Vulci, Etruria (suggested locations for the workshop are Cyprus, Phoenicia, North Syria, Naukratis or Rhodos [PRAYON 1987: 189]). Here a female is carrying a winged sun disc (50*). The latter is no longer an integral part of the solar goddess but is reduced to an object held by the deity (for female solar deities from Hittite Anatolia carrying a halo resembling the sun disc see IDD I/1: figs. 1-2).

In a similar pose, a male solar deity is carrying a sun disc on a 6th cent. Orientalizing Archaic Greek scarab from Cyprus (BOARDMAN 1968: pl. 3:40; see also 3:41) and on coins of Mallos in Cilicia dating to c. 425-385 (e.g., HILL 1900: cxx, pls. 16: 8-13; 40:9; see also BOARDMAN 1968: 32f). For a possible connection of these representations to 6th cent. Phoenician female terracotta figurines from Punic sites holding a disc (votive bread, sun, moon?) in front of them see HÖLBL 1979: I 360; KILIAN 1970: 206-208.

4. BIRD AS BODY AND BIRD-LIKE BODY. The winged Hathoric torso depicted on an equestrian pendant shoulder ornament from Salamis (51*) is iconographically related to the winged female deity on Phoenician silver bowls (45*-46). The torso hovers over a nude →Mistress-of-animals who stands on two →lions. However, in contrast to 45*-46 the upper body is also represented, including legs of birds well known from depictions of the winged sun disc. Related to this representation is the winged deity with Hathoric hairdress of the Bomford equestrian frontlet (52*). In this case the bird's legs rest on the head of the nude deity who is standing on a lion's head (somewhat similar to Hittite deities, which carry the sun disc on their head: e.g., AKURGAL 1961: pls. 104 above; BITTEL 1975: pl. 22:1); the body is clearly indicated as that of a bird (see the related motif with a plain sun disc above the naked goddess on a North Syrian ivory horse frontlet from Gordion [YOUNG 1962: pl. 46:24; PRAYON 1987: 184f fig. 30], and southern Syrian types from Nimrud [BARNETT 1957: pl. 63 S 146; BARNETT 1966: II 538f fig. 458; 582 fig. 549; ORCHARD 1967: pls. 28:135; 31:147]).

5. SCARAB AS BODY. The representation of the female solar deity, which derives from the Egyptian solar symbolism, differs from these examples. In this case the →scarab beetle forms the body of the goddess, which is surmounted by the anthropomorphic torso, a construction related to 1*,

7*, 45*, and 51*-52*. Two different iconographic types can be distinguished: either the raised arms of the deity support a triple *atef* crown as on a Phoenician silver bowl (53*) and a Nimrud ivory panel (54*), or they uphold a sun disc as on stamp seals (55*-56) and jewelry (57-58; *contra* LANCEL: the bracelet LANCEL 1991: 974, fig. 3b with missing surmounted head is hardly made by the same model as 57 and cannot be conjectured to be the same type as 57-58 due to its fragmentary state). The two-winged scarab (54*) is characteristic of the early type, in comparison to the four-winged type that occurs later (53*, 55*-58).

II.2. Standard associations

1. ASSOCIATED WITH DEITIES/DEMONS 1.1. Male solar deity (13-14, 47-49) 1.2. Naked goddess (51*-52*) 1.3. Heh 2. ASSOCIATED WITH ANIMALS 2.1. Horse 3. ASSOCIATED WITH HUMANS 3.1. Men performing and musicians participating in a tree ritual (1-5, 44) 3.2. Men performing an act of alliance (6)

1. ASSOCIATED WITH DEITIES/DEMONS

1.1. **Male solar deity.** On cauldron MM 3 from Gordion, two female winged *Henkelattaschen* (13-14) are combined with two similar bearded winged protomes, as they occur elsewhere on cauldrons (see HERRMANN 1966: 30f, nos. A 1-A 5, 58 nos. 58-59).

The joint appearance of a female and male solar deity is also typical of the Tridacna shells of Group II, which show on the exterior of the shell a male solar deity in a lotus nimbus (47*-49).

1.2. **Naked goddess.** The bird-like female solar deity appears in two examples on equestrian harness, hovering above or perching on the head of a naked goddess (see MARINATOS 2000: 18-27) who is standing on two lions or a lion's head (51*-52*).

1.3. **Heh.** The anthropomorphic scarab traveling in a solar barque on the Phoenician silver bowl 53* is flanked by two kneeling male figures wearing the crown of Upper and Lower Egypt. The feather they hold suggests that they represent the god of infinity, →Heh, who belongs to the sphere of the sun god.

2. ASSOCIATED WITH ANIMALS

2.1. **Horse.** The sun goddess is indirectly associated with the horse by the equestrian harness on which she is depicted (51*-52*), a relationship which is particularly significant in regard to the female solar deity on Phoenician metal bowls. Here she is shown saving the royal hunter by lifting him up with his chariot and horse (45*-46).

3. ASSOCIATED WITH HUMANS

3.1. **Men performing and musicians involved in a tree ritual.** Below the female winged sun disc of the Nimrud ivories, men wearing “flowerpot” helmets are depicted grasping the tendrils of a tree (1*-5). Due to their armor-like dress and their helmets they have been compared to warriors (MALLOWAN/HERRMANN 1974: 9). However, it is not clear whether these figures should be considered as simply humans. They may well be divine beings performing a tree ritual.

The interior of the Tridacna shells of Group I (44*) depicts a central palm tree between two outward-facing protecting sphinxes, flanked on either side by a group of musicians with a kneeling figure holding lotus tendrils in their midst.

3.2. **Men performing an act of alliance.** Among the “flowerpot”-helmet group of the SW 7 ivories, two figures appear side by side, holding each other by the wrist in an act of alliance (6).

III. Sources

III.1. **Chronological range.** The early Late Hittite *Henkelattaschen* (7*, 9-23) and the SW 7 ivories (1*-6) are contemporary, since they both have close parallels to the Zinjirli and Sakçe Gözü reliefs (HERRMANN 1966: 65f; WINTER 1976: 52). WINTER (1976: 52; HERRMANN 1986: 49) dated the ivories to 740-730, which corresponds with HERRMANN's (1966: 87) conclusion that the production of the early late Hittite *Henkelattaschen* must have started at the latest around 725, if not somewhat earlier. Since the Assyrianizing *Henkelattasche* 8 is considered to be a predecessor of the early late Hittite group (HERRMANN 1966: 70f), its *terminus ante quem* will be around the middle of the 8th cent. The North Syrian-influenced horse frontlets 51*-52* in the last quarter of the 8th cent. give way to the Southern Syrian/Phoenician solar tradition, exemplified by the SW 37 ivory panel 54*. The new Egyptianizing Phoenician solar metaphor was soon adopted into different media. Around the turn of the century it appears on a silver bowl 53, and in the 7th-mid-6th cent. on stamp seals (55*-56). In the 6th-5th cent. it was finally adopted on jewelry (57-58).

At the same time that the anthropomorphic winged scarab motif began to proliferate, the North Syrian tradition of the anthropomorphic winged sun disc reappears on the Phoenician silver bowls 45*-46 (on the Assyrian influence see MARKOE 1985: 8, 67), and from 675-600 on Tridacna shells (44*, 48*). A possible late development of the North Syrian female solar tradition is the

sun disc carrying anthropomorphic alabastron **50***, dated to around 600.

III.2. Geographical distribution.

Most objects under discussion were not recovered at their production centers but ended up as exports throughout the Mediterranean, as far as Italy in the west and Babylon in the east (see the Tridacna shell fragments mentioned in § II.1.2.1). Known exports to Palestine/ Israel are Tridacna shell **47*** and scaraboid **55***. Others, such as ivories **1*-6** and **54***, were taken as booty to Mesopotamia.

Three main production regions have been identified: First, Northern Syria in regard to the *Henkelattaschen* and the SW 7 Nimrud ivories (**1*-37**, **39**, **41**, **43**), and probably the horse trappings **51*-52*** as well. Second, Middle or Southern Syria (STUCKY 1974: 103) for the Tridacna shells (**44***, **47*-49**) and Southern Syria (or possibly Samaria?, see HERRMANN 1986: 52) for the ivory horse frontlet **54***. Third, a Phoenician production is attributed to silver bowls (**45*-46**, **53***), stamp seals (**55*-56**), and jewelry (**57-58**).

Some Phoenician items allow a closer localization of their production center. In the case of **45*-46** a Phoenician workshop in Cyprus is most likely. Bowl **53** may have been produced in Cyprus or by a local Phoenician in Etruria, Italy, following the Cypro-Phoenician tradition (MARKOE 1985: 147). The stamp seal **55*** was probably produced in Phoenicia and exported to Palestine/Israel where its inscription was added (see UEHLINGER 1993: 276). Anepigraphic scarab **56**, with the same motif as **55***, is of local Cypriote serpentine tradition.

The production center of alabastron **50** is disputed (see § II.1.3), but a Cypro-Phoenician or Syrian attribution seems most likely.

III.3. Object types. In the North Syrian tradition the female solar deity appears as bronze attachments on cauldrons (**8*-37**, **39**, **41**, **43**); decorative ivory panels of chairs (**1*-7**), possibly serving in a cultic setting; and bronze horse trappings (**51*-52***). The ivory panel **54*** (of so far unknown function) and Tridacna shells **44***, **47*-49** belong to the Middle/South Syrian tradition. Object types relating to the Phoenician tradition comprise silver bowls (**45*-46**, **53***), stamp seals (**55*-56**), and jewelry (**57-58**). Of singular occurrence is alabastron **50**.

IV. Conclusion. The composite construction of an anthropomorphic torso with a sun disc is of Assyrian origin and first attested on a glazed brick fragment (ANEP No. 536) from the time of Tukulti-Ninurta II

(890-884). Winged vessel attachments appear on buckets held by divine beings performing the pollination rite of the sacred tree (see, e.g., STEARNS 1961: pls. 14, 59), which is depicted on relief orthostates in the palace of Ashurnasirpal II (883-859). The same theme was also adopted in late Hittite art (e.g., AKURGAL 1961: pl. 134). The Assyrianizing cauldron attachment **8**, dated to c. 750 (*terminus ante quem*), represents the earliest female adaptation of this concept and is the “prototype” for the early late Hittite *Henkelattaschen* (**7***, **9-23**).

The representation of the solar deity as female in the Syro-Anatolian region corresponds well with the female gender of the solar deity in many Northwest Semitic languages (see § I). In central Anatolia the female solar deity can be traced back to the Hattic sun goddess Eštan. Among the many local city sun goddesses of this region, the earth-goddess Urunzimu/Wurunšemu of Arinna, later also known as “Sun goddess of Arinna” (see also Ug. *špš ’arr*; KTU 3.1 19) who was represented by votive discs (*šittar*) (see RIEMSCHEIDER 1961: pl. 108; HAAS 1994: 424f), served from Hattušili I (1565-1540) as supreme goddess of the Hittite pantheon. She was gradually replaced by the Hurritic male sun god Šimige, who is represented in the mid-13th cent. at the open-air rock sanctuary of Yazılıkaya (HAAS 1994: 379, 420-425).

However, despite the long-standing local tradition which equates the female solar deity with the “Sun goddess of Arinna,” it is problematic to identify iconographic representations, as is frequently done with the Nimrud ivories (**1*-6**), for example, with this particular deity or its Ugaritic pendant Shepesh, whose literary attestation is 450-650 years older. Because of the lack of literarily attested 1st mill. female solar deities, it seems more prudent to establish the function and character of the iconographically discussed female sun goddesses than to name them.

In regard to the *Henkelattaschen* such a definition is hampered by the iconographic isolation of the object. The bearded type, which occurs sometimes together with the female type (**14-15**), does not add significantly more information. Neither do cauldrons with additional lion and griffin protomes (**22-23**, **36-37**), as they are a later addition to the cauldrons after they were exported to the west (HERRMANN 1966: 148). However, the use of cauldrons with *Henkelattaschen* as funerary equipment in the royal tomb of the Phrygian king Midas and the Etruscan tombs of members of a warrior aristocracy is noteworthy when

compared to the cauldrons from Greece (20-21, 24-35, 38-43) being used in temples.

The female solar deity on the SW 7 ivories (1*-7) is closely related to the early *Henkelattaschen* since they share stylistic features related to the iconographic tradition of Zinjirli and Sakçe Gözü during the time of Tiglath-Pileser III (744-727) (see § III.1). Expanded information on the solar goddess of the SW 7 ivories is provided by iconographic features and their iconographic context. The lotus flower, symbol of regeneration, held by the sun goddess of the Nimrud ivories blends well with the “program” of the SW 7 ivories with its tree rituals in the presence of the sun goddess (WINTER 1976: 45), particularly since the local female solar tradition of the region is strongly connected with the life-giving earth. Urunzimu, the Hattic name of the “Sun goddess of Arinna,” has been interpreted as “mother of the earth” (KLINGER 1992: 127f; HAAS 1994: 421). Furthermore, in contrast to the male celestial sun god, the solar characteristics of the “Sun goddess of Arinna” are blurred and superimposed by distinct telluric-fecundative characteristics as well as regal ones (FAUTH 1979: 239). Against this background the Hathor-like hairstyle is particularly apt, since this Egyptian deity is associated with the sun and has life-giving and sustaining capacities (see DDD 385).

WINTER (1976: 49 with n. 96) suggested that the simple sun disc with Hathor curls on the SW 7 ivories is an abbreviated form of the female torso with Hathoric hairstyle (1*). However, the presentation of all iconographic evidence of similar Hittite sun discs dating back to the Old Hittite kingdom does not sustain such an assertion (see, e.g., the sun disc with volutes of royal Hittite cartouches, which stands for the royal appellative ^DUTU^{SI} “My Sun,” which relates to the male celestial sun).

The female solar deity with a Hathor hairstyle is particularly associated with horses and chariots (51*-52*, 45*-46). MARKOE pointed out that the silver bowls 45*-46 belonged to a “cultural tradition known as a ‘warrior aristocracy’” (1985: 79, 84-86), due to the horse and chariot burials associated with them. It is worth noting that among the grave goods associated with 45* was the cauldron with *Henkelattaschen* 22-23.

The North Syrian tradition of the sun goddess thus attributes properties which are of life-sustaining and protecting as well as regenerative nature.

Closely related is the use of the Tridacna shells (44*, 48) as containers for makeup

(STUCKY 1974: 96-99), which had not only a rejuvenating purpose but was also of regenerative nature due to its association with the Eye of →Horus (MÜLLER 1984: 665).

The female solar deity related to the Egyptian symbol system accentuates the rising or youthful sun. Panel 54* expresses this notion by means of the →scarab beetle and by its overall composition, which is close to that of →Harpocrates, a symbol for rejuvenation and fertility, sitting on a lotus flower (→Harpocrates 189*). On 53* the barque opposite the female solar deity again shows Harpocrates, this time flanking a four-winged scarab, and in the upper barque →Osiris, who was vital to the deceased’s after-life (DDD 650).

V. Catalogue

1* Panel, ivory, 28.7 x 6.7 cm, Nimrud, 740-730. Baghdad, Iraq Museum, inv. no. MALLOWAN/HERRMANN 1974: 16-19, 85f no. ND 7919, pl. 48:38 2-6 Object type, material, date, provenance, and bibliography as 1*: 2 p. 86f no. ND 7925, pl. 49:39 3 p. 87 no. ND 7926, pl. 48:40 4 p. 87 no. ND 7922, pl. 49:41 5 p. 88 no. ND 7923, pl. 51:45 6 p. 87f no. ND 7924, pl. 50:43 7* Cauldron attachment, bronze, 24 x 9 cm, Alishar, 740-730. St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum, 0.16003. HERRMANN 1966: 57, no. 18; PIOTROWSKI 1969: pls. 103-105; (a) *VANDEN BERGHE/DE MEYER 1982: 210, no. 181; (b) *MERHAV 1991: 230, fig. 8.1a 8-43 Object type, and material as 7*: 8 Nimrud (?), c. 750. HERRMANN 1966: 56, no. 1, pl. 22 9 Van, 740-730. HERRMANN 1966: 56, no. 2, pl. 24:1-2; MERHAV 1991: 231, fig. 8.3 10 Van, 740-730. HERRMANN 1966: 56, no. 3, pl. 24:3-5 11 Van, 740-730. HERRMANN 1966: 57, no. 4, pl. 25:1-2 12 Van, 740-730. HERRMANN 1966: 57, no. 5, pl. 26 13 Van, 740-730. MAXWELL-HYSLOP 1956: pl. 26:1-2; HERRMANN 1966: 57, no. 6 14-15 Gordion, 740-730. HERRMANN 1966: 57, nos. 12-13; YOUNG 1981: pls. 46A; 49B; 54B; 55B; 56B; 57B, D, F, H-I 16-19 Gordion, 740-730. HERRMANN 1966: 57, nos. 14-17; YOUNG 1981: pls. 46B; 51-54A 20 Olympia, 740-730. HERRMANN 1966: 31, no. A 6, pl. 12; 28:1 21 Olympia, 740-730. HERRMANN 1966: 31, no. A 7, pl. 13 22-23 Praeneste, 740-730. HERRMANN 1966: 58, no. 56-57, pl. 25:5-6 24 Olympia, 730-725. HERRMANN 1966: 31, no. A 8, pl. 14 25 Olympia, 725-700. HERRMANN 1966: 31, no. A 9, pl. 15 26 Olympia, 725-700. HERRMANN 1966: 31, no. A 10, pl. 16 27 Olympia, 725-700. HERRMANN 1966: 31f, no. A 11, pl. 17 28 Olympia, 725-700. HERRMANN 1966: 32, no. A 12, pl. 18; 28:4 29 Olympia, 725-700. HERRMANN 1966: 32, no. A 13, pl. 19 30 Delphi, 725-700. HERRMANN 1966: 57, no. 38; PERDRIZET 1908: 81, no. 367, pl. 12:4; KUNZE 1931: pl. 56a 31 Delphi, 725-700. HERRMANN 1966: 57, no. 40; PERDRIZET 1908: 81, no. 368, pl. 12:2-2 bis KUNZE 1931: pl. 56b 32 Delphi, 725-700. HERRMANN 1966: 57, no. 41; PERDRIZET 1908: 81, no. 366, pl. 12:1-1 bis 33 Delphi, 725-700. HERRMANN 1966: 58, no. 49; AMANDRY 1958: pl. 6e 34-35 Ptoion, 725-700. HERRMANN 1966: 58, no. 52-53; BOSSERT 1942: nos. 1167-1168 (wrongly indicated provenance) 36-37 Vetulonia, 725-700. HERRMANN 1966: 58, no. 60-61, pl. 6:4 38 Delphi, 700-675. HERRMANN 1966: 57, no. 39; PERDRIZET 1908: 81, no. 364, pl. 13:1-1 bis 39 Delphi, 700-675. HERRMANN 1966: 58, no. 42; PERDRIZET 1908: 81, no. 362, pl. 13:2-2 bis 40 Delphi, 700-675. HERRMANN 1966: 58, no. 43, pl. 27:3-4 41 Delphi, 700-675. HERRMANN 1966: 58, no. 44; DE RIDDER 1915: pl. 94:2604 42 Lindos, 700-675. HERRMANN 1966: 58, no. 54, pl. 27:1-2 43 Delos, 700-675. HERRMANN 1966: 58, no. 55; DEONNA 1938: 68f, pl. 29:212-213 44* Tridacna shell, 25.4 x 15.5 cm, Assur, 675-600. Berlin, Vorderasiatisches Museum, VA 5526. STUCKY 1974: 22f, no. 1; *ANDRAE 1939: pl. 10 below, 89 fig. 1 45* Bowl, silver, 18.9 x 3.3 cm, Praeneste, 710-675. Rome, Museo di Villa Giulia, no. 61565. MARKOE 1985: 191 no. E2, 278-283; (a) *HÖLBL 1979: II pl. 159b; (b) MARKOE 1985: 279 46 Bowl, silver, Kourion, 710-675. MARKOE 1985: 177 no. Cy7, 254f. 47* Tridacna shell, 22.5 x 12.5 cm, Bethlehem, 675-600. London, British Museum, 65 8-3 1; E 48287. *STUCKY 1974: 32, no. 26, pl. 17 48 Tridacna shell, Sippar, 675-600. STUCKY 1974: 30, no. 21, pl. 12 49 Tridacna shell, Rhodes, 675-600. STUCKY 1974: 47, no. 68, pl. 44 50* Alabastron, alabaster, 48 cm, Vulci, 600. British Museum, inv. no. KÖRTE/KÖRTE 1904: 124f, fig. 109; *POULSEN 1912: 94f, fig. 89 51* Horse side

pendant ornament, bronze, 29.5 (d) cm; total height: 58 cm, Salamis, 725-700. **Present location, inv. no.** KARAGEORGHIS 1973: 21-23 nos. 155+162, 83f, pls. 84 left; 272:155 **52*** Horse frontlet, bronze, c. 17 x 24 cm, 725-700. **Present location, inv. no.** BARNETT 1964: 23 fig. 1, pls. 2:2; 3:1-2; 4:1 **53*** Bowl, silver, 19 x 3.5 cm, Praeneste, 710-675. Rome, Museo di Villa Giulia, no. 61574. HÖLBL 1979: I 297, fig. 4; II pl. 161a; MARKOE 1985: 188-191 no. E1, 274-277; *MOSCATI 1966: 484, fig. 23 **54*** Panel, ivory, Nimrud, 725-700. **Present location, inv. no.** HERRMANN 1986: 234 no. 1265, pl. 329:1265; *GUBEL 1993: 123 fig. 63 **55*** Scaraboid, dark grey stone (lapis lazuli?), 17 x 12 x 7 mm, 700. Péronne, Musée Municipal, collection Danicourt. LEMAIRE/SASS 1996: 30-32, no. 2, fig. 2; *AVIGAD/SASS 1997: no. 103 **56** Scarab, "green steatite", Cyprus, 625-550. VOLLENWEIDER 1967: 119, pl. 61:8, 10-11; REYES 2001: 118 fig. 281 **57** Diadem plaque, silver, Byrsa (Carthage), 600-575. LANCEL 1991: 972, fig. 2a-c **58** Diadem plaque, silver, Douïmes (Carthage), 600-575. LANCEL 1991: 974, fig. 3a

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