ARCHIMÈDE N°8

ARCHÉOLOGIE ET HISTOIRE ANCIENNE

2021

DOSSIER THÉMATIQUE 1
SIUE DEUS SIUE DEA. DÉNOMINATIONS DIVINES DANS LES MONDES GREC ET SÉMITIQUE : UNE APPROCHE PAR LE GENRE

1 **Corinne Bonnet, Thomas Galoppin, Adeline Grand-Clément**
Que fait le genre aux dénominations divines, entre mondes grecs et sémitiques ?

17 **Stella Georgoudi**
Qu'est-ce qu'une « Grande » (*Megalê*) divinité en Grèce ancienne ?

32 **Stéphanie Anthonioz**
Noms et corps divins dans les textes bibliques : une approche par le genre

42 **Audrey Vasselin**
De la bonne manière de nommer Athéna à Athènes :
l'emploi de *hê theos* dans les inscriptions athéniennes (VIe-IVe siècles av. J.-C.)

54 **Aleksandra Kubiak-Schneider**
Women in the votive dedications from Palmyra

65 **Marie Augier**
Dénominations divines, genre des acteurs du rituel et des agents cultuels : le cas des prêtrises de Dionysos

▶ 84 **Adriano Orsingher**
Giving a face to a name. Phoenician and Punic Divine Iconographies, Names and Gender

98 DOSSIER THÉMATIQUE 2
TRADITION ET TRANSMISSION DANS L'ANTIQUITÉ : RÉFLEXIONS INTERDISCIPLINAIRES

159 ACTUALITÉ DE LA RECHERCHE
QUOI DE NEUF À L'OUEST DE STRASBOURG ? KOENIGSHOFFEN : ÉTAT DES LIEUX ET DÉCOUVERTES RÉCENTES

195 VARIA

REVUE ARCHIMÈDE
ARCHÉOLOGIE ET HISTOIRE ANCIENNE

GIVING A FACE TO A NAME. PHOENICIAN AND PUNIC DIVINE ICONOGRAPHIES, NAMES AND GENDER.

Adriano ORSINGHER

Postdoctorant
Eberhard Karls Universität Tübingen
Biblisch-Archäologisches Institut

adriano.orsingher@gmail.com

RÉSUMÉ

This paper explores the relationship between divine names, iconographies and gender within the framework of Phoenician and Punic religious beliefs and rituals. After an introduction to gender studies in this field, it briefly outlines the strategies for representing deities in the Levant and acknowledges some difficulties in distinguishing divine imagery, determining the type of deities and identifying their name. The analysis then considers engendering characterisation, gender ambiguity and gender in ritual practices, with a special focus on a mask apparently embodying female and male elements, and on the shrine of Sarepta, where a double reality – textual and visual – emerges. This article argues that a certain iconographic fluidity characterising Phoenician and Punic divine images occurred around the time of the "Phoenician expansion" and it may have helped in establishing a "middle ground" for cultural contacts and trade relations.

Keywords
Phoenicians, deities, imagery, gender, iconography, names.

Cette contribution étudie la relation entre les noms, les iconographies et le genre divins dans le cadre des croyances et des rituels religieux phéniciens et puniques. Après une introduction aux études de genre dans ce domaine, l'article met rapidement en avant les stratégies utilisées pour représenter le divin dans le Levant et reconnaît quelques difficultés à distinguer le caractère divin des images, à déterminer le type de divinités concernées, et à identifier leurs noms. L'analyse considérera donc les attributions de genre, l'ambiguïté de genre et le genre dans les pratiques rituelles, à partir d'un masque qui, apparemment, construit un corps avec des éléments masculins et féminins, et le sanctuaire de Sarepta, là où une double réalité – textuelle et visuelle – émerge. Cet article montre qu'une certaine fluidité iconographique caractérisant les images divines phéniciennes et puniques émerge autour de l'époque de « l'expansion phénicienne » et qu'elle a pu contribuer à mettre en place un « middle ground » pour des contacts culturels et des relations commerciales.

Mots-clés
Phéniciens, divinités, images, genre, iconographie, noms.

Article accepté après évaluation par deux experts selon le principe du double anonymat

ARCHIMÈDE Archéologie et histoire ancienne N°8 2021 - p. 84 à 97
Dossier thématique 1.
« *Siue deus siue dea.* Dénominations divines dans les mondes grec et sémitique : une approche par le genre »
https://doi.org/10.47245/archimede.0008.ds1.07

GENDER ARCHAEOLOGY AND PHOENICIAN AND PUNIC STUDIES: A SHORT INTRODUCTION

As a consequence of post-processual theories, once-marginalized narratives and approaches have been the object of a growing interest in the study of ancient societies. Among them, gender has probably received the most attention in recent years **[1]**. Since the 1950s **[2]**, a distinction between biological sex and gender was firstly offered in psychiatry and psychology. Gender, which depends on social and cultural factors (e.g. role, status, behaviour or identity), was later introduced by G. Rubin **[3]** into anthropology. The adoption of this term and related concepts in archaeology occurred more slowly and it coincided with the development of a feminist approach to archaeology, particularly in the United States and Scandinavia **[4]**. Although it was not the first attempt, the paper by M. Conkey and J. Spector **[5]** is usually assumed to be the starting point of gender archaeology, which – during the past three decades – has produced a substantial amount of works and attempts to explore new approaches **[6]**. Feminism has certainly determined that, within the wide umbrella of gender, a major interest has been dedicated (especially at an early stage) to studying the role of women in ancient societies beyond their stereotypical image and the androcentrism previously characterising archaeological interpretations. Since 2000, queer archaeologies have challenged gender binaries and dichotomies in archaeology **[7]**. Apart from the pioneering work of T. Yates **[8]**, an interest towards a more critical and balanced view of masculinity in antiquity has emerged more recently **[9]**.

In Phoenician and Punic studies, gender has been examined in a limited manner in works mostly concerning the role of female figures **[10]**, particularly those taking part in cult activities **[11]**. While, at first, the focus was predominantly on textual sources and epigraphy **[12]**, more recently greater attention has been given to archaeological evidence and domestic areas, even sometimes adopting a fresh theoretical perspective **[13]**. To a much lesser extent, the investigation has focused on the relationships between divine images, names and gender, which is precisely the focus of the present article.

VISUALIZING DEITIES FROM THE BRONZE AGE LEVANT TO THE "PHOENICIAN AND PUNIC WORLD"

Humans can view the divine in both abstract and tangible ways. The visualization of deities in Phoenician and Punic-speaking areas was manifold and could include different forms, ranging from (in most of the cases) strictly human to hybrid and composite representations. The latter mostly derived from foreign traditions, such as the Egyptian and the Greek ones. In addition, deities and superhuman beings could have been recognized in aniconic elements, such as standing stones and stelae **[14]**.

The Phoenician way of portraying divine figures continued the Levantine traditions of the Bronze Age **[15]**, in terms of both iconographies and types of artefacts (e.g. *stelae*, statues, metal and clay figurines). Some changes occurred during the Iron Age as a consequence of various phenomena, including the adoption of simplified iconographic types, a growing influence of Greek-type imagery from the late-6th/5th centuries BCE **[16]** and the occasional use in later phases of genuine Egyptian divine iconographies **[17]**.

[1] Hodder 1995: 77.
[2] Money, Hampton & Hampton 1955; Stoller 1968; Oakley 1972.
[3] Rubin 1975.
[4] Conkey & Spector 1997: with references.
[5] Conkey & Spector 1984.
[6] Wright 1996; Wyke 1998; Bolger 2008.
[7] Voss 2000.
[8] Yates 1993.
[9] Alberti 2006.
[10] For a review of the history of studies, see: Pla Orquín 2015, p. 32-45, with references.
[11] Most recently, see: Ferrer & Lafrenz Samuels 2016.
[12] For a recent account, see: Pla Orquín 2019.
[13] E.g., Delgado 2016a; Delgado 2016b.
[14] Doak 2015.
[15] Lewis 2005.
[16] For the Levant, see: Martin 2017.
[17] E.g., Orsingher 2020, p. 157, n. 74. This later phenomenon should be distinguished from the earlier adoption of Egyptian divine elements (e.g., headgears) and Egyptianizing iconographic types.

IDENTIFYING A DEITY: A METHODOLOGICAL PREMISE

Using the general to the particular pattern, I. Cornelius **[18]** has indicated three stages through which it is possible to distinguish and characterise the iconography of a deity. Each of them answers a different question.

"IS THIS A DEITY?"

The first issue is the distinction between human and divine characters. In the literature, there are many cases where scholars suggested different readings of the same type of figures. The best-known example is probably that of the clay figurines of naked women (**fig. 1**). Although often described as "Astarte figurines", they have been connected to a variety of goddesses and also considered as images of priestesses or worshippers **[19]**.

Fig. 1: Tharros, necropolis: clay figurine of a nude female, c. 6th century BCE (after Peters 2004, p. 181, n. 115).

In the absence of inscriptions, divine figures can be recognized through their gestures (e.g., blessing, smiting or menacing), headgear (e.g., horned or Egyptian crowns), objects held in their hands (e.g., animals, sceptres, weapons, plants) or associated animals, but also their position on thrones, animal pedestals or other types of bases **[20]**. When looking for elements hinting at the divine nature of a figure, the use of rare/precious materials or the larger scale of an image should also be considered, especially if the depiction appears on artefacts that are more frequently associated with deities (e.g., statues, protomes, metal figurines).

"WHAT TYPE OF DEITY IS DEPICTED?"

Once an image has been identified as a divine figure, the following step includes naming such god/goddess or – when their gestures, position and other elements are ambiguous – establishing at least their type and functions **[21]**. In the Phoenician and Punic cases, the difficulty in the identification of the deities **[22]** also depends on the fact that their mythology remains poorly known, usually allowing only a very general characterisation of the divine iconographies.

R. Barnett **[23]**, for instance, pointed out a group of three artefacts (i.e., a decorated bowl, a figurine and an axe-head) showing a similar divine figure (**fig. 2**), very likely to be the same deity. This standing beardless and barefooted figure wears a sort of triple Atef crown between uraeus cobras and a long garment reaching to the ankles. This deity, wearing two swords in its belt, holds a curved weapon in its raised right arm and a spear or an ellipse-shaped shield in the left. Although Barnett suggested its identification with Anat **[24]**, it is not legitimate to go beyond its mere description as a menacing or warrior deity.

"WHAT IS THE NAME OF THE SPECIFIC DEITY?"

The only reliable and methodologically correct way to precisely identify a divine figure is through an inscription mentioning a deity that is incised or painted on the same representation **[25]**. Unfortunately, this is rarely the case for Phoenician and Punic deities **[26]**. The few known examples include the stele of Yehawmilk

[18] Cornelius 1994, p. 14.
[19] Cornelius 2014, p. 99-100.
[20] Cornelius 1994, p. 15.
[21] Cornelius 1994, p. 15.
[22] Falsone 1986.
[23] Barnett 1969, p. 407-411.
[24] Barnett 1969, p. 409.
[25] Cornelius 1994, p. 16.
[26] Gubel 2019, p. 349.

Fig. 2:
1. Nimrud: "Pantheon bowl", c. 8th century BCE (after Barnett 1935, fig. 7);
2. Qala'at Faqra: bronze statuette, c. 9th century BCE (after Fontan & Le Meaux 2007, p. 334, n. 135);
3. Bronze axe-head, c. 8th century BCE? (after Seeden 1980, pl. 131, 11).

mentioning the Baalat Gubal **[27]**, the stele of Melqart from Bureij **[28]**, and the bronze enthroned statuette of Astarte from the sanctuary of El Carambolo **[29]** (**fig. 3**).

However, an inscription may have been also added secondarily, as it has been suggested for the so-called stele of Amrit **[30]** (**fig. 4**), consequently raising doubts on the association between the inscription mentioning Shadrapa and the iconography. In the remaining cases, the tentative identification can be based on inscriptions coming from the same find context. Good examples in this regard are the female images from the shrine of Sarepta **[31]** and the statue from the temple of Monte Sirai **[32]**, which have been respectively found with an ivory plaque mentioning Tinnit-Astarte **[33]** and a bronze lamina addressed to Astarte **[34]**. Since

[27] Gubel & Bordreuil 2002b.
[28] Cecchini 2013.
[29] Navarro Ortega 2016.
[30] Cecchini 1997; Gubel & Bordreuil 2002b.
[31] Pritchard 1975, p. 13-40, figs. 16:5, 43:1, 45:3.
[32] Cecchini 1991.
[33] Pritchard 1982.
[34] Amadasi Guzzo 1967, p. 121-123, n. 39, pl. XLVII.

Fig. 3:
1. Byblos: stele of Yehawmilk, c. 450 BCE (after Fontan & Le Meaux 2007, p. 48, n. 67);
2. Bureij: basalt stele of Melqart, c. mid-9th century BCE (after Fontan & Le Meaux 2007, p. 116, n. 77);
3. El Carambolo: bronze statuette of Astarte, c. mid-8th–early 7th century BCE (after Navarro Ortega 2016, fig. 1).

Fig. 4: Nahr el-Abrash?: stele of Shadrapa, c. 6th century BCE (after Fontan & Le Meaux 2007, p. 52, n. 76).

Fig. 5: Syria: bronze statuette of a goddess, c. 8th century BCE (after Fontan & Le Meaux 2007, p. 158, n. 132).

a temple could have hosted the cult of various deities, however, the association between inscription and iconography cannot be considered unambiguous in these cases.

When the association between an iconography and a deity is established, it should be kept in mind that the same divine figure may have been portrayed showing a variety of gestures and attributes, which provide useful hints for characterising specific aspects/functions of the deity. However, the iconography of a deity may have changed over time or in specific regions, as a result of different phenomena, such as the assimilation with another deity, which is attested – for instance – in the case of the god Melqart by the adoption of the so-called iconography of Herakles-Melqart **[35]** or, more generally, by the appearance of the Herakles' iconography in Phoenician and Punic sites **[36]**.

Images with inscriptions mentioning deities can be used to identify identical iconographies lacking inscriptions or elements characterising a specific deity. An interesting case is a bronze figurine resembling the iconography of the goddess Baalat Gubal **[37]** in the stele of Yehawmilk (**fig. 5**). However, the same image could have been employed to represent a variety of deities. Bes and Silenus are probably the best-known examples of such practice: their iconographies were used in different contexts and in relation to various divine figures **[38]**. Another interesting case is attested in Cyprus, where – around the mid-7th century BCE – a stone monument was dedicated to the god Reshef-Shed in a sanctuary in the region of Pyla **[39]** (**fig. 6**). It consisted in a pyramidal cippus bearing a three-line Phoenician inscription that was crowned by a bearded and wrinkled head likely to be identified as Bes.

Not all the deities epigraphically attested **[40]** appear to have a specific iconography. A case study in this regard is the god Baal Hammon, the main deity of the so-called Tophet sanctuaries **[41]**. Notwithstanding the numerous inscriptions found in this type of sacred areas, there is not yet any evidence proving a clear connection between an inscription and the god's image.

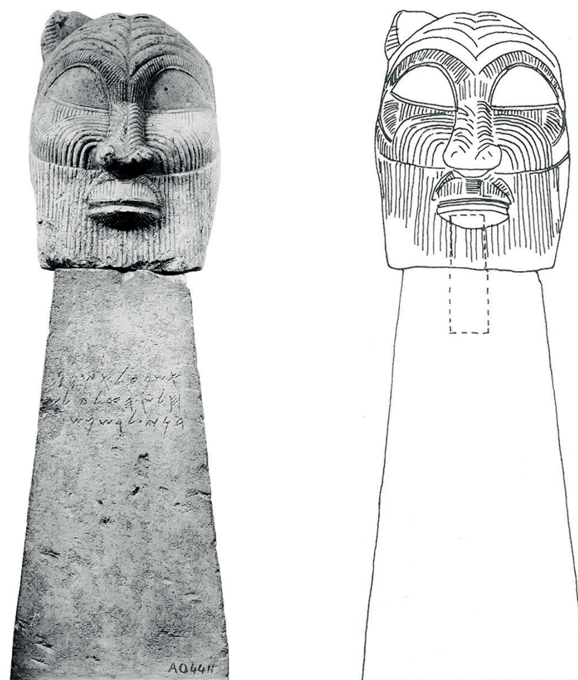

Fig. 6: Palaikastro: limestone cippus with Phoenician inscription and Bes-like bearded head, c. 650 BCE (after Hermary 1989, p. 295).

[35] Bonnet 2007a.
[36] As it is attested, for instance, at Motya (Mammina & Toti 2011, p. 34, fig. 13).
[37] Bonnet 1996, p. 19-30, 155-157.
[38] Garbati 2008, p. 85-88; Orsingher forthcoming.
[39] Hermary 1984; Hermary 1989, p. 295-296. However, a different reading and interpretation of this theonym has been recently suggested (Daccache 2019).
[40] Lipiński 1995.
[41] Xella 1991.

Although other hypotheses have been suggested **[42]**, this god is usually recognized in an anepigraphic stele from the Tophet of Sousse (**fig. 7**), which shows a bearded character wearing a high conical headdress, holding a wand/sceptre and sitting on a throne with winged sphinxes **[43]**. Did this god have various faces, or did this variety of iconography depend on regional or chronological differences? For the time being, these questions remain unsolved.

Fig. 7: Sousse, Tophet: stele, c. 5th century BCE (after Picard 1954, pl. CXXVI, Cb 1075).

A further level of investigation may include considering deities' epithets **[44]** and understanding whether they implied some kind of iconographic differentiation. A remarkable case is the statuette of Astarte ḤR from El Carambolo. The meaning of this qualification remains debated **[45]**, while her image as a naked seated goddess seems quite ordinary. One may wonder if some original features – such as the throne, headgear, elements held in her hands, or her garments – are now missing and they may have been precisely those differentiating this particular type of Astarte **[46]**.

FULL-LENGTH FIGURES VS FACIAL IMAGES

In Phoenician and Punic-speaking areas, the emergence of some simplified – and perhaps even standardized – divine iconographies is noteworthy. They are illustrated by two types of clay protomes (**figs. 8-9**): 1) a long-bearded face and 2) a beardless face framed by long hair pulled behind the ears and hanging along the shoulders, which are traditionally interpreted as a male and female iconography, respectively. They appeared in various western Phoenician and Punic settlements, although their iconography was already employed in the eastern Mediterranean. Of these two iconographies, the beardless face is the most widely attested and it was used on different types of medium (e.g., the so-called woman-at-the-window plaques, masks, heads and earrings) and on various standing or seated figures, which are often defined as Astarte-type images.

The choice of limiting the portrait of a deity to a face is noteworthy, because it reduces the possibility of including elements peculiar to a specific divine figure. This absence of features stands out in contrast to the previous way of representing deities with their insignia, which remained in use and was resumed during the

Fig. 8: Utica, tomb 42: clay protome, c. 6th century BCE (after Fontan & Le Meaux 2007, p. 360, n. 239).

[42] Ciasca 1992, p. 149.
[43] Most recently, see: D'Andrea 2014, p. 26, 315-316.
[44] For a recent overview on mapping and naming deities, see: Bonnet et al. 2019, p. 212-214.
[45] Most recently, Kerr 2013, with previous references.
[46] Alternatively, further details may have been portrayed on the silver or gold sheets originally covering the figurine, as attested by the example from the Uluburun shipwreck (Pulak 1988, p. 207, fig. 20) and the so-called Ptah from Cádiz (Jiménez Ávila 2018, p. 169-173, fig. 1).

Fig. 9: Tharros: clay protome, c. 6th century BCE (after Fontan & Le Meaux 2007, p. 363, n. 251).

Hellenistic period. Accordingly, it apparently prevents a clear association with a specific deity. How can this change be explained? A possible interpretation can be provided by looking at the archaeological framework of the female group, which seems to have been elaborated in the Levant around the late 9th-early 8th century BCE [47]. This period of time corresponds to the phase when Phoenician speaking groups mainly coming from the central Levant moved westwards and established themselves in enclaves within city harbours or founded new settlements in the western Mediterranean. Although it is not certain whether the development of this iconography was a deliberate strategy, such representations set out a "middle ground" [48] between Phoenicians and non-Phoenician speaking groups, which may have recognized something familiar in those images in a time characterized by cultural encounters and when sacred areas represented the most suitable spaces for these meetings. Evidence supporting this hypothesis can be recognized in the distribution of such iconographies also in non-Phoenician areas already in the eastern Mediterranean. Four calcareous double-faced female heads from the Amman Citadel [49] testify to its presence in Transjordan, where inscriptions suggesting the presence of Astarte in this region are also known [50]. The circulation of this iconographic type – which was also adopted in Cyprus from the Cypro-Archaic I period (c. 750-600 BCE) [51] – is probably connected to the thesis of a Levantine origin of the protome and its later adoption in Greek-speaking areas [52]. The fluidity of these iconographies remained relatively unchanged throughout time and it is therefore not surprising to find them later replaced by similar ones of Greek-type in the western Mediterranean [53]. They repeated – with another style – the same scheme. One may wonder if this iconography has been used to represent different types of goddesses and it could have somehow contributed to the processes of parallelization, assimilation or identification between divine figures of different cultures.

GENDER CHARACTERISATION IN PHOENICIAN AND PUNIC IMAGERY

Well before the beginning of gender studies, occasional difficulties in characterising the gender of some images have been pointed out, sometimes with scholars providing opposite interpretations of the same artefact. These difficulties may depend on the absence of parameters (such as genitalia, breasts and beard) that are usually assumed in the literature to be specifically male or female characteristics. A few cases connected to divine images are also attested in the Phoenician and Punic-speaking areas. In addition, a certain gender ambiguity in divine figures may be due to attributes wrongly identified as reliable male/female markers. E. Gubel, for instance, pointed out the presence of a fenestrated axe – which is usually identified as an attribute of male bearded gods – in a group of deities from Carthage and Ibiza (**fig. 10**) showing "a rather confusing amount of feminine features" [54]. Other aspects, such as the connection between female deities and male animals (e.g., the lion [55]), may deserve more attention. Engendering becomes especially problematic when the portrait is limited to the face [56]. In this case, following previous parameters adopted in the analysis of entire figures, only the presence/absence of beard and long hair can be used to assign a gender to the figure. How much this method could be problematic is clarified by the different readings that have been proposed in the analysis of some Phoenician and Punic masks [57].

[47] Orsingher 2016, p. 172-177.
[48] This model, originally elaborated by R. White (1991) to account for the relationships between native Americans and Europeans in the Great Lakes Region between 1650-1815, has been variously applied to the analysis of cultural, religious and social interactions in antiquity, and particularly of Mediterranean 'colonial' contexts of the 1st millennium BC (e.g., Antonaccio 2013).
[49] Uberti 1996, p. 1028-1033.
[50] Bonnet 1996, p. 32, 55-56.
[51] Karageorghis 1987, p. 31, fig. 20, pl. XXIX, 145.
[52] Barra Bagnasco 1986, p. 133-137.
[53] Cintas 1976, pl. LXXXV, 1-3, 5, 9, 13-14; Chérif 1997, pl. XLIX, 422-427, L, 429, 431; Beer 2000.
[54] Gubel 1980, p. 9.
[55] As emphasized by Bonnet 2007b, this type of goddesses should not necessarily be identified with Astarte.
[56] López-Bertran & Garcia-Ventura 2016.
[57] Orsingher 2018, p. 278.

Fig. 10: Carthage, Byrsa: enthroned deity, c. 3rd-2nd century BCE (after Peters 2004, p. 237, n. 19).

A MASK FROM CARTHAGE

A remarkable case is a mask from Carthage (**fig. 11**), which is nowadays on display in the Louvre Museum (MNB 849). This masterpiece has been usually interpreted as a male portrait of the 4th century BCE, but – more recently – a higher chronology and its interpretation as a female character have been suggested **[58]**. Given the similarities with the bronze statuette from El Carambolo and with other Astarte-type images, reading this mask as a female deity and identifying it as Astarte may appear a reasonable argument. However, a matter of discussion is the interpretation of the incised line running parallel to the jaw line, which was the main argument for considering the mask as a male portrait. A similar line is attested in various bearded figures, such as the mask from Tyre al-Bass tomb 8 and the long-bearded protomes from the western Mediterranean **[59]**. Accepting the interpretation of this line as a sign for facial hair and combining it with the overall reading of the mask as a female figure, an alternative possibility – recognizing a female bearded goddess – should be investigated.

A combination of textual and archaeological sources attests the presence of bearded goddesses – and more generally of dual-gendered beings – in the Near East. Omen tablets of the Old Babylonian period (c. 2000-1600 BCE) – sometimes of problematic interpretation – mentioned a bearded Ishtar, which may have represented Venus as an evening star and, at the same time, suggested that she was a war deity. Iconographies of bearded goddesses have been identified in a cylinder seal of this period and in a basalt three-legged offering table from Temple D of Ebla/Tell Mardikh (c. 1800 BCE), showing a front-facing naked and (seemingly) bearded image of Ishtar *Eblaitu*, the patron goddess of the city during the Middle Bronze I-II (c. 2000-1600 BCE).

There follows a gap until the Neo-Assyrian period, when a few hymns refer to a bearded Ishtar or describe the same goddess as both female and male. A controversial image of a bearded deity in a seal impression from Nimrud also dates to this period. During the 1st millennium BCE, various iconographies of bearded female figures are known in other areas of the eastern Mediterranean, such as a fragmentary clay figurine of a pregnant woman with black painted moustaches and beard, from a tomb of Amman (**fig. 12**) recalling the Phoenician type of the so-called dea gravida, and a group of dual-gendered figurines from the sanctuary of Ayia Irini in Cyprus **[60]**.

Fig. 11: Carthage, necropolis?: female mask, c. mid-7th–early 6th century BCE (photo by A. Orsingher).

[58] The analysis in this paragraph is based on Orsingher 2016, particularly p. 178-180, to which reference is made for a detailed discussion of parallels and a complete bibliography.
[59] Fontan & Le Meaux 2007, p. 360-361.
[60] Christou 2009.

Fig. 12: Amman, Tomb C: terracotta figurine, c. second quarter of the 8th-mid-7th century BCE (after Homès-Fredericq 1987, fig. 4).

Notwithstanding the chronological and cultural distance between these examples and the mask from Carthage [61], they show that a combination of female and male elements could have been used in antiquity to represent the dual personality of a goddess or the association between a male and a female deity. One may wonder if the same interpretation can be assumed for the mask from Carthage, although it remains so far an isolated example in Phoenician and Punic-speaking areas.

THE SHRINE OF SAREPTA

The aforementioned shrine of Sarepta provides an interesting case study to investigate gender in ritual practices. A variety of artefacts, probably *ex voto*, have been found in this building, but the most important one is probably the inscription addressed to TNTʿŠTRT (Tinnit-Astarte) (c. early 6th century BCE). The interpretation of this divine name remains uncertain. Many scholars considered Tinnit-Astarte as a "double deity" [62] or "divine couple", but M. G. Amadasi Guzzo pointed out the oddity of a deity considered "minor" occupying the first place in the dedication and emphasized that double deities seem to have been particularly characteristic of the Hellenistic period [63]. Accordingly, as an alternative interpretation, she has suggested – based on the parallel offered by the god Milkashtart – a translation as "Tinnit who resides in ʿŠTRT". TNTʿŠTRT would then be only one of the manifestations of the cult of Tinnit. Possible divine images from this shrine include an ivory plaque with the motif known as "woman at the window" and a female mask (**fig. 13**). However, the meaning of the ivory figure is still open to debate [64], while the terracotta is very fragmentary [65]. Accordingly, they do not allow for an iconographic characterisation of the theonym TNTʿŠTRT.

Notwithstanding the different interpretations of the inscription, all the artefacts from the shrine [66] seem to have been consistently connected to the themes of fertility, motherhood and protection of children. Assuming that the published finds mirror the variety of artefacts found in this shrine, it is noteworthy that – except for a faience figurine of Horus as a child [67] – all of them represent female figures. According to traditional paradigms, this would imply female worshippers. However, the donor mentioned in the inscription to Tinnit-Astarte is a male character, indicating that male individuals may also have participated in the ritual practices performed in this sacred space. This observation helps to avoid schematism in the interpretation of *ex voto* and in the reconstruction of who frequented ancient sanctuaries. It also shows that inscriptions and iconographies represent two different sources, which can sometimes complement each other [68].

ICONOGRAPHIC FLUIDITY AND GENDER AMBIGUITY: FINAL REMARKS

Overall, the current scenario of Phoenician and Punic deities' iconography is very fragmented. In most of the cases, Phoenician and Punic divine images remain nameless, and – more importantly – there is no consistent correspondence between a certain image and a specific deity. On the contrary, the likely use of one iconography (e.g., Bes and Silenus) to represent a variety of deities stands out especially during the Persian/Classical and Hellenistic periods. The lack of characterisation in some divine images could have allowed a wider audience – especially foreigners – to identify such iconographies with their own gods. At the same time, this iconographic fluidity would account for later Phoenician and Punic use of non-local images, especially those derived from Greek and Egyptian repertoires.

[61] In contexts chronologically and culturally closer to that of the Carthaginian mask, some bottle-shaped figurines with a penis and breasts are worthy of note (López-Bertran & Garcia-Ventura 2016, p. 210, fig. 8). However, it remains unclear who they represented.
[62] On this category, see: Xella 1990.
[63] Amadasi Guzzo 1991.
[64] Winter 2016.
[65] Orsingher 2018, p. 271, fig. 11.
[66] Pritchard 1975, p. 13-40, fig. 41-46; Pritchard 1978, p. 131-148.
[67] Pritchard 1975, p. 33, fig. 44, 6.
[68] Lewis 2005, p. 76.

Fig. 13: Sarepta, Shrine 1: a selection of the finds, c. 8th-7th centuries BCE (after Pritchard 1975, fig. 41-43).

While it remains undetermined in aniconic images and symbols representing the divine presence (e.g., standing stones, stelae), gender cannot always be clearly recognized in divine figures. It is not clear, however, whether modern scholars are simply not able to identify gender parameters, or if the latter were intentionally not specified for some reason. In other words, does this gender ambiguity in Phoenician and Punic divine iconography reflect our inability or a specific intention of the Phoenicians? For the time being, this question remains open, but it emerges that some attributes that have been traditionally assumed as gender parameters (e.g., breasts, beard, axe) should be reconsidered. The combination of male and female elements in the same image, as suggested for the mask from Carthage, remains rather exceptional in Phoenician and Punic divine images **[69]**. This may reflect a predominant binary system as indicated by the frequent use of the terms ʾDN (i.e., "lord") and RBT (i.e., "lady") in votive inscriptions, before male and female deities, respectively **[70]**. However, writing and iconography may not necessarily have followed the same system and rules, as the male donor and the female imagery in the shrine of Sarepta also suggest. ■

[69] For examples of clay bottle-shaped figurines with both breasts and a penis, see: López-Bertran & Garcia-Ventura 2016, p. 210, fig. 8.
[70] Xella 2019, p. 275-276.

THANKS

I would like to thank the organizers for their kind invitation to the workshop and its participants, especially Corinne Bonnet, for their very constructive comments and questions. The development of this essay also benefited from conversations with Nicola Chiarenza and Mireia López-Bertran, and bibliographical references by Enrique Moral de Eusebio.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Alberti, Benjamin, 2006, « Archaeology, men, and masculinities », in S. Nelson (ed.), *Handbook of gender archaeology*, Lanham, p. 401-434.

Amadasi Guzzo, Maria Giulia, 1967, *Le iscrizioni fenicie e puniche delle colonie in occidente* (Studi Semitici 28), Roma.

Amadasi GUZZO, Maria Giulia, 1991, « Tanit-ʿŠTRT e Milk-ʿŠTRT: ipotesi », *Orientalia* 60, p. 82-91.

Antonaccio, Carla, 2013, « Networking the Middle Ground? The Greek Diaspora, Tenth to Fifth Century BC », *Archaeological Review from Cambridge* 28, p. 237-251.

Barnett, Richard David, 1935, « The Nimrud Ivories and the Art of the Phoenicians », *Iraq* 2, p. 179-210.
DOI : 10.2307/4241579

Barnett, Richard David, 1969, « Anath, Baal and Pasargadae », *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* 45, p. 407-422.

Barra Bagnasco, Marcella, 1986, *Protomi in terracotta da Locri Epizefiri: contributo allo studio della scultura arcaica in Magna Grecia*, Torino.

Beer, Cecilia, 2000, « Two female terracotta protomai from Motya, area K. Campaign of 1991 », in Maria Eugenia Aubet & Manuela Barthélemy (ed.), *Actas del IV Congreso internacional de estudios fenicios y púnicos, Cádiz 2 al 6 de octubre de 1995*, Cádiz, p. 1249-1254.

Bolger, Diane (ed.), 2008, *Gender through time in the ancient Near East*, Lanham.

Bonnet, Corinne, 1996, *Astarté : dossier documentaire et perspectives historiques* (Collezione di Studi Fenici 37), Roma.

Bonnet, Corinne, 2007a, « Melqart », in Jürg Eggler & Christoph Uehlinger (ed.), *Iconography of Deities and Demons in the Ancient Near East. Electronic Pre-Publication*, http://www.religionswissenschaft.uzh.ch/idd/prepublications/e_idd_melqart.pdf

Bonnet, Corinne, 2007b, « Astarte », in Jürg Eggler & Christoph Uehlinger (ed.), *Iconography of Deities and Demons in the Ancient Near East. Electronic Pre-Publication*, http://www.religionswissenschaft.uzh.ch/idd/prepublications/e_idd_astarte.pdf

Bonnet, Corinne, Bianco, Maria, Galoppin, Thomas, Guillon, Élodie, Laurent, Antoine, Lebreton, Sylvain & Porzia, Fabio, 2019, « Mapping ancient gods: naming and embodiment beyond "anthropomorphism". A survey of the field in echo to the books of M.S. Smith and R. Parker », *Mediterranean Historical Review* 34, p. 207-220.
DOI : 10.1080/09518967.2019.1664524

Cecchini, Serena Maria, 1991, « La statua dell'acropoli di Monte Sirai », in Enrico Aquaro *et alii* (ed.), *Atti del II Congresso internazionale di studi fenici e punici, Roma, 9-14 novembre 1987* (Collezione di Studi Fenici 30), Roma, p. 683-688.

Cecchini, Serena Maria, 1997, « La stele di Amrit. Aspetti e problemi iconografici e iconologici », *Contributi e Materiali di Archeologia Orientale* 7, p. 83-100.

Cecchini, Serena Maria, 2013, « La stele di Breyg », in Ana Margarida Arruda (ed.), *Fenícios e púnicos, por terra e mar, Actas do VI Congresso internacional de estudos fenícios e púnicos*, Lisboa, p. 275-283.

Chérif, Zohra, 1997, *Terres cuites puniques de Tunisie* (Corpus delle antichità fenicie e puniche), Roma.

Christou, Sandra A., 2009, « The dual-sexed images at Ayia Irini and their Cypriot ancestors », in *Proceedings from the International Conference "Finds and results from the Swedish Cyprus Expedition 1927-1931: a gender perspective", March 31-April 2, 2006, Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm, Sweden* (Medelhavsmuseet. Focus on the Mediterranean 5), Stockholm, p. 98-109.

Ciasca, Antonia, 1992, « Mozia: sguardo d'insieme sul tofet », *Vicino Oriente* 8, p. 113-155.

Cintas, Pierre, 1976, *Manuel d'archéologie punique II. La civilisation carthaginoise : les réalisations matérielles*, Paris.

Conkey, Margaret W. & Spector, Janet D., 1984, « Archaeology and the Study of Gender », *Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory* 7, p. 1-38.
DOI : 10.1016/b978-0-12-003107-8.50006-2

Conkey, Margaret W. & Spector, Janet D., 1997, « Gender and Feminism in Archaeology », *Annual Review of Anthropology* 26, p. 411–437.
DOI : 10.1146/annurev.anthro.26.1.411

Cornelius, Izak, 1994, *The iconography of the Canaanite Gods Reshef and Ba'al: Late Bronze and Iron Age I periods (c 1500 - 1000 BC)* (Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 140), Fribourg – Göttingen.

Cornelius, Izak, 2014, « "Revisiting" Astarte in the Iconography of the Bronze Age Levant », in David T. Sugimoto (ed.), *Transformation of a goddess: Ishtar, Astarte, Aphrodite* (Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 263), Fribourg – Göttingen, p. 87-101.

Daccache, Jimmy, 2019, « Le voyage du dieu ouest-sémitique Rašap à Chypre à l'époque archaïque », in L. Bonadies, I. Chirpanlieva & É. Guillon (éd.), *Les Phéniciens, les Puniques et les autres. Échanges et identités en Méditerranée ancienne* (Orient & Méditerranée 31), Paris, p. 103-121.

D'Andrea, Bruno, 2014, *I Tofet del Nord Africa: dall'età arcaica all'età romana (VIII sec. a.C. - II sec. d.C.). studi archeologici* (Collezione di studi fenici 45), Pisa – Roma.

Delgado, Ana, 2016a, « Mujeres, grupos domésticos y prácticas cotidianas en las comunidades fenicias y púnicas occidentales », *Aspectos de la vida y de la muerte en las sociedades fenicio-púnicas, XXIX Jornadas de Arqueología Fenicio-Púnica* (Treballs del Museu Arqueologic d'Eivissa e Formentera 74), Eivissa, p. 47-84.

Delgado, Ana, 2016b, « Producción artesanal y trabajo femenino en las comunidades fenicias occidentales una mirada crítica a la teoría de las esferas separadas », in Ana Delgado Hervás & Marina Picazo Gurina (ed.), L*os trabajos de las mujeres en el mundo antiguo: cuidado y mantenimiento de la vida*, Tarragona, p. 67-75.

Doak, Brian R., 2015, *Phoenician aniconism in its Mediterranean and ancient Near Eastern contexts* (Archaeology and biblical studies 21), Atlanta.
DOI : 10.2307/j.ctt18z4h40

Falsone, Gioacchino, 1986, « Anath or Astarte? A Phoenician Bronze Statuette of the Smiting Goddess », in Corinne Bonnet, Edward Lipiński & Patrick Marchetti (ed.), *Religio Phoenicia* (Studia Phoenicia IV), Namur, p. 53–67.

Ferrer, Meritxell & Lafrenz Samuels, Kathryn, 2016, « Women's ritual practice in the western Phoenician and Punic world », in Stephanie Lynn Budin & Jean MacIntosh Turfa (ed.), W*omen in Antiquity: Real Women Across the Ancient World*, London, p. 533-551.
DOI : 10.4324/9781315621425-61

Fontan, Élisabeth & Le Meaux, Hélène (ed.), 2007, *La Méditerranée des Phéniciens : de Tyr à Carthage. Catalogue de l'exposition, Paris, Institut du monde arabe, 6 novembre 2007-20 avril 2008*, Paris.

Garbati, Giuseppe, 2008, *Religione votiva: per un'interpretazione storico-religiosa delle terrecotte votive nella Sardegna punica e tardo-punica* (Rivista di Studi Fenici, Supplemento 34), Pisa.

Gubel, Eric, 1980, « An essay on the axe-bearing Astarte and her role in a Phoenician "triad" », *Rivista di Studi Fenici* 8, p. 1-17.

Gubel, Eric, 2019, « Art and Iconography », in Brian R. Doak & Carolina López-Ruiz (ed.), T*he Oxford Handbook of the Phoenician and Punic Mediterranean*, Kettering, p. 349-370.
DOI : 10.1093/oxfordhb/9780190499341.013.23

Gubel, Eric & Bordreuil, Pierre, 2002a, « Stèle dite "d'Amrit", ou "de Shadrafa" », in Annie Caubet (éd.), *Art phénicien*: *la sculpture de tradition phénicienne*, Paris, p. 51-53.

Gubel, Eric & Bordreuil, Pierre, 2002b, « Stèle de Yehawmilk », in Annie Caubet (éd.), *Art phénicien : la sculpture de tradition phénicienne*, Paris, p. 64-66.

Hermary, Antoine, 1984, « Deux ex-voto chypriotes reconstitués », *Revue du Louvre* 34, p. 238-240.

Hermary, Antoine, 1989, *Catalogue des antiquités de Chypre : sculptures*, Paris.

Hodder, Ian, 1995, *Theory and Practice in Archaeology*, London – New York.

Homès-Fredericq, Denyse, 1987, « Possible Phoenician influences in the Iron Age », in Adnan Hadidi (ed.), *Studies in the History of Archaeology of Jordan* 3, Tübingen, p. 89-96.

Jiménez Ávila, Javier, 2018, « Bronces figurados fenicios y orientalizantes en la península ibérica », in Lourdes Prados Torreira, Carmen Rueda Galán & Arturo Ruiz Rodríguez (ed.), *Bronces ibéricos. Una historia por contar libro homenaje al prof. Gérard Nicolini*, Madrid – Jaén, p. 167-200.

Jiménez Flores, Ana María, 2006, « La mano de Eva: las mujeres en el culto fenicio y punico », in José Luis Escacena Carrasco & Eduardo Ferrer Albelda (ed.), *Entre dioses y los hombres: el sacerdocio en la antigüedad* (SPAL monografías VII), Sevilla, p. 83-102.

Karageorghis, Vassos, 1987, « The terracottas », in Vassos Karageorghis & Antoine Hermary (éd.), *La nécropole d'Amathonte: Tombes 113-367* (Études Chypriotes 9), Nicosia.

Kerr, Robert M., 2013, « Notre-Dame-de-la-Ḥuronie? A note on ʿštrt ḥr », *Die Welt des Orients* 43, p. 206-212.
DOI : 10.13109/wdor.2013.43.2.206
Lewis, Theodore J., 2005, « Syro-Palestinian iconography and divine images », in Neal H. Walls (ed.), *Cult image and divine representation in the ancient Near East* (American Schools of Oriental Research books 10), Boston, MA.
Lipiński, Edward, 1995, *Dieux et déesses de l'univers phénicien et punique* (Studia Phoenicia XIV), Leuven.
López Bertran, Mireia & Garcia-Ventura, Agnès, 2016, « The Use of Facial Characteristics as Engendering Strategies in Phoenician-Punic Studies », *Near Eastern Archaeology* 79, p. 206-213.
DOI : 10.5615/neareastarch.79.3.0206
Mammina, Giuseppina & Toti, Pamela, 2011, « Considerazioni sulla coroplastica votiva del Tofet di Mozia (Marsala-Italia) », *Sardinia, Corsica et Baleares Antiquae* 9, p. 31-50.
Martin, S. Rebecca, 2017, *The art of contact: comparative approaches to Greek and Phoenician art*, Philadelphia.
DOI : 10.9783/9780812293944
Money, J., Hampton, J.G. & Hampton, J.L., 1955, « An Examination of Some Basic Sexual Concepts. The Evidence of Human Hermaphroditism », *Bulletin of the Johns Hopkins Hospital* 97, p. 301-319.
Navarro Ortega, Ana Dolores, 2016, « Astarté de El Carambolo. *Who's that girl?* », *Mainake* 36, p. 483-494.
Oakley, Ann, 1972, *Sex, Gender and Society*, London.
Orsingher, Adriano, 2016, « A mask from Carthage and elusive gods », *Semitica et Classica* 9, p. 169-186.
DOI : 10.1484/j.sec.5.112731
Orsingher, Adriano, 2018, « Ritualized faces: the masks of the Phoenicians », in Angelika Berlejung & Judith E. Filitz (ed.), *The Physicality of the Other. Masks as a Means of Encounter* (Orientalische Religionen in der Antike, 27), Tübingen, p. 265-305
Orsingher, Adriano, 2020, « Praising the rising sun. On a baboon-shaped vessel from Tharros », in Michele Guirguis, Sara Muscuso & Rosana Pla Orquín (ed.), *Cartagine, il Mediterraneo centro-occidentale e la Sardegna. Società, economia e cultura materiale tra Fenici e autoctoni. Studi in onore di Piero Bartoloni*, Sassari, p. 147-163.
Orsingher, Adriano, forthcoming, « "Rigido e immobile il demone tace": seguire il Sileno nelle terre dei Fenici », in Ana Niveau de Villedary y Mariñas (ed.), *X Coloquio Internacional del CEFYP: "MARE SACRVM. Religión, cultos y rituales fenicios en el Mediterráneo", en Homenaje al Prof. José Mª Blázquez, Cádiz-San Fernando, 13-15 december 2017*, Cádiz.
Peters, Sabine (ed.), 2004, *Hannibal ad portas. Macht und Reichtum Karthagos. Herausgegeben vom Badischen Landesmuseum Karlsruhe. Begleitbuch zur großen Sonderausstellung, 26.09.2004 - 30.01.2005*, Stuttgart.
Picard, Colette, 1954, *Catalogue du Musée Alaoui. Nouvelles séries*, 1-2, Paris.
Pla Orquín, Rosana, 2015, *Le donne nella Sardegna fenicia e punica: tradizioni ed evoluzione delle identità. Il caso di Monte Sirai*. Tesi di Dottorato in Archeologia Fenicio-Punica, Università degli Studi di Sassari, https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/33723642.pdf
Pla Orquín, Rosana, 2019, « Per una storia delle donne fenicie. Jezabel nella corte di Samaria », *Folia Phoenicia* 3, p. 9-30.
Pritchard, James B. 1975, *Sarepta: a preliminary report on the Iron Age. Excavations of the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, 1970-1972* (Museum monographs), Philadelphia.
Pritchard, James B. 1978, *Recovering Sarepta, A Phoenician City. Excavations at Sarafand, Lebanon, 1969-1974, by the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania*, Princeton.
Pritchard, James B., 1982, « The Tanit inscription from Sarepta », in Hans Georg Niemeyer (ed.), *Phönizier im Westen: die Beiträge des internationalen Symposiums über "Die phönizische Expansion im westlichen Mittelmeerraum" in Köln vom 24. bis 27. April 1979* (Madrider Beiträge 4), Mainz am Rhein, p. 83-92.
Pulak, Cemal, 1998, « The Uluburun shipwreck: an overview », *The International Journal of Nautical Archaeology* 27, p. 188-224.
DOI : 10.1016/s1057-2414(98)80031-9
Ribichini, Sergio, 2004, « Al servizio di Astarte. Ierodulia e prostituzione sacra nei culti fenici e punici », in Antonio González Blanco, Gonzalo Matilla Séiquer & Alejandro Egea Vivancos (ed.), *El mundo púnico: religión, antropología y cultura material. Actas del II Congreso Internacional del Mundo Púnico, Cartagena, 6-9 de abril del 2000* (Estudios Orientales 5-6), Murcia, p. 55-68.
Rodríguez Muñoz, Raquel, 2012, « De mujeres y diosas en la religiosidad fenicia y púnica », *Feminismo/s* 20, p. 143-164.
DOI : 10.14198/fem.2012.20.08

Rubin, Gayle, 1975, « The Traffic in Women: Notes on the "Political Economy" of Sex », in Rayna R. Reiter (ed.), *Toward an Anthropology of Women. Monthly Review Press*, New York – London, p. 157-210.

Seeden, Helga, 1980, *The standing armed figurines in the Levant* (Prähistorische Bronzefunde 1), München.

Stoller, Robert J., 1968, *Sex and Gender. On the Development of Masculinity and Femininity*, London.

Uberti, Maria Luisa, 1996, « Protomi egittizzanti in calcare: Amman, Cartagine, Cagliari », in Enrico Acquaro (ed.), *Alle soglie della classicità: il Mediterraneo tra tradizione e innovazione, studi in onore di Sabatino Moscati*, Pisa – Roma, p. 1021-1033.

Voss, Barbara L., 2000, « Feminisms, queer theories, and the archaeological study of past sexualities », *World Archaeology* 32, p. 180-192.
DOI : 10.1080/00438240050131171

White, Richard, 1991, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815*, Cambridge.
DOI : https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511584671

Winter, Irene J., 2016, « The 'Woman at the Window': Iconography and Inference of a Motif in 1st Millennium BCE Levantine Ivory Carving », in Joan Aruz & Michael Seymour (ed.), *Assyria to Iberia: Art and Culture in the Iron Age* (The Metropolitan Museum of Art Symposia), New York, p. 180-193.

Wright, Rita P., 1996, *Gender and Archaeology*, Philadelphia.

Wyke, Maria, (ed.) 1998, *Gender and the body in the ancient Mediterranean*, London.

Xella, Paolo, 1990, « "Divinités doubles" dans le monde phénico-punique », in *Hommages à Maurice Sznycer, II Semitica* 39, p. 167-175.

Xella, Paolo, 1991, *Baal Hammon : recherches sur l'identité et l'histoire d'un dieu phénico-punique* (Collezione di Studi Fenici 32), Roma.

Xella, Paolo, 2019, « Religion », in Brian R. Doak & Carolina López-Ruiz (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Phoenician and Punic Mediterranean*, Kettering, p. 273-292.
DOI : 10.1093/oxfordhb/9780190499341.013.19

Yates, Tim, 1993, « Frameworks for an archaeology of the body », in Christopher Tilley (ed.), *Interpretative Archaeology*, Oxford, p. 31-73.
DOI : 10.5040/9781474214995.ch-001