

The background of the cover is a light beige color, featuring a repeating pattern of line drawings of various ancient pottery vessels, including amphorae, jugs, and bowls. Some vessels have decorative bands or patterns. In the bottom corners, there are two large, detailed images of terracotta heads. The head on the left is a reddish-brown color with a pattern of small, circular, raised motifs on its forehead. The head on the right is a darker, more weathered terracotta color, also featuring a similar circular pattern on the forehead.

Cartagine, il Mediterraneo centro-occidentale e la Sardegna

Società, economia e cultura
materiale tra Fenici e autoctoni

Studi in onore di Piero Bartoloni

a cura di Michele Guirguis, Sara Muscuso e Rosana Pla Orquín

Volume I

Le Monografie della SAIC / 3
collana diretta da Paola Ruggeri

SAIC Editore

Le Monografie della SAIC

3

Cartagine, il Mediterraneo
centro-occidentale e la Sardegna.
Società, economia e cultura materiale
tra Fenici e autoctoni

Studi in onore di Piero Bartoloni

I

a cura di

Michele Guirguis - Sara Muscuso - Rosana Pla Orquín



SAIC Editore
2020

Collana "Le Monografie della SAIC"
della Società Scientifica 'Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Cartagine'
ISSN 2724-0894 [Online]

Comitato scientifico: Paola RUGGERI (direttrice della collana), Sandro Filippo BONDI, Marilena CASELLA, Jehan DESANGES, Pilar FERNÁNDEZ URIEL, Frédéric HURLET, Maria Antonietta RIZZO, Pier Giorgio SPANU, Mario TORELLI.

contatto mail: ruggeri@uniss.it

Questo volume è stato realizzato con il contributo di



Dipartimento di Storia, Scienze dell'Uomo e della Formazione
Università degli Studi di Sassari



Comune di Sant'Antioco



Museo Archeologico «Ferruccio Barreca», Sant'Antioco

Museo Archeologico
Ferruccio Barreca
Sant'Antioco

Titolo: Cartagine, il Mediterraneo centro-occidentale e la Sardegna. Società, economia e cultura materiale tra Fenici e autoctoni. Studi in onore di Piero Bartoloni, I, a cura di Michele Guirguis, Sara Muscuso, Rosana Pla Orquín

©2020, SAIC e singoli autori

I edizione

ISBN 978-88-942506-2-6

Editing dei testi: Sara Muscuso e Rosana Pla Orquín; impaginazione: Michele Guirguis

SAIC Editore

presso Dip. di Storia, Scienze dell'Uomo e della Formazione, Università degli studi di Sassari,
Viale Umberto 52, Sassari, Italia, I-07100.

contatto mail: pubblicazioni@scuolacartagine.it

coordinamento editoriale: Antonio M. CORDA (Università degli studi di Cagliari; SAIC)

In I di copertina: Elaborazione grafica di M. Guirguis con disegni di forme vascolari fenicie e puniche (tratti da pubblicazioni di Piero Bartoloni) e immagini di testine in terracotta di età punica, la cosiddetta "Tanit Gouin" di Tharros e il cosiddetto "giovinetto" di Sulky (foto di L. P. Olivari, tratte da: M. Guirguis [ed.], *La Sardegna fenicia e punica. Storia e materiali* [Corpora delle Antichità della Sardegna], Nuoro: Ilisso Edizioni, 2017, pp. 394, 403, nn. 159, 193). In IV di copertina: *kernos* da Mozia: ridisegnato da P. Bartoloni, Recipienti rituali fenici e punici dalla Sardegna, *Rivista di Studi Fenici*, 20, 141, fig. 1, e.

Questa opera è rilasciata con licenza *Creative Commons Attribuzione, Non opere derivate 4.0 Internazionale* ed è distribuita in modalità *Open Access*. La *Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Cartagine* sostiene la circolazione della conoscenza, anche attraverso l'accesso pieno e aperto alla letteratura scientifica.

Indice del volume

- 7 I. LOCCI, *Saluto del Sindaco di Sant'Antioco*
- 9 M. GUIRGUIS, S. MUSCUSO, R. PLA ORQUÍN, *"Caro Prof.": dalla Giornata di Studio alla pubblicazione*
- 15 F. CENERINI, *Il ruolo delle donne nel Poenulus di Plauto*
- 25 B. D'ANDREA, *Gli animali nelle stele votive puniche e di tradizione punica del Nord Africa (V sec. a.C. - IV sec. d.C.)*
- 47 S. GIARDINO, *Vases zoomorphes phéniciens et puniques de l'Afrique du Nord : comparaisons, fonctionnalité et symbolisme*
- 65 E. A. INSINNA, *Le macine di Molaria (Mulargia-Bortigali) a Cartagine e le relazioni sardo-puniche con specifico riferimento al Marghine*
- 83 M. G. MELIS, *Mobilità e scambi nel Mediterraneo centro-occidentale. Sardegna e Sicilia tra Eneolitico e Bronzo antico*
- 105 L. M. MICHETTI, *Cinque lucerne fenicie dal Quartiere "pubblico-cerimoniale" di Pyrgi*
- 121 L. NIGRO, *Nuovi scavi al Tofet di Mozia (2009-2014): il Tempio di Astarte (T6), l'Edificio T5 e il sacello T8*
- 147 A. ORSINGHER, *Praising the rising sun. On a baboon-shaped vessel from Tharros*
- 165 E. POMPIANU, *Vita domestica nella Sulky arcaica: un nuovo contesto dall'abitato fenicio*
- 205 J. RAMON, *Conflit et violence chez les Phéniciens d'Ibiza à l'époque archaïque ?*
- 237 S. RIBICHINI, *Saisons du molk*
- 259 D. SALVI, *La necropoli di Tuvixeddu e "le piccole cose"*
- 275 C. TRONCHETTI, *La ceramica attica di IV secolo a.C. in Sardegna e oltre*

I testi qui raccolti sono stati selezionati dai Curatori e sottoposti ad un comitato di lettura composto da esperti anonimi. La Giornata di Studio *"Cartagine, il Mediterraneo centro-occidentale e la Sardegna: società economia e cultura materiale tra Fenici e autoctoni"* del 29 luglio 2017 si è svolta nell'ambito delle attività di ricerca del *"Phoenician & Nuragic ID. Project. Identities in the Mediterranean Iron Age (9th-6th centuries BCE): Innovations and Cultural Integration in Sardinia Between Phoenician and Nuragic People"*, finanziato da Sardegna Ricerche e dalla Regione Autonoma della Sardegna sul Bando competitivo *"Capitale Umano ad Alta Qualificazione"* - annualità 2015 (L.R. 7 agosto 2007/7, promozione della ricerca scientifica e dell'innovazione tecnologica in Sardegna).

Praising the rising sun. On a baboon-shaped vessel from Tharros

ADRIANO ORSINGER

Abstract: This paper re-examines a baboon-shaped vessel from Gaetano Cara's excavations in the necropolis of Tharros, which is on display in the British Museum. Given the low reliability of its alleged find-context, this currently unique artefact is dated to the 6th century BC based on external parallels and considerations. I suggest a use of this vessel in libation rituals accompanying or ending the funerary ceremony. In a period when simian imagery spread across the Mediterranean, the ceramists of Tharros showed a great knowledge of the Egyptian cultural and religious background of this iconography. Baboons are acknowledged with the function of protecting the deceased, and were also a symbol of rebirth, encouraging the sun to rise. The concept of re-generation is also emphasized in this case by the palm motifs painted on the front of this vessel.

Key Words: Tharros, animal-shaped vessels, baboons, simian imagery, wheel-made terracotta figures.

One of our honorand's most recent articles provides an overview of animal-shaped vessels from Phoenician/Punic speaking communities¹. This pottery group manifests the creativity of local ceramists and their increased receptivity to external influences and stimuli². A remarkable and unique example of such imaginative pottery forms is a baboon-shaped vessel from Tharros, a reappraisal of which I wish to present here as a small tribute to Professor Piero Bartoloni for his approach as a scholar and mentor, and as a token of my appreciation.

1. THE BABOON-SHAPED VESSEL

The pottery vessel under examination (H. 12.2 cm)³ – which should be preferably considered an *askos*⁴ – is modelled into one of the canonical poses of simians⁵ (Figs. 1-3). It

* Eberhard Karls Universität Tübingen, Biblisch-Archäologisches Institut (adriano-orsinger@gmail.com).

¹ Bartoloni (2018).

² Orsinger (2015), 571-572, note 45.

³ This artefact (inv. no. ME 133084) is on display in the Raymond and Beverly Sackler Galleries of Ancient Levant (Room 57) at the British Museum. https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=368058&partId=1&searchText=133084&page=1 (10th April 2018).

⁴ *Contra* Barnett (1987c), 142, where it is defined as a jug.

⁵ The term "simian" is used in the present paper as a generic reference to both baboons and monkeys when there is no need to distinguish between them and/or it is not clear whether the animal depicted was meant to be a baboon or monkey. For an overview of the species of Old World monkeys, see: Greenlaw (2011), 2-6, where – following scientific taxonomy – the frequent use of the term "ape" with a similar aim is considered incorrect.

represents a male squatting baboon⁶, with rounded ears set well back on the oval head, small high-set eyes, a nasal ridge between the eyes, long snout with longitudinal groves, but broken off at the tip of the muzzle. The baboon has both hands – or possibly only the right one⁷ – raised in front of its chest with palms out as if in worship, crouching with bent knees and the buttocks on the ground, wide chest with nipples and rounded belly, the sexual attributes were clearly highlighted, but the penis is partially missing. A large portion is lacking from the left side of the body, where areas of the clay core are visible. Its tail is apparently absent.



Fig. 1 - Tharros, necropolis, Gaetano Cara's tomb 5: baboon-shaped vessel, c. 6th century BC. British Museum, inv. no. ME 133084. H. 12.2 cm (redrawn by M.A. Parlapiano after Mitchell [1987], pl. 11:64).

⁶ Its identification as "a female mandrill (*Mandrillus sphinx*) or drill (*Mandrillus leucophaeus*)" was cautiously suggested by the late Mrs Prudence Hero Napier of the British Museum of Natural History (which is nowadays known as the Natural History Museum) because of the longitudinal grooves on the muzzle, and possibly also the position of the ears and the apparent lack of a tail (Mitchell [1987], 54-55, note 141). However, such gender determination contrasts with the presence of male genitalia, but – most of all – mandrills do not appear to be currently attested both as imagery or skeletal remains anywhere else in the ancient Mediterranean. Although I am not convinced about the possibility of recognizing a specific species in this vessel, the traces of red paint on the muzzle recall the hamadryas baboon (*Papio hamadryas*).

⁷ It remains unclear whether the left arm is broken at the height of the hand or is intact, but the detailed characterisation of the open palm as on the right hand is absent.

Praising the rising sun. On a baboon-shaped vessel from Tharros

A funnel-shaped vertical filling spout (Diam. 3.8 cm) was positioned on its back, where a vertical flat strap handle from the rim to the middle of the body was originally attached. The animal's head contains the pouring spout with a very small hole through the snout (Diam. 0.2 cm).

It has been manufactured with a mixed technique: the body and the filling spout were made on the wheel, while the head, the handle, and appendages (i.e. the ears, the nipples, the limbs and the penis) were made separately by hand and then added. Some details have been impressed (i.e. the eyes) or incised (i.e. the fingers and the muzzle). It is made from buff porous clay, which is mainly characterised by numerous quartz inclusions⁸. A red paint is applied on the outer surface: vertical strokes on the rim and upper part of the filling spout, all over the back of the head, in the longitudinal grooves, and around the pubic area. On the front there are two arched fronds (or palm branches) between the shoulder and the buttocks, and traces of vertical chevrons at the centre of the chest. The baboon's back is cloaked with his cape-like mass of fur composed of echeloned horizontally-striated lappets.



Fig. 2 - Tharros, necropolis, Gaetano Cara's tomb 5: baboon-shaped vessel, c. 6th century BC. British Museum, inv. no. ME 133084. H. 12.2 cm (redrawn by M.A. Parlapiano after Mitchell [1987], pl. 11:64).

⁸ The macroscopic analysis of the clay supports the hypothesis that this vessel was locally manufactured. I wish to thank here Professor Raimondo Zucca for his expert and cautious advice in this matter.



Fig. 3 - Tharros, necropolis, Gaetano Cara's tomb 5: baboon-shaped vessel, c. 6th century BC. British Museum, inv. no. ME 133084. H. 12.2 cm (photos by A. Orsinger).

2. THE FIND-CONTEXT: GAETANO CARA'S TOMB 5 OF THARROS

In 1853-1855, the then director of the Royal Museum at Cagliari Gaetano Cara excavated an unspecified number of tombs in the cemetery of Tharros⁹. In 1856, the Trustees of the British Museum acquired some of these tomb-groups¹⁰, including this baboon-shaped vase that was allegedly found in tomb 5¹¹. However, the chronological and typological heterogeneity of these funerary assemblages has raised doubts about their authenticity. D.M. Bailey has suggested their unusual composition may be the consequence of the grave goods becoming mixed up, which may have occurred at the time of the excavations due to poor digging or recording techniques, or later, when the tomb groups were intentionally fabricated to increase the value of the assemblages to be sold¹². The latter is usually considered the most likely hypothesis¹³, explaining why there are no parallels for them in the most recent excavations¹⁴. Accordingly, an analysis of the funerary goods from tomb 5¹⁵ seems meaningless.

3. A LOOK AT THE CHRONOLOGY

Unfortunately, the aforementioned issue directly interferes with establishing a date for the vase under examination, which – as previously stated – is currently a unique arte-

⁹ Barnett (1987b), 33-34.

¹⁰ Bailey (1962), 36; Barnett (1987a), 16.

¹¹ Mitchell (1987), 54-55, pl. 11:64.

¹² Bailey (1962), 34.

¹³ Zucca (2018), 122-123, note 118.

¹⁴ Most recently, on the on-going excavations, see: Del Vais, Fariselli (2010); Del Vais (2017).

¹⁵ Barnett (1987c), 141-145, pls. 81-82.

fact. Therefore, in this case the chronology relies solely on external parallels and considerations. As it has been already pointed out¹⁶, this container recalls some faience vessels studied by Virginia Webb: a) the double vases in the form of a simian sitting with his legs stretched out and gripping a jar in front with his hands (c. 650-500 BC)¹⁷, and especially b) figured aryballoi that mimic a baboon holding a small animal in front (c. 6th century BC, probably second half?)¹⁸. However, the so-called “squatting comasts” series¹⁹ perhaps provides a closer parallel to this artefact (Fig. 4).



Fig. 4 - “Squatting Comast” vase, c. 590-570 BC. Allard Pierson Museum, inv. no. 3402. H. 9.3 cm (adapted after Biers (1995), fig. 1: a-b).

¹⁶ Bartoloni (2018), 9.

¹⁷ Webb (1978), 20-21, pl. II.

¹⁸ Webb (1978), 123, pl. XIX:834.

¹⁹ Dasen (2000); Pautasso (2007); Pautasso (2015). An echo of this group can be found in the bearded naked men decorating two *keranoi* of Corinthian production (c. first half of the 6th century BC) reportedly found in (tombs? in) Boeotia, see: Bignasca (2000), 226, nos. E61-E62, pls. 29-30.

These plastic vases shaped as male squatting figures – which were manufactured in Corinth and East Greece (c. second quarter of the 7th-mid 6th century BC)²⁰ – are mainly attested in sanctuaries and tombs²¹. Within this group, the best comparisons seem to be the examples dating back to 600-570 BC²².

A widespread use of simian imagery for shaping perfume or oil containers emerged in central Italy from the second quarter/mid-6th century BC²³, probably as a consequence of the arrival of imports from Greece²⁴.

A further parallel is offered by Punic wheel-made terracotta figures, which share certain features of this *askos*: one/two raised hands (Figs. 5-8), plant motifs painted on the front (Fig. 6) and colour around genitalia (Fig. 8). Although this choroplastic production is attested by many examples in various centres across the Mediterranean²⁵, relatively few find-contexts provide reliable chronological markers. The most important one is still the western *favissa* in the Tophet sanctuary of Motya²⁶, which comprises a mixed group of terracotta figurines.

This assemblage was positioned in a robber trench of the so-called Shrine A in the aftermath of the siege of Motya (c. 398/7 BC) by Dionysius I, tyrant of Syracuse. This date represents a *terminus ante quem* for establishing the use of these figurines²⁷, while a fragmentary wheel-made terracotta figure²⁸ from stratum V of the urnfield (c. 625-550 BC)²⁹ allegedly gives a chronological reference point for determining the initial use of wheel-made terracotta figures³⁰.

This time span corresponds with the conventional chronology suggested for other assemblages containing similar terracottas³¹. Accordingly, a date in the 6th century BC can currently be considered the most likely chronology for the baboon-shaped vessel from Tharros.

²⁰ Pautasso (2007), 30-34.

²¹ Pautasso (2007), 21-22.

²² Pautasso (2007), 31-33, nos. 6-7, 15-16, 19, 22, pls. I:4-5, II.

²³ Szilágyi (1972); Cristofani Martelli (1978), 207, nos. 29-30, 210, no. 78.

²⁴ Boldrini (1994), 45, no. 15, 66, nos. 115-116. In addition, see: Ducat (1966), 120-124, pls. XVII:6-8, XXIV:6.

²⁵ López-Bertran (2016), 415, table 1, with references.

²⁶ Ciasca (1992), 145; Ciasca (1994), 8-9; Mammina, Toti (2011), 32-33; Orsingher (2013a), 693-694, note 4.

²⁷ The earliest possible chronology for some of the clay figurines forming this assemblage is usually placed sometime within the 6th century BC. It cannot be established whether or not the deposition of this group in the ruins of Shrine A may attest their original collocation inside this building, which – since it was built around the mid-6th century BC – would narrow the date of these terracottas to the second half of the 6th century BC.

²⁸ Toti (1994), 62-63, no. 230, pl. XXXVII.

²⁹ For the periodisation and chronology of the urnfield in the Tophet of Motya, see: Orsingher (2013b); Orsingher (2016); Orsingher (2018).

³⁰ Ciasca (1994), 7-8. However, it should be considered that the upper surface of stratum V served as a walking level between the mid-6th and the end of the 4th century BC, which may have determined cases of intrusive materials.

³¹ López-Bertran (2016), 415, table 1.

Praising the rising sun. On a baboon-shaped vessel from Tharros



Fig. 5 - Illa Plana, favissa: wheel-made terracotta figure, c. end of the 6th-end of the 5th century BC. Museu Arqueològic d'Eivissa i Formentera, inv. no. 1679. H. 19.8 cm (courtesy of the Museu Arqueològic d'Eivissa i Formentera).



Fig. 6 - Illa Plana, favissa: wheel-made terracotta figure, c. end of the 6th-end of the 5th century BC. Museu Arqueològic d'Eivissa i Formentera, inv. no. 1684. H. 22.1 cm (courtesy of the Museu Arqueològic d'Eivissa i Formentera).



Fig. 7 - Illa Plana, favissa: wheel-made terracotta figure, c. end of the 6th-end of the 5th century BC. Museu Arqueològic d'Eivissa i Formentera, inv. no. 2512. H. 21.0 cm (courtesy of the Museu Arqueològic d'Eivissa i Formentera).



Fig. 8 - Carthage, Tophet: wheel-made terracotta figure, Phase 3: c. 550/525-300/275 BC. Musée archéologique d'Utique, inv. no. 47.606. H. 12.4 cm (after Bartoloni [2018], fig. 1).

4. SIMIAN IMAGERY AND THE CULTURAL BIOGRAPHY OF THIS ASKOS³²

In antiquity, simians were attested in sub-Saharan Africa and in south-eastern Asia³³. Consequently, the occurrence of these animals or their images outside these two regions implies (direct or indirect) connection with their natural habitat. While the Asian route, which has been suggested to have contributed to the repertoire of simians in Mesopotamia, remains poorly explored³⁴, many studies have examined in detail the African case. The role of Egypt in filtering, selecting and transmitting images of these animals and the meaning assigned to them has long been recognized³⁵.

Individual examples of simians possibly started to be traded during the Bronze Age, when a growing interest in exotic animals to be showed as *mirabilia* in royal palaces and gardens emerged. Egypt acted as the Mediterranean gateway for a variety of products from the regions further south (i.e. Nubia and Punt), which – through the Levant and (from the Middle Bronze Age) Crete – reached the Near East and the Aegean/Greece³⁶. This intermediary function of the Levantine coast remained unchanged for millennia, but various cities alternated in this role: Byblos served as the main port of trade with Egypt from the 3rd millennium BC, but – apparently – was replaced by Tel Dor during the Early Iron Age³⁷. According to Assyrian texts and wall-reliefs³⁸, some coastal cities of the central Levant (e.g. Tyre, Sidon, Byblos, Arwad) sent simians as tributes or gifts to Assyrian courts during the 9th-8th centuries BC. A connection between Phoenician traders and the smuggling of simians is also mentioned in well-known biblical passages (1 Kings 10:22; 2 Chronicles 9:21)³⁹, where their role in bringing exotic and luxury goods from Tarshish is outlined⁴⁰.

Especially from the Bronze Age, various types of simian-shaped artefacts were distributed from Egypt to these regions, where eventually these images become integral parts of the local (and even religious) iconography⁴¹. Amulets, stamp seals and oil/perfume containers were initially the most common media bearing this iconography⁴², but a wider variety and distribution of simian imagery⁴³ – even extended to weights⁴⁴ – is attested over time.

Simian imagery was often used in combination with vessels, both in the iconography⁴⁵ and in the stone and faience industry, where simian-shaped appliques or handles were attached on a variety of vessels (e.g. bowls, jars, kohl pots)⁴⁶, and simians holding a

³² For the notion of the biography of objects, see: Kopytoff (1986); Gosden, Marshall (1999).

³³ Dunham (1985), 234; Phillips (2008), 168.

³⁴ Greenlaw (2011), 35.

³⁵ Kessler (2001).

³⁶ There is an extensive literature on the subject. For a recent account, see: Bader (2015), with references.

³⁷ Gilboa (2015).

³⁸ Dunham (1985), 237-238; Hunziker-Rodewald, Deutsch (2014), 65-66, pl. IX.

³⁹ A role of the Phoenicians in the distribution of simian imagery is assumed in: Regev (2013), 106. For a detailed analysis, see: Gubel, Boschloos (2016).

⁴⁰ The location of this region is still debated. For a recent discussion, see: Celestino, López-Ruiz (2016), 111-121, where its possible identification with Tartessos is sustained.

⁴¹ For Crete and the Aegean area during the Bronze Age, see: Marinatos (1987); Cline (1991); Phillips (2008); Kostoula, Maran (2012), 209-212. For Anatolia, see: Mellink (1987). For Mesopotamia, see: Spycket (1998).

⁴² Schroer, Egger (2009), 4.

⁴³ Karageorghis (1994); Karageorghis (1996), 16-20, pls. VIII:5-8; IX; Kletter (2002). Mazar (2004), 79-80, fig. 19; Dothan, Regev (2011).

⁴⁴ Deutsch, Millard (2011), 18-19, figs. 1-2.

⁴⁵ Mellink (1987).

⁴⁶ Terrace (1966), 59-60, nos. 1-12, pls. XIV-XIX; Bourriaou (1988), 142, no. 144; Sparks (2007), 42, no. 358, fig. 27:1.

jar were used in composite vases⁴⁷ or became a vessel themselves⁴⁸, as in the baboon-shaped vessel from Tharros.

The *askos* from Tharros combines two gestures typical of the baboon imagery: the squatting pose and the two raised hands. However, in the first act, the hands usually rest on the knees or between the legs⁴⁹, while, in the latter, the animal is typically standing on its legs⁵⁰. This combination of postures seems rather unusual during the 1st millennium BC⁵¹, while “a sitting baboon with raised arms is known as a classifier for the *ḥd-wr* the ‘great white one’, since the first Dynasty”⁵² and, consequently, it is interpreted “as a divine royal ancestor and protector of dead kings”⁵³. A revival of early traditions and an archaizing tendency in language, funerary practices, artistic styles and motifs occurred in Egypt during the XXV (c. 722-655 BC) and – especially – the XXVI dynasty (Saite period: c. 664-525 BC)⁵⁴, possibly explaining certain affinities with models from the Old and Middle Kingdoms. A connection to the funerary cult of royal ancestors is also attested at Tell Mardikh/Ebla, where this iconography occurs both in the Hotepibra mace and in the bone talisman from the Tomb of the Lord of the Goats (c. mid-18th century BC)⁵⁵.

By extension, a function of protecting all deceased is usually assigned to baboons⁵⁶, and this is in line with the funerary find-context of the baboon-shaped vessel from Tharros. Accordingly, the recipient of the baboon’s gesture may have been the person originally buried with this container.

The natural habitat of baboons is a liminal space: they come from the boundaries of the then known world, the regions to the south of Egypt. This observation further explains their frequent appearance in tombs. Liminal spaces such as tombs are an ideal environment for animals or hybrid figures participating in human activities and even taking on the roles of human beings. Human-looking features in simians are sometimes emphasized by depicting clothes or pieces of jewellery. In this *askos*, the lack of a tail and the decorative motifs mirroring those of certain terracotta wheel-made figures may reveal the intention of humanizing the baboon’s appearance, if these features cannot be instead attributed to the poor familiarity of the artisan with this iconography or to the use of a two-dimensional model.

However, the action performed by this baboon can be interpreted in various ways. The raised hands with palms out are a gesture attested over a long period in textual and iconographic sources of various regions in the eastern Mediterranean⁵⁷. Even when limiting the analysis to the Phoenician and Punic evidence, a variety of contexts, chronologies and features emerge⁵⁸, resulting in a wide debate on the ambiguous meaning of this gesture⁵⁹. The funerary context, where this gesture seems to occur rarely in the Levant and western Mediterranean during the Iron Age and the squatting position may point to an

⁴⁷ Terrace (1966), 60, pl. XX:17-19; Sparks (2007), 45-46, fig. 12:4.

⁴⁸ Terrace (1966), 60, pl. XX:20; Schiff Giorgini (1971), 194, fig. 345; Caubet (1991), 212-213, pls. V:1-2, X:14-15; Fischer (1993); Sparks (2007), 43-45, fig. 12:2-3.

⁴⁹ Hamoto (1995), 89, no. 59, fig. 54, 105, no. 126, fig. 102:a-b; Greenlaw (2011), figs. 10-11, 42, 44.

⁵⁰ Thomas (1979); Greenlaw (2011), fig. 43.

⁵¹ Baboons in a crouching position and gesture of adoration are attested during the XIX Dynasty (c. 1292-1191 BC), as attested, for instance, by the papyrus of Nakht (British Museum, inv. no. EA 10471,6), the papyrus of Ani (British Museum, inv. no. EA 10470,10) and the wall-paintings in the tombs of Sennedjem and Nakhtamun (Porter, Moss (1970), 3, no. 9; 403, no. 25, with references).

⁵² Kopetzky, Bietak (2016), 365. On the classifier, see: Friedman (1995), 24-26; Leitz ed. (2002), 601.

⁵³ Schroer, Egger (2009), 1; Kopetzky, Bietak (2016), 365, with references.

⁵⁴ der Manuelian (1994), 1-59; Pishikova (2008).

⁵⁵ Scandone Matthiae (1995); Polcaro (2015), 185.

⁵⁶ Kopetzky, Bietak (2016), 365.

⁵⁷ Calabro (2014), 525-572, with references.

⁵⁸ Hours-Miédan (1951), 31-34, pls. X-XI; Mendleson (2001), 46-47, fig. 1; Michelau (2016).

⁵⁹ Bénichou-Safar (2005), 100-101.

Egyptian source of inspiration, where this pose – sometimes also mimicked by humans – evokes adoration⁶⁰.

Another aspect to be considered is the function of this animal-shaped vessel. Askoi were usually employed as pouring vessels or for liquid offerings (e.g. water, milk, wine)⁶¹. An association between simians and libations has been recognized in Anatolian cylinder seals of the Middle Bronze Age, where these animals often hold a pitcher⁶² and the presence of a branch in some of the pitchers has been explained as a reference to the lifegiving qualities of the liquid contained in the vessel. Similarly, the palm branches painted on the baboon-shaped *askos* could be connected to the concept of regeneration, which fits well with a funerary context. In addition, a frequent association between the gesture of the upturned palms and the plant motif has already been pointed out in the Levantine iconography⁶³. As baboons were known for screeching at sunset and dawn, the Egyptians interpreted their clamour as a secret language heralding the rising sun and used this imagery in tomb wall paintings as a symbol of rebirth, encouraging the sun to rise⁶⁴. From the New Kingdom onwards, the baboon is an animal hypostasis of the god Thoth⁶⁵, who was sometimes depicted – alongside the god Horus – pouring libations over the deceased⁶⁶.

The performance of libation rituals is attested in many Phoenician and Punic cemeteries⁶⁷, but devices allegedly connected to this practice have been brought to light especially in some tombs of Tharros⁶⁸.

In conclusion, it is not by chance that this baboon-shaped vessel has been found in Tharros, where the ceramists developed a special ability to manufacture animal-shaped vessels during the 6th-5th centuries BC⁶⁹ and simian imagery (i.e. scarabs⁷⁰ and amulets⁷¹) is attested in seemingly higher number than in any other centre in the west Mediterranean⁷².

Tharros shows a great amount of Egyptian or Egyptian-like products⁷³, primarily suggesting a local interest in this type of artefacts and a trade connection with Egypt, which could have been mediated by a centre (Rhodes?) in the Aegean. Also worth mentioning is the presence in Tharros of certain remarkable Egyptian(-ising?) artefacts (such as three bronze statuettes of Osiris and Isis nursing Horus/Harpokrates⁷⁴), which may even provide evidence of the local integration of Egyptian religious elements⁷⁵.

⁶⁰ Allon (2013), 107.

⁶¹ Medde (2000), 169-170.

⁶² Mellink (1987), 66, pls. XVII:1, XVIII:4-6.

⁶³ Calabro (2014), 538, 541, 564.

⁶⁴ te Velde (1988), 130; Volokhine (2004), 150-151; Schroer, Egger (2009), 1.

⁶⁵ Larcher (2016), 60.

⁶⁶ Volokhine (2002), 421.

⁶⁷ Debergh (1983); Ruggeri, Pla Orquín (2017), 387-388.

⁶⁸ Fariselli (2006), 314, 359, 366-368.

⁶⁹ Gaudina (1998), Medde (2000).

⁷⁰ Hölbl (1986), 272, no. 19, 295, no. 104, pls. 72:1, 73:3-4, 7-8; Boardman (2003), 37, no. 7/26, pl. 7; 56, no. 14/1, pl. 14; 83, no. 25/6, pl. 23.

⁷¹ Del Vais (1995), 13, pl. I:2.

⁷² Gubel, Boschloos (2016), 94. Furthermore, a clay mould from a tomb in Puig des Molins, but of uncertain chronology, attests the use of baboon figurines (for a yet unidentified purpose) in a place, Ibiza, that appears to be closely connected to Tharros, possibly because they were located on the same sea route; see: Colominas (1954), 197, no. 3, pl. IV; Almagro Gorbea (1980), 293, no. B-8527, pl. CCXI; Ramón Torres (2011), 167, fig. 3:7.

⁷³ Hölbl (1986), 62-65.

⁷⁴ Uberti (1975), pl. XIX:F1-2; Barreca (1986), figs. 111, 230, 250. They correspond to types 86 and G12 of the classification of Katja Weiß, which are dated to the dynasties XXVI-XXX; see: Weiß (2012), 177-178, 330-331, 649-656, 822-833, pls. 25, 56.

⁷⁵ There is an extensive literature on this subject. Of paramount importance, in this regard, is the analysis of the epigraphic corpus and the examination of distribution, context and chronology of names of Egyptian deities; see: Ribichini (1975); Xella (2018).

Both the shape and symbolic meaning of this *askos* support its use in libation rituals performed during or at the end of the funerary ceremony. Although locally manufactured in a time when simian imagery is widely attested across the Mediterranean, this baboon-shaped vessel combines craft and religious traditions going back directly to Egypt and emphasizing the choice of an iconography connected to rebirth and the protection of the journey undertaken by the deceased in the afterlife⁷⁶.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Dr Maria Antonietta Parlapiano, who has redrawn, integrated and inked the Figs. 1-2. I extend my gratitude to the Museu Arqueològic d'Eivissa i Formentera (MAEF) and, in particular, the Director, Dr Benjamí Costa Ribas, for granting me permission to reproduce the photos in Figs. 5-7, and Dr Helena Jiménez Barrero, Archaeological conservator, for her kind assistance. I owe a great deal to Dr Nicola Chiarenza, who read a draft at very short notice and offered insightful comments, Dr Carolyn Thompson, who gave valuable advice on simians, and Dr Angelo Colonna, who shared useful and updated references on Egyptian parallels.

Bibliography

- Allon N. (2013), The Writing Hand and the Seated Baboon: Tension and Balance in Statue MMA 29.2.16, *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*, 49, 93-112.
- Almagro Gorbea M. (1980), *Corpus de las terracottas de Ibiza*, Madrid: Instituto Español de Prehistoria del C.S.I.C (Bibliotheca praehistorica Hispana, 18).
- Bader B. (2015), Egypt and the Bronze Age Mediterranean: An Archaeological Evidence, in *Oxford Handbooks Online*, Riggs C. [ed.]. [www.DOI:10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199935413.013.35](https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199935413.013.35) (accessed 10th April 2018).
- Bailey D. M. (1962), Lamps from Tharros in the British Museum, *Annual of the British School of Archaeology at Athens*, 57, 35-45.
- Barnett R. D. (1987a), Preface, in *Tharros: a Catalogue of Material in the British Museum from Phoenician and Other Tombs at Tharros, Sardinia*, Barnett R. D., Mendleson C. [eds.], London: The Trustees of the British Museum, 16-18.
- Barnett R. D. (1987b), The excavations at Tharros, in *Tharros: a Catalogue of Material in the British Museum from Phoenician and Other Tombs at Tharros, Sardinia*, Barnett R. D., Mendleson C. [eds.], London: The Trustees of the British Museum, 30-37.
- Barnett R. D. (1987c), Catalogue of Tomb Groups, in *Tharros: a Catalogue of Material in the British Museum from Phoenician and Other Tombs at Tharros, Sardinia*, Barnett R. D., Mendleson C. [eds.], London: The Trustees of the British Museum, 126-247.
- Barreca F. (1986), *La civiltà fenicio-punica in Sardegna*, Sassari: Carlo Delfino editore (Sardegna archeologica. Studi e Monumenti, 3).
- Bartoloni P. (2018), Viaggiando nel tempo 2: sulle tracce degli askoi di Pierre Cintas, *Cartagine, Studi e Ricerche*, 3, 1-18.

⁷⁶ Phoenician/Punic eschatology remains a difficult topic to deal with. A seminal work is: Ribichini (2004). Apart from the balanced synthesis on Carthage by Serge Lancel (1995), 222-227, a very interesting and more recent attempt is: Frenzo, De Trafford, Vella (2005).

- Bénichou-Safar H. (2005), Le geste dit de l'orant sur les stèles puniques de Carthage, in *El mundo funerario. Actas del III Seminario internacional sobre temas fenicios* (Guardamar del Segura, mayo de 2002), González Prats A. [ed.], Alicante: Universitat d'Alacant, 99-116.
- Biers W. R. (1995), Kneeling Corinthians: Three Unusual "Plastic" Vases, *BABESCH*, 70, 105-113.
- Bignasca, A. (2000), *I kernoi circolari in Oriente e in Occidente: strumenti de culto e immagini cosmiche*, Freiburg-Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht (Orbis biblicus et orientalis. Series Archaeologica, 19).
- Boardman J. (2003), *Classical Phoenician scarabs: a catalogue and study*, Oxford: Archaeopress (BAR international series, 1190; Studies in gems and jewellery, 2).
- Boldrini S. (1994), *Le ceramiche ioniche*, Bari: Edipuglia (Gravisca. Scavi nel santuario greco, 4).
- Bourriau J. (1988), *Pharaohs and mortals: Egyptian art in the Middle Kingdom. Catalogue of the exhibition, Fitzwilliam Museum* (Cambridge, 19 April to 26 June 1988), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Calabro D. M. (2014), *Ritual Gestures of Lifting, Extending, and Clasping the Hand(s) in Northwest Semitic Literature and Iconography*, Unpublished PhD Dissertation, University of Chicago.
- Caubet A. (1991), Répertoire de la vaisselle de pierre, Ougarit 1929-1988, in *Arts et industries de la pierre. Ras Shamra-Ougarit, VI*, Yon M. [ed.], Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 205-264.
- Celestino S., López-Ruiz C. (2016), *Tartessos and the Phoenicians in Iberia*, Oxford-New York: Oxford University Press.
- Ciasca A. (1992), Mozia: sguardo d'insieme sul tofet, *Vicino Oriente*, 8, 113-155.
- Ciasca A. (1994), Dati di scavo, in *Scavi a Mozia: le terrecotte figurate*, Ciasca A., Toti M. P., Roma: Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche (Collezione di Studi Fenici, 33), 7-12.
- Cline E. H. (1991), Monkey business in the bronze age Aegean. The Amenhotep II faience figurines at Mycenae and Tiryns, *The Annual of the British School at Athens*, 86, 29-42.
- Colominas J. (1954), Sepultura de un alfarero-vaciador en la necropolis del Puig dels Molins (Ibiza), in *I Congreso Arqueológico del Marruecos español* (Tetuán, 22-26 junio 1953), Tetuán: Alta Comisaría de España en Marruecos, Servicio de Arqueología, 191-197.
- Cristofani Martelli M. (1978), La ceramica greco-orientale in Etruria, in *Les céramiques de la Grèce de l'Est et leur diffusion en Occident* (Naples, 6-9 juillet 1976), Paris-Naples : Editions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique (Bibliothèque de l'Institut français de Naples, 4 ; Colloques internationaux du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 569), 150-212.
- Dasen V. (2000), Squatting comasts and scarab-beetles, in *Periplous: papers on classical art and archaeology presented to Sir John Boardman*, Tsatskheladze G. R., Prag A. J. N. W., Snodgrass A. M. [eds.], London: Thames & Hudson, 89-97.
- Debergh J. (1983), La libation funéraire dans l'Occident punique. Le témoignage des nécropoles, in *Atti del I Congresso Internazionale di Studi Fenici e Punici* (Roma, 5-10 Novembre 1979), Roma: Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche (Collezione di Studi Fenici, 16), 757-762.
- Del Vais C. (1995), Lo scavo dei quadrati I-L 17-18, in *Tharros XXI-XXII. Le campagne del 1994-1995*, Roma: Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche (Rivista di Studi Fenici. Suppl., 23), 9-18.
- Del Vais C. (2017), Nuove ricerche nella necropoli settentrionale di Tharros (Cabras-OR): gli scavi nell'area A (2009-2011, 2013), in *From the Mediterranean to the Atlantic: people, goods and ideas between East and West. Proceedings of the 8th International Congress of Phoenician and Punic Studies* (Italy, Sardinia, Carbonia, Sant'Antioco, 21th-26th October 2013), Guirguis M. [ed.], Pisa-Roma: Fabrizio Serra editore (Folia Phoenicia, 1), 314-320.
- Del Vais C., Fariselli A. C. (2010), Tipi tombali e pratiche funerarie nella necropoli settentrionale di Tharros (San Giovanni di Sinis, Cabras-OR), *OCNUS*, 18, 9-22.

- der Manuelian P. (1994), *Living in the past: studies in archaism of the Egyptian twenty-sixth dynasty*, London: Kegan International (Studies in Egyptian society series).
- Deutsch R., Millard A. (2011), Ten Unpublished West Semitic Bronze Weights, *The Israel Numismatic Journal*, 18, 18-19.
- Dothan T., Regev D. (2011), An Inscribed Baboon Statuette from Tel Mique-Ekron, *Ägypten und Levante/Egypt and the Levant*, 21, 211-229.
- Ducat J. (1966), *Les vases plastiques rhodiens archaïques en terre cuite*, Paris : De Boccard (Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 209).
- Dunham S. (1985), The Monkey in the Middle, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie*, 75, 234-264.
- Fariselli A. C. (2006), Il "paesaggio" funerario: tipologia tombale e rituali, in *Beni culturali e antichità puniche. La necropoli meridionale di Tharros. Tharrhica - I*, Acquaro E., del Vais C., Fariselli A.C. [eds.], La Spezia: Agorà Edizioni (Biblioteca di Byrsa, 4), 303-369.
- Fischer H. G. (1993), Another Pithemorphic Vessel of the Sixth Dynasty, *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*, 3, 1-9.
- Frendo A. J., De Trafford A., Vella N.C. (2005), Water journeys of the dead: A glimpse into Phoenician and Punic eschatology, in *Atti del V Congresso Internazionale di Studi Fenici e Punici* (Marsala-Palermo, 2-8 ottobre 2000), Spanò Giammellaro A. [ed.], Palermo: Università degli Studi di Palermo, 427-443.
- Friedman F. D. (1995), The Underground Relief Panels of King Djoser at the Step Pyramid Complex, *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*, 32, 1-42.
- Gaudina E. (1998), Askoi ornitomorfi dell'Antiquarium Arborensis, in *La ceramica racconta la storia. Atti del 2° convegno di studi: La ceramica nel Sinis dal neolitico ai giorni nostri* (Oristano-Cabras, 25-26 ottobre 1996), Cossu C., Melis R. [eds.], Cagliari: Condaghes, 231-243.
- Gilboa A. (2015), Dor and Egypt in the Early Iron Age: An Archaeological Perspective of (Part of) the Wenamun Report, *Egypt and the Levant*, 25, 247-274.
- Gosden C., Marshall Y. (1999), The Cultural Biography of Objects, *World Archaeology* 31, 169-178.
- Greenlaw C. (2011), *The representation of monkeys in the art and thought of Mediterranean cultures: a new perspective on ancient primates*, Oxford: Archaeopress (BAR international series, 2192).
- Gubel E., Boschloos V. (2016), Sous les étoiles de Thot. Le dieu lunaire dans l'art phénicien, in *"Lo mio maestro e 'l mio autore". Studi in onore di Sandro Filippo Bondi*, Botto M., Finocchi S., Garbati G., Oggiano I. [eds.], Roma: Edizioni Quasar (Rivista di Studi Fenici, 44), 87-97.
- Hamoto A. (1995), *Der Affe in der altorientalischen Kunst*, Münster: Ugarit-Verlag (Forschungen zur Anthropologie und Religionsgeschichte, 28).
- Hölbl G. (1986), *Ägyptisches Kulturgut im phönikischen und punischen Sardinien*, Leiden: Brill (Etudes préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire romain, 102).
- Hours-Miédan M. (1951), Les représentations figurées sur les stèles de Carthage, *Cahiers de Byrsa*, I, 15-160.
- Hunziker-Rodewald R., Deutsch R. (2014) The Shihan Stele Reconsidered, *Transeuphratène*, 45, 51-67.
- Karageorghis V. (1994), Monkeys and bears in Cypriote art, *Opuscula Atheniensi*, 20, 63-73.
- Karageorghis V. (1996), *The Cypro-Achaic period: monsters, animals and miscellanea*, Nicosia: Leventis Foundation (The Coroplastic Art of Ancient Cyprus, VI).
- Kessler D. (2001), Monkeys and Baboons, in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, vol. 2, Redford D. B. [ed.], Oxford: Oxford University Press, 428-432.

Praising the rising sun. On a baboon-shaped vessel from Tharros

- Kletter R. (2002), A monkey figurine from Tel Beth Shemesh, *Oxford Journal of Archaeology*, 21, 147-152.
- Kopetzky K., Bietak M. (2016), A Seal Impression of the Green Jasper Workshop from Tell el-Dab'a, *Ägypten und Levante/Egypt and the Levant*, 26, 357-375.
- Kopytoff I. (1986), The cultural biography of things: commoditization as process, in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, Appadurai A. [ed.], Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 64-91.
- Kostoula M., Maran J. (2012), A Group of Animal-headed Faience Vessels from Tiryns, in *All the Wisdom of the East Studies in Near Eastern Archaeology and History in Honor of Eliezer D. Oren*, Gruber M., Ahituv S., Lehmann G., Talshir Z. [eds.], Fribourg-Göttingen: Academic Press Fribourg Vandenhoeck-Ruprecht Göttingen (Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis, 255), 193-234.
- Lancel S. (1995), *Carthage: a history*, Oxford-Cambridge (Mass.): Blackwell.
- Larcher C. (2016), Quand Thot devient babouin. Essai de datation et d'interprétation de l'apparition de la forme simiesque du dieu, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*, 143, 60-76.
- Leitz C. ed. (2002), *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen*, vol. 5, Leuven: Peeters (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, 114).
- López-Bertran M. (2016), Exploring Past Ontologies: Bodies, Jugs and Figurines from the Phoenician-Punic Western Mediterranean, *Cambridge Archaeological Journal*, 26, 413-428.
- Mamma G., Toti M. P. (2011), Considerazioni sulla coroplastica votiva del tofet di Mozia (Marsala-Italia), *Sardinia, Corsica et Baleares Antiquae*, 9, 31-50.
- Marinatos N. (1987), An Offering of Saffron to the Minoan Goddess of Nature: The Role of the Monkey and the Importance of Saffron, in *Gifts to the Gods. Proceedings of the Uppsala Symposium*, Linders T., Nordquist G. [eds.], Uppsala: Academia Upsaliensis (Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. Boreas, 15), 123-132.
- Mazar E. (2004), *The Phoenician family tomb n.1 at the northern cemetery of Achziv (10th-6th centuries BCE): Sam Turner expedition final report of the excavations*, Barcelona: Ediciones Bellaterra (Cuadernos de Arqueología Mediterránea, 10).
- Medde M. (2000), Askoi zoomorfi dalla Sardegna, *Rivista di Studi Punici*, 1, 159-187.
- Mellink M. J. (1987), Anatolian Libation Pourers and the Minoan Genius, in *Monsters and demons in the ancient and medieval worlds: papers presented in honor of Edith Porada*, Farkas A. E., Harper P. O., Harrison E. B. [eds.], Mainz on Rhine: P. von Zabern, 65-72.
- Mendleson C. (2001), Images & Symbols on Punic Stelae from the Tophet at Carthage, *Archaeology & History in Lebanon*, 13, 45-50.
- Michelau H. (2016), Adorantendarstellungen karthagischer und phönizischer Grabstelen, in *Karthago Dialoge. Karthago und der punische Mittelmeerraum – Kulturkontakte und Kulturtransfers im 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr.*, Schön F., Töpfer H. [eds.], Tübingen: Universitätsbibliothek Tübingen (Ressourcen Kulturen, 2), 137-158.
- Mitchell T.C. (1987), Phoenician and Punic Pottery, in *Tharros: a Catalogue of Material in the British Museum from Phoenician and Other Tombs at Tharros, Sardinia*, Barnett R. D., Mendleson C. [eds.], London: The Trustees of the British Museum, 50-58.
- Orsingher A. (2013a), The Hellenization of the Punic World: a view from the Tophet, in *SOMA 2012. Identity and Connectivity. Proceedings of the 16th Symposium on Mediterranean Archaeology* (Florence, Italy, 1-3 March 2012), Bombardieri L., D'Agostino A., Guarducci G., Orsi V., Valentini S. [eds.], Oxford: Archaeopress (BAR International Series, 2581), 693-701.
- Orsingher A. (2013b), *La ceramica dagli scavi di Antonia Ciasca al Tofet di Mozia (1964-1973)*, Unpublished PhD Dissertation, Sapienza University of Rome.

- Orsingher A. (2015), Vessels in Tophet sanctuaries: the Archaic evidence and the Levantine connection, in *Cult and Ritual on the Levantine Coast and its impact on the Eastern Mediterranean Realm. Proceedings of the International Symposium* (Beirut 2012), Beirut: Ministère de la Culture, Direction Générale des Antiquités (Bulletin d'Archéologie et d'Architecture Libanaises. Hors-Série, X), 561-590.
- Orsingher A. (2016), The ceramic repertoire of Motya: origins and development between the 8th and 6th centuries BC, in *Karthago Dialoge. Karthago und der punische Mittelmeerraum – Kulturkontakte und Kulturtransfers im 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr.*, Schön F., Töpfer H. [eds.], Tübingen: Universitätsbibliothek Tübingen (Ressourcen Kulturen, 2), 283-314.
- Orsingher A. (2018), «Note moziesi» dal Tofet: un'analisi a partire dalla sequenza ceramica del campo d'urne, in *From the Mediterranean to the Atlantic: people, goods and ideas between East and West. Proceedings of the 8th International Congress of Phoenician and Punic Studies* (Italy, Sardinia, Carbonia, Sant'Antioco, 21th-26th October 2013), Guirguis M. [ed.], Pisa-Roma: Fabrizio Serra editore (Folia Phoenicia, 2), 29-34.
- Pautasso A. (2007), "Versa là dove il flusso sarà richiesto". Su una classe di vasi configurati tra Oriente e Occidente, *Numismatica e Antichità Classiche*, 26, 1-30.
- Pautasso A. (2015), Squatting Comasts and Others Itinerant Iconographies and Plastic Vases, in *Figurines de terre cuite en Méditerranée grecque et romaine. Volume 2. Iconographies et contextes* (Izmir, juin 2007), Muller A., Laflı E., Huysecom-Haxhi S. [eds.], Villeneuve d'Ascq: Presses universitaires du Septentrion (Collection Archaiologia), 139-144.
- Phillips J. (2008), *Aegyptiaca on the island of Crete in their chronological context: a critical review*, Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Contributions to the chronology of the Eastern Mediterranean, 18; Denkschriften der Gesamtkademie/Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 49).
- Polcaro A. (2015), The Bone Talisman and the ideology of Ancestors in Old Syrian Ebla: tradition and innovation in the royal funerary ritual iconography, *Studia Eblaitica. Studies on the Archaeology, History, and Philology of Ancient Syria*, 1, 179-204.
- Porter B., Moss R. L. B. (1970), *Topographical bibliography of ancient Egyptian hieroglyphic texts, reliefs, and paintings I. The Theban necropolis. Part 1. private tombs*, Oxford: Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum Oxford.
- Ramon Torres J. (2011), El sector alfarero de la ciudad púnica de Ibiza, in *Yöserim: la producción alfarera Fenicio-Púnica en Occidente. XXV Jornadas de Arqueología Fenicio-Púnica* (Eivissa, 2010), Costa B., Fernández J. H. [eds.], Eivissa: Museu Arqueològic de Eivissa i Formentera (Treballs del Museu Arqueològic d'Eivissa i Formentera, 66), 165-221.
- Regev D. (2013), Egyptian Stone Objects from Miqne-Ekron. Canaanite-Phoenician Trade in Egyptian Cult-Objects and their Mediterranean Distribution, in *SOMA 2012. Identity and Connectivity: Proceedings of the 16th Symposium on Mediterranean Archaeology* (Florence, Italy, 1-3 March 2012), Bombardieri L., D'Agostino A., Guarducci G., Orsi V., Valentini S. [eds.]. Oxford: Archaeopress (BAR International Series, 2581), 103-110.
- Ribichini S. (1975), Divinità egiziane nelle iscrizioni fenicie d'Oriente, in *Saggi fenici - I*, Benigni G., Bondi S. F., Coacci Polselli G., Quattrocchi Pisano G., Ribichini S., Uberti M. L., Xella P. [eds.], Roma: Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche (Collezione di Studi Fenici, 6), 7-14.
- Ribichini S. (2004), Sui riti funerari fenici e punici. Tra archeologia e storia delle religioni, in *El mundo funerario. Actas del III Seminario internacional sobre temas fenicios* (Guardamar del Segura, mayo de 2002), González Prats A. [ed.], Alicante: Universitat d'Alacant, 43-76.
- Ruggeri P., Pla Orquín R. (2017), *Cum agerent parentalia Norenses omnesque suo more ex oppido exissent: tradizioni funerarie in Sardegna fra Punici e Romani*, in *Dialogando: studi in onore di Mario Torelli*, Masseria C., Marroni E. [eds.], Pisa: ETS, 383-397.

Praising the rising sun. On a baboon-shaped vessel from Tharros

- Scandone Matthiae G. (1995), Mazza cerimoniale faraonica, in *Ebla: Alle origini della civiltà urbana*, Matthiae P., Pinnock F., Scandone Matthiae G. [eds.], Milano: Electa, 464-465.
- Schiff Giorgini, M. (1971), *Soleb II. Les nécropoles*, Firenze: Sansoni.
- Schroer S., Egger, J. (2009), Monkey, in *Iconography of Deities and Demons in the Ancient Near East: an iconographic dictionary with special emphasis on first-millennium BCE. Electronic Pre-Publication*, Egger J., Uehlinger C. [eds.], http://www.religionswissenschaft.uzh.ch/idd/prepublications/e_idd_monkey.pdf (accessed 20th April 2018).
- Sparks R. T. (2007), *Stone vessels in the Levant*, Leeds: Maney (Palestine Exploration Fund annual, 8).
- Spycket A. (1998), "Le Carnaval des Animaux": On Some Musician Monkeys from the Ancient Near East, *Iraq*, 60, 1-10.
- Szilágyi J. Gy. (1972), Vases plastiques étrusques en forme de singe, *Revue Archéologique*, 111-126.
- Terrace E. L. B. (1966), "Blue Marble" Plastic Vessels and Other Figures, *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*, 5, 57-63.
- te Velde H. (1988), Some remarks on the mysterious language of the Baboons, in *Funerary Symbols and Religion. Essays Dedicated to Professor M. S. H. G. Heerma van Voss on the occasion of his retirement from the Chair of the History of Ancient Religions at the University of Amsterdam*, Kamstra J. H., Milde H., Wagendonk K. [eds.], Kampen: J. H. Kok, 129-137.
- Thomas E. (1979), *Papio Hamadryas* and the rising sun, *Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar*, 1, 91-94.
- Toti M. P. (1994), Catalogo delle statuette al tornio provenienti dal tofet di Mozia, in *Scavi a Mozia: le terrecotte figurate*, Ciasca A., Toti M. P., Roma: Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche (Collezione di Studi Fenici, 33), 13-87.
- Uberti M. L. (1975), I bronzi, in *Anecdota Tharrica*, Acquaro E., Moscati S., Uberti M. L., Roma: Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche (Collezione di Studi Fenici, 5), 123-128.
- Volokhine Y. (2002), Le dieu Thot au Qasr el-Agoûz [Djed-her-pa-heb], [Djehouty-setem], *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale*, 102, 405-423.
- Volokhine Y. (2004), Le dieu Thot et la parole, *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, 221/2, 131-156.
- Webb V. (1978), *Archaic Greek faience: miniature scent bottles and related objects from East Greece, 650-500 B.C.*, Warminster: Aris & Phillips.
- Weiß K. (2012), *Ägyptische Tier- und Götterbronzen aus Unterägypten. Untersuchungen zu Typus, Ikonographie und Funktion sowie der Bedeutung innerhalb der Kulturkontakte zu Griechenland*, 1-2, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz (Ägypten und Altes Testament, 81).
- Xella P. (2018), I Fenici e gli dei d'Egitto: Note su Horus nell'epigrafia fenicia, in *A Oriente del Delta. Scritti sull'Egitto ed il Vicino Oriente antico in onore di Gabriella Scandone Matthiae*, Vacca A., Pizzimenti S., Micale M. G. [eds.] Roma: Scienze e Lettere (Contributi e Materiali di Archeologia Orientale, XVIII), 633-639.
- Zucca R. (2018), *Vita d'un direttore di museo scritta da lui medesimo*, Firenze: All'Insegna del Giglio (Antiquarium Arborensis, 1).

