

JUNO AND FERTILITY AT THE SANCTUARY OF TAS-SILĠ, MALTA

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The attribution of the temple at Tas-Silġ in Malta to the divinity of Juno was established by 1963 when the *Missione Archeologica Italiana* excavated the site which had been known for some centuries to have been a temple of some sort.¹ The remains of the temple itself and the inscriptions leave no doubt that it was goddess Juno who was venerated there.

To put it briefly, three main conclusions were reached by the archaeologists: that a neolithic temple whose remains can still be seen had preceded in existence the Roman one; that goddess Juno was originally venerated as the neolithic Mother Goddess at the same site, transformed intermediately into Astarte by the Phoenicians and the Carthaginians; and that a male but subordinate divinity was venerated along with the Mother Goddess/ Astarte/ Juno. In my view, this last point was not fully developed, and is very important in throwing more light on the question of the fertility cult in Juno.

M. Cagiano de Azevedo, writing for the *Missione* in 1968, reported on the finding of a *baetylus* (a precious, round stone) and a large basin, both approximately thirty metres away from the prehistoric altar.² The *baetylus* was described as one metre thirty in height, standing by the basin, originally of a single block, of a diameter of less than five metres. *Baetyli* were formerly discovered both at Ġgantija in Gozo and at Tarxien in Malta, as well as elsewhere in Mediterranean countries. As in the case of other *baetyli*, the one from Tas-Silġ represented a male divinity, a fact confirmed by its complementary position to the temple of the Great Goddess. In this case the god is connected with the basin which served for rites of ablution. Both the Phoenicians and the Romans respected this *baetylus* and left it in its original position from neolithic times. It is obvious that they recognised in it the male divinity that essentially went together with the Great Goddess.

It is necessary now to establish our facts clearly both on the relationship of Juno with the Great Goddess, and on the identification of the male divinity represented by the *baetylus* also in Phoenician and Roman times at Tas-Silġ.

It is of interest to note that of all the neolithic temples in Malta and Gozo, the one at Tas-Silġ is unique in the islands in that a female divinity was venerated with a certain amount of continuity from neolithic times down to the Christian era. In the same place we have neolithic, Phoenician, Classical, Byzantine and Arab traces, and only a few yards from the site a shrine dedicated to "Our Lady of the Snow" gives both witness to the veneration of a female divinity in the locality and the meaning of the place-name of Tas-Silġ. Also, the name Dellimara, the peninsula which starts from Tas-Silġ south-eastwards, has been interpreted as deriving from "Dejr il-mara", meaning "the temple of the Lady".³ This continual holy tradition is not found to have existed in the other neolithic temples in these islands.

The transformation of the Great Goddess divinity at Tas-Silġ into Astarte, and Juno later, is not only a marvellous event in the history of religions, but also symbolical of the general pattern in which the veneration of the "Great Goddess", "the Mother Earth", "the Goddess of Fertility", spread from the east through Asia Minor and Palestine to Crete, Greece, Malta, Sicily, Sardinia, Spain and the north as far as England.⁴ In this missionary journey to the west, the cult of the fertile goddess, even if it had to lose some of its pristine characteristics and acquire new ones as a result of new contacts in strange lands, remained essentially the same. I would even add that the spread of this cult went hand-in-hand with the spread of the culture of the people who from time to time emigrated to the west, taking with them their gods, customs and language. It is probable, therefore, that where the same religion was practised in neolithic times, the same language was spoken, for which may I suggest pre-Phoenician words in the Maltese language as possibly applicable to this one common Mediterranean language in neolithic times?

To come back to the Great Goddess, it is a greater problem to differentiate between the Great Goddess herself and the Phrygian and Anatolian Cybele, the Syrian Ma, the Cretan Rhea, Britomartis, Dictunna and Aphaea, the Egyptian Isis, the Sumerian Inanna, the Akkadian Ishtar, the semitic Asherah or Astaroth (called by the Greeks Astarte), the Greek Demeter, Hera, Athena, Aphrodite, Artemis and Hecate, and the Roman Magna Mater and goddesses derived from the Greek ones, than to assume that all these goddesses were essentially different from each other but accidentally bearing similar characteristics.

The case with the Cretan and Greek goddesses is obvious. The emblems which the Minoan Great Goddess bears — for example, the double-axe (Greek λάβρυξ , which gives the name to λαβυρίνθος), the dove and the snakes — were to be found both in the ancient Middle East in the Chalcolithic period, a thousand years before the Minoan period and, later on, with the Greek Athena in the case of the snakes. Most of the Greek goddesses, and their Roman counterparts, share their associations and concerns with birth, marriage, maternity, the moon and its supposed influence on the life of women, fertility, love, sex, and vegetation. Sometimes the roles of some goddesses have been confused exactly because they were so similar, especially in the case of Hecate and Artemis.⁵

As a result of her marriage with Zeus — originally, therefore, a chthonic goddess — Hera enjoyed the titles of “queen of heaven” and “the goddess of the stars”. Though she and the rest of the goddesses are in essence reminiscences of the Cretan Rhea (who bore Zeus), Hera, of all the Greek pantheon, comes closest to the equivalence of Rhea, Cybele and the Great Goddess, and so does her Roman counterpart, Juno. We remind ourselves here that at Tas-Silg the Great Goddess became Juno after having been intermediately Astarte, the supreme semitic goddess and the equivalent of the Great Goddess in the Near East.⁶ It is true that we often take Aphrodite as the Greek counterpart of the semitic Astarte; but, as we have already established, most of the goddesses in the Greek pantheon were multiple forms of the same Great Goddess and, what is more important, Hera, and not Aphrodite, was supreme like Astarte.

Most of the ancient goddesses had two important and inseparable qualities in common: a supremacy over male divinities, and a relationship with a subordinate male god.

In Paleolithic times, the male divinity hardly played any part in the Mother Goddess cult for the reason that the male's part was less obvious than the more apparent conception and birth by the goddess. As his function was better understood in later ages, his role was firmly established though never more emphasised than that of the goddess. Such is the case with the Goddess in Minoan Crete and the Aegean, where the god was known simply as the Master of Animals, or Zeus. This god was to change tremendously when the Indo-Europeans came to Greece from the north and introduced their Sky-god and called him by the same name of the primitive, vegetation-god in Crete, Zeus. This change also removed the goddess from the chair of supremacy in Greece, and now Zeus (later on, Jupiter) and not Hera or Juno,

becomes the god of heaven or Olympus. In Egypt, because the Pharaoh represented god on earth, and he was generally a king not a queen, the supreme deity was consequently a male. But at Tas-Silg, as we have seen, the male god was represented only by the *baetylus* as from neolithic times, while the temple was dedicated to the female divinity, and not to himself.

The relationship between the Great Goddess and the male divinity was essentially an expression of the fertility cult. The increasing awareness of the essential role of the male divinity in the cult developed a myth of an aetiological nature. When in the northern hemisphere in summer all the vegetation went dry, the ancient peoples attributed this phenomenon to the annual death and absence of the male divinity. The coming of the rains towards the end of summer was then explained as the rebirth or resurrection of the same male god and the resumption of a relationship with the Great Goddess of fertility.

In the Babylonian myth, Tammuz was the male divinity associated with goddess Ishtar, and was the embodiment of the creative powers of spring and the personification of the autumnal decline in the seasonal cycle. When King Marduk replaced Enlil as head of the pantheon in about 1728 B.C., he assumed a Tammuz role as the reborn male divinity and the return of a prosperous season. (The assumption of a divine role applied also to the Egyptian pharaoh representing god on earth, and to the wearing of the mask representing a divinity in Greek Comedy). The Sumerian Dumuzi played a similar role to goddess Inanna, and so did the Egyptian Osiris to Isis and the Phrygian/Anatolian Attis to Cybele.⁷

The death and resurrection theme was also celebrated annually at Byblos on the coast of Syria with a period of mourning followed by rejoicing at the restoration of Adonis, the youthful vegetation-god, in the spring. The same Adonis appears again as Aphrodite's subordinate male divinity in Greek mythology. One story describes him as a young hunter killed by a boar, another as an infant entrusted in a chest to Persephone in Hades, where he stayed for half a year, symbolising the absence of fertility on earth for that period.

The association of the Great Goddess with the dead god and her attempts to bring him back from the underworld earned her and her representations in Crete and Greece titles connected with the underworld. For example, the Minoan Great Goddess was also the guardian of the dead. At Hagia Triada in Crete, in a Late Minoan chamber-tomb, the Great Goddess is represented as receiving the life-

giving blood of a victim conveyed in ritual jars by her priestesses, in order for her to give new life to the deceased. Of the Greek goddesses, Aphrodite, Artemis and Hecate were goddesses of the underworld. Hecate also ruled over ghosts and demons, and as a result of this she was recognised as the goddess of the cross-roads who drove away the evil influences from these dangerous spots. Even the Egyptian Isis, venerated in Greece and Rome, was believed that she could restore the dead beyond the grave.

These goddesses, therefore, through their similar characteristics (supremacies, association with a male god and the underworld) were various representations of an earlier supreme female divinity who was closely attached to a subordinate male god in the fertility cult. At Tas-Silġ, the Great Goddess was later on represented by Astarte and Juno, and was also attached to the male divinity represented by the *baetylus*, whose identification problem I now come to.

Until the excavations got started at Tas-Silġ by the *Missione* in 1963, it was believed, practically by all the historians concerned with Malta, that two big temples of the classical era had existed in Malta: one dedicated to Juno near Vittoriosa, and another dedicated to Hercules at Tas-Silġ.⁸ This tradition originated from J. Quintin's description of Malta in Latin in 1533, himself relying merely on archaeological remains (without any inscriptions mentioned) and on Ptolemy's wrong bearings.⁹ That a temple of some sort existed near Vittoriosa (where now a ditch separates Fort St. Angelo from the town) is credible and, in fact, a temple dedicated to Hercules had been suggested to have possibly once stood at that site.¹⁰ More recently, a new suggestion that Hercules was venerated not on his own, but along with goddess Juno at Tas-Silġ can add light to our investigation.¹¹

Ptolemy may have been wrong with the bearings, but his remark that both Juno and Hercules were venerated in Malta in the classical era must not escape our notice. The fact is that if Hercules had a temple for his own cult in classical times, Cicero would have written something about it as he did with the temple of Juno in connection with the Verrine case in Rome.¹² Maybe he was just interested with the one of Juno, which Verres actually robbed; but what about Pliny, Strabo and the others who mentioned Malta in their works?

The problem is really solved if we see the *baetylus* at Tas-Silġ as symbolically the equivalent of Attis, Adonis, the Cretan Zeus, Dumuzi, Tammuz, Osiris and Baal. When the Phoenicians and the Romans came to Malta, they recognised the male divinity in the

baetylus as sacred and essentially important to the whole complex of the cult to the extent that even when the neolithic temple was turned into a Punico-Classical one, that stone remained in position up to this day.

Now the Canaanites in general worshipped Astarte, the goddess of fecundity, and represented her by wooden poles, and along with her Baal, whom they represented by altars or stone pillars. We should not be surprised, therefore, if the Phoenicians, who seemed to have worshipped Baal in most of their colonies, accepted the *baetylus* as their own deity. Furthermore, Baal means “Lord”, as the name of Adonis does, which fact further suggests that Baal, Adonis, Attis, Tammuz and the rest were essentially one god. Again, the Canaanites called Baal also by the name of Melqart, meaning “King of the City”. If, therefore, the Phoenicians, and the Carthaginians after them, named the male divinity at the temple of the Great Goddess at Tas-Silġ as Baal Melqart, the Romans would then have called him Hercules, the equivalent of Melqart. (The Straits of Gibraltar were known to the wandering Phoenicians “the Pillars of Melqart”, to the Romans, “the Pillars of Hercules”).

Now we find in Greco-Roman mythology that Hera/Juno was always the greatest enemy and the cause of the greatest obstacles to Heracles/Hercules. When he was born of Alcmena and Zeus, Hera was furious with her husband because of the affair, and did everything in her power to kill the child. Before his birth, she robbed him of his true inheritance, which had been promised by Zeus when he swore that he would be lord of the surrounding peoples. She contrived that Eurystheus instead would be born earlier through the intervention of the Eileithyae who delayed Heracles’ birth. Hera then sent two serpents to attack Heracles and his twin-brother Iphicles in their cradle, but Heracles killed them both! Later on she sent on him a fit of furious homicidal madness, in which he killed his wife Megara and his children. So, then, how can we explain that Hercules was venerated along with Juno at Tas-Silġ?

We must, of course, not forget that there were more than one Heracles in the ancient world. Diodorus Siculus speaks of three Heracles, the first and most ancient of whom was the Egyptian, the second a Cretan, and third a Greek whom we know better. Cicero counts six heroes of this name, while according to Herodotus the Egyptians (and, with them, the Libyans) referred him to Phoenicia as the original source of their traditions on him.¹³ It was this one who gave his name (Melqart) to the male divinity in Malta at Tas-Silġ through the coming of the Phoenicians.

The Greeks, if ever they came to Malta as settlers, and that before the Phoenicians, would not have venerated the *baetylus* as Heracles, but as Adonis who was associated with Aphrodite, the Greek goddess of love and fertility. The Romans, then, who also venerated Adonis, would have accepted him as their own with the same name. As things took place, however, the Romans found the Phoenician Melqart already in worship, and supposing he had nothing to do with Hera or the Greek legends, just translated him into Hercules and worshipped him along with Juno in the same way as they worshipped Adonis along with Venus (Aphrodite) elsewhere. This is how Hercules comes to be connected with goddess Juno and the fertility cult at Tas-Silġ in Malta.

CONCLUSION

Juno, therefore, a translation of the Greek Hera, chief of the goddesses in the Greco-Roman pantheon, was the Roman equivalent of the Phoenician supreme goddess Astaroth, known to us by the Greek name of Astarte, the goddess of fertility for the semitic peoples. As the neolithic Maltese Great Goddess was worshipped in relationship to her male divinity within her own temple, where he was represented by the *baetylus*, so was the Phoenician Astarte worshipped with Melqart, and Juno with Hercules in Roman times. The veneration of the Great Goddess with her subordinate male deity at Tas-Silġ down to Roman times may not have been continuous; yet the tradition was kept, the temple was re-utilised and the gods were re-named. If later peoples (the Phoenicians and the Romans) recognised the neolithic structure at Tas-Silġ as a temple and the Great Goddess as their own goddess of fertility, one concludes that the other neolithic temples in Malta and Gozo were *real* temples, while the Great Goddess of Fertility was not just a “fat lady” or a “Venus”, but a *real* ancient deity whose fat propensities symbolise “Plenty”.

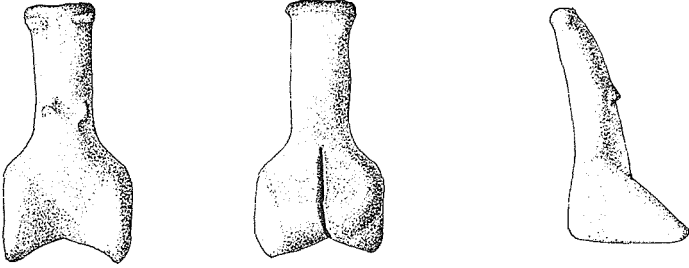
Notes

I would like to thank the University of Zimbabwe for paying for the costs of my attendance at this Conference, and Dr. A. Bonanno for inviting me to it. I would like to add also that as a classicist I have discussed the subject more widely than an archaeologist would normally do.

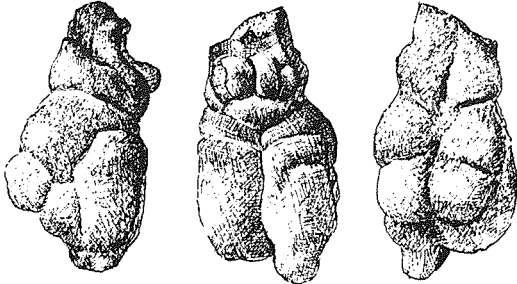
- ¹ See *Missione archeologica italiana a Malta 1963*, Roma, 1964.
- ² The 1968 campaign, *Missione archeologica italiana a Malta 1968*, Roma, 1969: 117-9. See also S. Moscati, *Un santuario a Malta, Tra Cartagine e Roma*, Milano 1971: 42-3.
- ³ E. Coleiro, *Malta nelle letterature classiche, Missione archeologica italiana a Malta 1963*, Roma, 1964, 30. G. Wettinger, *Early Maltese and Gozitan place-names, Civilization: an encyclopaedia on Maltese civilization, history and contemporary arts* 24, 91-2, interprets "Dellimara" as deriving from "Dejr Limara", possibly meaning "Calimera's monastery-like building, Calimera being a surname current in Malta in the 15th c."
- ⁴ For the veneration of the Great Goddess in England, see, for example, M. Dames, *The Silbury treasure: the Great Goddess rediscovered*, London, 1976. On the identification of Astarte and Tanit through Juno at Tas-Silg, see F.O. Hvidberg-Hansen, *La Déesse TNT - une étude sur la religion cananéno-punique*, Copenhagen, 1979, 60-4.
- ⁵ Artemis "of the many breasts" of Ephesus, though not exactly the same as the Maltese Great Mother, shares with her the fertility aspect particularly symbolised by the many breasts. Some of the information here has been derived from E.O. James, *The cult of the Mother Goddess*, London 1959.
- ⁶ Most probably the Greeks in southern Italy and eastern Sicily traded with Phoenician Malta as they did with Carthage, but it is highly unlikely that they ever settled in Malta. The relics that that we have in Malta from the Greeks have been brought here by the Romans. See A. Bonanno, *The tradition of an ancient Greek colony in Malta*, *Hyphen[Malta]* IV, 1, 1983, pp. 1-17.
- ⁷ The severing of the genitals by the priests of Cybele has been interpreted either as an offering of the male fertility exclusively to the service of the goddess, or the retention of the fertility itself within the priests (J. Ferguson, *Greek and Roman religion: a source book*, New Jersey, U.S.A., 1980, 167).
- ⁸ For authors referring the temple of Juno to Vittoriosa and the temple of Hercules to Tas-Silg, see H.C.R. Vella, "Quintinus (1536), and the temples of Juno and Hercules in Malta", *Athenaeum* 60, 1982, 274, n. 7 and 275 n. 15 respectively.
- ⁹ Quintinus A4v.: *Iunonis templum non solum inter magna, sed etiam inter magna numerari potuisse arbitror ex his quae pauca durant, medio fere loco inter oppidum et castellum. Ruina sparsa apparet in multa iugera, fundamentis et substructionibus templi bonam partem eius partem occupantibus, longe etiam in mari, in quo inaedificatum erat infra cliuum promontorii, in planitie undique a uentis et praealtis rupibus defensa; ibid. A4v.: Iunonem Ptolemaeus in ea insulae parte posuit, quae Orientem spectat, Herculem ad Austrum; ibid. A4v.: Herculani templi (si modo uera e Ptolemaeo diuino) immensae adhuc reliquiae patent; circuitu in passus ter mille et ultra, in eo insulae angulo quem ab argumento loci, patria lingua Euri Portum nominant. Ima pars extat in plerisque, lapidum longitudinis crassitudinisque stupendae. All quotations on Quintinus here are taken from H.R.C. Vella, *The earliest description of Malta: Lyons, 1536*, Malta, 1980. See also PTOL. *Geog.* 4.3.13.*
- ¹⁰ A. Bonanno, "L'habitat maltese in età romana", *Kokalos* 22-23, 1976-7, 391. But see also *id.*, "Quintinus and the location of the temple of Hercules at Marsaxlokk", *Melita historica* 8, 1982, 191-204.
- ¹¹ See Vella, "Quintinus (1536).....", 275-6.
- ¹² CIC. *Ver.* 4. 103: *Insula est Melita, iudices, satis lato a Sicilia mari periculosoque diiuncta; in qua est eodem nomine oppidum, quo iste numquam accessit, quod tamen isti textrinum per triennium ad muliebrem uestem conficiendam fuit. Ab eo oppido non longe in promunturio fanum est Iunonis antiquum, quod tanta religione semper fuit ut non modo illis Punicis bellis quae in his fere locis naualii copia gesta atque uersata sunt, sed etiam hac praedonum multitudine semper inuolatam sanctumque fuerit.*
- ¹³ DIOD. 3. 74; CIC. *N.D.* 3. 16; HER. 2. 44.

FIGURES

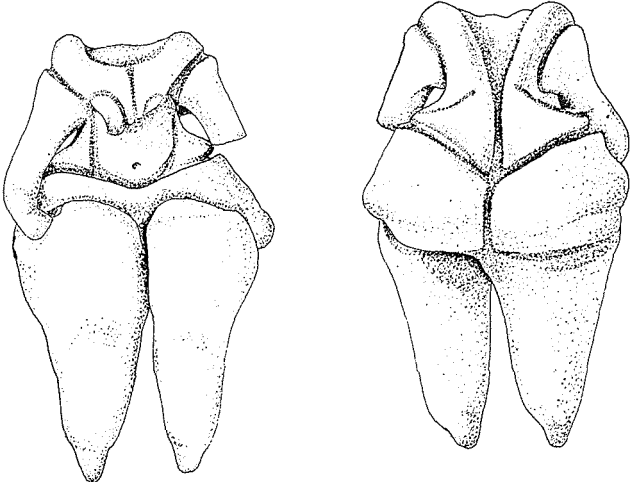
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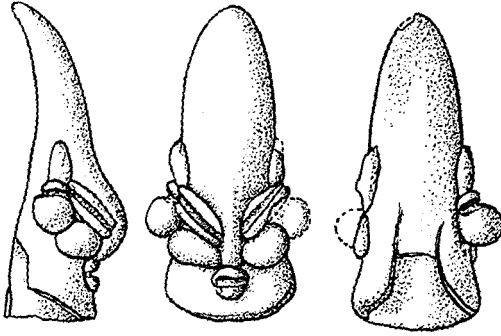
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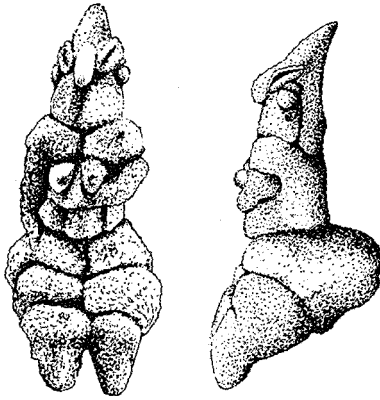
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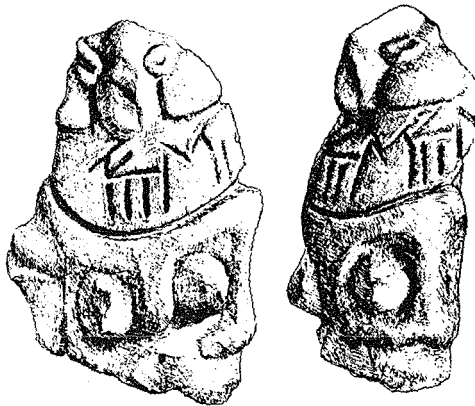
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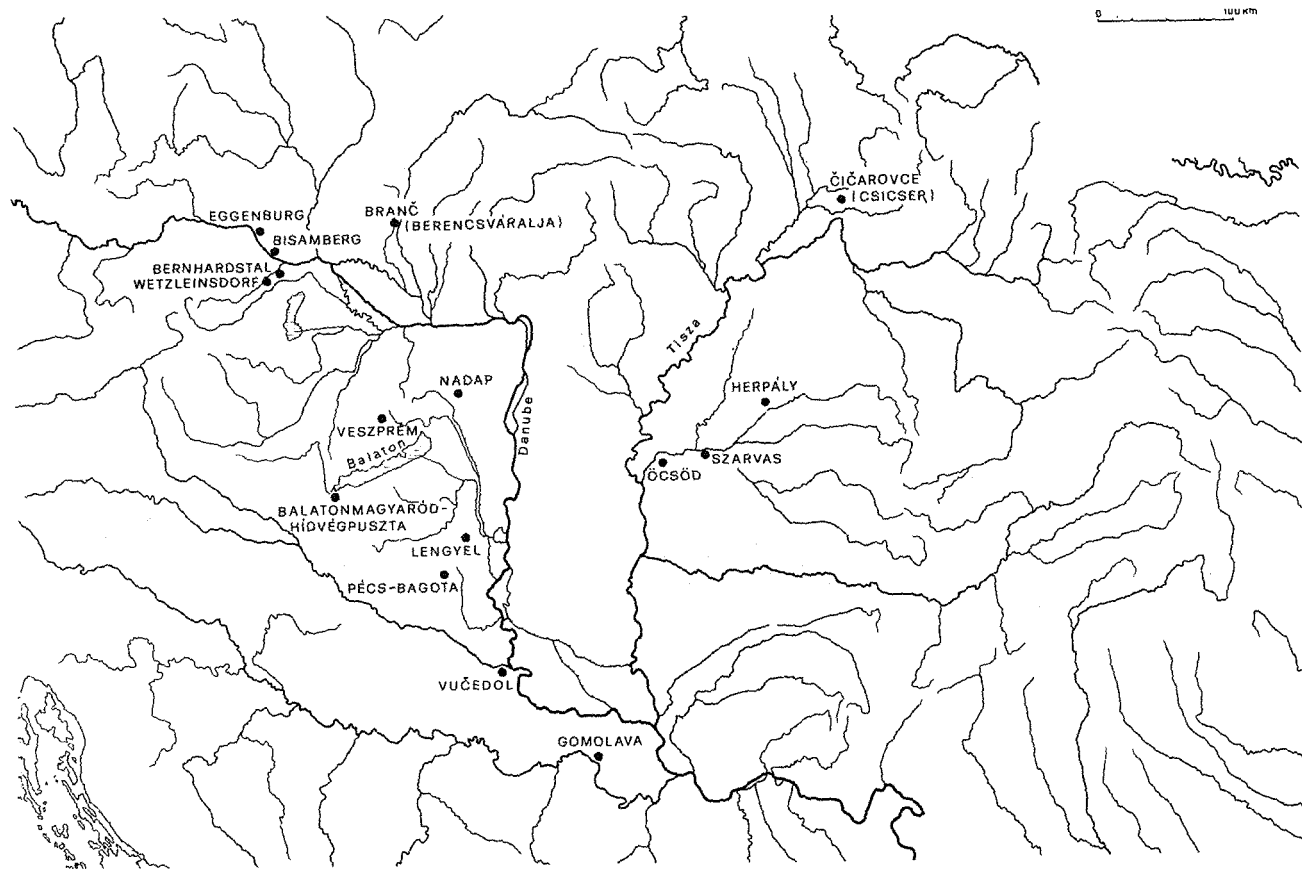


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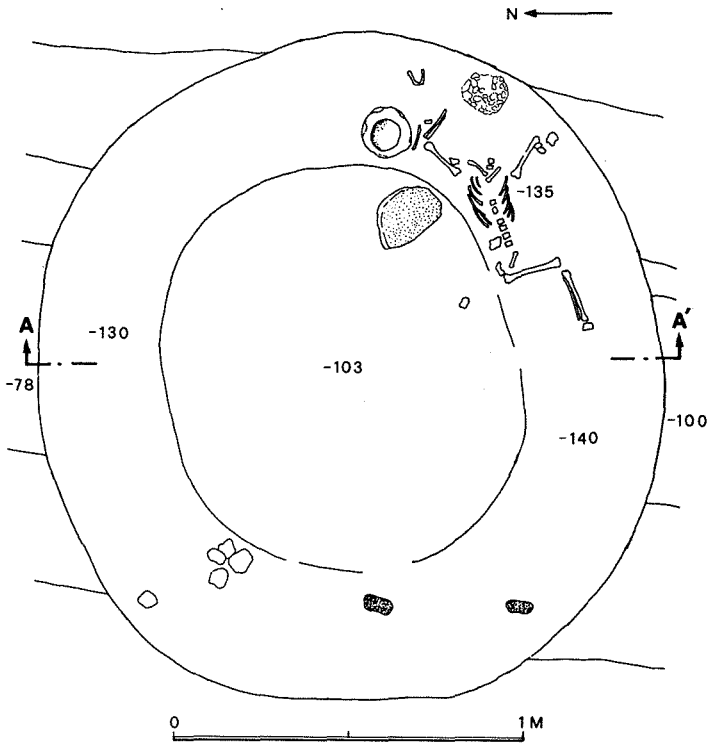


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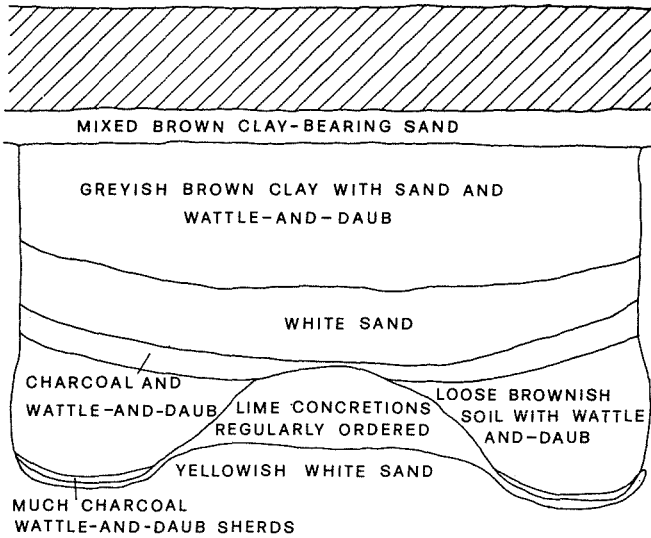


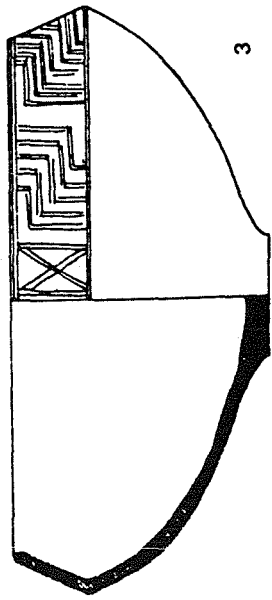
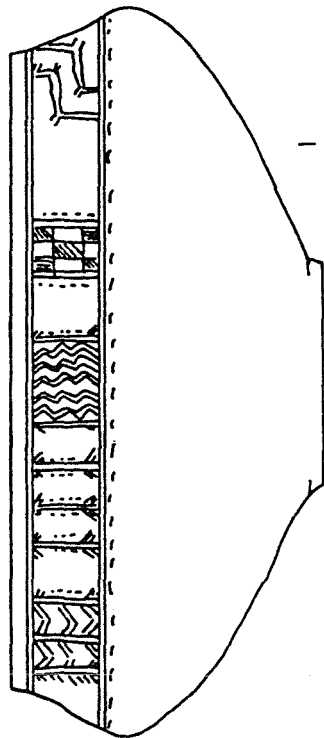


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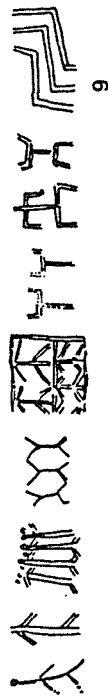


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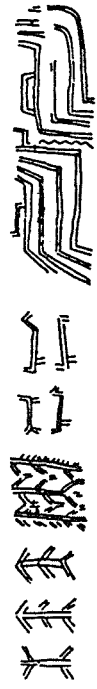




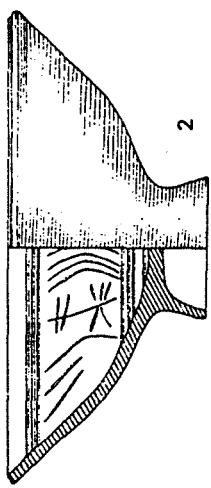
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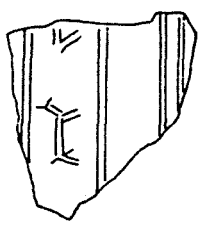
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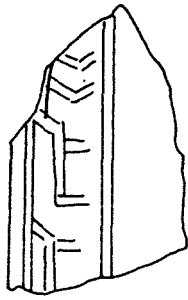
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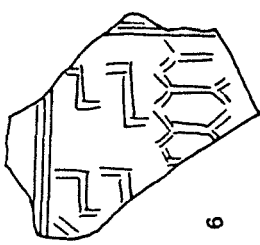
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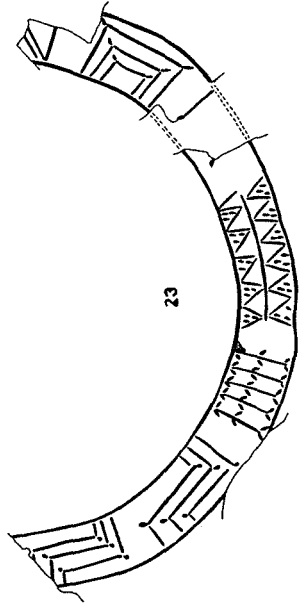
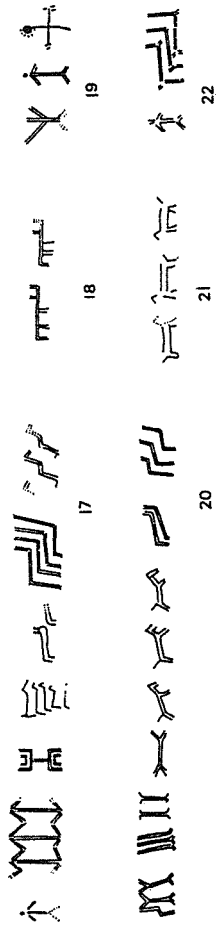
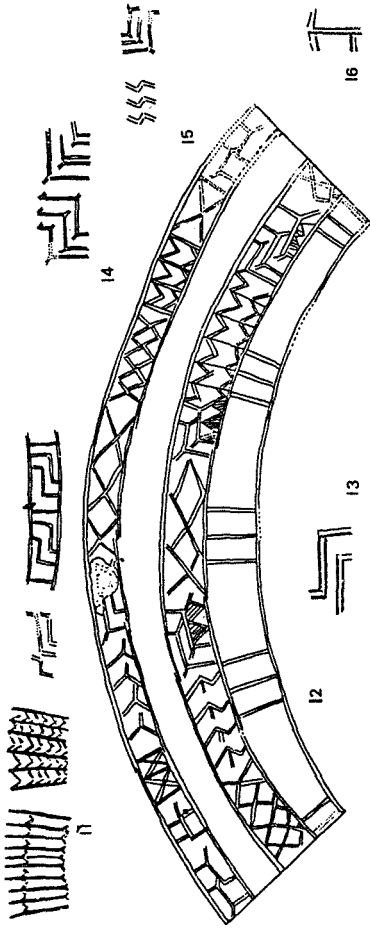
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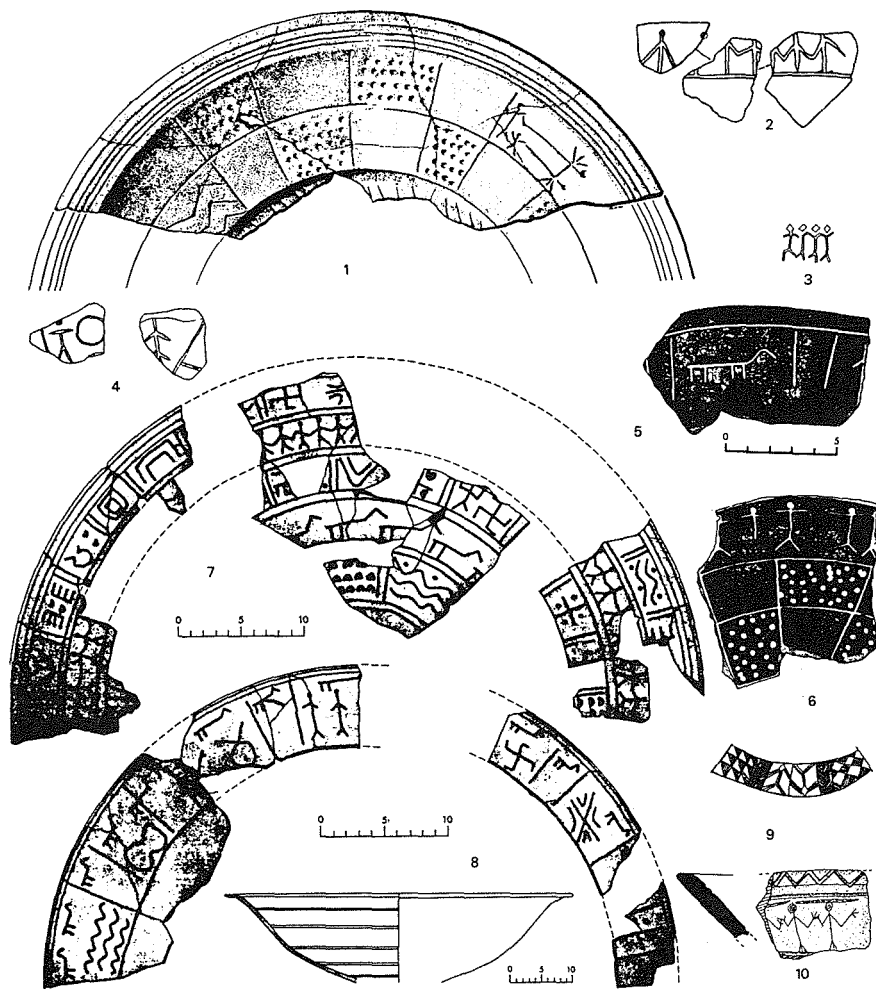


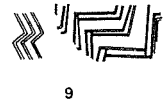
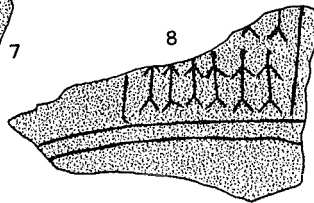
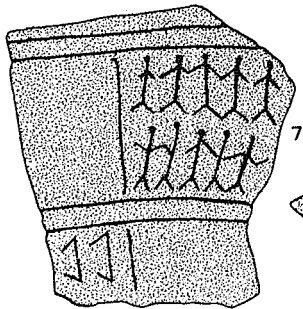
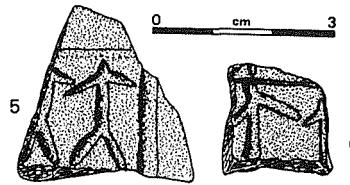
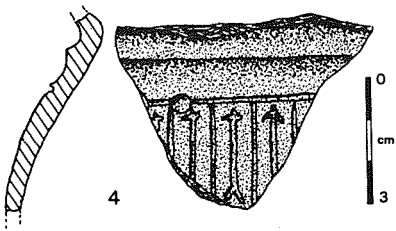
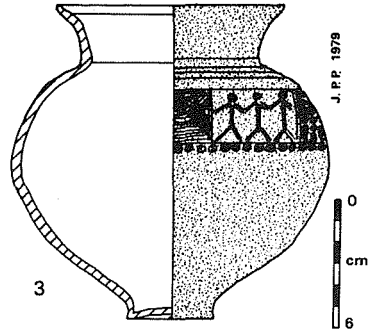
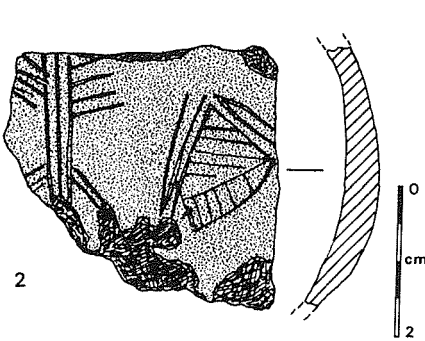
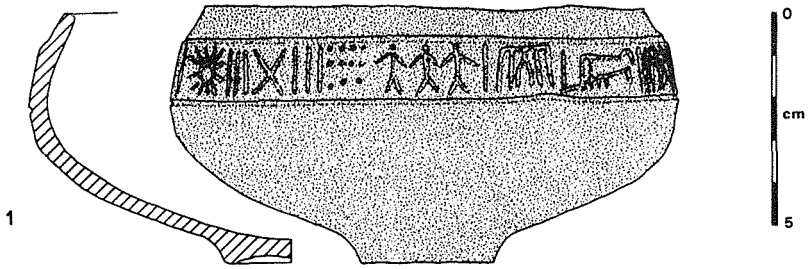
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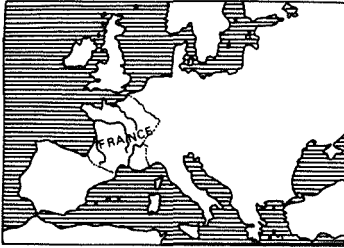


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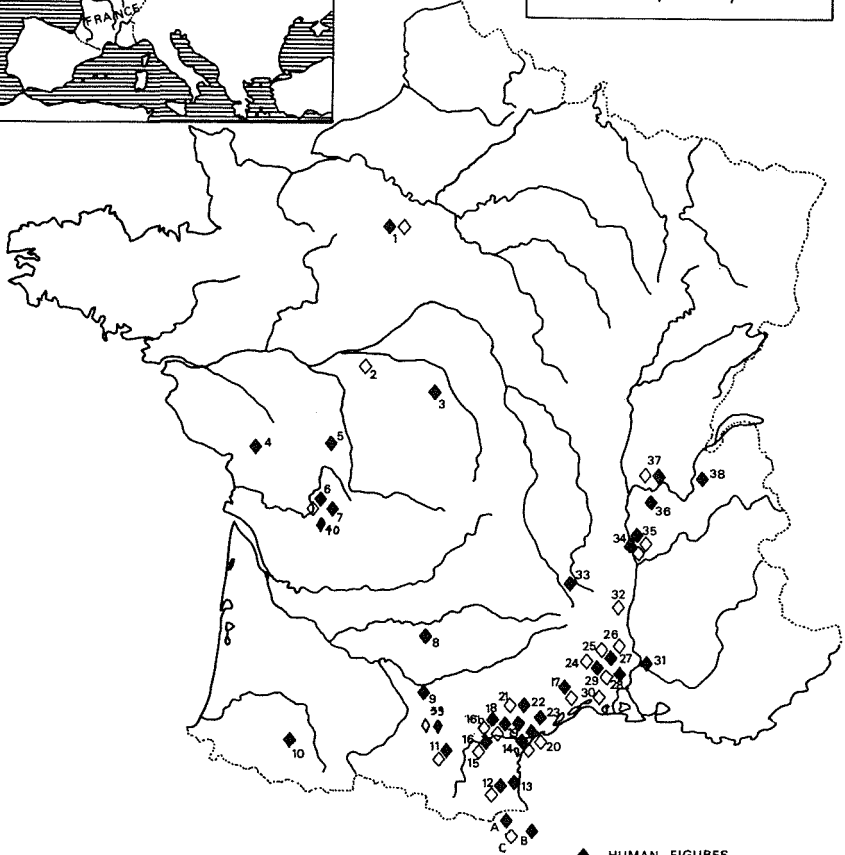






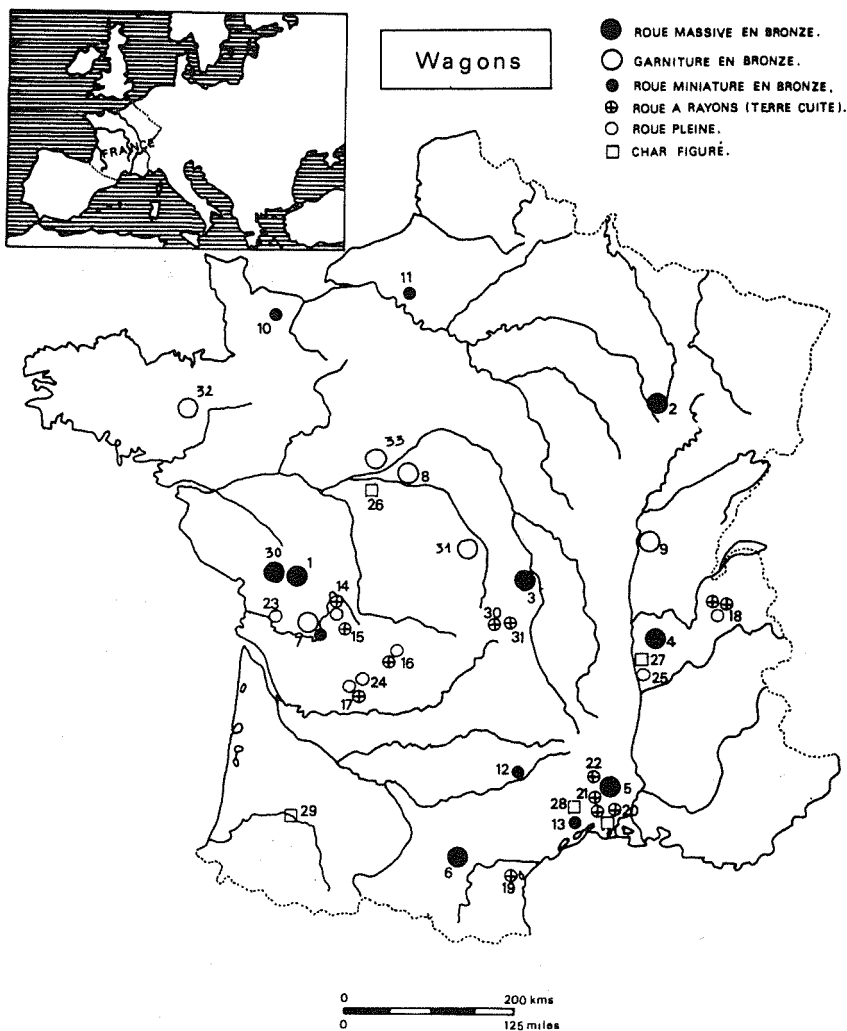


Figurative representation
on pottery



0 200 kms
0 125 miles

◆ HUMAN FIGURES.
◇ ANIMAL FIGURES.



3.

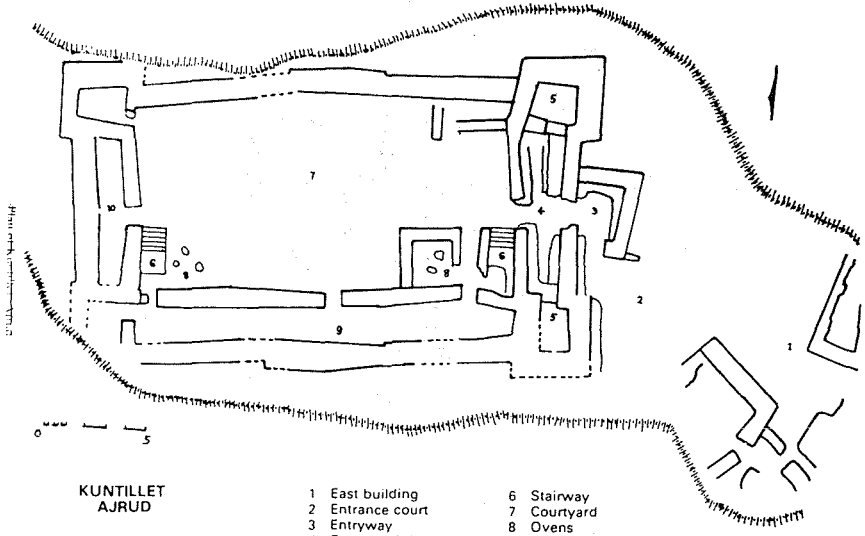
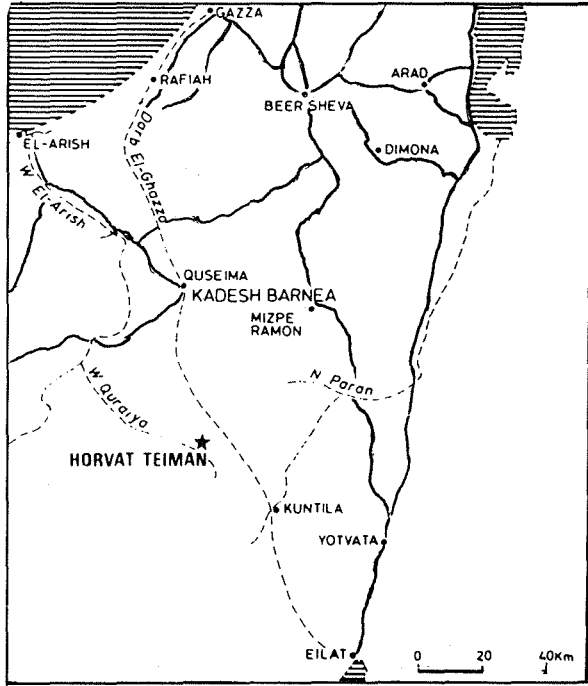


25.



32.

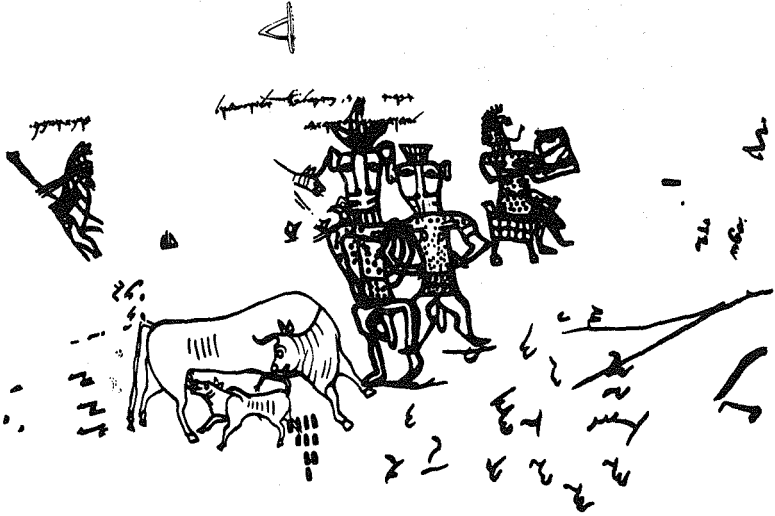




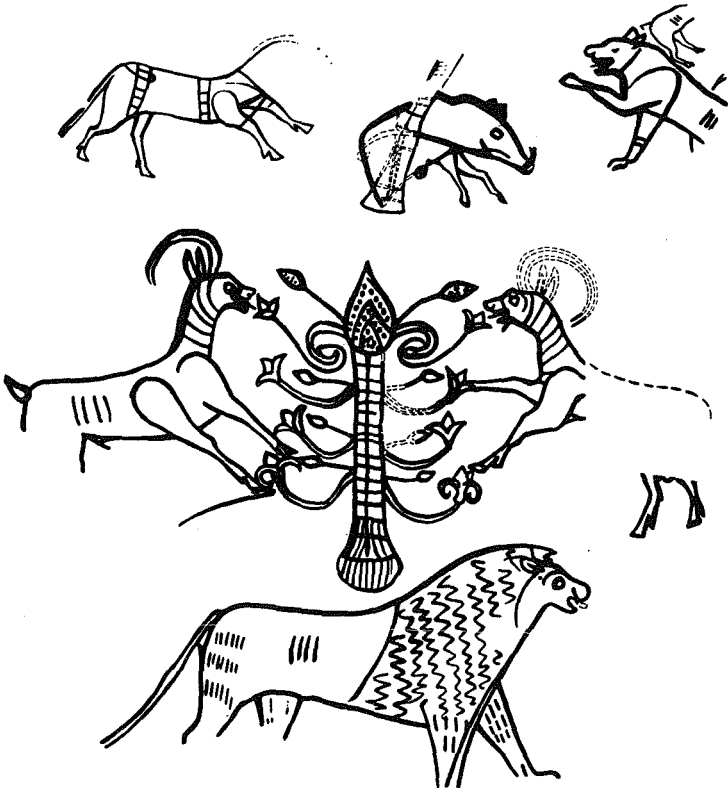
KUNTILLET AJRUD

- 1 East building
- 2 Entrance court
- 3 Entryway
- 4 Room with benches
- 5 Depository
- 6 Stairway
- 7 Courtyard
- 8 Ovens
- 9 South storeroom
- 10 West storeroom

20

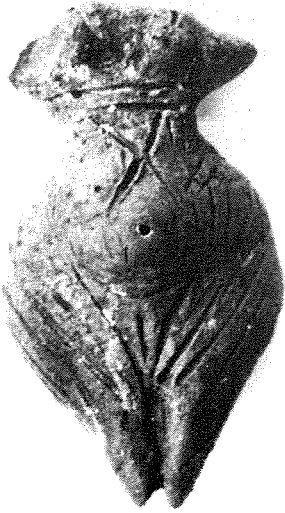


21



PLATES

1



2



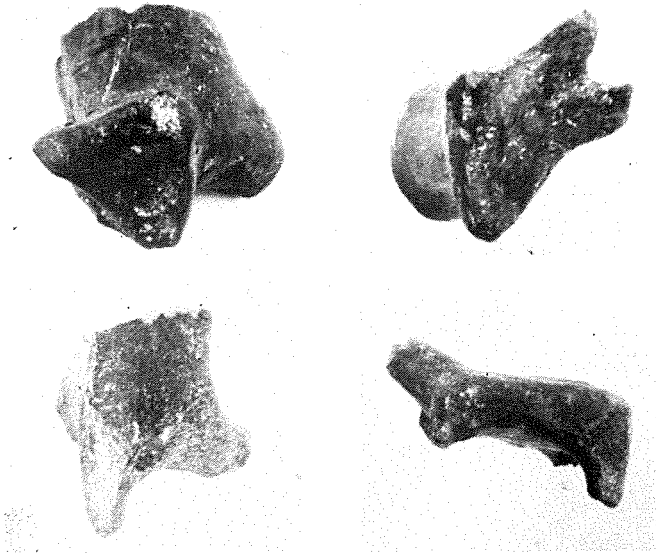
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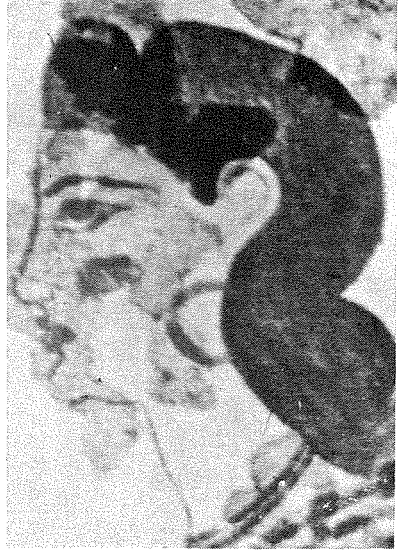
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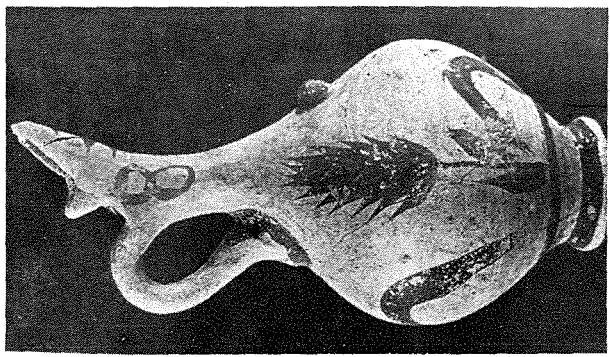




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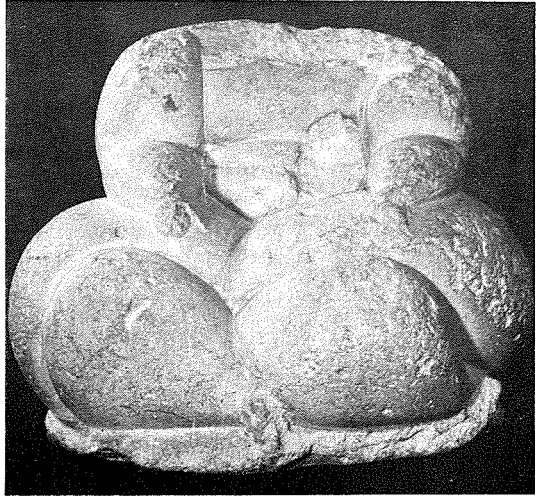


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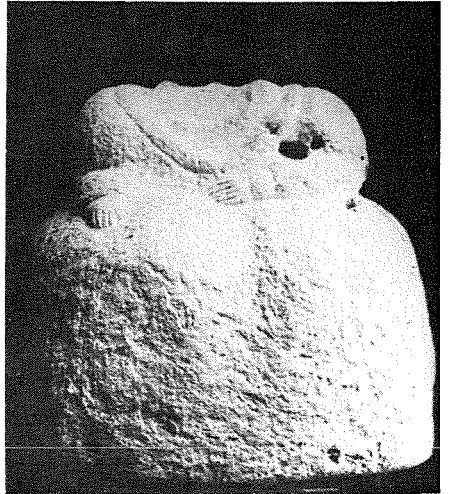
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16



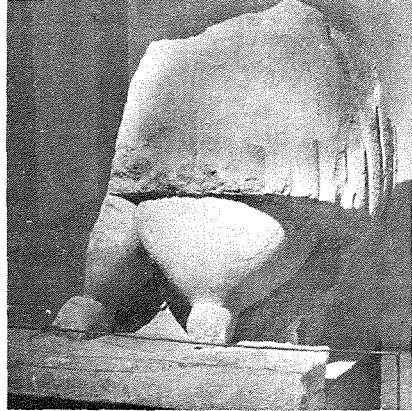
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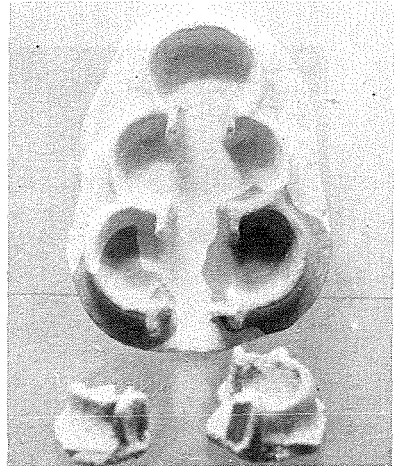
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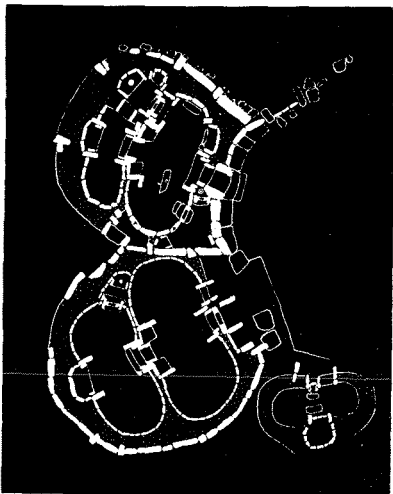
23



25



22



24



26a



26b



27



28



29a



30a



30b



29b



31a



31b



33a



33b

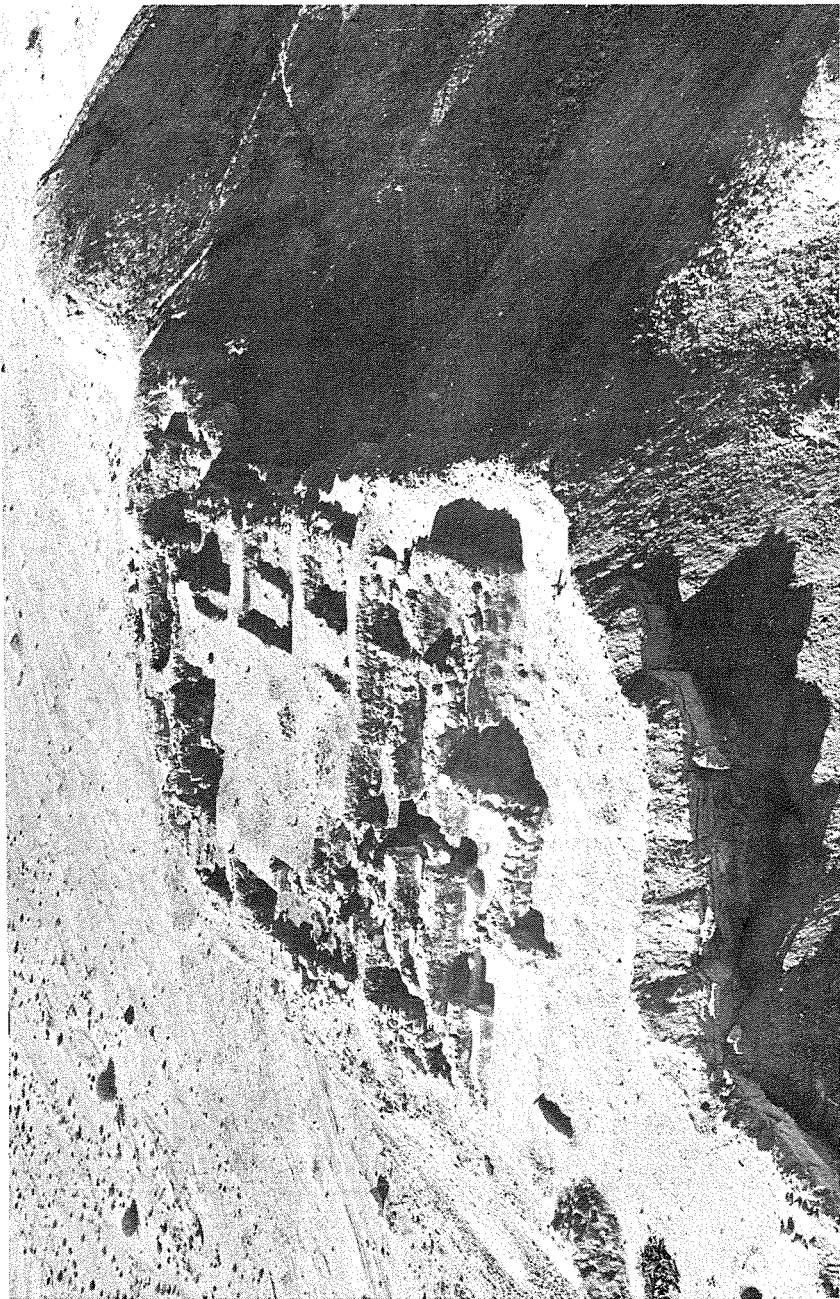


32a



32b





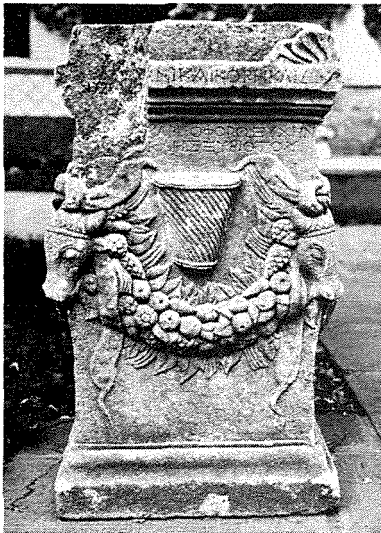
35a



35b

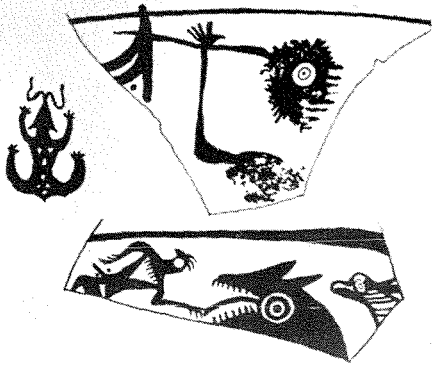
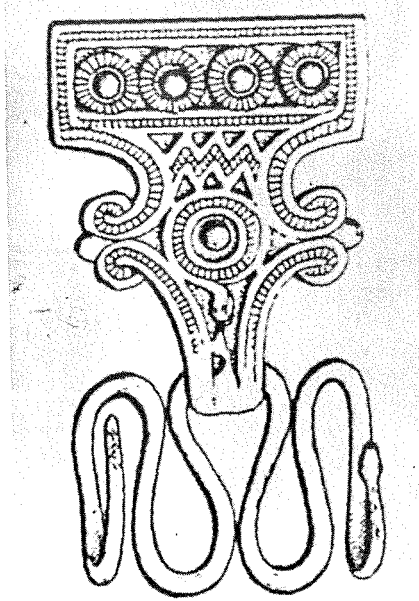


36a



36b







NOTES ON FIGURES

1. Stylized seated human figurine from Netiv Hagedud (Lower Jordan Valley). Sultanian phase of the Pre-Pottery Neolithic A. Height 0.42m.
2. Seated human figurine from Kefar Giladi. Yarmukian culture (sixth millennium B.C.E.).
3. Seated human figurine from Sha'ar Hagolan, Jordan Valley.
4. Head of human figurine from Sha'ar Hagolan, Jordan Valley.
5. Seated human figurine from H. Minha (Munhata), Jordan Valley. Height 0.10m.
6. Human figurine with animals incised on head, from Tel Aviv.
7. Neolithic and Chalcolithic cultural groups of western Hungary. Distribution map.
8. Plan and section of circular pit discovered in Balatonmagyarod-Homok, Hungary.
9. Représentations anthropomorphes et zoomorphes sur céramique dans l'aire maillienne et ses marges.
 - 1- Le Canet (Pyrénées Orientales)
 - 2- Tumulus 1 de Bougarber (Pyrénées Atlantiques), d'après Mohen.
 - 3-4-5-6- Rouque-de-Viou à St. Dionisy (Gard), d'après Garmy.
 - 7-8- Grand Ranc à Boucoiran (Gard), d'après Dedet.
 - 9- Le Cayla à Mailhac (Aude), d'après Taffanel.
 - 10- Las Fados à Pépieux (Aude), d'après Taffanel.
 - 11- Le Moulin à Mailhac (Aude), d'après Taffanel.
 - 12- Site AM 95-99 à Vendres (Hérault), d'après Abauzit.
 - 13- Grézac à Lodève (Hérault).
 - 14- Montpeyroux à Causses-et-Veyran (Hérault) d'après Louis-Taffanel.
 - 15- Grande Grotte à Montredon (Aude), d'après Louis-Taffanel.
 - 16- La Madeleine à Villeneuve-les-Maguelone (Hérault).
 - 17- Sextantio à Castelnau-le-Lez (Hérault) d'après Arnal, Majurel et Prades.
 - 18- Languißel à Nîmes-Caissargues (Gard).
 - 19- Cessero à St. Thibéry (Hérault), d'après Aris et Jully.
 - 20- Les Canals à Millas (Pyrénées Orientales).
 - 21- Camp Redon à Lansargues (Hérault), d'après Prades.
 - 22- En-Bonnes à Fanjeaux (Aude), d'après Louis-Taffanel.
 - 23- L'Estrade à Mireval-Lauragais (Aude), d'après Passelac.
10. Représentations anthropomorphes et zoomorphes du Bas-Dauphiné, de la Haute vallée du Rhône et de leurs marges.
 - 1- Virignin (Ain), d'après Bocquet.
 - 2- Pain-de-Sucre à Sérézin du Rhône (Isère), d'après Combier.
 - 3- Grésine à Brison-St. Innocent (Savoie), d'après Combier.
 - 4- Saint-Uze (Drôme), d'après Thivolle.
 - 5-6-7-8- Moras-en-Valloire (Drôme), d'après Nicolas et Martin.
 - 9- La Ferté-Hauterive (Allier), d'après Abauzit.
 - 10- Polignac (Haute-Loire), d'après Delporte.

11. Représentations anthropomorphes et zoomorphes sur céramique du Centre-Ouest et de l'Ouest.
 - 1- Vase orné d'une frise de pictogrammes du Quéroy à Chazelles (Charente) d'après Gomez.
 - 2- Tesson incisé de l'Ilot-les-Vases (Vendée), d'après Gendron.
 - 3- Urne à décor anthropomorphe de Rancogne (Charente), d'après Gruet.
 - 4- Anthropomorphes longilignes du Camp Allaric à Aslonnes (Vienne), d'après Pautreau.
 - 5-6- Anthropomorphes se donnant la main, urne à panneaux du Camp Allaric à Aslonnes (Vienne), d'après Pautreau.
 - 7-8- Anthropomorphes et signes de Villement à St. Aoustrille (Indre), d'après des Méloizes.
 - 9- Fort Harrouard à Sorel-Moussel (Eure-et-Loir), d'après Philippe.
12. Carte de répartition des figurations anthropomorphes et zoomorphes de la période de transition "Bronze-Fer", Céramiques.
 - 1- Fort-Harrouard à Sorel-Moussel (Eure).
 - 2- Danges à Sublaines (Indre-et-Loire).
 - 3- Villement à Ste Aoustrille (Indre).
 - 4- Ilôt-les-Vases à Nalliers (Vendée).
 - 5- Camp Allaric à Aslonnes (Vienne).
 - 6- Quéroy à Chazelles (Charente).
 - 7- Rancogne (Charente).
 - 8- Saillac (Lot).
 - 9- St. Sulpice-la-Pointe (Tarn).
 - 10- La Serre à Bougarber (Pyrénées Atlantiques).
 - 11- En-Bonnes à Fanjeaux (Aude).
 - 12- Les Canals à Millas (Pyrénées Orientales).
 - 13- Les Hospices à Canet (Pyrénées Orientales).
 - 14- Grande Grotte à Montredon (Aude).
 - 15- Las Fados à Pépieux (Aude).
 - 16- Le Cayla à Mailhac (Aude).
 - 16 bis- Le Moulin à Mailhac (Aude).
 - 17- Sextentio à Castelnau-le-Lez (Hérault).
 - 18- Grézec à Lodève (Hérault).
 - 19- Portal-Vielh à Vendres (Hérault).
 - 20- Site AM 95-99 à Vendres (Hérault).
 - 21- Servillonnette à Servian (Hérault).
 - 22- Cesser à St. Thibéry (Hérault).
 - 23- Montpeyroux à Caussas-et-Veyran (Hérault).
 - 24- Roque-de-Viou à St. Dionisy (Gard).
 - 25- La Font du Coucou à Calvisson (Gard).
 - 26- Grand-Ranc à Boucoiran (Gard).
 - 27- Languissel à Nîmes (Gard).
 - 28- Triple-Levée à Beaucaire (Gard).
 - 29- Camp Redon à Lansargues (Hérault).
 - 30- La Madeleine à Villeneuve-les-Magdelonna (Hérault).
 - 31- Vidauque à Cheval-Blanc (Vaucluse).
 - 32- Ranc-Pointu à St. Martin d'Ardèche (Ardèche).
 - 33- Polignac (Haute-Loire).
 - 34- St. Uzé (Drôme).

- 35- Moras-en-Valloire (Drôme).
- 36- Sérézin du Rhône (Isère).
- 37- Virignin (Ain).
- 38- Grésine à Brisson-St. Innocent (Savoie).
- 39- Mireval-Lauragais (Aude).
- 40- Agris (Charente).
- A- Agullana. Girona (Espagne).
- B- Punta del Pi. Girona (Espagne).
- C- La Verna à Espolla. Girona (Espagne).

13. Carte des chars de la période de transition "Bronze-Fer". Roues fonctionnelles, modèles réduits, figurations.

Roue massive en bronze

- 1- Triou à Mougou (Deux-Sèvres).
- 2- Langres (Haute-Marne).
- 3- Jenzat (Allier).
- 4- La Côte-St. Andé (Isère).
- 5- Nîmes (Gard).
- 6- Fâ à Rennes-les-Bains (Aude).
- 30- Le Meréchal à Coulon (Deux-Sèvres).

Garniture de bronze pour roue en bois

- 7- Vénat à St. Yriex (Charente).
- 8- Choussy (Loir-et-Cher).
- 9- Ouroux-sur-Saône (Saône-et-Loire).
- 31- Petit-Villatte à Neuvy-sur-Barangeon (Cher).
- 32- St. Marc-le-Blanc (Ille et Vilaine).
- 33- Amboise (Indre-et-Loire).

Roue miniature en bronze

- 7- Vénat à St. Yriex (Charente).
- 10- Longueville (Calvados).
- 11- Deville-lès-Rouen (Seine-Maritime).
- 12- Landric à Saint-Baulize (Aveyron).
- 13- Environs de Montpellier (Hérault).

Roue miniature en terre cuite (avec rayon)

- 14- Bois du Roc à Vilhonneur (Charente).
- 15- Quéroy à Chazelles (Charente).
- 16- Chalucet à St. Jean-Ligouire (Haute-Vienne).
- 17- Puypinson à St. Léon-sur-l'Isle (Dordogne).
- 18- Grésine au lac du Bourget (Savoie).
- 19- Îlot Louisset à Sigean (Aude).
- 20- Camp Redon à Lansargues (Hérault).
- 21- Roque de Viou à Saint-Dionisy (Gard).
- 22- Grand-Ranc à Boucoiran (Gard).
- 30- Busséol (Puy-de-Dôme).
- 31- Corrent (Puy-de-Dôme).

Roue miniature en terre cuite (pleine)

- 14- Bois du Roc à Vilhonneur (Charente).
- 16- Chalucet à St. Jean-Ligouire (Haute-Vienne).
- 17- Puypinsou à St. Léon-sur-l'Isle (Dordogne).

- 18- Grésine au lac du Bourget (Savoie).
- 23- Camp de Merpins (Charente).
- 24- Ecorneboeuf à Coulouniex-Chaniers (Dordogne).
- 25- Saint Uzé (Drôme).

Figurations de chars

- 20- Camp Redon à Lansargues (Hérault).
 - 26- Sublaines (Indre-et-Loire).
 - 27- Moras-en-Valloire (Drôme).
 - 28- Substention à Castelnau-le-Lez (Hérault).
 - 29- Larrivières (Landes).
14. Jasper scarab from Tharros: child god with royal crown. After V. Crespi, *Catalogo della raccolta di antichità sarde del Sig. R. Chessa*, Cagliari 1868, pl. II, 3.
 15. Jasper scarab from Tharros (3:1): within a barque child god with royal crown, to whom infinite years of reign are assigned by means of palm-branches. Length: c. 14mm. After A. Della Marmora, *Memoria sopra alcune antichità sarde...*, Torino 1855, pl. A, 25.
 16. Jasper scarab from Tharros (3:1): Egyptianizing mother goddess with child god as king, thymiaterion in front. Length: c. 15mm. After Della Marmora (see fig. 15), pl. A, 32.
 17. Jasper scarab from Tharros (?) (3:1): standing Egyptianizing mother goddess (with strange pointed beard) who gives her breast to the child god provided with royal insignia; above her shoulder the fenestrated axe of Asiatic divinities. Length: 17mm. Sketch after A. Parrot *et al.*, *Die Phönizier*, München 1977, p. 232, fig. 260.
 18. Location of the site of Kuntillet' Ajrud (Horvat Teiman).
 19. Plan of Kuntillet' Ajrud.
 20. Part of a drawing on one of the pithoi found at Kuntillet' Ajrud.
 21. Part of a drawing on one of the pithoi found at Kuntillet' Ajrud.

NOTES ON PLATES

1. Figurine humaine de Dikili Tash (hauteur maximale conservée 0.057m.).
2. Figurine humaine de Dikili Tash (hauteur maximale conservée 0.096m.).
3. Figurine humaine de Dikili Tash (masculine; hauteur maximale conservée 0.062m.).
4. Figurine zoomorphe de Dikili Tash appartenant au type A (dimensions maximales conservées: hauteur 0.115m.; longueur 0.203m.; largeur 0.093m.).
5. Figurines zoomorphes de Dikili Tash appartenant au type B (dimensions maximales conservées: entre 0.02 et 0.055m.).
6. Seated human figurine from H. Minha (Munhata), Jordan Valley. Height 0.10m.
7. West House. Detail of the young priestess. Akrotiri, Santorini. After S. Marinatos.
- 8-9. Two women from the House of the Ladies. Akrotiri, Santorini. After S. Marinatos.
10. One of the Crocus-gatherers. Xesté 3. Akrotiri, Santorini. After S. Marinatos.
11. Nippled-ewer from Akrotiri. Athens, National Museum. After S. Marinatos.
12. The spring fresco. Akrotiri, Santorini. After S. Marinatos.
13. Representation of a swallow on an amphora. Akrotiri, Santorini. After Ch. Dumas.
14. Standing human figure from Hagar Qim. Globigerina limestone. Height 0.382m.
15. Seated human figure from Hagar Qim, Malta, legs to the right. Globigerina limestone. Height 0.212m.
16. Seated human figure from Hagar Qim, Malta, legs to the left. Globigerina limestone. Height 0.194m.
17. Seated clothed figure from Hagar Qim, Malta, with necklace and deep holes on left side. Traces of red ochre. Globigerina limestone. Height 0.235m.
18. Seated clothed figure from Hagar Qim, Malta, with rope-holes in front, pigtail on back and traces of red ochre. Globigerina limestone. Height 0.192m.
19. Seated colossal statue from Tarxien, Malta. Globigerina limestone. Preserved height 1m.
20. Seated figure from Hagar Qim, Malta, seen from the back. Head missing. Globigerina limestone. Approx. height 0.24m.
21. Terracotta temple model from Hagar Qim, Malta. Original fragments and reconstructed model. Approx. length of model 0.28m.
22. Plan of the Mnajdra temple complex, Malta.
23. Three querns from the Tarxien temples, Malta. Tarxien Temples Museum.
24. Base of the seated colossal statue from Tarxien, Malta. National Museum of Archaeology, Valletta.
25. Animal carved in relief on the wall of a small room between the third and middle temples at Tarxien, Malta: sow or heifer? *In situ*.
- 26a-b. Plaquette of whitish steatite from Sardinia (3:1): cow with suckling calf, lotus behind // udjat. Cagliari Museum. 19,7 × 16,4 × 6,8mm. Hölbl 1986: pl. 87,1.
27. Plaquette of whitish steatite from Sardinia (3:1): divine child with curl and hand in mouth, protected by two winged goddesses carrying sun disc on head // udjat. Cagliari Museum. 18 × 14,3 × 5,4mm. Hölbl 1986: pl. 88,2b.

28. Plaque of pale yellow, fine faience with vestiges of colourless glaze from Sardinia (3:1): divine child kneeling above lotus, hand on mouth, with debased Egyptian crown, protected by two winged goddesses (the left one with Hathor horns and sun disc, on head) // motif. Cagliari Museum. 20,3 × 17,3 × 6mm. Hölbl 1986: pl. 85,3b.
29. Plaque of fine, light brown faience from Carthage (3:1): Hathor cow with sun disc between horns and gold sign above ridge, lotus (?) in front // udjat. with foot and feather of hawk. Louvre, AO 3051. 15,2 × 12,2 × 12,2 × 4,9mm. Unpublished.
30. Ram figurine of whitish steatite from Sardinia (4:1): hieroglyphic inscription on base: "every life". Cagliari Museum. Height 8mm., base 10,5 × 6,3mm. Hölbl 1986: pl. 77,10.
31. Amulet in the shape of sitting Isis with Horus child; light blue paste (2:1). Found in Cagliari, S. Avendrace. Cagliari Museum. Height 33,8mm. Hölbl 1986: pl. 29,3.
32. Late Egyptian Bes figurine with double face; faience with sea-green glaze (2:1). From Rabat, Malta. Valletta Museum. 42 × 24 × 11,3mm. Unpublished.
33. Falcon-headed divinity with sun disc on head (Re-Harakhty), clothed with kilt; faience with green glaze (2:1). From Rabat, Malta. Valletta Museum. 32 × 11,6 × 6,5mm. Unpublished.
34. Aerial view of Kuntillet 'Ajrud.
35. Marble altar with bucrania and inscription from Sardis. Manisa Museum, Inv. no. 244.
36. Marble altar with bucrania and inscription from Ephesos. Selçuk Museum, Inv. no. 1728.
37. Belt buckle from "La Joya". Huelva Archaeological Museum.
38. Drawings on pottery from Azaila (Teruel). C.V.H. no. 55.
39. Ara from Altea (Alicante). Madrid, National Archaeological Museum.
40. The Voconios stela from Mérida. Mérida, Museo de Arte Romano.