

Emblematic representation on ancient Egyptian apotropaic wands

JORDAN MILLER

University of Oxford

jordan.miller@orinst.ox.ac.uk




Abstract

Curved ivory ‘wands’ found across Egypt conferred magical protection upon individuals by manifesting the apotropaic beings depicted on them. The distinctive range and forms of figures on wands may be the products of conventions of decorum that restricted the use of certain figural types, particularly anthropomorphic ones. The use of emblematic forms that played on the pictoriality of the hieroglyphic script negotiated those constraints. Emblematic forms include figures in the emblematic mode of depiction, as well as emblematic personifications. ‘Ontological ligatures’ between representations and their subjects meant that such forms manifested the concepts denoted by iconic linguistic signs, with implications for the relationship between ‘text’ and ‘image’. The distribution of wands across Egyptian society, especially when compared with other categories of religious material such as ‘under-world books’, raises questions concerning the contexts and media of knowledge transmission, and by extension the nature of ‘icono-literacy’.

Introduction

Curved implements, usually made of longitudinal sections of hippopotamus tusk and often featuring incised decoration on one or both faces, have been found at sites in Egypt, Nubia, and Syria. Peculiar to the early second millennium BCE, these objects are commonly known as ‘wands’ and have been alternatively termed ‘apotropaia’ and ‘birth tusks’ (e.g. Altenmüller 1965; Quirke 2016). Most wands with Egyptian provenance were deposited

during the late Middle Kingdom (ca. 1850–1700 BCE; Quirke 2016: 93–176, 229–232). In reassessing elements of their iconography, I highlight distinctive relationships between ‘text’ and ‘image’, in the hope that this category of Egyptian material may contribute to refining understandings of those terms and the conceptual frameworks that they underpin.

Wand decoration primarily comprises rows of animals, deities, and hieroglyphic signs. Inscriptions on wands, and the occurrence of similar iconography on objects such as feeding cups and a birthing brick (e.g. Allen 2005: 30; Quirke 2016: 594–602; Wegner 2009a), indicate that wands were involved in protecting mothers and babies. However, they were evidently used in other contexts: many specimens with Egyptian provenance come from burials, and wands are shown being used by the ‘nurses’ (*bnmt* ) , ‘wet-nurses’ (*mn* ‘*t* ) , and ‘hairdressers’ (*nšt* ) of a tomb-owner, as well as being part of temple furniture (e.g. Davies 1943: pl. 38; Wreszinski 1927: pl. 36).¹

Extensive research into wand iconography has been carried out by Hartwig Altenmüller (1965: ch. 5; 2013: 18–22; 2017: 83–86), who has variously suggested that their zoomorphic figures represent interplay between local cults and broader theological systems, or that individual figures represent celestial bodies. These interpretations are problematic: they are frequently mutually exclusive, and they often extrapolate from chronologically and geographically distant sources. Stephen Quirke’s (2016: 326–432) general work on wand iconography is largely descriptive, but includes parallels for several motifs in other contexts, facilitating renewed analysis.

Since visual representation is ‘culturally mediated and conventionally coded’ (Bahrani 2003: 123), analysis should attempt to account for how ancient actors believed pictorial material to function. I use the term ‘enactive depiction’ to encapsulate an ontological framework in which depicting something

¹ I give Egyptian words in consonantal transliteration with accompanying hieroglyphic signs. References to common signs use the numbers in the list in Gardiner 1957.

made it real and hence enabled ritual efficacy. External factors also influence the forms of depicted figures. These include decorum, argued to be ‘a set of rules and practices defining what may be represented pictorially with captions, displayed, and possibly written down, in which context and in what form’ (Baines 2007: 15).

The three factors of meaning, ontology, and decorum were often balanced through play on the pictoriality of figural representations and of the hieroglyphic script, whose elements functioned as phonograms, logograms or ideograms, and taxograms (commonly known as ‘determinatives’ in Egyptology).² I argue that this was often achieved through emblematic forms. These foregrounded the ‘thickness’ of signs (Stauder 2020: 2, with n. 5), which flowed between the categories of ‘text’ and ‘image’. The categories may be treated as potentialities of semantic and ontological expression, harnessed in order to fulfill context-specific functions of visual representation. I attempt to articulate the directions of such movements, as well as the graphic procedures involved. I then consider how understandings of these practices may have varied across society. Situating wands in a wider context suggests that there was not a single standard of ‘icono-literacy’; pictorial material was understood differently by different people.

Wands in context

Zoomorphic, often non-composite forms predominate on wands, expressing the qualities of their subjects symbolically and metaphorically. Anthropomorphic forms are mostly avoided except when depicting enemies, while mixed human–animal forms are uncommon. Furthermore, individual hieroglyphic signs that do not constitute ‘texts’ are interspersed among figures on wands. These patterns may arise from historically specific conventions of decorum concerning the direct depiction of powerful, animate beings.

2 Brief introduction in Allen 2010: 2–5. On determinatives, see, e.g. Goldwasser 1995: 80–107; 2002; McDonald 2002: 15–46.

In many contexts, decorum restricted the direct representation of gods, at times excluding them entirely. Gods were rarely represented in non-royal contexts during the Middle Kingdom. When they were, emblems or enlarged script elements—mainly determinatives—were used, and even then only in marginal areas (e.g. Baines 2009: 5–7; later developments: Baines 2007: 20–23). Such manoeuvres ‘recalibrated’ pictorial signs, intensifying their non-linguistic dimension (Vernus 2020: 25). In this way they could interact with other elements in the pictorial composition, and potentially with subjects external to the material object, while maintaining their separation from direct figural representations of humans and of entities lower in ‘the hierarchy of supernatural beings’ (Lucarelli 2010: 2).

The motifs used on wands, including extensive faunal imagery, fit with those used on jewellery and amulets (see, e.g., Aldred 1971; Andrews 1994). Wands were part of a visual milieu in which decorum constrained the representation of divine beings in non-monumental contexts, especially those displayed on or close to human bodies. This may have applied particularly strongly to non-royal individuals, for whom contact with gods or the king was potentially dangerous.³

These conventions may have emerged from an ontological framework in which an image had ‘the potential of becoming an entity in its own right, a being rather than a copy of a being’ (Bahrani 2003: 125). There was an ‘ontological ligature between depiction and depicted’, so that an image made its subject present in a particular context (Nyord 2020: 4–5, 68). Indeed, inscriptions on several wands quote the speech of the protective beings depicted on them, often introduced by variations on the phrase: ‘We have come so that we may set protection over NN’ (*ỉy.n=n stp=n s3 hr NN*).⁴ Conversely, images could be suppressed, mutilated, or destroyed to negate their power (e.g. Roth 2017).

3 See, e.g., Baines 1997: 138. On the king as vehicle for divine agency, see Shaw 2010: 189–190.

4 Altenmüller 1965: 67–69. On *stp-s3*, see Shaw 2010: 184.

Negotiating pictorial representation

The contexts in which wands were used meant that they had to depict beings whose protective qualities could be defined and mobilized on behalf of ritualists and their beneficiaries. Analysing certain motifs as emblematic forms is a fruitful way of approaching their significance and modelling the iconographic system of wands in historical and cultural context.

Two types of emblematic form may be distinguished on wands. The first encompasses subjects in an iconographic register that has been termed the ‘emblematic mode of depiction’. It is ‘a compromise between direct pictorial representation and the writing of a text’, in which ‘pictures of deities are replaced by pictures of cult images, which have a logographic rather than a pictorial value and are subject to restrictions of scale, or by simple hieroglyphs, which otherwise function mostly as taxograms’ (Baines 1985: 280). ‘Emblematic personifications’ constitute the second type of emblematic form. These are ‘hieroglyphs and related symbols, or groups of symbols, which are given human or animal limbs and sometimes a human body, in order to make them capable of action’ (Baines 1985: 41), thus marking an ontological intervention. Such iconographic devices enabled subjects to be anthropomorphized as little as possible. With mixed human–animal forms, human elements such as added limbs are not ontologically foregrounded but rather enhance meanings and relate the iconographic register of their core non-anthropomorphic elements.



Emblematic forms occupy the conceptual space between ‘text’ and ‘image’ and harness both potentialities to varying degrees. Enactive depiction enabled script elements to possess power as ‘things’ in themselves (Houston and Stauder 2020: 19–25, 32) and for other figures to be modified by, or as if they were, script elements. The design and selection of forms negotiated the iconographic constraints to which wands were subject while enhancing—or at least not limiting—the capacity of images to manifest the beings and forces as required for the effective functioning of wands. Form was subordinate to the overriding ritual factor of ontology. Such strategies furthermore enabled designers to juxtapose conceptually diverse images in a visually consistent way, producing a

distinctive decorative programme with few parallels in other media.


Analysis in terms of this system should not be seen as identifying an ancient set of fixed rules, but rather as a heuristic for approaching representations on wands from a variety of perspectives. My model is developed from limited evidence, while flexibility is to be expected in a relatively widespread and versatile class of objects.



The emblematic mode of depiction

Figures in the emblematic mode of depiction may function as icons or symbols, expressing meaning through mechanisms such as metaphor. This grants them a relatively high degree of fluidity in terms of form. Hieroglyphic signs with a strong linguistic dimension of signification more closely approach the category of ‘text’, while pictorial representations of subjects with a weaker linguistic aspect approach that of ‘image’. The less specific the subject of an image, the closer it is to a hieroglyphic sign.

Logographic hieroglyphs can denote both things and concepts. Enactive depiction means that figures such as *wd3t*-eyes  and braziers  (Quirke 2016: 367–368, 397) manifest what they signify, here ‘wholeness’ and ‘fire’. Theirs is a general presence; they do not perform specific actions, but they may clarify the nature of other beings or that of the wand as a whole. Such ‘powers’ or ‘affects’ (Nyord 2020: 51–52) were more frequently expressed through metaphorical or symbolic figures without a similarly strong linguistic dimension, such as non-specific, mostly unlabelled animals (Quirke 2016: 326–432). In other instances, hieroglyphs could be incorporated into figural images which refer to mythical episodes or ‘mythemes’ relating to healing (Goebs and Baines 2018: 646–647). Examples include the motif of a baboon carrying a *wd3t*-eye (Goebs 2002: 54–58; Quirke 2016: 364–366), in which the eye is arguably symbolic or even iconic but with reduced linguistic signification.⁵

⁵ See also the reverse face of the wand MMA 26.7.1288a,b+Louvre E3614 (Altenmüller 1965: cat. 127; Oppenheim et al. 2015: 200).

Depictions of divine emblems similarly work through metaphor and symbolism. Examples on wands include a cobra with a knife on BM EA 65439 (fig. 1), and a quail chick wearing the White Crown on Brussels E7065 (fig. 2), both shown atop divine standards. These images may or may not represent actual cult images; they parallel the generic ‘falcon on perch’ hieroglyph  (Gardiner no. G7), which is used as a prototypical determinative marking ‘divinity’ (Shalomi-Hen 2006: 13–68). Their differentiated forms are more specific than the prototypical form, clarifying the qualities, and possibly identities, of the deities represented.



Ambiguity arises where an image may or may not signify as a word. Figures of scarab beetles are good examples (e.g. Louvre AF 6447-AF9+Copenhagen NM 1314: Altenmüller 1965: cat. 128). They could manifest the notion of ‘becoming’ or ‘transformation’ (*hpr* ) , or represent the sun-god in his morning scarab form Khepri (*hpri* ) , which symbolized his qualities of ‘transformation’. In some cases, pictorial context is instructive: the scarab on BM EA 24425 (fig. 3), for example, can be identified as a representation of the sun-god since it is next to a ram-headed figure which depicts his evening form. These possibilities are not mutually exclusive, because the ‘personality’ of deities was arguably:

an aspect that accrued to them to the degree that religion assumed a discursive character (...) The personality of the deities was a function of the linguistic dimension of divine presence, and their essence extended beyond it (Assmann 2001: 102).

Emblematic personifications

Some figures that could function logographically as hieroglyphs were on occasion configured as emblematic personifications for ontological and aesthetic purposes. Emblematic personifications retained their subjects’ capacity for agency—often clarifying and elaborating on it—while increasing their visual consistency with the adjacent zoomorphic and mixed-form representations. Emblematic personifications consequently have a more limited formal

range. They represent movement from ‘text’ toward ‘image’; they enable concepts to act autonomously, rather than absorbing them into the ‘personality’ of a deity.



The ‘jackal head with legs’ is one of the most prominent motifs that may be analysed as an emblematic personification (examples in figures 1, 2, 4; Quirke 2016: 247–249). The limb(s) attached to the head are a single feline leg, two feline legs, or two human legs. There are no apparent semantic or conceptual differences between the forms, although the first two are more strongly zoomorphic.⁶ The motif arguably represents the abstract concept of ‘power’ (*wsr* )⁴, usually written with the sign of a jackal-headed staff which originally represented the head and neck of a canid (Gardiner no. F12). Supporting this interpretation is the occurrence of the single feline-legged form in the jewellery of the 12th Dynasty princess Khnumet alongside other hieroglyphs and emblems (de Morgan 1895–1903: 63–65, pl. 5; Melandri 2012: 42), as well as cases of the double human-legged form  as a variant of the common *wsr*-staff hieroglyph in writings of kings’ names (Ben-Tor 2007: 106 n. 524; Tufnell 1984: no. 3213).

Some scholars have claimed that the ‘jackal head with legs’ derives from a fully figural, mixed-form representation of a deity with jackal head and human body, perhaps Anubis.⁷ However, the forms more probably exemplify parallel iconographic means of imparting agency to the *wsr*-staff hieroglyph, the former avoiding fuller anthropomorphism. The motif could be shown striding alongside others, increasing visual consistency. The form also amplifies non-linguistic signification, bringing it closer to figures more heavily freighted with symbolism. The reappearance of the form in later periods to represent demons or the god Re-Atum may reflect the attribution of *wsr*-power to such

6 Note, however, Ramessid sources which use a lion’s leg as a determinative for the verb *skr* ‘to strike’ and its derivatives, mobilizing the lion as a metaphor for power (McDonald forthcoming).


7 Berlev and Hodjash 2004: 70; Drioton 1940: 316. For the mixed-form figure, see Roberson 2020: 40, sign C25.

beings (Liptay 2011: 149–152).


Other motifs may be interpreted similarly. One example is the image of a ‘panther pelt with legs’ on the wand Penn E2914 (fig. 4). This is perhaps an agentive representation of ‘strength’ (*phṯy* ) a word that was often written with two ‘panther pelt’ hieroglyphs  (Gardiner no. F9; McDonald forthcoming). Another motif is that of the ‘solar disc with legs’ (Quirke 2016: 387–388), which is probably not a representation of the sun-god in the emblematic mode but an emblematic personification of solar power.⁸ Variant forms, such as figures with anthropomorphic bodies and solar discs as heads (Darnell and Darnell 2018: 223–224) are known from other categories of material and underscore the iconographic constraints operating on wands.






Iconography in the service of ontology

Interplay between the categories of ‘text’ and ‘image’ meant that figures could move between representational modes, allowing negotiation of semantic content and agency while maintaining visual consistency within the decorative programmes of individual wands. This points toward a systematization of iconographic principles and procedures across the entire class of objects.





























Such transformations were often effected on the level of individual figures. Thus, one wand depicts a jackal-headed figure with a spotted canine or feline body, standing upright on its hind legs and grasping a lizard in one paw (Swiss private collection: Altenmüller 1986: 3, fig. 1, pl. 1). As a hieroglyph, the lizard writes ‘*š3*  ‘many, numerous’ (Gardiner no. I1), so that this jackal-headed figure may be viewed as a mixed-form variant of the more common ‘jackal head with legs’ motif, expressing the concept ‘great of power’ (‘*š3* -*wsr*’) with intensified agentive force. Such an effect could not be easily achieved otherwise, explaining the departure from ‘the principle that only essential limbs are






⁸ Compare the ‘hieroglyphic’ image of a sun-disc with radiating light on BM EA 18175 (Roberson 2009).

added to emblematic figures' (Baines 1985: 47). At the same time, the figure's zoomorphism does not depart too far from wand conventions and has parallels in other motifs: hippopotami touch *ss*-knots  ('protection'), baboons hold *wḏst*-eyes ('wholeness'), and many figures grasp serpents and knives. Such configurations may relate to the practice of 'ornamental' and 'thematic' cryptography: a practice attested as early as the mid-third millennium BCE, but which burgeoned in the early second millennium BCE and reached a peak in the mid-second millennium BCE (Darnell 2004: 14–17; 2020; Parkinson 1999: 80).

Another example is the 'feline hindquarter' motif attested on the wands MMA 22.1.79a and MMA 32.8.5 (figs 5a, b). As a hieroglyphic sign  (Gardiner no. F22), it occurs as a phonogram in writings of 'strength' (*ḫty*    ). This is probably how it was conceptualized on Figure 5a, complementing the 'panther pelt with legs' discussed earlier.⁹ On Figure 5b, however, its paw grasps a knife. The latter form, with the added symbolic knife, parallels how mixed-form variants of emblematic personifications may hold implements. Here the knife only elaborates on the function of 'strength' in the context of apotropaic ritual. It does not imbue the figure with capacity for action, so that the figure as a whole is not an emblematic personification despite its similar appearance but more probably a hieroglyph as a 'merograph' (Houston and Stauder 2020: 23): a *pars pro toto* realization of the more common motif of a lion, often shown brandishing serpents or a knife and attacking enemies (e.g. MMA 15.3.197; MMA 26.7.1288a,b+Louvre E3614: Altenmüller 1965: cats 93, 127; Quirke 2016: 335–346).

Two wands illustrate how strategies could be combined to structure a wand's decorative programme. First is Figure 4 which shows zoomorphic fig-

9 In later periods, Gardiner no. F22 is incorporated in an emblem  for personified *ḫk3* 'magical' (e.g. Guilmant 1907: pl. 79, top right; Baines 2012: 53), the typical hieroglyphic orthography being                           

ures and emblematic personifications atop a row of baskets. The baskets, Egyptian *nb*  (Gardiner no. V30), are likely to manifest ‘all’ or ‘every’ (*nb*) being that could be represented by those forms. Their implicit presence maximized the wand’s efficacy. Such conceptual transformations are not unparalleled. The leonine ‘Bes-image’ (Romano 1989) is used ‘non-linguistically’ on a late Middle Kingdom headrest on which an inscription uses the same motif, as well as two of hippopotamus composites, as hieroglyphs possibly reading ‘protectors’ (*s3w*    ), matching their identification in wand inscriptions (BM EA 35807; Perraud 2002: 315).

Second is the wand Munich ÄS 2952, which is undecorated except for an emblematic scene depicting the destruction of enemies that is similar in form and structure to those on contemporary royal pectorals (fig. 6; Oppenheim et al. 2015: 112–114; Quirke 2016: 288). However, major gods and royal sphinxes are replaced here by figures common to wands—lions and hippopotamus composites—perhaps for reasons of decorum, paralleling the ‘more absolute’ separation of gods from humans other than the king (Baines 2007: 23).

Framing ‘icono-literacy’


Relationships between emblematic forms, writing, and religious knowledge raise questions concerning the reception and comprehension of wand motifs. The systematization of the principles and procedures used to construct those representations hints at formalized means of transmission, given the relatively wide distribution of wands. If correct, this finding opens additional avenues for thinking about the social and cultural dimensions of wand iconography.

Several of the images examined above indicate the prominence of solar and Osirian symbolism on wands.¹⁰ Those themes align closely with that of the set

10 Osiris, the major Egyptian deity associated with the underworld and representing an ‘engendering principle’ (Allen 2013), is attested from the mid-third millennium BCE onwards (Smith 2017: 121–122; Baines 2020: 188). His relationship with the sun-god was a major aspect of Egyptian religion.

of cosmographic compositions known as ‘underworld books’, first attested ca. 1500 BCE as part of the decorative programme for royal tombs. These compositions describe the nightly journey of the sun-god through the underworld to unite with Osiris. Their regenerative encounter precipitated the following sunrise (Darnell and Darnell 2018: 1–60; Hornung 1999: 26–111), which was considered to re-enact the original moment of creation and was thus an apt metaphor for transitional events such as birth and death.

Some of the underworld books probably developed from manuscript precursors that were contemporaneous with wands (Assmann 1970: 57 nn. 2–3; Werning 2013: 271–274) and whose content may have been represented in architecture (e.g. Rößler-Köhler 1999; Wegner 2009b). A wand is furthermore depicted in the underworld book known as the Amduat (Bucher 1932: pls 2, 27; Régen 2017: 503), and Joshua Roberson (2009) has suggested that the iconography on at least one wand is a forerunner to the underworld books (BM EA 18175: Altenmüller 1965: cat. 56; Liptay 2011; Quirke 2016: 258–259).

These overlaps suggest that wands and underworld books may have developed in the same institutions, with their schemes and content recorded on similar media by select groups (Baines 1990; Wente 1982). Tabular ‘pattern books’ which were perhaps kept in temple libraries seem a plausible means of storing and transmitting repertoires of figures and names (Hagen 2019: 245–265). The Amduat includes hieroglyphic and emblematic forms such as royal sceptres, *ntr*-poles  that form the hieroglyph for ‘god’ (Gardiner no. R8), and serpent staves in its own catalogue of ‘beings’ which inhabit the underworld (Bucher 1932), while columns of inscribed text separate individual figures on the wand Cairo CG E2007.04.58, and vertical lines delimit segments of a composite apotropaic rod that is similarly decorated to a wand (fig. 7). Such layouts might have been influenced by modes of organization in source material that were at times reproduced in different contexts: the 12th Dynasty stela of Wepwawetaa enumerates gods in vertical cells incorporated into horizontal running text (Munich Gl WAF 35: Hoffmann 2015: fig. 3). Such processes may also explain the transmission of some wand motifs into the late second and early first millennia BCE (e.g. Liptay 2011: 154; Niwiński 1989;

on pattern books, see, e.g. Kahl 1999: 294; Müller 1982). Repertoires on manuscripts may have used figural forms that fitted the iconographic conventions specific to the composition for which the content had originally been devised; their combination in later material may be affected by a loosening of decorum and other extraneous factors governing the use of visual elements.

Conclusion: The complexity of ‘icono-literacy’

Manuscript histories constitute a complex topic and cannot be discussed in further detail here, but it is worth exploring the implications of their settings and distribution for ‘icono-literacy’. Understandings of ‘text’ and ‘image’ were probably mediated by factors such as age, class, and gender, which are axes along which principles and patterns of wand iconography could be organized and interpreted.

Hieroglyphic and emblematic representations negotiated an iconographic middle ground, based on primarily zoomorphic forms, that enabled wand designers to juxtapose subjects that existed in hierarchical relationships in other contexts. Such complexity indicates that designers of templates possessed restricted knowledge of visual elements and their manipulation, supplemented by familiarity with certain hieroglyphic signs if not the script more generally. Such knowledge may have involved specialized vocabulary and was displayed to outsiders in deliberately opaque and allusive ways (e.g. Stauder 2018: 242–243, 256–262; compare Fischer-Elfert 1998: 16–26, 49–50).

Many wands were produced for elite individuals, often with experience in the mechanics of magical practice and perhaps with links to the royal court (e.g. Geisen 2018: 1–29; Miniaci 2020: 85–87; Quibell 1898: 3–4, pls 1–3; Quirke 2016: 573). More comprehensive knowledge of content and graphic systems was perhaps possessed by ritualists and beneficiaries who participated in the discourse surrounding practices of representation, while some non-specialist actors may have recognized common logographic forms from accoutrements and zoomorphic forms of deities from their wider religious experience. For others, including children, decorum and exclusion may have meant that the figures in wand iconography were seen only as generic ‘protectors’ (*sw*

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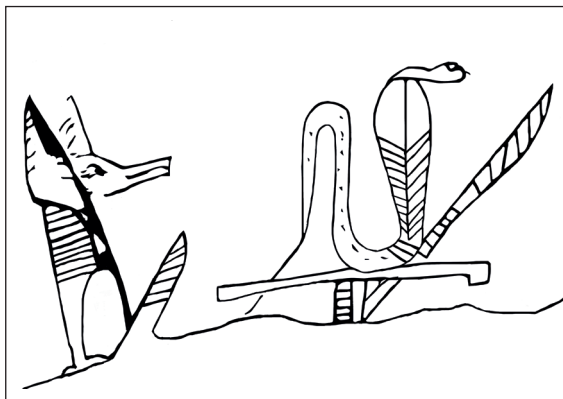


Fig. 1. Caption to: Line drawing of two figures from the wand BM EA 65439 (Altenmüller 1965: cat. 24; drawing by author)

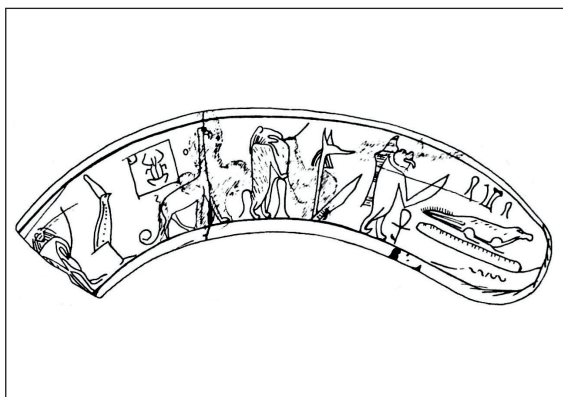


Fig. 2. Line drawing of the wand Brussels E7065 (Altenmüller 1965: cat. 66; drawing after Altenmüller 1965 [ii]: 120, fig. 14)

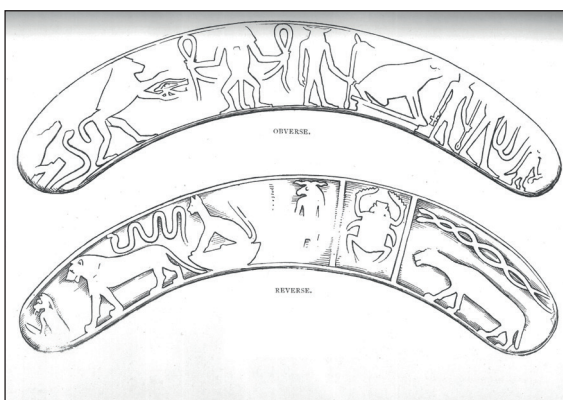


Fig. 3. Line drawing of the wand BM EA 24425 (Altenmüller 1965: cat. 59; after Legge 1905: pl. 2)



Fig. 4. Decorated face of the wand Penn E2914 (Altenmüller 1965: cat. 130). Courtesy of the Penn Museum.



Fig. 5a. Decorated face of the wand MMA 22.1.79a (Altenmüller 1965: cat. 99). Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, licensed under CC0 1.0.



Fig. 5b. Decorated face of the wand MMA 32.8.5 (Altenmüller 1965: cat. 112). Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, licensed under CC0 1.0.

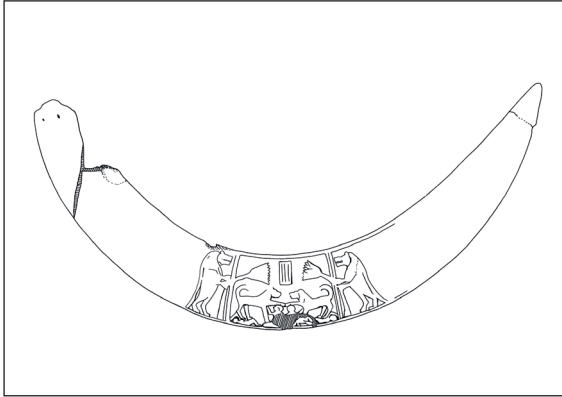


Fig. 6. Line drawing of the wand Munich ÄS 2952 (Altenmüller 1965: cat. 88; 2017: fig. 1a)



Fig. 7. Composite apotropaic rod MMA 26.7.1275a–j (Oppenheim et al. 2015: 201–202). Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, licensed under CC0 1.0.