

Iconography of Animals in the Representation of the Divine (Palestine/Israel)

I. Introduction. This article is based on a comprehensive inventory of ca. 6'500 representations with animals attested in Palestine/Israel from the Middle Bronze Age to the Persian period (EGGLER in print). Its main emphasis lies on the one hand on a preliminary classification of different types of the iconem "deity and associated animal," and on the other hand on systematically recording deities related to this constructional iconem. The catalogued sources do not represent a complete account; rather, they provide an overview of main types. A detailed evaluation of all available data is beyond the scope of this lexicon entry. However, the results in this preliminary study furnish a sketch of the main insights a comprehensive study would yield.

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1. SUBORDINATE RELATIONSHIPS.

Most often a hierarchical gradient exists when a deity and an animal are associated with each other. Several types may be distinguished.

1.1. Hypotactic constructions. The vulture as manifestation of Nekhbet on →Astarte 9* is exemplary of this kind of syntax. It stands in size as well as in spatial position in regard to the whole scene in subordinate relationship to the related goddess. Outward-looking →uraei flanking a deity (31, 34, 37, 54, 57) may simply be regarded as hypotactic statement, but can also be indicative of a close relationship (see § II.2.A.33), or designate divine status (see § II.1.1.2). In contrast, inward-looking uraei flanking a →falcon (47) are less of a protecting nature than indicative of a special

relationship to →Horus, respectively Re (see § II.2.A.29). The same applies to uraei which →falcon-headed god Horus is holding (32–33). The association of →Maat (45) as a secondary element with the ram-sphinx reminds of the close connection with →Amun(–Re) (see pBerlin 3055: ASSMANN 1999: 277–281). Similarly, Amun as ram-sphinx is repeatedly associated with a squatting falcon-headed figure (41) which evokes the particular relationship between Amun and Re (see also § II.2.A.2). Of comparable function are flanking cats next to a →Hathor fetish (→Bastet/Sekhmet [Levant, Phoenician colonies] 76), which portrays the close association between →Bastet and Hathor (OTTO 1975: 629). The pose of the falcon toward a →scarab on 40 indicates protection, but falcon-headed Horus in kneeling pose behind the falcon also demonstrates veneration, suggesting alternating subordination. The →bull on 70 is in a subordinate role in a scene of interacting character; it represents the good which the →storm god is about to rescue. On a stamp seal from Jordan (89), a tree with a →caprid standing on its hind legs is being venerated by a winged bull-man. The caprid is clearly in a subordinate relationship to the winged bull-man and in an attributive role (see particularly the next paragraph) in regard to the tree, suggesting its life-giving properties.

1.2. Attributive relationships/qualifications. The →dog held by →Gula with a leash (→Gula 26*) has an attributive role, probably indicating the goddess's healing virtue (→Dog § II.2.1.1). The correlation between the →storm god and the →bull on 71 is identical. The owl, the attribute animal of Athena, is frequently depicted on the reverse side of coins (17), probably referring to the insight of the goddess of wisdom. Although difficult to prove, a possible emphasis on Athena's martial character may be intended when the reverse of a coin depicting Athena's head shows a →lion savaging a deer (18; see also DEMARGNE 1984: no. 78). The dog and →swine suckled by →Lamashtu underline her evil and demonic character (→Swine 65*). →Ba-birds associated with →Ptah (→Ptah 6–9, 11, 60, 69, 75) are probably aspects of Re/→Osiris or →Shu/→Tefnut assimilated to Ptah (KEEL 1989: 298). The animals at the feet of a winged figure with birdlike heads (90) possibly indicate the sphere, which the deity controls. The horns of →Hathor worn by the leonine- or cat-headed goddess on →Ptah 61 indicate that she shares characteristics of Hathor. This may apply to

→Bastet (see § II.1.1.1) as well as to →Sekhmet (STERNBERG 1984: 326). It has been suggested (KEEL 1977: 94ff; SCHROER 1989: 187) that flanking →uraei may indicate the divine status of the protected item, for example the Hathor fetish (31) or →Horus (34, 37). →Resheph on his pedestal can be depicted with two striding lions behind him (51). Since no interaction is indicated, the lions most likely enforce the potency of the deity. The suckling bovine is of attributive nature in a secondary scene with the storm god and →nude goddess (71), or a bovine and →hare in the sphere of the goddess (→Hare 2*). Of a descriptive role are birds, which indicate the celestial nature of the solar god on a tridacna shell (75). →Scorpions flanking a nude goddess emphasize the fertility-related gesture of holding the breasts (→Scorpion 31). The lion and →vulture as symbols of war and terror (→Vulture § I) associated with the female (?) deity on a →scarab (76) lend apotropaic force to the deity. The →dove next to a female face combined with a palm tree (79) suggest that the female face represents a goddess. The lion and bovine as symbols of aggressiveness and fertility are descriptive of the nude goddess's character (80). →Caprids eating from a tree depicted on the thighs of a nude goddess underline her life-sustaining role (81). →Serpents in connection with goddesses (84) have been assigned to the semantic field of liveliness, excitability, and vitality (KEEL 1992: 205–208), and the appearance of a long-tailed →monkey in the presence of the nude goddess (→Monkey 61*) has been interpreted as conveying the notion of playfulness and eroticism. A scorpion in an introductory scene (95) may be indicative of the request of the petitioner.

1.3. Overcoming or controlling an animal. The iconem “deity and associated animal” is frequently used to depict the all-powerfulness of the represented deity by showing the deity overcoming or controlling a dangerous opponent. →Baal (→Baal 5*) as well as Seth-Baal (→Baal 16*) kill the horned →serpent, symbol of the mythological chaos god →Yam. The attack of the Levantine →storm god on a →lion (→Baal 8*) may underline the prowess of the god; however, it also has an undertone of the mythological struggle between Baal and →Mot, the personified Ugaritic god of death. Such an interpretation would explain why the →bull, attribute animal of Baal, is depicted as overcoming a lion (→Baal 46*–47). Other gods of this phenotype include: →Bes struggling with a lion (21;

possibly also →Heracles: LEITH 1997: pl. 6:WD42); →falcon-headed →Horus stabbing a →crocodile (38); →Seth killing a lion as well as the Asiatic horned serpent (56); the Persian hero fighting a bull (67) or lion (68); the storm god attacking a lion (72); and a Bowman aiming at a serpent (73). The hero attacking a →caprid with a hand weapon (87) or bare hands (88) is indistinct. Stepping on the head of a lion is attested by Late Bronze Age cylinder seals (91–92), as is the overcoming of a lion in smiting pose (93). The strangling of a serpent by a hero on a cult stand (94) is unique. The typical constellation for demonstrating the ability to control is that of the →master-of-animals (for attested animals see § II.2.B.1). Control rather than actual combat is conveyed when Heracles holds a lion by its hind legs (→Heracles 1*–3) or when a female figure touches the ears of flanking lions (78).

1.4. Deities with a pedestal animal. A well-known constellation between a deity and an animal is that of the pedestal animal which indicates the divine status of the figure it supports. Attested are the following: →Baal (20: →bull), →Ishar (42: →lion), →Qudshu (→Qudshu 4*: lion; →Qudshu 8*: →horse), →Resheph (51, →Resheph 5, 15*: gazelle), →Seth (55: horse), Seth-Baal (55: lion), probably a female deity (lion: 76), the →nude goddess (feline: 77; →caprid: 82), indistinct figures (caprid: 85; gazelle: 86).

2. PARATACTIC CONSTRUCTIONS. A deity and an animal may occur in a coordinative relationship with neither in a subordinate role. Clearly this is the case when an archer is horizontally positioned above a suckling cow, the latter representing →Anat as patroness of warriors (15), thus establishing a relationship between two different entities on the basis of a common theme. →Falcons as manifestations of the sun god Re flanking the infant sun god →Harpocrates (→Harpocrates 72) enhance the common solar topic. Of similar nature is the association of the cow's head of Mehet-Weret with a →crocodile (→Crocodile 36*) since both represent the primeval sea from which the sun god rises. No interaction takes place between the →Bes figurines and a procession of →lions and deer on the Nimrin krater (→Swine 66*). They are each a descriptive part of a more complex theme. The whole scene depicting naked ithyphallic men carrying boars among incense altars suggests a fertility-related ritual setting. The appearance of Bes (for his role concerning →mother and child see ALTENMÜLLER 1975: 722; for his

creative power see KEEL/UEHLINGER 1998: § 126) with deer (for their role see KEEL/UEHLINGER 1998: § 117; for a combination with Bes on coins see 23) supports this theme, as do the lions as symbols of virility. Less clear is the combination of Bes with →horse protomes (24) and bovine foreparts (25). The falcons flanking the head of →Hathor on 28 and the falcon in front of the goddess on 29 most likely represent Re, of whom she is the mother and daughter as well (DAUMAS 1977: 1026; see also SCHROER 1989: 188), indicating close familial bonds. One of these flanking falcons can also be replaced with an owl (83), which is related to the hunting falcon (KAPLONY 1977: 39). →Horus is particularly associated with the →uraeus, which is known for its apotropaic and regenerative force (HORNUNG/STAEHELIN 1976: 134f; MARTIN 1986: 865). When →falcon-headed Horus (35) or →Seth (52–53) is depicted with an equal-sized uraeus, the latter does not take a subordinate role but rather expresses an intimate relationship (see also MARTIN 1986: 865). The same correlation can be observed when →Bastet/Sekhmet is depicted with a large uraeus or falcon (→Bastet/Sekhmet [Levant, Phoenician colonies] 23, 25; the association with indistinct birds on →Bastet/Sekhmet [Levant, Phoenician colonies] 107) is unclear. Since it is →Sekhmet who is particularly related to the uraeus and the king, who in turn is intimately associated with the falcon (STERNBERG 1984: 325f), an identification of the hybrid goddess with Sekhmet rather than with Bastet is therefore likely on these two seals. The arrangement of Seth–Baal with a rhinoceros (58) does not indicate any subordination. This unique scene makes sense when one assumes that a hippopotamus rather than a rhinoceros was intended, since it can function as theriomorphic manifestation of Seth (STERNBERG 1982: 504). However, without further parallels such an explanation is speculative. Few paratactic constructions indicate interaction. The venerating posture of →Hapi, god of inundation and fecundity, indicates a positive and active relationship with the surrounding →crocodiles that represent the primeval ocean as source of life (26), thus sharing a common theme. The relationship of falcon-headed Horus venerating →Sobek in the form of a crocodile (36) is similar, as is crocodile-headed Sobek adoring a crocodile (59) since they share similar characteristics (KEEL 1995: § 591).

3. THERIOMORPHIC DEITIES. The divine nature of the →dogs on →Dog 14–15

is indicated by the worshippers adoring them; this suggests that they are manifestations of →Gula (see § II.1.1.2). Both the papyrus thicket (SCHROER 1989: 174) and the sun disk between the horns of the cow on 27 indicate that the animal is the manifestation of →Hathor. Two different theriomorphic manifestations of →Thoth, the →ibis and baboon, are depicted on opposite sides of a stamp seal (→Monkey 41). Upuaut as jackal on a standard appears in a procession (61) and the youthful sun god is depicted as a male cat on a lotus flower (74). A number of animal representations without iconographic context are also considered to be manifestations of a deity: the →bull (→Baal: →Baal 43*–45), cat (→Bastet: →Bastet/Sekhmet [Levant, Phoenician colonies] 58–75), →vulture (Nekhbet: →Vulture 1), →ibis and baboon (Thoth: →Monkey 1*, 25*, 35*), and the jackal (Upuaut: 60). However, it must be remembered that such representations may also refer to particular qualities and not necessarily be identified as manifestations of a deity (see also § II.2.A.7).

4. HYBRID DEPICTIONS OF DEITIES. Hybrid deities combining anthropomorphic and theriomorphic features and functions in personal union are: ram-headed →Amun (6) leonine or cat-headed →Bastet/Sekhmet (§ II.2.A.8), →falcon-headed →Horus (§ II.2.A.15), multiple hybrid →Lamashtu (→Swine 65), →monkey-like →Harpocrates (see →Monkey § II.1.B), and crocodile-headed →Sobek (39, 59).

5. HIEROGLYPHIC WRITING. The iconem “deity and associated animal” occurs in construction with Egyptian hieroglyphic writing. The following types can be distinguished: (a) the representation of a deity by an anthropomorphic ideogram in association with an animal: →Amun (→Monkey 31–32: baboon = →Thoth), →Maat (→Monkey 9: baboon = Thoth), Re (19: ichneumon = “ruler”); (b) a god’s name in hieroglyphic writing accompanied by an animal: Amun (2: →ram; 11: goose = part of the cryptographic writing of Amun–Re), Amun–Re (10: ram–sphinx; 9: →sphinx; 13: →falcon; →Scorpion 13: on reverse side of seal: →scorpion), →Re–Harakhte (→Monkey 33: baboon = Thoth); (c) an animal as part of the hieroglyphic writing of a god’s name: Atum–Re (19: ichneumon), Re–Harakhte (48–49: →falcon), →Hathor (30: falcon); (d) an animal as part of the cryptographic writing of a god’s name: Amun–Re (6, 11: goose; 14: falcon; possibly 14: →scarab); Amun (7: →lion; 8: ichneumon); (e) a god’s name

written as cryptogram with an animal as element of the cryptogram associated with the anthropomorphic depiction of a deity: Amun-Re/Amun (6: goose = part of the cryptographic writing of Amun-Re); (f) an animal as part of an epithet referring indirectly to a deity: →Osiris (46: →hare).

6. **NARRATION.** When →falcon-headed →Horus is depicted kneeling on a crocodile (37), the imagery graphically conveys the (mythological) rise of the morning sun from the (primeval) sea, represented by the horizontally placed →crocodile. This theme can also be rendered by a →falcon representing the sun god Re (KEEL 1995: fig. 349) or a →scarab (43) representing Khepri above a crocodile.

II.2. Associations

A. *DEITIES AND DEMONS BY NAME* 1. AMUN (1–8, →**Monkey** 31–32) 2. AMUN-RE (6, 9–14, →**Scorpion** 13) 3. ANAT (15) 4. ASTARTE (→**Astarte** 9) 5. ATHENA (16–18) 6. ATUM (19) 7. BAAL (20, →**Baal** 5, 43–44, 46–47) 8. BASTET (→**Bastet/Sekhmet** [Levant, Phoenician colonies] 44, 46, 51, 58–75) 9. BES (21–25, →**Swine** 66) 10. GULA (→**Gula** 66, →**Dog** 14–15) 11. HAPI (26) 12. HARPOCRATES (→**Harpocrates** 72) 13. HATHOR (27–31, →**Bastet/Sekhmet** [Levant, Phoenician colonies] 76, →**Ptah** 61) 14. HERACLES (→**Heracles** 1–3) 15. HORUS (32–41) 16. ISHTAR (42) 17. Isis 18. ISIS-HATHOR (→**Bastet/Sekhmet** [Levant, Phoenician colonies] 6) 19. Khepri (40, 43) 20. LAMASHTU (→**Swine** 65) 21. MAAT (44–45, →**Monkey** 9) 22. MEHET-WERET (→**Crocodile** 36) 23. MOT 24. NEKHMET (→**Vulture** 1) 25. NEFERTEM (→**Ptah** 23, 25) 26. OSIRIS (46) 27. PTAH (→**Ptah** 6–9, 11, 60, 69, 75) 28. QUDSHU (→**Qudshu** 4, 8) 29. RE (19, 47, →**Bastet/Sekhmet** [Levant, Phoenician colonies] 25) 30. RE-HARAKHTE (48–50, →**Monkey** 33) 31. RESHEPH (51, →**Resheph** 5, 15) 32. SEKHMET (→**Bastet/Sekhmet** [Levant, Phoenician colonies] 23, 26, 36, 107, 118, →**Ptah** 23–26, 60–61, 88) 33. SETH (52–56) 34. SETH-BAAL (57–58, →**Baal** 16, 21–22, 31–33, 37–38) 35. SHU 36. SOBEK (39, 59) 37. TEFNUT 38. THOTH (→**Monkey** 1, 25, 33, 35, 41) 39. UPUAUT (60–61) 40. YAM B. *NAMELESS SUPERNATURAL BEINGS* 1. MASTER-OF-ANIMALS (62–66, →**Crocodile** 14–15, →**Scorpion** 28, →**Spade** 18) 2. PERSIAN HERO (67–68) 3. STORM GOD (69–72) 4. BOWMAN (73) 5. SOLAR DEITIES (74–75) 6. GODDESSES (76–84, →**Hare** 2, →**Monkey** 61, →**Scorpion** 31) 7. VARIA (85–95)

A. DEITIES AND DEMONS BY NAME

1. **AMUN.** *Baboon, ram-sphinx, ram.* In seated posture as in the hieroglyph C 12 (GARDINER 1957: 449), anthropomorphic →Amun is placed behind or facing a seated baboon representing →Thoth (→**Monkey** 31–32). Amun is represented by the ram-sphinx (OTTO 1975: 239; KEEL 1995: § 585). The name of Amun is rarely added (1; see also PETRIE 1934: pl. 11:424); more often it is Amun-Re. The ram-sphinx can also be reduced to a →ram's head in side view (2–3). Figurative amulets can be crafted as ram (4) or as ram's head (5). The ram-headed deity on a scarab (6) from Tell

el-Far'ah (South) is most likely to be identified with Amun. Animals used in Amun cryptography are the →lion (7) and ichneumon (8). No convincing iconographic arguments have been provided thus far for the suggested identification of a quadruped with a ram in the presence of several deities on →**Astarte** 9*.

2. **AMUN-RE.** *Sphinx, ram-sphinx, goose, scorpion, falcon, ichneumon, scarab.* The name Amun-Re can be associated with the →sphinx (9) or ram-sphinx (10; parallels: KEEL 1995 § 552). Hybrid Amun (6) is associated with the goose and sun disk, which are a cryptographic rendering of the name of Amun-Re (HORNUNG/STAEHELIN 1976: 177; HÖLBL 1979). On a scarab from Deir el-Balah, the same combination of →Amun and the cryptogram of Amun-Re with a goose is attested, but with the difference that Amun is not represented by a hybrid figure but written with hieroglyphs (11). Other animals, which are connected with the name of Amun-Re, are the →scorpion (→**Scorpion** 13; reverse side of seal) and the →falcon (12). The latter can also be used in the cryptographic writing (HORNUNG/STAEHELIN 1976: 173–180; KEEL 1995: 177–180) of Amun-Re (13). Possibly in hieroglyphic writing the →scarab was also used to denote cryptographically Amun-Re (14; DRIOTON 1957: 14).

3. **ANAT.** *Cow.* A stamp seal (15) from Tell el-Far'ah (South) depicting a suckling cow with an archer horizontally positioned above it has been interpreted as referring to warriors and their patroness →Anat (see AUFRECHT/SHURY 1997: 62 n. 30; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1998: 126).

4. **ASTARTE.** *Vulture.* On a scarab from Acco (→**Astarte** 9*) a →vulture behind winged →Astarte most likely represents the goddess Nekhbet.

5. **ATHENA.** *Owl, deer, lion.* Nearly all depictions of an owl associated with a deity occur on coins (16); it functions as attribute animal of Athena (MESHORER/QEDAR 1991: 37) who is often depicted on the obverse of the coin. Athena is also associated with deer shown on the reverse of coins (17), which may also be attacked by a →lion (18). Since Athena is rarely associated with deer, a particular relationship of the two sides of coin 17 is unlikely.

6. **ATUM.** *Ichneumon.* The creator god →Atum plays virtually no role on scarabs (HORNUNG/STAEHELIN 1976: 110). Since the ichneumon is the manifestation of Atum, the combination of ichneumon, sun disk, and *jwn* pillar on a scarab from Achzib (19)

has been suggested to be possibly read as “Atum-Re of Heliopolis” (KEEL 1997: 22).

7. **BAAL.** *Serpent, bull, lion.* →Baal, the Levantine →storm god (see § II.B.3) of the Asiatic tradition, slaughters with a sword (→**Baal 5***) the horned →serpent, which represents the chaos god →Yam. On the “seal of Ini-Teshub, king of Carchemish” (→**Baal 8***) Baal spears a rampant →lion, an assault that is paralleled not only by the charging posture of his pedestal animal, the →bull (DEMIRCIOGLU 1939), but also by stamp seals from Palestine/Israel which likewise depict an attack of a bull on a lion (→**Baal 46*–47**). It has been suggested that the attacked lion in these representations refers to Baal’s mythological adversary, →Mot (→Baal § II.2.A.1.5). The fragments of human feet on the back of a bull figurine from Hazor (**20**) indicate the presence of the storm god’s pedestal animal in Palestine/Israel. Bovines without iconographic context stemming from the Levant (→**Baal 43*–45**) may thus refer to Baal. However, lactating bovines (PETRIE 1930: pl. 43:533; HOMÈS-FREDERICQ 1987: fig. 6; MILDENBERG 2000: no. 19), sometimes combined with a →scorpion (KEEL 1997: Akko no. 131), and the association of bovines with plants (LOUD 1939: no. 225; STERN 1994: fig. 52; KEEL 1997: Tell el-‘Ağul no. 279), the moon (EGGLER/KEEL 2006: Tall al-Mazar no. 18), ankh (ROWE 1940: pl. 39:5), and *nfr* (KEEL 1997: Tell el-‘Ağul no. 242) sign may also simply evoke the notions of fertility, prosperity, and rejuvenation (see also § IV).

8. **BASTET.** *Cat, lion, uraeus, falcon, tilapia, scarab, bird.* The identification of →Bastet in visual sources is difficult (→Bastet/Sekhmet [Levant, Phoenician colonies] § II, General remarks). In most cases the leonine- or cat-headed goddess can be either Bastet or →Sekhmet. Exceptions are an amulet from Megiddo which depicts a leonine- or cat-headed goddess holding a sistrum, an attribute of Bastet (→**Bastet/Sekhmet [Levant, Phoenician colonies] 51**); and two amulets which identify the leonine- or cat-headed goddess as Bastet by inscription (→**Bastet/Sekhmet [Levant, Phoenician colonies] 44, 46**). Bastet as cat is entirely theriomorphically depicted, primarily in the form of an amulet (→**Bastet/Sekhmet [Levant, Phoenician colonies] 58–75**) and once on a scarab (see § II.2.A.13). For a possible association with the →uraeus, →falcon, tilapia, →scarab, and birds see § II.2.A.32.

9. **BES.** *Lion, deer, bovine, horse.* Associations in Palestine/Israel of →Bes with

animals are generally of late date, often occurring on coins. The well-known motif of a rampant →lion struggling with a hero is also attested with Bes on a coin from Tell el-Hesi (**21**). The only stamp seal of Bes with animals portrays him as master-of-lions (**22**). The frieze on the Nimrin krater involves two main scenes: naked men, some of the ithyphallic, carrying boars in a ritual and/or worship setting with incense altars; and a procession of lions and deer, followed by three Bes figurines (→**Swine 66***). On coins the head of Bes can be placed between the antlers of deer (**23**). Numismatic iconography further depicts winged Bes with horse protomes next to his feet (**24**) and his head with two bovine foreparts (**25**).

10. **GULA.** *Dog.* A carnelian conoid from a deposit outside the so-called tomb of Adoninur depicts enthroned →Gula with her attribute animal, the →dog (→**Gula 25***). In two examples a worshipper adores a seated dog as a manifestation of Gula (→**Dog 14–15**).

11. **HAPI.** On a scarab from Azor, →Hapi in venerating pose is surrounded by three →crocodiles, which embody the primeval ocean (**26**).

12. **HARPOCRATES.** *Monkey, falcon.* Seated →Harpocrates is flanked by →falcons on a scarab from Acco (→**Harpocrates 72**). For hybrid →monkey-like Harpocrates see →Monkey § II.1.B.

13. **HATHOR.** *Cow, cat, falcon, uraeus.* The cow of →Hathor is attested a few times (**27**); the bovine horns of Hathor can also be worn by →Bastet/Sekhmet (→**Ptah 61**). The fetish of the goddess is flanked by cats representing Bastet (→**Bastet/Sekhmet [Levant, Phoenician colonies] 76**) or associated with the →falcon (**28**). A falcon stands before anthropomorphic Hathor (**29**) on a seal from Wadi ed-Daliyeh. The combination of the falcon with the hieroglyph *qnbt* (**30**) has been suggested “as a debased form of the name of Hathor” (KEEL 2004: 89). →Uraei flank the Hathor fetish particularly often (**31**).

14. **HERACLES.** *Lion, dog.* →Heracles appears as smiting god holding a →lion by a hind leg (→**Heracles 1*–3**). He is possibly depicted in one example as wrestling with a lion (LEITH 1997: pl. 6:WD42). A representation as master-of-lions on a seal impression from Wadi ed-Daliyeh seems unlikely (LEITH 1997: pl. 12:WD47).

15. **HORUS.** *Falcon, uraeus, crocodile, scarab.* As →falcon-headed god, →Horus (KEEL 1989) is depicted about 40 times with a →uraeus. In the majority of cases the god is either holding one (**32**) or two (**33**) uraei

in his hands or is flanked by two (34). A smaller number shows a single large uraeus in front of the deity (35). Horus is also repeatedly associated with the →crocodile (KEEL 1989: 268–275; KEEL 1995: §§ 533–534). As falcon-headed god he can venerate the crocodile representing →Sobek (36); appear kneeling on a crocodile symbolizing the sunrise from the primeval sea (37; see also KIRKBRIDE 1965: fig. 288:15); or appear in front of →Isis stabbing a crocodile as the symbol of evil (38). Falcon-headed Horus and crocodile-headed Sobek protect a palm tree (39) in one example, and the falcon-headed deity and a →falcon appear on a →scarab (40). Squatting falcon-headed figures also appear in front of ram-sphinxes (41) representing →Amun(–Re)

16. **ISHTAR.** *Lion.* On a medallion from Ekron the →lion functions as pedestal animal for →Isthar (42).

17. **ISIS.** *Crocodile.* See § II.2.A.15.

18. **ISIS–HATHOR.** *Cat/leonine features.* →Isis–Hathor is indirectly associated with theriomorphic features by cat- or leonine-headed →Bastet or →Sekhmet adoring her (→**Bastet/Sekhmet [Levant, Phoenician colonies]** 6).

19. **Khepri.** The →scarab occurs as an iconographic element more than 800 times. In many cases it is to be understood simply as a regenerative symbol (KEEL 1995: § 41). However, there are instances that suggest a more specific identification, namely with the sun god Khepri, such as a →falcon protecting a scarab with its wings, with devoutly kneeling →falcon-headed →Horus behind them (40); or when the scarab represents the sun god rising from the primeval ocean (43).

20. **LAMASHTU.** *Dog, swine, serpent.* On a fragmentary →Lamashtu amulet from the Shephelah, a →dog’s leg, the rear part of a →swine, and a →serpent are visible. The former is typically suckled by Lamashtu, while the serpent in the pose of a mistress-of-serpents is controlled (→**Swine 65***).

21. **MAAT.** *Baboon, falcon, ram-sphinx.* The baboon representing →Thoth is depicted on a scarab behind seated →Maat (→**Monkey 9**). Together with the ankh and *mj* sign, it can possibly be read as: “Beloved of Thoth, living by truth.” A →falcon may appear behind Maat instead of the baboon (44). Squatting Maat appears in front of ram-sphinxes (45) representing →Amun(–Re).

22. **MEHET–WERET.** *Cow.* On a scarab from Beth–Shean (→**Crocodile 36***) a cow’s head flanked by two →lions

above a →crocodile represents the goddess Mehet–Weret.

23. **MOT.** *Lion.* For a possible manifestation of →Mot as →lion see § II.2.A.7.

24. **NEKHBET.** *Vulture.* A single sitting →vulture flanked by ankh signs on a scarab from Shechem (→**Vulture 1**) probably represents Nekhbet. In addition, see § II.2.A.4.

25. **NEFERTEM.** *Cat/leonine features.* →Nefertem is indirectly associated with theriomorphic features by cat- or leonine-headed →Bastet, or →Sekhmet depicted with him (→**Ptah 23, 25**).

26. **OSIRIS.** *Hare, bird.* Together with the *nfr* hieroglyph the →hare is to be read as “the (eternally) good being,” an epithet of →Osiris (46). For the association with →Ba–bird see § II.2.A.27.

27. **PTAH.** *Cat/leonine features, Ba–bird.* →Ptah is indirectly associated with theriomorphic features by cat- or leonine-headed →Bastet, or →Sekhmet depicted with him (see § II.2.A.32). Ptah appears several times with two →Ba–birds, each sitting on a *djed* pillar (→**Ptah 6–9, 11, 60** [one bird], **69, 75**), which may refer to →Osiris/Re or →Shu/→Tefnut (see KEEL 1989: 295–298).

28. **QUDSHU.** *Horse, lion.* The two animals associated with →Qudshu function as pedestal animals, i.e., the →horse (→**Qudshu 8***) and the →lion (→**Qudshu 4***).

29. **RE.** *Falcon, uraeus, ichneumon, Ba–bird.* Re is typically associated with the →falcon (HORNUNG/STAEHELIN 1976: 96). The →uraeus is depicted with the falcon most frequently (47), an animal known to be closely associated with Re (MARTIN 1986: 865). The falcon can also function as a royal or regenerative animal. Systematic iconographic criteria to distinguish between the roughly 460 depictions of falcons in Palestine/Israel as royal animal (e.g., by royal attributes), as manifestation of Re (e.g., §§ II.2.A.2, 30), or in another way (see KEEL 1995: § 442) have not yet been developed. HORNUNG/STAEHELIN (1976: 136f) singled out certain depictions in which the falcon has a regenerative aspect. A →falcon-headed squatting figure has been suggested to represent Re (→**Bastet/Sekhmet [Levant, Phoenician colonies]** 25). Re as sun disk is associated with the ichneumon and a *jwn* pillar, denoting: “Re, ruler of Heliopolis” (19). For the association of Re with the →Ba–bird see § II.2.A.27.

30. **RE–HARAKHTE.** *Falcon.* Several scarabs show the →falcon as part of the hieroglyphic writing of →Re–Harakhte

(48–49; →**Monkey 33**). In another case the falcon with the sun disk on its head, representing the ideogram of Re–Harakhte (50), is facing the →falcon-headed god (see § II.2.A.15).

31. **RESHEPH**. *Gazelle, lion*. The pedestal animal of →Resheph is the gazelle (51), which can also be depicted in a simplified manner (→**Resheph 15***). A variant of Resheph on his pedestal animals shows two striding →lions behind him (→**Resheph 5**).

32. **SEKHMET**. *Cat/leonine features, uraeus, falcon, tilapia, scarab, bird*. →Sekhmet can appear as leonine- or cat-headed goddess; however, she cannot always be distinguished from →Bastet. Thus there are various deities and animals associated with hybrid Bastet/Sekhmet that cannot clearly be assigned to one of them (see §§ II.2.A.8, 13, 18, 25). In association with →Nefertem and →Ptah the identification with Sekhmet is obvious (→**Bastet/Sekhmet [Levant, Phoenician colonies] 36**, →**Ptah 23–26, 60–61, 88**). Sekhmet is probably depicted in one example with a large →uraeus and →falcon (→**Bastet/Sekhmet [Levant, Phoenician colonies] 23, 26**), and the hybrid Bastet/Sekhmet occurs once with a tilapia and →scarab (→**Bastet/Sekhmet [Levant, Phoenician colonies] 118**). As aegis Bastet/Sekhmet is associated with birds (→**Bastet/Sekhmet [Levant, Phoenician colonies] 107**).

33. **SETH**. *Uraeus, horse, lion, serpent*. Winged →Seth is depicted with a large →uraeus (52–53), indicating the known close relationship between the two (MARTIN 1986: 865). Thus uraei can also flank the god (54). As pedestal animal the →horse is documented once (55). On a cylinder seal from Tell eš–Šafi Seth’s transcultural power is demonstrated by overcoming a →lion and the Asiatic horned →serpent (56).

34. **SETH–BAAL**. *Serpent, lion, uraeus, rhinoceros, falcon*. Winged Seth–Baal spears the horned →serpent representing →Yam (→**Baal 16***). The →lion serves as pedestal animal (→**Baal** § II.1.A.4.3) for the Levantine storm god of the Egyptian tradition (→**Baal 21–22, 31*–33, 37–38**). In analogy to winged →Seth, winged Seth–Baal occurs with flanking →uraei (57). The combination of Seth–Baal with a rhinoceros and a →falcon (58) is unique.

35. **SHU**. *Ba–bird*. For the association with the →Ba–bird see § II.2.A.27.

36. **SOBEK**. *Crocodile, uraeus*. Crocodile-headed →Sobek adores a →crocodile (59) and is associated with a →uraeus (39).

37. **TEFNUT**. *Ba–bird*. For the association with the →Ba–bird see § II.2.A.27.

38. **THOTH**. *Baboon, ibis, falcon*. The theriomorphic manifestations of →Thoth are the baboon and the →ibis. The former is attested on its own on the plinth of seals (→**Monkey 1***), as baboon-shaped seal (→**Monkey 35***), and as baboon amulet (→**Monkey 25***). The latter occurs as ibis-headed figure on baboon-shaped seal (→**Monkey 41**). The baboon representing Thoth is also depicted once together with the →falcon of Re(–Harakhte (→**Monkey 33**)).

39. **UPAUT**. *Jackal*. On a rectangular plaque (60) from Tell el–Far‘ah (South) a standing jackal to whose paw an erect →uraeus is joined probably represents the war deity and god of death Upuaut, who is also depicted on a cylinder seal (61) on a standard as part of a processional scene (GRAEFE 1986: 863).

40. **YAM**. *Serpent*. For the →serpent as manifestation of →Yam see § II.2.A.7.

B. NAMELESS SUPERNATURAL BEINGS

1. **MASTER–OF–ANIMALS**. *Bovine, caprid, crocodile, ostrich, scorpion, lion, serpent*. The motif of the →master-of-animals occurs with various animals. The master-of-bulls is known with the un-winged (62) and winged animal (→**Spade 18**). The →caprid dominated by the master-of-caprids occurs not only on stamp (63) and cylinder seals (64), but also on coins (65). Typical of stamp seals from the post–Ramesside mass production is a master-of-crocodiles holding one (→**Crocodile 14**) or two (→**Crocodile 15**) reptiles by their tail. The master-of-ostriches testifies to the dangerousness of the bird (66). The master-of-scorpions is also well documented (→**Scorpion 28**). For the master-of-lions see §§ II.2.A.9, 14. For Lamashtu as mistress-of-serpents see § II.2.A.20.

2. **PERSIAN HERO**. *Bull, lion*. The Persian hero is attested as struggling with a bull (67) or fighting a rampant →lion with a weapon (68).

3. **STORM GOD** (see also § II.2.A.7). *Bull, lion*. On cylinder seals the →storm god is depicted as standing behind a →bull and holding it by a leash (69), or as coming to its rescue (70). Bovines can also function as a secondary motif in scenes of encounter between a goddess and the storm god (71). In one example the storm god is fighting a rampant →lion with a weapon (72).

4. **BOWMAN**. *Serpent*. The identity of a bowman attacking a horned →serpent is unclear (73). The identification with

→Marduk and →Tiamat is unlikely (see →Marduk § II.1.A.7.1).

5. SOLAR DEITIES. *Cat, bird.* Seated male cats on a lotus flower (74) represent the youthful sun god (HERRMANN 1994: 525; HORNING/STAEHELIN 1976: 120). On a tridacna shell a bird is associated with a solar deity (75).

6. GODDESSES. *Scorpion, lion, vulture, dove, bovine, caprid, owl, serpent, monkey, hare.* Various animals are associated with a goddess, often depicted nude. Some of them are directly associated with the goddess; others function as secondary motif in the scene. On a triangular seal from Buseira two →scorpions flank a →nude goddess holding her breasts (→**Scorpion 31**). Probably a female deity is kneeling on a →lion. In front of her there is a →vulture (76). On a cult stand from Pella a nude goddess is standing on the head of a feline (77). A supernatural female figure on the cult stand from Taanach (78) is touching the ears of flanking lions (→*Mistress-of-animals* § I). It has been suggested (KEEL 1992: 150; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1998: § 122) that the female face in combination with a →dove and palm tree on an ivory spoon represents a goddess (79). On a cylinder seal from Megiddo a nude goddess is flanked by a lion and a bovine (80). A close connection also exists between the nude goddess and the →caprid. On the thighs of a nude female figurine caprids eating from a tree are depicted (81; see also 80), and the photograph of the seal of a conoid from Tell el-Far'ah (South) shows her standing on a caprid (82). Animals such as an owl and →falcon (83) or →serpent (84) can also flank the head of a goddess (→*Hathor fetish?*) (see also § II.2.A.13). A direct association between the nude goddess and the long-tailed →monkey is also attested (→**Monkey 61***). A secondary motif in the sphere of the goddess depicts bovines and the →hare (→**Hare 2***).

7. VARIA. *Caprid, lion, serpent, scorpion.* There are numerous indistinct figures associated with animals. At least some of them seem to have supernatural qualities, as suggested by their attributes or constellation with or action toward the animal. Examples are a scaraboid from Samaria depicting a striding figure above a →caprid, which suggests that it may function as pedestal animal, holding an unclear object in one hand (85). On a plaque from Tell Abu Salima a figure with one arm raised stands above a gazelle (86). On a conical round seal from Ashdod a hero with a hand weapon attacks a caprid, which is depicted vertically facing the opponent (87). As an

animal of the arid regions, caprids were equated with life-threatening forces. Representations of overcoming them therefore had an apotropaic function. An almost identical constellation is engraved on a scaraboid from Megiddo, except for the missing weapon (88). The vertically turned animal hardly suggests a scene of adoration. Hybrid creatures are also depicted with caprids. On a scaraboid from Tall al-Umayri a winged bull-man and a caprid flank a tree (89), and a cylinder seal from Gezer (90) associates probably a caprid and an unclear quadruped with a winged figure with two birdlike heads (see CESNOLA 1884: no. 131). On a cylinder seal from Acco a hero in the presence of a four-winged goddess steps on the head of a →lion, which he is holding by a hind leg in his raised hand (91; for stepping on a lion's head see also 92). On another cylinder seal from the same site a figure pays tribute to an indistinct smiting god who holds a lion in the same manner as on the previous seal (93). A hero on a cult stand from Taanach violently strangles a serpent (94). The scorpion in an introductory scene on a cylinder seal from the Late Bronze Age temple at the Amman airport has an entirely different function; it may indicate the nature of the petitioner's request (95).

III. Sources

III.1. Chronological range. The iconography of deities with animals is predominantly found with a roughly even distribution from the Late Bronze Age down to the Persian period, except for the Iron Age II, which is somewhat less represented. With less than 10% of depictions, this theme plays a secondary role in MB IIB. Named deities with animals occur mainly in the Late Bronze Age and Iron Age I, while unnamed supernatural beings with animals increase slightly from the Late Bronze Age to the Persian period, in which they peak.

III.2. Geographical distribution. Assigning deities associated with animals to their regions of origin results in two main groups: roughly half are Syro-Levantine and close to 40% are Egyptian. Mesopotamian deities are somewhat less than 10%; few are Syro-Egyptian, Cypriote, or Greek. Not surprisingly, close to 70% of deities who can be addressed with a specific name are Egyptian, while close to 80% of nameless supernatural beings are of Syro-Levantine derivation. The distribution of find sites shows that the majority of objects, close to 50%, comes from the Shephelah. Main regions in the north are coastal sites on either side of the Carmel, Megiddo, and Beth-Shean. Only a few items come from

Samaria. Deities with known names associated with animals are not attested in the Judean hill country and only two sites from this region can be related to deities without names being associated with animals. About 7% of divine representations with animals come from Jordan.

III.3. Object types. The fact that the topic under discussion requires at least two protagonists naturally limits the type of visual sources. Not surprisingly, stamp seals, mostly scarabs, account for 70%. The second largest group, about 10%, are cylinder seals of which more than 80% depict unnamed supernatural beings. Smaller groups of object types comprise coins (16–18, 21, 23–25, 65, 67), amulets (4–5, 74), and cult stands (77–78, 94). Rarely attested object types include a medaillon (42), standard (84), ivory spoon (79), figurine mold (81), figurine (20), and tridacna shell (75).

IV. Conclusion. The iconography of deities in association with animals in Palestine/Israel from the Middle Bronze Age to the Persian period is dominated by Syro-Levantine and Egyptian representations. Mesopotamian depictions are few, and Western Mediterranean are rare. Deities and animals predominantly occur in hierarchical relationships. Syro-Levantine deities dominate this constellation. The hierarchical structure is evident when one of the protagonists provides protection or is the subject of adoration. However, hypotactic constructions are more frequently used to indicate a close relationship between the main deity and a secondary but nevertheless closely related animal or other deity. Attributive relationships make use of animals primarily to visually express abstract qualities or characteristics of the associated deity. In some attributive constellations animals indicate the divine status or emphasize the potency of a god. The portrayal of all-powerfulness is also the aim when a god is depicted overcoming or controlling an animal, and divine status is indicated when a pedestal animal is employed. However, quite a number of depictions do not demonstrate a hierarchical relationship between deity and animal; almost all of these are Egyptian. Such paratactic constructions either establish a relationship between two different entities or more often such coordinative combinations are used to accentuate a common theme by expressing it in different ways. An intimate relationship is another theme expressed by equal representations of deity and animal. Theriomorphic manifestations of deities are few. Like the rare hybrid deities, they are typical of Egyptian iconog-

raphy. When contextual points of reference are lacking it is not clear if an animal should be considered as the manifestation of a deity or simply as expression of a particular quality.

In summary, the iconography of deities associated with animals is mainly utilized to denote important relationships, to visually express abstract concepts and indicate divine status and serves as means of intensification. Careful study of the semantics of the iconem “deity and associated animal” will make available valuable information about specific spiritual longings and life needs of that particular segment of ancient Palestinian society which used objects of miniature art in their daily life.

V. Catalogue

1 Scarab, composition, Megiddo, 1500–1300. LOUD 1948: pl. 152:152 2 Plaque, composition, Tell el-Far’ah (South), 1400–1190. STARKEY/HARDING 1932: pl. 55:278 3 Scarab, enstatite, Tell el-Far’ah (South), 1292–1075 (19th–20th dyn.). STARKEY/HARDING 1932: pl. 53:193 4 Amulet, composition, Lachish, 925–700. HERRMANN 1994: no. 752 5 Amulet, composition, Megiddo, 1250–1100. HERRMANN 1994: no. 755 6 Scarab, enstatite, Tell el-Far’ah (South), 1292–1075 (19th–20th dyn.). STARKEY/HARDING 1932: pl. 55:317 7 Scarab, composition, Pella, 1075–900. EGGLEER/KEEL 2006: Pella no. 67 8 Scarab, composition, Achzib, 728–656 (25th dyn.). KEEL 1997: Achsib no. 10 9 Scarab, enstatite, Tell el-Far’ah (South), 1292–1075 (19th–20th dyn.). STARKEY/HARDING 1932: pl. 57:342 10 Scarab, enstatite, Acco, 1292–1075 (19th–20th dyn.), KEEL 1997: Akko no. 236 11 Rectangular plaque, enstatite, Deir el-Balah, 1292–1075. Unpublished (Tel Aviv University, Archaeological Institute, Dayan nos. 268) 12 Rectangular plaque, Tell el-Far’ah (South), 1292–944. PETRIE 1930: pl. 29:250 13 Scarab, enstatite, Tall as-Sa’idiya, 1075–900. EGGLEER/KEEL 2006: Tall as-Sa’idiya no. 16 14 Scarab, enstatite, Tell el-Far’ah (South), 1190–900 (20th–21st dyn.). PETRIE 1930: pl. 29:278 15 Conoid, limestone, Tell el-Far’ah (South), 900–700. PETRIE 1930: pl. 43:533 16 Coin, silver, Samaria, 400–300. MESHORER/QEDAR 1991: no. 105 17 Coin, silver, Samaria, 400–300. MESHORER/QEDAR 1991: no. 6 18 Coin, silver, Samaria, 400–300. MESHORER/QEDAR 1991: no. 5 19 Scarab, enstatite, Achzib, 728–656. KEEL 1997: Achsib no. 5 20 Figurine, basalt, Hazor, 1400–1300. YADIN 1961: pl. 324f; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1998: no. 44 21 Coin, silver, Tell el-Hesi, 400–340. GITLER/TAL 2006: fig. 3.21 22 Scarab, greenstone facies, Atlit, 500–300. KEEL 1997: ‘Atlit no. 22 23 Coin, silver, 400–300. Samaria, MESHORER/QEDAR 1999: no. 61 24 Coin, silver, Ashdod, 400–300. GITLER/TAL 2006: pl. 4:II.3Db 25 Coin, silver, Gaza, 400–300. MILDENBERG 2000: no. 45 26 Scarab, enstatite, Azor, 1292–1190 (19th dyn.). KEEL 1997: Asor no.1 27 Plaque, faience, Acco, 945–525 (22nd–26th dyn.). KEEL 1997: Akko no. 251 28 Scarab, enstatite, Jericho, 1750–1550. KIRKBRIDE 1965: fig. 290:18 29 Scarab, enstatite, Wadi ed-Daliyeh, 1630–1522 (15th dyn.). LAPP/LAPP et al. 1974: pl. 36:11 30 Scarab, enstatite, Tell el-Ajjul, 1759–1630 (13th dyn.). KEEL 1997: Tell el-Agul no. 820 31 Scarab, enstatite, Tell el-Ajjul, 1630–1522 (15th dyn.). KEEL 1997: Tell el-Agul no. 777 32 Scarab, enstatite, Tell el-Far’ah (South), 1292–1075 (19th–20th dyn.). STARKEY/HARDING 1932: pl. 52:162 33 Scarab, enstatite, Tell el-Far’ah (South), 1292–1075 (19th–20th dyn.). STARKEY/HARDING 1932: pl. 55:307 34 Scarab, enstatite, Tell el-Ajjul, 1575–1522 (15th dyn.). KEEL 1997: Tell el-Agul no. 729 35 Scarab, enstatite, Tell el-Far’ah (South), 1292–1075 (19th–20th dyn.). STARKEY/HARDING 1932: pl. 52:160 36 Scarab, enstatite, Lachish, 1759–1540 (13th–17th dyn.). TUFNELL 1958: pl. 32:129; KEEL 1995: fig. 343 37 Scarab, enstatite, Afek, 1630–1522 (15th dyn.). KEEL 1997: Afek Nr. 19 38 Scarab, bluish stone, composition or glass, Shiqmona, 728–525 (25th–26th dyn.). KEEL 1989: fig. 95 39 Oval plaque, enstatite, Gezer, 1500–900. MACALISTER 1912: III pl. 202a:8; KEEL 1995: fig. 512 40 Scarab, enstatite, Tell el-Far’ah (South), 1640–1540. PETRIE 1930: pl. 7:10 41 Scarab, enstatite, Tell el-Far’ah (South), 1292–1075 (19th–20th dyn.). STARKEY/HARDING 1932: pl. 52:146 42 Medaillon, electron, Ekron, 700–600. UEHLINGER 1994: fig. 6, KEEL/UEHLINGER 1998: fig. 398 43 Scarab,

enstatite, Kabri, 1759–1522. KEMPINSKI 1988: fig. 12:5; KEEL 1995: fig. 438 **44** Scarab, enstatite, Acco, 1292–1075 (19th–20th dyn.). KEEL 1997: Akko no. 68 **45** Scarab, enstatite, Tell el-‘Ajjul, 1400–1190 (middle of 18th–19th dyn.). KEEL 1997: Tell el-‘Ajjul no. 1226 **46** Scarab, enstatite, Tall al-Mazar, 664–525. EGGLEER/KEEL 2006: Tall al-Mazar no. 12 **47** Scarab, enstatite, Tell el-‘Ajjul, 1630–1522 (15th dyn.). KEEL 1997: Tell el-‘Ajjul no. 53 **48** Scarab, enstatite, Tell el-Far‘ah (South), 1292–1075 (19th–20th dyn.). STARKEY/HARDING 1932: pl. 62:27 **49** Scarab, enstatite, Tell el-Far‘ah (South), 1292–1075 (19th–20th dyn.). STARKEY/HARDING 1932: pl. 57:339 **50** Scarab, enstatite, Tell el-Far‘ah (South), 1292–1075 (19th–20th dyn.). Starkey/Harding 1932: pl. 55:291 **51** Scarab, enstatite, Acco, 1200–1075. KEEL 1997: Akko no. 84 **52** Oval plaque, composition, Tell el-Far‘ah (South), 1292–1075 (19th–20th dyn.). PETRIE 1930: pl. 33:366 **53** Oval plaque, composition, Tell Keisan, 1250–1000. KEEL 1990: no. 22 **54** Scarab, enstatite, Tell el-Far‘ah (South), 1075–900 (21st–beginning of 22nd dyn.). PETRIE 1930: pl. 35:398 **55** Scarab, enstatite, Acco, 728–525 (25th–26th dyn.). KEEL 1997: Akko no. 119 **56** Cylinder seal, steatite, Tell es-Šafi, 1550–1200. KEEL/UEHLINGER 1998: fig. 89; KEEL 1990a: 311, no. 82 **57** Scarab, enstatite, Tell el-Far‘ah (South), 1075–900 (21st–beginning of 22nd dyn.). PETRIE 1930: pl. 31:308 **58** Scarab, enstatite, Tell el-Far‘ah (South), 1292–1075 (19th–20th dyn.). STARKEY/HARDING 1932: pl. 55:299 **59** Scarab, enstatite, Achzib, 1600–1522 (2nd half of 15th dyn.). KEEL 1997: Tell Achzib no. 48 **60** Rectangular plaque, limestone, Tell el-Far‘ah (South), 1190–1075 (20th dyn.). PETRIE 1930: pl. 12:149 **61** Cylinder seal, haematite, Megiddo, 1300–1100. LAMON/SHIPTON 1939: pl. 66:3 **62** Cylinder seal, limestone, Meqabelein, 500–400. EGGLEER/KEEL 2006: Meqabelein no. 2 **63** Conoid, marble, Tall al-Mazar, 600–500. EGGLEER/KEEL 2006: Tall al-Mazar no. 15 **64** Cylinder seal, onyx, Beth-Shean, 725–675. PARKER 1949: no. 122; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1998: no. 308 **65** Coin, silver, Ashdod, 380–330. MILDENBERG 2000: pl. 55:24 **66** Scaraboid, bone, Tell en-Naşbeh, 1150–800. McCOWN 1947: pl. 54:23 **67** Coin, silver, Samaria, 400–300. MESHORER/QEDAR 1991: no. 19 **68** Scarab, greenstone-facies, Ashkelon, 500–300. KEEL 1997: Ashkelon no. 59 **69** Cylinder seal, haematite, Megiddo, 1795–1730. LOUD 1948: pl. 161:21; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1998: fig. 30; OTTO 2000: no. 153 **70** Cylinder seal, haematite, Tell el-‘Ajjul, 1500–1200. ROWE 1940: pl. 38:14; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1998: fig. 90a **71** Cylinder seal, haematite, Hazor, 1795–1730. YADIN 1961: pl. 319:1; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1998: fig. 31a; OTTO 2000: no. 412 **72** Scarab, greenstone facies, Acco, 600–333. KEEL 1997: Akko no. 122a **73** Cylinder seal, composition, 720–670. Gezer. MACALISTER 1912: III pl. 214:19 **74** Amulet, Tell el-Far‘ah (South), 925–700. HERRMANN 1994: no. 779 **75** Tridacna shell, Bethlehem, 700–600. STUCKY 1974: pl. 17:26. KEEL/UEHLINGER 1998: fig. 337b **76** Scarab, enstatite, Tell el-‘Ajjul, 1700–1575 (middle of 13th dyn.–middle of 15th dyn.). KEEL 1997: Tell el-‘Ajjul no. 457 **77** Cult stand, clay, Pella, 1000. POTTS et al. 1985: pl. 42; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1998: fig. 126 **78** Cult stand, clay, Taanach, 1000–900. LAPP 1969; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1998: fig. 184 **79** Spoon, ivory, Hazor, 750–700. KEEL 1992: no. 120; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1998: fig. 214; YADIN 1960: pl. 167 **80** Cylinder seal, faience, Megiddo, 1400–1200. GUY 1938: pl. 176:3; PARKER 1949: no. 128; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1998: fig. 52 **81** Figurine, terracotta, Tel Harasim, 1250. BECK 1986: pl. 12:3 KEEL/UEHLINGER 1998: fig. 82 **82** Conoid, limestone, Tell el-Far‘ah (South), 1250–1000. PETRIE 1930: pl. 33:339 **83** Scarab, enstatite, Azor, 1630–1522 (15th dyn.). KEEL 1997: Asor no. 7 **84** Standard, bronze, Hazor, 1400–1200. YADIN 1960: pl. 181; KEEL 1992: fig. 202 **85** Scaraboid, stone, Samaria, 720–600. CROWFOOT/CROWFOOT et al. 1957: pl. 15:23 **86** Plaque, Tell Abu Salima, 1292–1075 (19th–20th dyn.). PETRIE 1937: pl. 6:62 **87** Round plaque with conical top, calcite, Ashdod, 700–539. KEEL 1997: Ashdod no. 42 **88** Scaraboid, carnelian, Megiddo, 1100–1000. LOUD 1948: pl. 153:226 **89** Scaraboid, limestone, Tall al-‘Umayri, 500–400. EGGLEER/KEEL 2006: Tall al-‘Umeiri no. 55 **90** Cylinder seal, composition, Gezer, 1450–1200. PARKER 1949: no. 191 **91** Cylinder seal, haematite, Acco, 1400–1300. BECK 1977: pl. 21:1; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1998: fig. 53 **92** Cylinder seal, frit, Amman airport, 1450–1300. EGGLEER/KEEL 2006: ‘Amman Flughafen no. 37 **93** Cylinder seal, haematite, Acco, 1400–1300. BECK 1977: pl. 21:3; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1998: fig. 88b **94** Cult stand, clay, Taanach, 1000–900. KEEL/UEHLINGER 1998: fig. 182a,c **95** Cylinder seal, lapis lazuli, Amman airport, 1800. EGGLEER/KEEL 2006: ‘Amman Flughafen no. 30

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