

King (Levant)

I. Introduction. With few exceptions (MORENZ/BOSSHARD–NEPUSTIL 2003), there is a regrettable lack of comprehensive studies that deal with the iconography of the k. and k.ship in ancient Palestine/Israel. Also, relevant biblical dictionaries and encyclopedias lack similar contributions, while in the case of Egypt and Mesopotamia iconographic summaries already exist (e.g., ALTENMÜLLER 1980; STROMMINGER/NA-GEL 1972–1975; MAGEN 1986).

The following sketch outlines the iconographic material from Palestine/Israel and its main northern neighbor, Syria, including Phoenicia, from the early 2nd through the middle of the 1st mill.

The elaboration of a typology is complicated by three reasons. First, the material is neither abounded nor representative of all periods and regions. Therefore, a continuous chronological development and geographical distribution cannot be given.

Second, the k., with or without attributes, often cannot be distinguished from other persons or deities. Particularly striking are the problems of defining a specific royal garment or headdress. The much-cited (see particularly SCHROER 1985) man wearing a mantle with thickly rolled borders (*Wulstsaummantel*) may represent a ruler (3–4, 6–8*, 11, 17*–19, 21, 24–26*, 30, 34, 36, 60*–62), but the same garment can also suit dignitaries, priests, or gods (TUFNELL 1956: 69–73; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1998: 43–45; OTTO 2000: 232). Also, the high oval headdress, which is typical of the man wearing the *Wulstsaummantel* (3–4, 6, 21, 24, 30, 62; COLLON 1975: 186–188, pls. 29f), does not allow one to draw conclusions concerning the political or religious status of its owner (SCHROER 1985: 102). Therefore other criteria are used here for the typology of anthropomorphic royal representations, namely their gesture, which I understand as a communicative sign essential for the symbolic system in which the representation is embedded.

Third, the definition of nonanthropomorphic images representing k.ship as a whole or in aspects is problematic. The phenotypes presented below stand in a more-or-less emblematic connection with the institution of k.ship, and to a certain degree may be interchangeable with the image of the k. Because the range of theriomorphic, hybrid, and symbolic representations is essential for the royal iconography in Palestine/Israel and Syria as well, they have been included; without them the

overall picture would be incomplete. However, due to the numerous representations of this class, only selected items have been included in the catalogue.

II. Typology

II.1. Phenotype

A. *ANTHROPOMORPHIC* 1. HAND RAISED IN ADORATION (1–14, →**Baal 8**) 2. HAND RAISED IN BENEDICTION (15*–22, →**Baal 1**) 3. ONE ARM FOLDED ACROSS THE BODY (10–11, 23–28, →**Mountain god 28**) 4. PRESENTING AN ANIMAL (9, 12, 27, 29–32) 5. HOLDING A CUP 5.1. Seated (33–42) 5.2. Standing (43–44) 6. HOLDING A CUP AND A FLOWER (45–48) 7. HOLDING A FLOWER (22, 49) 8. HOLDING A BOW (50–51) 9. HOLDING BOW AND ARROWS (52) 10. SLAYING A LION OR BULL (53–56, →**Baal 8**) 11. ARMS OUTSTRETCHED TO THE SIDE (MASTER-OF-ANIMALS) (57–59) 12. EMBRACING (60) 13. PROBABLE (61–62) 14. POSSIBLE B. *THERIOMORPHIC* 1. LION (10, 12, 18, 22, 28–29, 32, 36, 46, 63–64) 2. FALCON (65*) 3. WINGED SCARAB (25, 64, 66) C. *HYBRID* 1. WINGED SPHINX/GRIFFIN (3, 5, 7, 10, 12, 23, 27, 29, 32, 42, 45–46, 64, 67*) D. *SYMBOLIC REPRESENTATION* 1. WINGED SUN (3, 6–7, 20, 25–26, 46, 58, 64, 68)

A. *ANTHROPOMORPHIC*

1. HAND RAISED IN ADORATION.

The k. raising one hand in a gesture of adoration (Akk. *qāta našû*, Ugar. *nš' ydm*, Heb. *nš' ydym*; GRUBER 1980: 60–65) appears on many representations when facing or being introduced to a deity. On cylinder seal representations of the Old Syrian style (1–6), to which the seals found at Hazor (7*), Megiddo (8*) and Amman (9) belong, the palm is turned inward. Occasionally the k. holds a spear with his other hand (3, AMIET 1992: fig. 10, nos. 40, 42), an object resembling a weapon (4, 7*), or an animal (9 [left figure], 10 [left figure], 11–12). He wears the *Wulstsaummantel* (3 [left figure], 4–8*) or the fringed mantle (3 [right figure], 6) in combination with either a high oval headdress (3 [left figure], 4, 6–7*) or a round hat with a band around it (1–3 [right figure], 8*–9).

On Late Bronze Age cylinder seal representations, most of which were found in Ugarit and Emar, the fingers of the raised hand point upward (e.g., BEYER 2002: no. F17). The k.'s dress is still the *Wulstsaummantel* or, due to the Hittite influence in this area, a short kilt and a horned cap (e.g., the seals of Ini–Teshub [→**Baal 8***; SCHAEFFER 1956: figs. 34f]).

An example of a k. raising both hands in adoration is depicted on the stela from el-Balu' in the northern region of Moab (13*), dated to 13th/12th cent. (ZAYADINE 1991: 37; BOSSHARD–NEPUSTIL/MORENZ 2003: 97). The k., often considered a chieftain of the Shasu tribe (MATTINGLY 1992: 60 [with further references]), stands between two deities who bless him. The three figures wear different types of Egyptian dress and

headgear (KITCHEN 1992: 29; BOSSHARD–NEPUSTIL/MORENZ 2003: 84–89).

On an Iron Age IIC cylinder seal from Shechem (14) the k. facing →Ishtar wears an Assyrian dress. One finger of his raised hand is stretched out. In Assyria this gesture was called *ubāna tarāsu* and stressed the communicative aspect of adoration (MAGEN 1986: 45).

2. HAND RAISED IN BENEDICTION.

The gesture of benediction can be distinguished from that of adoration when the palm is turned out. This gesture, to which the Akk. term *karābu* may apply (GELB 1971: 192f; see Heb. *brk*; KELLER/WEHMEIER 1971: 353, 359–361), occurs mainly when the k. addresses his subordinate(s).

The gesture of benediction of a seated, apparently royal figure on a Middle Bronze Age IIB scarab (15*) from Tell el-Far‘ah (South) is singular. The enthroned holds a staff in his extended left hand while the right is raised in a gesture of benediction (see also Gezer: TUFNELL 1956: fig. 1:6). In front of him a standing figure responds with a gesture of greeting. The staff, headdress, long robe, and especially the enemy depicted under his throne stress the Egyptianizing style of the scene (SCHROER 1985: 86).

On a cylinder seal (16) dating to the 17th cent., from the Byblite Green Jasper workshop, a standing, kilted male wearing the Egyptian double →crown, apparently the k. (COLLON 1986: 58), blesses another person standing in front of him. The cartouche between the two figures bears the Amorite name *hndy*, which could be a royal name (GUBEL 1993: 104). Cylinder seal 17*, probably from the same workshop, and found at Tell Beit Mirsim, shows a similar constellation. However, as the figure in question appears without any attributes it is hard to say whether it was really represents a k. It is primarily the combination of mostly Egyptianizing animal figures and symbols which leads to the courtly character of this and other seals assigned to this group (COLLON 1986: nos. 4–13).

On cylinder seal 18 from the Ashmolean Museum the figure on the left, again showing an Egyptianizing trend, could also be regarded as k. He stands behind a man wearing a *Wulstsaummantel* with extremely thick borders, both receiving a worshipper who stands on the right side of the scene. The man with the *Wulstsaummantel* is almost identical to the figure on the bronze plaque from Hazor (19). Both were considered as representing a dignitary rather than a k. (see BECK 1983: 78f). However, the royal

characteristics of the figure on the plaque from Hazor are evidenced by several parallels. The man wears a skullcap, which is a common headdress of k.s in Syro–Hittite iconography (NEGBI 1976: 44, n. 44; BEYER 2002: no. A 4a [left figure]), and is also worn by the k. on a jar impression from Ebla (MATTHIAE et al. 1995: no. 242). Furthermore, the k.s on the Baal stela (→**Baal 1***) and a terracotta cult stand (20) from Ugarit are identical to the man on the Hazor plaque with regard to the cloak and the posture of the arms. They also wear skullcaps, but with a long strand hanging down from them. Like the Hazor plaque, the two scenes from Ugarit lack the individual facing the k., but it nevertheless becomes evident from the context of both representations that the k. in his image as priest figures here as patron for his subordinates (see YON 1985: 185).

The same phenotype seems to have existed as figure in the round. The figurine in question (21), found at Souedie in Lebanon, is missing the arms, but a gesture of benediction or hailing can be assumed by comparing it with another figurine acquired in the vicinity of Aleppo (NEGBI 1976: no. 1430).

On the lid of the sarcophagus of Ahiram (22*) the k. raises one hand in a gesture of benediction toward his son, while the other hand holds a flower. The context of the scene again stresses the sacred significance of this gesture (CHEHAB 1970–71: 115).

3. ONE ARM FOLDED ACROSS THE BODY.

The k. on a cylinder seal from Jericho (23*) wears a mantle, which is draped over one shoulder, leaving the right arm free while the left is folded across the body and tucked under the outer garment. Typical Mesopotamian features, such as the k.’s round hat with a band around it (*Breitrandkappe*), relate the image to similar representations on seals of Old Syrian glyptic (10; wearing a fleece–like mantle). Palestinian Middle Bronze Age IIB stamp seals show the k. in the same posture, but here the iconography is a typical mixture of Syrian and Egyptian elements (TUFNELL 1956: 67–69, fig. 1:1–12; SCHROER 1985: 76–81, figs. 32–42). The k. wears the Syrian *Wulstsaummantel* and a high oval headdress (24), on which a →uraeus is attached (25) in some cases. Egyptian influence on 26* is indicated by well–being hieroglyphs in the scene (for the hieroglyphs see KEEL 1995: § 449, 458, 461). The isolated representation of the k. on Palestinian stamp seals appears to be a formal abbreviation of the Syrian cylinder seals on which the k., with one arm

folded across the body, appears as a worshipper before a goddess (10, 23*, 27). However, the k. on Palestinian seals seems to be depicted as an adored rather than an adoring person (see KEEL/UEHLINGER 1998: 43–45), a distinction confirmed by the representation of a worshipper facing the k. on 25.

The k. may hold a sickle-shaped sword in his hand, which hangs down by the body. This is a ceremonial weapon typical of the late Middle Bronze and Late Bronze Ages in Syria, Palestine, and Egypt (BEN-TOR 1992: 246, fig. 7.24), as on a cylinder seal from Tell Ghanem in North Syria (→**Mountain god 28***; see also OTTO 2000: no. 387), on the dynastic seal of Amurru (28), and on the seal of Idrimi (COLLON 1975: no. 189). Again, the Syrian examples seem to have their parallels among Palestinian stamp seals. On 11 from Tell el-‘Ajjul the outstretched arm of the royal (?) figure ends in a spiral, which, following SCHROER (1985: 47), could be a decorative variation of the sickle-shaped sword.

4. PRESENTING AN ANIMAL. The k. presenting an animal to a deity appears as a motif used exclusively in Old Syrian glyptic. On two cylinder seals from Amman (9 [left figure]) and Lachish (29*) the animal is a kid; on 30 from Hazor it is a bird. On other cylinder seals found in Syria the animals are a caprid (12), gazelle (31–32), or again a bird (27; left figure). OTTO (2000: 230f) assigns this phenotype to North Mesopotamian–Babylonian influence; she considers those with wild animals, i.e., gazelles, as a local variation stressing the role of the k. as a warrior and hunter.

5. HOLDING A CUP

5.1. Seated. Two impressions of the same cylinder seal (33) from Ugarit show the seated k. holding a cup in a classical Babylonian royal representation scene that echoes the divinity of the k. in his role as giver and maintainer of justice (WINTER 1986: 253). What makes the representation from Ugarit exceptional is the fact that Late Bronze Age k.s still used these cylinder seals as their dynastic seal (see SCHAEFFER 1956: 69–71).

Apart from this adaptation, other representations of a k. holding a cup originated in the Syrian tradition. A statuette from Hazor (34), which is missing the head, is assigned to the same tradition (YADIN et al. 1961/1989: 322f). He wears a fringed garment, which is remarkably similar to that of one of the Eblaic statues (MAZZONI 1980: figs. 16–19). The Old Syrian Eblaic statu-

ary provides a series of examples of a seated k. or dignitary holding a cup with the right hand resting on the thigh (35; see also MATTHIAE 1966: pls. 38–42; MATTHIAE 1992: pl. 50:1–2). These statues were apparently assigned to the cult of deceased k.s (NIEHR 1998: 65; BONATZ 2000: 131f). Already in the mid-3rd mill. the deceased k.s of Ebla were worshipped as divine ancestors, entitled to receiving regular offerings (STIEGLITZ 2002). The later banquet scenes, depicted on two stone basins from temple B1 and temple D at Ebla (36–37), may also be interpreted as representations of the royal ancestral ritual. The rulers wear a distinct headdress with a pronounced frontal peak, a semi-divine attribute common to the royal iconography of the Kültepe seals (TEISSIER 1993: fig. 1). According to TEISSIER (1993: 605f), the only other parallel to this kind of headdress would be that worn by the enthroned figure on the golden axe shaft from Byblos (38*). She therefore considers this figure to be the k. receiving an official (see also BRAUN-HOLZINGER/KÖNIG-FARAN 2001), contrary to SCHROER (1985: 85) who interpreted it as a god receiving the k.

Two statues from Qatna (39–40), found as a pair at the entrance of the royal tombs, attest well the Syrian tradition of cup-holding royal ancestors. Stylistically they may have originated in the Middle Bronze Age II, but thereafter they have been embedded in a Late Bronze Age funerary context (NOVÁK/PFÄLZNER 2003: 145f, 160f, figs. 10–11). At least one item of this phenotype is known from Palestinian Hazor (41*). The statue with the crescent emblem on its chest was part of a cult installation, which apparently combined the worship of deities with that of royal ancestors (GALLING 1959: 6; NIEHR 1998: 107f). Other statuettes found in the temple areas of Hazor (YADIN et al. 1960: pls. 197; 326–327) bear no identifying features. It is thus hard to say whether they represent k.s or deities (see BEN-TOR 1992: 253).

The tradition continues to the beginning of the 1st mill. when a remarkable quantity of funerary monuments was erected in the Syro-Hittite area (BONATZ 2000a; BONATZ 2001). Statues holding a cup with the right hand were mostly restricted to royal persons while stelae showing the deceased receiving a funerary repast could have belonged to other individuals as well (see BONATZ 2000).

While this cup-holding phenotype does not occur in Iron Age Palestine/Israel, a cylinder seal from Beth-Shan (42) shows a seated figure holding a long-necked vase or

bottle. The servant waving a flag-like fan is common on Neo-Assyrian cylinder seals (e.g., MOORTGAT 1940: no. 663) and also depicted on Syro-Hittite funerary stelae (BONATZ 2000: C 39–40). As the figure served by the attendant is of royal descent or a high dignitary, the royal identity of the seated figure on the Beth-Shan seal seems probable (contra KEEL/UEHLINGER 1998: 314).

5.2. Standing. Few representations of this phenotype exist, and date back to the 8th cent. The best preserved example is the colossal statue (43) of a Luwian ruler from Melid found buried in the chamber of the “Lion Gate” at Malatya. He holds a cup in the extended right hand and the tassel of his long scarf in the left. The only parallel outside the Syro-Hittite area may be one of the Ammonite statues found on the citadel from Amman (44*). He holds a damaged object in the left hand, which could be a cup (ZAYADINE: 1987: 131). The statue depicts a local k. who wears a variant of the Egyptian *atef* → crown.

6. HOLDING A CUP AND A FLOWER.

The main scene on the sarcophagus of Ahiram (45*) portrays the k. seated on his throne before a table, on which food and drink is offered by a group of priestly attendants and mourners. He holds a dropping flower in the left hand while raising with the right possibly a shallow bowl. The scene constitutes an important iconographic link between the banquet scenes depicted on the Late Bronze Age ivories from Megiddo (46*) and Tell el-Far‘ah (South) (47; possibly a k.) and those on two Neo-Hittite orthostates of Barrakib, k. of Sam‘al (VOOS 1985: figs. 9, 14; reconstructed), on the stela of a woman who is a member of the same royal branch in Sam‘al (VOOS 1985: fig. 3 = BONATZ 2000: C 46), and on a stela from Gözlühöyük–Islahiye (48). The elements of all these scenes, the flower and the cup, the food and drink offered to the seated figure, are essentially the same, with the notable exception that the flower in the hand of Ahiram and of the lady from Sam‘al are both dropping while those in the hands of the other enthroned figures are upright (46*–47). This detail suggests a meaningful distinction between a living and a dead person, a funerary and a ceremonial banquet (see VAN LOON 1986: 245–247). The hypothesis, however, does not always fit, as the k. on the funerary stela from Gözlühöyük–Islahiye holds an upright lotus flower (48) despite his assumed deceased status. The Egyptianizing style is remarkable: the Egyptian “blue → crown” with a uraeus worn by the k. and the two lotus

flowers, one in his left hand, the other raised above the table, can be explained by the Phoenician influence in this area (BONATZ 2000: 177f).

7. HOLDING A FLOWER. On the lid of the Ahiram sarcophagus (22*) the dead k. depicted on the right side holds the dropping lotus flower in his right hand. With the other he blesses his son, represented on the left side, who holds the same flower but in an upright position. The scene demonstrates the twofold use of the flower as a symbol of the dead k. and of his living successor. An 8th cent. k. of Sam‘al, probably Barrakib, commissioned a similar scene, but in this case the figure, supposedly the son, does not stand in front of but behind the k. (BONATZ 2000: 118f, C 72).

The lotus flower also appears in the hand of the statue of the Ammonite k. Yerah-‘Azar (49*). The k.’s headdress and his scarf with tassels show some remarkable affinities with the headdress and garments worn by the ruler of Melid (43), demonstrating that the Ammonite statuary shares more than one detail with the royal iconography of the Neo-Hittite statuary (ABU ASSAF 1980: 79; see also § 5.2 with 44*).

8. HOLDING A BOW. On two Neo-Assyrian cylinder seals, one from Megiddo (50*), the other probably from Tell Dotan (51*), the k., holding a bow in his left hand, is engaged in a ritual scene with a priestly attendant which mirrors his loyalty to the religious office (KEEL/UEHLINGER 1998: 288–290 with fig. 280a as probable further parallel from Shechem). The k. holding a bow, which is common in Assyrian monumental art, recalls the royal epithet “attentive prince” (NUN *nādu*; e.g., GRAYSON 1991: ANP II.A.0.101.23, line 12; see WINTER 1997: 361, n. 6.)

9. HOLDING A BOW AND ARROWS.

The stamp seal impression on two Hebrew bullae (52*) inscribed “Governor of the City” (*shr ḥr*) portrays an official in front of the k. in an Assyrianizing style. As on Assyrian representations, e.g., the relief on the throne dais of Shalmaneser III (858–824; OATES 1965: pl. 6a), the k. carries a sword and holds a bow and arrows in his extended hand while the official responds with a gesture of greeting. The bullae belong to the hoard of 255 bullae, most of them aniconic, found in the Burnt Archive, which dates back to the time of Jeremiah and probably stems from the royal administration in Jerusalem (AVIGAD 1986). The scene may therefore well represent the k. of Judah receiving his official (KEEL/UEHLINGER 1998: 357). As SASS has suggested (1993: 273f), it may have been intended to

illustrate the delegation of authority to the official in question and to emphasize his loyalty to the crown. The scene is unique insofar as it lacks the religious character, which is predominant on West Semitic royal seals (see ORNAN 1993: 71).

The enthroned k. shooting with a bow is depicted on a cylinder seal from Minet el-Beida (53). The figure of the k. shows a distinct Egyptian iconography since he is wearing the blue →crown and a long robe. Following the interpretation of the stratigraphic context by the excavator, the seal may date between 1450 and 1350, and thus be older than comparable Egyptian motifs, which do not start before the reign of Tutenkhamun (KEEL 1990b: 274; →King [Egypt]). Other contemporary seals from Ugarit depict archers in a seating or kneeling position, but their royal status is not secured (e.g., AMIET 1992: nos. 318–322; contra KEEL 1990b: 274, fig. 48).

10. SLAYING A LION OR BULL. The seal of Ini-Teshub, k. of Carchemish, impressions of which have been found in Ugarit (→**Baal 8***) and Emar (BEYER 2002: no. A3), shows a man standing on a →bull and spearing a →lion on the right side. The man, who is wearing a round cap with a frontal horn, is supposed to represent the k. himself (BEYER 2002: 49). The signet ring of Niqmadu, k. of Ugarit, also shows a man, in this case kneeling, who is spearing a lion (SCHAEFFER 1956: fig. 100), but no attributes speak for an identification of this figure with a royal person.

In the Neo-Assyrian empire from the reign of Shalmaneser III (858–824) onward, the image of the k. slaying a lion, corresponding to the royal epithet “fierce dragon” (*ušumgallu ekdu*; e.g., GRAYSON 1991: ANP II.A.0.101.23, line 13), became the standard device for royal seals (MILLARD 1980–83: 136f, fig. 1). The Assyrian k. stands on the left and grasps the mane of a rampant lion facing him with one hand, while his other hand thrusts a sword upward into the lion’s chest. An uninscribed example of this type has been found in Samaria (54), which proves the wide distribution of items belonging to the Assyrian royal household (MILLARD 1965: 15).

After Assyrian rule the Achaemenids employed almost the same seal type as a royal device. On two stamp seal impressions, one from Samaria (55*), the other from Tell Keisan (56), the Achaemenid k. fights with a winged lion and winged bull in the same manner as his Assyrian counterpart. The mythologization of an animal, i.e., the winged lion or winged bull replacing the

lion, can probably be traced back to the Phoenician influences in this area (KLINGBEIL 1992: 106). The combat with a single animal contrasts with seals in purely Achaemenid royal style on which the k. triumphs over two animals (see below).

11. ARMS OUTSTRETCHED TO THE SIDE (→Master-of-animals). This phenotype occurs on mass-produced seals, many of them made of glass, which were widely distributed as official tokens of the Persian administration (KLINGBEIL 1992: 118). In Palestine examples have been found in Samaria (57*) and Gezer (58), while other inscribed seals, including cylinder seals, confirm its widespread adaptation in the Northwest Semitic area (59; see GALLING 1941: nos. 162–163, 165, 168; BORDREUIL 1968: nos. 131, 135, 138). They show the k. as a hero holding with outstretched arms two →caprids (57*), sometimes winged (58); two winged or unwinged →bulls, (59); or two →lions (AVIGAD 1954: pl. 21:3). The provincial seals depict the k. in a more or less local variant of the royal Persian dress. On a seal from Tell es-Safi the figure lacks almost all royal Persian characteristics (KEEL/UEHLINGER 1998: fig. 361c). KLINGBEIL (1992: 106f) has justly pointed out that the motif of the master-of-animals does not represent a specific k., but rather the superiority of the k. and the royal hero over the natural forces represented by animals. The seals are therefore considered to have a apotropaic character.

12. EMBRACING. A stamp seal amulet from Megiddo in the shape of a hedgehog, dating to the Middle Bronze Age IIB, depicts a woman and a man embracing each other (60*). Other scarabs of the same period show this pair as well (SCHROER 1985: figs. 67–70), but the man wears the *Wulstaummantel* only on the item from Megiddo, thus probably indicating his royal status. The motif is clearly related to Old Syrian glyptic where it occurs in more complex scenes with stylistic and iconographic variants (e.g., WINTER 1983: figs. 368, 370–371, 373–375). WINTER described the constellation as a “soft” interpretation of the Mesopotamian theme of the “sacred marriage,” which, adapted to minor art, could have conveyed a protective meaning associated with the power of life (1983: 362; see also SCHROER 1985: 89f).

The protective quality of the gesture of embrace is later clearly mirrored in Hittite royal representations on which either the →storm god or his son Sharruma puts his right or left arm around the k. The scene, also depicted on the relief no. 81 at

Yazılıkaya (ORTHMANN 1983), is common on Hittite royal seals, of which that of Tutkhaliya IV (1250) has been found at Ugarit (SCHAEFFER 1956: pls. 3–4).

The motif remains rare among royal representations of later centuries; it appears on some of the Neo–Hittite funerary monuments but the status of the persons figured thereon is not exclusively royal (BONATZ 2000: C 29, C 60–62).

13. PROBABLE. The seated figurine from Qatna (61) extends its right arm with the hand clenched, while the left hand rests on the thick, rolled edge of its cloak. This posture is distinct from that of many other Late Bronze Age Syrian and Palestinian figurines made of metal, which raise the right hand in a gesture of benediction (e.g., NEGBI 1976: nos. 1441 [Ugarit], 1443–1444 [Byblos], 1445 [Kamid el–Loz], 1446 [Jezzin], 1448 [Beth–Shan], 1451 [Megiddo]). The so–called statuette of El from Ugarit (NEGBI 1976: no. 1442, fig. 129), which wears a simplified form of the Egyptian *atef* → crown, is one of the clearest examples proving that such figures represent gods. But others without such a distinct headdress may represent local rulers as well (see SCHROER 1985: 74, 102). The figurine from Qatna wears a crown with four pairs of horns, a divine attribute, which in this case could characterize the k. deified after death (SCHROER 1985: 65). A false beard covers the cheeks and the chin, a detail already known from the royal statues from ancient Alalakh (WOOLLEY 1955: 235, pls. 41f), to which the two cup–holding statuettes from the royal tombs of Qatna can now be added (39–40; see § 5.1). In conclusion, the figurine from Qatna seems to be an intermediary type of royal representation combining the aspect of a beneficiary with that of a worshipped ancestral image.

Likewise, the identification of three male figures depicted on an ivory object from Megiddo VIIA (62) as royal ancestors (PAOLO 1996) is probable. Two of them wear a variant of the Syrian *Wulstsaum-mantel* in combination with the high oval headdress, which is horned. One figure seems to hold a cup; the other the same pastoral staff as the deceased k. depicted on a funerary talisman from the “Necropoli Reale” in Ebla (MATTHIAE 1980: 17f, fig. 21). The third figure holds an axe and wears a short kilt together with a headdress combining elements of the Egyptian vulture headdress (*Geierhaube*) and the *atef* → crown. PAOLO (1996) interprets the ivory object as a magic wand used during funerary rituals in honor of royal ancestors.

14. POSSIBLE. BORDREUIL (1985: 21–26; 1991) and GUBEL (1990; 1991; 1993: 118–121) have classified a group of Phoenician or Phoenician–influenced stamp seals of the 8th and 7th cents. as royal seals (AVIGAD/SASS 1997: nos. 1084, 1090, 1093, 1122, 1149). They show a man in a short kilt wearing an Egyptian double → crown. He raises one hand in a gesture of benediction (see § 2) and holds with the other a staff crowned by a flower (UEHLINGER 1994: 86 n. 25) or papyrus plant (e.g., AVIGAD/SASS 1997: no. 1090). Behind the man the same type of staff may occur with either a → falcon (AVIGAD/SASS 1997: nos. 1093, 1122, 1149) or a baboon (→ monkey; e.g., GUBEL 1991: figs. 6–7) on top of it. Ankh signs, → stars, and a → uraeus may also accompany the scene (AVIGAD/SASS 1997: no. 1093; GUBEL 1991: fig. 8 with a uraeus and stars). A recently published seal from Tall al–‘Umayri (Amman) has also been related to this group (EGGLER/HERR/ROOT 2002: 266, no. 44 = EGGLER/KEEL 2006: Tall al–‘Umayri no. 81). On this seal the figure in question wears the red crown and holds a peasant’s crook with a → bird on top.

Apart from the iconography, BORDREUIL’s and GUBEL’s main arguments for identifying the owner of the seals with historical k.s are the inscriptions on some examples which, according to their interpretation, read Abiba‘al (*byb‘l*), k. of Samsimuruna (AVIGAD/SASS 1997: no. 1122), Musuri (*msry*), k. of Moab (AVIGAD/SASS 1997: no. 1093), Milkisiap (*mksp*), k. of Byblos (AVIGAD/SASS 1997: no. 1090), Hanon (*hnn*), k. of Gaza (AVIGAD/SASS 1997: no. 1084), and Menahem (*mnhm*), k. of Samaria (AVIGAD/SASS 1997: no. 1194). But, as ELAYI has clearly pointed out (1995: 48–57; see UEHLINGER 1994: 88), the readings of the names are doubtful and the proposed identifications with k.s (and not commoners) are completely hypothetical. Nevertheless, the iconographic argument for identifying the representation as a royal figure cannot be neglected. The double crown, the papyrus–headed staff, the falcon (see § B.2) or baboon, the ankh, and the uraeus are all connotations of royal ideology. Several other epigraphic and anepigraphic seals show the same figure with the same attributes (GUBEL 1991: figs. 4, 6–11, 13–14; AVIGAD/SASS 1997: nos. 1096, 1099, 1103, 1153, 1167, 1181). These are distinct from seals showing a similar figure but not wearing a double crown (e.g., AVIGAD/SASS 1997: nos. 1081, 1089, 1118, 1140, 1164, 1173, 1204). Putting the argu-

ments together, it seems that the seal group shows a type of royal figure, produced in series and distinguished from other figures, which probably represent dignitaries. The royal figure appears as a protector, comparable to that of the pharaoh (→King [Egypt]) on mass-produced seals rather than as a specific k.

B. THERIOMORPHIC

1. **LION.** Representations from Palestine of the Bronze and Iron Ages depict the →lion as symbolic representation or embodiment of the Egyptian k. attacking an animal or killing a human (→King [Egypt] #; see KEEL/UEHLINGER 1998: 82 with figs. 99–100, 120 with figs. 145a–b, 269 with figs. 268a–c). A recently published seal from Qatna shows such a lion wearing the Egyptian double →crown (ELSEN–NOVÁK 2002: 261, fig. 3). A seated lion, attacking a caprid, also appears on the seal from Lachish (29*) and other seals of the Old Syrian style (32).

Quite distinct from these depictions are the roaring, striding lions on 8th cent. West Semitic stamp seals, most notably on the seal of “Shema^c, servant of Jeroboam” from Megiddo (63) (for other examples see LEMAIRE 1990: 13f). The seal of Menahem (AVIGAD/SASS 1997: no. 1149) shows the same lion but standing between a →caprid and a →falcon. On other stamp seals with a “Phoenician” layout in registers the roaring lions are combined with other potent symbols of royal ideology such as the →sphinx, winged →scarab, and winged →sun (see 64*; GALLING 1941: no. 21; BUCHANAN/MOOREY 1988: no. 276; AVIGAD/SASS 1997: no. 1129). All these representations point iconographically and stylistically to North Syrian and Assyrian prototypes (KEEL–LEU 1991: 106f; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1998: 186–191). They are also included in the long tradition of Syrian Bronze and Early Iron Age lion representations, which appear in an emblematic and/or protective relation to the royal figure (10, 12, 18, 28–29*, 32, 36, 46*). This relationship is also evident on the lid of the Early Iron Age sarcophagus of Ahrim through the constellation of the k. and his son, with two lions between them (22*). During the Iron Age IIB in Southern Syria and Northern Palestine, the Syrian tradition was apparently mixed with Egyptian royal ideology, thus creating an image, which could have been regarded as either apotropaic or symbolic for the k. or royal authority in general.

2. **FALCON.** The motif of the falcon was borrowed from Egyptian iconography,

where it figures as a substitute for the k. (→Horus; ALTENMÜLLER 1977: 95). Therefore it can also be regarded as a royal symbol on Levantine seals (see GUBEL 1991: 919 n. 23; UEHLINGER 1994: 88). The royal ideology is also reflected by the falcons (or →vultures) with outspread wings, which occur as central motif on many Hebrew seals (65*; see also KEEL/UEHLINGER 1998: 268 with fig. 267b [citing further parallels]).

3. **WINGED SCARAB.** The winged →scarab pushing the →sun disk is a metaphor for the rising sun. Like the winged sun disk it is a symbol for the divine sanction of k.ship (KEEL/UEHLINGER 1998: 256, 401). While the scarab is common in the Egyptianizing iconography of the 2nd mill. and is occasionally depicted together with royal figures (25), the variant of the two- or four-winged scarab (SASS 1993: 214–217, figs. 84–90) is a typical creation of Egypto-Phoenician art (64*). GUBEL (1991: 918f) takes the view that it was interchangeable with the image of the k. On seals of the kingdoms of Israel (KEEL/UEHLINGER 1998: figs. 256, 257a–b), Judah (66; see also TUFNELL 1953 et al. 1953 pl. 46:1–10, 12–14, 16; for *lmlk* seals see § D.1; WEIPPERT 1988: 605, pl. 19:2]), and Ammon (HERR 1989: figs. 21.1, 21.2; GUBEL 1991: figs. 3g–h = YOUNKER 1985: 174; in combination with a Phoenician royal scepter), the winged beetle was elevated to the single central motif (66). These seals have been interpreted as royal emblems (TUSHINGHAM 1970 and still YOUNKER 1989: 376), but other authors are more cautious in describing them as potent symbols adopted by the royal administrators to emphasize their authority (BUCHANAN/MOOREY 1988: 40f; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1998: 256f, 274–277; KEEL 1995: 121).

C. HYBRID

1. **WINGED SPHINX/GRIFFIN.** Winged →sphinxes are common on Old Syrian seals, which show in the main scene the k. facing another figure. They are female and appear in the upper or lower register of the minor scene, in which they are mainly depicted in antithetical pairs (5, 7*, 27, 29*, 32), or sometimes alone when attacking a →snake (3, 23*). The last example recalls the winged →griffin attacking a →caprid, which is also a popular motif in Old Syrian glyptic (10, 12). Winged griffins continue to be depicted on royal Late Bronze Age seals, while the sphinx is less common there (BEYER 2002: 386f, fig. 92). From a formal and semantic point of view the two creatures seem to be interchangeable. They

figure as apotropaic symbols for k.ship rather than as substitutes for the k., as was the case in Egypt (see BÖRKER-KLÄHN 1971: 634, 636; DESSENNE 1957). Note also in this regard also the seated griffin facing a tree on seal **42** from Beth-Shan, which is related to Neo-Assyrian representations of k.s (KEEL/UEHLINGER (1998: 313).

The symbolic properties of the winged sphinx were strengthened by the introduction of the sphinx throne into the Syro-Palestinian area at the end of the 2nd mill. (METZGER 1985: 259–271; GUBEL 1996: 142f). However, if MAYER-OPIFICIUS (1981: 281–284, fig. 7) is correct, the statue of Idrimi from Tell Atchana (16th cent.) was already enthroned on a sphinx throne (contra METZGER 1985: 253–257). Levantine representations of the k. enthroned on a sphinx throne are Megiddo ivory **46*** and the sarcophagus of Ahiram (**45***). The flanking sphinxes are female, in contrast to Egypt where they are mostly male. On Ahiram's sarcophagus their tails are curled in the form of an "S", relating them to Syrian prototypes (e.g., **7***, **29***, **32**). From the middle of the Iron Age IIC onward (c. 800–550), the Phoenician sphinx throne was reserved for deities (GUBEL 1987: pl. 4:6–7; see also the North Syrian ivory pyxis from Nimrud, believed to show →Astarte on the sphinx throne [MULDERMANN 1989: 395, 400]). KEEL/UEHLINGER (1998: 168) have pointed out that the sphinx, which combines the features of a →lion, →bird, and human, characterizes the supernatural qualities of the enthroned figure, i.e., the k. or deity, when supporting the throne. It is within the same semantic context that the sphinxes (the biblical →cherubim) as throne supporters were embodied in the royal iconography of Salomon's temple at Jerusalem (KEEL 1977: 15–45).

Apart from the sphinx thrones, representations of striding sphinxes, either human- or falcon-headed, are very common in the Iron Age glyptic of Syria and Palestine (**64***). These sphinxes stand in a distinct Egyptian tradition, often kilted and wearing a double →crown or a →sun disk which indicates their royal or solar character (KEEL/UEHLINGER 1998: 253–256, figs. 249–251). The k. of Edom, Qausgabri, used the motif of the kilted winged sphinx with a human head for his seal, of which an impression was found in Umm al-Bayyara (**67***). Despite this attested adaptation for a royal seal, the winged sphinx or griffin was also a popular motif on private seals (AVIGAD/SASS 1997: nos. 37, 85, 160, 168, 190,

325, 345, 369, 713, 956, 965, 982, 1019, 1172).

D. SYMBOLIC REPRESENTATION

1. WINGED SUN. The winged sun was primarily a solar (→sun) symbol and only secondarily one of the divinely sanctioned k. and k.ship. It was predominantly inspired by Egyptian but also includes Anatolian and Mesopotamian solar concepts (PARAYRE 1990: 293f, contra MAYER-OPIFICIUS 1984). A striking visual concept relating the image of the k. with that of the sun is the "solar figure" represented on Syro-Hittite seals found at Emar (BEYER 2002: no. A 1; seal of Shahurunuwa) and Ugarit (SCHAEFFER 1956: figs. 35–35; seal of Ini-Teshub). The figure in question is supported by two bull men, or is standing on a lion and has the winged sun attached to its head. The motif parallels the royal Hittite title ^DUTU^{Sr}, "My Sun," and may have been created in North Syria to evoke the image of the Hittite "Great King" (BEYER 2002: 341–347).

In Syria and Palestine the motif of the winged sun was common on representations from the early 2nd to the 1st mill., either depicted directly above the k. (**7***, **20**, **58**, **64***) or above the scene in which the k. is involved (**3**, **6**, **26***, **46***). It is rarely depicted between two figures (**25**). On Phoenician and Hebrew seals without anthropomorphic representation the winged sun appears mainly in the upper field and seldom in the middle or lower field, while the other fields depict a winged →scarab, →sphinx, stylized →tree, hieroglyphic symbol, and/or an inscribed name (e.g., KEEL/UEHLINGER 1998: 257, figs. 258–c, 259a–b; SASS 1993: 539, figs. 150–151). The motif alone (**68**) occurs on many stamped jar handles from Judah, along with the inscription *lmlk*, "belonging to the king" (WELTEN 1969; LEMAIRE 1981; KEEL 1995: 121 § 307; AVIGAD/SASS 1997: 243f, e.g., no. 685). In this context it appears as a royal emblem combining the idea of solar protection with that of delegated royal authority (KEEL/UEHLINGER 1998: 274–277; see also the seal of Barrakib; AVIGAD/SASS 1997: no. 750). The winged sun of the *lmlk* seal impressions has a doubly curved upper line and upward-curving tips, and can thus be attributed to Anatolian prototypes (PARAYRE 1993: 31, fig. 10).

The new authorities during Assyrian and Persian domination over Palestine essentially shared the same religious symbols as their Egyptian forerunners, which may be demonstrated by the image of the Persian k. protected by the winged sun (**58**) (KEEL/UEHLINGER 1998: 376).

II.2. Associations

A. ANTHROPOMORPHIC 1. ASSOCIATED WITH DEITIES/DEMONS 1.1. Lama goddess (1, 4, 7, 9, 23, 28, 31–33) 1.2. Nude goddess (8, 10, 12, 27, 30–31) 1.3. Ishtar (14) 1.4. “Syrian goddess” (6) 1.5. Storm god (1, 8, 30, →Baal 1, →Mountain god 14) 1.6. Water god (Ea/Enki) (2, 5, 9) 1.7. Seated deity (3, 7, 29) 1.8. Nude hero (4, 23) 2. ASSOCIATED WITH ANIMALS 2.1. Lion (53–55) 2.2. Bull (8, 18, 56, 59, →Baal 8) 2.3. Caprid (12, 31–32, 46, 58–59) 2.4. Falcon/bird (10, 17–18, 23, 30) 2.5. Possible 3. ASSOCIATED WITH HUMANS 3.1. Male attendant (15*–16, 18, 25, 33, 36, 38, 42, 45, 50–52) 3.2. Female attendant (45–46) 3.3. Female partner (37, 48, 60) 3.4. Son of the k. (22) 3.5. Fallen enemy (15*, 31)

A. ANTHROPOMORPHIC

1. ASSOCIATED WITH DEITIES/DEMONS

1.1. **Lama goddess.** The goddess wearing a long, often flounced skirt and raising both hands in a gesture of intercession, which is a standard figure in Mesopotamian art from the Neo-Sumerian to the Neo-Babylonian Period, has been identified as one of the beneficent protective female deities called *lama* and *lamassu* in Sumerian and Akkadian respectively (SPYCKET 1960). Representations on Old Babylonian seals (33) introduced her image into Syria, where it remained rendered in a classical standard Babylonian form until the Late Bronze Age (28; and also BEYER 2002: D 32). She also appears as local goddess on many Old Syrian seals (1, 4, 31, 32), some of which were found in Palestine/Israel (7*, 9, 23*), either facing the k. (4, 23*, 32) or introducing him to another deity (1, 7*, 9, 31).

1.2. **Nude goddess.** Various →nude goddesses are known in ancient Near Eastern visual arts (WINTER 1983: 93–200; UEHLINGER 1998–2001). The two female figures depicted on cylinder seals 8* (Megiddo) and 30 (Hazor) belong to the type of partly dressed goddesses common in Syrian glyptic and often associated there with the k. (10, 12, 31). It differs from the Old Babylonian standard type, which shows the goddess en face without attributes and completely undressed and often accompanied by the Lama goddess facing the k. (BLOCHER 1987: figs. 17–22). In Syria, however, the nude goddess is generally not associated with the Lama goddess. She is pictured as the main divine character worshipped by the k. (OTTO 2000: no. 312) or occasionally by a pair of royal figures (27).

1.3. **Ishtar.** A strongly Assyrian influenced seal from Shechem (14) shows →Ishtar surrounded by a nimbus of stars, receiving an offering from the k. Ishtar is the only Assyrian deity figured in anthropomorphic form on Iron Age glyptic found in Palestine (KEEL/UEHLINGER 1998: 292–294, figs. 286, 288a–c). Moreover, the cyl-

inder seal from Shechem is the only example where she is associated with the k.

1.4. **“Syrian goddess.”** Several seal impressions from ancient Alalakh show a female deity wearing a tall, square-topped, horned headdress and a robe with thickly rolled borders (6; COLLON 1975: pl. 15). She generally receives the k. by holding out a cup (COLLON 1975: no. 3), an ank (COLLON 1975: no. 11), or a multiple mace (6). The exact identity of this deity remains unknown, but since she only appears on Syrian seals she has been called the “Syrian goddess” (COLLON 1975: 180). Representations associated with the k. are not known from Palestine.

1.5. **Storm god.** By far the most prominent male deity associated with the k. is the →storm god. He appears on cylinder seals 8* and 30 standing either behind or in front of the k. In both cases the →nude goddess is involved in the scene, thereby forming a constellation, which is also found among other representations of Old Syrian glyptic (e.g., OTTO 2000: no. 162). On other stylistically related seals from Syria the Lama goddess introduces the k. to the storm god (1; →Mountain god 14).

The storm god on the above-mentioned seal from Megiddo (8*) restrains his attribute animal, the →bull, on a lead. His position behind the k. indicates his role as protector. The function of the storm god as personal protector of the k. becomes more evident on royal Late Bronze Age Hittite seals, which brought the image of the k. guided by the storm god to Syria (SCHAEFFER 1956: pls. 3–4). Also, Baal on the stela from Ugarit (→Baal 1*) seems to fulfill a benevolent role to the minor-sized royal figure standing in front of him (see YON 1985: 181). A Syro-Hittite cylinder seal impression links the royal (?) solar figure (see § II.1.D.1) supported by a →bull–man with the storm god, who is standing on →mountain gods and leading a →bull (BEYER 2002: A 4a; seal of Heshmi-Teshub).

1.6. **Water god/Ea/Enki.** Cylinder seal 9 from Amman depicts a standing god who holds out an overflowing vase toward the k. The deity associated with the flowing water may derive from →Ea/Enki who lends his wisdom to the k. (KLEIN 1981: 188f, Shulgi Hymn A:12). However, Ea/Enki is generally represented as a seated god with streams of water flowing from his arms and a vase held in his hand. Such representations, with the k. in front of the god, also occur in the Old Syrian glyptic (2) as far as Qatna in the south (5).

1.7. Seated deity. On a cylinder seal from Hazor (7*) the seated figure receiving the k. seems to represent a god. Despite the fact that both wear the same high oval headdress, the divine character of the seated figure is stressed by his flounced garment, which is in contrast to the *Wulstsaummantel* of the k., and by the presence of the Lama goddess as mediator between god and k. A similar constellation appears on a scarab from Lachish (29*) on which the k., followed by a bare-headed man, offers an animal to a seated god. Again, both are distinguished only by their garments and not by their headdress, i.e., in this case the round hat with band around it. The specific character of the god seated in front of the k. remains unknown. The scene on the seal from Hazor (7*), however, closely resembles a stela from Ugarit (YON 1991: figs. 7, 16a), which since its discovery has been assigned to El (YON 1991: 306). In both cases k. and god are protected by a winged sun.

A seated goddess appears between two worshipping k.s on a cylinder seal acquired at Jerash (3). She wears a Babylonian robe and holds a →bird in her extended hand.

1.8. Nude hero. The nude bearded hero placed next to the k. and the Lama goddess on a cylinder seal from Jericho (23*) has been suggested as representing →Yam, the Sea, as well as the constellation Aquarius (PORADA 1983: 775). More generally interpreted, the same figure can also be related to the protective and beneficent deity →Lahmu. In Mesopotamia Lahmu was originally associated with →Enki/Ea; it is on the seal from Jericho that this association is still reflected by the streams of water flowing from his arms into the vessels on the ground. On a cylinder seal from ancient Alalakh (COLLON 1987: no. 185) the nude hero stands behind the Lama goddess who faces the k. On a seal from Ugarit (4) he appears in the minor scene as a hero fighting a lion, while the main scene again shows the k. facing the Lama goddess. These three examples thus indicate a standard association between the nude hero, the Lama goddess, and the k. on Old Syrian cylinder seals.

2. ASSOCIATED WITH ANIMALS

2.1. Lion. The →lion depicted on Assyrian (53–54) and Achaemenid (55*; winged) stamp seals symbolizes the natural forces and the chaos conquered by the power of the k. (see § II.1.A.10–11). It is distinct from the lion represented as a symbol of the k. or k.ship (see § II.1.B.1).

2.2. Bull. Bull's heads are placed beside the k. on a cylinder seal from Megiddo (8*) and another Old Syrian cylinder seal of unknown provenance (PORADA 1948: no. 968). They mediate between the k. and the storm god, who is pictured in the same scene. In the Syro–Palestinian area the →bull was a symbol for the storm god (KEEL/UEHLINGER 1998: 118); it is only on the seal of Ini–Teshub (→Baal 9) that an apparently royal figure has the bull as his own attribute animal. It is therefore hard to say whether the bull fighting with a →lion on cylinder seal 18 refers to the vigor of the god or the k. Only the winged and unwinged bulls on royal Achaemenid seals (56, 59) are exclusively related to the supernatural power of the k. (see § II.1.A.10–11).

2.3. Caprid. On Old Syrian cylinder seals the k. sacrifices a →caprid or a gazelle (12, 31–32). On a Late Bronze Age ivory plaque from Megiddo (46*) he receives the animal as an offering. On seals from the Persian Period he is “mastering” (→Master-of-animals) two caprids (58–59).

2.4. Falcon/bird. In the Middle Bronze Age IIA the →falcon appears on Syro–Palestinian cylinder seals in scenes in which the k. faces a worshipper (17*–18) or the Lama goddess (23*). It stands as filling motif next to the k., and differs from the →birds presented by the k. (30) or a goddess (10). In the 7th cent. the falcon became a common motif in the Phoenician group of possibly royal seals (see § II.A.14).

2.5. Possible. A falcon or bird stands above a flower staff, possibly held by a royal figure (see § II.1.A.14), and has its head turned backward (AVIGAD/SASS 1997: nos. 1090, 1122).

3. ASSOCIATED WITH HUMANS

3.1. Male attendant. Various representations show the k. receiving a male person who appears to be attending to the k. while raising one hand in a gesture of greeting (15*, 18, 25, 36, 50*, 52*), waving a fan-like object (42, 45*, 51*), or folding his arm across his body (16, 33, 38*). The person in question often seems to represent a high official (16, 25, 33, 38*, 50*). On the Hebrew bulla 52* from the Burnt Archive he is designated as “Governor of the City.”

These attendants are the owners of the seals and thereby stress their delegated authority and loyalty to the crown. Following the Babylonian practice of the *in-na-ba* seals, such seals or other prestigious objects (38*) were granted by the k. (see WINTER

1987; for **38*** see BRAUN–HOLZINGER/KÖNIG–FARAN 2001: 48).

In other cases dignitaries assist in a ritual in which the k. is the beneficiary or plays the main role (**36**, **45***, **51***).

3.2. Female attendant. Female attendants are rare in the presence of the k. The only example worth mentioning is Megiddo ivory plaque **46*** on which a woman serves the seated ruler while another woman follows, playing a lyre. The concept is similar to that of the Ahiram sarcophagus (**45***); only the gender of the attendants is different. Female mourners, however, are depicted on the narrow sides of the sarcophagus (PORADA 1973: pl. 2a–b).

3.3. Female partner. On a stamp seal amulet from Megiddo (**60***) the k. embraces his female partner (see § II.1.A.12). Note, however, that in Old Syrian glyptic the woman embraced by the k. represents in almost all cases a goddess (OTTO 2000: 235).

On a stone basin from Ebla (**37**) the k. and his female partner are seated around a table covered with food while they drink from cups. The motif was typical of the Syrian and South Anatolian glyptic repertory of the Middle Bronze Age II (OTTO 2000: nos. 148, 158, 162, 170), and later of the Iron Age funerary monuments (**48** and BONATZ 2000: C 21–C 27) when it was probably not restricted only to the royal couple. It has not been attested in Palestine/Israel to date.

3.4. Son of the k. One of the earliest representations of royal father and son is carved on the lid of the Ahiram sarcophagus (**22***). A few centuries later, Araras (end of 9th cent.) in Carchemish (ORTHMANN 1971: Karkemis G/5) and Esarhaddon (680–669) in Sam'al and Til Barsib (MIGLUS 2000: 199f, figs. 1–3) commissioned similar scenes for political reasons.

3.5. Fallen enemy. On Old Syrian cylinder seals the standing k. is occasionally depicted as triumphant over a fallen enemy (**31** and COLLON 1975: no. 11). The motif was rarely adopted into the royal iconography of Syria and Palestine/Israel the motif was rarely adopted. The example of scarab from Tell el-Far'ah (South) (**15***), on which a fallen enemy lies under the enthroned ruler, is “Egyptianizing” (SCHROER 1985: 86).

III. Sources

III.1. Chronological range. Among the earliest royal representations adopted by the Old Syrian glyptic at the end of the Middle Bronze Age IIA is the k. holding the “Babylonian mace” (OTTO 2000: 227f, nos. 311–312, 344–345, 468). The phenotype,

however, does not occur in Palestine/Israel, indicating that the development in this region does not start before the Middle Bronze Age IIB (see KEEL 2001: 589). This period produced the largest variety of representations, most of which show a strong Syrian influence combined with elements of Egyptian iconography. Only a scarab from Tell el-Far'ah (South) (**15***) is of distinctly Egyptian style. The item probably dates to the end of the Middle Bronze Age, when the image of the pharaoh (→King [Egypt]) had started to replace that of the Syrian garbed k. (SCHROER 1985: 93, figs. 63–64).

With the exception of the k. presenting an animal (**9**, **12**, **27**, **29*–32**), the Middle Bronze Age phenotypes continued with only minor changes into the Late Bronze Age repertoire of royal representations in Syria (**20**, **28**, →**Baal 1*** and BEYER 2002: no. D 32; k. with “Babylonian mace”). New royal images were introduced by Hittite dominion over North Syria (e.g., the seals of Shahurunuwa [BEYER 1982] and Inī-Teshub [→**Baal 9**]). During the same time the Syrian influence on Palestine was very much reduced and replaced by Egyptian imports. At the end of this period the formation of some kind of political state in Jordan is reflected by the Egyptianizing Balu' stela (**13***).

The only phenotype which allows the following of a continuous development in the Syro-Palestinian area is the k. holding a cup. It originated in a local Syrian tradition in the Middle Bronze Age II (**34–38***) and continued to be reused in Late Bronze Age contexts at Qatna (**39–40**) and Hazor (**41***). From its beginning this phenotype seems to have been primarily intended to represent royal ancestors (except **38***; consider also the use of **33** as dynastic seal).

At the beginning of the 1st mill. the representations on the sarcophagus of Ahiram (**22***, **45***) marked the emergence of Phoenician art and the renewal of the Syrian-influenced royal iconography (MARKOE 1990: 19). Phoenician composition and style also contributed to a new type of apparently royal seals (§ II.1.A.14), which circulated in the 8th and early 7th cents. The Assyrian and thereafter the Persian conquerors brought their own royal images showing the k. as slayer of animals (**53–56**) or →master-of-animals (**57*–59**). Only a few images continued to depict local rulers (**44***, **49***). An exception is the Assyrianizing seal of a k. from Judah (**52***).

The category of theriomorphic and hybrid forms, representing aspects of the k. or k.ship, started in the Middle Bronze Age II

with the →lion (10, 12, 18, 29*, 32) and winged →sphinx or →griffin (3, 5, 7*, 23*, 29*, 32). They figure on cylinder seal impressions together with the k. Lion sculptures function as supporting animal of royal banquet scenes in the Middle Bronze Age (36) and early Iron Age (45*) as well, while from the Late Bronze Age onward winged sphinxes may flank the royal throne (46*–45*). In the Iron Age IIB the lion (63), winged sphinx (67*), falcon (65*), and, as a new form, the winged scarab (66), appear for the first time as royal emblems, which singularly occupy the scene. These examples illustrate the trend in Iron Age Palestine to replace anthropomorphic images with theriomorphic or hybrid forms. While the figure of the roaring lion maintains its strong North Syrian influence (see also AVIGAD/SASS 1997: no. 1149), the hybrid forms are definitively modeled after Egyptian prototypes.

The motif of the winged →sun has a wide chronological range starting from the Middle Bronze Age II, when it was adopted from Egypt, and continuing through to the Iron Age III. During all periods it was more or less directly connected with the k. Different stylistic trends only mirror the changing spheres of influence in which the motif emerged (PARAYRE 1990). In the Iron Age IIC the winged sun, moreover, became one of the royal emblems, which centered on Judaean stamp seal impressions (68).

III.2. Geographical distribution.

The phenotypes of the 2nd mill. addressed in this article mainly originated in Syria, from where items were imported to Palestinian and Jordanian sites such as Hazor (7*, 30), Megiddo (8*), Jericho (23*), Lachish (29*), Jerash (?) (3), and Amman (9).

Others were locally reproduced after Syro-Babylonian prototypes, enriched with elements of Egyptian iconography, and engraved with names, thus forming distinct local groups of royal representations distributed along the Levantine coast (Byblos [?] [16], Tell el-ʿAjjul [11, 26*]) and the Palestinian lowlands (Megiddo [60*]) as far as Tell Beit Mirsim (17*) and Tell el-Farʿah (South) (15*).

The concentration of statues of sitting rulers in the area between ancient Alalakh (Idrimi; MAYER-OPFICIUS 1981: fig. 1), Ebla (35), Qatna (39–40), and Hazor (34, 41*) are proof of constant cultural relations between northern Palestine/Israel and Syria, while the Baluʿ stela (13*) reflects Egyptian influence in the area east of the Jordan River and the Dead Sea.

The scenes on the ivories from Megiddo (46*) and Tell el-Farʿah (South) (47), as well as on the sarcophagus from Byblos (22*, 45*) anticipate the renewed production of local groups of royal representations in the Iron Age, which are of mostly Phoenician origin and exhibit the typical mixture of Egyptian and Syrian iconographic elements (64*; § II.1.A.14). While it is questionable if items belonging to this group have also been adopted by the neighboring k.s (see § II.1.A.14), other items prove that the use of royal symbols instead of anthropomorphic images was centered in the kingdoms of Israel, Judah, Ammon, Moab, and Edom (65*–68; AVIGAD/SASS 1997: no. 689). The only other local group consists of the statues representing Ammonite k.s (44*, 49*; for further items see ABU ASSAF 1980). In contrast to this, the figure of the k. appears on seals of the Assyrian and following Achaemenid administrations, some items of which have been found at Tell Keisan (56), Gezer (58), Megiddo (50*), probably Tell Dotan (51*), Samaria (53–55*, 57*), and Shechem (14).

III.3. Object types. Royal representations can be found on cylinder seals, predominantly from the Syrian area (1–6, 10, 12, 16, 18, 27–28, 31–32, 59). In the Levant, stamp seals form the bulk of the iconographic material (11, 15*, 24–26*, 52*–53, 54 [from Assyria], 55*–58, 60*, 63–67*, § II.1.A.14), but cylinder seals rendered in Old Syrian (7*–9, 23*, 29*, 30), Levantine (17*), or Neo-Assyrian (14, 42, 50*–51*) style occur as well. While cylinder seals always show the k. in association with other figures, most stamp seals depict him as a single human motif (exceptions are 15*, 25, 60*).

Single object types are a relief on a bronze plaque (19), a golden axe shaft (38*), an ivory plaque (46*; see LOUD 1939: pl. 32), an ivory box lid (47), an ivory wand (62), a pot stand (20), a stone sarcophagus (22*, 45*), and two stone basins (35–36). Monumental art existed only on a modest scale in Palestine/Israel. With the exception of the stela from el-Baluʿ in Jordan (13*), other representations on stelae occur mainly in the North Syrian area (→Baal 1*, 48), where the Assyrians later erected their monuments (e.g., Esarhaddon in Zincirli and Til Barsib; MIGLUS 2000). The use of royal (ancestral) statuary is attested for the Syrian area (Qatna [39–40], Ebla [35], Alalakh [MAYER-OPFICIUS 1981]), and at Hazor (34, 41*), while only one separated group later occurs in Amman (44*, 49*). Statu-

ettes seem to represent deities foremost, and only rarely k.s (61).

IV. Conclusion. Syro–Babylonian, Syro–Phoenician, Assyrian, and Persian influences have contributed to the iconography of the k. in Palestine. Egyptian influence was permanent with a particular emphasis during the Late Bronze Age by direct imports from Egypt into occupied Palestine/Israel (KEEL 2001: 590). However, for most of this time it was Syria that stimulated the formal development of royal representations in Palestine and also shared much of its semantic content, which from the beginning focused on religious themes.

As far as is known, royal representations reflect the role of the k. as medium for the interests and power of the gods in the community, as priestly protagonist in religious service to the gods, and as an object of worship. The last aspect includes images of royal ancestors, among which are the few representations clearly referring to specific historical k.s (22*, 45*, 49*, 62). However, in general and especially during the Iron Age II–III, the personage of the k. was not meant to be represented, but the image of the k. *per se* and the institution of k.ship as protective and sometimes supernatural power. In a similar way, the concentration on theriomorphic, hybrid, and symbolic forms of representation, which is most remarkable in the Iron Age IIB in Palestine, mirrors not a realistic but an idealistic concept of divinely sanctioned rule.

It becomes clear that from an iconographic point of view that with very few exceptions (52*) royal representations in Syria and Palestine/Israel functioned as communicators between the human and divine. Other themes such as war and hunting, which had always been characteristic of the royal iconography in Mesopotamia and Egypt, were apparently never included within this concept. This picture, as fragmentary as it may be, may mirror the autonomy of the religious authority of the local k.s in contrast to their political status which was limited by their subordination to their Egyptian, Hittite, or Mesopotamian overlords.

V. Catalogue

1 Cylinder seal, haematite, 1795–1730. OTTO 2000: no. 120
 2 Cylinder seal, haematite, 1795–1730. OTTO 2000: no. 140
 3 Cylinder seal, haematite, bought in Jerash, 1800–1700. AMIET 1987: no. 114
 4 Cylinder seal, haematite, Ugarit, 1795–1730. OTTO 2000: no. 356
 5 Cylinder seal, lydite/basalt (?), Qatna, 1795–1730. OTTO 2000: no. 414
 6 Cylinder seal impression, clay, Alalakh, 1720–1650. COLLON 1975: no. 12
 7* Cylinder seal, haematite, 27 x 15 mm, Hazor, 1795–1730. Jerusalem, The Hebrew University. YADIN et al. 1961/1989: pl. 319:2; OTTO 2000: no. 413
 8* Cylinder seal, haematite, 20 x 11 mm, Megiddo, 1795–1730. Jerusalem, Rockefeller Museum, 36.1984. LOUD 1948: pl. 161:21; PARKER 1949: no. 15; OTTO 2000: no. 153
 9 Cylinder seal, haematite, Amman, 1795–1760.

EGGLER/KEEL 2006: ‘Amman no. 86
 10 Cylinder seal, haematite, 1795–1730. PORADA 1948: no. 945; OTTO 2000: no. 351
 11 Scarab, enstatite, Tell el-‘Ajjul, 1750–1550. MACKAY/MURRAY 1952: pl. 9:35; TUFNELL 1956: fig. 1:3; SCHROER 1985: fig. 40; KEEL 1997: Tell el-‘Ağul no. 1062
 12 Cylinder seal, haematite, Terqa (Tell Ashara), 1795–1730. OTTO 2000: no. 173
 13* Stela, basalt, 170 cm. el-Balu‘, 1300–1100. Amman, Jordan Archaeological Museum. ZAYADINE 1987: 118; ZAYADINE 1991: pl. 33; DEARMAN 1992: fig. 8.4; CORNELIUS 2004: Cat 3.3
 14 Cylinder seal, syenite, Shechem, 725–650. PARKER 1949: no. 6; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1998: fig. 287
 15* Scarab, steatite, 20.3* x 15.7 x 6.2 mm, Tell el-Far‘ah (South), 1600–1550. London, Institute of Archaeology, E. V 62/1. PETRIE 1930: pl. 22:235; SCHROER 1985: fig. 48
 16 Cylinder seal, green jasper, 1700–1600. COLLON 1986: no. 1
 17* Cylinder seal, haematite, **measurements**, Tell Beit Mirsim, 1700–1600. Jerusalem, Rockefeller Museum, 32.2718. PARKER 1949: no. 20; WARD 1965: pl. 5:2; COLLON 1986: no. 3
 18 Cylinder seal, bronze, 1720–1650. BUCHANAN 1966: no. 905
 19 Plaque, bronze, Hazor, 1750–1550 (?), YADIN et al. 1961/1989: pl. 339:1–2; BECK 1983; SCHROER 1985: fig. 30
 20 Pot stand, clay, Ugarit, 1700–1400. YON 1997: no. 41
 21 Statuette, bronze, Souedie, 1750–1550 (SCHROER 1985: 74), 1500–1300 (NEGBI 1976: 45). NEGBI 1976: no. 1432
 22* Sarcophagus (lid), limestone, 286 cm, Byblos, 1300–1200 (MONTET 1928: 228f), 1000–900 (PORADA 1973: 363), for the date see also the discussion in REHM 2004: 63–70. Beirut, National Museum. MONTET 1928: pl. 129; PORADA 1973: pl. 2a–b, fig. 4; MARKOE 1990: fig. 11; *REHM 2004: pl. 5:2
 23* Cylinder seal, haematite, 20.4 x 11 mm, Jericho, 1795–1760. **Place, Institution, Inv. no.** PORADA 1983: fig. 345, pl. 38d; OTTO 2000: no. 379
 24 Scarab, enstatite (?), Kibbutz Barqai, 1750–1550. GOPHNA/SUSSMANN 1969: fig. 10:11; SCHROER 1985: fig. 32
 25 Scarab, enstatite (?), 1750–1550. STOCK 1942: fig. 35; SCHROER 1985: fig. 60
 26* Scarab, enstatite, 23 x 17.4 x 9 mm, Tell el-‘Ajjul, 1750–1550. Jerusalem, Rockefeller Museum, IAA 47.586. MACKAY/MURRAY 1952: pl. 9:36; TUFNELL 1956: fig. 1:2; SCHROER 1985: fig. 42; KEEL 1997: Tell el-‘Ağul no. 1063
 27 Cylinder seal, haematite, 1796–1730. KEEL/UEHLINGER 1996: fig. 173
 28 Cylinder seal impression, clay, Ugarit, 1250. SCHAEFFER 1956: figs. 46–47; YON 1997: no. 7
 29* Cylinder seal, haematite, 23 x 15 mm, Lachish, 1830–1760. Jerusalem, Rockefeller Museum, 36.2268. PARKER 1949: no. 174; OTTO 2000: no. 115
 30 Cylinder seal, haematite, Hazor, 1795–1730. YADIN et al. 1961/1989: pl. 319:1; OTTO 2000: no. 412
 31 Cylinder seal, haematite, Mari, 1795–1760. AMIET 1960: fig. 13; OTTO 2000: no. 431
 32 Cylinder seal, haematite, 1795–1730. VOLLENWELDER 1967: no. 136; OTTO no. 127
 33 Cylinder seal impression, clay, Ugarit, 1900–1700 [original], 1750–1550 [copy]. SCHAEFFER 1956: fig. 93 [original], fig. 94 [copy], fig. 96 [both impressions]
 34 Statuette, basalt, Hazor, 1500–1300. YADIN et al. 1961/1989: pl. 330
 35 Statue, basalt, Ebla, 1850–1800. MATTHIAE 1992: pl. 54:2
 36 Basin, basalt, Ebla, 1900–1850. MATTHIAE/PINNOCK/SCANDONE MATTHIAE 1995: no. 291
 37 Basin, basalt, Ebla, 1800. MATTHIAE/PINNOCK/SCANDONE MATTHIAE 1995: no. 290
 38* Axe shaft, gold, 55 x 35 mm, Byblos. Beirut, National Museum, **Inv. No.** DUNAND 1933–38: pl. 132:16700; WEIN/OPIFICIUS 1963: no. 19; SCHROER 1985: fig. 8a; BRAUN–HOLZINGER/KÖNIG–FARAN 2001: pl. 2:16700
 39 Statue, basalt, Qatna, 1800–1600. NOVÁK/PFÄLZNER 2003: figs. 17–20
 40 Statue, basalt, Qatna, 1800–1600. NOVÁK/PFÄLZNER 2003: figs. 17–18
 41* Statue, basalt, 40 cm, Hazor, 1300. Jerusalem, Hebrew University, **Inv. No.** YADIN et al. 1958: pl. 31:1; SPYCKET 1981: pl. 216; WEIPPERT 1988: fig. 3:45
 42 Cylinder seal, onyx, Beth–Shan, 1200–800 (PARKER 1949: 28), 725–675 (KEEL/UEHLINGER 1998: 312). PARKER 1949: no. 122; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1998: fig. 308
 43 Statue, limestone, Malatya, 725–712. BONATZ 2000: 14, A 13
 44* Statue, grey stone, 81 x 20 x 19 cm (with base), Amman, 800–700. **Place, Institution, Inv. no.** BARNETT 1951: pl. 10; ABOU ASSAF 1980: pl. 3; ZAYADINE 1987: no. 129
 45* Sarcophagus (side; for lid see 22*), limestone, 297 x 115 x 140 cm, Byblos, 1300–1200 (MONTET 1928: 228f), 1000–900 (PORADA 1973: 363); for the date see also the discussion in REHM 2004: 63–70. Beirut, National Museum. CHÉHAB 1970–71: pl. 1; PORADA 1973: pl. 1a, fig. 5; MARKOE 1990: fig. 9 (detail); *REHM 2004: pls. 6:3–6; 8:14–17
 46* Plaque, ivory, Megiddo, 1250–1150. **Place, Institution, Inv. no.** LOUD 1939: pl. 4:2a–b; MARKOE 1990: fig. 8
 47 Box lid, ivory, 1300, Tell el-Far‘ah (South). PETRIE 1930: pl. 55; MARKOE 1990: fig. 6
 48 Stela, basalt, Gözlühöyük–İslahiye, 875–800. BONATZ 2000: 19, C 28
 49* Statue, limestone, 48 x 13 cm, Amman, 800–700. Amman, Jordan Archaeological Museum, J1556. BARNETT 1951: pl. 11; ORTHMANN 1975: fig. 410; ABOU ASSAF 1980: pl. 6; *ZAYADINE 1987: no. 130
 50* Cylinder seal, serpentine, Megiddo, 720–650. **Place, Institution, Inv. no.** *LAMON/SHIPTON 1939: pl. 66:2; ORNAN 1990: no. 14;

KEEL/UEHLINGER 1998: fig. 280b **51*** Cylinder seal, green serpentine, 18.1 x 9 mm, Tell Dotan (?), 720–690. Fribourg, Collection Keel, VR 1976.9. KEEL 1977: 221; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1998: fig. 281; KEEL LEU/TEISSIER 2004: no. 192 **52*** Bulla, clay, 13 x 11 mm, 650. Jerusalem, Jerusalem, Sasson Collection. AVIGAD 1986: 30–33, no. 10a–b; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1998: fig. 346; SASS 1993: fig. 146; ORNAN 1993: fig. 66; *AVIGAD/SASS 1997: no. 402 **53** Cylinder seal, haematite, Minet el-Beida, 1450–1350. AMIET 1992: no. 92 **54** Stamp seal impression, clay, 35 mm, Samaria, 720–700. REISNER et al. 1923: pl. 56a; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1998: fig. 278b **55*** Stamp seal impression, clay, 20.5 x 19.8 x 5.9 mm, Samaria. Jerusalem, Rockefeller Museum, 32.2282. *CROWFOOT/CROWFOOT/KENYON 1957: pl. 15:42; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1998: fig. 360a **56** Scaraboid, jasper, Tell Keisan, 550–400. KEEL 1990a: no. 21; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1998: fig. 360b; KLINGBEIL 1992: fig. 4 **57*** Conoid, glass, 15 x 11 mm, Samaria. *CROWFOOT/CROWFOOT 1938: fig. 92:80; KLINGBEIL 1992: 105f, no. 35 **58** Scaraboid, agate, Gezer. KEEL/UEHLINGER 1998: fig. 361a **59** Cylinder seal, chalcedony, 500–400. GALLING 1941: G 164; BORDREUIL 1986: no. 129; BORDREUIL 1993: fig. 32 **60*** Hedgehog-shaped stamp seal, enstatite, 16 x 11 mm, Megiddo, 1750–1550. Jerusalem, Palestine Archaeological Museum, 39.644. LOUD 1948: pl. 149:52; TUFNELL 1956: fig. 1:10; SCHROER 1985: fig. 66 **61** Statuette, bronze, Qatna, 1700–1500. NEGBI 1976: no. 1459 **62** Wand, ivory, Megiddo, 1400–1300. LOUD 1939: pl. 22:a–c; PAOLO 1996: fig. 2b **63** Scaraboid, jasper, Megiddo, 784–748. KEHL/UEHLINGER 1998: fig. 205a; UEHLINGER 1996: fig. 9a; AVIGAD/SASS 1997: no. 2 **64*** Scarab, dark grey stone, 800–600. **Place, Institution, Inv.no.** WARD 1967: pl. 12:1; WELTEN 1977: fig. 78 **65*** Scaraboid, bone, 16.5 x 12.5 x 7 mm, Lachish, 700–600. *TUFNELL et al. 1953: pl. 44:106; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1998: fig. 267a **66** Stamp seal impression, clay, Lachish, 700. TUFNELL et al. 1953: pl. 46:15; UEHLINGER 1994: fig. 5a–b **67*** Bulla, clay, 15 x 13 mm, Umm al-Biyyara, 700–625. Jerusalem, Kenyon Institute, British School of Archaeology. BOSSHARD–NEPUSITIL/MORENZ 2003a: fig. 51; *EGGLER/KEEL 2006: Umm al-Biyyara no. 1 **68** Stamp seal impression, clay, Lachish, 700. TUFNELL et al. 1953: pl. 46:11; UEHLINGER 1994: fig. 5c–d

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