

## Resheph

**I. Introduction.** *Syro-Palestinian god* →DDD. R. is known as an important god from Eblaïtic and Ugaritic texts as well as Egyptian sources (LEITZ 2002). He is considered a chthonic god, the bringer of disease, but also a protector against it and thus a giver of life and health and one who hears prayers. R.'s cult spread to the Phoenician-Punic world, but never played a significant role there, even though classical authors mention a golden statue of R. at Carthage (DDD 702). In the Hebrew Bible he is a demon submissive to →Yahweh (CHOI 2004; NIEHR 2003; UEHLINGER 2001; DDD 700–703). In Mesopotamia R. was identified with the god of the netherworld, →Nergal, and in Greece with Apollo (NIEHR 2001; →IDD 2).

In Egypt R. was introduced by Amenophis II (1426–1400), especially as a warrior god, but was replaced as royal god by →Baal in the Ramesside Period. Nevertheless, he remained popular among the ordinary people as attested by the stelae from Deir el-Medina.

The best Egyptian iconographic sources of R. come from the New Kingdom: a total of 40 stelae (see § III.3), of which 23 are inscribed with his name (see also CORNELIUS 1998 and LIPÍŃSKI 1996). While there are no similar stelae known from Syro-Palestine, a few from Ugarit (YON 1991: 309–312) might represent R. with shield and bow (CORNELIUS 1998: 171).

A number of questionable identifications of R. have been made, which will be addressed. In Ugaritic (CAT 1.86) as well as Egyptian (ANET 244, no. b) texts, R. is mentioned together with →Astarte in relationship to horses. A few Egyptian stelae that partly depict horses or harness had earlier been taken as representations of R. (CORNELIUS 1994: 82ff, nos. RR35–37). They should rather be identified with Astarte, or not be considered at all because of uncertain reconstructions (CORNELIUS 2004: 40f).

In a review of CORNELIUS 1994, LIPÍŃSKI (1996: 258) criticized the fact that only a handful of the known 150 bronze figurines were included. Although most bronzes belong to the type of the menacing god (see BISI 1986; →Smiting god), which compares well with menacing R. on stelae with his name inscribed in hieroglyphs, these bronzes are mostly without specific attributes or weapons. Both Baal and R. were represented as menacing or smiting gods; therefore many bronzes can represent

either of the two. For example, the Louvre bronze AO 11598 found at Minet el-Beida (SEEDEN 1980: no. 1693) was earlier identified with R., but later with Baal (both identifications are still found in literature). This may indicate how difficult the matter of identification is. The striding figure from Megiddo, which SCHLOEN (2001: 351 photograph 5) calls Baal, could just as well be R. The menacing figure in the chariot group (CORNELIUS 2004: Cat 1.6) should not be identified as R. (BARNETT 1964: 72), but rather Astarte (CORNELIUS 2004: 26) because of the relationship between Astarte, horses, and chariots (→**Astarte 14\*–23\***). Other menacing bronze figurines (SEEDEN 1980: nos. 1724, 1728; PARROT 1961: 4f; PARROT 1975: 70) are described as R., but they are actually female warriors (CORNELIUS 2004: 24–26 with fig. 7 and Cat 1.5).

The iconography of menacing R. influenced the iconography of gods further to the west (NIEHR 2001). Bronzes found on the island of Cyprus (SEEDEN 1980: 122ff, pls. 111–112, esp. the armed figure no. 1794) show a menacing god similar to the figure on the inscribed Egyptian R. stelae, and may represent either R. or some local deity closely related to him.

SCHULMAN (1984: 78) connected the figure on →**Qudshu 8\*** with R. Although it is a deity (contra CORNELIUS 1994: 104), the identification with R. is uncertain. Clear theriomorphic representations of R. are unknown. YADIN (1985) connected R. with the →lion on the basis of the inscribed lion face rhyton from Ugarit that mentions R. However, there is no evidence for such a relationship. Likewise, the lion and →“dog” stela from Beth-Shean (ANEP no. 228; see also →Dog § II.2.2.2) has nothing to do with R. (CORNELIUS 1994: 26 note 2).

There is no winged R. All these images are rather to be linked with →**Baal 10\*, 17\*, 19\*, 32\*** (CORNELIUS 1994: 89, 181; SCHULMAN 1979).

The figure on a stela from Beth-Shean is not R., but is the local god →**Mekal 1\***. There is also no reason to believe that the figure with the Egyptian crown on the Balu<sup>c</sup> stela (ANEP no. 488 and CORNELIUS 2004: Cat 3.3) is R. (CORNELIUS 1994: 59).

Cylinder seals from the Middle Bronze Age depict a figure with a bow, which might be R. (CORNELIUS 1994: 90, figs. 22–23). However, since the emphasis in this article is on the Late Bronze Age, Egyptian, and later material, these seals are not included in the catalogue.

Material relating to R. was collected by FULCO (1976) and SCHULMAN in a series of articles (1977, 1979, 1992). A more complete catalogue of sources from 1500–1000 is available (CORNELIUS 1994; for additional material and remarks see KEEL 1995: 209f; LIPÍŃSKI 1996; CORNELIUS 1998). Only a selection of items representing the major phenotypes will be included and discussed in the present article. A detailed study of the 1st mill. material is still a desideratum (LIPÍŃSKI 1995: 179ff).

## II. Typology

**GENERAL REMARKS.** R. generally wears a short kilt (with tassels on **1\*** as known from depictions of Asiatics in Egypt; see ANEP nos. 6–7) or a longer skirt (**3**, →**Astarte 15\***). The headdress is primarily the Egyptian white crown (**1\***, **4**, **7–8**, **10\*–14\***, **17**, →**Astarte 15\***), but also the red crown (**3**) or other headgear occurs on the less-Egyptianizing Syro–Palestinian material (**2\***, **5–6\***, **9**). The gazelle’s head on his crown (**1\***, **8**, **10\*–14\***, **17**, →**Astarte 15\***) is typical of R.; sometimes a streamer is attached to the crown (**1\***, **11\***, **17**).

Iconographically R. is best known as an armed and menacing god (→Smiting god). The term “menacing” has been adopted instead of the more commonly used designation “smiting” because R. is never depicted as striking down an enemy; rather, the gesture itself conveys the impression of power (CORNELIUS 1994: 255). The main hand–held weapon is a large axe (**1\***, **10\***, **17**, →**Astarte 15\***), a club, or mace (**4–8**); sometimes it is more swordlike (**2\***, **9**). R. may also hold knives (**12**) or a spear (**1\***, **10\***). In a few cases a bow and quiver are shown (**3**, **7**, **9**). Furthermore, he sometimes carries a shield as his typical attribute, reflecting his role as protector (**1\*–8**, **17–18**, →**Astarte 15\***).

### II.1. Phenotypes

1. STANDING 1.1. Menacing (**1–9**, →**Astarte 15**) 1.2. Armed (**10–12**, →**Qudshu 6–7**, →**Astarte 8**) 1.3. Holding a scepter (**13–14**) 1.4. On a horned animal (**15–16**, →**Baal 31–38**, **40–41**) 2. SEATED (**17**) 3. EQUESTRIAN (**18**)

#### 1. STANDING

1.1. **Menacing.** The most common phenotype of R. is that of the standing or striding god with an uplifted arm that brandishes a weapon in an aggressive manner (**1\*–9**, →**Astarte 15\***).

1.2. **Armed.** In other cases R. is not in smiting pose but still holds a weapon, either the sickle or *hps* sword (**10\*–11\***), a spear (**10\***, →**Qudshu 6–7\***, CORNELIUS 2004: pl. 5.5: note, the published photograph does not show R. on the right side of the stela,

but he is clearly visible on the original), or knives (**12**). The standing figure with a bow and quiver on the human face scaraboid →**Astarte 8\*** from Acco may also represent R. The armed male figure on the left of the 25th dynasty relief →**Qudshu 17\*** at Karnak is very similar to R. on **10\***.

1.3. **Holding a scepter.** The god is unarmed and holds the Egyptian *was* scepter (**13–14\***).

1.4. **On a horned animal.** KEEL (1990: 302–304; CORNELIUS 1994: 112ff) identified a figure standing on a horned animal with R. (**15\*–16**, →**Baal 31\*–38**, **40–41**).

2. **SEATED.** On stela **17** menacing R. is represented in seated posture similar to →**Anat 5\***.

3. **EQUESTRIAN.** R. can be depicted on horseback: in the case of stela **18** he is identified by an inscription.

## II.2. Associations

1. ASSOCIATED WITH DEITIES/DEMONS 1.1. Baal (→**Baal 31–38**, **40–41**) 1.2. Astarte (→**Astarte 3**, **9**, **15**) 1.3. Other: Min (**10**, →**Qudshu 6–7**), Seth (**4**), Amun-Re (**13**), Horon (**13**) 2. ASSOCIATED WITH ANIMALS: Horned animal (**15–16**, →**Baal 31–38**, **40–41**), lion (**16**), horse (**8**, →**Astarte 15**) 3. ASSOCIATED WITH HUMANS 3.1. Worshipper (**4**, **14**, **17**) 3.2. King (**11**)

### 1. ASSOCIATED WITH DEITIES/DEMONS

1.1. **Baal.** In Palestine/Israel R. most often appears together with Levantine →Baal; the latter is standing on a →lion while R. is standing on a horned animal (→**Baal 31\*–38**, **40–41**).

1.2. **Astarte.** R. is associated with →Astarte several times. This particular combination is attested on a scaraboid from Palestine/Israel (→**Astarte 9\***), but also known from Egyptian reliefs and stelae (→**Astarte 3\***, **15\***).

1.3. **Other.** R. also appears with some of the major Egyptian deities (CORNELIUS 1994: 261). On Egyptian stelae R. is flanking →Qudshu together with the Egyptian god →Min (**10\***, →**Qudshu 6–7\***, CORNELIUS 2004: pl. 5.5). Other gods shown with him are →Seth (**4**), →Amun-Re and Horon (**13**), and other deities (→**Astarte 6\***).

2. **ASSOCIATED WITH ANIMALS.** R. is primarily depicted as standing on a horned animal (**15\*–16**; →**Baal 31\*–38**, **40–41**), or attacking a rampant →lion (**5**) or next to striding lions (**16**), but also shown on →horseback (**18**). The stela →**Astarte 15\*** displays next to R. the inscription “Resheph, lord of the estate of the stable of horses” (HOFFMEIER/KITCHEN 2007: 131).

### 3. ASSOCIATED WITH HUMANS.

**3.1. Worshipper.** On stela 17 a worshipper holding an incense burner is approaching enthroned R. While the cylinder seal of Addumu, king of Sidon (4), depicts R. as standing behind the worshipper, the cylinder seal of the overseer and vizier Paser (14\*) represents the worshipper as standing before him.

**3.2. King. Cylinder seal 11\*** shows Ramses II (1279–1213) shooting at a target to which Syrian captives are bound. On the other side of the target, R. holds out an Egyptian sickle sword as a pledge of victory (on the motif see CORNELIUS 1994: 105, 157f; CORNELIUS 1999; KEEL 1999).

### III. Sources

**III.1. Chronological range.** The best depictions stem from the Late Bronze Age (1400–1200) and are Egyptian stelae inscribed with R.'s name (1\*, 10\*, 13, 17–18, →Qudshu 6–7\*, →Astarte 15\*, CORNELIUS 2004: pl. 5.5). Other inscribed objects are a limestone statue (8) from the 20–25th dyn. (1190–600), a bronze statuette (3) from the Saite Period (665–525), and the Persian Hibis temple relief (12). The Ugaritic stela 7, the menacing bronze R. 2\* from Megiddo, and Syro-Palestinian seals (4–6\*, 11\*, 14\*) are uninscribed and belonging to the Late Bronze Age. R. standing on a horned animal (15\*–16, →Baal 31\*–38, 40–41) dates to the Early Iron Age (1150–1000) or somewhat later (see MÜNGER 2003). Resheph remained popular in the 1st mill., when his cult spread to Carthage and Spain, but unfortunately the iconography of this period has not received detailed attention. A bronze figurine from the 1st mill. (SEEDEN 1980: 115) possibly continues the tradition of the menacing R. (9) and is not →Teshub, as asserted by FORTIN (1999: 107; see 3).

### III.2. Geographical distribution.

The majority of representations of R. come from Egypt (1\*, 3, 8, 10\*, 12–13, 17, →Qudshu 6–7\*, →Astarte 15\*, CORNELIUS 2004: pl. 5.5) and Syro-Palestine (2\*, 4–7\*, 9, 11\*, 14\*–16); the riding figure 18 originates from Sai in the Sudan.

**III.3. Object types.** R. occurs on a known total of 40 Egyptian stelae (1\*, 10\*, 13, 17, →Qudshu 6–7\*, →Astarte 15\*; CORNELIUS 1994: nos. RR1–6, 8–23, 25–26, 29–31, 33–36, 38; CORNELIUS 2004: pl. 5.5) and possibly one from Ugarit (7). A statue (8) and four reliefs (→Qudshu 13\*, 17\*; CORNELIUS 1994: nos. RR27, 37) are known. Three bronzes have been discussed (2\*–3, 9), to

which one from Megiddo and one with disputed origin might be added (CORNELIUS 1994: nos. RB2–3). Seals occur frequently: CORNELIUS 1994 lists 40 objects. Here cylinder seals 4–6\*, 11\*, 14\* and stamp seals 15\*–16, →Baal 31\*–38, 40–41 have been included, to which the items from KEEL 1998: 209–219 and CORNELIUS 1998 should be added.

**IV. Conclusion.** SCHULMAN (1992: 80) identified three iconographic types for R.: the standing warlike pose (1\*–9), which is the most popular phenotype (SCHULMAN 1992: 81); the seated warlike posture (17); and the peaceful attitude (10\*). This typology should be somewhat refined: 10\* is not a peaceful representation of R. since he still holds weapons in his hand. The true peaceful type is represented by 11\*, 13–14\*, where R. is unarmed and holds the *ankh* symbol or *was* scepter, but may also offer the Egyptian sickle sword as a pledge of victory. Further phenotypes are R. on horseback (18), which relates to the descriptions in the Ugaritic and Egyptian texts; and R. standing on a horned animal (15\*–16).

### V. Catalogue

1\* Stela, limestone, 25 x 17 cm, bought in Memphis but presumably from Athribis (inscription), 1300–1100. Chicago, Oriental Institute, 10569. ANEP no. 476; SIMPSON 1951–1952: 185f; \*CORNELIUS 1994: 32f, no. RR7 2\* Statuette, bronze, 13 cm, Megiddo, 1350–1150. Jerusalem, Rockefeller Museum, 1078. ANEP no. 496; MAY 1935: 33f, pl. 34:357; \*CORNELIUS 1994: 130, no. RB1 3 Statuette, bronze, 665–525. ROEDER 1956: 35, 108f; CORNELIUS 1994: 132, pl. C 4 Cylinder seal, cobalt glass imitation, 1400–1200. MÉNANT 1888: pl. 38:386bis; CORNELIUS 1994: 92, no. RM2 5 Cylinder seal, steatite, Beth-Shean, 1500–1200. ROWE 1940: 85, pl. 38:15; CORNELIUS 1994: 93f, no. RM4 6\* Stamp seal, serpentine, Gezer, 1500–1300. Jerusalem, Israel Museum, IAA 74–219. SEGER 1972: fig. 26; \*CORNELIUS 1994: 95, no. RM7 7 Stela, limestone, Ugarit, 1400–1200. YON 1991: 312f, figs. 7:17; 22:c; CORNELIUS 1998: 171, 177, fig. 3 8 Statue, limestone, 1150–600. SIMPSON 1951–1952; CORNELIUS 1994: 133, pl. D 9 Statuette, bronze, 1st mill. SEEDEN 1980: 115, pl. 107:1750; FORTIN 1999: 107, no. 51 10\* Stela, limestone, 45 x 30 cm, Deir el-Medina, 1290–1224. Turin, Egyptian Museum, 50066. TOSI/ROCCATI 1972: 102f, 224, 290; CORNELIUS 1994: 59f, no. RR28; \*CORNELIUS 2004: 48, 124, Cat 5.3 11\* Cylinder seal, serpentine, 52 x 22 mm, Beth-Shean, 1300–1200. Jerusalem, Rockefeller Museum, J. 911. ROWE 1936: 252f, pl. 28:S.61; \*CORNELIUS 1994: 104, no. RM16 12 Relief, limestone, Khargo Oasis (Hibis temple), 539–333. DAVIES 1953: pl. 3; CORNELIUS 1994: 71, fig. 8 13 Stela, limestone, Qantir (?), 1300–1200. LEIBOVITCH 1944; CORNELIUS 1994: 64f; RR32 14\* Cylinder seal, steatite, 17 x 5 mm, Deir el-Balah, 1300–1200. Tel Aviv, Institute of Archaeology, 82. GIVEON 1973: 179f, fig. 1; \*CORNELIUS 1994: 106; RM17 15\* Scarab, enstatite, 14.2 x 11.2 x 6.7 mm, Tell el-Far'ah (South), 1150–1000 (or 980–920 see MÜNGER 2003). London, Institute of Archaeology, E. VII 33/23. PETRIE 1930: pl. 43:513; \*CORNELIUS 1994: 118, no. RM29, pl. 30:RM29 16 Scarab, enstatite, Tell el-Far'ah (South), 1150–1000 (or 980–920 see MÜNGER 2003). PETRIE 1930: pl. 39:439; CORNELIUS 1994: 119f, no. RM34, pl. 31:RM34 17 Stela, limestone, Deir el Medina, 1300–1200. MORET 1913: 48f, pl. 6:5; CORNELIUS 1994: 46f, no. RR24 18 Stela, sandstone, Sais, 1400. VERCOUTTER 1958: 155f, pl. 45a; CORNELIUS 1994: 84f, no. RR38, pl. 27:RR38

**VI. Selected Bibliography**

CORNELIUS 1994 • CORNELIUS 1998 • FULCO 1976 • LEITZ  
2002 • SCHULMAN 1979

*Izak Cornelius*

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