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«The introduction of foreign deities in Egypt during the Late
Bronze Age»



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To my parents.

Andreas and Maria Kalaitzaki

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract	7
List of Abbreviations	9
Acknowledgments	12
Introduction	14
1 Studies devoted to Levantine deities in general or treating them as a group	17
2 Monographs and articles dealing with single deities	34
3 Previous studies for the importation of Syro-palestinian deities	56
4. Wider framework: studies assessing important developments in the Egyptian religious field during the New Kingdom	66
5. State of art	91
6. Research questions and a new approach	93
Chapter 1: Presence of the Syro-palestinian deities in the Egyptian archaeological and textual record	97
1.Baal	102
1.1. Seals, amulet, Scarabs, scaraboids and other art in miniature	102
1.2. Reliefs	113
1.3. Bronzes	116
1.4. Statues	117
1.5. Inscriptions	117
1.6. Papyrus	126
1.7. Iconography	128
1.8. Qualities	130
2.Reshef	131
2.1. Seals, amulet, Scarabs, scaraboids and other art in miniature	131
2.2. Reliefs	135
2.3. Names on royal chariots	144
2.4. Inscriptions	144
2.5. Vessel	145
2.6. Personal names	145

2.7. Papyrus	146
2.8. Iconography	148
2.9. Qualities	150
3.Astarte	151
3.1.Seals, amulet, Scarabs, scaraboids and other art in miniature	151
3.2. Reliefs	155
3.3. Ostraca	159
3.4. Weapons	160
3.5. Inscriptions	161
3.6. Personal names	163
3.7. Papyrus	163
3.8. Vessel	164
3.9. Names on royal chariots	165
3.10.Treaty	165
3.11. Iconography	166
3.12. Qualities	168
4.Hauron	169
4.1.Seals, amulet, Scarabs, scaraboids and other art in miniature	169
4.2. Reliefs	169
4.3. Statues	174
4.4. Personal names	174
4.5. Foundation plaques	175
4.6. Inscriptions	178
4.7. Papyrus	179
4.8. Iconography	181
4.9. Qualities	183
5.Anat	184
5.1.Seals, amulet, Scarabs, scaraboids and other art in miniature	184
5.2. Bronzes	185
5.3.Statues	186
5.4. Reliefs	187
5.5. Vessel	188
5.6. Graffito	189

5.7. Papyrus	189
5.8. Inscriptions	191
5.9. Names on royal chariots	194
5.10. Personal names	194
5.11. Iconography	198
5.12. Qualities	200
6. Qadesh	203
6.1. Seals, amulet, Scarabs, scaraboids and other art in miniature	203
6.2. Reliefs	215
6.3. Inscriptions	220
6.4. Vessel	220
6.5. Papyrus	221
6.6. Iconography	222
6.7. Qualities	224
Chapter 2: Syro-Palestinian deities in Egypt: their role in the political and diplomatic field	226
2.1. Aspects of Egyptian kingship in the political field	245
2.2. The role of Syro-Palestinian deities in the military campaigns	248
2.3. The role of Syro-Palestinian deities in diplomatic field	261
2.3.1. Amarna letters	261
2.3.2. Treaty of Rameses II and Hattusilis III	263
2.3.3. Diplomatic marriage of Rameses II	263
Chapter 3: Syro-palestinian deities in Egypt: their role in the theological field	265
3.1. Worship of Syro-Palestinian deities and their role in the official religion of the pharaohs	266
3.2. Worship of Syro-Palestinian deities and their role in the religion of the lower ranks	279
3.3. Syro-palestinian deities in Egypt: their role in Magical texts	304
Chapter 4: Chapter 4: Acculturation of Syro-palestinian deities with Egyptian gods	311
Chapter 5: Conclusions	330
Bibliography	337

Abstract

The proposal research entitled “The introduction of foreign deities in Egypt during the Late Bronze Age” focuses on:

- a. the appearance of Syro-palestinian deities in the archaeological material, revealing the royal and non-royal religious beliefs and practices in state cult and personal piety.
- b. Another research question, which will be included in the present research, is the manifestation of Syro-palestinian deities in the political field, as the previous researches have been studied their association with military campaigns. In this research, their appearances on campaigns, treaties, diplomatic marriages, Amarna letters will be demonstrated and other aspects of their appearances and their roles will be revealed.
- c. Apart from the political context, their relations with pharaohs and their preferences to Syro-palestinian deities are also several research questions, which will be involved to her dissertation.
- d. Previous studies have also studied the manifestations of Syro-palestinian deities on the higher ranks. In present research, the introduction of these deities in the lower ranks and their roles and qualities will be demonstrated.
- e. Among to the questions, the iconographical analysis is also essential for the study of these deities, as the iconographical development of Syro-palestinian deities in relation to their adopted role and interconnection with the political rulership can be studied. Due to the fact that, the iconographical developments include cultural contacts of Egypt with Levant, the proposed research will examine the cultural contacts, with a special focus on the functions and characteristics of Syro-palestinian deities in Near East and Egypt.
- f. Several past studies have treated the assimilation of Syro-Palestinian deities in Egypt without including the reasons of their importation and their contributions in the Egyptian policy and religion. A comprehensive analysis of all relevant textual and iconographical sources in both royal and non-royal Egyptian contexts is still wanting.

This doctoral dissertation will attempt to cover this gap by examining the causes of their introduction and their contributions in the Egyptian policy and religion.

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List of Abbreviations

A&L	Aegypten und Levante
AfO	Archiv für Orientforschung (Berlin/Graz/Vienna)
AHL	Archaeology & history in Lebanon
AJSL	American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures (Chicago)
ARC	Archaeological Review from Cambridge
ASAE	Annales du Service des Antiquités de l’Egypte
BA	Biblical Archaeologist
BAR	British Archaeological Reports
BASOR	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research
BES	Bulletin of the Egyptian Seminar
BiOr	Bibliotheca Orientalis (Leiden)
BIFAO	Le Bulletin de l’Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale
BJPIR	British Journal of Politics & International Relations
BMSAES	British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan
BP&MOS	Bulletin of Parthian and Mixed Oriental Studies (Fribourg)
CAH II	Cambridge Ancient History II
CAJ	Cambridge Archaeological Journal
CDE	Chronique d’Egypte
DDD	Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible
EA	Egyptian Archaeology, the Bulletin of the Egypt Exploration Society (EES) (London)
FuF	Forchungen und Fortschritte (Berlin)
GM	Göttinger Miscellen (Göttingen)

IJBD	International Journal of Behavioral Development
IEJ	Israel Exploration Journal (Jerusalem)
JAEI	Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections
JANER	Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions (Leiden)
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society
JARCE	Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt (Boston/Princeton/New York/Cairo)
JARM	Journal of the Association for Research on Mothering
JCS	Journal of Cuneiform Studies
JEA	Journal of Egyptian Archaeology
JEOL	Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-egyptisch Genootschap Ex Oriente Lux (Leiden)
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies
JNSL	Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages (Stellenbosch)
JSOT	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament (Sheffield)
JSSEA	Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities
KRI	K.A. Kitchen, 'Ramesside Inscriptions, Historical and Biographical. I - VII' (Oxford, 1968-1990)
KTU	'Die keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit' (AOAT 24)
MÄS, MAS =MAeS	Münchener Ägyptologische Studien (Berlin/Munich/Mainz am Rhein)
MDAIK	Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo (DAIK) (Mainz/Cairo/Berlin/Wiesbaden)
MDOG	Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft (DOG) (Berlin/Leipzig)
MIOF	Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung (Berlin)
OrAnt	Oriens Antiquus

PM	Porter, B. & Moss, R. <i>Topographical bibliography of ancient Egyptian hieroglyphic texts, reliefs, and paintings</i> , Oxford, Griffith Institute
RIHAO	Revista del Instituto de Historia Antigua Oriental
RITA	Kitchen, K.A. (1993-2003) <i>Ramesside Inscriptions: Translated and Annotated</i> , Oxford, Blackwell
RITANC	K.A. Kitchen, (1993) 'Ramesside Inscriptions Translated & Annotated: Notes & Comments', vol.1, Oxford, Blackwell.
SAK	Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur
SEL	Studi Epigrafici e Linguistici sul Vicino Oriente Antico
TdE	Trabajos de Egiptología
TYNBUL	Tyndale Bulletin
UF	Ugarit-Forschungen: Internationales Jahrbuch für die Altertumskunde Syrien-Palästinas (Kevelaer/Neukirchen/Vluyn/Münster)
VA(S)	Varia Aegyptiaca (Supplements)(San Antonio)
VT	Vetus Testamentus (Leiden)
ZAS/ZAes	Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde.
ZDPV	Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins

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Introduction

A challenging and interesting theme for Egyptology and the Near Eastern studies is the appearance, development, and acculturation of Syro-palestinian deities in Egypt during the Late Bronze Age. A significant amount of the available archaeological material and textual sources, such as stelae, amulets, doorjambs, ostraca, scarabs, seals, reliefs, autobiographical texts, treaty, Amarna Letters and diplomatic marriages, indicate the importation of six Syro-palestinian deities: Baal, Reshef, Hauron, Anat, Astarte and Qadesh in Egypt. These deities managed to enter the new region, acculturate with the Egyptian deities and worship by the pharaohs and lower ranks.³

An explanation of their appearance is the long-lasting relations between Egypt and Syro-palestine before the New Kingdom, which caused the importation of foreigners into the Egyptian region and led to the rule of Hyksos.⁴ After the expulsion of Hyksos, the archaeological material and textual sources of the early Eighteenth Dynasty connect Syro-palestinian deities with the political field and reflect their roles in Egyptian authority, i.e. reinforcement of the authority, participation in the diplomatic treaty and marriages, acquisition of their support in order to dominate the Syro-palestinian coast.⁵ Apart from their political participation, Syro-palestinian deities worshipped by the pharaohs of the 18th and 19th Dynasty. Through the adoration of these deities, their close maternity or paternity relations with the pharaohs can be indicated. The aforementioned archaeological material indicates also that these deities imported into the lower ranks of Egypt. Their influence in the non-royal context may be caused by the foreigners, who entered to the new region, maintaining their beliefs. That means that Egyptians were close to the acquisition of the foreign culture and beliefs. The result of this culture contact was the worshipped of these deities by the ordinary people through votive stelae, scarabs, seals and ostraca. The religious beliefs, symbols and mythology were necessary for the preservation of political power of the pharaohs, diplomatic relations and the maintenance of peace in the daily life of Egyptians.⁶

The importation of these deities into the new region added new cultural iconographical elements in the Egyptian iconography. Due to the introduction of the new deities and the nature of Egyptian religion, the attributes of these deities acculturated with the qualities of Egyptian deities. For instance, the qualities and the iconographical elements of the

³ Helck 1971, 458-460; 466-470.

⁴ Tazawa 2009, 1.

⁵ Stadelmann 1967, 22-23.

⁶ Tazawa 2009, 2.

Syro-palestinian deity, Anat in Egypt are attested on the attributes and iconographical traits of Hathor.

A comprehensive categorization of all the relevant textual and iconographical sources in both royal and non-royal Egyptian contexts will be made and enriched the previous studies of Tazawa,⁷ and that of Cornelius⁸ with new published and unpublished archaeological material from Egypt, such as stelae, scarabs, vase,⁹ and textual sources, such as papyrus, Amarna Letters and treaty of Ramesses II.¹⁰ The catalogued archaeological material and textual sources of these Syro-palestinian deities will set the bases for the explanation of their introduction and appearance in Egypt, focusing on their contribution in the military campaigns and their relation with the pharaohs. Through careful analysis of the texts, it is possible to identify several forms by which these deities manifested in Egypt (e.g., treaty of Ramesses II with Hattusilis III) that provide examples of acculturation. Based on the textual sources and archaeological material, differences in the political and social status and various roles and symbolisms of these deities on official and private contexts will be demonstrated. In order to evaluate the import of Syro-Palestinian deities in Egypt, it is necessary to suggest a new theory, which will combine the interpretation of the foreign deities by applying aspects of cultural, political and religious relations. One of these aspects is associated with Pharaonic kingship and the close relation between the pharaoh and gods,¹¹ which emphasizes to the powers of gods, causing the increase of the popularity of the deities.¹² The proposed theory will interpret the archaeological material and textual sources under the prism of the relation between the pharaoh and the deity. For the enforcement of the proposed theory archaeological material and textual sources are essential for this study. The examination of archaeological material and textual sources will include hymns and autobiographical texts (e.g., Battle of Qadesh), memorial stelae (e.g., the Four-Hundred-Year Stela), reliefs (e.g., Kom Ombo), and diplomatic material and correspondence (e.g., the Amarna letters, diplomatic marriages, treaty of Rameses II with Hattusilis III).¹³ The second aspect is connected with the Egyptian polytheism, indicating that the names and the character of a deity are transportable, equating

⁷ Tazawa 2009.

⁸ Cornelius 2004; 1994.

⁹ See the subchapter 1.1., Doc. 1.1.17., subchapter 2.1., Docs. 2.1.7-2.1.8., 2.1.21., 2.1.26.-2.1.27, 2.1.29., 2.1.36., subchapter 3.1., Doc. 3.1.24., subchapter 4.1, Doc. 4.1.76.

¹⁰ See the subchapter 1.2., Docs.1.2.4-1.2.11, 1.2.36-1.2.56., subchapter 2.2, Docs. 2.2.5, 2.2.12., subchapter 4.2., Docs. 4.2.1.-4.2.2., 4.2.4.-4.2.7., 4.2.11.-4.2.12., 4.2.26.

¹¹ Brand 2005, 26.

¹² Baines 1995, 34.

¹³ For the analysis of the relevant archaeological material and textual sources, see Chapter 2.

deities of different regions and cultures with others.¹⁴ The theological reasons can contribute to the evolution of religion through the 18th- 19th Dynasty, as the polytheism transformed to monotheism and after the Amarna period turn into the unity of the divine. The archaeological material, such as scarabs, seals, plaques, and stelae, will also shed light upon the role of these deities in the religious life and cultic practices of the Egyptians.¹⁵ The third aspect, which will contribute also to our interpretation for the importation of these deities, is related to the cultural interconnections between Egypt and Levant, such as the products of each region, the different human abilities, the migration and travels.¹⁶ It seems that these events challenged Egypt to adapt the nature of the “other”.¹⁷ The aforementioned material will allow an in-depth approach and interpretation of these deities into the Egyptian pantheon, as when they introduced into Egypt, acquired new functions and characteristics. For instance, Astarte as a warrior goddess on horseback is wearing an Atef-crown.¹⁸ The result of the examination of archaeological material will contribute to the chronologically definition of their importation to the Egyptian region and whether the worship of Syro-palestinian deities was incorporated into the Egyptian religion or was undertaken by a specific ruler for explicitly propagandistic reasons (power, authority, etc.).

On the other hand, the study of Egyptian textual sources such as papyrus, autobiographical texts, treaty, Amarna letters, Hymns, mythology and stelae can shed more light on their roles, close relation with the pharaohs and their acculturation with Egyptian deities. Selected textual sources will be analyzed in order to define the qualities of these deities in the political field. For instance, Amenhotep II indicated that he could be the successful pharaoh, focusing in the handle of horses¹⁹ and the role of Reshef and Astarte in the written sources contributed powerfully to their interpretation in the courts of Amenhotep II. Based on the textual sources, the functions of these deities can be demonstrated on the royal and non-royal spheres.²⁰

The examination of the six Syro-palestinian deities will be accomplished on the basis of amulets, cylinder seals, seals, scaraboids, scarabs, stelae, vases, statues, figurines, reliefs, plaques, razors, axes, ostraca, foils, pendants, plates and discs. The textual sources originated from several contexts: Funerary, magical, historical, socio-economic, diplomatic, treaty,

¹⁴ Assmann 2004, 24.

¹⁵ For the analysis of the relevant archaeological material and textual sources, see Chapter 3.

¹⁶ For the analysis of acculturation of these deities, see Chapter 3.

¹⁷ Staubli 2016, 52.

¹⁸ Leclant 1960, 62ff, figs. 30ff.

¹⁹ Tazawa 2009, 138.

²⁰ Sayce 1933.

Hymns and personal letters, while there is another category of textual sources, which is also involved in the present work, such as the pErmitage 1116A, Harris Magical Papyrus, LES, pChester Beatty, LEM and pLeidein I 343+ I 345 in order to study the attributes of these deities in magical spells. Translations are cited in the relevant passages, and where such are absent, especially in the case of Magical spells, the translations are from the research of Tazawa,²¹ due to the fact that the spells are written in hieratic.²²

The present research will also include archaeological material from Near East contexts for the sake of comparison and completeness. The archaeological evidence from the Near East will contribute to the iconographical development of these six Syro-palestinian deities in the Near East and Egypt.²³ Involving the archaeological material from Egypt and the Near East in the present research, new regions of origin²⁴ and new dates of introduction of Syro-palestinian deities in Egypt will be suggested.²⁵ More specifically, the proposed research for this dissertation will focus on the following topics: a) the appearance of foreign deities in the archaeological material, revealing the royal and non-royal religious beliefs and practices in state cult, funerary ideology, and personal piety, b) the iconographical development of foreign deities in relation to their adopted role and interconnection with the political rulership, c) the cultural contacts of foreign deities from the Near East, with a special focus on the “fertility” goddess and her origin and introduction into the Egyptian pantheon and d) aspects of religious developments in the Egyptian religion, which contribute to the importation and assimilation of foreign cults into the Egyptian belief system.

1. Studies devoted to Levantine deities in general or treating them as a group

Several supplementary researches summarize the sources with regard to Syro-palestinian deities in Egypt, examining them either as a group and part of their general study in cultural relations, or studying a specific archaeological material. Among the most significant

²¹ Tazawa 2009.

²² See subchapter 3.3.

²³ See subchapter 1.1, Docs. 1.1.1.-1.1.4., 1.1.6-1.1.8., 1.1.14.-1.1.15., subchapter 2.1., Docs., 2.1.1.-2.1.3., 2.1.9., 2.1.12.-2.1.15., 2.1.19.-2.1.20., 2.1.31.-2.1.32., 2.1.34.-2.1.37., subchapter 3.1, Docs. 3.1.1.-3.1.17., 3.1.21.-3.1.24., 3.1.31., 3.1.35., 3.1.39.-3.1.40., 3.1.43.-3.1.66., subchapter 4.1., Docs. 4.1.5.-4.1.7, 4.1.9., 4.1.18., 4.1.50., 4.1.53.-4.1.54., 4.1.56., 4.1.59-4.1.60., 4.1.62., 4.1.67., 4.1.69., subchapter 5.1., Docs. 5.1.2., 5.1.4.-5.1.7., 5.1.9., 5.1.15., 5.1.42., 5.1.56-5.1.57.

²⁴ See the subcategory “Origin” in Chapter 1.

²⁵ Apart from the referred regions, which are included in the researches of Tazawa 2009 and Cornelius 2004; 1994. See the subcategory “Date” in Chapter 1.

studies are the researches of Redford (1973; 1992), Cornelius (1993; 1994; 2004; 2017), Hoffmeier and Kitchen (2007), Tazawa (2009), Zivie (2011).²⁶

An examination has been made by Redford with his article, entitled “New light on the Asiatic campaigning of Horemheb”.²⁷ Redford examined a stone bowl, which bears the inscription “*Anat daughter of Ptah, lady of truth (ꜥnti s3t pth nbt m3ꜥt)*”²⁸ and the names and titles of other Syro-palestinian deities such as Astarte, Reshef and Qadesh.²⁹

According to his research, after the military campaigns of Thutmose III and the introduction of foreigners into Egypt, Syro-palestinian deities acquired cult centers.³⁰ The goddess Astarte has been worshipped under the reign of Amenhotep II.³¹ Her name was linked to the Egyptian god Ptah, as she was regarded as the daughter of the latter.³² In Egypt, Anat is manifested as a protector of the king, due to the royal origin of the texts and she was the daughter of either Ptah or Re.³³ The god Reshef was manifested under the reign of Amenophis III and Ramesside times, where he acquired a closer relation with Ptah.³⁴ Qadesh was appeared as a nude female figure in frontal position and she was regarded as a symbol of sexual desirability.³⁵

Three Syro-palestinian deities, Anat, Astarte and Reshef, had a close relation with royalty. Redford suggested that “*they have a specific connection with the king’s chariot horses and enjoy a reputation as divine protectors in battle*”.³⁶ According to him “*this role probably arose as much out of their legendary prowess in warfare as anything else; but it had, from the Egyptian point of view, the interesting psychological effect of neutralizing the enemies trust in their gods. When a Canaanite prince took the field against the Egyptians, he found himself in the anomalous position of facing a foe protected by his own deities. In view of the trio’s*

²⁶ Apart from articles and books, lexicons, such as these of Hart 2005, 22, 43, 137 and van der Toorn et. al 1999, 36, 132, 109, 700 included Syro-palestinian deities and mentioned the connection between them and the Egyptians pharaohs. More particularly, they presented the appearance of each Syro-palestinian deity in Near East and Egypt and the manifestation of Anat, see Hart 2005, 22; van der Toorn et.al 1999, 36. For Baal, see Hart 2005, 43; van der Toorn et.al 1999, 132. For Astarte, see Hart 2005, 34; van der Toorn et.al 1999, 109. For Qadesh, see Hart 2005, 132 and Reshef, see Hart 2005, 137; van der Toorn et.al 1999, 700. Lastly, the relation between them and Ramesses II, Ramesses III and Amenhotep II is also mentioned. For example, the god Baal is mentioned in the battle of the Qadesh, *Sutekh, great of Strength, Baal in person (swth ꜥ3phty B’r m hꜥ=f)* see Hart 2005, 43.

²⁷ Redford 1973, 36, 45.

²⁸ Translation after Redford 1973, 37.

²⁹ Redford 1973, 36, 43-46.

³⁰ Redford 1973, 43.

³¹ Redford 1973, 44.

³² Redford 1973, 44.

³³ Redford 1973, 44-45.

³⁴ Redford 1973, 45.

³⁵ Redford 1973, 45.

³⁶ Redford 1973, 45.

function vis-a vis chariotry in battle, it is especially appropriate that the Memphite bowl was dedicated on the eve of a military campaign and by an overseer of the king's stable".³⁷

A second supplementary effort, which approaches the issue of connection of Syro-palestine deities with pharaohs, has been made also by Redford with his book *Egypt, Canaan and Israel in ancient times*.³⁸

Redford stated that "*foreign gods first appear in Egypt under royal patronage*".³⁹ More particularly, in order to reinforce his argument, Redford cited specific examples of selected pharaohs, such as Hatshepsut, Amenophis II and Amenophis III, who used foreign deities, such as Baal, Anat, Astarte and Reshef, for their protection.⁴⁰ Amenhotep II displayed Astarte and Reshef for the protection of his chariot team, while Amenhotep III accepted the statue of the goddess Ishtar in the hope that she might cure him of his sickness.⁴¹

In his research, Redford suggested that "*Both Baal and Astarte display openly their warlike traits, which appealed to the Egyptian military and account for their rabid assimilation into the pantheon. Anat too, and the warrior god Reshef, appealed to the Egyptians, and the latter possessed a temple somewhere in the Delta.*"⁴² The god Hauron manifested in the region of Giza and his sphinx image was associated with the appearance of Canaanite's god, while Qadesh is displayed as a nude woman, who is linked to the Egyptian goddess Hathor.⁴³

Redford also mentioned that "*Asiatic deities were such strong personalities and now had such a large resident constituency that they entered the Egyptian pantheon with their own names and traits. Baal's name appears transliterated into hieroglyphics and gave rise as late as Ptolemaic times to a denominative verb in Egyptian meaning "to make war". Both Anat and Astarte survive in formal lists of Egyptian gods well into Roman times; and were popular enough to be used as theophoric elements in purely Egyptian names*".⁴⁴

Apart from Redford, the research of Cornelius entitled "*Anat and Qudshu as the 'Mistress of Animals': Aspects of the Iconography of the Canaanite Goddesses*" is also focused on the female Syro-palestinian goddesses, Anat, Astarte and Qadesh and their iconography.⁴⁵ The identification of these deities in the archaeological material remains a problem. Through

³⁷ Redford 1973, 45.

³⁸ Redford 1992, 231-233.

³⁹ Redford 1992, 231.

⁴⁰ Redford 1992, 231-232.

⁴¹ Redford 1992, 231.

⁴² Redford 1992, 232.

⁴³ Redford 1992, 232.

⁴⁴ Redford 1992, 232.

⁴⁵ Cornelius 1993, 21-22.

his study, Cornelius examined the inscribed material of these female deities and compared the uninscribed items.⁴⁶

More particularly, despite the fact that there is no inscribed material of Anat from Ugarit, there are items from Egypt. In his research, Cornelius quoted two statues of Anat with Rameses II, two reliefs of the goddess, a stela and a figure of her, which are dated to the New Kingdom Period.⁴⁷ According to these items, the iconography of Anat can be defined. The goddess is appeared as a warrior deity, holding a spear and shield and brandishing a weapon above her head. The goddess is also manifested as a warrior deity, either sitting or standing and holding a *was*-sceptre or seated next to the pharaoh. Cornelius stated “*in none of these cases Anat is depicted as the “mistress of the animals”, although the element of the warrior goddess is well-depicted. This last aspect is also described in the Ugaritic texts*”.⁴⁸ On the other hand, there is an uninscribed material, which has been connected with Anat. This material depicts a smiting goddess wearing an atef crown and holding weapons.⁴⁹ According to Cornelius these depictions can be connected with Astarte.⁵⁰

The inscribed material of Astarte depicts a goddess in a long garment, wearing an atef crown and holding a spear, while other seals depict an equestrian goddess handling a bow.⁵¹ According to this material, the iconography of Astarte is that of a warrior deity on a horseback and a standing warrior deity with or without her weapons.⁵² Parallel, the uninscribed material of Astarte connects the goddess with horses and defined her as a huntress/warrior deity.⁵³ According to Cornelius, different deities could have common attributes and iconographical characteristics. However, he suggested “*similarity in function and attributes does not mean that deities were “assimilated into a single deity”. Although there sometimes seems to be confusion between different deities in ancient times, and some form of fusion might have occurred, the view is held that there was a define distinction between the different deities*”.⁵⁴

Last but not least, in contrast to the aspect that the name of Qadesh in Ugarit is referred as the servant of Asherah, who prepares the mule of the goddess, it is argued that

⁴⁶ Cornelius 1993, 22.

⁴⁷ Cornelius 1993, 22-23.

⁴⁸ Cornelius 1993, 23.

⁴⁹ Cornelius 1993, 25-26.

⁵⁰ Cornelius 1993, 26.

⁵¹ Cornelius 1993, 23-24.

⁵² Cornelius 1993, 24.

⁵³ Cornelius 1993, 26-27.

⁵⁴ Cornelius 1993, 29.

Qadesh was an independent deity.⁵⁵ This aspect can be demonstrated through her iconography. More specifically, stelae, from Deir el Medina, depict the goddess naked, facing at the front, standing on a lion and holding snakes and flowers, while she is flanked by Min and Reshef.⁵⁶ According to Cornelius, the depiction of her as a naked deity does not only reflect the element of fertility, but her close relation with animals.⁵⁷ He also stated that “*Each Canaanite goddess had her own iconography. Perhaps Qudshu should be given back her divinity and not only be taken as an epithet of Asherah, Anat or Astarte. Qudshu is depicted as a mistress of animals, standing on a lion or a horse*”.⁵⁸

The first published monograph of Cornelius entitled *The Iconography of the Canaanite Gods Reshef and Ba'al: Late Bronze and Iron Age I Periods (C 1500-1000 BCE)*, concerns the iconographical representations of Baal and Reshef during the Late Bronze Age.⁵⁹

In his examination, a full catalogue description of the relevant archaeological material such as reliefs, seals and statutes are included, while an analysis of their iconographic attributes, divides them into “menacing god”, “standing god”, “deities on animals” and “monster slayer”.⁶⁰

According to his research, the first category includes Reshef, who is presented with a raised hand, holding a weapon in a menacing way over its head, such as a battle-axe, mace, mace-axe and a shield and he is dressed in the short, knee-length kilt.⁶¹ At the same time, Baal is presented in the same way as Reshef, raising his hand and holding weapons above his head, but he is never depicted with a shield.⁶²

In the second category, Reshef is standing among the other two deities, Min and Qadesh. In all cases, Reshef wears a knee-length kilt with belt, a collar, the white crown and he holds the spear in his right hand and an *ʿnh* symbol in his left hand.⁶³ Parallel, Baal is depicted with a streamer and bull horns, holding a *w3s*-sceptre in his left hand and a *hpš* sword on the other hand.⁶⁴

⁵⁵ KTU 1.4. IV 14-17; Cornelius 1993, 31.

⁵⁶ Cornelius 1993, 29.

⁵⁷ Cornelius 1993, 33.

⁵⁸ Cornelius 1993, 33.

⁵⁹ Cornelius 1994, 23-263.

⁶⁰ Cornelius 1994, 23-263.

⁶¹ Cornelius 1994, 25-57.

⁶² Cornelius 1994, 134-142.

⁶³ Cornelius 1994, 57-72.

⁶⁴ Cornelius 1994, 142-161.

There are several manifestations which present Reshef and Baal in a sitting position on horseback or driving a chariot.⁶⁵ Cornelius stated that “*The deity is depicted on a lion or a bull because of the connection with the numinous power represented by the animal. Riding the horse has a more "practical" reason. The horse is especially used in warfare. When it is used with a deity, it indicates the deity's connection with war - as is the case with Astarte and Reshef.*”⁶⁶ In the case of Baal, the god is depicted on a lion or a horse with wings.⁶⁷ Next to the god Baal there is a *wḏ3t*-eye, symbolizing the protection and regeneration.⁶⁸

The last category presents the god Baal winged, wearing a kilt with two tassels between the legs. The figure faces to the right, standing on a double base-line. The god grabs a serpent hanging in its length, but no weapon is visible.⁶⁹

Through his examination, Cornelius also demonstrated the relation of these deities with pharaohs.⁷⁰ According to him, the sphinx stela of Amenophis II links Reshef to horses and associated him with other two deities, Montu and Astarte.⁷¹ The Karnak stela informs us that Amehotep II is associated with Montu, while in the version of Memphis, the same king is compared with Reshef.⁷² Through his investigation, he indicated that the textual sources of Reshef contain a warlike characteristics.⁷³ In another point of his research, Cornelius suggested that “*these texts came from the context of battle. The scenes depicting Reshef on horseback and in the chariot all show him with weapons and therefore emphasize his warlike character. This is further emphasized by the accompanying inscriptions mentioning Reshef together with Montu and describing the subjugation and destruction of Egypt's enemies.*”⁷⁴

Similar investigation of Cornelius, which is associated with the connection between Anat, Astarte and Qadesh and the pharaohs, has been made by his book *The Many Faces of the Goddess: The Iconography of the Syro-Palestinian Goddesses Anat, Astarte, Qedeshet, and Asherah c. 1500-1000 BCE.*⁷⁵

⁶⁵ Cornelius 1994, 72-73.

⁶⁶ Cornelius 1994, 81.

⁶⁷ Cornelius 1994, 195-211.

⁶⁸ Cornelius 1994, 211.

⁶⁹ Cornelius 1994, 212.

⁷⁰ Cornelius 1994, 86.

⁷¹ Cornelius 1994, 86.

⁷² Cornelius 1994, 86.

⁷³ Cornelius 1994, 86.

⁷⁴ Cornelius 1994, 87.

⁷⁵ Cornelius 2004, 21-87.

In his research, he collected the iconographic material on the deities Anat, Astarte, Asherah and Qadesh and defined five iconographical types: a) the armed goddess,⁷⁶ b) the seated goddess,⁷⁷ c) the standing goddess,⁷⁸ d) the equestrian goddess⁷⁹ and e) a naked woman holding objects.⁸⁰ For each of these types, he presented a detailed catalogue, which includes the present location of the item, bibliography, a detailed description of the item and some religion-historical observations.

In the case of “armed goddess”, three types have been attested: i) the seated menacing goddess, ii) the standing menacing goddess and iii) the standing armed goddess. Cornelius states that “*such figures are commonly described as “smiting” deities, but in a study on the iconography of the gods Baal and Reshef, it has been argued that the term “menacing” is more appropriate, because the lifted menacing hand in itself is important as a gesture of power*”.⁸¹ The second category focuses on the images of a goddess who is seated peacefully. In this category, a seated figure of Anat depicts her next to the great devotee, pharaoh Ramses II.⁸² The next category includes iconographical materials, which depict a female figure merely standing and holding a staff or scepter. In this case, a statue of Anat presents her holding the hand of the pharaoh.⁸³ At the same time, the type of “equestrian goddess” attests three trends: i) The goddess is menacing on horseback, ii) She is menacing an enemy and iii) The goddess stands or kneels on horseback.⁸⁴ According to Cornelius, the largest iconographical material is included in the last category “naked woman holding objects”, where two groups are presented: i) the goddess is standing in a triad flanked by two other figures and ii) she is standing alone, but in some cases with worshippers. These groups are sub-divided into: standing on a lion i) with the variants or ii) without any pedestal.⁸⁵

Based on the previous categorization of the iconographical material, the postures, the titles of each deity, Cornelius managed to determine the function of these deities.⁸⁶ Cornelius stated that “*Anat occurs on various items with that Anatophile, Rameses II, who called himself “beloved of Anat” and her his “mother”. This has more to do with her help in war than describing her maternal and nursing abilities. Rameses II was “obsessed” with Anat*

⁷⁶ Cornelius 2004, 21-26.

⁷⁷ Cornelius 2004, 29.

⁷⁸ Cornelius 2004, 34.

⁷⁹ Cornelius 2004, 40-44.

⁸⁰ Cornelius 2004, 45-52.

⁸¹ Cornelius 2004, 21.

⁸² Cornelius 2004, Cat. 2.1.

⁸³ Cornelius 2004, 34.

⁸⁴ Cornelius 2004, 40-41.

⁸⁵ Cornelius 2004, 45.

⁸⁶ Cornelius 2004, 84-85.

and even used her name for his daughter”.⁸⁷ Cornelius also noted that “*The equestrian Astarte occurs with the pharaohs Thutmose IV and Rameses II, but also standing with Amenophis II, Rameses II, Merneptah and Siptah*”,⁸⁸ while Qadesh “*formed part of the popular cult of Egypt*”.⁸⁹ Lastly, he suggested that “*the domination of Egyptian styles in Syro-Palestinian art is clearly evident. The political and cultural domination of Egypt in this region led to the “exporting” of the Syro-Palestinian deities to Egypt. The pharaohs and conquering armies brought back these deities to Egypt, as did POW’s and slaves from Syro-Palestine.*”⁹⁰

Cornelius also in his article “*From Bes to Baal: Religious Interconnections between Egypt and the East*”, studied the interconnections between Egypt and Syro-palestine and summarizes the importation of Syro-palestinian deities in the military campaign.⁹¹

In his research, he mentioned the introduction of Syro-palestinian deities, Anat, Astarte, Qadesh, Baal, Reshef and Hauron into the Egyptian religion and cultural system.⁹² According to Cornelius, these deities are mentioned in the Egyptian texts, such as the Papyrus Sallier IV, which refer to Baal, Anat and Qadesh, while magical spells mentioned the deities Anat, Reshef and Hauron.⁹³

Apart from the religious and cultural connections, these deities are associated with the royal authority.⁹⁴ Astarte is presented together with Reshef in order to reinforce the athletic skills of Amenhotep II.⁹⁵ Cornelius noted that “*The link with chariots and horses might explain why she became popular. Many Levantine deities were introduced because of their martial traits, giving further support to the military prowess of the pharaoh*”.⁹⁶ Baal and Anat were popular under the reign of Rameses II, as they are depicted next to the pharaoh, symbolizing the military power.⁹⁷ The god Hauron was introduced by Amenhotep II and became popular in the reign of Rameses II, while the goddess Qadesh was popular in the lower rank.⁹⁸ Lastly, Reshef was worshipped by Amenhotep II and he was associated with Egyptian authority, such as chariots and horses.⁹⁹

⁸⁷ Cornelius 2004, 85.

⁸⁸ Cornelius 2004, 85.

⁸⁹ Cornelius 2004, 86.

⁹⁰ Cornelius 2004, 87.

⁹¹ Cornelius 2017, 209-217.

⁹² Cornelius 2017, 215.

⁹³ Cornelius 2017, 215.

⁹⁴ Cornelius 2017, 215.

⁹⁵ Cornelius 2017, 215.

⁹⁶ Cornelius 2017, 215.

⁹⁷ Cornelius 2017, 215.

⁹⁸ Cornelius 2017, 215.

⁹⁹ Cornelius 2017, 217.

Another reference to the deities Astarte and Reshef has been made in the article of Hoffmeier and Kitchen entitled “Reshef and Astarte in North Sinai: A Recently Discovered Stela from Tell el-Borg”, where they examined the manifestation and role of these deities in Egypt and the iconographic characteristics of the stela.¹⁰⁰

In their research, they analyzed the stela from Tell el-Borg. The stela is divided into two parts. The first section presents two deities and the second panel contains two men who are bringing offerings to the deities.¹⁰¹ In the upper part, Reshef stands on a plinth, representing a cult statue. The right arm is upraised and holds a mace. The god also wears a long kilt and the white crown. On the other hand, he holds a shield and faces Astarte.¹⁰² The goddess, Astarte, is manifested enthroned on a leonine-legged chair, which is on the back of a horse and wears a fitted dress. In her left hand holds a spear and her right hand grasps a shield and a second spear.¹⁰³

In the lower register of the stela, two worshipers are depicted bringing offerings. On the left, the man wears a wig, a kilt and his one hand takes a gesture of adoration, while the other may hold a libation vessel. The other figure stands on the right side, holding lotus flowers.¹⁰⁴

According to them. “*this stela of Reshef and Astarte is one of the earliest representations of these martial deities who became increasingly important in the course of the New Kingdom. Moreover, to our knowledge, this is the first example in which Reshef and Astarte appear together in Egyptian art. The owner of the stela was the ‘overseer of horses,’ apparently during the 18th Dynasty when the first Tell el-Borg fort flourished. Considering that he was likely a foreigner himself, his devotion to Reshef and Astarte, who are associated with horses and warfare, is quite fitting. The former’s title ‘Lord of the house of the stable of horses,’ shows the close relationship between the deity and Betu, the stable master*”.¹⁰⁵

A more detailed analysis of the contribution of Syro-palestinian deities in the political field during the Late Bronze Age has been made by Tazawa with her book *Syro-Palestinian Deities in New Kingdom Egypt: The Hermeneutics of their Existence*.¹⁰⁶ In her research, she catalogued the iconographical material and the textual sources, which are related to the Syro-

¹⁰⁰ Hoffmeier and Kitchen 2007, 127.

¹⁰¹ Hoffmeier and Kitchen 2007, 131.

¹⁰² Hoffmeier and Kitchen 2007, 131.

¹⁰³ Hoffmeier and Kitchen 2007, 132.

¹⁰⁴ Hoffmeier and Kitchen 2007, 132.

¹⁰⁵ Hoffmeier and Kitchen 2007, 136.

¹⁰⁶ Tazawa 2009, 1-170.

palestinian deities.¹⁰⁷ Based on the iconographical material, she studied the iconographical elements of Anat, Astarte, Qadesh, Baal, Reshef and Hauron.¹⁰⁸

According to her study, Anat is presented seated with brandishing posture or she is seated next to Ramesses II, where Anat “*puts her right hand on the shoulder of Ramesses II benevolently as a royal protector*”,¹⁰⁹ while in several appearances she is manifested in a peaceful posture, clasping pharaoh's hand.¹¹⁰ A different appearance is that of Astarte, who is depicted in a peaceful posture, while in several scenes, she is manifested as an equestrian with brandishing position or whipping posture, especially during the Ramesside period.¹¹¹ On the other hand, Qadesh in Egypt is standing on a lion in a triad stele, while several stelae display her alone.¹¹² In the case of Baal, the god is manifested in a menacing posture or winged, standing on an animal or slaying a serpent.¹¹³ Also, several scenes display Baal holding the *w3s*-sceptre and the *ʿnh* symbol or giving the sword to the pharaoh. Tazawa stated: “*Such a close relationship between the god and the king in which the former guarantees the latter military successes in the royal context is not characteristic of the surviving materials to Reshef*”.¹¹⁴ Despite the fact that Reshef is displayed holding shield or *w3s*-sceptre in a branding posture,¹¹⁵ he was linked with chariots and horses.¹¹⁶ Tazawa agreed with the suggestion of Schulman, who stated that “*Reshef has connections with chariots and chariot-horses, but it does not mean that Reshef was characteristically on the back of a horse*”.¹¹⁷ Tazawa also described and underlined the relation of Reshef with horses through the sphinx stele,¹¹⁸ Memphis stele¹¹⁹ and the inscription in Medinet Habu¹²⁰ as follows: “*The sphinx stele reports Reshef and Astarte rejoiced because the king could take care of horses excellently and handle them from the chariot skillfully*”,¹²¹ “*The Memphis stele states only that the king crossed the Orontes river in northern Syria “like Reshef (ršp)”*”¹²² and “*the inscription of Ramesses III in Medinet Habu narrates that the chariot-warriors are as mighty as Reshef, this*

¹⁰⁷ Tazawa 2009, 13-101.

¹⁰⁸ Tazawa 2009, 114-129.

¹⁰⁹ Tazawa 2009, 120.

¹¹⁰ Tazawa 2009, 120.

¹¹¹ Tazawa 2009, 121.

¹¹² Tazawa 2009, 123.

¹¹³ Tazawa 2009, 115.

¹¹⁴ Tazawa 2009, 115.

¹¹⁵ Tazawa 2009, 117-118.

¹¹⁶ Tazawa 2009, 117.

¹¹⁷ Tazawa 2009, 117; Schulman 1977, 13.

¹¹⁸ See Tazawa 2009, 2.1.2. Doc.52.

¹¹⁹ See Tazawa 2009, 2.1.2. Doc. 53.

¹²⁰ See Tazawa 2009, 2.1.2. Doc. 57.

¹²¹ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 117.

¹²² Translation after Tazawa 2009, 117.

means not that is in horseback but that Egyptian chariots are very strong like Reshef himself".¹²³ Last but not least, Hauron is appeared as a sphinx, facing to the right or as a hawk, while other scenes depict him as an anthropomorphic form or he is associated with the netherworld.¹²⁴

Apart from the iconographical material, the study of Tazawa focused on the relevant textual sources, such as votive stelae, titles, eulogies, relief inscriptions, hymns and economic and historical records, which contribute to the interpretation of these deities in their worship in Egypt.¹²⁵ In her research, Tazawa suggested that "*the first attestation of the name of Baal is a record of offering*¹²⁶ in which the existence of a cult of Baal is confirmed in Peru-nefer during the reign of Thutmose III or Amenhotep II".¹²⁷ In the 19th Dynasty, his name appeared more frequently in royal contexts, presenting him as "*a symbol of prowess and bravery of the king*".¹²⁸ More particular, Tazawa mentioned that "*The royal reliefs of historical records in the major temples in Thebes show the name of Baal only in royal eulogies, especially relating to foreign campaigns, in which Baal is used to emphasize how great, powerful and valiant the Egyptian kings are*".¹²⁹

The written materials, which are associated with Reshef, indicate that the god, Reshef manifests less in the official records, as the name of Baal was the most popular for the promotion of king's greatness.¹³⁰ Although the name of Reshef is recorded under the reign of Amenhotep II, as the king was competent to handle horses.¹³¹ In the case of Hauron, his epithets did not indicate a particular quality. According to Tazawa, "*it seems that one of the original characteristics of Hauron as a protective would have been employed by extension as a guardian or protector of evils, enemies and all the harmful nuisances in Egypt among both the royal family and ordinary people: for the former Hauron is the protector of the king and Egypt and the god shepherd for the latter*".¹³²

Compared with Hauron, the qualities of the goddess, Anat, demonstrate her effusive relationship with the Egyptian authority. Tazawa also noted that the epithet "*mistress of all the*

¹²³ Tazawa 2009, 117.

¹²⁴ Tazawa 2009, 118-119.

¹²⁵ Tazawa 2009, 129.

¹²⁶ Tazawa 2009, 2.1.1. Doc.89.

¹²⁷ Tazawa 2009, 130.

¹²⁸ Tazawa 2009, 130.

¹²⁹ Tazawa 2009, 130. For the inscriptions see Tazawa 2009, 2.1.1. Docs. 60-86, 90-93, 95-97, 101.

¹³⁰ Tazawa 2009, 131.

¹³¹ Tazawa 2009, 131. For the inscription see Tazawa 2009, 2.1.2. Doc. 53.

¹³² Tazawa 2009, 132.

*gods (nbt ntrwt)*¹³³ which is also applied to Astarte, can be regarded as the female version of the epithet “*king of the god (nsw ntr)*”¹³⁴ given to Amun, as the state god.¹³⁵ By this way, this epithet implies a relation between Anat and Egyptian royal authority, as demonstrated by the statues of Anat and Ramesses II and by her other epithets identifying her as divine mother of king, thus potentially making Anat the royal goddess.¹³⁶ Moreover, the strong connection between Anat and the royal family, especially Rameses II, is confirmed from the name of first daughter, Bintanat (*b3ntꜥnt*),¹³⁷ the 38th son, Mahiranat (*mhryꜥnti*)¹³⁸ and a puppy dedicated in a battle scene, *Anatemnakht (ꜥntinh)*^{139, 140}.

Another royal deity, which was also contributes to the authority is Astarte. According to the study of Tazawa, as an official royal goddess, Astarte was a war deity, reinforcing and protecting the pharaoh.¹⁴¹ Her name was linked with the pharaohs and their campaigns, such as that of Rameses III “*Anat and Astarte are a shield for him (skyy nb ꜥntit ꜥꜥti r)*”.¹⁴² Tazawa suggested that “*this connection between Astarte and a chariot is probably extended from the association of Astarte with horses which pull chariots*”.¹⁴³

Last but not least, Qadesh bears several titles in Egypt. Tazawa stated “*it seems unreasonable for Qadesh to bear the third “Lady of both lands (nbt t3wi)”*¹⁴⁴ which would show her rulership-like, because Qadesh has never appeared in the royal or official contexts. It is plausible to consider that Qadesh might be awarded this third epithet as an extension of her relationship with Anat and Astarte both of who had a strong connection with the royal family”.¹⁴⁵

The study of Tazawa is also devoted to the investigation of the relation between these Syro-palestine deities, except from Qadesh, and five pharaohs in royal scenes: Amenhotep II, Thutmose IV, Sety I, Rameses II and Rameses III.¹⁴⁶

On the Sphinx stele, Astarte and Reshef are mentioned on the text, where Amenhotep II is presented as an excellent and skillful equestrian.¹⁴⁷ Tazawa suggested that the

¹³³ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 132.

¹³⁴ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 132.

¹³⁵ Tazawa 2009, 132.

¹³⁶ Tazawa 2009, 132.

¹³⁷ For the name see Tazawa 2009, 2.1.4. Doc. 31.

¹³⁸ For the name see Tazawa 2009, 2.1.4. Doc. 32.

¹³⁹ For the name see Tazawa 2009, 2.1.4. Doc. 33.

¹⁴⁰ Tazawa 2009, 132-133.

¹⁴¹ Tazawa 2009, 134.

¹⁴² For the inscription see Tazawa 2009, 134.

¹⁴³ Tazawa 2009, 134.

¹⁴⁴ Tazawa 2009, 135.

¹⁴⁵ Tazawa 2009, 135.

¹⁴⁶ Tazawa 2009, 137.

interpretation of Helck¹⁴⁸ and Stadelmann,¹⁴⁹ who stated that this adoption was due to the personality of the pharaoh, is not sufficient and the viewpoint should be focused on the militaristic propaganda of the pharaoh.¹⁵⁰ According to her *“the king was compared to Reshef in his prowess and dauntlessness. Consequently Reshef must have appeared here as the divine advocate of military issue to support the claim made by Amenhotep II, and then the god was associated with horses themselves in the military context.”*¹⁵¹ At the same time, the goddess Astarte is manifested together with Reshef. Tazawa stated that *“her appearance could be interpreted as the emergence of a military goddess who cooperates with Reshef to promote the dignity of the great military king, Amenhotep II.”*¹⁵²

In contrast to the image of Amenhotep II, Thutmose IV never promoted his athletic skills.¹⁵³ Under his reign, one fragment of a stele¹⁵⁴ and an inscription of his body chariot¹⁵⁵ record the name of Astarte.¹⁵⁶ According to Tazawa *“Both of these cases indicate the close association between Astarte and horses, which extended to the connection of the goddess and war. It is not strange that the Egyptian king retained the conception of Astarte as a war goddess, even though this was a more peaceful era, because we can see that the king led several campaigns into the Levant.”*¹⁵⁷

Following the 19th Dynasty and the reign of Sety I, four Syro-palestinian deities are recorded: Baal Hauron, Anat and Astarte.¹⁵⁸ The name of the goddess, Astarte, is attested in the battle of the king against Shasu-Beduin.¹⁵⁹ The goddess is accompanied by Montu as the protectors of the king.¹⁶⁰ At the same time the name of Hauron was associated with the protection of the pharaoh, as his divine-father in the royal ideology.¹⁶¹ The name of goddess Anat is attested on the names of the horses of the royal chariot,¹⁶² while the name of Baal appeared in order to underline the pharaoh’s “heroism”.¹⁶³ According to Stadelmann *“Baal,*

¹⁴⁷ Tazawa 2009, 137-138. For the Sphinx Stele see Tazawa 2009, 2.1.2. Doc. 52, 2.1.5. Doc. 31.

¹⁴⁸ Helck 1966, 5.

¹⁴⁹ Stadelmann 1967, 56.

¹⁵⁰ Tazawa 2009, 138.

¹⁵¹ Tazawa 2009, 138.

¹⁵² Tazawa 2009, 138-139.

¹⁵³ Tazawa 2009, 139.

¹⁵⁴ For the fragment of the stele see Tazawa 2009, 2.1.5, Doc.2.

¹⁵⁵ For the inscription of the body chariot see Tazawa 2009, 2.1.5, Doc.32.

¹⁵⁶ Tazawa 2009, 139.

¹⁵⁷ Tazawa 2009, 139.

¹⁵⁸ Tazawa 2009, 140-141.

¹⁵⁹ For the name of Astarte see Tazawa 2009, 2.1.5, Doc.37.

¹⁶⁰ Tazawa 2009, 141.

¹⁶¹ Tazawa 2009, 142.

¹⁶² For the name of Anat see Tazawa 2009, 2.1.4, Doc.30.

¹⁶³ Tazawa 2009, 141.

*Anat and Astarte are certainly employed in order to “support” the king in each military scene of the Shasu-Bedouin campaign in the first year of Sety I.”*¹⁶⁴

The same Syro-palestinian deities continued under the reign of Rameses II. Hauron was associated with Ra cult and the king promoted him in order to gain the control of Amun’s authority.¹⁶⁵ The god Baal was regarded as the symbol of royal heroism and power, in which the pharaoh, as Stadelmann stated, “*should be compared to Baal, as a weather god, striding over the mountains and throwing lightning and thunders bolts.*”¹⁶⁶ In the case of Anat, the king emphasized to his relation with her by associating the name of the goddess with the names of his royal children and promoting her name in his first Hittite marriage.¹⁶⁷ At the same time, the goddess Astarte preserved her role with horses and chariots and her protective role under the reign of Rameses II.¹⁶⁸

For the reconstruction of the royal ideology, four Syro-palestinian deities, Baal, Anat, Astarte and Reshef, are recorded under the reign of Rameses III, but there is no personal relation between them and the pharaoh, as the previous pharaohs had.¹⁶⁹ Tazawa suggested that “*Only Medinet Habu was used as a “theatre” for the propaganda of the king who employed these four Syro-palestinian deities on the coattails of Rameses II in order to recover royal dignity.*”¹⁷⁰

In the same spirit, as the study of Tazawa, is the article of Zivie-Coche “*Foreign deities in Egypt*”.¹⁷¹ In her research, Zivie demonstrated the appearance of Baal, Reshef, Hauron, Astarte and Qadesh in the reign of Amenhotep II, with the exception of Anat who did not appear, before the reign of Rameses II by quoting the iconographical and cultural context of them.¹⁷²

According to her research, the appearance of these deities followed the Egyptian style and rules.¹⁷³ The god Reshef is displayed with shield, arrows and quiver, symbolizing the protective role of the god,¹⁷⁴ while the iconographical appearance of Baal did not diversify

¹⁶⁴ Stadelmann 1967, 135.

¹⁶⁵ Tazawa 2009, 144.

¹⁶⁶ Stadelmann 1967, 39.

¹⁶⁷ Tazawa 2009, 145. For the name of Anat in the Hittite marriage of Rameses II see Tazawa 2009, 2.1.4, Doc.10.

¹⁶⁸ Tazawa 2009, 145.

¹⁶⁹ Tazawa 2009, 148.

¹⁷⁰ Tazawa 2009, 147-148.

¹⁷¹ Zivie-Coche 2011, 1-10.

¹⁷² Zivie-Coche 2011, 1-10.

¹⁷³ Zivie-Coche 2011, 6.

¹⁷⁴ Zivie-Coche 2011, 6.

from the image of Seth-Baal in Egypt with an exception of his crown.¹⁷⁵ Hauron is manifested as a mixed form of half animal, sphinx, and half human body.¹⁷⁶ In the case of female Syro-palestinian deities, Astarte is presented as a young woman on horseback, while Qadesh is represented nude, standing on a lion, holding serpents and a bouquet of papyrus in her hands.¹⁷⁷

In her study, Zivie-Coche suggested that “*they come from Memphis and make frequent allusions to Peru-nefer, the port of Memphis with an important military and economic function. Peru-nefer had a pantheon that was quite unique, comprising the majority of known foreign gods under the aegis of Amun “Lord of Peru-nefer,” whose membership has recently been established*”.¹⁷⁸ Especially in the political field, Zivie-Coche supported that the first records of Reshef, Astarte and Hauron occurred under the reign of Amenhotep II.¹⁷⁹ More particularly, the relevant archaeological material such as the Victory Stela of Memphis, a rock stela in a quarry at Tura, the Sphinx Stela at Giza, foundation plaques of the chapel of Harmachis at Giza, and the so-called Astarte Papyrus, confirm the reign of Amenhotep II.¹⁸⁰ However, the earliest manifestation of Qadesh is dated in the reign of Amenhotep III, where a statue of Ptahankh associates her name with the high priesthood of Ptah.¹⁸¹

Following the 19th Dynasty, Rameses II declared himself beloved of the goddess Anat, presenting himself with the goddess in two monumental dyads. The pharaoh had also a close relation with the god Hauron. A statue of Hauron presented the pharaoh as a child underneath the throat of the Hauron-falcon at Pi-Ramesses.¹⁸² Apart from Hauron and Anat, Rameses II reinforced his relation with the god Seth by erecting the stela of 400th year of rule of Seth depicted as Ba’al”.¹⁸³

All the aforementioned studies focused on the military role of the Syro-palestinian deities in Egypt, without mentioning the textual sources, which can indicate more attributes and roles of them by the pharaohs. The examinations of Tazawa and Schmitt focused on five selected pharaohs, studying their relations with these deities in royal scenes¹⁸⁴ and the

¹⁷⁵ Zivie-Coche 2011, 6.

¹⁷⁶ Zivie-Coche 2011, 6.

¹⁷⁷ Zivie-Coche 2011, 6.

¹⁷⁸ Zivie-Coche 2011, 3.

¹⁷⁹ Zivie-Coche 2011, 3.

¹⁸⁰ Zivie-Coche 2011, 3.

¹⁸¹ Zivie-Coche 2011, 3.

¹⁸² Zivie-Coche 2011, 3.

¹⁸³ Zivie-Coche 2011, 3.

¹⁸⁴ Tazawa 2009, 137.

participation of these deities in the military campaigns.¹⁸⁵ However, there are textual sources such as the treaty between Ramesses II and Hattusilis III, which are not mentioned at all in their researches. The treaty of Egypt with Hattusili III indicates foreign deities, who are witnesses in their deal.¹⁸⁶ In his treaty, Rameses II mentioned a large number of foreign deities, among them the name of Astarte of Hatti¹⁸⁷ is included, adding a new role to the goddess.¹⁸⁸

Thus, the effort of Tazawa for the connection of Syro-palestinian deities with royal authority needs to be re-examined, as there are more textual sources, such as names of the daughter of Ramesses II, Amarna letters, which mention the names of Syro-palestinian deities and serve the personal purposes of the kings in order to regain their power and glory.¹⁸⁹ For example, in the diplomatic marriage of Rameses II the name of Anat is recorded on a stele,¹⁹⁰ indicating the close relation of the pharaoh with the goddess. The researches of Redford for Syro-palestinian deities can not justify the cause and appearance of them in Egypt,¹⁹¹ as in his research there is no analysis of archaeological material or textual source, which can identify the presence of Syro-palestinian deity in royal authority. The close connection of these deities with royalty can be demonstrated through the inscription of the chariot, which reads: “*Anat is content*” (𐎠𐎎𐎢𐎠 𐎡𐎢𐎠).¹⁹² Furthermore, there are two statues from Tanis,¹⁹³ which depict Anat next to the king, Ramesses II. The first statue records: “*Anat lady of the sky, mistress of the gods*” (𐎠𐎎𐎢𐎠 𐎎𐎢𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎠)¹⁹⁴ and the second bears the inscription: “*Beloved of Anat, I am your mother Anat*” (𐎠𐎎𐎢𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎠).¹⁹⁵ Apart from the archaeological material, textual sources such as reliefs, autobiographical texts, inscriptions on the temples also reflect the appearance of Syro-palestinian deities in Egypt, but there are not included in his research. Indicative example is an inscription of Amenhotep II’s Syrian campaign records: “*His majesty crossed the Orontes by water, wading forth like Reshef (ršp)*”.¹⁹⁶

In the light of prowess of the pharaoh and his dependence on gods in order to advance his profile, the introduction of Syro-palestinian deities in the political field needs to be re-

¹⁸⁵ Schmitt 2013, 222-224.

¹⁸⁶ Langdon and Gardner 1920; Bryce 2006.

¹⁸⁷ Langdon and Gardner 1920, 194.

¹⁸⁸ Spalinger 2005; Bryce 2006; Langdon and Gardner 1920, 194; Brand 2007.

¹⁸⁹ Brand 2005; Bryce 2006; Spalinger 2005.

¹⁹⁰ For the marriage stele see PM II 59; PM V 225; PM VII 98, 159; KRI II 256; RITA II 256.

¹⁹¹ Redford 1992, 231-233; 1973, 44-45.

¹⁹² PM II 19-23; KRI I 7; RITA I 7.

¹⁹³ Louvre AF 2576; Cairo JE6336.

¹⁹⁴ PM IV, 24; KRI II 445, 10; 446; RITA II 445, 10;446.

¹⁹⁵ PM IV, 24; KRI II 445; RITA II 445.

¹⁹⁶ Urk. IV 1302.

studied. The political developments and the relation of Syro-palestinian deities with royal authority caused the importation and the selection of them in the political context by the pharaohs. Through the textual sources, the definition of the diplomatic and political relations of these deities with the pharaohs in Egypt during the Late Bronze Age will be made. Apart from textual sources, archaeological material is also helpful for our interpretation for the importation of Syro-palestinian deities in the royal authority, such as stelae, which record the name of a Syro-palestinian deity or their connection with the pharaohs, indicating the official period of their importation in Egypt. Before analyzing the role of Syro-palestinian deities in the political and diplomatic context, it is necessary to examine the relation of Egyptian kingship with gods.

2. *Monographs and articles dealing with single deities*

Apart from the previous researches, there are some monographs or articles, which are dealing with single Syro-palestinian gods or goddesses, examining their iconographical characteristics and their attributes in Egypt. Some of them are the studies of Albright (1941), Simpson (1952), Givon (1967), Te Velde (1967), van Dijk (1989), Day (1992), Selz (2000), Wilkinson (2003), Allon (2007), Lipinski (2009), Munnich (2009), Schneider (2010), Schmitt (2013), Ulanowski (2013), Tazawa (2014), Lahn (2014; 2015), Budin (2015), Morris (2015a; 2015b).

Anat

An examination, which is related to the goddess Anat is the study of Day by her article “Anat Ugarit’s “Mistress of animals”, where she re-examined the “fertility” attributes of Anat, reflecting the significant role of the goddess, which is linked to the hunt, as a mistress of animals.¹⁹⁷ On the basis of the profile, which derives from the textual sources, she demonstrated the new role of the deity, adding iconographical material.¹⁹⁸

In her research, she quotes the textual sources from Near East in order to demonstrate the role of the deity, as a mistress of animals and her hunter attributes. More particularly, she invoked the story of Aqhat and the bow.¹⁹⁹ According to the story, the goddess covered the bow for hunting and offered Aqhat riches and immortality in order to exchange it.²⁰⁰ The latter refused to give her his bow and Anat vowed revenge. The next columns mentions that the goddess decided to murder Aqhat in order to obtain the bow and she used Yatpan, the eagle, to attack and kill Aqhat.²⁰¹

Another three texts confirm the manifestation of Anat as a huntress.²⁰² The first text mentions that birds are the prey of the goddess,²⁰³ while the second describes the scene, where the goddess leaves El in order to go hunting.²⁰⁴ The other text mentions that Baal leaves his house and carries a bow in order to go for hunting.²⁰⁵ Anat was looking for him and when she

¹⁹⁷ Day 1992, 181.

¹⁹⁸ Day 1992, 181.

¹⁹⁹ Day 1992, 181-182.

²⁰⁰ 1.17 V 37-39.

²⁰¹ 1.18 IV 12-13, 1.18 IV 27-38.

²⁰² Day 1992, 183-184.

²⁰³ 1.22 I 11.

²⁰⁴ 1.114 22-23.

²⁰⁵ 1.10.

arrives at the place, Baal bows at her feet.²⁰⁶ In the next lines, the goddess is described to turn and see a cow and circles around it.²⁰⁷

Apart from the textual sources, Day examined the iconography of the goddess, which, according to her, confirms the association with hunt.²⁰⁸ In her research, she associates three items, which can contribute to the identification of the goddess and her hunting attributes.²⁰⁹ The first item is an ivory pyxis lid from tomb 3 at Minet el Beida dated to thirteenth century BCE. The ivory pyxis depicts a goddess at the top of a mountain, flanked on each side by a goat.²¹⁰ According to Day, the style of the goddess is Mycenaean and it is associated with the potnia theron.²¹¹ The second item is a gold pendant from Minet el Beida and it is dated to 1400 BCE.²¹² The pendant depicts a goddess standing on the top of a lion. Behind her, there are two snakes, while she holds two goats. According to Day, the style of the goddess is Syro-palestinian and the way she holds the goats can also link to the feature of the potnia theron.²¹³ The third item is similar to the second from the same region. The goddess holds a gazelle in each hand.²¹⁴ Day states that “*the three items taken together illustrate both aspects of her proprietary status. The animals are her quarry, but, like, any hunter, she is also concerned with their welfare in order to maintain a continuing stock of prey*”.²¹⁵

Another research, which concerns the goddess Anat has been made by Selz with her article “Five divine ladies: thoughts on Inana(k), Istar, In(n)in(a), Annunatum, and Anat, and the origin of the title “queen of heaven”.”²¹⁶ In her research, she included five goddesses, Inana(k), Istar, In(n)in(a), Annunatum, and Anat, studying their functions in Ugarit, the origins of their names and their roles in Egypt and the Near East.²¹⁷ Among to these deities, the goddess Anat is described as “lady of heaven” (*nbt pt*), “mistress of all the gods” (*nbt ntrw*).²¹⁸ Selz stated that “*Egyptian sources, under the reign of Ramesses II, which attest to Anat as a wet nurse and cow, are obviously influenced by syncretistic fusion with the Egyptian Hathor and Isis*”.²¹⁹

²⁰⁶ II 10-18.

²⁰⁷ II 26-29.

²⁰⁸ Day 1992, 188.

²⁰⁹ Day 1992, 188-190.

²¹⁰ Day 1992, 188-189.

²¹¹ Day 1992, 189.

²¹² Day 1992, 189.

²¹³ Day 1992, 189.

²¹⁴ Day 1992, 190.

²¹⁵ Day 1992, 190.

²¹⁶ Selz 2000, 29-37.

²¹⁷ Selz 2000, 29-37.

²¹⁸ Selz 2000, 36.

²¹⁹ Selz 2000, 36.

Similar research has been made by Wilkinson entitled *The complete gods and goddesses of ancient Egypt* in order to demonstrate the presence of Syro-palestinian deities under the reign of pharaohs.²²⁰

In his study, he described the goddess as a woman, who is holding a spear, axe and shield. She also wears a long dress and the White crown of Upper Egypt.²²¹ Wilkinson suggested that “*she became one of the patron deities of the military exploits of the Ramessid kings. A war hound of Rameses II was called “Anat in strength” and the goddess was said to personally protect Rameses III in the battle*”.²²²

Apart from Anat, another goddess was manifested with weapons in Egypt. The goddess Astarte is portrayed as a naked woman on a horse, holding weapons and wearing an Atef crown,²²³ demonstrating her association with chariots and horses.²²⁴ Wilkinson noted that “*she is mentioned on the Sphinx stela set up by Amenophis II as being delighted with the young prince’s equestrian skill and, like the Syrian goddess Anat, was believed to protect the pharaoh’s chariot in battle*”.²²⁵

The previous studies are mainly focused on the hunting attributes of the goddess in Near East, without examining her role in Egypt. The present research will focus on the political and diplomatic roles of the goddess. In the diplomatic field, the marriage stela of Rameses II records the name of Anat (AI5). The main text records: “*Living image of Ra, offspring of him who is within Heliopolis, his flesh is of gold, his bones of silver, and all his limbs of iron. Son of Seth, nursling of Anat (mhry ʿnt), strong Bull like Seth of Ombos, divine falcon whom the people love.*”²²⁶ The aim of this combination is to increase the diplomatic, geopolitical and economical relations with Hittites. At the same time, the stela underlines the divine origin of the pharaoh, Rameses II, reinforcing his prestige and the royal power.²²⁷

Apart from the diplomatic role, the goddess supported the Egyptian authority through the royal campaigns.²²⁸ More particularly, the name of Anat is recorded on a stone bowl (AV2), which bears the inscription: *Regnal 6th year under the majesty of the lord of the two lands, Horemheb, the ruler, at the time of his first victorious battle, from Byblos as far as the land of chief Carchemish. An offering, which the king gives to Ptah, south of his wall, lord of*

²²⁰ Wilkinson 2003, 137-139.

²²¹ Wilkinson 2003, 137.

²²² Wilkinson 2003, 137.

²²³ Wilkinson 2003, 138-139.

²²⁴ Wilkinson 2003, 138.

²²⁵ Wilkinson 2003, 138.

²²⁶ Translation after RITA II 238, 1, 256, 10 and Tazawa 2009, 75-76, Doc. 10.

²²⁷ For more analysis see Chapter 2.3.3.

²²⁸ For more analysis see Chapter 2.2 Anat.

*the life of the two lands, to Astarte lady of the sky (ʿštrt nbt pt), to Anat the daughter of Ptah, lady of truth (ʿnti s3t pth nbt m3ʿt), to Reshef lord of the sky (ršpw nb pt), to Qadeshet the lady of the stars of heavens (kdšt nbt sb3w ptw).*²²⁹ According to the inscription, Anat as a protector deity, she is associated with horses and chariots.²³⁰

Last but not least, the goddess was worshipped by the lower ranks. More specifically, the stela of Nakht bears the inscription: *Anat, lady of heaven, mistress of all the gods (ʿntiit nbt pt ntrw). An offering to Anat, she give life, prosperity and health (ḥtp di nsw ʿnit rdi ʿnh wd3 snb).*²³¹ According to the inscription, the goddess can guarantee for prosperity and health.²³²

²²⁹ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 101, Doc.19, 58, Doc.58, 76, Doc.13, 92, Doc.35, 101; Budin 2015, 4; Redford 1973, 37.

²³⁰ Redford 1973, 45.

²³¹ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 73, Doc.3.

²³² For more analysis see Chapter 3.2.

Astarte

A reference for the goddess Astarte has been made by the article of Giveon entitled “Ptah and Astarte on a seal from Acco”, where he analyzed the appearance of the goddess next to the god of Ptah.²³³

A black stone seal found at Tel el Fukhkhar. The back of the seal has the form of a negro head, while the face of the seal shows a mythological scenes.²³⁴ More particularly, the face of the seal presents the god Ptah in the centre of the scene, holding a uas-sceptre and his dress. In front of the god Ptah, a female figure is standing with wings.²³⁵ According to Giveon, the female figure is Astarte.²³⁶ The goddess wears a long dress and she has a long hair. In her left hand holds a bowl, while her right hand is stretched out on an offering stand. Behind the goddess, there are an Ibis, a ram and between them there is a sign, symbolizing the sun.²³⁷ Giveon stated that these symbols may be associated with three gods. The Ibis symbolizes the god Thot, the Ram links to Amun and the sun is identified with the god Re.²³⁸ Behind the god Ptah, a male figure is presented. The figure is dressed with a short kilt and a conical headdress. Giveon identified this figure with Seth, as Astarte is the consort of Seth.²³⁹ According to Giveon, “*the scene can be described as depicting Ptah adored and served by the divine couple Astarte and Seth. The origin of the seal is Egyptian*”.²⁴⁰

Another recently study is the researcher of Schmitt by his article “Astarte, Mistress of Horses, Lady of the Chariot: The Warrior Aspect of Astarte”, where the attributes and characteristics of Astarte through the textual sources and iconographical material have been investigated.²⁴¹

According to his research, the first record of Astarte is attested on a relief under the reign of Amenhotep II, which bears the inscription “*Astarte in front of Per-nefer (šštrt hntt pr nfr)*”²⁴² and an inscription on the tomb of Thutmose IV reads “*Valiant with his chariot team like Astarte (tnrhr ssmt mj ššštrt)*”.²⁴³ Schmitt notes that “*the phenomenon that a foreign goddess like Astarte became a prominent Egyptian goddess associated exclusively with war in*

²³³ Giveon 1967, 147.

²³⁴ Giveon 1967, 147.

²³⁵ Giveon 1967, 149.

²³⁶ Giveon 1967, 149.

²³⁷ Giveon 1967, 149.

²³⁸ Giveon 1967, 149.

²³⁹ Giveon 1967, 150.

²⁴⁰ Giveon 1967, 151.

²⁴¹ Schmitt 2013, 213-225.

²⁴² For the translation and transliteration see Schmitt 2013, 219.

²⁴³ For the translation and transliteration see Schmitt 2013, 219.

the late 18th and 19th Dynasties has several reasons: Both Helck and Assmann have characterized the transition from the 18th to the 19th Dynasty beginning with Horemheb as a occupation of power by the military leaders, thus a “military dictatorship” based on the military power of chariotry.²⁴⁴ Thus as a violent goddess associated with horses, Astarte, became the goddess of choice”.²⁴⁵ Her name also is mentioned on the vessel of Sennefer after the god Ptah and the other Syro-palestinian deities: Anat and Reshef participating on the side of Egyptians, reflecting the incorporation of Syro-palestinian deities and the association of Astarte with horses, attributes that can protect the military power and secure the result of the Egyptian domination in Levant.²⁴⁶

In his research, Schmitt studied her royal iconography, where she is also associated with the pharaoh.²⁴⁷ A relief from the tomb of Hetepka depicts the king making an offering to the goddess, who is dressed with a long dress, wears an Atef-crown and holds shield and spear.²⁴⁸ In a cylinder seal, Astarte wears the atef-crown and she holds a spear with a god, Reshef or Baal, in a menacing posture, demonstrating her participation in the domination over Canaan.²⁴⁹

The research of Tazawa has been accomplished with her article entitled “Astarte in New Kingdom Egypt: Reconsideration of her role and function”, which is focused on the female deity, Astarte and her role and function in Egypt.²⁵⁰ As she noted “*Egyptian kings sent many military campaigns into the Syro-Palestinian region in this period, resulting in these six ‘pagan deities’ being brought into Egypt as well as battle booty such as prisoners, food, and metals, and also voluntary settlers in the form of craftsmen, merchants and so on*”.²⁵¹

In her research, Tazawa managed to present the iconographical characteristics, titles and her connection with the pharaohs.²⁵² In Egypt, Astarte is displayed on an equestrian style. According to Tazawa, the equestrian style of Astarte includes two motifs: a) the brandishing posture and possibly b) the whipping posture.²⁵³ In the first case, Astarte is manifested on horseback, raises her arm holding a lance or spear, and wears an Atef-crown.²⁵⁴ The

²⁴⁴ Helck 1971, 456; Assmann 1996, 284-285; Schmitt 2013, 220.

²⁴⁵ Schmitt 2013, 220.

²⁴⁶ Schmitt 2013, 221.

²⁴⁷ Schmitt 2013, 222.

²⁴⁸ Schmitt 2013, 222-223.

²⁴⁹ Schmitt 2013, 223.

²⁵⁰ Tazawa 2014, 103-123.

²⁵¹ Tazawa 2014, 103.

²⁵² Tazawa 2014, 103-123.

²⁵³ Tazawa 2014, 106.

²⁵⁴ Tazawa 2014, 106.

brandishing posture on horseback underlines the warrior nature of Astarte.²⁵⁵ The second case, involves the whipping posture, where the goddess is displayed on grasping the reins in one hand and placing the other on the rump of a horse.²⁵⁶

Apart from the equestrian style, Astarte involves another category, where the goddess wears a long dress, an Atef-crown, holds a w3s-sceptre and an 'nh symbol and stands in a peaceful position.²⁵⁷ Tazawa stated that “when Astarte takes up this position, she always appears in the offering scene in which the king or the humble dedicate their worship to her”.²⁵⁸

In the political field, Tazawa suggested that “Astarte is accepted as a royal goddess who supports and protects the kings of Egypt in the military scenes, such as Amenhotep II, Thutmose IV, Sety I, Sety II, and Rameses III. Furthermore, some children of Rameses II had theophoric names embedded with the name of Astarte: Meryastarte (mriʿtrtt) and Astartehirwonmef (ʿštrti hr wnmy=f)... It is highly plausible that the supposedly miraculous healing of Amenhotep III from severe health problems after he received the cult figurine of Ishtar (Mesopotamian Astarte) from the ruler of Mitanni influenced the Egyptians and consequently made them trust and count on Astarte for their own prosperity, health and stability”.²⁵⁹

The studies of Schmitt²⁶⁰ and Tazawa²⁶¹ referred to the political role of the goddess and her military attributes. However, the present research will quote the archaeological material and textual sources, which can reflect the diplomatic role of the goddess and her influence and worship in the lower ranks. In the diplomatic field, the name of Astarte is mentioned on the treaty of Ramesses II with Hattusili II (AST1): “Astarte of the land of Hatti” (ʿntrt np3ʔ nhʔ).²⁶² The name of Astarte is regarded as an equal deity with Istar, who is mentioned in the Hittite version.²⁶³ In the lower ranks, the Stele of Betu presents is devoted to Reshef and Astarte (ASR1).²⁶⁴ It seems that the owner of the stele was the ‘overseer of horses’ and his devotion to Reshef and Astarte is associated with horses and warfare.²⁶⁵

²⁵⁵ Tazawa 2014, 107.

²⁵⁶ Tazawa 2014, 106.

²⁵⁷ Tazawa 2014, 108.

²⁵⁸ Tazawa 2014, 108.

²⁵⁹ Tazawa 2014, 110.

²⁶⁰ Schmitt 2013.

²⁶¹ Tazawa 2014.

²⁶² Translation after RITA II 230, 1; Langdon & Gardner 1920, 194.

²⁶³ Langdon & Gardiner 1920, 194. For more analysis see 2.3.2.

²⁶⁴ For more analysis see Chapter 3.2.

²⁶⁵ Hoffmeier and Kitchen 2007, 136.

Qadesh

The researches of Lahn entitled “Some Reflections on the Function of a Particular Triad Constellation in New Kingdom Religious Iconography”,²⁶⁶ *Die Göttin Qedeschet. Genese einer Hybridgottheit*,²⁶⁷ are associated with the goddess Qadesh, her functions and her relation with the triad as a unit.

According to her research, the archaeological material of Qadesh was widespread from Ulu burun to Zincirli in Anatolia, from Karkemisch to the southern region of Palestine and in Egypt from Memphis to Thebes.²⁶⁸ However, the archaeological material from Syro-palestine region can not contribute to the interpretation of the triad constellation, with an exception to the region of Tel Qarnayim, where the goddess is standing on a horse with two gods beside her.²⁶⁹ In addition her name in Ugarit texts can be translated as “the holy one” or the “sacred one”, without indicating her functions.²⁷⁰

Based on the archaeological material from Egypt, there are 16 epithets of the goddess, which can be grouped into four categories.²⁷¹ The first group includes titles of the goddess, which linked to the nature and the general functions of the deity, such as the title “Great of magic” (*wr.t hk3.w*).²⁷² The second group is associated with the cosmic authority, such as the titles “Lady of heaven” (*nb.t p.t*).²⁷³ The other category gives us a glimpse for the origin of the goddess, such as the title “Qadeshet from Byblos (*Kdš.t n Kpni*).²⁷⁴ The last group involves titles which indicate a close relation with other deities, such as the title “daughter of Isis” (*s3.t 3s.t*).²⁷⁵

Apart from the titles which can define the nature and the general divine functions of the goddess, there are some titles which connect Qadesh with other deities.²⁷⁶ The aforementioned titles are close related with the goddess Isis, while the title “lady of Byblos” is linked to the goddess Hathor. The connection of Qadesh with Isis leads to the association of her with Horus.²⁷⁷ Through the combination of her with Isis, who heals several diseases and

²⁶⁶ Lahn 2015, 1041.

²⁶⁷ Lahn 2014.

²⁶⁸ Lahn 2015, 1042.

²⁶⁹ Lahn 2015, 1042, n.8

²⁷⁰ Lahn 2014, 172-174; 2015, 1042.

²⁷¹ Lahn 2014, 191; 2015, 1042-1043.

²⁷² Lahn 2015, 1043.

²⁷³ Lahn 2015, 1043.

²⁷⁴ Lahn 2015, 1043.

²⁷⁵ Lahn 2015, 1043.

²⁷⁶ Lahn 2015, 1043.

²⁷⁷ Lahn 2015, 1044.

her association with Horus, a protector deity, Qadesh has a healing and protective attributes.²⁷⁸ On the other hand, based on the titles and the iconographical characteristics, the goddess is related with Hathor.²⁷⁹ Both deities depicted anthropomorphically and naked and their heads are depicted en face, with an exception on the items, which they hold. Qadesh holds lotus flowers and serpents in her hands. She stands on the back of a lion or on the ground.²⁸⁰ According to Lahn “*Amulets, stelae, altars and other cultic objects and the texts that are inscribed on these objects seem to focus on one specific function: protection for the donator by the goddess. The name does not refer back to a special function, but tells something about her connection to the Ancient Near East and her general divinity. But the epithets connect her with the important Egyptian female deities Isis and Hathor.*”²⁸¹ The iconographical characteristics of the goddess indicate also her functions.²⁸² The naked element of the goddess indicates an erotic aspect of her, while the different crowns connect her with the Egyptian goddess of love. The flowers and lotus symbolize the daily regeneration and rebirth and the lion links to the symbol of mastership and divinity, while the snakes interpreted as power over the wild animals.²⁸³

The goddess is depicted among two deities, Min and Reshep. More particularly, the iconography of Min is always the same: he is depicted anthropomorphically, ithyphallic, clothed with a white dress and he wears a crown with two plumes. In his right arm, he is holding a flail, while in the other hand he is holding his erect phallus.²⁸⁴ The goddess always holds flowers in Min’s side, indicating the functions of Min, which are associated with regeneration, eroticism, power and manliness.²⁸⁵ On the other hand, Reshep wears a short kilt with straps and his head is covered with a conical crown with or without a gazelle’s head on the front.²⁸⁶ The god, Reshep, who is manifested next to Qadesh is depicted in a peaceful pose, indicating his protector attributes.²⁸⁷

According to Lahn, there are three systems, where different deities can be grouped.²⁸⁸ The first system is called social system, which “reflects the social order of society and projects

²⁷⁸ Lahn 2014, 211; 2015, 1044.

²⁷⁹ Lahn 2015, 1044.

²⁸⁰ Lahn 2015, 1044.

²⁸¹ Lahn 2015, 1045.

²⁸² Lahn 2015, 1045.

²⁸³ Lahn 2014, 230; 2015, 1045.

²⁸⁴ Lahn 2015, 1046.

²⁸⁵ Lahn 2014, 214-218; 2015, 1046.

²⁸⁶ Lahn 2014, 219-231.

²⁸⁷ Lahn 2014, 230-235; 2015, 1047.

²⁸⁸ Lahn 2015, 1047-1048.

this principle onto a theological level”.²⁸⁹ The second system is called local system, which “creates a topographical order and puts together who are worshipped in a common and original cult site, but who are not in a familiar connection”.²⁹⁰ The last system entitled “Numeric-Genealogical system” arranges different deities due to their genealogical connection.²⁹¹ Lahn stated that “none of these systems can be applied to the triad constellation Qadesh-Min-Reshep, because they are not hierarchically arranged and there are no hints that tell us about a familiar connection..so it can be assumed that she had a real “Sitz im Leben”²⁹² with her own cult community”.²⁹³ Lahn also suggested that “the deities were arranged together because of their functions. It seems that it was not very common to arrange gods together with a similar function”.²⁹⁴

Last but not least, Lahn concluded that “after this iconographic and textual completion and adaption, she was prepared for admission to the Egyptian religious system. It seems that her integration into a triad with the old Egyptian god Min and the better known and popular Asiatic god Reshep provided a possibility to understand and underline her function for the people: as a general protector and a protector of the erotic sphere.”²⁹⁵

The research of Budin, entitled “Qadeset: A Syro-palestinian goddess in Egypt” examined the iconographical origin of Qadesh through their iconographical elements.²⁹⁶

According to her research, the earliest record of the goddess is attested on the offering basin dating to the reign of Amenhotep III, where she is mentioned with Astarte. In this case, the goddess is presented as the “Lady of the Two Lands,” “Lady of the Sky, Mistress of the Gods,” and “Great in Magic.”²⁹⁷ A second 18th-Dynasty textual record is the vessel of Sennefer, dated to the reign of Horemheb, where Qadesh as the lady of the stars of heavens may give life, prosperity and health.²⁹⁸ These are the only references for Qadesh, while her iconographical appearance begun during the 19th Dynasty. It seems that Qadesh imported to the Egyptian region through the Levantine invaders or in the Egyptian domination of Canaan.²⁹⁹

²⁸⁹ Lahn 2015, 1047.

²⁹⁰ Lahn 2015, 1047.

²⁹¹ Lahn 2015, 1048.

²⁹² Lahn 2014, 294, 326.

²⁹³ Lahn 2014, 294-305; 2015, 1048.

²⁹⁴ Lahn 2015, 1048.

²⁹⁵ Lahn 2015, 1049.

²⁹⁶ Budin 2015, 1.

²⁹⁷ Budin 2015, 4.

²⁹⁸ Budin 2015, 4.

²⁹⁹ Budin 2015, 4.

In her research Budin searches for the origin of the image of the goddess. Her first hypothesis is that the goddess “takes part in the Nude Female tradition and continuum of the ancient Near East generally, she is a separate and distinct image from the so-called Astart Plaques and related figurines that proliferated throughout the eastern Mediterranean in the Bronze and early Iron Ages”.³⁰⁰ In this hypothesis, Budin stated that “Qedeset’s iconography clearly went through a different evolution than did Astart figurines and plaques”.³⁰¹

Another hypothesis is that Qedešet is a Late Bronze Age evolution of the female counterpart to Bes who appeared in Middle Kingdom Egypt due to the fact that she is a nude goddess, standing en face and holding snakes.³⁰² The suggestion of Budin is that “The problem with this hypothesis is chronological. Beset iconography ceases after the 13th Dynasty and is entirely absent after the Second Intermediate Period, with no perceivable links between her last appearance on a birth tusk and the emergence of Qedešet in the 19th Dynasty”.³⁰³

An alternative hypothesis has been suggested by Othmar Keel and Christoph Uehlinger, who mentioned that Qedešet is the New Kingdom manifestation of the Palestinian Branch Goddess.³⁰⁴ The Palestinian Branch Goddess appears as a nude female standing mostly en face, wears a nemes-style headdress and she has large ears. According to Budin, this hypothesis can not interpret the appearance of Qadesh, as there are chronological and iconographic issues.³⁰⁵ More specifically, Budin stated “as was the case with Beset, there is a 250- year gap between the last renderings of the Branch Goddess and the earliest manifestation of Qedešet. Unlike Beset, this gap occurs outside of Egypt, making it even more difficult to account for any continuity between the MB Palestinian image and the LB Egyptian”.³⁰⁶ Turning the discussion to the iconographical issues, the Branch Goddess is nude and frequently en face, but her arms are never in V-pose, as she holds them lower on her body.³⁰⁷ Last but not least, the Palestinian Branch Goddess never manifested with animals, while Qadesh standing upon a lion and holding snakes in Egypt.³⁰⁸

In her research Budin suggested that the image of Qadesh originated from the parallels appearances of Qadesh in Syro-Anatolian and end up to Egypt. More particularly, Budin supported that “In the end, the chronology of these various categories of nude females

³⁰⁰ Budin 2015, 4.

³⁰¹ Budin 2015, 4.

³⁰² Budin 2015, 5.

³⁰³ Budin 2015, 5.

³⁰⁴ Keel and Uehlinger 1998, 54.

³⁰⁵ Budin 2015, 6.

³⁰⁶ Budin 2015, 6.

³⁰⁷ Budin 2015, 6.

³⁰⁸ Budin 2015, 6.

might be understood as follows: *Proto Qedešet evolved in the Syro-Anatolian orbit out of the Old Syrian rain goddess. Proto-Qedešet gave rise in the Hittite dominated Levant to northern Qudšu, as well as heading south into Egypt proper to become the image of Qedešet. Qedešet then gave rise to southern Qudšu in the Egyptian dominated southern Levant*".³⁰⁹

Finally, the research of Budin examined the objects the goddess, which are Egyptian. Budin stated that "*Qedešet holds long stemmed flowers in her right hand, snakes in her left. The flowers themselves are either lotus or papyrus. As is typical of Egyptian ideology, both of these flowers have associations with rejuvenation and resurrection. The papyrus was a more joyful image, associated with notions of green, youth, flourishing, and happiness. It was linked with several goddesses, particularly Hathor, the goddess of joy herself. Both blossoms are strongly Egyptianizing and suggest a role for the goddess that pertains to both life and liveliness*".³¹⁰

The previous studies of Lahn³¹¹ and Budin³¹² can contribute to the analysis of the goddess in Egypt during the New Kingdom. However, a comprehensive analysis, which will include the iconographical origin and development of the goddess in Egypt and the definition of her attributes in the lower ranks, is still missing. The present study will examine the goddess through the stelae and magical papyrus, which has been found to the region of Deir el-Medina. For instance, the name of the goddess is recorded on pLeiden I 343+I 345, recto XXIII-XXIV.³¹³ It seems that the name of the goddess Qadesh is mentioned in the diseases *smn* and *ḥmrk* in order to defeat the disease.³¹⁴

³⁰⁹ Budin 2015, 15.

³¹⁰ Budin 2015, 15.

³¹¹ Lahn 2015.

³¹² Budin 2015.

³¹³ Tazawa (2009, 101, Doc.21) mentioned recto XXII-XXIV, which is wrong.

³¹⁴ Tazawa 2009, 101, Doc.21. For more analysis see Chapter 3.3.

Baal

The research of te Velde, entitled “Seth, god of confusion” examined the manifestation of Seth as Baal in Egypt.³¹⁵

More particularly, the god Baal introduced into the Egyptian region through the trade and sailors. The earliest reference of him is dated to the reign of Amenhotep II. The text concerns a sacrifice to Baal at *Prw-Nfr*, a harbor of Memphis.³¹⁶ His location on the harbor of Memphis is connected with his function in Ugarit, as a controller of the sea.³¹⁷ According to te Velde, “*it would seem that the foreign god Baal, who is regarded as a manifestation of Seth because the latter is the lord of foreign countries, is now enriching the Egyptian concept of Seth with a new function*”.³¹⁸

The appearance of Seth on the 400 years stela is presented in a non-Egyptian manner, associating him with Baal. His iconographical features, such as the thick nose and lips, the dress with tassels, the conical headdress with the horns are linked to a foreign god.³¹⁹ Despite the exotic manifestation of Seth, the god is not a foreign deity, but an Egyptian.³²⁰ According to te Velde, “*the hypothesis that Seth and Baal were identified because of local political and religious circumstances alone is hardly acceptable, quite apart from Seth’s mythological role. It is more probable that the Hyksos worshipped a foreign god, whom Egyptian named Seth, and that the Hyksos had their god designed thus in Hieroglyphic inscriptions on their monuments.*”³²¹

In his research, he also suggested that the Egyptians identified the storm attributes of Seth in Baal. Both deities have the storm and thunder attributes, but this function has a different importance in Egypt and Near East. In the latter region, the thunder and storm are associated with fertility and rain.³²² In Egypt, they associated thunder and storm with a deity, who is connected with foreign regions.³²³ Due to the fact that both deities, Seth and Baal, shared the same functions, Egyptian were enriched the attributes of Baal, adding the warrior

³¹⁵ Te Velde 1967, 122.

³¹⁶ Te Velde 1967, 122.

³¹⁷ Te Velde 1967, 122.

³¹⁸ Te Velde 1967, 123.

³¹⁹ Te Velde 1967, 123.

³²⁰ Te Velde 1967, 125.

³²¹ Te Velde 1967, 128.

³²² Te Velde 1967, 128.

³²³ Te Velde 1967, 128.

function to his attributes.³²⁴ The god Baal was close related with the cult of Seth and his name was symbolized with the Seth-animal and was the foreign name of Seth.³²⁵

Another research, which deals with the god Baal, is the article of Allon, entitled “Seth is Baal: Evidence from the Egyptian Script.”³²⁶ The article examined the reasons of the disappearance of the negative words for Seth during the New Kingdom and why other words replace the Sethian category.³²⁷

In the First Intermediate period and the Middle Kingdom, several words, which are related to illness and suffering create the Sethian category. According to McDonald “*Seth was taken as a symbol of the misfortunes of this period, being the ultimate and archetypal disturber of the established order*”.³²⁸ This situation changes during the New Kingdom. Allon states that “*the answer, I believe can be found in the figure of Seth Himself, which undergoes remarkable changes in this period, which reaches its peak apparently during the 19th -20th Dynasty..when through a process of syncretism Seth was identified with the god Baal*”.³²⁹

The god Baal was promoted as the deity of the Egyptian Kingship under the reign of Amenophis II.³³⁰ The depth of syncretism is confirmed not only by the fact that both deities were regarded as foreign gods and Baal is identified by the Seth sign, but both of them are storm gods.³³¹ In the theophany of Baal the gods is described by the words “heavy rain”, “snow” and “clouds”. Those words can be found in the vocabulary of Seth.³³²

According to Allon, the negative attributes of Seth have been changed due to the syncretism with Baal. More particularly, he stated “*The common attributes of Seth and Baal were accentuated, shifting the center of the category towards more human features, as indicated by the more frequent usage of the anthropomorphic classifiers*”.³³³

A similar research has been made by Schneider entitled “A Theophany of Seth-Baal in the Tempest Stele”.³³⁴ The meteorological phenomena analyzed in the text have been the centre of discussion on whether they could be seen as the effects of the Thera eruption or the appearance of Seth-Baal.³³⁵

³²⁴ Te Velde 1967, 129.

³²⁵ Te Velde 1967, 129.

³²⁶ Allon 2007, 15.

³²⁷ Allon 2007, 15.

³²⁸ McDonald 2007, 32.

³²⁹ Allon 2007, 19.

³³⁰ Allon 2007, 20.

³³¹ Allon 2007, 20.

³³² Allon 2007, 20.

³³³ Allon 2007, 20.

³³⁴ Schneider 2010, 405.

³³⁵ Schneider 2010, 405-409.

In the text 7F = 8–9B there is an expression which mentions that the “sky being occluded” (*p.t šn^c.tj*). The determinatives of the word *šn^c* are the recumbent Seth animal (E21) above the sky with rain and the recumbent Seth animal over the normal sky.³³⁶ According to Schneider, “*In conformity with Egyptian understanding that could ascribe meteorological phenomena of that kind to Seth and expressed visually in the arrangement of the determinatives, Seth was the master (“who is upon”) of the tempest. In the historical context of the stele, it could well be correct to assume that it was more precisely Seth of Auaris, the adopted form of the Syrian weather god Baal, with a main centre of worship in the Hyksos capital, who could be presumed behind the meteorological phenomena –Near Eastern texts clearly attribute to Baal the power over clouds, storm and lightning, and see his manifestation in his thundering voice*”.³³⁷

The research of Schneider interprets the manifestation of Seth-Baal as a confirmation of the god’s support for the Hyksos in the North.³³⁸ Schneider assumed that “*Seqenenre killed on the battlefield as was, in all likelihood, Kamose and only days into Ahmose’s accession to the throne, the Hyksos god brought unprecedented calamity over Thebes, eclipsing the sky and the power of the Theban gods. Even if the year 1 date is to be rejected, the repercussions of the event were significant. With the sun obscured, was this not a definitive judgment on whether Seth-Baal was truly “the one whose power is great*”.³³⁹

The selection of Syro-palestinian deities is not restricted only in the syncretism of Seth-Baal. Another study suggested the economical benefits, which can arise from the selection of these deities in Egypt. This examination has been made by Morris in his article “Exchange, extraction, and the politics of ideological money laundering in Egypt’s New Kingdom Empire”.³⁴⁰ More particularly, in her study mentioned that the Egyptian authority used and sent statues in Syro-palestinian temples in order to take the advantage of the loyalty of its vassals.³⁴¹ Through the examination of the textual sources, such as the inscription of Thutmose III’s chief treasurer Sennefer and the story of Wenamun, the political benefits are reflected.³⁴² The political benefits included many important and expensive items, which were used as offerings to an Egyptian god or goddess.³⁴³ Especially, when Egyptians identified their

³³⁶ Schneider 2010, 406.

³³⁷ Schneider 2010, 406.

³³⁸ Schneider 2010, 408.

³³⁹ Schneider 2010, 409.

³⁴⁰ Morris 2015a, 167, 169, 186.

³⁴¹ Morris 2015a, 167.

³⁴² Morris 2015a, 169.

³⁴³ Morris 2015a, 169.

god with other foreign deities, they presented their movement as a sacred offering to an Egyptian god. The result of this action was the expression of devotion and respect for the deity by foreigners.³⁴⁴

An aspect of this exchange has been studied by Morris with his entitled research “Egypt, Ugarit, the god Ba’al, and the puzzle of a royal rebuff”,³⁴⁵ where she analyzed four explanations of the king of Ugarit’s preference to Egyptian sculptor, who would made a statue of the king, facing Baal³⁴⁶ and in response to the king, Merneptah refused his request.³⁴⁷

According to the examination of Morris, the king of Ugarit selected Egypt, as the Egyptian statues were valuable, as their body were composed of expensive substances on earth, such as lapis lazuli and electrum. However, the act of presenting such a gift as divine statue to a foreign ruler in order to re-reinforce the political relations had already expressed by Thutmose III and Amenhotep II.³⁴⁸

Morris also suggested that “the subsequent employment of these statues may have served other covertly economic purposes”.³⁴⁹ In order to reinforce her argument, Morris quotes the Year 400 Stela, where the king is presented standing and offering before the god Baal.³⁵⁰ Similar depiction of Baal Saphon with a worshipper has been donated by an Egyptian official called Mamy at the Baal temple at Ugarit.³⁵¹ It seems that the stele of Rameses II verified not only the close relation between the pharaoh and the Seth of Avaris, but renewed his relation with the patron god of Ugarit.³⁵² Morris suggested that “*the king of Ugarit’s invitation to Merneptah was not unique but was rather an invitation to the pharaoh to renew or amplify the trade ties mediated through the temple that had already been set up in his father’s reign. Luxury goods found at Ugarit bearing the cartouche of this king suggest that trade resumed in the latter half of Ramesses’s reign to levels last seen in the late of 18th Dynasty*”.³⁵³

Another explanation is related with the statues as landowners.³⁵⁴ According to the research of Morris, Egyptian gods did own property abroad in the New Kingdom. Thus, “*when the deity that received the offerings on behalf of the Egyptians was one adored by the locals,*

³⁴⁴ Morris 2015a, 186.

³⁴⁵ Morris 2015b, 315-351.

³⁴⁶ Morris 2015b, 316-317.

³⁴⁷ Morris 2015b, 317.

³⁴⁸ Morris 2015b, 318, 321.

³⁴⁹ Morris 2015b, 318, 325.

³⁵⁰ Morris 2015b, 330.

³⁵¹ Morris 2015b, 330.

³⁵² Morris 2015b, 330.

³⁵³ Morris 2015b, 330; Matoian 2015, 50; Caubet 1991, 213-214; Singer 1999, 673.

³⁵⁴ Morris 2015b, 332.

this practice presumably provided taxpayers with a palatable landlord and made them feel as if the produce they delivered ensured them spiritual as well as imperial credit.”³⁵⁵

Last but not least, the other explanation is linked to the pharaoh’s statue as a tripwire.³⁵⁶ Morris stated that *“the idea was that the bestowal of even a token amount of Egyptian troops signaled that a vassal enjoyed pharaonic support, a factor that would be recognized and hopefully respected by potential aggressors.”*³⁵⁷

It is possible to gather that the invitation of the king aimed to the change of his loyalty from the distracted Hatti to Egypt, a region that was military powerful and it was significant maritime trade route. By inviting Merneptah, the king of Ugarit would protect Ugarit and the patron deity, Baal.³⁵⁸

All the aforementioned studies can interpret the role and attributes of Seth-Baal in Egypt during the New Kingdom. However, the research will involve the Amarna Letters, which can reflect more attributes of the god in the religious and diplomatic field during the reign of Akhneaten. More particularly, the letters of Tyre EA 147:14 (BI4) and EA 108:09 (B15), where the name of Baal is recorded, indicating the greatness and powerfulness of the pharaoh.

Reshef

The article of Simpson entitled “An Egyptian statuette of a Phoenician god”, where he examined the manifestation of the god Reshef in Egypt and his iconographical characteristics.³⁵⁹

His interest attaches the importation of the god into the Egyptian region. According to him, “this god is very much of a late comer to the list of Egyptian divinities, but in Syria and Palestine, where he is called Reshef, we find him at a slightly earlier period”.³⁶⁰ In Egypt, his name is manifested on a clay sealing, which are dated to the reign of Amenhotep II and an amulet with the name of Reshpu dated to the reign of Amenhotep III.³⁶¹

Among the most significant occurrences are the two stelae of Reshef, where he is manifested or mentioned.³⁶² The first stela found on the Great Sphinx and refers to the power

³⁵⁵ Morris 2015b, 333-334.

³⁵⁶ Morris 2015b, 340.

³⁵⁷ Morris 2015b, 340; Bernhardt 1971, 139.

³⁵⁸ Morris 2015b, 343.

³⁵⁹ Simpson 1952, 183.

³⁶⁰ Simpson 1952, 183.

³⁶¹ Simpson 1952, 183.

³⁶² Simpson 1952, 183-184.

of the pharaoh, Amenhotep II. In this case Reshef, who is accompanied with Astarte, appeared as a patron deities of the athletic skills of the pharaoh.³⁶³ The second stela mentions the military campaigns of the pharaoh, where, according to Simpson, “*the king in his crossing is likened to Reshef, the god of lightening, crossing the waves*”.³⁶⁴

Small bronzes, which probably represent the god Reshef have been found in Syria and Egypt. According to Simpson, “*The front of the base, where the name might have been inscribed, and part of the left foot are broken off. Reshep is represented as a young, vigorous warrior in a short battle dress, and his arms are modeled to give an indication of his strenght...the headdress worn is that of the Syrian Baal, which is in turn derived from an Egyptian crown. Just above the forehead on the crown, a gazelle head takes the place of the uraeus, the sacred cobra which adorns the crowns of kings and divinities*”.³⁶⁵

The name of Reshef continued into the Late Dynastic and Ptolemaic period.³⁶⁶ The god is manifested on an altar of Nectanebo II and on the wall of the temple of Montu at Karnak in the reign of Ptolemy III, Euergetes I.³⁶⁷ During the Graeco-Roman period, Antaios is presented with the attributes of Reshef and indications refer to the replacement of the god by the king at Antaiopolis.³⁶⁸

Another important study is the examination of Munnich by his article “Two Faces of Resheph in Egyptian Sources of the New Kingdom”, where he analyzed the different aspects of his qualities in the official and non-official level.³⁶⁹

According to his research, the god Reshef was imported under the reign of Amenhotep II.³⁷⁰ The athletic activities and skills of the pharaoh were linked to the god Reshef and the goddess Astarte on Sphinx stela.³⁷¹ The name of Reshef is recorded on a stela, which refers to the campaign of the pharaoh and reads: “*His majesty passed the orontes by water like Reshef (ršp)*”.³⁷² The military attribute of the god is reflected on the temple of Amun, where the text associates the god Montu with the god Reshef, recording their names: “*Montu-Reshef (mntw-ršp)*”.³⁷³

³⁶³ Simpson 1952, 184.

³⁶⁴ Simpson 1952, 184.

³⁶⁵ Simpson 1952, 184.

³⁶⁶ Simpson 1952, 186.

³⁶⁷ Simpson 1952, 187.

³⁶⁸ Simpson 1952, 187.

³⁶⁹ Munnich 2009, 53-58.

³⁷⁰ Munnich 2009, 54.

³⁷¹ Munnich 2009, 54.

³⁷² Munnich 2009, 54.

³⁷³ Munnich 2009, 54.

Apart from the textual sources, the iconographical material presents Reshef as a warrior deity. In a relief of the temple of Amenophis II, Reshef is driving a chariot,³⁷⁴ while other scenes depict him holding a spear and a shield.³⁷⁵ Another stela from the mortuary temple of Thutmose IV displays pharaoh in a worship posture next to a riding god, Reshef, who holds a spear in one hand and a shield.³⁷⁶ Munnich suggested that “*on the basis of the above mentioned written and iconographic sources one should include, that at the courts of Pharaohs of the 18th Dynasty, Reshef was regarded as the god helpful during fights with enemies. Especially close to him was the fight on the chariots or riding, as he was depicted on reliefs or royal stelae*”.³⁷⁷

In the same spirit, as the previous studies, is the article of Ulanowski, entitled “God Reshef in the Mediterranean”, where the manifestation and development of god Reshef in the Mediterranean region such as Palestine, Cyprus and Egypt is analyzed.³⁷⁸

In Egypt, Reshef is appeared as an armed and menacing god and holds weapons such as an axe, a club, or a mace, knives or a spear, a bow and a shield, emphasizing to his attribute as a protector deity.³⁷⁹ His appearance is associated with other gods, such as Astarte, Baal, Min, Qudshu, Seth, Amun-Re and Montu.³⁸⁰ According to Ulanowski, “*Reshef was introduced by Amenhotep II (1425–1400 BC) and becomes a royal patron especially as a warrior god (he was largely replaced as royal god by Baal in the Ramesside Period)*”.³⁸¹

The previous studies examined the god Reshef and his attributes in the royal campaigns, without studying his qualities in the lower ranks. The research will study the manifestation of Reshef and his worship by the ordinary people, indicating different attributes and roles. More particularly, a stela presents Reshef and reads (RR15): “*Reshef, the great god. The protection and life is behind him. Giving praise to Reshef, the great god, that he may give life, prosperity and health (ršp ntr ʿ3 s3 ʿnh ḥ3=f rdit d3tw n ršpw ntr ʿ3 di=f ʿnh wd3 snb)*”.³⁸² The stela of Pashed indicate the protective role of the god from illness, giving prosperity and health to his adorers.³⁸³

³⁷⁴ Munnich 2009, 55.

³⁷⁵ Munnich 2009, 55.

³⁷⁶ Munnich 2009, 56.

³⁷⁷ Munnich 2009, 57.

³⁷⁸ Ulanowski 2013, 158-159.

³⁷⁹ Ulanowski 2013, 157.

³⁸⁰ Lipinski 2009, 153, 155, 220.

³⁸¹ Lipinski 2009, 180–187, 204–207; Ulanowski 2013, 158.

³⁸² Translation after RITA IV 240, 15-16, Cornelius 1994, 45, RR23 and Tazawa 2009, 43, Doc. 12.

³⁸³ Munnich 2009, 61. For more detailed analysis see Chapter 3.2.

Hauron

The research of Albright entitled “The Egypto-Canaanite god Hauron” studied the manifestation of Hauron on the faience plaques, which have been found at Giza under the reign of Amenophis II.³⁸⁴

Albright suggested that the Hauron tiles read just as do the Horus tiles and that Hauron on the Horizon appears instead of Horus on the Horizon, Harmakhis.³⁸⁵ More specifically, he stated that “*there was nothing surprising in such amalgamation during the Nineteenth Dynasty, but to find Canaanite influence on Egyptian religion so powerful in the middle of the Eighteenth is somewhat disconcerting. However, the earliest reference to Baal goes back to the reign of Thutmose III, and Canaanite loan words had already become common in Egyptian, so it was not a priori impossible and now we know it to be a fact*”.³⁸⁶

The association of Hauron with Horus derives from the Ugaritic passage, which demonstrates the close relation of Hauron with Astarte. Hauron is considered as the son of Astarte and his youth lover. As the son of Astarte, Hauron can be associated with the son of Isis, Horus.³⁸⁷ According to Albright, “the enmity between Baal and Hauron squared exactly with that existing, according to the Egyptians, between Seth and Horus. It now appears that the equation of Horus with Hauron may be as old as that of Seth with Baal”.³⁸⁸

The most important study for appearance of Hauron in Egypt is the research of van Dijk, entitled “*The Canaanite god Hauron and his cult in Egypt*”, where he analyzed the manifestation of Hauron in Near East and Egypt.³⁸⁹

In the mythological context of Near East, Hauron is described as the magician among the deities, who his powers are against the snakes and other dangerous animals.³⁹⁰ In a Hittite text³⁹¹ the god is appeared on an incantation against flying demons. Another textual source refers to Hauron and associates him with the god Sid, the god of Underworld.³⁹² According to van Dijk, “*it seems that Hauron is primarily a chthonic deity who dwells in the caverns of the mountains and the desert and who has power over the evil forces lurking in these dangerous places, snakes and other noxious animals, but also over the demons and evil spirits of the*

³⁸⁴ Albright 1941, 7.

³⁸⁵ Albright 1941, 9.

³⁸⁶ Albright 1941, 9.

³⁸⁷ Albright 1941, 11.

³⁸⁸ Albright 1941, 11.

³⁸⁹ Van Dijk 1989, 59.

³⁹⁰ Van Dijk 1989, 61.

³⁹¹ KUB xxxvi, 39-40.

³⁹² See van Dijk 1989, 62, n.26.

*Underworld and indeed enemies in general, who represent the powers of chaos that threaten to overthrow the ordered world”.*³⁹³

According to the research, the Egyptian sources of Hauron are divided into three categories.³⁹⁴ The first category includes the archaeological material from Upper Egypt, especially from the Theban West Bank, where the god Hauron is associated with the god Shed.³⁹⁵ An amulet depicts Hauron as a falcon, holding snakes and the Harris Magical Papyrus refers to the god in order to protect the cattle against the predators. Van Dijk stated that *“the Upper Egyptian material agrees perfectly with the evidence from sources outside Egypt; again Hauron is shown to be a god of the desert who affords protection against its inhabitants”*.³⁹⁶

Another category derives from the material in the Delta. In this region, Hauron is associated with the “military outposts, controlling the desert routes”.³⁹⁷ A fragment of a votive sphinx, found in Tell el-Maskhuta, bears the inscription “Hauron of the Lebanon”,³⁹⁸ which confirms the attribute of the god. According to van Dijk, *“the god Hauron was worshipped as a desert god, protecting not only against snakes and scorpions, but also against the enemies coming from the desert to raid Egypt”*.³⁹⁹

The third category consists of archaeological material originated from Giza. In this region, the god is identified with the god Harmakhis.⁴⁰⁰ In his research, Van Dijk summarized and reviewed the previous aspects for this identification. He quoted the aspect of Albright, who stated that there is a phonetic similarity between the names of Horus and Hauron.⁴⁰¹ Van Dijk can not accept this aspect, as in the archaeological material the god is called Harmakhis and not Horus. Another theory suggested that Hauron as a god of the dead can be identified with the god Atum, the sun god.⁴⁰² Van Dijk states that the Sphinx is not only the representation of Atum, but is called Re-Harakhty.⁴⁰³ According to Van Dijk, *“the reason for the identification of Hauron with the Great Sphinx lies in the simple fact that the Sphinx was situated in the desert..Thus Asiatic immigrants visiting Giza were confronted with a large divine statue situated in a depression in the desert, perhaps partly buried in the sand, which*

³⁹³ Van Dijk 1989, 62.

³⁹⁴ Van Dijk 1989, 62.

³⁹⁵ Van Dijk 1989, 62.

³⁹⁶ Van Dijk 1989, 63.

³⁹⁷ Van Dijk 1989, 63.

³⁹⁸ Translation after van Dijk 1989, 63.

³⁹⁹ Van Dijk 1989, 63.

⁴⁰⁰ Van Dijk 1989, 65.

⁴⁰¹ Albright 1936, 3.

⁴⁰² Helck 1966, 12.

⁴⁰³ Van Dijk 1989, 65.

*was worshipped by Egyptian pilgrims and this sight reminded them their own god Hauron, whose abode they knew was the desert”.*⁴⁰⁴

The studies of Albright⁴⁰⁵ and Van Dijk⁴⁰⁶ examine the origin of the god Hauron and his association with other Egyptian deities. However, the research will include the official manifestation of the god, next to the pharaoh, Rameses II. For instance, a statue of Hauron presented the pharaoh as a child underneath the throat of the Hauron-falcon at Pi-Ramesses (HS1).⁴⁰⁷ Apart from the royal field, the god is attested on the lower ranks. More particularly, the Stele of Tha, reads (HR18): “*Hauron Ra Horemakhet gives beautiful lifetime (ḥwrn-rꜥ-ḥrm3ḥt rdi nfr ꜥnh)*”.⁴⁰⁸ According to the inscription, the establishment of the state god Horemakhet and the elevation of Hauron reached the same level of prestige.⁴⁰⁹

⁴⁰⁴ Van Dijk 1989, 65.

⁴⁰⁵ Albright 1941.

⁴⁰⁶ Van Dijk 1989.

⁴⁰⁷ Zivie-Coche 2011, 3. For more analysis, see Chapter 2.

⁴⁰⁸ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 66, Doc.16.

⁴⁰⁹ Tazawa 2009, 161.

3. *Previous studies for the importation of Syro-palestinian deities*

Among the most important studies, which are related to the causes of importation of Syro-palestinian deities into the Egyptian region, are the studies of Stadelmann (1967), Helck (1966; 1971), Horn (1969), Redford (1992), Baines (1995), Trigger (2003), Brand (2005), Assmann (2004), Tazawa (2009), Zivie (2011), Staubli (2016), Cornelius (2017) and Bommas (2018).

One of the studies, which are related to the presence of Syro-palestinian deities in Egypt, is the research of Stadelmann by his article “Syrisch-palaistinensische Gottheiten in Agypten”.⁴¹⁰ In his analysis, he examined the appearance of six Syro-palestinian deities in Egypt by studying their presence in Egypt and their absorption from the pharaohs and the people of Egypt during the New Kingdom through the archaeological material, such as stelae, statues, scarabs etc. According to his research, he categorized the Syro-palestinian deities in two groups: the royal and the popular/private deities.⁴¹¹ In the first group, there are deities, who are linked to the victories of the pharaohs and their campaigns, such as Reshef, Anat, Baal and Astarte.⁴¹² On the other hand, the other group concerns the fertility deities, such as Qadesh who are worshipped by the Egyptian people.⁴¹³ The results of his research indicate the reason of their introduction in Egypt.⁴¹⁴ According to him, it was the elite of the pharaoh, who inserted these deities in order to apply the authorities of the pharaohs more efficiently in their sphere of the Levantine region, as without the assistant of these deities the Egyptian authority and military campaigns would not have gained victories in the Syro-palestinian region.⁴¹⁵

Another significant and similar aspect in the suggestion of Stadelman are the researchers of Helck entitled “Zum Auftreten fremder Gotter in Agypten”⁴¹⁶ and *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3 und 2 Jahrtausend v. Chr.*⁴¹⁷. In his first study, he focused on the relations between Egypt and Near East, which are reflected through trade, religion, political and cultural reciprocity,⁴¹⁸ and studied the manifestation of Syro-palestinian

⁴¹⁰ Stadelmann 1967, viii, 21-27, 101-104, 112-122.

⁴¹¹ Stadelmann 1967, 101-122.

⁴¹² Stadelmann 1967, 101-104.

⁴¹³ Stadelmann 1967, 112-122.

⁴¹⁴ Stadelmann 1967, viii.

⁴¹⁵ Stadelmann 1967, 21-27.

⁴¹⁶ Helck 1996, 1-14.

⁴¹⁷ Helck 1971, 154-219, 456-472

⁴¹⁸ Helck 1966, 2.

deities (Anat, Astarte, Qadesh, Baal, Reshef, Hauron) in Egypt based on the archaeological material, such as stelae, amulet, scarabs, etc.⁴¹⁹

In his other study, he collected the archaeological material for each deity and he categorized it related to the royal context, personal level, temples or shrines.⁴²⁰ After his investigation in the archaeological material, the main conclusion of his studies is centered on the reasons of introduction of Syro-palestinian deities in Egypt. He suggested that the arrival caused by two ways: a) the activity of the kings and b) the immigration of foreigners or the transfer of prisoners, merchants and slaves.⁴²¹ In this aspect, he added another question, which is related to the Syro-palestinian deities and concerns the selection of these deities in royal context and some others in private level.⁴²² According to Helck, the military campaigns of pharaohs and their slaves and prisoners were the reasons for the introduction of Syro-palestinian deities in Egypt.⁴²³ More specifically, it was Thutmose III by his military campaigns, who brought slaves, prisoners, some foreigners, such as merchants, craftsmen and sailors. These foreigners came in Egypt, bringing their beliefs in the new region.⁴²⁴ These deities had an important role for the support of the Egyptian policy and constituted an essential element for the victories in the region of Syro-palestine, as they used as protectors of the pharaohs or their horses and chariots.⁴²⁵ At the same time, there were deities, who worshipped by the people of Egypt, such as Qadesh. These deities had the same attributes with the Egyptian goddess Hathor, who her public addressed in the official level and the people of Egypt needed an equal goddess.⁴²⁶

A different aspect of entrance of these deities in Syro-palestinian region has been made by Horn in his research “Foreign gods in Ancient Egypt”.⁴²⁷ According to his research, the identification of Egyptian with Syro-palestinian deities existed from the Old Kingdom due to the trade and military activities of Egypt, without any official record from the archaeological material.⁴²⁸ During the New Kingdom, Egypt had a close contact with the foreign deities, due to its relation with the foreign cities.⁴²⁹ In the Egyptian empire, which includes the region of Syro-palestinian region, Egyptian travelers, who travelled out of their country, dedicated stelae

⁴¹⁹ Helck 1966, 3-4, 7-9, 11-14.

⁴²⁰ Helck 1971: 154-219, 456-470.

⁴²¹ Helck 1971, 446.

⁴²² Helck 1971, 472.

⁴²³ Helck 1971, 446.

⁴²⁴ Helck 1971, 446.

⁴²⁵ Helck 1971, 472.

⁴²⁶ Helck 1971, 472.

⁴²⁷ Horn 1969, 37-42.

⁴²⁸ Horn 1969, 37.

⁴²⁹ Horn 1969, 37.

in the foreign temples in order to ask for protection. Parallel, there were foreigners, slaves, prisoners, sailors, who entered the new region of Egypt and brought their gods with them. These were the main reasons for the importation and utilization of Syro-palestinian deities in Egypt.⁴³⁰ After the introduction of these deities, many temples were dedicated to them. For instance, the temples of Baal and Astarte were located in the harbor of Egypt, Peru Nefer, at Memphis, Anat in Tanis and Qadesh in the temple of Ptah.⁴³¹

Another suggestion has been made by Redford in his book *Egypt, Canaan and Israel in Ancient times*, who has analyzed the appearance of Syro-palestinian deities in Egypt from the early New Kingdom.⁴³² According to him, “*Nowhere is this more evident than in the pantheon where, beginning on the morrow of Thutmose I’s conquests, Asiatic deities begin to make their appearance*”.⁴³³ Thus, their first appearance in Egypt was under royal patronage. Redford also added that “*As soon as Egypt opened its doors and accepted the presence on the Nile of an immigrant community of aliens, it also accepted their gods*”.⁴³⁴ For instance, Baal and Astarte managed to be accepted in the region of Memphis and both of them supported the Egyptian campaigns, as Anat and Reshef did.⁴³⁵ However, after the conquests of Thutmose I, there were more pharaohs, who utilized Syro-palestinian deities, such as Amenhotep III. The pharaoh accepted the statue of Istar of Nineveh by Tushratta of Mitanni in order to recover him from his illness.⁴³⁶ The references for Syro-palestinian deities continued in the Roman times, where these deities became stronger and more powerful. For instance, the name of Baal in the Roman period had the meaning of “to make war”.⁴³⁷

Under the prism of culture, the introduction of Syro-palestinian deities can be explained, but their importation in the political field cannot be interpreted it totally. The missing link between religion, culture and policy is the pharaoh,⁴³⁸ as he regarded as a divinity himself,⁴³⁹ especially when he participates in his real and symbolic actions.⁴⁴⁰

⁴³⁰ Horn 1969, 37.

⁴³¹ Horn 1969, 37.

⁴³² Redford 1992, 148, 231-232.

⁴³³ Redford 1992, 231.

⁴³⁴ Redford 1992, 231-232.

⁴³⁵ Redford 1992, 232.

⁴³⁶ EA 23; Redford 1992, 231.

⁴³⁷ Redford 1992, 232.

⁴³⁸ Assmann 1992, 89.

⁴³⁹The king, due to his human and divine nature, could act in both realms, see Silverman 1991, 63; Lorton 1979, 461; Gnirs 2013, 642; Kantorowicz 1957; Kern 1970. Apart from the role of pharaoh as a high priest, he was obliged for the establishment of order in Egypt, which was threatened by the chaos, see Silverman 1991, 63; Goebis 2007, 275-278; Van De Mierop 2007, 78; Assmann 2002, 206; Karenga 2004, 119; Hoffmeier 1994, 31; Oakley 2006, 50; Smith 1982, 29; Morenz 1973, 11-13; Erman 1971, 53-78; Frankfort 1978, 51-60. The preservation of Maat, could be accomplished by the victories of the pharaoh in military campaigns. For the

It was the research of Baines entitled “Kingship, definition of culture, and legitimization in Ancient Egyptian Kingship”,⁴⁴¹ who suggested the close relation of kingship under the prism of theology.⁴⁴² According to him, “*the king displayed his dependence on the gods. Before campaigning he would consult the god-normally Amun-Re- and receive an oracular command to go out and defeat the enemy. The god subsequently eulogized the king’s success*”.⁴⁴³ Baines underlined the royal motivation for legitimization.⁴⁴⁴ For example the stela of Amenhotep II and Thutmose IV records the athletic and leisure activities of the pharaohs before they came to the throne. Baines suggested that “*These activities bring together ideas associated with the king’s personal fitness to rule, legitimation by reference to great monuments of antiquity and semi-popular religious cults that had emerged around the monuments and evidently flourished with royal participation*”.⁴⁴⁵ As a result, the attempt to emphasize the divine kingship and the powers of gods caused the increase of the popularity of the deities, which are connected with the status of the pharaoh on earth.⁴⁴⁶

The importance of ancient kingship and the connection between the king and gods have been also studied by Trigger in his book *Understanding Early Civilizations: A Comparative Study*.⁴⁴⁷ His examination concerns a comparative study of seven early civilizations and focuses on the relation of the Egyptian kings with gods. Furthermore, he suggested that the role of the king was the maintenance of human realm and the cosmic order.⁴⁴⁸ According to him, “*this cosmic vision closely paralleled the tributary relationship on which the social organization of all the early civilizations was founded...the gods and the*

building programs of the king, see Hasel 1996, 45; Hoffmeier 1994, 31-33; Frankfort 1978, 51; Brand 2005, 26; Morris 2010b, 214; Kemp 1978, 10.

⁴⁴⁰O’Connor & Silverman 1995, xxv. The interpretation of the kingship includes three groups of scholars. The first group concerns the divine nature of the pharaoh, see Morenz 1962, 7-18; Frankfort 1948, 65, 85-86; Barta 1975, 14-28; Fairman 1958, 74-104; Goedicke 1960; Lauer 1956, 153ff; Redford 1992, 24; Hornung 1982, 140-142; 1997, 283; Baines 1995, 3-47; 1983, 13-28; Goebis 2011, 57-101; Kemp 1978, 8; Abitz 1995, 32-213; Rice 2003, 137, 224; Smith 1997, 83; Liverani 1990, 125-138; Montet 1964, 32-34. The second group underlines the equality of the human and divine nature of the king, see Hill et. al 2013, 3-13; O’Connor and Silverman 1995, xxv; Nuzollo 2017, 186; Posener 1960, 15-35; Spence 2007, 279; Redford 1995, 166-169; Silverman 1995, 49-92; Gundlach 1998, 227; Windus-Staginsky 2006, 81-124; Schneider 2004, 323. The third group refers to the human nature of the king, see Quack 2010, 1-14; Frandsen 2008, 47-65; Shupak 2017, 271-283; Posener 1956, 92. For more detailed bibliography see Quack 2010, 1, n.1; Trigger et.al 1983, 360. For the political and cosmic quality of kingship in New Kingdom, see O’Connor & Silverman 1995, xviii-xx; Darnell and Manassa 2007, 16-17; Trigger 2003, 56; Silverman 1991, 63.

⁴⁴¹ Baines 1995, 3, 23-25, 34.

⁴⁴² Baines 1995, 3.

⁴⁴³ Baines 1995, 3, 23.

⁴⁴⁴ Baines 1995, 24.

⁴⁴⁵ Baines 1995, 24.

⁴⁴⁶ Baines 1995, 34.

⁴⁴⁷ Trigger 2003, 56, 102-103.

⁴⁴⁸ Trigger 2003, 56.

*upper classes were therefore seen as playing managerial roles that were essential for everyone...the king mediated between the human world and the supernatural. Hence he was inferior to the high gods, but at the same time essential for ensuring the energy flows on which the survival of the universe was thought to depend”.*⁴⁴⁹

Apart from the studies of Baines and Trigger, the research of Brand interprets the ideology of kingship under the prism of religion and ideology.⁴⁵⁰ According to him, the political propaganda, which was expressed through the monuments, and political movements of the pharaohs, underlined the personal image of them and their actions.⁴⁵¹ Pharaohs of that period emphasized to the building programs at Karnak, Thebes etc., where the inscriptions and reliefs bear the words “beneficial”, “useful” in order to characterize the pharaohs’ actions next to the name of a God.⁴⁵² According to Brand, evidence for religion and ideology has been reflected in the royal piety and royal divinity.⁴⁵³ The piety of the pharaoh was expressed by the building temples, texts, reliefs, emphasizing to the close relation between the pharaoh and gods.⁴⁵⁴ This aspect is also demonstrated in the iconography of the pharaoh, where the king is depicted to give offerings to the gods or he is presented in a kneeling posture before the divine, demonstrating dedication to the gods.⁴⁵⁵ On the other hand, the royal divinity or the divine origin of the pharaoh, which derives from the personal piety and the profile of pharaoh as a god, reappeared and mentioned in the names of pharaohs and their iconography.⁴⁵⁶ For example, the divine origin of the pharaoh can be demonstrated from the names of Sety I, Amenhotep III and Rameses II, whose names included the phrase “great gods”.⁴⁵⁷

A different explanation for the introduction of Syro-palestinian deities in Egypt has been stated by Assmann in his article, entitled “Monotheism and Polytheism”.⁴⁵⁸ In his research, he suggested that in the polytheistic religions, such as the polytheistic system of Egypt, the names, functions, shape and the character of a deity can be transportable, equating deities of different regions and cultures with others.⁴⁵⁹ According to him “*The growing political and commercial interconnectedness of the ancient world and the practice of cross-*

⁴⁴⁹ Trigger 2003, 103.

⁴⁵⁰ Brand 2005, 23-33.

⁴⁵¹ Brand 2005, 23-25.

⁴⁵² Brand 2005, 25.

⁴⁵³ Brand 2005, 25-26.

⁴⁵⁴ Brand 2005, 26.

⁴⁵⁵ Brand 2005, 26.

⁴⁵⁶ Brand 2005, 26.

⁴⁵⁷ Brand 2005, 26.

⁴⁵⁸ Assmann 2004, 17-31.

⁴⁵⁹ Assmann 2004, 24.

cultural translation of everything, including divine names, gradually led to the concept of a common religion. The names, iconographies, and rites—in short, the cultures—differ, but the gods are the same".⁴⁶⁰ Thus, the Egyptian polytheism together with the political and cultural interconnections led to the creation of the concept of similarity, producing the idea that the deities are international.⁴⁶¹

Another aspect for the importation of these deities has been suggested by the research of Tazawa, entitled *Syro-Palestinian Deities in New Kingdom Egypt: The Hermeneutics of their Existence*.⁴⁶² According to her, despite the fact that the Syro-palestinian deities were recorded before the New Kingdom, the archaeological material demonstrates their appearance in the reign of Thutmose III. Based on the archaeological material and the inscriptions, Tazawa defined the chronology of their appearance in the reign of Thutmose III and agreed with the aspect of Helck⁴⁶³ that after the military campaigns of Thutmose III, the pharaoh brought slaves, prisoners and together with some foreigners, such as merchants, craftsmen and sailors, who came in Egypt on their own, brought their beliefs in the new region.⁴⁶⁴ By this way, these deities had a special relation with many pharaohs and accompanied them in their campaigns. However, these deities are not recorded in all the reigns of the pharaohs and none of them had the same degrees of utilization during the New Kingdom.⁴⁶⁵ However, in her researches, Tazawa added a theory in order to justify the adaption Syro-palestinian deities into Egypt during the Late Bronze Age.⁴⁶⁶ More particularly, her explanation is based on the "translative adaption" theory of Keiji Maegawa, which is related to the development and transformation of societies on Badu island in Torres Strait.⁴⁶⁷ According to Tazawa, "*Maegawa argues in general terms that although when the periphery took part in the global world system (= market economy), it might look as if the periphery is absorbed into the dominant order and forced to abandon its traditional culture, in fact the periphery has the initiative of integration*".⁴⁶⁸ Despite the fact that the economic model could not apply in the case of Egypt, as it fits well in economic statements and concerns contemporary countries and the annexation of a weak country (periphery) to a territory (core), Tazawa adapted the theory of "translative adaption", as it could fit in the introduction of

⁴⁶⁰ Assmann 2004, 25.

⁴⁶¹ Assmann 2004, 24.

⁴⁶² Tazawa 2009, 137.

⁴⁶³ Helck 1971, 472.

⁴⁶⁴ Tazawa 2009, 137.

⁴⁶⁵ Tazawa 2009, 137.

⁴⁶⁶ Tazawa 2009, 11-12; 2014, 104.

⁴⁶⁷ Maegawa 1998.

⁴⁶⁸ Tazawa 2009, 11; 2014, 104, no.10

Syropalestinian deities into Egypt, where there was the choice of acceptance and rejection of Syropalestinian deities in the political and social level.⁴⁶⁹

A different suggestion has been also made by Zivie by her article “Foreign deities in Egypt”.⁴⁷⁰ In her research, Zivie analyzed the introduction and manifestation of Syropalestinian deities in Egypt by quoting the iconographical and cultural context of them.⁴⁷¹ Among to her analysis, she explained the cause for their introduction in Egypt. According to her, “*The existence of foreign gods or the gods of foreigners, despite evident ethnocentric tendencies, could easily be accepted into the framework and worldview of Egyptian religion, because it is polytheistic. Egyptian polytheism accepts every other deity, every new deity, as such, based as it is on the principle of plurality of divine beings, forms, and names*”.⁴⁷² In another part of her research, she stated that “*the principle of polytheism allowed for integrating new deities without challenging its conception of the world of the divine, but instead enriching and diversifying it*”.⁴⁷³

Another suggestion has been proposed in the article of Staubli entitled “Cultural and religious impacts of long-term cross-cultural migration between Egypt and the Levant”.⁴⁷⁴ In his article, Staubli presented the cross-cultural interconnections between Egypt and the Levant and their cultural and religious effects.⁴⁷⁵ According to him, “*the different products, human resources, and human abilities of the two regions made exchange and trade attractive. At the same time, travelling and migration between the two regions brought about a strong experience of foreignness. The pervasive contact between the two cultures and the permanent challenge to adapt to the foreign nature of the “other” were constitutive for the development of the language, the writing system of the alphabet, the literature, the perception of “nations”, the shaping of signs of blessing and images of gods, theological concepts, and new forms of universal secondary religions. This exchange was so long-lasting, intensive, and fruitful that it led to the formation of what can be termed an Egyptian-Levantine (or Egyptian-Canaanite) koine*”.⁴⁷⁶ Staubli also suggested that “*The mixture of personal piety, military royalism, and theological universalism enables an astonishing exchange of religious ideas in the Levantine-Egyptian realm of the Pax Aegyptiaca. The Canaanite gods Reshef, Qudshu, Anat/Astarte, and*

⁴⁶⁹ Tazawa 2009, 12; 2014, 104.

⁴⁷⁰ Zivie-Coche 2011, 1-10.

⁴⁷¹ Zivie 2011, 2-4, 6-7.

⁴⁷² Zivie 2011, 5.

⁴⁷³ Zivie 2011, 8.

⁴⁷⁴ Staubli 2016, 50-88.

⁴⁷⁵ Staubli 2016, 50-62.

⁴⁷⁶ Staubli 2016, 52.

Hauron were venerated in Egypt and in Beth-Shean the Egyptians venerated the local deities Mokal and Anat".⁴⁷⁷

In the same spirit, as the studies of Zivie and Staubli has been made by Cornelius in his article *"From Bes to Baal: Religious Interconnections between Egypt and the East"*.⁴⁷⁸ In his research, he mentioned the interconnections of Egypt with Syria and Palestine and the introduction of six Syro-palestinian deities into the Egyptian pantheon.⁴⁷⁹ According to Cornelius, in the Egyptian thought the land of Egypt was the center of the world, the land of god, where the other foreign lands and foreigners were the periphery.⁴⁸⁰ Despite the fact that there was a xenophobic attitude, the interconnections between Egypt and the other regions were not one-sided. There was an influence of the other, when foreign deities entered the region of Egypt and adapted to the Egyptian religious system.⁴⁸¹ Cornelius stated that *"Because Egypt had a polytheistic system, worshipping a multitude of deities in many forms and never being exclusive or laying claim to the absolute truth, new deities could be incorporated"*.⁴⁸² Cornelius also added that apart from the Egyptian religion, another cause of importation of these deities was the merchants.⁴⁸³ More particularly, Cornelius suggested that *"Merchants carried not only goods, but also ideas and in both directions. Along with invaders such as the Hyksos came their deities. There were slaves and prisoners of war from the Levant who, taken to Egypt, brought along their deities."*⁴⁸⁴

Another research has been made by Bommas, entitled *"Interfaith Dialogue in Ancient Egypt. The anthropology of intercultural discourse in New Kingdom Elephantine and Deir el-Medineh"*.⁴⁸⁵ In his research, he presented a more detailed cause for the introduction of new gods in Egypt. According to him, it was the cultural and theological factors, which allowed the entrance of new gods.⁴⁸⁶ More particularly, Bommas suggested that *"It can be assumed that foreign deities were generally introduced into new contexts on an informal basis. As the spread of Hellenistic Isis in the Mediterranean shows, such processes were initiated by individuals for private reasons rather than by officials for political reasons; the motive behind*

⁴⁷⁷ Staubli 2016, 58-59.

⁴⁷⁸ Cornelius 2017, 209-217.

⁴⁷⁹ Cornelius 2017, 215.

⁴⁸⁰ Cornelius 2017, 209.

⁴⁸¹ Cornelius 2017, 209.

⁴⁸² Cornelius 2017, 209.

⁴⁸³ Cornelius 2017, 210.

⁴⁸⁴ Cornelius 2017, 210.

⁴⁸⁵ Bommas 2018, 131-141.

⁴⁸⁶ Bommas 2018, 134.

the introduction of new gods can only be assumed to be a religious one".⁴⁸⁷ The inter-regional cultural exchanges were accomplished by an individual choice, without the direct involvement of the pharaohs,⁴⁸⁸ adding "*such developments seem to have been the result of personal choice rather than official demand. The main driving force can mainly be seen in both scheduled travels by gods and less formalized travels by individuals*".⁴⁸⁹

All the aforementioned studies cannot contribute powerfully to our understanding for the reasons of introduction of Syro-palestinian deities into Egypt, as their suggestions had a one-sided aspects, focusing only on the cultural relations or only on the Egyptian policy or combining cultural relations with policy. More particularly, the researches of Assmann,⁴⁹⁰ Zivie,⁴⁹¹ Cornelius⁴⁹² and Bommas⁴⁹³ focused on the religious causes, while the research of Tazawa⁴⁹⁴ emphasizes on economic causes of the importation of Syro-palestine deities into the Egyptian pantheon. At the same time, the researches of Redford and Tazawa suggested specific reigns for their introduction into Egypt. Redford stated that due to the conquests of Thutmose I, Syro-palestinian deities introduced into the new region,⁴⁹⁵ while Tazawa defined the chronology of their appearance after the military campaigns of Thutmose III.⁴⁹⁶ New evidence has identified that the first record of Syro-palestinian deity in Egypt was under the reign of Ahmose.⁴⁹⁷ Based on the Ahmose stela, a meteorological phenomena and weather patterns, such as torrential rain (*d^cmḥwy=t*), becloud sky (*p=t šn^c=t*), identify the god Seth with the Syrian weather god Baal and his characteristics.⁴⁹⁸ The suggestion of Bommas underlines that the inter-regional cultural exchanges were accomplished by individual choices, without the direct involvement of the pharaohs.⁴⁹⁹ His suggestion cannot explain totally the introduction of Syro-palestinian deities, as their importation was not accomplished by an individual choice, but mainly with the involvement of the pharaoh. For example, the name of Anat, which is recorded in the Marriage Stela of Rameses II, is described as the nurshling of Rameses II. More particularly, the inscription reads: "*Living image of Ra, offspring of him who*

⁴⁸⁷ Bommas 2018, 133.

⁴⁸⁸ Bommas 2018, 135.

⁴⁸⁹ Bommas 2018, 135.

⁴⁹⁰ Assmann 2004, 25.

⁴⁹¹ Zivie 2011, 8.

⁴⁹² Cornelius 2017, 210.

⁴⁹³ Bommas 2018, 135.

⁴⁹⁴ Tazawa 2009, 11; 2014, 104, no.10.

⁴⁹⁵ Redford 1992, 231-232.

⁴⁹⁶ Tazawa 2009, 137.

⁴⁹⁷ Schneider 2010, 406.

⁴⁹⁸ Schneider 2010, 406.

⁴⁹⁹ Bommas 2018, 135.

*is within Heliopolis, his flesh is of gold, his bones of silver and all his limbs of iron. Son of Seth, nursling of Anat (mhry ʿnt).*⁵⁰⁰ A new model, which will unify the intercultural interconnections, as Staubli⁵⁰¹ suggested, religious causes, as Assmann⁵⁰² proposed and political ideology of the period, as Baines⁵⁰³ and Brand⁵⁰⁴ stated, is required.⁵⁰⁵

⁵⁰⁰ PM II 59; PM V 225; PM VII 98, 159; KRI II 256; RITA II 256; Tazawa 2009, 75. Tazawa provides more bibliography, see Tazawa 2009, 75, Doc.10.

⁵⁰¹ Staubli 2016, 58-59.

⁵⁰² Assmann 2004, 25.

⁵⁰³ Baines 1995, 23.

⁵⁰⁴ Brand 2005, 26.

⁵⁰⁵ For more analysis of the new model see the Subchapter 6 of the Introduction.

4. *Wider framework: studies assessing important developments in the Egyptian religious field during the New Kingdom*

Following the studies, which are related to the Syro-palestinian deities as a group or as a single gods/goddesses and the causes of importation of these deities into the Egyptian region, it is essential to analysis the aspects of the researchers for the characteristics of Egyptian religion, the multiplicity of deities and the researches for official religion and personal piety.

A. *Theology*

Among the most significant studies for the Egyptian religion is the research of Bleeker entitled *“The Rainbow: A Collection of Studies in the Science of Religion”*, where he analyzed the features of Ancient Egyptian religion.⁵⁰⁶

In order to examine the nature of the Ancient Egyptian religion, he suggested four features.⁵⁰⁷ The first feature is that the Egyptian religion belongs to the ancient religions, which means that is a dead religion. He also suggested there is a second interpretation which adds that the Egyptians acquired their knowledge for the deity from nature and cosmos.⁵⁰⁸

The second feature of the Ancient Egyptian religion is associated with the sociological aspect.⁵⁰⁹ According to this sphere, there are two types of religion: the “religious” and the “secular community”.⁵¹⁰ The religious community derives from the second category, which is in conflict with social order and state. However, the ancient Egyptian religion belongs to the first category, where the pharaoh was both the ruler of the state and the high priest.⁵¹¹

The next characteristic is associated with the nature of the ancient Egyptian religion. The Egyptian religion is polytheism, with some monotheistic tendencies. According to Bleeker, *“Polytheism always gives the impression of being a disorderly complex of important and insignificant gods”*.⁵¹²

⁵⁰⁶ Bleeker 1975, 111.

⁵⁰⁷ Bleeker 1975, 111.

⁵⁰⁸ Bleeker 1975, 111-112.

⁵⁰⁹ Bleeker 1975, 112.

⁵¹⁰ Bleeker 1975, 112.

⁵¹¹ Bleeker 1975, 112.

⁵¹² Bleeker 1975, 112.

The last feature is linked to the qualities of the gods. According to him. “*gods have all sorts of qualities too and engage in activities which hardly seem compatible with one another...each godly figure conceals a meaningful and homogeneous structure*”.⁵¹³

The research of Hornung, entitled “Conceptions of God in Ancient Egypt: The One and the Many”, is focused on the different forms of gods and the subject of pantheism.⁵¹⁴

The image of the divine can express the powerful character of the deity, although the image restricts the nature of the divine and its reality. This imperfection occurs also in the name of the deity, which also represent one aspect of the divine’s nature.⁵¹⁵ In his research Hornung stated that the multiplicity of the deities is expressed through the expressions “rich in manifestations” and “lord of manifestations”, where the word “lord” is link to a deity, who has a power on something.⁵¹⁶ Apart from the expressions, the epithets of the divines, such as many faces or lord of faces, can also confirm the multiplicity of the gods.⁵¹⁷ Lastly, the iconography of the divine contributes to the different forms of the gods. Through the iconography “*a deity shows many faces to an Egyptian and presents himself to him in many forms*”.⁵¹⁸ More particularly, in the Eighteenth Dynasty, the sun god Re, Amun and Ptah, their appearances and names are associated with different deities. However, the examination of the material indicates the differences between them.⁵¹⁹

The multiplicity of deities and their associations cause the phenomenon of pantheism. According to Hornung, “*the Egyptians never had the inclination or the wish to deify everything. The Egyptian creator god may manifest himself in his creation, but he is not absorbed into it. His nature may be extended by new forms and epithets, but it never becomes identical with the “all”, which for Egyptians certainly included realms that are not divine*”.⁵²⁰

In his research, Hornung ends with a suggestion, which is related to the polytheism. More specifically, he stated that “*Whatever the nature of the gods may or not be, in whatever system of concepts or network of associations we may place them, all attempts to “explain” them have been attempts to express the information they convey in a different, less ambiguous language. We sense that they say something valid about the world and about mankind. But no*

⁵¹³ Bleeker 1975, 113-114.

⁵¹⁴ Hornung 1982, 125.

⁵¹⁵ Hornung 1982, 125.

⁵¹⁶ Hornung 1982, 125.

⁵¹⁷ Hornung 1982, 126.

⁵¹⁸ Hornung 1982, 126.

⁵¹⁹ Hornung 1982, 127.

⁵²⁰ Hornung 1982, 128.

language has been found whose expressive richness can compare with that of the gods themselves”.⁵²¹

It was the research of Assmann, entitled “*Theological responses to Amarna*”, which sheds more light in the subject of Ancient Egyptian religion.⁵²²

In his research, Assmann attempted to reconstruct the theological revolution of the New Kingdom, starting from the reign of Akhenaten. The monotheistic revolution of Akhenaten includes the elimination of his traces and his name and the changes in the main aspects of god, which manifest as a response to Akhenaten’s ideas.⁵²³ Assmann focused on the second characteristic, which is linked to theological reaction. According to him, “*Akhenaten’s innovations are: 1) the complete disappearance of the gods, who in the context of the new solar theology, belong to the world which the sun god creates and maintains, 2) the complete elimination of the topic of creation, that is, the distinction between creation and maintenance, 3) a “pantheistic” concept of continuous creation and participation, using the topic of “One and million” and the term kheperu, “transformations”*”.⁵²⁴

On the other hand, in Ramesside period, the One is “*the absolutely hidden and secret Ba animating the world from within*”.⁵²⁵ The word “million” is associated with the body, limbs, names and transformations of God.⁵²⁶ The idea of god, who manifests in the plethora of deities has been promoted by the personal piety.⁵²⁷ This is another characteristic of this period, which can be interpreted as “reaction” to Amarna period than a “response”.⁵²⁸ According to his research, Assmann supported that the collapse of Amarna religion is connected with the collapse of personal piety.⁵²⁹ After the Amarna period, there is an increase of personal piety and a direct connection between the individual and the deity.⁵³⁰ Before the Amarna period, personal piety was restricted to local festivals, but after the Amarna religion, the personal piety was extended to all over Egypt.⁵³¹

Lastly, Assmann described the personal piety as “*an innovation of the New Kingdom, slowly beginning during the 18th dynasty, triumphantly dominating in the 19th and 20th dynasty*”

⁵²¹ Hornung 1982, 258-259.

⁵²² Assmann 2004, 179.

⁵²³ Assmann 2004, 179.

⁵²⁴ Assmann 2004, 184-185.

⁵²⁵ Assmann 2004, 188.

⁵²⁶ Assmann 2004, 188.

⁵²⁷ Assmann 2004, 189.

⁵²⁸ Assmann 2004, 189.

⁵²⁹ Assmann 2004, 190.

⁵³⁰ Assmann 2004, 190.

⁵³¹ Assmann 2004, 190.

and finally overturning the state in the 21st dynasty".⁵³² It seems that Amarna religion played an important role, as without it the personal piety would not have a serious impact.⁵³³ The religion of Ramesside period unites both the cosmic and personal god with the universe, protecting and respecting the worshipper.⁵³⁴

In the same spirit, as the previous article, is his research, entitled 'The price of monotheism', where he examined the God's oneness as a main subject of polytheistic religion.⁵³⁵ After the monotheistic religion of Amarna period, Egypt return to the polytheism system, which included a new idea of god's oneness and the plurality of gods,⁵³⁶ creating an idea of the "One hidden god", who appears himself in a number of gods through his name, symbol and visible forms.⁵³⁷

According to Assmann there are two different paths, which lead to monotheism. The first path leads to an "inclusive monotheism", where the monotheism as a mature phase of polytheistic system,⁵³⁸ while the second revolutionary path leads to an "exclusive monotheism", where it arises through a "developmental process but only through a revolutionary break with all that went before it".⁵³⁹

The researcher stated that the Egyptian religion contains both forms of monotheism. The religion of Akhenaten, who imported the new cult of the sun, must be interpreted as an exclusive monotheism. More particularly, Assmann supported that "*Akhenaten concluded that the other gods had no role to play in creating and upholding the universe.*"⁵⁴⁰ Assmann, also, added that "*Akhenaten monopolized the connection between god, humankind and society and he thereby restored and considerably reinforced the monopoly on religion that the state had always enjoyed in the form of sacral kingship, but that had been progressively undermined in the New Kingdom, since the fifteenth century BCE, by different ideas about personal piety and the immediacy of the individual's relationship to god*".⁵⁴¹

Following the theology of Ramesside period, the Egyptian culture return to the traditional polytheism, developing the idea of the One Hidden god.⁵⁴² This development

⁵³² Assmann 2004, 191.

⁵³³ Assmann 2004, 191.

⁵³⁴ Assmann 2004, 191.

⁵³⁵ Assmann 2009, 31.

⁵³⁶ Assmann 2009, 32.

⁵³⁷ Assmann 2009, 33.

⁵³⁸ Assmann 2009, 36.

⁵³⁹ Assmann 2009, 36.

⁵⁴⁰ Assmann 2009, 37-38.

⁵⁴¹ Assmann 2009, 47.

⁵⁴² Assmann 2009, 36.

belongs to the inclusive monotheism.⁵⁴³ According to his research, Assmann suggested that *“the One god receives a royal title, his name is written on cartouches, and he enters as senior partner into a co-regency with the king. The king does not represent the absent god on earth as before, rather, both reign together, one as a cosmic, the other as a political and moral power”*.⁵⁴⁴

In another research, entitled *“From Akhenaten to Moses: Ancient Egypt and Religious Change”*, Assmann divided the New Kingdom period into four centuries from 1500 to 1100 BCE in order to examine the development of ideas.⁵⁴⁵ According to his research, the first phase includes the years from 1500 until 1350, the second involves the years from 1350 until 1330 and the last phase contains the time from 1330 until 1100.⁵⁴⁶

The first phase, from 1500 until 1350 includes a polytheistic system with a strong tendency to unity. Everything was adjusted by one single god. This god is described as the universal creator, who created the world and the world of other gods. According to Assmann, the *“characteristic of this theology is the combination and identification of three forms of relation: the originate from, to depend on, and to rule over..The Egyptians believed that all life evolves from the sun, which generates light and warmth by its radiation and time by its movement.”*⁵⁴⁷ Parallel, the concept of “to rule over” was expressed by the importation of Egypt to the network of political relations, where became an important global region among the others.⁵⁴⁸

The next phase includes the reign of Akhenaten, where the other gods and their images eradicated, temples closed and their cults forbidden.⁵⁴⁹ The god of Akhenaten was the sun.⁵⁵⁰ A heliomorphic cosmology than theology, which represents not only the light, but the sense of time through its motion. The functions of light and time through the sun prevent the importation and participation of other gods in the creation and maintenance of world.⁵⁵¹

After the reign of Akhenaten, Egyptian religion returns to the polytheistic system with a strong sense of unity, which involves many gods as appearances of the Hidden One.⁵⁵² In the

⁵⁴³ Assmann 2009, 36.

⁵⁴⁴ Assmann 2009, 47.

⁵⁴⁵ Assmann 2014, 52.

⁵⁴⁶ Assmann 2014, 52.

⁵⁴⁷ Assmann 2014, 53.

⁵⁴⁸ Assmann 2014, 53.

⁵⁴⁹ Assmann 2014, 54.

⁵⁵⁰ Assmann 2014, 54-55.

⁵⁵¹ Assmann 2014, 54-55.

⁵⁵² Assmann 2014, 56.

new evolution, there is no rejection of other gods, but a dynamic revolution.⁵⁵³ According to Assmann, the revolution of ideas requires: a) the writing, which should be acceptable for later utilization, b) the discourse, which is linked to the continuous conversation across generations, c) professionalization, where specialists educated in order to participate on the debate and d) the lay theology is associated with the discussion on religious ideas.⁵⁵⁴ Under these four conditions, Assmann suggested that “*religion comes under the influence of new concepts and cultural trends.*”⁵⁵⁵

B. Official and personal religion

The term “personal piety” was first supported by Adolf Erman.⁵⁵⁶ Through his study of twelve stelae from Deir el-Medina, Erman demonstrated that the stelae from the “Place of Truth” are devoted to many different gods. In addition, they included hymns of offense which have been done by workmen, related to penitence⁵⁵⁷ and involved in precocious aspects for “personal piety”.⁵⁵⁸ However, Erman in his works *A handbook of Egyptian Religion*⁵⁵⁹ and *Die religion der Agypter*,⁵⁶⁰ mentioned that the Egyptian religion was separated in a) individual piety and b) higher religion.⁵⁶¹ He proposed that there is an increase of personal piety during the New Kingdom period. More particularly, Erman mentions the faith and sympathy of lower and upper ranks to the foreign deities in Egypt and the personal piety took place outside the temples through the form of stelae, figurines and inscriptions on the rocks.⁵⁶² Among these deities were foreign deities, such as Astarte, Baal, Anat etc, who obtained great recognition in common people. The worship of foreign deity in Egypt was at such level that the relation of a person with a god was comparable to a person with his father/mother.⁵⁶³ Thus, the relation of individual and god was transformed and the attitude of slavery and adoration of Middle

⁵⁵³ Assmann 2014, 57.

⁵⁵⁴ Assmann 2014, 57.

⁵⁵⁵ Assmann 2014, 58.

⁵⁵⁶ Erman 1911.

⁵⁵⁷The same term has been used by Edward Wente in his work “Penitential hymns”, see Wente 2003, 284.

⁵⁵⁸After any misdeed, the workman was punished by sickness and then he was forgiven by the god, see for instance, the Berlin stela no.23077, which has been examined by Erman. The stela was dedicated to Amun-Re and presents the draughtsman Nebre pleading the statue of god, see Erman 1911, 1087.

⁵⁵⁹ Erman 1907.

⁵⁶⁰ Erman 1934.

⁵⁶¹ Erman 1907,73; 1934, 142, 146-150. These deities managed to spread in royal and non royal context. According to the higher religion, for the king foreign deities were able to insure his victory and for the people of Egypt were able to secure, help and protect them, see Erman 1907, 74.

⁵⁶² Erman 1907, 73.

⁵⁶³See the difference in the piety of the Middle Kingdom where there was an attitude of slavery and devotion.

Kingdom became a relation based on trust and love.⁵⁶⁴ The term “Penitential hymns”, which has been suggested from Erman cannot characterized the requests to the foreign deities, as worshippers ask from them health and power. Referring to the worship of foreign deities, they did not take place only outside the temples, but in their temples or the temples of Egyptian deities such as Ptah. Thus, the model of Erman could not apply to the proposed research, as his categorization “individual piety” is restricted to the penitential character of the hymns, so the feelings of love, devotion and the real personal qualities of the deity are not included.

In like manner James Henry Breasted in *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*⁵⁶⁵ demonstrated the change of personal piety through the study of several hymns dated during the Late New Kingdom Period. According to him, after the death of Akhenaten the reestablished priesthood of Amun preserved the characteristics of Aten: human and beneficent.⁵⁶⁶ He also emphasized in the monotheistic phrasing and universalism in the hymns during the reign of Akhenaten. The confidence of the worshipper to the Sun-God managed to transformed into a devotional spirit and an awareness of personal relation with the god. According to Breasted, the origin of personal piety manifested in the Amarna period and it was resulted by the masses.⁵⁶⁷ In addition, he used hymns such as these of Amun, recorded in the Nebrestela, in order to demonstrate the manifestation of personal expressions, experiences and the form of individual piety with the god in contrast to pre-New Kingdom hymns, which there were allusions to myths in the descriptions of the gods. For the worshippers god was him who can hear their prayers and help the poor. The proposed model is based on the hymns of the Amarna period. The chronological gap between the early New Kingdom to late New Kingdom period is absent and the place, where the personal piety takes part, is not mentioned at all.

It was Siegfried Morenz with his work *Egyptian Religion*, who managed to diversify greatly from the theory of Erman, suggesting that non-royal people make a petition to the god in the temple.⁵⁶⁸ Morenz’s theory based on the statues, which are inscribed with the names of individuals worshippers. Also, he applied his theory to astela, which depicts an individual worshipper to make a petition to Amun-Re. The presence of the statue of Amun-Re impels Morenz to suggest that the Amun-Re who is praying by the worshipper, named Nebre, is the state god of Karnak. This theory can not characterized the foreign deities, as most of the

⁵⁶⁴ Erman 1934, 139.

⁵⁶⁵ Breasted 1972.

⁵⁶⁶ Breasted 1972, 348.

⁵⁶⁷ Breasted 1972, 349.

⁵⁶⁸ Morenz 1973.

statues, which has been found, are not inscribed. Thus, the theory of Morenz could not be supported in this research.

Brunner in his research *Persönliche Frömmigkeit* assigned “private religion” as “eigene Erscheinung“, suggesting that the “personal piety” was originated in the Amarna period.⁵⁶⁹ He suggested that personal piety came due to feelings of fear and loneliness, the main reasons for searching god and acquiring a close relation with the deity. According to Brunner, the raise of personal piety after the Amarna period expressed the opposition to the theological reformation of Akhenaten, where a person could worship the god through the institution of kingship and the connection of the King with Aten. Furthermore, Brunner separated the personal beliefs from temples and myths, but personal piety and temple complemented each other, as the prayer and devotion could be included in the temple. The theory of Brunner for “personal piety” in Amarna period can not be characterized only the particular period, as many scholars have proved that the “personal piety” and the practice in Egyptian religion already took place prior to New Kingdom, so the piety was a continuation of an older and pluralistic religious phenomenon.⁵⁷⁰

Another term for “private religion” introduced by John Baines, who defined it in his articles “*Practical religion and Piety*”⁵⁷¹ and “*Society, Morality and Religious Practice*”⁵⁷² as “practical religion” or “religious action in everyday context”. His suggestions in this research diversify from Assmann⁵⁷³ and Morenz,⁵⁷⁴ who proposed that the religion is a unitary, homogeneous mode of discourse. In order to avoid inaccuracies of “decorum”,⁵⁷⁵ Baines suggested a model for religious practice, which is a continuous form, centered to a personal biography and approach the studies of living religion in close societies. According to Baines, personal religion is related with birth, marriage, death and “afflictions”.⁵⁷⁶ These afflictions can be averted by religious actions such as communication with the dead, oracles and seers.⁵⁷⁷ Also, Baines suggest the term “individual actions”, which reflect the piety of the New Kingdom. In order to demonstrate his definition, he mentioned votive offerings, which had been found in Deir el-Bahri at Thebes dated before the reign of Akhenaten. These votive

⁵⁶⁹ Brunner 1982, 951.

⁵⁷⁰ Baines 1987.

⁵⁷¹ Baines 1987.

⁵⁷² Baines 1991.

⁵⁷³ Assmann 1984.

⁵⁷⁴ Morenz 1960.

⁵⁷⁵ The term “decorum” does not include the manifestation of human non-funerary practices prior to the New Kingdom, see Baines 1987, 79.

⁵⁷⁶ The term “affliction” used here for events such as illness, death, disasters, see Baines 1987, 83.

⁵⁷⁷ Baines 1987, 86-93.

offerings found at shrines of Hathor and they are associated with fertility.⁵⁷⁸ The motives of these offerings were related to magic and practical religion than “pure worship”. Thus, according to Baines, piety was a direct way to communicate with god.⁵⁷⁹

It was Pinch with her work, *Votive offerings to Hathor*, which focused on the separation of personal and popular religion through the study of votive offerings from the temples of Hathor in several sites such as Deir el-Bahri, Faras, Mirgissa, Timna, Gebel Zeitand Serabit el-Khadim.⁵⁸⁰ According to her, there are three terms for Egyptian religion: a) “personal piety”, focusing on the individual piety, b) “folk religion”, which has as main topic more private relations and places, such as family and home and c) “popular religion”, which is centered on religious beliefs and practices. The term “personal piety” is expressed by the personal prayers, which are written on the stelae of Hathor.⁵⁸¹ These prayers include requests for the life of the worshipper, such as health, life and death.⁵⁸² The most common formula for Pinch is the *hꜥtp di nsw*, which is not used for funerary prayers, but for donor’s life.⁵⁸³

Another form of Egyptian religion is the folk religion. This category includes stelae of Hathor, which are very common from 18th to 19th Dynasty, with the manifestation of family groups giving offerings to Hathor. Another version of this depiction is woman with child or two women. A stela from Mirgissa depicts two men, maybe priests, with two women and in the region of Deir el-Bahri a stela shows three women with a child, indicating the large groups of families for the worship of Hathor.⁵⁸⁴

The last term of Pinch is associated with popular religion. According to Pinch, shrines which have been found in the temple of Hatshepsut at Thebes, in the Temple of Thutmose III,⁵⁸⁵ in the region of Gebel Zeit⁵⁸⁶ and some votive offerings indicate the popular religion of Egypt.⁵⁸⁷ However, the popular religion can be expressed by stelae, which depicts royal and divine statues. A number of stelae show king with goddess. Thus, Pinch separated the votive stelae with king in three types: a) a king who makes an offering to the god, b) a dead king, who is being devoted with other deities and c) statues of kings, which used in worship.

⁵⁷⁸ Baines 1991, 180-181.

⁵⁷⁹ Baines 1991, 185.

⁵⁸⁰ Pinch 1993.

⁵⁸¹ Pinch 1993, 82.

⁵⁸² Pinch 1993, 97, 101.

⁵⁸³ Pinch 1993, 99.

⁵⁸⁴ Pinch 1993, 96.

⁵⁸⁵ Pinch 1993, 3-25, 41-48.

⁵⁸⁶ Pinch 1993, 71-77.

⁵⁸⁷ Parallel terms for popular religion have been suggested by Sadek and Morenz, who stated that popular religion is related with the local religious practices of the masses and religion for personal profit, which take place in home or shrines, see Sadek 1987, 2 and Morenz 1973, 102.

The first category is link to the manifestation of king and his offerings to the deity and it is very common from the Ramesside period.⁵⁸⁸ This suggestion is indicated by the festival of Wadi at Deir el-Bahri, where kings participated. Thus, stela was an important mediator for the worshipper.⁵⁸⁹

The second facet refers to the deified king. According to Pinch, this depiction of king is common during the 18th and 19th Dynasty. Some stelae depict the king as a god and seated on a throne and Hathor is front of him and some other stelae manifest the king as triad with other deities.⁵⁹⁰

The last category includes the statues of kings depicted on stelae. Stelae from Deir el-Bahri depicts the statues of Hathor as a cow and suckled by the king. Generally, the kings manifested in tombs, reliefs, votive cloths. These stelae reflect the close connection of Hathor with the king.⁵⁹¹ The need of private individuals to acquire a personal relationship with a god has been made it clear by Pinch.

Most of these studies suggested that piety is related only with temples and affected by the elite and their restrictions. Some other scholars proposed that piety is a tradition of praying to a god by a family member. More particularly, Barry Kemp in his article, "*How religions were the Ancient Egyptians?*" suggested that religion contains many systems of beliefs and is link to state.⁵⁹² According to him, religion has three facets: a) buildings, cults, pious donations. The category of buildings and pious donations includes statues, vessels, shrines and religious furniture made from metal,⁵⁹³ b) the profile of faith in a population, which include the king, elite and in pre-New Kingdom period the leaders of local community, "monarch", who were under the obedience of king and "soul priests"⁵⁹⁴ and c) beliefs, based on the textual sources. The personal religion and the beliefs of Egyptians can be demonstrated from the small shrines and other votive offerings, which has been found at Gebel Zeit, Deir el-Bahri, Gebelien.⁵⁹⁵ The terms "age of personal piety" and "age of cynicism", which characterized the period of New Kingdom, are unsuitable as if we talk for a complex community, it can be equable in its attitude. For Kemp, religion is a range of attitudes, where people use it with a prevalence.⁵⁹⁶

⁵⁸⁸Shulman suggested that this kind of stelae is link to the festival or ritual procedure with the present of the king, see Shulman 1988, 3-4; 192-197.

⁵⁸⁹ Pinch 1993, 95.

⁵⁹⁰ Pinch 1993, 95.

⁵⁹¹ Pinch 1993, 95-96.

⁵⁹² Kemp 1995.

⁵⁹³ Kemp 1995, 34-36.

⁵⁹⁴ Kemp 1995, 36-41.

⁵⁹⁵ Kemp 1995, 29.

⁵⁹⁶ Kemp 1995, 50.

On the other hand, Assmann in his works, *Egyptian Solar Religion in the New Kingdom: Re, Amun and the crisis of Polytheism*⁵⁹⁷ and *The mind of Egypt: History and Meaning in the Time of the Pharaohs*,⁵⁹⁸ suggested another religious model, which is based on the place where the worship takes place: a) “local religion”, defining the nome and town of the deity, b) domestic and individual forms of religiosity, including private cult chapels, c) “popular religion”, meaning amulets, figurines and d) new forms of religiosity, which differs from the traditional piety.⁵⁹⁹ Assmann in his research, he focused on the last group. This group involves formulae and expressions, which reflect the idea of new religiosity in personal piety. The main form concerns the theory of “to put a god into one’s heart”. This expression designates the inner self and the equation of personal piety with placing god into one’s heart, which means that the relation between the individual and god is characterized by trust and love.⁶⁰⁰

The religious orientation is changed during the New Kingdom period and the previous form is replaced by the “theology of will”, where the heart is guided by the god. According to Assmann is a new period, where the human has to show submissiveness to the god and that can be reflected on the political texts of New Kingdom.⁶⁰¹ Parallel to this religious form, another German term for personal religion, “Gottessnahe” introduced by Brunner⁶⁰² and Assmann.⁶⁰³ This term also represents the relation of person with god through practical religious activity or feelings.⁶⁰⁴ Lastly, Assmann mentioned that the personal piety is connected with festivals. In Egypt, the festivals were opened for non-royal people, as the individuals could pray for help and other requests to the god. Based on archaeological evidence (ostraca) and the textual sources, Assmann indicated that there were religious practices and purposes, which address particular god.⁶⁰⁵ As a result, the new religiosity form connects the personal religion with festival. That new religion is called by Assmann “god-loyalty” and it is expressed in the texts with the phrase “walking on someone’s water”, reflecting the declaration of servant’s royalty to the god.

⁵⁹⁷ Assmann 1995.

⁵⁹⁸ Assmann 2002.

⁵⁹⁹ Assmann 1995, 190; 2002, 229.

⁶⁰⁰ Assmann 2002, 230.

⁶⁰¹ Assmann 2002, 230.

⁶⁰² Brunner 1977.

⁶⁰³ Assmann 1984, 9-21, 25-26; 1995.

⁶⁰⁴ In another work of Assmann the term “personal piety” is defined as a form of relationship between human and god based on a conscious decision, see Assmann 1999, 32.

⁶⁰⁵ Assmann 2002, 231.

A new distinct and further clarification has been made in 2003, when Anna Stevens presented her article, entitled “*The material evidence for domestic religion at Amarna and preliminary remarks on its interpretation*”. In her work, she used the term “domestic” for private religion. Her study is centered around two facets: a) the permanent cult emplacements, which includes altars, vertical niches, rectangular or round topped niches, cultic cupboards, lustration slabs and domestic reliefs and inscriptions⁶⁰⁶ and b) objects which can be transferred, which involves the offerings table, shrines and naoi, basins, statues, figurines, ostraca and vessels.⁶⁰⁷ Thus, the two spheres of domestic religion: a) the nature of the conduct and b) the identity of these deities can be studied.⁶⁰⁸ Based on the archaeological material, Stevens suggested that there were several forms of conduct. Her theory is demonstrated by the fact that many vessels used for ritual offerings, amulets in the form of jewellery and figures, which bare hieroglyphics or depict animals, deities and body parts and magical rituals, as many figurines, scarabs, wedjat-eyes found at the site.⁶⁰⁹ The deities which included in the conduct of domestic religion are the royal family and Aten and in a lower level the minor deities, who are associated with fertility qualities, such as Bes.⁶¹⁰ To what extent the official cult expanded in the private religion is not clear. However, the archaeological material of Amarna indicates the domestic religion of this site.

Another proposed model is that of Zivie-Coche and Dunand in their work “*Gods and Men in Egypt 3000 BC to 395 CE*”.⁶¹¹ In their work Zivie-Coche and Dunand criticized Brunner’s theory regarding the origins of personal piety at the end of the Amarna Period. Zivie-Coche stated that the personal piety already existed prior to the New Kingdom.⁶¹² Also, she suggested that the personal piety during the reign of Akhenaten was a “turning point” for the development of individual piety, not its beginning.⁶¹³ Zivie-Coche goes further and mentioned that personal piety obeys the same norms as the temple cult for the closeness relation with the divine. They are not different religions but different ways of communication with the god. Thus, Zivie-Coche categorized the religion in two facets: a) official cult and b) personal piety. She focused on the personal piety and suggested that individual piety includes

⁶⁰⁶ Stevens 2003, 145-156.

⁶⁰⁷ Stevens 2003, 156-158.

⁶⁰⁸ Stevens 2003, 144.

⁶⁰⁹ Stevens 2003, 160-161.

⁶¹⁰ Stevens 2003, 162-166.

⁶¹¹ Zivie-Coche and Dunand 2004.

⁶¹² Dunand and Zivie-Coche 2004, 110.

⁶¹³ Dunand and Zivie-Coche 2004, 110-111.

ostraca, stelae, amulets, practicing in chapels, oracles and it is more obvious in personal religious practice rather than textual sources.⁶¹⁴

In addition, Jan Assmann in his works *The search for god in Ancient Egypt* (2001) and *God and Gods* (2008), provided a serious criticism towards Brunner's theory regarding the origins of personal piety at the end of the Amarna Period. According to Assmann, the theory of Brunner could not be combined with state religion, the temple cults and the funerary beliefs. Assmann proposed the term "divine presence", a term which includes the place of human religious experience and activity, in order an individual being able to have a contact with the divine. The forms of contact according to him are many and vary from rites to mystic consideration to magical intimidation and self-repudiation. Thus, Assmann categorized the Egyptian religion in three "dimensions": a) cultic, b) cosmic and c) verbal or mythical dimension.⁶¹⁵ The cultic dimension refers to the nature of Egyptian polytheism. It includes a) the role of gods and temples in Egypt and b) the existence of many multitude temples, a symbolization of the image of cosmos. Under that perception gods and goddesses are represented as statues which took the form of local deities connected with aspects of power. More specifically, the cultic dimension includes three themes: a) the concepts of autochthony and divine territorial lordship and their theological expression, b) the concept of the temple as *imagiocaeil* and its double function as divine dwelling and economic enterprise simultaneously and c) the concept of divine residence on earth as conveyed by image and ritual. The first theme is related with the local god. Living in a city means to have a closer relation with the god who had power there. Aspects such as house and city obtained religious ties as Assmann has demonstrated through the analysis of tomb inscriptions, poems and Ptolemaic texts.⁶¹⁶ Through this research, it seems that Egyptian cities secure the divine presence and rewarded next life in everyone who could serve the god on earth.⁶¹⁷ The second theme concerns temple as economic and divine dwelling. According to Assmann, priests, artisans, shepherds and other lay dwellers belonged to the temples. In addition temples owned workshops and parts of land.⁶¹⁸ Furthermore, the cosmic symbolism of Egyptian temples was a matter of prime importance. The temple had two facets the interior and exterior: the temples host the statues where the gods live, the doors of the shrine represent the heavenly gates and the rest of the

⁶¹⁴ Dunand and Zivie-Coche 2004, 109.

⁶¹⁵ Assmann 2001, 8; 2008, 14-21.

⁶¹⁶ Assmann 2001, 20.

⁶¹⁷ Assmann 2008, 21.

⁶¹⁸ Assmann 2001, 27-30.

temple is the place where the sun god floods with light.⁶¹⁹ The last theme is related with the image and ritual of the divine presence. For Assmann the image of the divine can be reflected in statue cult. The cult is celestial actions which took place in the temples.⁶²⁰ For the Egyptians the cultic action was charged with pleasure, joy and wonder. Thus, it can be classified in a) festival rituals, b) daily cult rituals and c) offering rituals. The festival rituals were more expressly, as the rites are full with joy and wonder. However, the daily cult ritual was operative, as it was a personal service to the lord of the temple, the priests worshipped and dressed the cult statue and offered foods. The central concept of this ritual was the satisfaction of the deity. Lastly, the offering ritual was less comprehensive and included preparatory rites and praises to the deity.⁶²¹

The cosmic dimension includes the Egyptian theology and the relation of god and cosmos.⁶²² Through cultic actions people interfere in cosmic actions. The cosmos symbolize the heaven where the human only can have access by intervening of symbols.⁶²³ It is essential to mention that for Assman the cosmic dimension of the deity do not restrict to the cosmic elements, such as moon, sun etc, but complicates actions, characteristics, attitude and attributes which can be explicated in cosmic phenomenon which humans can contribute. Thus, cosmos was a holy part of human religious knowledge and devotion for the people of ancient Egypt.⁶²⁴

The third dimension, the verbal or mythic, concerns the name formula, speech, personality, language, meaning and action. For the verbal dimension the concept of name is required.⁶²⁵ Hymns includes name formulas, which reflect the characteristics of the Egyptian names and the use of them. According to Assmann, the name formula constitutes the god and goddess, an action and an object. Thus, the names are mostly objects and places and rarely divine names or cosmic regions.⁶²⁶ Also, name formulas can be served as transformations in dramatic texts, as divine speeches read by priests who play the role of the deity while they perform the cultic acts.⁶²⁷ On the other hand, spells name formulas contribute in the creation of two spheres a) the cultic and b) the divine realm. These names are used in order to restrict the context of ritual acts. In cultic acts the knowledge is essential. This knowledge concerns the knowledge of names, actions, events, processes, which can be interpreted and maintained its

⁶¹⁹ Assmann 2001, 36.

⁶²⁰ Assmann 2001, 41.

⁶²¹ Assmann 2001, 40-52.

⁶²² Assmann 2008, 18.

⁶²³ Assmann 2001, 53.

⁶²⁴ Assmann 2001, 80.

⁶²⁵ Assmann 2008, 19.

⁶²⁶ Assmann 2001, 84-85.

⁶²⁷ Assmann 2001, 88-89.

holy in a symbolic sense. After the knowledge is language, which has two aspects: a) the knowledge and b) the speech. The knowledge is related to the speech. However, the creation of god comes out from the mouth of the creator and there are the names, which gave to the parts of his body.⁶²⁸ Apart from knowledge and speech an essential characteristic of divine presence is personality. Personality is important as it can secure the approachability through language. A god who speaks is a person and to be a person means that is included into the sphere of one, in the divine realm.⁶²⁹

Also, the work of Emily Teeter entitled, *Religion and Ritual in Ancient Egypt* is a theological approach, as it includes a very analytical description for the contact of worshipper with god and where it takes place.⁶³⁰ According to her, gods reflected a confidence to their worshippers and they were accessible in order to assist them.⁶³¹ Worshippers through the prayer and offerings could express they respect for the gods and ask for help from unimportant issues, as complaints about the theft or neighbor, to major, as an illness and infertility. The communication with the god will be insured by practical actions and not philosophically themes. Thus, Egyptians had variant ways to have a contact with the divine.⁶³² These ways are mentioned in the work of Teeter and involved the a) places of prayer b) outside the temple, c) votive offerings, d) statue cults, e) intercessory statues, f) trances and dreams as a means of contacting the gods and g) self-dedication to the god.⁶³³

One form of communication with the god was the temple. Temples were not accessible completely for the non-royal people. As Teeters discusses in her work, there were reliefs and inscriptions, which demonstrate that there were some parts of the structure and they are accessible for them.⁶³⁴

Outside of temple, also, Egyptians developed many ways for the communication with gods. Means of contact with the god, outside the temple were a) stelae and b) shrines.⁶³⁵ Stelae in various sizes and images of ears were the connection for the receipt of prayers to the god. These stelae had inscriptions with the name of god and some of them has been found in many houses. Also, people could have contact with god by shrines. These shrines are chiseled to the

⁶²⁸ Assmann 2001, 94-95.

⁶²⁹ Assmann 2001, 95-102.

⁶³⁰ Teeter 2011.

⁶³¹ Teeter 2011, 76

⁶³² Teeter 2011, 77.

⁶³³ Teeter 2011, 77-102.

⁶³⁴ In order to reinforce her aspect, Teeter, cites examples from the Hypostyle Hall of the temple of Amun at Karnak, the shrine of Seti II, the first court of the Luxor temple, the chapels of the hearing ear, where was in the exterior back wall of the temple, at the east side of the temple of Amun at Karnak and at the Eastern high gate at Medinet Habu in Western Thebes, see Teeter 2011, 77-80.

⁶³⁵ Teeter 2011, 84-86

rocks and imitate the stele with the depiction of adoration to the god. Both of them, expressed the religious beliefs and indicate that piety is not expressed only in temples but outside of them.

Votive offerings are means of expression of worship. Votive figurines such as figurines of woman, animals or mummified animals, gods, elaborate beds has been found in temples, houses and tombs. Female figurines, which had a powerful effect, were used for childbirth, fertility, love, rebirth, good health.⁶³⁶ However, there were triangle boxes, which imitated elaborate beds and may relate with female fertility.⁶³⁷ In addition, there were animals, which some of them were connected with deities, but some scholars suggest that these offerings are toys.⁶³⁸ Mummified animals were also very common form of communication, as the animal represents the soul of deity and it was the intermediary between worshipper and god.⁶³⁹

Another form of contact with the divine is the statue cults, which was also very common practice in New Kingdom. The statues placed on the temple for transmitting the prayers and holiness of the ritual process to their owners.⁶⁴⁰ By this way, the worshipper will be closer to the god for eternity.⁶⁴¹

There is another category of statues, which called intercessory statues and serve as intermediary, using someone's else behalf to communicate with the god. Thus, the prayers and requests will be more effectively to the gods. Some of these statues has been found in the Karnak temple's tenth pylon outside of the temple in order to be accessible to the people.

Another important form of communication with the divine is the dreams. Egyptians considers dreams in order to get closer with the god. According to Teeter, in most dreams the god comes without warning or some other preparation.⁶⁴²

The subject of personal piety is also discussed on the article of Baines and Froid entitled "Piety, change, and display in the New Kingdom", where they considered that there is a lack of votive offerings in contrast to those of Eighteenth Dynasty, suggesting that the religious practice was not the same in all domains from the Eighteenth to twentieth Dynasty.⁶⁴³

⁶³⁶ Teeter 2011, 89.

⁶³⁷ Teeter 2011, 90.

⁶³⁸ Teeter 2011, 90.

⁶³⁹ Teeter 2011, 91-92.

⁶⁴⁰ Teeter 2011, 93.

⁶⁴¹ Teeter 2011, 96.

⁶⁴² Teeter 2011, 101.

⁶⁴³ Baines and Froid 2011, 1.

In their research, they defined piety as *“intrinsic to Egyptian religion for as long as there were multiple deities with personal characteristics, that is, since no later than the beginning of the dynastic period and possibly earlier. Only very rarely, however, did people display their personal piety in the texts that survive”*.⁶⁴⁴ Apart from the term “piety”, their research focused on the evolution of the personal piety from the Middle until the New Kingdom. More particularly, they support that there are few Middle Kingdom sources and the Tale of Sinuhe, which can confirm the close relation between the individual and the divine.⁶⁴⁵ Both sources led to the hypothesis that *“their display was limited by convention; only literary works include extensive passages of strongly subjective cast”*.⁶⁴⁶

Following the mid-Eighteen Dynasty, they stated that *“public display of religious participation before a deity-the Aten in the case of point- was significant in the Amarna period itself and that it did not necessarily pass through the king as the self-proclaimed prime intermediary and agent, but could be addressed to the god”*.⁶⁴⁷

However, the religious activities changed after the Amarna period. According to their research, there are three characteristics, which are attested on the archaeological material of this period: a) “new repertoires of religious display and iconography”, b) “the group of texts with pious themes” and c) “the position of the king in relation to these changes”.⁶⁴⁸

In the first category, there are new religious scenes. More specifically, the first scene is the depiction of the worshipper before the deity and the second scene is the appearance of the worshipper with his family. According to the researchers *“these developments brought into the decoration of tombs subjects that possessed greater prestige and personal significance than the “scenes of daily life”*.⁶⁴⁹

The next category includes a several texts on personal monuments from Deir el-Medina, tomb biographies and literary compositions. These sources indicate the close dedication of the adorers to their deities and how they reacted in episodes, in which they have experienced with the deity.⁶⁵⁰ According to Baines and Frood, *“the more literary pieces make play with the notion of choosing a deity or being chosen by one and with how a person’s*

⁶⁴⁴ Baines and Frood 2011, 5.

⁶⁴⁵ Baines and Frood 2011, 5.

⁶⁴⁶ Baines and Frood 2011, 5.

⁶⁴⁷ Baines and Frood 2011, 6.

⁶⁴⁸ Baines and Frood 2011, 7.

⁶⁴⁹ Baines and Frood 2011, 8.

⁶⁵⁰ Baines and Frood 2011, 9.

ethical or devotional qualities can render a deity accessible or inaccessible in the absence of such qualities”.⁶⁵¹

The last category is associated with the position of the pharaoh in relation to these developments. In this category, the case of the Battle of Qadesh is included. The central theme of the battle is the crisis, when the pharaoh, Rameses II, asks the assistance of Amun.⁶⁵² According to the researchers *“the recording of the episode might have been seen as an implicit admission of some responsibility, the focus is on his being abandoned by much of his human support, his vulnerability and his dependence on Amun”*.⁶⁵³

Another research is the article of Liesegang, entitled *“The phenomenon of personal religion in the Ramesside period, from the «Poem» of Ramses II. Through to the prayers of Ramses III”*, where she examined the evolution of personal piety from 18th until 20th Dynasty.⁶⁵⁴

The phenomenon of personal is based on religious belief, cultic practice and ideas, which are associated with the divine orders, such as the teachings of Old and Middle Kingdoms. This religious phenomenon had a great impact in the Egyptian community, initiating from the Pharaoh and ends up to the lower social level of Egypt.⁶⁵⁵

According to her research, the sources of 18th Dynasty indicate a different view for the close relation of the deity and individual, the cultic life and the role of the worshippers. The new dimension was expressed through the idea of doing things in a good way and acting after the will of the deity.⁶⁵⁶ Parallel to this idea, the deity is regarded as a father, who feels affection for his children, such as the teaching of Merikare.⁶⁵⁷ Liesegang stated *“the idea of a sole god, who creates all things and guide the fate of the world is an essential aspect of the Phenomenon of the personal religion and only presented in many written and artistic sources of this epoch. The god doesn’t appear in only one special form because one of his most important characteristics is his secret and hidden nature. ..The relation is characterized by the directly and open contact between the divinity and the worshippers without any third mediator constructing the spiritual exchange between the divine and the human world”*.⁶⁵⁸ During the 18th Dynasty, the close relation between the worshipper and deity is indicated in archaeological

⁶⁵¹ Baines and Froot 2011, 9.

⁶⁵² Baines and Froot 2011, 15.

⁶⁵³ Baines and Froot 2011, 15.

⁶⁵⁴ Liesegang 2012, 97.

⁶⁵⁵ Liesegang 2012, 97.

⁶⁵⁶ Liesegang 2012, 97.

⁶⁵⁷ Liesegang 2012, 97.

⁶⁵⁸ Liesegang 2012, 97.

material. Such as stelae, statues and ostraca, and through the textual sources, which include wishes of people for healing from illnesses, mercy and justice.⁶⁵⁹

In the early 19th Dynasty, many references in the royal literature demonstrate the change in the policy, religion and culture. Rameses II regarded his god as a father, who he can not neglect his son. According to Liesegang, *“the open and directly presentation of the Egyptian king in the moment of highest danger, searching for help by the divinity in a situation of fear and loneliness is a very special contain for an official royal text and a great demonstration of numerous motifs of the Phenomenon of Personal religion”*.⁶⁶⁰

In 20th Dynasty, the model of the close relation between the pharaoh and the deity is continued. This aspect can be confirmed in the prayers of the people.⁶⁶¹ The image of the king is described as a person with a very personal and close relation with the divine, ignoring his image as a “Lord of Acting”.⁶⁶² Liesegang suggested that *“The king can’t approach anymore his people with the tool of religion. The changes in the position of the Egyptian king are a sign for the religious-political evolution in Egypt in this time..Amun-Re and his priests gain more and more wealth and political influence, which grows more and more in the late Ramesside period.”*⁶⁶³

The research of Luiselli, entitled “Images of personal religion in Ancient Egypt: an outline”, is focused on the examination and description of the images, which depict personal religious acts, expressing the personal piety of the worshipper.⁶⁶⁴ Her research is based on reliefs and paintings on stelae, statues, shrines, tombs and ostraca, as it was the main way to transfer political, cultural and religious signs and messages through visual images.⁶⁶⁵ Apart from their aesthetic performance, these images contain symbolic meaning, which is interpreted as personal piety.

The examination of Luiselli initiates from the Middle Kingdom, where the piety is expressed through stelae.⁶⁶⁶ The stelae depict the donor and the deity. The donor is presented with raised arms, in adoring posture.⁶⁶⁷ The scene includes also an offering table as a ritual offering in order to get closer to the deity. Next to the offering table, there is a text, which can

⁶⁵⁹ Liesegang 2012, 98.

⁶⁶⁰ Liesegang 2012, 98.

⁶⁶¹ Liesegang 2012, 99.

⁶⁶² Liesegang 2012, 101.

⁶⁶³ Liesegang 2012, 101.

⁶⁶⁴ Luiselli 2013, 13-14.

⁶⁶⁵ Luiselli 2013, 14-15.

⁶⁶⁶ Luiselli 2013, 20.

⁶⁶⁷ Luiselli 2013, 20.

add extra information about the context of the performance.⁶⁶⁸ However, this pattern of personal piety remains the same through the New Kingdom.⁶⁶⁹ The differences concern the number of the donors and the appearance of the procession. The main adoring scene is the same and reflects the religious practices of the worshipper.⁶⁷⁰

In New Kingdom, the stelae are round-topped and include an organize text and scene, divided into two or more registers.⁶⁷¹ The scene involves the donor with raised arms, kneeling or standing in front of the deity. Another variation is the depiction of the family members next to the donor or in the lower register.⁶⁷² The main scene is the offering, as it is the religious act in order to communicate with the divine.⁶⁷³

Under this prism, there are more variations in the scenes, such as the iconography of the deity or a particular event.⁶⁷⁴ For instance, the stelae from the Ptah temple depict the adoration of the pharaoh, who smiting his enemies, before the god Ptah.⁶⁷⁵ Another variation is the depiction of a goose or a ram, as a representation of the god Amon-Ra, with or without the donor.⁶⁷⁶ Among the local variations of this period is the group of the “ear stelae”, which include ears accompanied by eyes.⁶⁷⁷ These two elements can be interpreted as the main channels for the god in order to see and hear the worshipper’s prayer or the high the number of them can contribute to the increase of deity’s capacity and will.⁶⁷⁸ According to the researcher, the eyes symbolize the close contact of the worshipper with the divine and the ears did not need to show any adoration act.⁶⁷⁹ Lastly, the other variation is the group of votive cloths and shirts from the temple of Hathor.⁶⁸⁰ According to Pinch, the shirts can be regarded as “*actual garments of cult images while the cloths were probably part of the temple furnishing*”.⁶⁸¹

The researcher supported that the sources reflect the personal religious acts, without indicating the domestic religion and its practices.⁶⁸² More particularly, she suggested that “*the scenes of adoration and offering, as represented on private stelae, visually represent an act of*

⁶⁶⁸ Luiselli 2013, 20.

⁶⁶⁹ Luiselli 2013, 20.

⁶⁷⁰ Luiselli 2013, 20-21.

⁶⁷¹ Luiselli 2013, 22.

⁶⁷² Luiselli 2013, 22.

⁶⁷³ Luiselli 2013, 22.

⁶⁷⁴ Luiselli 2013, 22.

⁶⁷⁵ Luiselli 2013, 22.

⁶⁷⁶ Luiselli 2013, 24.

⁶⁷⁷ Luiselli 2013, 24-25.

⁶⁷⁸ Luiselli 2013, 25.

⁶⁷⁹ Luiselli 2013, 25.

⁶⁸⁰ Luiselli 2013, 25.

⁶⁸¹ Pinch 1993, 134.

⁶⁸² Luiselli 2013, 26.

*communication between human and divine. What was before and after the offering is not part of the image, as probably the adoration and the offering were the apex of the private ritual act that was composed by ritualistic gestures and words. This was the way to address –at least in a sacred space like a shrine or a temple– personal prayers directly to a deity”.*⁶⁸³

Last but not least, the research of Weiss, entitled “Personal religious practice: house altars at Deir el-Medina” examined the domestic religious acts at Deir el-Medina during the Ramesside Period based on the theory of agency.⁶⁸⁴ According to Weiss, agency is called “*the perpetual movement between different roles and the appropriation of practices according to specific needs..The concept of appropriation allows, then, for conceiving this opportunity structure for individual religious practice–a structure that can be mapped onto different social layers: appropriation of individual practices, b) appropriation of family practices, c) appropriation of local practices and appropriation of trans-local practices*”.⁶⁸⁵

In her study, she addresses several issues, which are significant for the study of personal piety. Among the archaeological evidence, which has been found at Deir el-Medina, two ostraca shed more light for the utilization of these platforms as altars.⁶⁸⁶ The first ostrakon, depicts Hay, the deputy of workmen, standing before the offering table and facing the god Thoth, who is sitting on a shrine. The second ostrakon depicts the snake goddess Meretseger.⁶⁸⁷ According to Weiss, “*alongside worship in the chapels close to the village, there was apparently the need to have tutelary gods at home*”.⁶⁸⁸ Another interesting interpretation, which concerns the relation between chapels and house altars is suggested by Pinch. According to her, “*votive offerings may have been magically prepared at home to strengthen them before being offered at an official temple*”.⁶⁸⁹

In her research, Weiss supported that house altars at Deir el-Medina are dated to the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasty, but the earliest manifestation of them appear at Malkata during the Eighteenth Dynasty, suggesting that the personal piety in the Ramesside period was mainly a reaction following the Amarna Period.⁶⁹⁰ According to the present state of research, the house altars were modeled after the official temple altars. Weiss stated that “*It was thus a very specific type of altar, which had been transferred to the domestic sphere. This is in line*

⁶⁸³ Luiselli 2013, 29.

⁶⁸⁴ Weiss 2015, 15-19.

⁶⁸⁵ Weiss 2015, 17-18.

⁶⁸⁶ Weiss 2015, 205.

⁶⁸⁷ Weiss 2015, 205.

⁶⁸⁸ Weiss 2015, 206.

⁶⁸⁹ Pinch 1993, 341.

⁶⁹⁰ Weiss 2015, 207.

with the idea that state religion and the increasing importance of religious festivals and processions may have encouraged the people to address the gods personally on domestic altar".⁶⁹¹

The aforementioned researches constituted an essential part of the present study for the explanation of Egyptian religion and its aspects, such as the official religion and personal piety. Through the examination of the archaeological material of the six Syro-palestinian deities, Anat, Astarte, Qadesh, Baal, Reshef and Hauron, their official and personal worship will be indicated.⁶⁹² More particularly, there are two statues from Tanis,⁶⁹³ which depict Anat next to the king, Ramesses II. The first statue records: "Anat lady of the sky, mistress of the gods" (*ʿnṯi nbt pt nṯrw*)⁶⁹⁴ and the second bears the inscription: "Beloved of Anat, I am your mother Anat" (*ʿnṯi mri mwt=k ʿnṯi*),⁶⁹⁵ demonstrating the close relation of the pharaoh with the goddess and her official acceptance as the protector deity of the pharaoh. At the same time, these deities worshipped by the ordinary people. For instance, the stela of Ram bears inscription: "Astarte (*ʿ3štrt*) from Kharu",⁶⁹⁶ suggesting the illness of Amenhotep III and the cult image of Istar (Astarte) in Egypt, inspired trust to the common people for their health and prosperity.⁶⁹⁷

Apart from the aspects of the researchers for the Egyptian religion, an important part of the research is the definition of terms. Several terms, such as "koine", "acculturation", "translating gods", "interfaith dialogue", which refer to religious and intercultural connections, can contribute to the interpretation of the importation of these deities into the Egyptian religion and can be applied to the present research.

⁶⁹¹ Weiss 2015, 207.

⁶⁹² For more analysis see the chapters 2 and 3.

⁶⁹³ Louvre AF 2576; Cairo JE6336.

⁶⁹⁴ PM IV, 24; KRI II 445, 10; 446; RITA II 445, 10;446.

⁶⁹⁵ PM IV, 24; KRI II 445; RITA II 445.

⁶⁹⁶ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 92, Doc.33.

⁶⁹⁷ Tazawa 2009, 135.

C. Egypto-Levantine contacts: Symbiosis, koine

Koine can be identified as the cross-cultural interconnections through the travel, migration and exchange between Egypt and the Levant, which led to the adaption of the foreign elements.⁶⁹⁸ The different products, human abilities of the two regions made a long-lasting and intensive exchange and trade. Parallel, the migration and travelling of both regions created a strong experience of the “other”.⁶⁹⁹ The close contact of both regions brought the development of the language, the alphabet, the literature, images of gods and theological concepts.⁷⁰⁰

D. Useful and potentially misleading theoretical conceptualizations

The importation and assimilation of a foreign deity into the new region and to the Egyptian religious system have been interpreted by scholars in different terms. Despite that there are several terms for the description of the phenomenon, the original meaning differs from the modern explanation through the periods of history. Some of these terms can interpret aspects of the phenomenon, but might not be appropriate for our examination, as they can not interpret the religious phenomenon totally.

Acculturation can be identified as “a multi-faceted process through which individuals adopt cultural elements of their host country/dominant group”.⁷⁰¹ Importing Egypt meant acquiring a new ideological code.⁷⁰² There are stages progress from the superficial changes to more structural adaption in social affiliation, values and the complete assimilation to the new region.⁷⁰³

More particularly, the first stage includes the accommodation. In the first stage, the person lives in the host region, without any change of values. The second stage is the acculturation, where the person changes values, acquires new ideological code, cultural knowledge and behavior. The last stage entails the complete acceptance of the host society and rejection of the culture of origin.⁷⁰⁴ These stages increase the possibilities of the adaption and decrease the features of the previous place of origin.

The fast acculturation of a person is depended on social hierarchies and the distinct motivation for assimilation. In the case of a group, the fast acculturation process depends on

⁶⁹⁸ Staubli 2016, 52.

⁶⁹⁹ Staubli 2016, 52.

⁷⁰⁰ Staubli 2016, 52.

⁷⁰¹ Staubli 2016, 53.

⁷⁰² Schneider 2010, 144.

⁷⁰³ Heckmann 1992, 176ff; Gordon 1964, 71; Schneider 2010, 145.

⁷⁰⁴ Schneider 2010, 145; Heckmann 1992, 167ff.

the group structure, the willingness to acculturate in the host region and the willingness of the majority society in order to acculturate with the group.⁷⁰⁵

Cultural appropriation can be defined as “*the acquisition of external ideas, objects and practices by a given civilization. This procedure changes the profile of the existing cultural repertoires*”.⁷⁰⁶ Through the cultural appropriation, the new ideas and objects called intercultural ligatures.⁷⁰⁷ Examples of intercultural ligatures are the glass, the horse and the god Baal. From a technical scope, these examples represent the high speed and temperature. In terms of cultural, they had a different influence in the social and religious spheres.⁷⁰⁸

More particularly, the glass has been introduced from abroad or glass workers were adapted from northern Mesopotamia or Mitanni in order to create the Egyptian glass. However, the glass did not manage to change the Egyptian style, as the motifs maintained their Egyptian origin.⁷⁰⁹ In case of the horse and chariot, they lasted for a long time. Both elements were connected with the status and prestige of the pharaoh.⁷¹⁰ In the religious ideology, the horse and the chariot led to the adaption of the goddess Astarte, who is regarded as the protector deity of the horses and chariots.⁷¹¹ Apart from the attributes of Astarte, the Astarte papyrus became known to the Egyptian society. Especially, the story of Astarte with Yam was regarded as the Egyptian version of the Canaanite myth, which deals with the fight of Baal with the sea.⁷¹² Thus, Baal introduced into the Egyptian pantheon and became the god of the battle, who is walking across the mountains.⁷¹³

Interfaith dialogue can be identified as “*constructive interaction between people of different religious traditions*”.⁷¹⁴ Interfaith dialogue accepts the otherness of the person from a different social group.⁷¹⁵ According to Boomas “*where religion is part of a group’s social reality and not a private matter, hearing the other becomes essential for peaceful co-existence*”.⁷¹⁶

Syncretism can be implied in various religious phenomena such as between religious systems by blending of two or more religious belief systems into a new system, deities, where

⁷⁰⁵ Heckmann 1992, 181-207; Schneider 2010, 145.

⁷⁰⁶ Schneider 2003, 157.

⁷⁰⁷ Schneider 2003, 158.

⁷⁰⁸ Schneider 2003, 158.

⁷⁰⁹ Schneider 2003, 159.

⁷¹⁰ Schneider 2003, 160.

⁷¹¹ Schneider 2003, 160.

⁷¹² Schneider 2003, 160.

⁷¹³ Schneider 2003, 161.

⁷¹⁴ Boomas 2018, 143.

⁷¹⁵ Boomas 2018, 142.

⁷¹⁶ Boomas 2018, 142.

“multiple religious traditions exist in proximity and function actively within the same cultural sphere, as for instance, in Hellenistic syncretism, where elements from several religions merged and influenced each other mutually”.⁷¹⁷ Another implication of the syncretism is through its involvement of individual elements, such as rites, symbols, and divinities, into a religious tradition of beliefs from unrelated traditions.⁷¹⁸

Syncretism can be also incorporate within one religious system, where there are connections between complex wholes within one religious system.⁷¹⁹ For example, this category of syncretism is that of the synthesis established in Egypt between the differing theologies of the various nomes.⁷²⁰ Another type of syncretism is the harmonization of elements within one religious system.⁷²¹ For instance, such syncretism is identified in Babylonia from diachronic processes consisting of juxtaposition, identification and exchange of qualities.

Translating gods can be identified as the practice of translating the names and functions of the gods from different cultures.⁷²² In polytheistic religions, the deities are personalized by name, form and attribute.⁷²³ Between these deities there is “*an articulation of a common semantic universe*”.⁷²⁴ This characteristic makes the names of them translatable and deities from different regions can be associated with one another.⁷²⁵ The names of gods have a meaning and represent the character of the deity. This character can be compared with the attributes of other deities. The translation of the names and functions create the concept of similarity and the aspect that the gods are international.⁷²⁶ “*The growing political and commercial interconnectedness of the ancient world and the practice of cross-cultural translation of everything, including divine names, gradually led to the concept of a common religion*”.⁷²⁷

⁷¹⁷ Asher-Greve and Westenholz 2013, 30.

⁷¹⁸ Asher-Greve and Westenholz 2013, 30.

⁷¹⁹ Asher-Greve and Westenholz 2013, 30.

⁷²⁰ Asher-Greve and Westenholz 2013, 31.

⁷²¹ Asher-Greve and Westenholz 2013, 31.

⁷²² Assmann 2004, 24.

⁷²³ Assmann 2004, 24.

⁷²⁴ Assmann 2004, 24.

⁷²⁵ Assmann 2004, 24.

⁷²⁶ Assmann 2004, 24.

⁷²⁷ Assmann 2004, 25.

5. *State of art*

The first part of this thesis is related with the presence of the Syro-palestinian deities in the Egyptian archaeological and textual record. A detailed catalogue for the six Syro-palestinian deities will be made in order to examine their cultural system in Egypt. Each deity includes its archaeological material, textual sources, iconography and qualities.

Chapter 2 explores the role of the Syro-palestinian deities and their connection with the pharaohs of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasty. Before analyzing the importation and appearance of Syro-palestinian deities in the political and diplomatic field, the examination of the Pharaonic kingship of this period as a cause of importation of Syro-palestinian deities in Egypt will be proposed. The attempt to emphasize on the divine kingship and the powers of gods caused the increase of the popularity of the deities, which are connected with the status of the pharaoh on earth. Thus, it is necessary to reexamine the appearance of Syro-palestinian deities, defining the political and diplomatic contexts of their appearance, contribution and their participation in the treaty of Ramesses II, the Marriage stele and campaigns.

Chapter 3 explores another cause of the importation of Syro-palestinian deities in Egypt, which is the polytheistic system of the Egyptian religion. In this chapter, the contribution and participation of Syro-palestinian deities in the Egyptian religion and their worship by the pharaohs, higher and lower ranks will be studied. Through the segmentation of the evolution of the Egyptian religion accompanied by the Syro-palestinian deities, in three religious periods and based on the archaeological material such as stelae, offering bases, the contribution of Syro-palestinian deities in the religion of the pharaoh will be interpreted. The first period will include the years 1500 until 1350, where the religious system of Egypt is polytheism. The second phase will involved the years from 1350-1330, where the religious system of Egypt turned into monotheism by Akhenaten, while the third phase will include the years from 1330 until 1100, where after the Amarna period there is a unity of the God and increase of personal piety. Under the same segmentation of Egyptian religion the worship of Syro-palestinian deities by the lower ranks will be studied. The restoration and interpretation of personal piety, practice and the beliefs of individuals require both textual sources and archaeological material, which originate from Egyptian temples, tombs, shrines and privacy settings. The textual sources and archaeological material accompanied by the religious evolution will be separated in three religious phases in order to denote personal requests of worshippers to the Syro-palestinian deities and their increase of their worship through the religious evolution. The present chapter also includes the names of Syro-palestinian deities in

the magical texts against poisons, diseases and dangerous animals, which will be studied in order to demonstrate the different attributes of these deities in the daily life of Egyptians.

Chapter 4 examines the process of acculturation of Syro-palestinian deities with the Egyptian gods through the examination of their attributes, iconographical characteristics in the archaeological material and their importation into the Egyptian mythology.

Chapter 5 summarizes and discusses the results of these chapters and considers avenues for future research.

6. *Research questions and a new approach*

The proposed research will define the causes of introduction of Syro-palestinian deities in Egypt. Several past studies have treated the importation of Syro-Palestinian deities in Egypt, emphasizing to the cultural relation between Levant and Egypt, ignoring the religious and political causes, which can also contribute to the explanation of their the appearance in the new region. The present research will also focus on the appearance of Syro-palestinian deities in the archaeological material, demonstrating the royal and non-royal religious beliefs and practices in state cult and personal piety. Another research question, which will be included in the present research, is the participation of Syro-palestinian deities in the political field, as the previous researches have been studied their association with military campaigns. In the present research, their appearances on campaigns, treaties, diplomatic marriages, Amarna letters will be demonstrated and other aspects of their appearances and their roles will be indicated. Apart from the political context, the personal relations between these deities and pharaohs are also included in the research questions of the proposed research. Previous studies have also studied the manifestations of Syro-palestinian deities on the higher ranks. The present research will explore their introduction of these deities into the lower ranks and it will demonstrate their different attributes. The examination of the relevant archaeological material and textual sources will contribute to the chronologically definition of their importation to the Egyptian region. Among to the research questions, the iconographical analysis is also essential for the study of these deities. The iconographical development of Syro-palestinian deities in relation to their adopted role and interconnection with the political rulership can be studied. Due to the fact that, the iconographical developments include cultural contacts of Egypt with Levant, the proposed research will examine the cultural contacts, with a special focus on the functions and characteristics of Syro-palestinian deities in Near East and Egypt.

The introduction of Syro-palestinian deities will be interpreted under the prism of cultural, religion, political relations, which allowed their entrance to the divine world of Egypt and acculturation of them in official and non-official level.

In the political sphere, the importation of Syro-palestinian deities was an important factor for the Egyptian authority and its relations with the Great powers. Thus, the relation/dependence of the pharaoh with the divine is underlined. The aspect of Baines suggests the close relation of kingship under the prism of theology.⁷²⁸ According to his

⁷²⁸ Baines 1995, 3.

research, the pharaoh was depended on gods in order to defeat his enemies.⁷²⁹ In addition, Baines underlined the royal motivation for legitimization.⁷³⁰ The attempt to emphasize the divine kingship and the powers of gods caused the increase of the popularity of the deities, which are connected with the status of the pharaoh on earth.⁷³¹ The suggestion of Baines can be applied to our research, as the pharaoh expressed his dependence on Syro-palestinian deities, especially in the royal campaigns. For example, the name of Seth-Baal is recorded in the campaign against Shasu-Beduin under the reign of Sety I (Doc. 4.2.8.). The inscription reads: “The good god, the sun for Egypt, the moon for all lands, Montu upon the hill countries. He is not overthrown, but stout-hearted like Ba’al” (*ntr nfr rꜥn Kmt iꜥḥ n t3w nb(w) Mnt(w) ḥr ḥ3swt n hnn.tw.f shm-ib mi Bꜥrw.n wn*),⁷³² indicating that the name of Baal is recorded in order to emphasize and underline the king’s power.⁷³³

Apart from the aspect of Baines, the suggestion of Brand reinforces our interpretation for the close relation of the pharaoh with the deity. According to him, the political propaganda, which was expressed through the monuments, and the political movements of the pharaohs, underlined the personal image of the pharaohs and their actions.⁷³⁴ Evidence for religion and ideology has been reflected in the royal piety and royal divinity.⁷³⁵ The piety of the pharaoh was expressed by the building temples, texts, reliefs, emphasizing to the close relation between the pharaoh and gods.⁷³⁶ This aspect is also demonstrated in the iconography of the pharaoh, where the king is depicted to give offerings to the gods or he is presented in a kneeling posture before the divine, demonstrating dedication to the gods.⁷³⁷ The aspect of Brand will also contribute to our explanation for the importation on the political field, as the pharaohs made offerings to Syro-palestinian deities in order to guarantee him the victory. For instance, a fragment of stela depicts the pharaoh, Sety I to worship Amun-Ra, Seth-Baal, Montu and a female deity, while Amun-Ra holds a scimitar-sword and behind him Seth-Baal holds a *w3s*-sceptre (Doc.-Fig. 4.1.43.). The fragment demonstrates the equality of Seth-Baal with Amun, Ra and Ptah, promoting the role of the royal deity.⁷³⁸

⁷²⁹ Baines 1995, 3, 23.

⁷³⁰ Baines 1995, 24.

⁷³¹ Baines 1995, 34.

⁷³² Translation after RITA I 6, 15 and Tazawa 2009, 27, Doc. 60.

⁷³³ Tazawa 2009, 141.

⁷³⁴ Brand 2005, 23-25.

⁷³⁵ Brand 2005, 25-26.

⁷³⁶ Brand 2005, 26.

⁷³⁷ Brand 2005, 26.

⁷³⁸ Tazawa 2009, 158-159.

Under the aspect of religion, the suggestion of Assmann, which is related to the Egyptian polytheism, indicates that the names and the character of a deity are transportable, equating deities of different regions and cultures with others.⁷³⁹ The political and intercultural relations of Egypt and its cross-cultural exchanges led to the concept of common religion of similarity, producing the idea that the deities are international.⁷⁴⁰ This aspect is identified on the treaty of Rameses II and Hattusilis III. The treaty involves deities, as a witness for their oath. Among to the names, which are written in the treaty, the name of Astarte is recorded: “Astarte of the land of Hatti” (*ḥnrt nḫt3 nḫt3*).⁷⁴¹

The intercultural interconnections, affected the Egyptian polytheism, adding Syro-palestinian deities into the Egyptian pantheon. The result of this development was the creation of a concept of similarity, where deities had similar characteristics and functions.

According to Staubli, the cultural interconnections between Egypt and Levant, such as the products of each region, the different human abilities, the migration and travels, challenged Egypt to adapt the nature of the “other”.⁷⁴² This adaption was constituted the development of language, literature, alphabet, images of gods and religious concepts.⁷⁴³ The result of this interaction was the creation of an Egyptian-Levantine koine.⁷⁴⁴ In the sphere of religion, the concept of a universal god was created, while in the Ramesside times, the situation changed as there was a mixture of personal piety, military royalism and universality of god.⁷⁴⁵ For example, in the case of Hauron-Horemakhet, a large number of plaques indicate the acculturation of Hauron with Horemakhet (Docs. 6.2.2.-6.2.13), bearing the text: “*The beloved of Hauron-Horemakhet (mryy ḥwrn-ḥrm3ḥt)*”,⁷⁴⁶ demonstrating the equal attributes of Hauron with the god Horemakhet in order to promote the solar cult in Egypt.⁷⁴⁷

The religion and cultural causes, which are expressed through the aspects of Assmann⁷⁴⁸ and Staubli,⁷⁴⁹ can interpret the introduction and acculturation of Syro-Palestinian deities in Egypt. The aspect of Assmann can contribute to the evolution of religion through the 18th- 19th Dynasty, as the polytheism transformed to monotheism and after the Amarna period

⁷³⁹ Assmann 2004, 24.

⁷⁴⁰ Assmann 2004, 24-25.

⁷⁴¹ Translation after RITA II 230, 1; Langdon & Gardner 1920, 194.

⁷⁴² Staubli 2016, 52.

⁷⁴³ Staubli 2016, 52.

⁷⁴⁴ Staubli 2016, 52.

⁷⁴⁵ Staubli 2016, 58-59.

⁷⁴⁶ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 69, Doc. 24-28; PM III pt.I, 40.

⁷⁴⁷ Tazawa 2009, 161.

⁷⁴⁸ Assmann 2004, 24-25.

⁷⁴⁹ Staubli 2016, 52, 58-59.

turn into the unity of the divine. The result of this development was the affection of the Egyptian polytheism, which added Syro-palestinian deities into the Egyptian pantheon, creating a concept of similarity, where deities had similar characteristics and functions. Another aspect of the Egyptian religion is the royal and non-royal religious beliefs, which can also be revealed. The cultural causes, under the aspects of Staubli, will also contribute powerfully to the research, focusing on the cultural events, such as the immigration of the Hyksos and the iconographical developments of these deities. The political aspect of this research, which will include the suggestions of Baines⁷⁵⁰ and Brand,⁷⁵¹ will also shed light on chronological questions and definitions. The political causes can also justify the appearance of Syro-palestinian deities in the political and diplomatic contexts by the pharaohs. Combine the suggestions of Assmann and Brand, the development of the Egyptian polytheism can be interpreted properly in the political field. The change of Egyptian polytheism to the religion of oneness and the adherence to the personal piety after the Amarna period identified in the actions of the pharaoh and his piety.

⁷⁵⁰ Baines 1995, 3, 23, 24, 34.

⁷⁵¹ Brand 2005, 23-26.

Chapter 1: Presence of the Syro-palestinian deities in the Egyptian archaeological and textual record

Introduction

In this chapter, an attempt to present the appearance and development of six Syro-palestinian deities, Baal, Reshef, Astarte, Hauron, Anat and Qadesh will be made. These six Syro-palestinian deities have been selected for the present research, due to their iconographical characteristics and attributes, which acculturated with the Egyptian deities, such as Seth and Hathor.⁷⁵² Through the categorization of the relevant archaeological material, such as stelae, reliefs, scarabs, seals and cylinder seals and textual sources, such as papyrus, hymns, spells and historical records, their introduction and manifestation will be indicated.

Based on the presence of these Syro-palestinian deities, the relevant archaeological material and textual sources will be gathered and enriched the previous studies and bibliographies of Tazawa,⁷⁵³ and that of Cornelius⁷⁵⁴ with new published and unpublished archaeological material from Egypt, such as stelae, scarabs, vase,⁷⁵⁵ and textual sources, such as papyrus, Amarna Letters and treaty of Ramesses II.⁷⁵⁶

This catalogue follows the categorization of Cornelius, who has completed his catalogue only for the three Syro-palestinian gods (Baal Reshef and Hauron), without categorizing the female deities (Anat, Astarte and Qadesh). More particularly, for each deity and its archaeological material or textual source the catalogue refers to the first letter of the deity and its specific category. For example, the statues of Anat are mentioned as “AS”, where “A” is the name of the goddess Anat and “S” is the first letter of the word “Statue”. The present catalogue also includes seals, scarabs, stelae and cylinder seals from the Near East,⁷⁵⁷ which are also missing from the catalogue of Tazawa.⁷⁵⁸ The new archaeological material includes an extra discussion, describing the archaeological material or the textual source and its contribution to our research. This archaeological evidence from the Near East adds a different point of view in the iconographical development of these six Syro-palestinian deities in the Near East and their appearance in Egypt. Involving the archaeological material from

⁷⁵² For more detailed analysis see chapters 2, 3 and 4.

⁷⁵³ Tazawa 2009.

⁷⁵⁴ Cornelius 2004; 1994.

⁷⁵⁵ See BM59.

⁷⁵⁶ See BI 1-2, 4-7, 11-12, 26; AN 1-8, 15; AST1.

⁷⁵⁷ For example see AM2-3.

⁷⁵⁸ Tazawa 2009.

Egypt and the Near East in the present catalogue, new regions of origin⁷⁵⁹ and new dates of introduction of Syro-palestinian deities in Egypt will be suggested.⁷⁶⁰ The new archaeological material and textual sources will indicate different qualities of these deities and new roles in the political and diplomatic fields.

After the categorization of the relevant archaeological material and textual sources, an iconographical analysis of their characteristics,⁷⁶¹ studying their appearance on stelae, scarabs, seals, cylinder seals, and vase, will be made. Examining the texts on the votive stelae, historical records and the mythology of the Near East and Egypt, their attributes can be defined.⁷⁶²

Parallel to the enrichment of the present catalogue, the iconographical analysis of these deities and the definition of their attributes in Egypt, corrections of the inventory numbers of Museums and the way of citation of the volumes of Kitchen, which were quoted in the previous catalogues of Tazawa⁷⁶³ and Cornelius⁷⁶⁴ incorrectly, have been accomplished and included in the present study.

The catalogued archaeological material and textual sources of these Syro-palestinian deities will set the bases for the interpretation of their introduction and appearance in Egypt, focusing on their contribution in the military campaigns and their relation with the pharaohs. The present catalogue will also be part of the analysis of their appearance in the Amarna Letters, in the treaty of Ramesses II with Hattusilis III and in diplomatical marriages, emphasizing to their attributes. The catalogue will also be included in the Egyptian religion and worship of these Syro-palestinian deities by the higher and lower ranks of Egypt, examining the votive stelae, statues and amulets of these deities.⁷⁶⁵

Before quoting the catalogue, it is essential to make a short explanation of some of the evidence of Baal, Reshef, Astarte, Hauron, Anat and Qadesh, which is attested in the Egyptian and Syro-palestinian contexts.

⁷⁵⁹ See the subcategory "Origin" below.

⁷⁶⁰ Apart from the referred regions, which are included in the researches of Tazawa 2009 and Cornelius 2004; 1994. See the subcategory "Date" below.

⁷⁶¹ See the subchapters 1.11., 2.11., 3.6., 4.7., 5.8., 6.8.

⁷⁶² See the subchapters 1.12., 2.12., 3.7., 4.8., 5.9., 6.9.

⁷⁶³ Tazawa 2009.

⁷⁶⁴ Cornelius 2004; 1994.

⁷⁶⁵ See chapters 2 and 3.

Origin:

An attempt to determine the origin of the archaeological material for each deity has been accomplished. Despite the fact that there is no new archaeological material of Hauron,⁷⁶⁶ the research of Tazawa included the archaeological material of Anat, which indicates several regions such as Deir el-Medina, Helipolis, Tanis and Beth Shean.⁷⁶⁷ However, in the present research the new archaeological material of Anat indicates more regions such as Bubastis, Akko, Beth Shemesh, Minet el-Beida and Tell el-Far'a.⁷⁶⁸

In the case of Astarte, Tazawa involved regions such as Deir el-Medina, Abusir, Tell el-Borg, Wadi-Abbad, Buhen, Ramsseum, Qantir, Memphis and Beth-Shan.⁷⁶⁹ In the present research the added archaeological material originated from the Mortuary temple of Thutmosis IV and the region of Zawyet Sultan.⁷⁷⁰

Tazawa also suggested that the archaeological material of Qadesh originated from Deir el-Medina and Memphis,⁷⁷¹ but in the present catalogue the archaeological material added more regions such as that of Ugarit, El-Kebire, Gezer, Tell Beit Mirsim, Tell Harasim, Beth Shemesh, Jericho, Lachish, Tell Zakhariya, Meggido, Tell el-Hesy, Tell Zafit, Timnah, Aphek, Uluburun, Minet el-Beida and Akko.⁷⁷²

In the case of Reshef, Tazawa stated that the archaeological material of the god is originated from the regions such as Deir el-Medina, Athribis, Memphis, El Sebu'a, Qantir, Tell Gezer, Beth Shan, Western Thebes and Zagazig,⁷⁷³ but the added material originated also from the regions of Deir el- Balah, Minet el-Beida, and El-Simbillawein.⁷⁷⁴

Tazawa included also the regions Beirut, Tell el-Fara'h, Tell el-Yahudiya, Byblos, Buhen, Deir el-Balah, Saqqara, Medinet Habu, Tell Qasile, Serabit el- Khadim, Thebes, Nabesha, Ras Shamra, Memphis, Qantir, Matmar and Tanis as places of origin for the archaeological material of Baal.⁷⁷⁵ However, the added archaeological material demonstrates also the places Jaffa, Tell Basta, El-Badari, Saft el-Hinna, Gebel Murr, Tell Nebi Mend, Beth

⁷⁶⁶ See the subchapter 6.

⁷⁶⁷ Tazawa 2009, 108.

⁷⁶⁸ See the subchapter 1.

⁷⁶⁹ Tazawa 2009, 109.

⁷⁷⁰ See the subchapter 2.

⁷⁷¹ Tazawa 2009, 110.

⁷⁷² See subchapter 3.

⁷⁷³ Tazawa 2009, 106.

⁷⁷⁴ See the subchapter 5.

⁷⁷⁵ Tazawa 2009, 105.

Shean, Dotan, Bethel, Tell Keisan, Beth Shemesh, and Geser as the new added places of origin.⁷⁷⁶

The new regions from Egypt and the Near East will contribute to the iconographical development of these six Syro-palestinian deities, their appearance in Egypt and they will indicate the expansion of the Egyptian sphere of influence into the areas of Near East.

Date:

The objects are categorized by chronological order. The archaeological material, which is dated to a specific chronological period (e.g. 1350-1200 BC, 18th Dynasty, Thutmose III, Thutmose IV etc.) are classified first, while the objects with a wider date (e.g. New Kingdom) are mentioned later in the catalogue, acquiring a comprehensive view of their development in Egypt. The Syro-palestinian deity, Baal is appeared during the the reign of Ahmose⁷⁷⁷ and his later manifestation is attested in 1100-900 BC.⁷⁷⁸ Reshef is appeared during the 12th-15th Dynasty⁷⁷⁹ and 1550 BC⁷⁸⁰ and his later record is attested in the reign of Rameses VI (1143-1136 BC).⁷⁸¹ In the case of Astarte, the earliest depiction of her is dated during the 15th -14th BC⁷⁸² and her latest record is attested during the reign of Rameses V (1147-1143 BC).⁷⁸³ The god Hauron is manifested during the 18th Dynasty,⁷⁸⁴ while his later record is attested during the 19th -20th Dynasty.⁷⁸⁵ The earliest manifestation of Anat is during the 1350-1200BC⁷⁸⁶ and the latest record is attested during the reign of Rameses V (1147-1143 BC).⁷⁸⁷ Lastly, the goddess, Qadesh, is attested from the 18th Dynasty⁷⁸⁸ and the peak of her popularity is recorded in 19th Dynasty. Due to the different chronological appearances of these deities, the present research will analyze each deity, following a chronological order.

⁷⁷⁶ See chapter 4.

⁷⁷⁷ See BI1.

⁷⁷⁸ See BM52. Contra Tazawa 2009, 13, who suggested that Baal was appeared during the reign of Thutmose III.

⁷⁷⁹ See RM1.

⁷⁸⁰ See RM2.

⁷⁸¹ See RR39. Contra Tazawa 2009, 38, who stated that Reshef was appeared in the 18th Dynasty.

⁷⁸² See ASM3.

⁷⁸³ See ASP5. Contra Tazawa 2009, 83, who suggested that Astarte was manifested during the second half of the 18th Dynasty.

⁷⁸⁴ See HM1-2.

⁷⁸⁵ See HP3-4.

⁷⁸⁶ See AB1.

⁷⁸⁷ For example see AP9. Contra Tazawa 2009, 72, who suggested that the goddess Anat was manifested during the reign of Rameses II.

⁷⁸⁸ See QM1-16.

Categories of evidence:

The Egyptian archaeological material of the six Syro-palestinian deities categorized in nine categories: Miniatures (M), such as amulets, figurines, cylinder seals, seals, scaraboids, scarabs, Reliefs (R), Statues (S), Bronzes (B), Vessels (V), Graffito (G), Ostrakon (O), Weapon (W) and Foundation plaques (F). At the same time, the textual sources of these Syro-palestinian deities are grouped into five categories: Papyrus (P), Inscriptions (I), Personal Names (N), Names on chariots (C) and Treaty (T). Their iconographical analysis on archaeological material and the analysis of their attributes are presented below.⁷⁸⁹

⁷⁸⁹ For Anat, Astarte and Qadesh see chapters 1-3. For Baal, Reshef and Hauron see chapters 4-6.

1. *Baal*

1.1. *Seals, amulet, Scarabs, scaraboids and other art in miniature (BM1-59)*

BM1. Scarab (BM1)

Material: White Steatite

Provenance: Tell el-Far'ah

Date: Beginning of 18th –Mid of the 20th Dynasty

Inventory No.: Institute of Archaeology E.VI 24/29 (London)

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 21, Doc. 25 with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Tazawa added Schroer 2011, 336f, Nr. 899.

Description: The deity is winged, slays a serpent and wears a short kilt.

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Baal

BM2. Plaque of Thutmose III (BM2)

Material: Steatite

Provenance: Saqqara or Dahshur

Date: Thutmose III (1479-1425 BC)

Inventory No.: Present location unknown

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 19, Doc. 17 with an additional bibliography.

Description: The deity wears a short kilt and holds a *w3s*-sceptre.

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Baal

BM3. Plaque of Thutmose III (BM3)

Material: Steatite

Provenance: unknown

Date: Thutmose III (1479-1425 BC)

Inventory No.: Present location unknown

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 20, Doc. 18 with an additional bibliography.

Description: The deity wears a short kilt and holds a plants-like scepter.

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Baal

BM4. Plaque of Thutmose III (BM4)

Material: Steatite

Provenance: presented by Meyrick in 1879

Date: Thutmose III (1479-1425 BC)

Inventory No.: BM EA16771

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 20, Doc. 19 with an additional bibliography.

Description: The deity is winged and wears a short kilt.

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Baal

BM5. Scarab (BM5)

Material: yellow steatite

Provenance: Beth-Shean

Date: 1400-1150 BC

Inventory No.: Jerusalem, Rockefeller Museum, IAA I.3804.

Bibliography: Keel 2010, 148, No.114; 2013,144 with an additional bibliography.

Description: Seth-Baal

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Baal

BM6. Scarab (BM6)

Material: Steatite

Provenance: unknown

Date: Thutmosis IV.-19. Dyn. (1397-1186/1185)

Inventory No.: Fribourg, Collection of Keel, ÄS 1978.14.

Bibliography: Cornelius 1994, pl. 30, RM 19 with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Cornelius added Keel and Uehlinger 2001, Abb. 85b; Schroer 2011, 350f, Nr. 920.

Description: A male figure is wearing a crown with a double plume, a gazelle's head and holding a weapon.

Phrases or epithets There are no inscriptions

BM7. Cylinder seal (BM7)

Material: Steatite

Provenance: Der el-Balah

Date: 1300 BC

Inventory No.: Tel Aviv, Institute of Archaeology, no. 82.

Bibliography: Cornelius 1994, pl. 30, RM 17. To bibliography of Cornelius added Schroer 2011, 354, Nr. 925.

Description: A male figure is wearing a crown.

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Baal

BM8. Scarab (BM8)

Material: Steatite

Provenance: unknown

Date: 18th Dynasty

Inventory No.: AMP 33253

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 20, Doc.21, pl.III with an additional bibliography.

Description: The deity is winged, slays a serpent, wears a knee-length kilt.

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Baal

BM9. Scarab (BM9)

Material: Steatite

Provenance: unknown

Date: 18th Dynasty

Inventory No.: AMP 33254

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 20, Doc. 22 with an additional bibliography.

Description: The deity is winged and wears a short kilt.

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Baal

BM10. Scarab (BM10)

Material: Steatite with dark green glaze

Provenance: purchased in London in 1958

Date: 18th Dynasty

Inventory No.: Private collection⁷⁹⁰

⁷⁹⁰ Tazawa (2009, 21, Doc. 23) has cited this item in the private collection.

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 21, Doc. 23 with an additional bibliography.

Description: The deity is winged, slays a serpent and wears a short kilt.

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Baal

BM11. Scarab (BM11)

Material: Glazed steatite

Provenance: unknown

Date: End of 18th Dynasty

Inventory No.: Cracow MAK/AS 2414

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 21, Doc. 27, pl.III with an additional bibliography.

Description: A winged figure, who wears a conical crown.

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Baal

BM12. Scarab (BM12)

Material: Steatite

Provenance: unknown

Date: End of the 18th Dynasty

Inventory No.: IAA 73-170

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 22, Doc. 28 with an additional bibliography.

Description: A winged figure, who wears a conical crown.

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Baal

BM13. Amulet (BM13)

Material: Glazed steatite

Provenance: Bought near Jaffa

Date: End of the 18th Dynasty

Inventory No.: Ashmolean 1889.284

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 26, Doc.59 with an additional bibliography.

Description: A winged figure, who wears a conical crown.

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Baal

BM14. Scarab (BM14)

Material: Blue-green glaze

Provenance: unknown

Date: End of the 18th Dynasty

Inventory No.: Private collection R Brown, Jerusalem.⁷⁹¹

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 22, Doc. 29 with an additional bibliography.

Description: A winged figure, who slays a serpent, wears a conical crown and short kilt.

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Baal

BM15. Scaraboid (BM15)

Material: Steatite

Provenance: unknown

Date: 18th-19th Dynasty

Inventory No.: Bonner Collection, Bos no. 74.

Bibliography: Regner 1995, 63f, pl. 15, 74; Schroer 2011, 338f, Nr. 903.

Description: Baal is standing on a back of an animal.

⁷⁹¹ Tazawa (2009, 22, Doc. 29) has cited this item in the private collection R Brown, Jerusalem.

Phrases or epithets The are no inscriptions

BM16. Scarab (BM16)

Material: Carnelian

Provenance: purchased

Date: 18th -19th Dynasty

Inventory No.: Hanover, Kestner Museum, CAA 2,182.

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 21, Doc. 24 with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Tazawa added Keel 2001a, Fig. 56; Schroer 2011, 338f, No. 901.

Description: The deity is winged, slays a serpent and wears a short kilt.

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Baal

BM17. Scarab (BM17)

Material: Steatite

Provenance: unknown

Date: Mid of the 18th Dynasty-19th Dynasty

Inventory No.: St.Florian 23.F54b

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 21, Doc. 26 with an additional bibliography.

Description: Two figures facing each other. The left-hand figure looks like that of Seth animal and the other figure wears a conical crown with horns.

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Baal

BM18. Scarab (BM18)

Material: Carnelian

Provenance: Deir el-Balah.

Date: End of the 18th -19th Dynasty

Inventory No.: Institute of Archaeology, Hebrew University of Jerusalem tomb 118, reg no 272.

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 22, Doc. 30, pl.III with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Tazawa added Keel 2010, 408, no.17 with an additional bibliography.

Description: A figure wears a conical crown, a short kilt and holds a w3s-sceptre.

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Baal

BM19. Scarab (BM19)

Material: Glass?

Provenance: Tell el-Far'ah

Date: End of the 18th -19th Dynasty

Inventory No.: Institute of Archaeology E. VI 7

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 22, Doc. 31 with an additional bibliography.⁷⁹² To bibliography of Tazawa added Keel 1994, 57, Anm. 13, Abb. 79; 2009a, 97f, Abb. 24; 2010a: 388f, Tell el-Far'a-Süd Nr. 855; Laemmel 2003, I 33.

Description: Two figures facing each other. The left figure wears a conical crown and bull horns.

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Baal

BM20. Scarab (BM20)

Material: Turquoise blue opaque glass

Provenance: unknown

Date: End of the 18th -19th Dynasty

⁷⁹² Tazawa provides more bibliography, see Tazawa 2009, 22, Doc.31.

Inventory No.: BM EA42480

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 22, Doc. 32 with an additional bibliography.

Description: A figure wears a conical headdress and long streamer from its top down to near ankle.

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Baal

BM21. Scarab (BM21)

Material: Steatite

Provenance: Saft el-Hinna

Date: End of the 18th -19th Dynasty

Inventory No.: Basel 707

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 22, Doc. 33 with an additional bibliography.

Description: A winged figure wears a conical crown.

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Baal

BM22. Scarab (BM22)

Material: Glazed Steatite

Provenance: Buhen

Date: End of the 18th -19th Dynasty

Inventory No.: Present location unknown

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 23, Doc. 34.

Description: A winged figure wears a conical headdress.

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Baal

BM23. Scarab (BM23)

Material: Steatite with gold

Provenance: Byblos

Date: End of the 18th -19th Dynasty

Inventory No.: Byblos 7128

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 23, Doc. 35 with an additional bibliography.

Description: A winged figure wears a conical headdress.

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Baal

BM24. Scarab (BM24)

Material: white paste

Provenance: Byblos

Date: End of the 18th -19th Dynasty

Inventory No.: Byblos 1290

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 23, Doc. 36 with an additional bibliography.

Description: A winged figure wears a conical headdress.

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Baal

BM25. Scarab (BM25)

Material: white enameled paste

Provenance: Byblos

Date: End of the 18th -19th Dynasty

Inventory No.: Byblos 7656

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 23, Doc. 37 with an additional bibliography.

Description: A winged figure wears a conical headdress.

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Baal

BM26. Scarab (BM26)

Material: Turquoise blue opaque glass

Provenance: Byblos

Date: End of the 18th -19th Dynasty

Inventory No.: Byblos 6903

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 23, Doc. 38 with an additional bibliography.

Description: A winged figure wears a conical headdress.

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Baal

BM27. Scarab (BM27)

Material: Buff steatite

Provenance: unknown

Date: End of the 18th -19th Dynasty

Inventory No.: UC 38105

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 23, Doc. 39 with an additional bibliography.

Description: A winged figure wears a conical headdress.

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Baal

BM28. Scarab (BM28)

Material: Glaze

Provenance: unknown

Date: End of the 18th -19th Dynasty

Inventory No.: Zagreb 247

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 24, Doc. 40 with an additional bibliography.⁷⁹³

Description: A winged figure wears a conical headdress.

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Baal

BM29. Scarab (BM29)

Material: turquoise blue opaque glass

Provenance: unknown

Date: End of the 18th -19th Dynasty

Inventory No.: Basel 707

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 24, Doc.41, pl.III with an additional bibliography.

Description: A winged figure wears a conical headdress.

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Baal

BM30. Scarab (BM30)

Material: steatite

Provenance: Purchased in Jerusalem

Date: End of the 18th -19th Dynasty

Inventory No.: Fribourg SK 71

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 24, Doc. 42 with an additional bibliography.

Description: A winged figure wears a conical headdress.

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Baal

BM31. Scarab (BM31)

Material: steatite

Provenance: Purchased in Jerusalem

⁷⁹³ Tazawa provides more bibliography, see Tazawa 2009, 24, Doc.40.

Date: End of the 18th -19th Dynasty

Inventory No.: Fribourg SK 72

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 24, Doc. 43 with an additional bibliography.

Description: A winged figure wears a conical headdress.

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Baal

BM32. Scarab (BM32)

Material: steatite

Provenance: Tell el-Far'ah

Date: End of the 18th -19th Dynasty

Inventory No.: BM.L604

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 24, Doc.44, pl.III with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Tazawa added Keel 2010a, 334f, Tell el-Far'ah-Süd Nr. 718; Schroer 2011, 340f, Nr. 904.

Description: A winged figure wears a conical headdress.

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Baal

BM33. Scarab (BM33)

Material: steatite

Provenance: unknown

Date: End of the 18th -19th Dynasty

Inventory No.: Present location unknown

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 25, Doc. 45 with an additional bibliography.

Description: A winged figure wears a conical headdress and stands on the back of an animal.

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Baal

BM34. Scarab (BM34)

Material: steatite

Provenance: unknown

Date: End of the 18th -19th Dynasty

Inventory No.: AMP 33224

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 25, Doc. 46 with an additional bibliography.

Description: A winged figure wears a conical headdress and stands on the back of an animal.

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Baal

BM35. Scarab (BM35)

Material: Glazed stone

Provenance: unknown

Date: End of the 18th -19th Dynasty

Inventory No.: Berlin 15136

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 25, Doc. 47 with an additional bibliography.

Description: A winged figure wears a conical headdress and stands on the back of an animal.

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Baal

BM36. Scarab (BM36)

Material: Buff glaze

Provenance: unknown

Date: End of the 18th -19th Dynasty

Inventory No.: UC 38106

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 25, Doc. 48 with an additional bibliography.

Description: A winged figure wears a conical headdress and stands on the back of an animal.

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Baal

BM37. Scarab (BM37)

Material: yellow steatite

Provenance: Tell el-Far'ah

Date: End of the 18th -19th Dynasty

Inventory No.: Rockefeller I.4318

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 25, Doc. 49 with an additional bibliography.

Description: A winged figure wears a conical headdress.

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Baal

BM38. Scarab (BM38)

Material: yellow steatite

Provenance: Tell el-Far'ah

Date: End of the 18th -19th Dynasty

Inventory No.: Rockefeller J.1067

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 25, Doc. 50 with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Tazawa added Laemmel 2003, I no. 4,1c, pl. 189, 635/S1, Tab. 21, II 156, no. 635/S1; Keel 2009, 99f, Abb. 31; 2010a, 130f, Tell el-Far'a-Süd Nr. 238.

Description: A winged figure wears a conical headdress.

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Baal

BM39. Plaque of Seth-Baal (BM39)

Material: Faience

Provenance: purchased by MacGregor in Zagazig in 1889

Date: Rameses II (1279-1213 BC)

Inventory No.: Brussels E.6190

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 20, Doc. 20 with an additional bibliography.

Description: The deity is winged, slays a serpent and wears a *šndyt* kilt.

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Baal

BM40. Cylinder seal (BM40)

Material: Serpentine

Provenance: Beth-Shean

Date: Rameses II (1279-1213 BC)

Inventory No.: Jerusalem, Rockefeller Museum, J. 911.

Bibliography: Rowe 1930, 32, pl. 34.4; 1936, pl. 28; Nougayrol 1939, pl. 7; Parker 1949, pl. 4.30; Pritchard 1954, no. 338; Keel 1975, Abb. 27; Orthmann 1975, Nr. 433g; Keel and Uehlinger 2001, Abb. 113; Schroer 2011, 106f, Nr. 599.

Description: A male figure is facing pharaoh and wearing a crown with a double plume and a gazelle's head and holding an ankh and scimitar.

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Baal

BM41. Cylinder seal (BM41)

Material: Steatite

Provenance: unknown

Date: 19th Dynasty

Inventory No.: Fribourg SK 191a

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 19, Doc.15, pl.III with an additional bibliography.

Description: The deity is winged and wears a short kilt.

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Baal

BM42. Rectangular plate (BM42)

Material: Stone

Provenance: Egypt

Date: 19th Dynasty

Inventory No.: Egyptian Museum, Cairo, No. 12843.

Bibliography: Cornelius 1994, BM63, pl. 49 with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Cornelius added Schroer 2011, 316f, No. 875.

Description: Seth-Baal is standing on a lion and is flanked by two urns.

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Baal

BM43. Scarab (BM43)

Material: Carnelian

Provenance: Der el-Balah

Date: 19th Dynasty

Inventory No.: Present location unknown⁷⁹⁴

Bibliography: Keel 2010, 504, No. 31.

Description: A male figure wears a conical crown and holds a rod.

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Baal

BM44. Scarab (BM44)

Material: carnelian

Provenance: Geser

Date: 19th -20th Dynasty

Inventory No.: London, Palestine Exploration Fund, Inventar Nr. 1033, Cast No. 208.

Bibliography: Keel 2013, 244, no.175 with an additional bibliography.

Description: Amun with Seth-Baal

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Baal

BM45. Scarab (BM45)

Material: yellow steatite

Provenance: Tell el-Far'a-Sud

Date: 19th -20th Dynasty

Inventory No.: London, Institute of Archaeology, EVII.80/26.

Bibliography: Keel 2010a, 96, no.158; 2013, 96 with an additional bibliography.

Description: Amun, Seth and Baal

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Baal

BM46. Scarab (BM46)

Material: steatite

Provenance: unknown

Date: 19th -20th Dynasty

⁷⁹⁴ Keel (2010, 504, No. 31) has cited this item in Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem, which is wrong. I am so grateful to Mrs. Nurith Goshen, Curator of Chalcolithic and Bronze Age Archaeology in the Israel Museum of Jerusalem for her help and Mr. Fawzi Ibrahim in the collection of the Rockefeller for informing me that this item is not belong to the collection of the Rockefeller Museum.

Inventory No.: Brussels, Musée Royaux, E 7036b.

Bibliography: Keel et. al. 1990, 309f, fig. 84, Taf. 17.4; 1990c, 309f, pl. 17.4; 1992, Nr. 226; Schroer 2011, 334f, Nr. 898.

Description: A winged figure, who wears a conical crown.

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Baal

BM47. Scarab (BM47)

Material: Glazed steatite

Provenance: Unknown

Date: Mid 19th Dynasty- end of 20th Dynasty

Inventory No.: AS 2412

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 25, Doc. 51 with an additional bibliography.

Description: A winged figure, who wears a conical crown.

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Baal

BM48. Scarab (BM48)

Material: Brown glaze

Provenance: Tell el-Yahudiya

Date: Mid 19th Dynasty- end of 20th Dynasty

Inventory No.: UC 38070

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 25, Doc. 52 with an additional bibliography.

Description: A winged figure, who wears a conical crown.

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Baal

BM49. Scarab (BM49)

Material: Green glazed steatite

Provenance: El-Badari

Date: Mid 19th Dynasty- end of 20th Dynasty

Inventory No.: Present location unknown

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 26, Doc. 53 with an additional bibliography.

Description: A winged figure, who wears a conical crown.

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Baal

BM50. Cylinder seal (BM50)

Material: Serpentine

Provenance: Beth-Shean

Date: Rameses III (1182-1153 BC)

Inventory No.: excavator's number 25.10.2021.

Bibliography: Cornelius 1994, 104, no. RM16.

Description: A male figure is facing pharaoh and wearing a crown with a double plume and a gazelle's head and holding an ankh and scimitar.

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Baal

BM51. A disc from the trappings of the royal horses (BM51)

Material: Sandstone

Provenance: Medinet Habu

Date: Rameses III (1184-1153 BC)

Inventory No.: in situ

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 19, Doc.14 with an additional bibliography.

Description: A figure facing the king and holds a scepter in the left hand and the other hand is stretched in order to give a scimitar-sword to the king.

Phrases or epithets There is no inscription for Baal

BM52. Conical Seal (BM52)

Material: glazed

Provenance: Beth-Shemesh

Date: 1100-900 BC

Inventory No.: Jerusalem, Rockefeller Museum, IAA J.237.

Bibliography: Keel 2010, 298, No.188; 2013, 298 with an additional bibliography.

Description: Seth-Baal

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Baal

BM53. Stamp seal (BM53)

Material: Opaque glass

Provenance: Tell Qasile

Date: 20th Dynasty

Inventory No.: MHQ 725

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 19, Doc. 16 with an additional bibliography.

Description: The deity is winged and wears a short kilt.

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Baal

BM54. Scarab (BM54)

Material: frit

Provenance: Tell el-Far'ah

Date: 20th Dynasty

Inventory No.: Rockefeller Museum, IAA I.4315, Jerusalem.

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 26, Doc. 54 with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Tazawa added Braunstein 1998, 566; Laemmel 2003, I no. 4.1c, pl. 120, 542 / S3, Table 21, II 94, no. 542 / S3; Keel 2010a, 94f; 1995, 209, Fig. 412.

Description: A figure wears a conical crown and short kilt.

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Baal

BM55. Scarab (BM55)

Material: Light yellow steatite

Provenance: Tell el-Far'ah

Date: End of the 20th Dynasty

Inventory No.: Rockefeller 32.1580

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 26, Doc. 55 with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Tazawa added Keel 2017, Jericho Nr. 60.

Description: A winged figure, who wears a horned headdress.

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Baal

BM56. Scarab (BM56)

Material: carnelian

Provenance: Beirut?

Date: New Kingdom

Inventory No.: Byblos 1170

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 26, Doc. 56 with an additional bibliography.

Description: A figure wears a headdress with a horn and streamer.

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Baal

BM57. Scarab (BM57)

Material: steatite

Provenance: Tell Basta

Date: New Kingdom

Inventory No.: Present location unknown

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 26, Doc. 57 with an additional bibliography.

Description: A winged figure, who wears a conical headdress.

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Baal

BM58. Scarab (BM58)

Material: White paste

Provenance: Beirut

Date: New Kingdom

Inventory No.: Byblos 3223

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 26, Doc.58 with an additional bibliography.

Description: A winged figure stands of the back of an animal.

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Baal

BM59. Scarab (BM59)

Material: Lapis lazuli

Provenance: Egypt

Date: New Kingdom

Inventory No.: Harry Stern Collection, bequest of Kurt Stern, London 76.031.2759

Bibliography: unpublished

Description: Scarab displaying the Canaanite god Ba'al on an animal

Discussion: The figure wears a conical crown with a streamer, holds a *w3s*-sceptre and stands on the back of an animal. The motif of Baal is similar to the motif of scarabs BM 33-36, where the figure is standing on the back of an animal.

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Baal

1.2 Reliefs (BR1-14)

BR1. Anonymous stele (BR1)

Material: Limestone

Provenance: Memphis

Date: 18th -19th Dynasty

Inventory No.: Cairo JE 45535

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 16, Doc.7, pl. II with an additional bibliography.

Description: A figure wears a flat-topped cylindrical headdress with a *šndyt*-kilt.

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Baal

BR2. Stele of Mami (BR2)

Material: Red sanstone

Provenance: Ras Shamra (Temple of Baal)

Date: Beginning of the 19th Dynasty

Inventory No.: Louvre AO13176

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 16, Doc.8 with an additional bibliography.

Description: A figure wears a conical crown with a streamer and holds a *w3s*-sceptre.

Phrases or epithets *Baal-Zaphon (b^cr spn)*⁷⁹⁵

BR3. Fragment of stele of Sety I (BR3)

Material: Black Basalt

Provenance: Tell Nebi Mend (Qadesh)

Date: Sety I (1294-1279 BC)

Inventory No.: Aleppo 384

Bibliography: KRI I 25, 5; RITA I 25, 5;⁷⁹⁶ Tazawa 2009, 13, Doc.1, pl.I with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Tazawa added Schroer 2011, 106f, Nr. 600.

Description: A figure wears a conical crown and raises his arm without any weapon.

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Baal

BR4. 400 year stele (BR4)

Material: Red granite

Provenance: Tanis

Date: Rameses II (1279 -1213 BC)

Inventory No.: Cairo JE 60539

Bibliography: KRI II 287, 5; RITA II 287, 5;⁷⁹⁷ Tazawa 2009, 14, Doc. 2, pl.I with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Tazawa added Zivie-Coche 2011, 4, fig.4; Schroer 2011, 344f, Nr. 910.

Description: The iconography of Seth has the characteristics of Baal.

Phrases or epithets *Seth of Rameses, may he give all his life (sth n r^c ms s sw di ^cnh nb=f)*⁷⁹⁸

BR5. Rhetorical stele of Rameses II (Tanis V) (BR5)

Material: Limestone

Provenance: Tanis

Date: Rameses II (1279 -1213 BC)

Inventory No.: Present location unknown

Bibliography: KRI II 294, 5; RITA II 294, 5;⁷⁹⁹ Tazawa 2009, 14, Doc.3 with an additional bibliography.

Description: The iconography of Seth has the characteristics of Baal

Phrases or epithets *Seth, great in power, lord of heaven, given his life (sth ^c3phty nbpt di ^cnh=f)*⁸⁰⁰

BR6. Stele of Rameses II (BR6)

Material: Red granite

Provenance: Gebel Murr

Date: Rameses II (1279 -1213 BC)

Inventory No.: Ismailia 2758

Bibliography: KRI II 303, 1-5; RITA II 303, 1-5;⁸⁰¹ Tazawa 2009, 15, Doc.4 with an additional bibliography.

Description: The iconography of Seth has the characteristics of Baal.

⁷⁹⁵ Translation after Cornelius 1994 BR 11; Tazawa 2009, 16, Doc.8.

⁷⁹⁶ Tazawa (2009, 13, Doc.1) has cited this item as RITA I 20-21, which is wrong.

⁷⁹⁷ Tazawa (2009, 14, Doc.2) has cited this item as RITA II 116-118, which is wrong.

⁷⁹⁸ Translation after RITA II 287, 5 and Tazawa 2009, 14, Doc. 2, pl.I.

⁷⁹⁹ Tazawa (2009, 14, Doc.3) has cited this item as RITA II 124-126, which is wrong.

⁸⁰⁰ Translation after RITA II 294, 5 and Tazawa 2009, 14, Doc. 3.

⁸⁰¹ Tazawa (2009, 15, Doc.4) has cited this item as RITA II 137-140, which is wrong.

Phrases or epithets *Seth, great in power given life (sth ʿ3phty di ʿnh)*⁸⁰²

BR7. Fragment of stele (BR7)

Material: Limestone

Provenance: Matmar (Temple of Rameses II)

Date: Rameses II (1279 -1213 BC)

Inventory No.: Present location unknown

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 15, Doc.5 with an additional bibliography.

Description: A winged figure, which its posture reminds us Seth slaying Apophis in the sacred sun bark.

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Baal

BR8. Stele of Rameses II Sheikh Sa'ad (BR8)

Material: Basalt

Provenance: temple of Sheikh Sa'ad

Date: Rameses II (1279 -1213 BC)

Inventory No.: Museum of Der'a

Bibliography: Dijkstra 2018, 85, Doc. 6 with an additional bibliography

Description: A figure wears a conical crown with a streamer and holds an ankh. The name of Seth Baal Zaphon and El- Kunirsa are written on the stele.

Phrases or epithets *Baal (Bʿr)*

BR9. Relief of Merenptah (BR8)

Material: Black granite

Provenance: unknown (Tanis/Alexandria?)

Date: Merenptah (1213-1203 BC)

Inventory No.: Berlin 7265

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 18, Doc.13 with an additional bibliography.

Description: The iconography of Seth has the characteristics of Baal.

Phrases or epithets *Seth, the great god, lord of the sky (sth ʿ3 ntr nb pt)*⁸⁰³

BR10. Stele of Thothnefer (BR9)

Material: Limestone

Provenance: Thebes

Date: 19th Dynasty

Inventory No.: Berlin 8440

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 17, Doc.10, pl.II with an additional bibliography.

Description: The iconography of Seth has the characteristics of Baal.

Phrases or epithets There is no inscription for Baal

BR11. Stele of Mentutauinakht (BR10)

Material: Limestone

Provenance: Serabit el-Khadim

Date: 19th Dynasty

Inventory No.: Ashmolean E. 714

⁸⁰² Translation after RITA II 303, 1-5; Cornelius 1994 BR 8; Tazawa 2009, 15, Doc.4.

⁸⁰³ Translation after Cornelius 1994 BR 10; Tazawa 2009, 18, Doc.13.

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 18, Doc.11, pl.II with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Tazawa added Schroer 2011, 342f, Nr. 909.

Description: The iconography of Seth has the characteristics of Baal.

Phrases or epithets *An offering that the king gives to Seth, great in power (*hṯp di nsw sth ʿ3pḥty*)*⁸⁰⁴

BR12. Fragment of stele (BR11)

Material: Limestone

Provenance: Purchased in Egypt in 1894

Date: 19th Dynasty

Inventory No.: Copenhagen AEIN 726

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 18, Doc.12, pl.III with an additional bibliography.

Description: The iconography of Seth has the characteristics of Baal.

Phrases or epithets *Seth of Ombos (*sth k3 nbi ty*)*⁸⁰⁵

BR13. Fragment of stele (BR12)

Material: Limestone

Provenance: Nabesha

Date: 19th Dynasty

Inventory No.: Present location unknown

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 17, Doc.9 with an additional bibliography.

Description: A figure wears a short kilt with tassels and holds a *w3s*-sceptre.

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Baal

BR14. Stele of Usermarenakht (BR13)

Material: Sandstone

Provenance: Qantir

Date: Rameses III (1184-1153 BC)

Inventory No.: Cairo JE 88879

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 15, Doc.6, pl.I with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Tazawa added Habachi 2001, fig. 55, no. 133, pl. 46; Schroer 2011, 346f, Nr. 912.

Description: A figure wears a conical crown and a short kilt with tassels.

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Baal

1.3 Bronzes (BB1)

BB1. Figurine of Baal (BB1)

Material: Bronze

Provenance: Minet el-Beida

Date: 1400-1300 BC

Inventory No.: Paris, Louvre Museum, AO 11598.

Bibliography: Cornelius and Niehr 2004, Abb. 77; Galliano et al. 2004, 262, no. 305; Schroer 2011, 346f, Nr. 913.

Description: A male figure is wearing a crown.

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Baal

⁸⁰⁴ Translation after Cornelius 1994 BR 13; Tazawa 2009, 18, Doc.11.

⁸⁰⁵ Translation after Cornelius 1994 BR 19; Tazawa 2009, 18, Doc.12.

1.4. Statues (BS1-2)

BS1. Statue

Material: Carnelian

Provenance: Saqqara

Date: Late 18th Dynasty

Inventory No.: Present location unknown

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 34, Doc. 87 with an additional bibliography.

Description: The priest of Baal

Phrases or epithets *The priest of Baal (B^cr), Serbykhen*^{806,,807}

BS2. Statue

Material: Limestone

Provenance: Saqqara

Date: 19th -20th Dynasty

Inventory No.: Berlin 8169

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 34, Doc.88 with an additional bibliography.

Description: The priest of Baal.

Phrases or epithets *The temple of Baal (B^cr) in Memphis*⁸⁰⁸

1.5. Inscriptions (BI1-36)

BI1. The Tempest Stela of Ahmose (BI1)

Material: autobiographical text

Provenance: Karnak temple (3rd pylon)

Date: Ahmose

Inventory No.: unknown

Bibliography: Wiener and Allen 1998, 1-28; Schneider 2010, 405-409; Ritner and Moeller 2013, 62; 2014, 5-6.

Description: The characteristics of Baal is written

Phrases or epithets *The overshadowed sky (p=t šn^c=t) come in a tempest of rain (n wnt 3bw), with darkness (kkw) in the condition of the West and torrential rain (d^cmhwy=t), louder than the voice of the masses (k3j=tj r hrw rhy=t), louder from the mountain more than the thunder of the cataract at Elephantine (kh3 hr h3š=t r hrw kr=tj jmj=t 3bw).*⁸⁰⁹

BI2. Keeper of the seal Sennufer

Material: autobiographical text

Provenance: Theban Tomb 99

Date: Thutmose III

Inventory No.: TT99

Bibliography: Urk IV, 534-535; PM I pt.I, 204-206; Pritchard 1954, 243; Eichler 2003, 317, no.504; Redford 2003, 174-175.

Description: A characteristic of Baal is the storm.

⁸⁰⁶ Tazawa (2009, 34, Doc. 87) has translated the name of the priest as “Sarabijahina”, which is wrong.

⁸⁰⁷ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 34, Doc. 87.

⁸⁰⁸ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 34, Doc. 88.

⁸⁰⁹ Translation after Schneider 2010, 405-409; Ritner and Moeller 2013, 62; 2014, 5-6.

Discussion: It seems that after the reign of Ahmose, the god Baal maintained his characteristics, which are associated with the storm, as he is described as the god who rides upon the storm.

Phrases or epithets *I went forth to this my [. . .] who rides upon the storm (tp šnyt). I entered into Lebanon [. . . Hathor, mistress of Byblos, and I authorized] that an offering of a myriad of things be presented to her on behalf [of the life, prosperity and health of the Sovereign. . . .]*⁸¹⁰

BI3. Record of the Baal cult in Memphis area (pErmitage 1116A)

Material: Papyrus

Provenance: Memphis

Date: During the co-regency of Thutmose III and Amenhotep II

Inventory No.: Pap.Ermitage 1116A

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 34, Doc. 89 with an additional bibliography.

Description: An offering to the Baal in Peru-Nefer.

Phrases or epithets *The offerings to the god Baal in Peru Nefer*⁸¹¹

BI4. The name of Baal in Amarna Letters EA 147:14 (BI4)

Material: clay

Provenance: Akhetaten (mod. el-Amarna)

Date: Middle Babylonian (ca. 1400-1100 BC)-Akhenaten

Inventory No.: British Museum, London, BM 029812

Bibliography: Knudtzon 1915, BB, pl.11; Rainey et.al 2015, 742; Moran 1992, 233.

Description: The name of Baal is written

Discussion: The name of Baal is mentioned on the Amarna Letters in order to add a prestige in the name of the pharaoh.

Phrases or epithets *My lord is the sun god who has come forth over all lands day by day according to the manner of the sun god, his gracious father, who has given life by his sweet breath and returns with his north wind; of whom all the land is established in peace by the power of (his) arm; who has given his voice in the sky like Ba'al (ISKUR), and all the land was frightened at his cry.*⁸¹²

BI5. The name of Baal in Amarna Letters EA 108:09 (BI5)

Material: clay

Provenance: Akhetaten (mod. el-Amarna)

Date: Middle Babylonian (ca. 1400-1100 BC)-Akhenaten

Inventory No.: Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin, Germany, VAT 00345

Bibliography: Rainey et.al 2015, 585; Moran 1992, 181.

Description: The name of Baal is written

Discussion: The name of Baal is mentioned on the Amarna Letters in order to add a prestige in the name of the pharaoh, as the previous Letter.

Phrases or epithets *Is it good in the sight of the king, who is like Baal (ISKUR) and the sun god in heaven, that the sons of 'Abdi-Ashirta are doing whatever they please? They have taken the horses of the king and the chariots and they have given chariot warriors and soldiers to the land of Suḅaḅru as hostages (?). In whose days has a deed like this been done?*⁸¹³

⁸¹⁰ Translation after Pritchard 1954, 243.

⁸¹¹ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 34, Doc. 89.

⁸¹² Translation after Moran 1992, 233; Rainey et.al 2015, 742.

⁸¹³ Translation after Rainey et.al 2015, 585; Moran 1992, 181.

BI6. The characteristics of Baal in the Hymn of Aten

Material: Limestone

Provenance: West Wall, Tomb of Ay

Date: Akhenaten (1353-1336 BCE)

Inventory No.: KV 23

Bibliography: Lichtheim 1976, 96-100

Description: The characteristics of Baal are written

Discussion: The name of Baal is mentioned in the Hymn of Aten. It seems that the Hymn is originated from the Baal cycle, who also includes similar phrases.

Phrases or epithets “*You have set the flood in the sky (dī=n=k ḥꜥpy m pt)*”, “*He makes waves on mountains like the Great Green (irr=f hnw ḥr ḏww mi w3ḏ wr)*”.⁸¹⁴

BI7. Stela of the chief draughtsman, Didia (BI7)

Material: rock

Provenance: Eastern Thebes

Date: Sety I (1294-1279 BC)

Inventory No.: Louvre AE/C.50

Bibliography: KRI I 329, 1; RITA I 329, 1.

Description: The name of craftsmen is Pata-Baal

Discussion: The name of Baal is also used as a name for a servant or craftsmen see BI11.

Phrases or epithets *the Osiris, chief of craftsmen of Amun, Pata-Baal (wsir s3b=f n imn pt bꜥr)*⁸¹⁵

BI8. Campaign against Shasu-Beduin

Material: Sandstone

Provenance: Karnak

Date: Sety I (1294-1279 BC)

Inventory No.: in situ

Bibliography: KRI I 6, 15; RITA I 6, 15;⁸¹⁶ Tazawa 2009, 27, Doc. 60 with an additional bibliography.

Description: The name of Baal is mentioned in the campaign of Sety I against Shasu-Beduin.

Phrases or epithets *The good god, the sun for Egypt, the moon for all lands, Montu upon the hill countries. He is not overthrown, but stout-hearted like Ba'al.*

*(ntr nfr rꜥn Kmt iꜥḥ n t3w nb(w) Mnt(w) ḥr ḥ3swt n hnn=tw=f shm-ib mi Bꜥrw=n wn)*⁸¹⁷

BI9. Campaign against Hittites

Material: Sandstone

Provenance: Karnak

Date: Sety I (1294-1279 BC)

Inventory No.: in situ

Bibliography: KRI I 17, 13; RITA I 17, 13;⁸¹⁸ Tazawa 2009, 27, Doc. 61 with an additional bibliography.

Description: The name of Baal is mentioned in the campaign of Sety I against Hittites.

Phrases or epithets *Great in terror like Ba'al in foreign countries (ꜥ3 ḥryt mi Bꜥr ḥr ḥ3swt)*⁸¹⁹

⁸¹⁴ Translation after Lichtheim 1976, 96-100.

⁸¹⁵ Translation after RITA I 329, 1.

⁸¹⁶ Tazawa (2009, 27, Doc. 60) has cited this item as RITA I 6, which is wrong

⁸¹⁷ Translation after RITA I 6, 15 and Tazawa 2009, 27, Doc. 60.

⁸¹⁸ Tazawa (2009, 27, Doc. 61) has cited this item as RITA 14, which is wrong

⁸¹⁹ Translation after RITA I 17, 13; Tazawa 2009, 27, Doc. 61.

BI10. Campaign against Libya

Material: Sandstone

Provenance: Karnak

Date: Sety I (1294-1279 BC)

Inventory No.: in situ

Bibliography: KRI I 21, 3-4; RITA I 21, 3-4;⁸²⁰ Tazawa 2009, 28, Doc. 62 with an additional bibliography.

Description: *And the whole country shall see that he is like Ba'al, when he threads the mountains (n t3 r-dr=f sw mi B'rw hb=f dwy)*⁸²¹

BI11. Tomb of Nakhtamun, chief of the altar (BI11)

Material: rock

Provenance: Ramesseum

Date: Rameses II (1279-1213 BC)

Inventory No.: TT 341

Bibliography: Davies and Gardiner 1948, 35, pl. XXIV; KRI III 361, 11; RITA III 361, 11.

Description: The name of a servant is Pitji-Baal

Discussion: The name of Baal is also used as a name for a servant or craftsmen see BI7.

Phrases or epithets *the servant Pitji-Baal (sdm ʕš p3 bʕr)*⁸²²

BI12. Stela, Gebel Shaluf I (BI12)

Material: Red granite

Provenance: Gebel Shaluf I

Date: Rameses II (1279 -1213 BC)

Inventory No.: ismailia No. 2757

Bibliography: KRI II 302, 10; RITA II 302, 10.

Description: Name of Baal

Discussion: The name of Baal is mentioned in order to reinforce the power of the pharaoh.

Phrases or epithets Face B: *King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Usermare Setepenre, son of Ra, Ramesses II, at the coming of his army, valiant like Baal (mi Bʕr)*⁸²³

BI13. Record of the Battle of Qadesh (pSallier III 1=pChester Beatty III verso 1)

Material: Papyrus

Provenance: Memphis

Date: Rameses II (1279-1213 BC)

Inventory No.: BM EA 10181

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 35, Doc. 90 with an additional bibliography.

Description: The name of Baal is mentioned in the battle of Qadesh.

Phrases or epithets *He was like Baal in his hour (sw mi Bʕr m wnwwt=f)*⁸²⁴

BI14. Record of the Battle of Qadesh (pSallier III 4)

Material: Papyrus

⁸²⁰ Tazawa (2009, 28, Doc. 62) has cited this item as RITA II 17, which is wrong.

⁸²¹ Transliteration and translation after KRI I 21, 3-4; RITA I 21, 3-4; Tazawa 2009, 28, Doc. 62.

⁸²² Translation after RITA III, 361, 11.

⁸²³ Translation after RITA II 302, 10.

⁸²⁴ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 35, Doc. 90.

Provenance: Memphis

Date: Rameses II (1279-1213 BC)

Inventory No.: BM EA 10181

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 35, Doc. 91 with an additional bibliography.

Description: The name of Baal is mentioned in the battle of Qadesh.

Phrases or epithets *Seth great of power, Baal in person (ꜥ3pḥty B'r m ḥꜥ=f).*⁸²⁵

BI15. Record of the Battle of Qadesh (pSallier III 5)

Material: Papyrus

Provenance: Memphis

Date: Rameses II (1279-1213 BC)

Inventory No.: BM EA 10181

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 35, Doc. 92 with an additional bibliography.

Description: The name of Baal is mentioned in the battle of Qadesh.

Phrases or epithets *I was like Ba'al at their backs in his moment of power (itw=i m B'r m s3=sn m 3t shm=f), I killed among them, I did not let up.*⁸²⁶

BI16. Record of the Battle of Qadesh (pSallier III 9)

Material: Papyrus

Provenance: Memphis

Date: Rameses II (1279-1213 BC)

Inventory No.: BM EA 10181

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 35, Doc. 93 with an additional bibliography.

Description: The name of Baal is mentioned in the battle of Qadesh.

Phrases or epithets *You are Seth, Baal in person (B'r m ḥꜥ=f), dread of you is like a torch-brand in the land of Hatti.*⁸²⁷

BI17. Undated Syrian War (BI17)

Material: Sandstone

Provenance: Beit el-Wali (Temple of Rameses II)

Date: Rameses II (1279-1213 BC)

Inventory No.: in situ

Bibliography: KRI II 196, 7; RITA II 196, 7;⁸²⁸ PMVII, pt.I. 23, no. 8; Tazawa 2009, 28, Doc. 63 with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Tazawa added Keel 1975, Abb. 5, Nr. 26, 421; 1996b, Abb. 132a; Keel et al. 1990, 58, Abb. 31; Donohue 1992, fig. 17; Schroer 2011, 120f, Nr. 619.

Description: The name of Baal is mentioned in the scene of Rameses II, who is smiting a Syrian chef.

Phrases or epithets *I believed that there was none like Baal (Ib ḥr nn wn ky mi Bꜥrw)*⁸²⁹

BI18. Poem of Battle of Qadesh

Material: Sandstone

Provenance: Karnak, Luxor

Date: Rameses II (1279-1213 BC)

Inventory No.: in situ

⁸²⁵ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 35, Doc. 91.

⁸²⁶ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 35, Doc. 92.

⁸²⁷ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 35, Doc. 93.

⁸²⁸ Tazawa (2009, 28, Doc. 63) has cited this item as RITA II 59, which is wrong.

⁸²⁹ Translation after RITA II 196, 7 and Tazawa 2009, 28, Doc. 63.

Bibliography: KRI II 29, 1; RITA II 29, 1;⁸³⁰ Tazawa 2009, 28, Doc. 64 with an additional bibliography.

Description: The name of Baal is mentioned in the campaign of Rameses II in Qadesh.

Phrases or epithets *He was like Baal in his hour (sw mi B'r m wnw=f)*⁸³¹

BI19. Poem of Battle of Qadesh

Material: Limestone and Sand stone

Provenance: Abydos, Karnak. Luxor

Date: Rameses II (1279-1213 BC)

Inventory No.: in situ

Bibliography: KRI II 53, 2; RITA II 53, 2;⁸³² Tazawa 2009, 28, Doc. 65 with an additional bibliography.

Description: The name of Baal is mentioned in the conflict of Rameses II with Muwatalli II.

Phrases or epithets *Seth great of power, Baal in person (ʿ3pḥty B'r m ḥʿ=f)*⁸³³

BI20. Poem of Battle of Qadesh

Material: Sandstone

Provenance: Karnak, Luxor, Ramesseum

Date: Rameses II (1279-1213 BC)

Inventory No.: in situ

Bibliography: KRI II 71, 1; RITA II 71, 1;⁸³⁴ Tazawa 2009, 29, Doc. 66 with an additional bibliography.

Description: The name of Baal is mentioned in the troops of the king.

Phrases or epithets *I was like Ba'al at their backs in his moment of power (tw=i m B'r m s3=sn m 3t shm=f)*⁸³⁵

BI21. Poem of Battle of Qadesh

Material: Sandstone

Provenance: Luxor

Date: Rameses II (1279-1213 BC)

Inventory No.: in situ

Bibliography: KRI II 90, 2; RITA II 90, 2;⁸³⁶ Tazawa 2009, 29, Doc. 67 with an additional bibliography.

Description: The name of Baal is mentioned in the letter of king of Hittites, who defeated by Rameses II.

Phrases or epithets *You are Seth, Ba'al himself (Ntk swth B'r m ḥʿw=f)*⁸³⁷

BI22. Bulletin of Battle of Qadesh

Material: Sandstone

Provenance: Abu Simpel, Luxor, Ramesseum

Date: Rameses II (1279-1213 BC)

Inventory No.: in situ

Bibliography: KRI II 120, 4; RITA II 120, 4;⁸³⁸ Tazawa 2009, 29, Doc. 68 with an additional bibliography.

Description: The name of Baal is mentioned in the campaign of Rameses II against Hittites.

Phrases or epithets *He was like Ba'al at their backs in his moment of power (tw=i m B'r m s3=sn m 3t*

⁸³⁰ Tazawa (2009, 28, Doc. 64) has cited this item as RITA II 5, which is wrong.

⁸³¹ Translation after RITA II 29, 1 and Tazawa 2009, 28, Doc. 64.

⁸³² Tazawa (2009, 28, Doc. 65) has cited this item as RITA II 8, which is wrong.

⁸³³ Translation after RITA II 53, 2 and Tazawa 2009, 28, Doc. 65.

⁸³⁴ Tazawa (2009, 29, Doc. 66) has cited this item as RITA II 10, which is wrong.

⁸³⁵ Translation after RITA II 71, 1 and Tazawa 2009, 29, Doc. 66.

⁸³⁶ Tazawa (2009, 29, Doc. 67) has cited this item as RITA II 12, which is wrong.

⁸³⁷ Translation after RITA II 90, 2 and Tazawa 2009, 29, Doc. 67.

⁸³⁸ Tazawa (2009, 29, Doc. 68) has cited this item as RITA II 17, which is wrong.

sh̄m=f)⁸³⁹

BI23. Battle of Qadesh

Material: Sandstone

Provenance: Ramesseum

Date: Rameses II (1279-1213 BC)

Inventory No.: in situ

Bibliography: KRI II 139,10-11; RITA II 139, 10-11;⁸⁴⁰ Tazawa 2009, 30, Doc. 69 with an additional bibliography.

Description: The name of Baal is mentioned in the campaign of Rameses II in Qadesh.

Phrases or epithets *He is like Seth great of Strength, Baal in person (swth̄ ʿ3phty B'r m h̄c=f)*⁸⁴¹

BI24. Undated war

Material: Sandstone

Provenance: Karnak

Date: Rameses II (1279-1213 BC)

Inventory No.: in situ

Bibliography: KRI II 159, 8; RITA II 159, 8;⁸⁴² Tazawa 2009, 30, Doc. 70 with an additional bibliography.

Description: The name of Baal is mentioned in the campaign of Rameses II against a Levantine fort.

Phrases or epithets *Baal (b̄r)*⁸⁴³

BI25. Rhetorical stele of Rameses II (Tanis VII)

Material: Granite

Provenance: Tanis

Date: Rameses II (1279-1213 BC)

Inventory No.: Present location unknown

Bibliography: KRI II 296, 15; RITA II 296, 15;⁸⁴⁴ Tazawa 2009, 30, Doc. 71 with an additional bibliography.

Description: Fragment of the lower right corner and it is not possible to determine if there are any deities.

Phrases or epithets *Powerful in strength, whose strong arm is boasted of; who plunders....[Bull of Seth? a Montu son of] Montu, who acts with his strong arm, powerful warrior. Bull of Baal (b̄r) king of the two lands, Usermaatra Setepenra, son of Ra [Rameses II].*⁸⁴⁵

BI26. Nubian war scenes

Material: Sandstone

Provenance: Derr Temple, first Hall

Date: Rameses II (1279-1213 BC)

Inventory No.: in situ

Bibliography: KRI II 203,13; RITA 203,13.

Description: The name of Baal is mentioned in the battle of Rameses II against Nubians.

Discussion: Once again the god Baal is included in the royal campaigns of the pharaoh. His name is mentioned in order to boost the power and prestige of the pharaoh, such the cases BI8-10, BI12-35.

Phrases or epithets [Mostly lost.....] *like Baal (mi B̄rw)*⁸⁴⁶

⁸³⁹ Translation after RITA II 120, 4 and Tazawa 2009, 29, Doc. 68.

⁸⁴⁰ Tazawa (2009, 30, Doc. 69) has cited this item as RITA II 22, which is wrong.

⁸⁴¹ Translation after RITA II 139, 10-11 and Tazawa 2009, 30, Doc. 69.

⁸⁴² Tazawa (2009, 30, Doc. 70) has cited this item as RITA II 34-35, which is wrong.

⁸⁴³ Translation after RITA II 159, 8 and Tazawa 2009, 30, Doc. 70.

⁸⁴⁴ Tazawa (2009, 30, Doc. 71) has cited this item as RITA II 128-129, which is wrong.

⁸⁴⁵ Translation after RITA II 296, 15; Tazawa 2009, 30, Doc. 71.

⁸⁴⁶ Translation after RITA 203, 13.

BI27. Royal chariot span**Material:** Sandstone**Provenance:** Medinet Habu**Date:** Rameses III (1184-1153 BC)**Inventory No.:** in situ**Bibliography:** KRI V 17, 3; RITA V 17, 3;⁸⁴⁷ Tazawa 2009, 37, Doc. 101 with an additional bibliography.**Description:** Rameses III is shown seated in his chariot**Phrases or epithets** *Baarherkhepeshef (b3rhꜥhꜥšfn)*⁸⁴⁸**BI28. First Libyan war****Material:** Sandstone**Provenance:** Medinet Habu**Date:** Rameses III (1184-1153 BC)**Inventory No.:** in situ**Bibliography:** Tazawa 2009, 30, Doc. 72 with an additional bibliography.**Description:** The name of Baal is mentioned in the campaign of Rameses III against Libyans.**Phrases or epithets** *Baal (bꜥr)*⁸⁴⁹**BI29. First Libyan war****Material:** Sandstone**Provenance:** Medinet Habu**Date:** Rameses III (1184-1153 BC)**Inventory No.:** in situ**Bibliography:** KRI V 25, 15; RITA V 25, 15;⁸⁵⁰ Tazawa 2009, 30, Doc.73 with an additional bibliography.**Description:** The name of Baal is mentioned in northern war of Rameses III.**Phrases or epithets** *Baal (bꜥr)*⁸⁵¹**BI30. Campaign against Sea people****Material:** Sandstone**Provenance:** Medinet Habu**Date:** Rameses III (1184-1153 BC)**Inventory No.:** in situ**Bibliography:** KRI V 32, 4; RITA V 32, 4;⁸⁵² Tazawa 2009, 31, Doc. 75 with an additional bibliography.**Description:** The name of Baal is mentioned in the inscriptions before the king, who is in his chariot.**Phrases or epithets** *Baal (bꜥr)*⁸⁵³**BI31. Campaign against Sea people****Material:** Sandstone**Provenance:** Medinet Habu**Date:** Rameses III (1184-1153 BC)

⁸⁴⁷ Tazawa (2009, 37, Doc. 101) has not cited the translation of the item.

⁸⁴⁸ Translation after RITA V 17, 3 and Tazawa 2009, 37, Doc. 101.

⁸⁴⁹ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 30, Doc. 72.

⁸⁵⁰ Tazawa (2009, 30, Doc. 73) has not cited the translation of the item.

⁸⁵¹ Translation after RITA V 25, 15; Tazawa 2009, 30, Doc.73.

⁸⁵² Tazawa (2009, 31, Doc. 75) has not cited the translation of the item.

⁸⁵³ Translation after RITA V 32, 4 and Tazawa 2009, 31, Doc. 75.

Inventory No.: in situ

Bibliography: KRI V 38, 4; RITA V 38, 4;⁸⁵⁴ Tazawa 2009, 32, Doc. 78 with an additional bibliography.

Description: The name of Baal is mentioned in the northern war of Rameses III.

Phrases or epithets *Baal (bꜥr)*⁸⁵⁵

BI32. Second Libyan war

Material: Sandstone

Provenance: Medinet Habu

Date: Rameses III (1184-1153 BC)

Inventory No.: in situ

Bibliography: KRI V 49; RITA V 49;⁸⁵⁶ Tazawa 2009, 32, Doc. 79 with an additional bibliography.

Description: The name of Baal is mentioned in the second campaign of Rameses III against the Libyans.

Phrases or epithets *Baal (bꜥr)*⁸⁵⁷

BI33. Second Libyan war

Material: Sandstone

Provenance: Medinet Habu

Date: Rameses III (1184-1153 BC)

Inventory No.: in situ

Bibliography: KRI V 44, 8; RITA V 44, 8;⁸⁵⁸ Tazawa 2009, 33, Doc. 80 with an additional bibliography.

Description: The name of Baal is mentioned in the inscription before the king who is attacking two Libyan captives.

Phrases or epithets *Baal (bꜥr)*⁸⁵⁹

BI34. Second Libyan war

Material: Sandstone

Provenance: Medinet Habu

Date: Rameses III (1184-1153 BC)

Inventory No.: in situ

Bibliography: KRI V 58, 10; RITA V 58, 11;⁸⁶⁰ Tazawa 2009, 33, Doc. 82 with an additional bibliography.

Description: The name of Baal is mentioned in the campaign of Rameses III against Libyans.

Phrases or epithets *Baal (bꜥr)*⁸⁶¹

BI35. Second Libyan war

Material: Sandstone

Provenance: Medinet Habu

Date: Rameses III (1184-1153 BC)

Inventory No.: in situ

Bibliography: KRI V 66, 3; RITA V 66, 3;⁸⁶² Tazawa 2009, 33, Doc. 83 with an additional bibliography.

Description: The name of Baal is mentioned in the campaign of Rameses III against the Libyans.

Phrases or epithets *Baal (bꜥr)*⁸⁶³

⁸⁵⁴ Tazawa (2009, 32, Doc. 78) has not cited the translation of the item.

⁸⁵⁵ Translation after RITA V 38, 4 and Tazawa 2009, 32, Doc. 78.

⁸⁵⁶ Tazawa (2009, 32, Doc. 79) has not cited the translation of the item.

⁸⁵⁷ Translation after RITA V 49; Tazawa 2009, 32, Doc. 79.

⁸⁵⁸ Tazawa (2009, 33, Doc. 80) has not cited the translation of the item.

⁸⁵⁹ Translation after RITA V 44, 8 and Tazawa 2009, 33, Doc. 80.

⁸⁶⁰ Tazawa (2009, 33, Doc. 82) has not cited the translation of the item.

⁸⁶¹ Translation after RITA V 58, 11; Tazawa 2009, 33, Doc. 82.

⁸⁶² Tazawa (2009, 33, Doc. 83) has not cited the translation of the item.

BI36. Second Libyan war

Material: Sandstone

Provenance: Medinet Habu

Date: Rameses III (1184-1153 BC)

Inventory No.: in situ

Bibliography: KRI V 70, 1; RITA V 70, 1;⁸⁶⁴ Tazawa 2009, 33, Doc. 84 with an additional bibliography.

Description: Above the scene of Amun, who stand and holds a scimitar-sword to the king, the name of Baal is mentioned.

Phrases or epithets *Baal in the sky (b^cr hr pt)*⁸⁶⁵

1.6. Papyrus (BP1-7)

BP1. A letter concerning the Wonders of Memphis (pSallier IV verso 1.1-4.8)

Material: Papyrus

Provenance: Purchased from M.Sallier

Date: Middle of the reign of Rameses II (1279-1213 BC)

Inventory No.: BM EA 10184

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 35, Doc. 94 with an additional bibliography.

Description: The letter mentions that Baal was worshiped in Memphis.

Phrases or epithets *Baal (b^cr)*⁸⁶⁶

BP2. Lake or River (pAnastasi III 2)

Material: Papyrus

Provenance: Memphis

Date: Merenptah (1213-1203 BC)

Inventory No.: BM EA 10246

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 37, Doc.100 with an additional bibliography.

Description: A report of the Delta residence from a scribe.

Phrases or epithets *waters of Baal*⁸⁶⁷

BP3. Magical spell (pLeiden I 343+ I 345,recto I4-III2 and verso III 1-IV 8)

Material: Papyrus

Provenance: Memphis

Date: 19th -20th Dynasty

Inventory No.: Leiden I 343+ I 345

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 36, Doc. 98 with an additional bibliography.

Description: Spell against diseases.

Phrases or epithets *The ktp of Baal is stuck in your head*⁸⁶⁸

BP4. Magical spell (pLeiden I 343+ I 345,recto IV 9-VI 2 and verso VII 5-VIII 12)

Material: Papyrus

⁸⁶³ Translation after RITA V 66, 3; Tazawa 2009, 33, Doc. 83.

⁸⁶⁴ Tazawa (2009, 33, Doc. 84) has not cited the translation of the item.

⁸⁶⁵ Translation after RITA V 70, 1; Tazawa 2009, 33, Doc. 84.

⁸⁶⁶ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 35, Doc. 94.

⁸⁶⁷ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 37, Doc. 100.

⁸⁶⁸ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 36, Doc. 98.

Provenance: Memphis

Date: 19th-20th Dynasty

Inventory No.: Leiden I 343+ I 345

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 36, Doc. 99 with an additional bibliography.

Description: Spell against diseases.

Phrases or epithets *Baal strikes against you with the ʿs wood which is in his hand. He strikes you again with the spears of ʿs wood which are in his hand.*⁸⁶⁹

BP5. Socio-economical text (pHarris pl.22)

Material: Papyrus

Provenance: Medinet Habu

Date: Rameses III (1182-1153 BC)

Inventory No.: BM EA 9999

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 35, Doc. 95 with an additional bibliography.

Description: The name of Baal is mentioned in the prayer of king to the god Amun.

Phrases or epithets *Baal (bʿr)*⁸⁷⁰

BP6. Hymn to Rameses V (pChester Beatty I verso B)

Material: Papyrus

Provenance: Thebes

Date: Rameses V (1147-1143 BC)

Inventory No.: Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, CBL Pap 1

Bibliography: KRI VI 227, 12; RITA VI 227, 12; Tazawa 2009, 35, Doc. 96 with an additional bibliography.

Description: The name of Baal mentioned in the hymn of Rameses V

Phrases or epithets *Baal (bʿr)*⁸⁷¹

BP7. Hymn to Rameses VII

Material: Papyrus

Provenance: Unknown

Date: Rameses VII (1136-1129 BC)

Inventory No.: Turin CG 54031

Bibliography: KRI VI 394, 12; RITA VI 394, 12; Tazawa 2009, 36, Doc. 97 with an additional bibliography.

Description: The name of Baal in the Hymn of Rameses VII.

Phrases or epithets *Baal (bʿr)*⁸⁷²

⁸⁶⁹ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 36, Doc. 99.

⁸⁷⁰ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 35, Doc. 95.

⁸⁷¹ Translation after RITA VI 227, 12; Tazawa 2009, 35, Doc. 96.

⁸⁷² Translation after RITA VI 394, 12; Tazawa 2009, 36, Doc. 97.

1.7 Iconography⁸⁷³

A. *Holding the w3s-sceptre and an ʿnh-symbol (BM5-7, BM9, BM13, BM17-20, BM22, BM41-42, BM44-45, BM52, BM59, BR2-6, BR9-10, BR12-13)*

Seth-Baal is portrayed wearing a conical crown with disc or horns, similar to the Egyptian White crown, which demonstrate his Near Eastern origin. The god holds a *w3s*-sceptre and an ʿ*nh*-symbol on the other hand (BM5-7, BM9, BM13, BM18, BM20, BM22, BM41, BM59 BR2, BR4-5, BR9-10, BR12-13).⁸⁷⁴ In several scenes, the god is worshipped by the pharaoh (BM41, BR3-6) and worshipper (BR2, BR10, BR12) or he is accompanied by other gods (BM17, BM19, BM42, BM44-45, BR3, BR9). The god, Seth –Baal, is manifested on the defeat of the enemies, standing in front of the king or giving him the scimitar sword (BR8, BM52, BR13).

B. *Menacing posture (BB1, BM7)*

Two plaques and scarabs depict Seth-Baal in a menacing posture (BB1, BM7). The god holds a weapon upon his head or he has raised his hand.⁸⁷⁵ This posture of Seth-Baal is common in Syro-palestinian scenes rather than in Egyptian portrayals.

C. *Winged (BM1, BM9-15, BM22-40, BM42-43, BM47-49, BM51, BM53-54, BM56, BM58-59, BR1-2, BR12)*

Another characteristic of the god Seth-Baal is the wings. The winged god is wearing a conical crown with two horns. Seth-Baal is portrayed winged either standing on an animal, slaying a serpent or standing on a ground line (BM1, BM9-15, BM22-40, BM42-43, BM47-49, BM51, BM53-54, BM56, BM58-59, BR1-2, BR12).

⁸⁷³ For an alternative categorization of Qadesh see the catalogue of Cornelius 1994, 134-233 and Tazawa 2009, 114-116.

⁸⁷⁴ For more detailed description of Baal and his iconographical differences with Seth see Levy 2014, 305.

⁸⁷⁵ Cornelius 1994, 168.

C1. Winged Seth-Baal as a serpent slayer (*BM1, BM9, BM15, BM17, BM39-40, BM47, BR12*)

The winged god wears a conical crown, a short kilt with three tassels between his legs and holds a spear to slay a serpent on which he is standing (BM1, BM9, BM15, BM17, BM39-40, BM47, BR12).⁸⁷⁶

C2. Winged Seth-Baal standing among two uraei on a ground line (*BM4, BM10, BM22-32, BM37-38, BM43, BM54, BM58*)

A human head figure, raises his wings and wears a horned headdress with a short strides. Among the figure of the god, two uraei flanks are manifested (BM4, BM10, BM22-32, BM37-38, BM43, BM54, BM58).

C3. Winged Seth-Baal standing on a horse or lion (*BM12-14, BM34-37, BM43, BM48-49, BM51, BM56, BM59, BR1*)

The appearances of Seth-Baal on scarabs include also his depiction with horses or lions. The winged figure wears a conical crown, short kilt and stands on the back of a horse or lion facing to the right (BM12-14, BM34-37, BM43, BM48-49, BM51, BM56, BM59, BR1).

D. Triad stele (*BM16*)

It is the only case, where the god Baal is manifested on the triad stele of Qadesh (BM16). The god is depicted on the left, wears a headdress in the form of a palm leaf, symbolizing the fertility in Syro-palestine.⁸⁷⁷

E. Potrayed as a bull (*BR12*)

The winged god is potrayed with a human body, an animal head and the horns of a bull and he is standing at the prow of a boat (BR12). The figure wears an Egyptian Nemes cloth and short kilt, which indicate the Near Eastern origin of the god.

⁸⁷⁶ Contra Lipinski, who suggested that the god as a serpent slayer should be Seth or Hauron, based on the scene of the god, who stands on the lion, but Hauron has never been attested on a lion, see Lipinski 1996, 260-262.

⁸⁷⁷ Tazawa 2009, 116.

1.8 Qualities

In Ugarit, the name of Baal means “Lord, Master”. He is identified with the god Hadad, the deity of storms, violence and fertility.⁸⁷⁸ His name also is associated with Zaphon, as he was lived in mountains of Zaphon and he had a close relation with storm, light and fertility attributes.⁸⁷⁹ As a god of storm, he could ride the clouds⁸⁸⁰ and as a god of fertility he could bring rain and storms.⁸⁸¹

In Egypt, the cult of Seth-Baal continued through Hyksos until the Ramesside period.⁸⁸² Elements of Baal, such as storm, rain, clouds are described in the theophany of Baal under the reign of Ahmose and they are associated with the same elements for Seth.⁸⁸³ Both deities are regarded as a weather gods and controllers of the seas.⁸⁸⁴ The name of Seth was also associated with the name of Baal and his warrior attribute was reflected on the military campaigns of the pharaoh in order to emphasize the power and greatness of the king either in historical or economical records.

⁸⁷⁸ Green 2003, 170-176; Holland 2009, 203.

⁸⁷⁹ KTU 1.3 III 25ff; KTU 1.16 III 5ff.

⁸⁸⁰ KTU 1.3 II 40.

⁸⁸¹ Holland 2009, 204.

⁸⁸² Contra Bietak 1990, 9-16; Allon 2007, 19, who suggested that there is continuity in the cult of Seth-Baal with an interruption in Amarna period. The characteristics of Baal are recorded on the Hymn of Aten, and his name is recorded on two Amarna letters, see Docs. 4.2.3-4.2.4.

⁸⁸³ Allon 2007, 20.

⁸⁸⁴ Morris 2015a, 328; Zandee 1963, 148; te Velde 1977, 85, 122-123, 128; Bietak 1990, 13; Morenz 1973, 238; Allon 2007, 20; Silver 1991, 208

2. Reshef

2.1 Seals, amulet, Scarabs, scaraboids and other art in miniature (RM1-21)

RM1. Scarab (RM1)

Material: Green glaze

Provenance: unknown

Date: 12th -18th Dynasty

Inventory No.: Strasbourg 1477

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 54, Doc.43 with an additional bibliography.

Description: A figure holds a mace and shield.

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Reshef

RM2. Scarab of Reshef (RM2)

Material: Steatite

Provenance: unknown

Date: 1550 BC

Inventory No.: Fribourg, Collection of Keel, ÄS 1999.17.

Bibliography: Schroer 2008, 284f, Nr. 524.

Description: A figure wears the white crown and a spear

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Reshef

RM3. Cylinder seal of Reshef (RM3)

Material: Faience

Provenance: Lachish

Date: 1400 BC

Inventory No.: Jerusalem, Rockefeller Museum, IAA 34.3123.

Bibliography: Cornelius 1994, pl. 28, RM 5 with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Cornelius added Schroer 2011, 350f, Nr. 918.

Description: A figure wears the white crown and a spear.

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Reshef

RM4. Cylinder seal of Reshef (RM4)

Material: Glass

Provenance: Sidon

Date: 1400-1200 BC

Inventory No.: Paris, Louvre Museum, AO 22361.

Bibliography: Cornelius 1994, 92, no. RM2 with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Cornelius added Schroer 2011, 358f, Nr. 930.

Description: A figure wears the white crown and a spear.

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Reshef

RM5. Scaraboid of Reshef (RM5)

Material: Amethyst

Provenance: Gaza

Date: 1400-1200 BC

Inventory No.: Hazorea, Wilfried Israel Museum, M-213.

Bibliography: Cornelius 1994, 121f, no. RM40, pl. 31 with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of

Cornelius added Keel 2013, 130f, Gaza Nr. 4.

Description: A figure wears the white crown an *ḥnh* symbol and caprids

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Reshef

RM6. Figurine of Reshef (RM6)

Material: Bronze

Provenance: Megiddo

Date: 1350-1150 BC

Inventory No.: Jerusalem, Israel Museum, IAA M-523.

Bibliography: Cornelius 1994, pl. 31, RB 1 with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Cornelius added Schroer 2011, 356f, Nr. 928.

Description: A figure wears the white crown and a spear.

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Reshef

RM7. Cylinder seal of Reshef (RM7)

Material: Stone

Provenance: unknown

Date: 18th Dynasty

Inventory No.: Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum, 15394.

Bibliography: Cornelius 1994, pl. 28, RM 6 with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Cornelius added Keel et.al 1990, 302f, fig. 65; Schroer 2011, 348f, Nr. 917.

Description: A figure wears the white crown and a *w3s*-sceptre.

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Reshef

RM8. Scarab (RM8)

Material: Steatite

Provenance: unknown

Date: 18th Dynasty

Inventory No.: Rockefeller 32.2672

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 54, Doc.44 with an additional bibliography.

Description: A figure holds a weapon and uraeus.

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Reshef

RM9. Scarab (RM9)

Material: Green-blue glazed steatite

Provenance: unknown

Date: 18th Dynasty

Inventory No.: UC 38064

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 55, Doc.45 with an additional bibliography.

Description: A figure holds a scimitar sword and a shield.

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Reshef

RM10. Seal (RM10)

Material: Serpentine

Provenance: Tell Gezer

Date: 18th Dynasty

Inventory No.: IAA 74-129

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 53, Doc.40 with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Tazawa added

Schroer 2011, 352f, Nr. 921.

Description: A figure holds a weapon and shield.

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Reshef

RM11. Amulet (RM11)

Material: Blue paste

Provenance: Minet el-Beida

Date: Mid 18th – 19th Dynasty

Inventory No.: Paris, Louvre Museum, AO 14726⁸⁸⁵

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 55, Doc.48 with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Tazawa added Schroer 2011, 350f, Nr. 919.

Description: A figure adopts a brandishing posture.

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Reshef

RM12. Figurine of Reshef (RM12)

Material: Gilt bronze

Provenance: Minet el-Beida

Date: Late 18th Dynasty

Inventory No.: Louvre AO 11598

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 53, Doc.39 with an additional bibliography.

Description: A figure wears a white crown holds a spear and shield.

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Reshef

RM13. Cylinder seal (RM13)

Material: Serpentine

Provenance: Beth Shan

Date: Rameses II (1279-1213 BC)

Inventory No.: Rockefeller J.911

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 53, Doc.41 with an additional bibliography.

Description: A figure holds a scimitar sword and an *ḥ* symbol in his hand.

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Reshef

RM14. Cylinder seal of Paser (RM14)

Material: Serpentine

Provenance: Deir el-Balah

Date: 19th Dynasty

Inventory No.: Tel Aviv 82

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 54, Doc.42 with an additional bibliography.

Description: A figure wears the white crown and a *w3s*-sceptre.

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Reshef

RM15. Scarab (RM15)

Material: Dark-green jasper

Provenance: bought in Beirut

Date: 19th Dynasty

Inventory No.: Ashmolean 1890.119a

⁸⁸⁵ Tazawa (2009, 55, Doc.48) has not cited this item.

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 55, Doc.46 with an additional bibliography.

Description: A figure holds a spear and shield.

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Reshef

RM16. Amulet (RM16)

Material: Gilded bronze

Provenance: unknown

Date: 19th Dynasty

Inventory No.: Athens, National Archaeological Museum 559

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 55, Doc.49 with an additional bibliography.

Description: Reshef wears a white crown and holds a scepter.

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Reshef

RM17. Seal of Reshef (RM17)

Material: Agate

Provenance: Gezer

Date: 19th Dynasty

Inventory No.: London, Palestine Exploration Fund, Cast No. 246.

Bibliography: Macalister 1912, II 327, no. 340, III pl. 208, 28; Keel 2013, 352f, Geser Nr. 425.

Description: A figure wears the white crown and a spear

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Reshef

RM18. Seal of Reshef (RM18)

Material: Stone

Provenance: Tell el-Far·a-Sud

Date: End of 19th Dynasty-20th Dynasty

Inventory No.: Jerusalem, Rockefeller Museum, IAA I.7045.

Bibliography: Cornelius 1994, 204, 208, no. BM65, pl. 50 with an additional bibliography; Braunstein 1998, 127f; Laemmel 2003, I 38; Strawn 2005, 391, fig. 3.50; Keel 2010a, 376f, Tell el-Far·a-Süd Nr. 828.

Description: A figure wears the white crown and a spear

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Reshef

RM19. Seal of Reshef (RM19)

Material: Stone

Provenance: Tell el-Far·a-Sud

Date: End of 19th Dynasty-20th Dynasty

Inventory No.: Jerusalem, Rockefeller Museum, IAA I.7046.

Bibliography: Cornelius 1994, 204f, Anm. 5 with an additional bibliography; Braunstein 1998, 127f; Laemmel 2003, I 38; Keel 2010a, 378f, Tell el-Far·a-Süd Nr. 829.

Description: A figure wears the white crown and a spear

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Reshef

RM20. Scarab (RM20)

Material: Steatite

Provenance: purchased

Date: New Kingdom

Inventory No.: Fribourg SK 74

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 55, Doc.47 with an additional bibliography.

Description: A figure holds a spear and shield.

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Reshef

RM21. Plaque (RM21)

Material: Blue glazed

Provenance: unknown

Date: New Kingdom

Inventory No.: Present location unknown

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 56, Doc.51 with an additional bibliography.

Description: A figure is in a brandishing posture and holds a spear and shield.

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Reshef

2.2. Reliefs (RR1-39)

RR1. Stele of Betu (RR1)

Material: Limestone

Provenance: Tell el-Borg

Date: Thutmose III and Amenhotep II (1479-1400 BC)

Inventory No.: TBO 760

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 38, Doc.1, pl.IV with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Tazawa added Munnich 2013, 81 with an additional bibliography; Schroer 2011, 316f, Nr. 873.

Description: Reshef wears the white crown with a gazelle head in front and he holds a shield and weapon.

Phrases or epithets *Reshef lord of the house of the stable of horses (ršp nb pr d3i ssmtw)*⁸⁸⁶

RR2. Stele of Amenemopet (RR2)

Material: Limestone

Provenance: Deir el-Medina

Date: Tutankhamun (1336-1327 BC)

Inventory No.: Cairo JE 70222

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 39, Doc. 2 with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Tazawa added Galán & Menéndez 2018, 72 with an additional bibliography; Munnich 2013, 82 with an additional bibliography.

Description: Reshef wears the white crown and holds a shield and weapon.

Phrases or epithets *Reshef the great god (ršpw ntr ʿ3). Made by the servant Amenemopet, may he live again.*⁸⁸⁷

RR3. Relief of Nesby (RR3)

Material: Natural rock

Provenance: Toshka

Date: 18th Dynasty

Inventory No.: in situ

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 52, Doc.38 with an additional bibliography.

Description: Reshef wears a white crown holds a spear, mace and shield.

Phrases or epithets *Reshef the great god, lord of the sky (ršpw ntr ʿ3 nb pt)*⁸⁸⁸

RR4. Stele of Shedun...(Kh)etep (RR4)

Material: Limestone

⁸⁸⁶ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 38, Doc.1.

⁸⁸⁷ Translation after Cornelius 1994, 44, RR21; Tazawa 2009, 39, Doc. 2 with an additional bibliography; Galán & Menéndez 2018, 72 with an additional bibliography.

⁸⁸⁸ Translation after Cornelius 1994, 49, RR27 and Tazawa 2009, 52, Doc.38.

Provenance: Memphis (Temple of Ptah)

Date: First half of 18th Dynasty

Inventory No.: UC 14400

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 39, Doc.3 with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Tazawa added Schroer 2011, 354f, Nr. 923.

Description: Reshef wears the white crown with uraeus in front and holds a mace and shield.

Phrases or epithets *Reshef the great god, who gives a good life (ršp ntr ʿ3 di ʿnh)*⁸⁸⁹

RR5. Anonymous Stele (RR5)

Material: Limestone

Provenance: Deir el-Medina

Date: Beginning of 19th Dynasty

Inventory No.: Cairo JT 15/11/21/1

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 44, Doc.16 with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Tazawa added Munnich 2013, 105 with an additional bibliography.

Description: A figure wears the white crown and holds a shield and spear.

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Reshef

RR6. Stele of Iniahay (RR6)

Material: Limestone

Provenance: Deir el-Medina

Date: Beginning of 19th Dynasty

Inventory No.: Moscow I.1a 5613 (3177)

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 44, Doc.17 with an additional bibliography.

Description: A figure wears the white crown with uraeus in front and holds a weapon.

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Reshef

RR7. Stele of Tjenerhir [///](RR7)

Material: Limestone

Provenance: Qantir

Date: Rameses II (1279-1213 BC)

Inventory No.: Cairo JE 86123

Bibliography: KRI III 266, 5; RITA III 266, 5;⁸⁹⁰ Tazawa 2009, 39, Doc.4 with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Tazawa added Schroer 2011, 174f, Nr. 690.

Description: Reshef wears the white crown with a gazelle head in front.

Phrases or epithets *Amun-Re king of the gods, Reshef (jmn rʿ njswt ntrw ršpw)*⁸⁹¹

RR8. Anonymous stele (RR8)

Material: Limestone

Provenance: Qantir

Date: Rameses II (1279-1213 BC)

Inventory No.: Hildesheim 1100

Bibliography: KRI III 447, 5; RITA III 447, 5;⁸⁹² Tazawa 2009, 40, Doc. 5 with an additional bibliography.

Description: Reshef wears the white crown and holds a spear and shield.

Phrases or epithets *Reshef, the great god, who hears prayers (ršpw ntr ʿ3 sdm nḥi)*⁸⁹³

⁸⁸⁹ Translation after Cornelius 1994 RR10; Tazawa 2009, 39, Doc.3.

⁸⁹⁰ Tazawa (2009, 39, Doc.4) has written RITA III 189, which is wrong.

⁸⁹¹ Cornelius (1994, 65, RR32), who translates Amun-Re king of the gods, *Reshef Hauron (jmn-rʿ njswt ntrw ršpw hwrw)*. Translation after RITA III 266, 5 and Tazawa 2009, 39, Doc.4.

⁸⁹² Tazawa (2009, 40, Doc.5) has written RITA III 318, which is wrong.

RR9. Stele of Ramose (RR9)

Material: Limestone

Provenance: Deir el-Medina

Date: Rameses II (1279-1213 BC)

Inventory No.: Turin 50066

Bibliography: KRI II 621, 5- 6; RITA III 621, 5-6;⁸⁹⁴ Tazawa 2009, 40, Doc.6 with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Tazawa added Zivie-Coche 2011, 7, fig.7.

Description: Reshef wears the white crown with a gazelle head in front and holds a weapon and spear.

Phrases or epithets *Reshef, the great god, lord of the sky, the ruler of the divine Ennead, lord of eternity* (*ršpw ntr ʿ3 nb pt hk3 psdt nb nhh*)⁸⁹⁵

RR10. Stele of Rameses (RR10)

Material: Limestone

Provenance: unknown (Deir el-Medina?)

Date: Rameses II (1279-1213 BC)

Inventory No.: M.A. Varille private collection, Stela XX.

Bibliography: KRI III 627, 10; RITA III 627, 10;⁸⁹⁶ Tazawa 2009, 41, Doc.7 with an additional bibliography.

Description: Reshef takes a branding posture.

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Reshef

RR11. Stele of Hay (RR11)

Material: Limestone

Provenance: Deir el-Medina

Date: Rameses II (1279-1213 BC)

Inventory No.: Avignon A16

Bibliography: KRI III 788, 7; RITA III 788, 7;⁸⁹⁷ Tazawa 2009, 41, Doc.8 with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Tazawa added Münnich 2013, 83, n.36 with an additional bibliography; Schroer 2011, 356f, Nr. 926; Cornelius 1994, 46, RR24.

Description: Reshef wears the white crown with a gazelle head in front and he is seated in a throne with a branching posture.

Phrases or epithets *Reshef, the good god* (*ršpw ntr nfr*)⁸⁹⁸

RR12. Stele of Huy (RR12)

Material: Limestone

Provenance: Deir el-Medina

Date: Rameses II (1279-1213 BC)

Inventory No.: Louvre C86

Bibliograph: KRI III 791, 13; RITA III 791, 13;⁸⁹⁹ Tazawa 2009, 41, Doc.9 with an additional bibliography.⁹⁰⁰

⁸⁹³ Translation after RITA III 447:5, Cornelius 1994, 25, RR2 and Tazawa 2009, 40, Doc. 5.

⁸⁹⁴ Tazawa (2009, 40, Doc.6) has written RITA III 242, which is wrong.

⁸⁹⁵ Translation after RITA III 621:5-6, Cornelius 1994, 57, RR28 and Tazawa 2009, 40, Doc.6.

⁸⁹⁶ Tazawa (2009, 41, Doc.7) has written RITA III 429, which is wrong.

⁸⁹⁷ Tazawa (2009, 41, Doc.8) has written RITA III 528, which is wrong.

⁸⁹⁸ Tazawa (2009, 41, Doc.8), has translated “the great god”, which is wrong. Translation after RITA III 788, 7 and Cornelius 1994, 46, RR24.

⁸⁹⁹ Tazawa (2009, 41, Doc.9) has written RITA III 530, which is wrong.

⁹⁰⁰ Tazawa provides more bibliography, see Tazawa 2009, 41, Doc.9.

Description: Reshef holds an *ḥn*-symbol in his left hand.

Phrases or epithets *Reshef the great god, lord of eternity, sovereign of everlasting mighty* (*ršpw ntr ʿ3 nb r n nhḥ ḥk3dt*)⁹⁰¹

RR13. Stele of Qaha (RR13)

Material: Limestone

Provenance: Deir el-Medina

Date: Rameses II (1279-1213 BC)

Inventory No.: BM EA191

Bibliography: KRI III 603, 10; RITA III 603, 10;⁹⁰² Tazawa 2009, 42, Doc.10 with an additional bibliography.

Description: Reshef is presented with an Asiatic style. He has an Asiatic hair style with a gazelle head in front and holds an *ḥn*-symbol in his left hand.

Phrases or epithets *Reshef the great god, lord of the sky, the ruler of the divine Ennead* (*ršpw ntr ʿ3 nb pt ḥk3 psdt*)⁹⁰³

RR14. Stele of Nebnefer (RR14)

Material: Limestone

Provenance: Deir el-Medina

Date: Rameses II (1279-1213 BC)

Inventory No.: DeM 272

Bibliography: KRI III 583, 15; RITA III 583, 15;⁹⁰⁴ Tazawa 2009, 42, Doc.11 with an additional bibliography.

Description: Reshef is seated on a throne and holds a spear and shield.

Phrases or epithets *Reshef the great god, lord of the sky* (*ršpw ntr ʿ3 nb pt*)⁹⁰⁵

RR15. Stele of Pashed (RR15)

Material: Limestone

Provenance: Deir el-Medina

Date: Amenmessu (1203-1200 BC)

Inventory No.: Cambridge EGA 3002.1943

Bibliography: KRI IV 240, 15-16; RITA IV 240, 15-16;⁹⁰⁶ Tazawa 2009, 43, Doc. 12 with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Tazawa added Zivie-Coche 2011, 6, fig.6.

Description: Reshef is seated on a throne, wears a white crown and holds a shield and mace.

Phrases or epithets *Reshef, the great god. The protection and life is behind him. Giving praise to Reshef, the great god, that he may give life, prosperity and health* (*ršp ntr ʿ3 s3 ḥn ḥ3=f rdit d3tw n ršpw ntr ʿ3 di=f ḥn wd3 snb*)⁹⁰⁷

RR16. Stele of Pashed (RR16)

Material: Limestone

Provenance: Deir el-Medina

⁹⁰¹ Translation after RITA III 791, 13, Cornelius 1994, 61, RR29 and Tazawa 2009, 41, Doc.9.

⁹⁰² Tazawa (2009, 42, Doc.10) has written RITA III 413-414, which is wrong.

⁹⁰³ Translation after RITA III 603, 10, Cornelius 1994, 62 RR30 and Tazawa 2009, 42, Doc.10.

⁹⁰⁴ Tazawa (2009, 42, Doc.11) has written RITA II 402, which is wrong

⁹⁰⁵ Translation after RITA III 583, 15, Cornelius 1994, 48, RR25 and Tazawa 2009, 42, Doc.11.

⁹⁰⁶ Tazawa (2009, 43, Doc.12) has written RITA IV 168, which is wrong.

⁹⁰⁷ Translation after RITA IV 240, 15-16, Cornelius 1994, 45, RR23 and Tazawa 2009, 43, Doc. 12.

Date: Amenmessu (1203-1200 BC)

Inventory No.: BA EA264

Bibliography: KRI IV 241, 2-6; RITA IV 241, 2-6;⁹⁰⁸ Tazawa 2009, 43, Doc.13 with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Tazawa added Bierbrier 1993 Pl.32-33; Cornelius 1994, 48, RR26.

Description: Reshef is seated in a throne and holds a spear and shield.

Phrases or epithets *Giving praise to Reshef, kissing the ground to the great god, that he may give life, prosperity and health alertness, favour and love* (*rdit i3w n ršpw sn wdb t3 n ntr ʿ3 di=f ʿnh wd3snb spd hr hsiw mri*)⁹⁰⁹

RR17. Stele of Hesi (RR17)

Material: Limestone

Provenance: Brought in Giza (probably from Qantir)

Date: Sety II (1200-1194 BC)

Inventory No.: Ägyptisches Museum der Universität Leipzig 3619

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 43, Doc.14 with an additional bibliography.

Description: A figure wears a white crown and holds a weapon, shield and spear.

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Reshef

RR18. Stele of Hesisunebef (RR18)

Material: Limestone

Provenance: Deir el-Medina

Date: Saptah and Tausret (1194-1186 BC)

Inventory No.: Present Location unknown

Bibliography: KRI IV 443, 3; RITA IV 443, 3;⁹¹⁰ Tazawa 2009, 44, Doc.15 with an additional bibliography.

Description: Reshef wears the white crown with a gazelle head in front and holds a weapon, shield and spear.

Phrases or epithets *Reshef, the great god, lord of the sky* (*ršpw ntr ʿ3 nb pt*)⁹¹¹

RR19. Anonymous stele (RR19)

Material: Limestone

Provenance: Deir el-Medina

Date: 19th Dynasty

Inventory No.: Cairo 63654

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 45, Doc. 18 with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Tazawa added Galán & Menéndez 2018, 65 with an additional bibliography; Munnich 2013, 105 with an additional bibliography.

Description: A figure wears the white crown and holds a mace and shield.

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Reshef

RR20. Stele of P[/////](RR20)

Material: Limestone

Provenance: Deir el-Medina

Date: 19th Dynasty

Inventory No.: London, British Museum, EA 1843,0507. 35.⁹¹²

⁹⁰⁸ Tazawa (2009, 43, Doc.13) has written RITA IV 168, which is wrong.

⁹⁰⁹ Cornelius (1994, RR26, 49) has translated “Giving praise to Reshef and making obeisance to the great god”, which is wrong. Translation after RITA IV 241, 2-6 and Tazawa 2009, 43, Doc.13.

⁹¹⁰ Tazawa (2009, 44, Doc.15) has written RITA IV 313, which is wrong.

⁹¹¹ Translation after RITA IV 443, 3, Cornelius 1994, 41, RR18 and Tazawa 2009, 44, Doc.15.

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 45, Doc.20 with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Tazawa added Schroer 2011, 352f, Nr. 922.

Description: Reshef wears the white crown and holds a mace, shield and spear.

Phrases or epithets *Reshef the great god, lord of eternity, ruler of eternity and beautiful lifetime. Reshef, the great god, son of the lord of the sky (ršpw ntr ʿ3 nb rn nhḥ ḥk3 dt nfr ʿḥ nb pt ršpw ntr ʿ3 s3 nb pt)*⁹¹³

RR21. Anonymous stele (RR21)

Material: Limestone

Provenance: Deir el-Medina

Date: 19th Dynasty

Inventory No.: Antiquities service magazine in Deir el-Medina

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 45, Doc.19 with an additional bibliography.

Description: A figure holds a shield and spear.

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Reshef

RR22. Stele of illegible dedicator (RR22)

Material: Limestone

Provenance: Deir el-Medina

Date: 19th Dynasty

Inventory No.: BM EA355

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 46, Doc.21 with an additional bibliography.

Description: A figure is presented with an Asiatic hair style and holds a spear or scepter.

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Reshef

RR23. Anonymous Stele (RR23)

Material: Limestone

Provenance: unknown

Date: 19th Dynasty

Inventory No.: Cairo JE26048

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 46, Doc.22 with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Tazawa added Munnich 2013, 106 with an additional bibliography.

Description: A figure holds a spear.

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Reshef

RR24. Stele of Wakh (RR24)

Material: Limestone

Provenance: Purchased in Delta

Date: 19th Dynasty

Inventory No.: UC 14401

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 47, Doc.23 with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Tazawa added Schroer 2011, 354f, Nr. 924.

Description: Reshef holds a spear in his right hand and another spear and shield in the other hand.

Phrases or epithets *Reshef, the great god (ršpw ntr ʿ3)*⁹¹⁴

⁹¹² Tazawa (2009, 45, Doc.20) has cited this item as BM EA263, which is wrong.

⁹¹³ Translation after Cornelius 1994, RR17 and Tazawa 2009, 45, Doc.20.

⁹¹⁴ Translation after Cornelius 1994, 33, RR8 and Tazawa 2009, 47, Doc.23.

RR25. Stele of Ib (RR25)**Material:** Limestone**Provenance:** unknown**Date:** 19th Dynasty**Inventory No.:** Cairo JE71815**Bibliography:** Tazawa 2009, 48, Doc.26 with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Tazawa added Munnich 2013, 105 with an additional bibliography.**Description:** A figure wears the white crown and holds a shield.**Phrases or epithets** There is no name of Reshef**RR26. Anonymous stele (RR26)****Material:** Limestone**Provenance:** El-Simbillawein**Date:** 19th-20th Dynasty**Inventory No.:** Strasbourg 1398**Bibliography:** Tazawa 2009, 47, Doc.24 with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Tazawa added Schulman 1979, no. 35; Schroer 2011, 356f, Nr. 927.**Description:** A figure wears the white crown and holds a weapon and shield.**Phrases or epithets** There is no name of Reshef**RR27. Fragment of stele (RR27)****Material:** Limestone**Provenance:** Zagazig**Date:** 19th-20th Dynasty**Inventory No.:** Cairo JE71816**Bibliography:** Tazawa 2009, 47, Doc.25 with an additional bibliography.**Description:** A figure is in a brandishing posture holds a shield.**Phrases or epithets** There is no name of Reshef**RR28. Fragment of stele (RR28)****Material:** Faience**Provenance:** Zagazig**Date:** 19th -20th Dynasty**Inventory No.:** Zagazig 368**Bibliography:** Tazawa 2009, 48, Doc.27 with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Tazawa added Munnich 2013, 105 with an additional bibliography.**Description:** A figure in a brandishing posture.**Phrases or epithets** There is no name of Reshef**RR29. Stele of Sul (RR29)****Material:** Limestone**Provenance:** Athribis**Date:** 19th -20th Dynasty**Inventory No.:** OIC 10569**Bibliography:** Tazawa 2009, 48, Doc.28 with an additional bibliography.**Description:** Reshef is in a brandishing posture and holds a spear and battleaxe.

Phrases or epithets *Reshef multiplies the good god. May give life and health everyday* (*ršpw k3b ntr nfr di=f ḥ snb rḥnb*)⁹¹⁵

RR30. Stele of illegible dedicator (RR30)

Material: Limestone

Provenance: Memphis (Temple of Ptah)

Date: 19th -20th Dynasty

Inventory No.: Brussels E.5294

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 49, Doc.29 with an additional bibliography.

Description: Reshef is appeared in a brandishing posture and holds a shield and spear.

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Reshef

RR31. Stele of Ahmose (RR31)

Material: Limestone

Provenance: Memphis

Date: 19th -20th Dynasty

Inventory No.: Aberdeen 1578

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 49, Doc.30 with an additional bibliography.

Description: Reshef wears the white crown and holds a mace and shield.

Phrases or epithets *Reshef in Shulman* (*ršp s3rmḥntjw*)⁹¹⁶

RR32. Stele of Paqer (RR32)

Material: Limestone

Provenance: Memphis

Date: 19th -20th Dynasty

Inventory No.: Cairo JE2792

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 50, Doc.31 with an additional bibliography.

Description: Reshef holds a spear and shield.

Phrases or epithets *Reshef the great god, lord of the sky* (*ršpw ntr 3ḥ nb pt*)⁹¹⁷

RR33. Anonymous stele (RR33)

Material: Limestone

Provenance: Bought in Cairo

Date: 19th -20th Dynasty

Inventory No.: Present location unknown

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 50, Doc.32 with an additional bibliography.

Description: A figure holds a mace-axe, spear and shield.

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Reshef

RR34. Two fragments of an anonymous stele (RR34)

Material: Limestone

Provenance: Deir el-Medina?

Date: 19th -20th Dynasty

Inventory No.: a) Berlin 14462 b) Turin 50067

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 50, Doc.33 with an additional bibliography.

⁹¹⁵ Translation after Cornelius 1994 RR7 and Tazawa 2009, 48, Doc.28.

⁹¹⁶ Translation after Cornelius 1994, 36, RR11 and Tazawa 2009, 49, Doc.30.

⁹¹⁷ Translation after Cornelius 1994, 37, RR12 and Tazawa 2009, 50, Doc.31.

Description: Reshef wears a white crown holds a spear and shield.

Phrases or epithets *Reshef the great god (ršp ntr 3ʿ)*⁹¹⁸

RR35. Anonymous stele (RR35)

Material: Limestone

Provenance: Deir el-Medina

Date: 19th -20th Dynasty

Inventory No.: Musee Vivienel

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 51, Doc.34 with an additional bibliography.

Description: A figure wears a white crown holds a weapon and shield.

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Reshef

RR36. Stele of unknown dedicator by crack (RR36)

Material: Limestone

Provenance: Memphis (Temple of Ptah)

Date: 19th -20th Dynasty

Inventory No.: Philadelphia E.13620

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 51, Doc.35 with an additional bibliography.

Description: A figure holds a spear and mace.

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Reshef

RR37. Stele of Matybaal (RR37)

Material: Sandstone

Provenance: El-Sebu'a (Temple of Amun)

Date: 19th -20th Dynasty

Inventory No.: Aswan 16

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 51, Doc.36 with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Tazawa added Schroer 2011, 360f, Nr. 931.

Description: Reshef wears a white crown holds a spear, shield and mace.

Phrases or epithets *Seth, great in power, lord of the sky, Reshef (sth ʿ3 phtj nb pt ršpw)*⁹¹⁹

RR38. Anonymous stele (RR38)

Material: Limestone

Provenance: Bought in Egypt 1890

Date: 19th -20th Dynasty

Inventory No.: Kopenhagen Glyptothek 817

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 52, Doc.37 with an additional bibliography.

Description: A figure wears an Asiatic conical crown and holds plants.

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Reshef

RR39. Fragment of an ostrakon (RR39)

Material: Limestone

Provenance: Western Thebes (KV9)

Date: Rameses VI (1143-1136 BC)

Inventory No.: Cairo CG 25063

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 56, Doc.50 with an additional bibliography.

Description: A figure is in a brandishing posture and holds a spear and shield.

⁹¹⁸ Translation after Cornelius 1994 RR19a-b; Tazawa 2009, 50, Doc.33.

⁹¹⁹ Translation after Cornelius 1994, 72, RR34; Tazawa 2009, 51, Doc.36.

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Reshef

2.3 Names on royal chariots (RC1)

RC1. Stele of Amenhotep II (Inscription of Syrian campaign)

Material: red granite

Provenance: Memphis

Date: Amenhotep II (1427-1400 BC)

Inventory No.: in situ (?)

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 56, Doc.53 with an additional bibliography.

Description: Name of Reshef.

Phrases or epithets *His majesty passed the orontes by water like Reshef (ršp)⁹²⁰*

2.4 Inscriptions (RI1-5)

RI1. Sphinx stele inscription

Material: limestone

Provenance: Giza

Date: Amenhotep II (1427-1400 BC)

Inventory No.: in situ

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 56, Doc.52 with an additional bibliography.

Description: Name of Reshef.

Phrases or epithets *Reshef (ršp)⁹²¹*

RI2. Seal impression

Material: clay

Provenance: unknown

Date: Amenhotep II (1427-1400 BC)

Inventory No.: unknown

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 57, Doc.54 with an additional bibliography.

Description: Name of Reshef.

Phrases or epithets *Beloved of Reshef (ršpw mri)⁹²²*

RI3. Relief inscription (RI3)

Material: limestone

Provenance: Karnak, Temple of Amun

Date: Amenhotep II (1427-1400 BC)

Inventory No.: in situ

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 57, Doc.55 with an additional bibliography.

Description: Name of Reshef.

Phrases or epithets *Montu-Reshef (mntw ršp)⁹²³*

RI4. Fragment of relief inscription (RI4)

Material: sandstone

Provenance: Sai

⁹²⁰ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 56, Doc.53.

⁹²¹ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 56, Doc.52.

⁹²² Translation after Tazawa 2009, 57, Doc.54.

⁹²³ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 57, Doc.55 and Cornelius 1994, 84, RR37.

Date: 18th Dynasty
Inventory No.: Sai S.108
Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 57, Doc.56 with an additional bibliography.
Description: Name of Reshef.
Phrases or epithets *Reshef (ršp)*⁹²⁴

RI5. Relief Inscription

Material: sandstone
Provenance: Medinet Habu
Date: Rameses III (1184-1153 BC)
Inventory No.: In situ
Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 57, Doc.55 with an additional bibliography.
Description: Name of Reshef.
Phrases or epithets *Reshef (ršpw)*⁹²⁵

2.5 Vessel (RVI)

RV1. Vessel of Sennefer (RV1)

Material: Mottled Granite
Provenance: Memphis
Date: Horemheb (1323-1295 BC)
Inventory No.: Present location unknown
Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 58, Doc.58 with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Tazawa added Budin 2015a, 4.
Description: Name of Reshef.
Phrases or epithets *Reshef lord of the sky (ršpw nb pt)*⁹²⁶

2.6 Personal names (RN1-5)

RN1. Apperreshef

Material: Potsherd
Provenance: Western Thebes (KV 62)
Date: Tutankhamun (1336-1327 BC)
Inventory No.: C 413
Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 59, Doc.63 with an additional bibliography.
Description: Name of Reshef.
Phrases or epithets *Apperreshef (ꜥpršpw)*⁹²⁷

RN2. Reshef

Material: Papyrus
Provenance: Brought to Cairo Museum by Luxor dealer in 1928/1929
Date: Rameses V (1147-1143 BC)
Inventory No.: Brooklyn Museum
Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 59, Doc.64 with an additional bibliography.
Description: Name of Reshef.
Phrases or epithets *Reshef (ršpw)*⁹²⁸

⁹²⁴ Translation after Cornelius 1994, 84 RR38 and Tazawa 2009, 57, Doc.56.

⁹²⁵ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 57, Doc.57.

⁹²⁶ Translation after Budin 2015a, 4; Tazawa 2009, 58, Doc.58.

⁹²⁷ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 59, Doc.63.

RN3. Reshef

Material: Papyrus

Provenance: Brought to Cairo Museum by Luxor dealer in 1928/1929

Date: Rameses V (1147-1143 BC)

Inventory No.: Brooklyn Museum

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 59, Doc.65 with an additional bibliography.

Description: Name of Reshef.

Phrases or epithets *Reshef (ršpw)*⁹²⁹

RN4. Place name

Material: Papyrus

Provenance: Brought to Cairo Museum by Luxor dealer in 1928/1929

Date: Rameses V (1147-1143 BC)

Inventory No.: Brooklyn Museum

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 59, Doc. 67 with an additional bibliography.

Description: Name of Reshef.

Phrases or epithets *Reshef (ršpw)*⁹³⁰

RN5. Bintreshef (RN5)

Material: wood

Provenance: unknown

Date: 20th Dynasty

Inventory No.: BM EA32774

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 59, Doc.66 with an additional bibliography.

Description: Name of Reshef.

Phrases or epithets *Bintreshef (b3ntršp)*⁹³¹

2.7 Papyrus (RP1-4)

RP1. pChester Beatty VII verso 4.8-4.9

Material: Papyrus

Provenance: Unknown

Date: Rameses II (1279-1213 BC)

Inventory No.: BM EA 10687

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 58, Doc.59 with an additional bibliography.

Description: Name of Reshef.

Phrases or epithets *Reshef is against you, lord of the marrow*⁹³²

RP2. pLeiden I 343+I 345, recto XI 2-14 and verso XVII

Material: Papyrus

Provenance: Memphis

Date: 19th -20th Dynasty

Inventory No.: Leiden I 343+ I 345

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 58, Doc.61 with an additional bibliography.

⁹²⁸ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 59, Doc.64

⁹²⁹ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 59, Doc.65.

⁹³⁰ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 59, Doc. 67.

⁹³¹ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 59, Doc.66.

⁹³² Translation after Tazawa 2009, 58, Doc.59.

Description: The name of Reshef is mentioned in a spell against *ḥw* disease.

Phrases or epithets *Reshef kills with those who go before him*⁹³³

RP3. pLeiden I 343+I 345, recto IV9-VI 2, verso VI 5-VIII 12

Material: Papyrus

Provenance: Memphis

Date: 19th-20th Dynasty

Inventory No.: Leiden I 343+ I 345

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 58, Doc.60 with an additional bibliography.

Description: Name of Reshef.

Phrases or epithets *Your foreleg is served by Reshef*⁹³⁴

RP4. Harris Magical Papyrus verso I, 1-III, 5, section X

Material: Papyrus

Provenance: Bought in Thebes

Date: Rameses III (1184-1153 BC)

Inventory No.: BM EA 10042

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 58, Doc.62 with an additional bibliography.

Description: Name of Reshef in a spell.

Phrases or epithets *The poisons of Reshef and of his wife Itum*⁹³⁵

⁹³³ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 58, Doc.61.

⁹³⁴ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 58, Doc.62.

⁹³⁵ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 58, Doc.60.

2.8 Iconography⁹³⁶

A. Holding spear and shield (RM1-4, RM6-7, RM17, RM20-21, RR1-2, RR8, RR11, RR15, RR17-20, RR24-35, RI4)

Reshef strides to the left brandishing a spear and a shield on the other hand. He wears a short kilt and a conical crown (RM1-4, RM6-7, RM17, RM20-21, RR1-2, RR8, RR11, RR15, RR17-20, RR24-35, RI4).

A1. Standing by himself (RM1-3, RM5, RM7-10, RM11-12, RR5, RR8, RR10, RR18-21, RR26-30, RR32-35, RR39, RM17-21)

The god wears the White crown with a gazelle in the front of the crown, a length kilt, belt and a collar around his neck. He is portrayed himself in a menacing posture with a raised hand, holding a mace and a shield (RM1-3, RM5, RM7-10, RM11-12, RR5, RR8, RR10, RR18-21, RR26-30, RR32-35, RR39, RM17-21).

A2. Standing with worshippers (RR2-4, RR7, RR17, RR24, RM14, RR25, RR31, RR36-37)

The god wears the White crown with a gazelle in the front of the crown, a length kilt, belt and a collar around his neck. He is portrayed in a menacing posture with a raised hand, holding a mace and a shield. In front of him there is a worshipper, who either holds items or he raised his hands in a gesture of adoration (RR2-4, RR7, RR17, RR24, RM14, RR25, RR31, RR36-37).

A3. Standing with other gods or pharaoh (RR1, RR3, RR6-7, RR9, RR12-13, RR22-23, RR26, RR37-38, RM4, RM13, RM16)

In this category, the deity has been attested on two stelae. In the first case, Reshef is standing in front of the Egyptian god Ptah (RR26), while in the second stela, the deity is standing in the front of Astarte (RR1). In all these cases, the god wears the White crown with a gazelle in the front of the crown and a length kilt (RR1, RR3, RR6-7, RR9, RR12-13, RR22-23, RR26, RR37-38, RM4, RM13, RM16).

⁹³⁶ For an alternative categorization of Qadesh see the catalogue of Cornelius 1994, 25-125 and Tazawa 2009, 116-118.

B. Holding the w3s-sceptre and ʿnh symbol (RR7, RR12-13)

Reshef wears the White crown with a gazelle in the front of the crown and two streamers at the lower part, a length kilt and holds a w3s-sceptre and ʿnh symbol (RR7, RR12-13).

D. Sitting with brandshing a spear and shield with worshippers (RR11, RR14-16)

Reshef is seated on a throne with a brandshing posture. He holds a mace, a scimitar blade and shield. The god also, wears the White crown with a gazelle in the front of the crown, a length kilt, belt and collar around his neck (RR11, RR14-16).

E. Triad stele (RR6., RR9, RR12-13., RR22-23, RM16, RR38)

The god is depicted on the triad stele of Qadesh. He wears the White crown with a gazelle in the front of the crown and two streamers at the lower part, a length kilt, belt and collar around his neck. In his right hand holds a spear and a mace and scimitar blade on the other hand (RR6, RR9, RR12-13., RR22-23, RM16, RR38).

F. Riding a horse or lion (RI3-4, RM18-19)

Two parts of relief inscriptions present a head of horse. Behind the horse, a shield is recognizable (RI3-4). It seems that the god is riding the horse (RI4) or horses are pulling a chariot (RI3). In other scenes the god is riding a lion, wearing the White crown and holding a weapon (RM18-19).

2.9 Qualities

The god, Reshef, according to the Ugaritic texts, is associated with disaster and pestilence.⁹³⁷ This association can also link to death and the netherworld. At the same time Reshef regarded as a helper god against diseases and evil. This attribute accompanied him in Egypt.

In Egypt, Reshef bears the titles “lord of the sky”,⁹³⁸ “the great god”,⁹³⁹ “lord of the house of the stable of horses”⁹⁴⁰. The latter epithet indicates the relation of Reshef with horses, especially during the reign of Amenhotep II. The god was helpful in the fights especially in the chariots or riding.⁹⁴¹ In the lower ranks, his warrior attribute turns into prosperity and health. Reshef was also the god, who could hear prayers related to healing, stability and fertility.⁹⁴² Due to his attribute, the god is associated with Ptah,⁹⁴³ but the interest for Ptah has such a widespread resonance instead of Reshef. In the magical texts, the god maintained his attribute, which is related with health.⁹⁴⁴ According to this category of texts, Reshef is the divine god, who protects different parts of body.⁹⁴⁵ However, his warrior representation on the private stelae is related with the handling of the sickness, which caused by demons. In order to heal the sickness, the armed god had to defeat the demon.⁹⁴⁶

⁹³⁷ KTU 1.82, 1-5.

⁹³⁸ For instance, see the stela, which reads: “Reshef, the great god, lord of the sky, the ruler of the divine Ennead, lord of eternity (ršpw ntr ʿ3 nb pt ḥk3 psdt nb nḥḥ)”, see RR9.

⁹³⁹ For example see the stela, which bears the inscription: “Reshef the great god, lord of the sky (ršpw ntr ʿ3 nb pt)”, see RR18.

⁹⁴⁰ For example see the stela, which bears the inscription: “Reshef lord of the house of the stable of horses (ršp nb pr d3i ssmtw)”, see RR1.

⁹⁴¹ Munnich 2009, 57.

⁹⁴² Munnich 2009, 57. For instance see the stela, which records: “Reshef, the great god. The protection and life is behind him. Giving praise to Reshef, the great god, that he may give life, prosperity and health (ršp ntr ʿ3 s3 ʿnḥ ḥ3=f rdit d3tw n ršpw ntr ʿ3 dī=f ʿnḥ wd3 snb)”, see RR15.

⁹⁴³ Sadek 1988, 154-156.

⁹⁴⁴ For instance a papyrus records: “Reshef is against you, lord of the marrow”, Translation after Tazawa 2009, 58, Doc.59, see Doc. 5.2.8.

⁹⁴⁵ Munnich 2009, 60-61.

⁹⁴⁶ Munnich 2009, 61.

3. *Astarte*

3.1. *Seals, amulet, Scarabs, scaraboids and other art in miniature (ASM1-22)*

ASM1. Cylinder seal (ASM1)

Material: Glazed steatite

Provenance: Brought by Chester in Smyrna

Date: Late 2nd –early 1st mill.

Inventory No.: A 1892.1388.

Bibliography: Cornelius 2004, 120, pl.4.9 with an additional bibliography.

Description: Astarte is standing on a horse and is wearing the atef-crown.

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Astarte

ASM2. Cylinder seal (ASM2)

Material: steatite

Provenance: Brought by Woolley in Deve Huyuk

Date: Late 2nd –early 1st mill.

Inventory No.: A 1013.750.

Bibliography: Cornelius 2004, 120, pl.4.10 with an additional bibliography.

Description: Astarte is standing on a horse and menacing a weapon.

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Astarte

ASM3. Scarab (ASM3)

Material: Cornelian

Provenance: Purchased

Date: 15th -14th BC

Inventory No.: OIC 17402.

Bibliography: Cornelius 2004, 120, pl.4.11 with an additional bibliography.

Description: Astarte is standing on a horse, wearing an atef-crown and menacing a weapon.

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Astarte

ASM4. Plaque

Material: Glazed steatite

Provenance: unknown

Date: Thutmose III (1479-1425 BC)

Inventory No.: MMA 05.3.263

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 90, Doc.27 with an additional bibliography.

Description: A figure with menacing posture on horseback

Phrases or epithets No inscriptions

ASM5. Scarab (ASM5)

Material: Steatite

Provenance: Tell el-Borg

Date: 1400-1300BC

Inventory No.: SM 840/73

Bibliography: Cornelius 2004, 44, 121, Cat. 4.22 with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Cornelius added Leclant 1960, 62ff, fig. 31a; Hoffmeier and Kitchen 2007, 134, fig.4.

Description: A figure wearing the Atef-crown rides a horse.

Phrases or epithets No inscriptions

ASM6. Cylinder seal (ASM6)

Material: Faience

Provenance: Bethel

Date: Horemheb (1323-1295 BC)

Inventory No.: Rockefeller 35.4442

Bibliography: PM IV 373;⁹⁴⁷ Tazawa 2009, 88, Doc. 15, pl.XV with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Tazawa added Schmitt 2013, 223, fig.2; Schroer 2011, 324f, Nr. 885.

Description: The name of Astarte is written in the cylinder seal

Phrases or epithets *Astarte* (*𐤀𐤍𐤏𐤏*)⁹⁴⁸

ASM7. Scarab (ASM7)

Material: Steatite

Provenance: unknown

Date: 18th Dynasty

Inventory No.: SM 839/73.

Bibliography: Cornelius 2004, 121, pl.4.16 with an additional bibliography.

Description: Astarte is standing on a horse with a plant and wearing an atef-crown.

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Astarte

ASM8. Scarab (ASM8)

Material: Steatite

Provenance: unknown

Date: 18th Dynasty

Inventory No.: SM 838/73.

Bibliography: Cornelius 2004, 121, pl.4.17 with an additional bibliography.

Description: Astarte is standing on a horse with a plant and wearing an atef-crown.

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Astarte

ASM9. Scarab (ASM9)

Material: Steatite

Provenance: unknown

Date: 18th Dynasty

Inventory No.: SM 837/73.

Bibliography: Cornelius 2004, 122, pl.4.18 with an additional bibliography.

Description: Astarte is standing on a horse with a plant and wearing an atef-crown.

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Astarte

ASM10. Cylinder seal (ASM10)

Material: Green faience

Provenance: Byblos?

Date: 18th Dynasty

Inventory No.: Bibliotheque Nationale de France, Paris, Collection Seyrig 29.

Bibliography: Cornelius 2004, 120, pl.4.8 with an additional bibliography.

Description: Astarte is standing on a horse and is wearing the atef-crown and she is accompanied by a bull, two lions and an antelope.

⁹⁴⁷ Tazawa (2009, 88, Doc.15) has cited this object as PM VII, 373, which is wrong number.

⁹⁴⁸ Translation after Schmitt 2013, 223 and Tazawa 2009, 88, Doc. 15.

Phrases or epithets No inscriptions

ASM11. Scarab (ASM11)

Material: Steatite

Provenance: unknown

Date: Second half of 18th Dynasty

Inventory No.: SM 841/73

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 88, Doc. 16 with an additional bibliography.

Description: A figure wearing the Atef-crown rides a horse.

Phrases or epithets No inscriptions

ASM12. Scarab (ASM12)

Material: Steatite

Provenance: unknown

Date: 18th -19th Dynasty

Inventory No.: UC 38068.

Bibliography: Cornelius 2004, 121, pl.4.13 with an additional bibliography.

Description: Astarte is standing on a horse, wearing an atef-crown and menacing a weapon.

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Astarte

ASM13. Scarab (ASM13)

Material: Steatite

Provenance: unknown

Date: 18th -19th Dynasty

Inventory No.: Private Collection Fribourg, SK ÄS 2002.36.

Bibliography: Cornelius 2004, pl.4.13a; Keel & Schroer 2004, 140f, n. 111.

Description: Astarte is standing on a horse, wearing an atef-crown and menacing a weapon and reins.

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Astarte

ASM14. Scarab (ASM14)

Material: Steatite

Provenance: unknown

Date: 19th Dynasty

Inventory No.: SM 840/73.

Bibliography: Cornelius 2004, 121, pl.4.15 with an additional bibliography.

Description: Astarte is standing on a horse with a plant and wearing an atef-crown.

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Astarte

ASM15. Scarab (ASM15)

Material: Steatite

Provenance: unknown

Date: 19th Dynasty

Inventory No.: SM 906/73.

Bibliography: Cornelius 2004, 123, pl.4.23 with an additional bibliography.

Description: Astarte is winged, standing on a horse and wearing a double crown. On the left there is a *wdjt* sign.

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Astarte

ASM16. Plaque (ASM16)

Material: unknown

Provenance: unknown

Date: 19th Dynasty

Inventory No.: Present location unknown

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 90, Doc.28 with an additional bibliography.

Description: A figure with menacing posture

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Astarte

ASM17. Scarab (ASM17)

Material: Steatite

Provenance: unknown

Date: 19th Dynasty

Inventory No.: SM 903/73.

Bibliography: Cornelius 2004, 123, pl.4.24 with an additional bibliography.

Description: Astarte is winged, standing on a horse and wearing a double crown.

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Astarte

ASM18. Scarab (ASM18)

Material: Steatite

Provenance: unknown

Date: 19th Dynasty

Inventory No.: SM 905/73.

Bibliography: Cornelius 2004, 123, pl.4.25 with an additional bibliography.

Description: Astarte is winged, standing on a horse and wearing a double crown

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Astarte

ASM19. Scarab (ASM19)

Material: Steatite

Provenance: unknown

Date: 19th -20th Dynasty

Inventory No.: Strasburg 1796.

Bibliography: Cornelius 2004, 123, pl.4.26 with an additional bibliography.

Description: Astarte is winged, standing on a horse and wearing a double crown. On the left there is a *wdjt* sign.

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Astarte

ASM20. Amulet (ASM20)

Material: Gold

Provenance: Purchased in 1929

Date: New Kingdom

Inventory No.: Walters Art Gallery Baltimore 57.1593

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 88, Doc.18 with an additional bibliography.

Description: A figure wearing an atef-crown with a sun disc in the top.

Phrases or epithets No inscriptions

ASM21. Scarab (ASM21)

Material: Steatite with Hematite parts

Provenance: unknown (Bought in Jerusalem)

Date: New Kingdom

Inventory No.: Private collection, Fribourg SK ÄS 1986.2

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 88, Doc.17 with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Tazawa added Schroer 2011, 318f, Nr. 876.

Description: A figure wearing the Atef-crown rides a horse

Phrases or epithets No inscriptions

ASM22. Rectangular plate (ASM22)

Material: Stone

Provenance: Egypt

Date: 19th Dynasty

Inventory No.: Egyptian Museum, Cairo, No. 12843.

Bibliography: Reisner 1958, pls. 11, 26, 12843; Keel et al. 1990, 408, Fig. 104; Cornelius 1994, BM63, pl. 49; Schroer 2011, 316f, No. 875.

Description: Astarte is standing on a horse and is wearing the atef-crown.

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Astarte

3.2. Reliefs (ASR1-16)

ASR1. Stele of Betu (ASR1)

Material: Limestone

Provenance: Tell el-Borg

Date: Thutmose III and Amenhotep II (1479-1400 BC)

Inventory No.: TBO 760

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 83, Doc.1, pl.IV with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Tazawa added Munnich 2013, 81 with an additional bibliography and Meyrat 2020, 483-493 with an additional bibliography.

Description: Astarte takes a brandishing pose, wears an atef-crown, a long dress and holds a spear and shield.

Phrases or epithets *Astarte name (r štrti rn)*⁹⁴⁹

ASR2. Relief in the quarries at Tura (ASR2)

Material: Sandstone

Provenance: Tura

Date: Amenhotep II (1427-1400 BC)

Inventory No.: Present location unknown

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 87, Doc.13 with an additional bibliography.

Description: Astarte wears an Atef-crown and a long dress, but her face is damaged.

Phrases or epithets *Astarte in front of Per-nefer (štrt hntt pr nfr)*⁹⁵⁰

ASR3. Fragment of relief (ASR3)

Material: Limestone

Provenance: Abusir, Sanctuary of Sekhmet in the mortuary temple of Sahura

Date: 18th Dynasty

Inventory No.: Berlin 19808

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 84, Doc.4 with an additional bibliography.

Description: The deity is considered to be Astarte as she holds a spear and shield and rides a horse.

Phrases or epithets There is no name of Astarte

⁹⁴⁹ Translation after Hoffmeier and Kitchen 2007, 128, fig.1a-b and Tazawa 2009, 83, Doc.1, pl.IV.

⁹⁵⁰ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 87, Doc.13.

ASR4. Fragment of stele (ASR4)

Material: Limestone

Provenance: Mortuary Temple of Thutmose IV

Date: Thutmose IV (1400-1390 BC)

Inventory No.: UC 14374

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 83, Doc.2 with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Tazawa added Munnich 2013, 114, n.191 with an additional bibliography; Schroer 2011, 316f, Nr. 874.

Description: The deity is considered to be Astarte as she holds a spear and shield and rides a horse.

Phrases or epithets *Menkheprure the good god (ntr nfr)*⁹⁵¹

ASR5. Fragment of stele (ASR5)

Material: Limestone

Provenance: Deir el-Medina

Date: Thutmose IV (1400-1390 BC)

Inventory No.: Turin 50068 (1308)

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 84, Doc.3 with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Tazawa added Schroer 2011, 314f, Nr. 872.

Description: Astarte with an Asiatic man

Phrases or epithets Astarte mistress of stable who punishes the enemy (*ʿ3šit nbt i ḥw nss šnty*)⁹⁵²

ASR6. Stele inscription of Ram (ASR6)

Material: Limestone

Provenance: Memphis

Date: Thutmose IV- Amenhotep III (1403-1365 BC)

Inventory No.: Copenhagen AEIN 134

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 92, Doc.33 with an additional bibliography.

Description: A stele dedicated to Astarte

Phrases or epithets *Astarte (ʿ3štrt)*⁹⁵³

ASR7. Fragment of stele of Nefersekeru (ASR7)

Material: unknown

Provenance: Zawyet Sultan

Date: Late 18th Dynasty-Early 19th Dynasty

Inventory No.: in situ

Bibliography: Tazawa 2014, 107, fig.3; 2009, 84, Doc.5, pl. XIV with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Tazawa added Wilson-Wright 2016, 42, fig.3.

Description: Astarte holds a spear and shield and rides a horse.

Phrases or epithets *Astarte (ʿ3šti)*⁹⁵⁴

ASR8. Rock stele (ASR8)

Material: Natural rock

Provenance: Wadi Abbad (Temple of Sety I)

Date: Sety I (1294-1279 BC)

⁹⁵¹ Translation after Munnich 2009, 56; Tazawa 2009, 83, Doc.2; Leclant 1960, 19ff.

⁹⁵² Translations after Tazawa 2009, 83, Doc.3.

⁹⁵³ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 92, Doc.33.

⁹⁵⁴ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 84, Doc.5.

Inventory No.: in situ

Bibliography: KRI I 73, 1; RITA I 73, 1;⁹⁵⁵ Tazawa 2009, 85, Doc.6, pl.XIV with an additional bibliography.

Description: Astarte is on a horseback and takes a brandishing posture.

Phrases or epithets *Astarte* (*ʿ3st*)⁹⁵⁶

ASR9. Fragment of stele (ASR9)

Material: Sandstone

Provenance: Buhen

Date: Rameses II (1279-1213 BC)

Inventory No.: Soudan National Museum Khartoum 62/8/20

Bibliography: KRI II 776, 2; RITA II 776, 2;⁹⁵⁷ Tazawa 2009, 85, Doc.7 with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Tazawa added Wilson-Wright 2016, 43, fig.4.

Description: Astarte is on a horseback and takes a brandishing posture.

Phrases or epithets *Astarte* (*ʿštit*)⁹⁵⁸

ASR10. Anonymous stele (ASR10)

Material: Limestone

Provenance: Ramesseum

Date: Rameses II (1279-1213 BC)

Inventory No.: Asmolean E 3897

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 85, Doc. 8, pl.XIV with an additional bibliography.

Description: Astarte is on a horseback and takes a brandishing posture.

Phrases or epithets There is no inscription

ASR11. Stele of Rameses II and Astarte (ASR11)

Material: Limestone

Provenance: Qantir (?)

Date: Rameses II (1279-1213 BC)

Inventory No.: Louvre E26017

Bibliography: KRI II 779, 7; RITA II 779, 7;⁹⁵⁹ Tazawa 2014, 108, fig.5; 2009, 86, Doc.9, pl.XIV with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Tazawa added Schroer 2011, 320f, Nr. 880; Wilson-Wright 2016, 59, fig.12.

Description: A scene with Rameses II and Astarte

Phrases or epithets *Astarte, lady of the sky, mistress of the two lands* (*ʿštrt nbt pt ḥnwt t3wy*)⁹⁶⁰

ASR12. Relief (ASR12)

Material: Limestone

Provenance: Saqqara

Date: Ramses II (1279-1213 BC)

Inventory No.: unknown

Bibliography: Cornelius 2004, 23, 104, Cat. 1.1a with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Cornelius

⁹⁵⁵ Tazawa (2009, 85, Doc.6) has cited this object as KRI I 72-73 and RITA I 61-62, which are wrong numbers.

⁹⁵⁶ Translation after RITA I 73, 1 and Tazawa 2009, 85, Doc.6.

⁹⁵⁷ Tazawa (2009, 85, Doc.7) has cited this object as KRI II 776, 3 and RITA II 498, which are wrong numbers.

⁹⁵⁸ Translation after RITA II 776, 2 and Tazawa 2009, 85, Doc.7.

⁹⁵⁹ Tazawa (2009, 86, Doc.9) has cited this object as KRI II 779 and RITA II 514, which are wrong numbers.

⁹⁶⁰ Translation after RITA II 779, 7; Tazawa 2009, 86, Doc.9; Cornelius 2004, 82.

added van Sicelen 1991, 132-135; Schmitt 2013, 222, fig.1; Wilson-Wright 2016, 59, fig.13.

Description: A menacing standing goddess, Astarte is in front of Ramses II and wears an atef crown.

Phrases or epithets *I give you all life (ꜥnh) and dominion (w3sn), all health (snb), all stability (ḏdt), all joy (ršwt), all valor (wsr) [like] Re forever.*⁹⁶¹

ASR13. Fragment of stele of Merenptah (ASR13)

Material: Limestone

Provenance: Memphis (Temple of Ptah)

Date: Merenptah (1213-1203 BC)

Inventory No.: UC 14392

Bibliography: KRI IV 52, 16; RITA IV 52, 16;⁹⁶² Tazawa 2009, 86, Doc.10, pl.XV with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Tazawa added Wilson-Wright 2016, 57, fig.11.

Description: Astarte holds a spear

Phrases or epithets *Astarte, lady of the sky, mistress of the gods (ꜥ3štrt nbt pt ḥnwt ntrw)*⁹⁶³

ASR14. Anonymous stele (ASR14)

Material: Limestone

Provenance: Beth-Shan (Temple of Amenhotep III)

Date: 19th Dynasty

Inventory No.: UM 29-107-949

Bibliograph: Tazawa 2009, 87, Doc.12 with an additional bibliography.

Description: Astarte wears an atef-crown and a long ribbon on her back.

Phrases or epithets There is no inscription

ASR15. Fragment of stele of Neferhotep (ASR15)

Material: Limestone

Provenance: Deir el-Medina

Date: Rameses III (1184-1153 BC)

Inventory No.: Winchester, Winchester College, 830.⁹⁶⁴

Bibliography: KRI V 668, 16; RITA V 668, 16;⁹⁶⁵ Tazawa 2014, 109, fig.6; 2009, 86, Doc.11, pl.XII with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Tazawa added Schroer 2011, 308f, Nr. 867.

Description: Astarte

Phrases or epithets *Astarte (ꜥ3štrt)*⁹⁶⁶

ASR16. Relief in Abu Simbel (ASR16)

Material: Sandstone

Provenance: Abu Simbel (Great Temple)

Date: Saptah (1194-1188 BC)

Inventory No.: in situ

⁹⁶¹ Translation after Wilson-Wright 2016, 59, fig.13.

⁹⁶² Tazawa (2009, 86, Doc.10) has cited this object as KRI IV 52 and RITA IV 40-41, which are wrong numbers.

⁹⁶³ Translation after RITA IV 52, 16 and Tazawa 2009, 86, Doc.10.

⁹⁶⁴ Tazawa (2014, 109; 2009, 86, Doc.11) has not cited this object.

⁹⁶⁵ Tazawa (2009, 86, Doc 11) has cited this object as KRI V 668, 16, without mentioning the translation of Kitchen.

⁹⁶⁶ Translation after RITA V 668, 16 and Tazawa 2009, 86, Doc.11; 2014, 109.

Bibliography: KRI IV 362, 15; RITA IV 362, 15;⁹⁶⁷ Tazawa 2009, 87, Doc.14 with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Tazawa added Wilson-Wright 2016, 60, fig.14.

Description: The name of Astarte in a relief

Phrases or epithets *Astarte, lady of the sky* (*šštrt nbt pt*)⁹⁶⁸

3.3 Ostraca (ASO1-8)

ASO1. Ostrakon (ASO1)

Material: Limestone

Provenance: unknown

Date: New Kingdom

Inventory No.: Fitzwilliam Museum E.GA. 4290.1943

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 89, Doc.22 with an additional bibliography.

Description: A female figure rides a horse

Phrases or epithets No inscriptions

ASO2. Ostrakon (ASO2)

Material: Limestone

Provenance: Thebes

Date: New Kingdom

Inventory No.: Ashmolean 1942.59 (E3897)

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 90, Doc.25 with an additional bibliography.

Description: A female figure rides a horse

Phrases or epithets No inscriptions

ASO3. Ostrakon (ASO3)

Material: Pottery

Provenance: Thebes

Date: New Kingdom

Inventory No.: Brussels E6776

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 90, Doc.26 with an additional bibliography.

Description: A female figure rides a horse

Phrases or epithets No inscriptions

ASO4. Ostrakon (ASO4)

Material: Pottery

Provenance: Thebes

Date: 19th Dynasty

Inventory No.: Berlin 21826

Bibliography: Tazawa 2014, 107, fig.4; 2009, 89, Doc.19, pl.XV with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Tazawa added Schmitt 2013, 224, fig.3; Schroer 2011, 314f, Nr. 871.

Description: A female figure rides a horse

Phrases or epithets No inscriptions

ASO5. Ostrakon (ASO5)

⁹⁶⁷ Tazawa (2009, 87, Doc.14) has cited this object as RITA IV 262, which is wrong number.

⁹⁶⁸ Translation after RITA IV 362, 15 and Tazawa 2009, 87, Doc.14.

Material: Limestone
Provenance: unknown
Date: 19th Dynasty
Inventory No.: Medelhavsmuseet Stockholm MM14110
Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 89, Doc.20 with an additional bibliography.
Description: A female figure rides a horse
Phrases or epithets No inscriptions

ASO6. Ostrakon (ASO6)

Material: Limestone
Provenance: Deir el-Medina
Date: 19th -20th Dynasty
Inventory No.: Odem 2159 (n^o inv.3008)
Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 89, Doc.21, pl.XV with an additional bibliography.
Description: A female figure rides a horse
Phrases or epithets No inscriptions

ASO7. Ostrakon (ASO7)

Material: Limestone
Provenance: Deir el-Medina
Date: 19th -20th Dynasty
Inventory No.: Louvre E25323
Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 89, Doc.23 with an additional bibliography.
Description: A female figure rides a horse
Phrases or epithets No inscriptions

ASO8. Ostrakon (ASO8)

Material: Limestone
Provenance: unknown
Date: 19th -20th Dynasty
Inventory No.: Private collection of Edgerton⁹⁶⁹
Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 90, Doc.24 with an additional bibliography.
Description: A female figure rides a horse
Phrases or epithets No inscriptions

3.4. Weapons (ASW1-2)

ASW1. Razor

Material: Bronze
Provenance: unknown
Date: Late 18th Dynasty
Inventory No.: BM EA 36314
Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 91, Doc.29 with an additional bibliography.
Description: A figure in a horseback identified as Astarte
Phrases or epithets No inscriptions

⁹⁶⁹ Schulman (1957, 268-269, fig.7, pl.XLI), Leclant (1960, 44, fig. 21), Rommelaere (1991, no.120) and Tazawa (2009, 90, Doc.25) have cited this item as the Edgerton ostrakon or the Private collection of Edgerton.

ASW2. Axe (ASW2)

Material: Bronze

Provenance: unknown

Date: Late 18th Dynasty

Inventory No.: BM EA 36766

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 91, Doc.30, pl.XVI with an additional bibliography.

Description: A figure in a horseback identified as Astarte

Phrases or epithets No inscriptions

3.5. Inscriptions (AS11-8)

AS11. Sphinx Stele inscription

Material: Limestone

Provenance: Giza

Date: Amenhotep II (1427-1400 BC)

Inventory No.: in situ

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 91, Doc.31 with an additional bibliography.

Description: The name Astarte is mentioned in the Sphinx stele.

Phrases or epithets *Astarte* (*ꜥštrt*)⁹⁷⁰

AS12. Inscription on the body of chariot

Material: Wood coated with canvas, stucco and fine linen

Provenance: Thebes

Date: Thutmose IV (1400-1390)

Inventory No.: Cairo CG46097

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 91, Doc.32 with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Tazawa added Wreszinski 1935, pl. 1.

Description: The name of Astarte in the chariot of Thutmose IV

Phrases or epithets *Astarte* (*ꜥštrt*)⁹⁷¹

AS13. Inscription on an offering basin

Material: Granite

Provenance: Memphis

Date: Amenhotep III (1390-1352 BC)

Inventory No.: Basel, Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig, BSAE 1022⁹⁷²

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 92, Doc.34 with an additional bibliography.

Description: An offering to Astarte

Phrases or epithets *Astarte* (*ꜥšštrt*) of Kharu⁹⁷³

AS14. Tomb

Material: Limestone

Provenance: Thebes, Valley of the Kings, Tomb of Thutmose IV

⁹⁷⁰ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 91, Doc.31.

⁹⁷¹ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 91, Doc.32.

⁹⁷² Tazawa has cited the item in the Private collection of Heckscher, which was the previous location of this object.

⁹⁷³ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 92, Doc.34.

Date: Thutmose IV (1400-1390 BC)

Inventory No.: KV 43

Bibliography: Urk IV. 1559; Cumming 1984, 1559.

Description: The name of Astarte is written on the tomb of Thutmose IV.

Phrases or epithets “*Valiant with his chariot team like Astarte (*ṯnrḥr ssmt mj ʿ3štrt*), strong of heart among the multitude, a possessor of might, lord of action, the good god, Menkheperure, given life like Re*”⁹⁷⁴

ASI5. Statuette Inscription

Material: Cornelian

Provenance: Saqqara

Date: Late 18th Dynasty

Inventory No.: Berlin 1284⁹⁷⁵

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 92, Doc.36 with an additional bibliography.

Description: The priest Serbykhen of Astarte⁹⁷⁶

Phrases or epithets *Astarte (*ʿštrt*)*⁹⁷⁷

ASI6. Remain of Temple architrave with inscription

Material: Granite

Provenance: Piramesse (Tanis)

Date: Rameses II (1279-1213 BC)

Inventory No.: in situ (?)

Bibliography: KRI II 457, 14; RITA II 457, 14;⁹⁷⁸ Tazawa 2009, 93, Doc.38 with an additional bibliography.

Description: A text for Astarte and Seth

Phrases or epithets *Astarte (*ʿštrt*), bull of Seth, Montu son of Montu, who achieves with his sword*⁹⁷⁹

ASI7. Hieratic inscription on an ostrakon (so- called ‘poem on the King’s Chariot’)

Material: Limestone

Provenance: Thebes

Date: Sety II (1200-1194 BC)

Inventory No.: oEdinburgh 916

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 93, Doc.39 with an additional bibliography.

Description: The name of Astarte in the king’s chariot

Phrases or epithets *As for the hands of your chariot they are Anat and Astarte*⁹⁸⁰

ASI8. Column inscription

Material: Limestone

Provenance: Memphis

Date: 20th Dynasty

Inventory No.: in situ (?)

⁹⁷⁴ Translation after Cumming 1984, 1559; Schmitt 2013, 219; 1967, Stadelmann 1967, 102.

⁹⁷⁵ Tazawa (2009, 92, Doc.36) stated that there is no inventory number of the object.

⁹⁷⁶ Tazawa (2009, 92, Doc.36) has translated the name of the priest as “Sarabijahina”, which is wrong.

⁹⁷⁷ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 92, Doc.36.

⁹⁷⁸ Tazawa (2009, 93, Doc.38) has cited this object as RITA II 282, which is wrong number.

⁹⁷⁹ Translation after RITA II 457, 14 and Tazawa 2009, 93, Doc.38.

⁹⁸⁰ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 76, Doc.11.

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 93, Doc.41 with an additional bibliography.

Description: Three priests serving Astarte and the god Aah

Phrases or epithets *mistress of the two lands (ḥnwt t3)*⁹⁸¹

3.6. Personal names (ASN1-2)

ASN1. The 26th son of Rameses II

Material: Limestone and Sandstone

Provenance: Abydos (Temple of Sety I)

Date: Rameses II (1279-1213 BC)

Inventory No.: in situ

Bibliography: KRI II 867, 9; RITA II 560, 867, 9;⁹⁸² Tazawa 2009, 95, Doc.47 with an additional bibliography.

Description: The name can be seen in the Second Court, Eastern Wall of the Sety's I temple in Abydos.

Phrases or epithets

*Meryastarte (mri^ctrtt)*⁹⁸³

ASN2. The 6th son of Rameses II

Material: Sandstone

Provenance: Medinet- Habu

Date: Rameses II (1279-1213 BC)

Inventory No.: in situ

Bibliography: KRI II 868, 4; RITA II 559-560, 563, 868, 4;⁹⁸⁴ Tazawa 2009, 95, Doc.48 with an additional bibliography.

Description: The name is mentioned in the blocks I+II at Medinet Habu

Phrases or epithets *Astartehirwonmef (štrti ḥr wnmy=f)*⁹⁸⁵

3.7. Papyrus (ASP1-5)

ASP1. Praise of the delta residence (pAnastati II I, 4-5=IV 6,4) (ASP1)

Material: Papyrus

Provenance: Saqqara?

Date: Merenptah (1213-1203 BC) (pAnastasi II), Sety II (1200-1194 BC) (pAnastasi IV)

Inventory No.: BM EA 10243 (pAnastati II), BM EA 10249 (pAnastati IV)

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 93, Doc.42 with an additional bibliography.

Description: There is a temple for Astarte in Tanis

Phrases or epithets *Astarte is in its eastern part and Wadjet in its northern part*⁹⁸⁶

ASP2. Astarte Papyrus (pAmherst) (ASP2)

Material: Papyrus

Provenance: Saqqara?

Date: Sety II (1200-1194 BC)

Inventory No.: Pierpoint Morgan Library, NY

⁹⁸¹ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 93, Doc.41.

⁹⁸² Tazawa (2009, 95, Doc.47) has cited this object as RITA II 562, which is wrong number.

⁹⁸³ Translation after RITA II 560, 867, 9 and Tazawa 2009, 95, Doc.47.

⁹⁸⁴ Tazawa (2009, 95, Doc.48) has cited this object as RITA II 563, which is wrong number.

⁹⁸⁵ Translation after RITA II 559-560, 563, 868, 4 and Tazawa 2009, 95, Doc.48.

⁹⁸⁶ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 93, Doc.42.

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 94, Doc.43 with an additional bibliography.

Description: In this story, Astarte is the daughter of Ptah.

ASP3. pLeiden I 343+ I 345, recto XVIII, x+1-2

Material: Papyrus

Provenance: Memphis

Date: 19th -20th Dynasty

Inventory No.: Leiden I 343+ Leiden I 346

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 94, Doc.46 with an additional bibliography.

Description: A spell against disease or poison

Phrases or epithets *Anat and Astarte draw your forth your blood (ꜥnti ꜥstrt sphr snf mtwt)*⁹⁸⁷

ASP4. Harris Magical Papyrus recto III, 8-9 (ASP4)

Material: Papyrus

Provenance: Bought in Thebes

Date: Ramses III (1184-1153 BC)

Inventory No.: BM EA 10042

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 94, Doc.44 with an additional bibliography.

Description: An incantation against crocodiles

Phrases or epithets *Anat and Astarte, the two great goddesses, when they are pregnant, but could not give birth (ꜥnti ꜥstrt bk3w m ir msi)*⁹⁸⁸

ASP5. Horus and Seth (pChester Beatty I Recto)

Material: Papyrus

Provenance: Thebes

Date: Rameses V (1147-1143 BC)

Inventory No.: Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, CBL Pap 1

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 94, Doc.45 with an additional bibliography.

Description: Anat and Astarte are daughters of Ra to be given to Seth

Phrases or epithets *Give him Anat and Astarte, your two daughters.*⁹⁸⁹

3.8. Vessel (ASVI)

ASV1. Vessel of Sennefer (ASV1)

Material: Mottled granite

Provenance: Memphis

Date: Horemheb (1323-1295 BC)

Inventory No.: Present location unknown

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 92, Doc.35, pl.VII with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Tazawa added Budin 2015a, 4.

Description: The name of Astarte is written on the vessel of Sennefer

⁹⁸⁷ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 94, Doc.46.

⁹⁸⁸ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 79, Doc.22.

⁹⁸⁹ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 94, Doc.45.

Phrases or epithets *Astarte* (𐎠𐎢𐎠𐎲)⁹⁹⁰

3.9. Names on royal chariots (ASC1-2)

ASC1. Relief inscription (Campaign against Shasu-Bedouin)

Material: Sandstone

Provenance: Karnak

Date: Sety I (1294-1279 BC)

Inventory No.: in situ

Bibliography: KRI I 8; RITA I 8;⁹⁹¹ Tazawa 2009, 93, Doc.37 with an additional bibliography.

Description: Campaign of Sety I against Shasu

Phrases or epithets *Astarte* (𐎠𐎢𐎠𐎲)⁹⁹²

ASC2. Relief inscription (Second Libyan war)

Material: Sandstone

Provenance: Medinet Habu

Date: Rameses III (1184-1153 BC)

Inventory No.: in situ

Bibliography: KRI V 60, 1; RITA V 60, 1;⁹⁹³ Tazawa 2009, 93, Doc.40 with an additional bibliography.

Description: The campaign of Rameses III with Libyans

Phrases or epithets *Anat and Astarte are a shield for him* (skyy nb 𐎠𐎢𐎠𐎲 𐎠𐎢𐎠𐎲)⁹⁹⁴

3.10. Treaty (AST1)

AST1. Treaty of Ramses II with Hattusilis III (AST1)

Material: Clay

Provenance: Hattusa

Date: Ramses II /Middle Babylonian (ca. 1400-1000 BC)

Inventory No.: Museum of Oriental Antiquities, Istanbul, Turkey 08-05-11/10.

Bibliography: KRI II 230, 1; RITA II 230, 1; Spalinger 2005; Bryce 2006; Langdon and Gardiner 1920, 194.

Description: The name of Astarte is written.

Discussion: The name of Astarte is written on the treaty of Ramses II with Hattusilis III as a goddess who can ensure the peace between the two regions.

Phrases or epithets *Astarte of the land of Hatti* (𐎠𐎢𐎠𐎲 np3t3 nht3)⁹⁹⁵

⁹⁹⁰ Translation after Budin 2015a, 4; Tazawa 2009, 92, Doc.35.

⁹⁹¹ Tazawa (2009, 93, Doc.37) has cited this object as RITA I 7, which is wrong number.

⁹⁹² Translation after RITA I 8 and Tazawa 2009, 93, Doc.37.

⁹⁹³ Tazawa (2009, 93, Doc.40) has cited this object as KRI V 59-60, which is wrong number, without mentioning the translation of Kitchen.

⁹⁹⁴ Translation after RITA V 60, 1 and Tazawa 2009, 93, Doc.40.

⁹⁹⁵ Translation after RITA II 230, 1.

3.11. Iconography⁹⁹⁶

A. Equestrian (ASM1-5, ASM7-22, ASR1, ASR3-5, ASR7-10, ASO1-8, ASW2)

Already from the 18th Dynasty, Astarte is depicted on a horseback,⁹⁹⁷ holding weapons, such as mace, spear and shield (ASM1-5, ASM7-22, ASR1, ASR3-5, ASR7-10, ASO1-8, ASW2). The same motif has been recorded in 19th Dynasty under the Ramesside reigns.⁹⁹⁸

A1. Equestrian with wings (ASM5, ASM15, ASM17-19)

Apart from the motif of the horse, which is known in the New Kingdom, the goddess is depicted winged on the horse, wearing the White crown and streamers (ASM5, ASM15, ASM17-19).

A2. Equestrian with weapons (ASM1-3, ASM7-8, ASM10-16, ASM20-22, ASR1, ASR3-5, ASR7-10, ASO1-8)

Many scenes of Astarte manifested her armed on a horseback. Most often she wears the atef crown (ASM1-3, ASM7-8, ASM10-15, ASM20-22, ASR1, ASR3-5, ASR7-8, ASR10), while other scenes presented her with the White crown (Figs. 2.1.23, 2.1.33). However, in both cases Astarte holds weapons, such as mace and shield. Another variation of her iconography presented her naked on a horseback without headdress, holding a bow and an arrow in her right hand and a lace in her left hand, while she wears three jewellerys: a long necklace, a choker necklace and earrings (ASO1-8).

B. Standing with peaceful posture (ASR13-14, ASM6)

In the first case, the goddess is taking a standing posture, wears a naos-sistrum and holds an *ꜥnh* (ASR14), while other appearances depict her armed, dressed with weapons, atef crown and sceptere (ASM6, ASR13).

⁹⁹⁶ For an alternative categorization of Qadesh see the catalogue of Cornelius 2008, 40-44 and Tazawa 2009, 120-121.

⁹⁹⁷ Zivie-Coche 2011, 6.

⁹⁹⁸ Herold 1998, 140-141, fig. 11; Tazawa 2009, 121.

C. Standing next to the pharaoh (ASR2, ASR11-12, ASR16)

In royal context, Astarte is depicted armed in front of the pharaoh and she wears an atef crown (ASR11-12). In other scenes, the goddess is accompanied by other Egyptian deities, standing in front of the king, wearing an atef crown, a long dress and holding an *ʿnh*-symbol and sceptre (ASR2, ASR16).

D. Qadesh style (ASR15)

The name of Astarte is appeared next to a naked woman, who stands en face on a lion (ASR15). The name of the goddess is written next to the names of Anat and Qadesh. The fact that the names of the three goddess are included in the figure of Qadesh, it may indicates their association with Hathor circle, as the characteristics of her are associated with these of Qadesh.⁹⁹⁹

⁹⁹⁹ Tazawa 2009, 121.

3.12. Qualities

The goddess Astarte (*ʿttrt*) is mentioned in the Ugaritic texts as a “consort of Baal”¹⁰⁰⁰ and as a partner of Baal she prevented him from cruels.¹⁰⁰¹ Astarte can be compared with the goddess Ishtar, who is referred in an Ugaritic magic spell as “Astarte of Mari”.¹⁰⁰² In magic spells also she is mentioned as a goddess who acts against the snake bites accompanied by Anat or Baal.¹⁰⁰³

In Egypt, Astarte is described as a “mistress of two lands” (*ḥnwt t3y*),¹⁰⁰⁴ “lady of the sky” (*nbt pt*)¹⁰⁰⁵ and “mistress of all the gods” (*ḥnwt ntrw*).¹⁰⁰⁶ She is portrayed as a warrior, underling her close relation with horses and chariots.¹⁰⁰⁷ Due to her association with horses, Astarte is regarded as the protector deity of the pharaohs and their chariots.¹⁰⁰⁸ Her warrior nature can also be demonstrated by her iconography, which presents her with weapons such as spear or shield. Apart from her warrior nature, the goddess is not related with the afterlife and netherworld, but she expresses wishes for stability after the death of dedicators.¹⁰⁰⁹

In magical spells, Astarte is regarded as a curative goddess against poisons. The most known evidence of her healing is demonstrated in the Amarna letters, EA 23,¹⁰¹⁰ where Amenhotep III asked the statue of Ishtar twice from Mitanni in order to heal from his illness.

¹⁰⁰⁰ KTU1.2; KTU 1.16.

¹⁰⁰¹ KTU 1.2.

¹⁰⁰² KTU 1.100.

¹⁰⁰³ KTU 1.100: 20, 78; KTU 1.82.

¹⁰⁰⁴ For example see the stele of Ramesses II, which bears the inscription “Astarte, lady of the sky, mistress of the two lands (*ʿštrt nbt pt ḥnwt t3*)”, see ASR11.

¹⁰⁰⁵ For example see the stele, which records: “Astarte, lady of the sky (*ʿštrt nbt pt*)”, see Doc. 2.1.42; Fig. 2.1.42.

¹⁰⁰⁶ For instance see a fragment of stele, which reads: “Astarte, lady of the sky, mistress of the gods (*ʿ3štrt nbt pt ḥnwt ntrw*)”, see ASR13.

¹⁰⁰⁷ Pritchard 1969, 244, 250; Cornelius 2004, 93.

¹⁰⁰⁸ Tazawa 2009, 134.

¹⁰⁰⁹ Tazawa 2014, 111.

¹⁰¹⁰ For the translation of the letter EA 23 see Rainey et. al 2015, 185, 187; Moran 1992, 61-62.

4. Hauron

4.1. Seals, amulet, Scarabs, scaraboids and other art in miniature (HM1-2)

HM1. Amulet (HM1)

Material: Wood

Provenance: Deir el-Medina

Date: 18th Dynasty (?)

Inventory no.: Present location unknown

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 68, Doc.21, pl.X with an additional bibliography.

Description: Manifestation of Hauron as a falcon

Phrases or epithets

Asiatic Hauron is strong (ḥwrn ꜥ3m wsr)¹⁰¹¹

HM2. Amulet

Material: Limestone

Provenance: Deir el-Medina

Date: 19th -20th Dynasty

Inventory no.: Present location unknown

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 68, Doc.22 with an additional bibliography.

Description: Manifestation of Hauron as a falcon

Phrases or epithets

Hauron (ḥwrn)¹⁰¹²

4.2 Reliefs (HR1-19)

HR1. Stele of Amenemistneb (HR1)

Material: Limestone

Provenance: Giza, surroundings of Great Sphinx

Date: 18th Dynasty

Inventory no.: Cairo JE 72274

Bibliography: PM III pt.I, 42;¹⁰¹³Tazawa 2009, 61, Doc.2, pl.VIII with an additional bibliography.

Description: An offering table and the inscription of the name Hauron

Phrases or epithets

Hauron (ḥwrn)¹⁰¹⁴

HR2. Stele of Nehi (HR2)

Material: Limestone

Provenance: Giza, surroundings of Great Sphinx

Date: End of 18th Dynasty

Inventory no.: Cairo RT15/5/46/30

Bibliography: PM III pt.I, 43;¹⁰¹⁵ Tazawa 2009, 61, Doc.3 with an additional bibliography.

Description: A posture of adoration, asking for good life, health and prosperity

Phrases or epithets

Servant of Hauron, who gives life, prosperity, health and beautiful lifetime (ḥwrn m rdi =f ꜥnh wd3 snb ꜥḥꜥ nfr)¹⁰¹⁶

¹⁰¹¹ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 68, Doc.21.

¹⁰¹² Translation after Tazawa 2009, 68, Doc.22.

¹⁰¹³ Tazawa (2009, 61, Doc.2) has cited this item as PM III² pt.I, 42, which is wrong.

¹⁰¹⁴ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 61, Doc.2.

¹⁰¹⁵ Tazawa (2009, 61, Doc.3) has suggested PM III² pt.I, 43, which is wrong.

HR3. Stele of Tutuia (HR3)

Material: Limestone

Provenance: Giza, surroundings of Great Sphinx

Date: End of 18th Dynasty

Inventory no.: Cairo JE 72264

Bibliography: PM III pt.I, 44;¹⁰¹⁷ Tazawa 2009, 61, Doc.4, pl.VIII with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Tazawa added Zivie-Coche 2011, 5, fig.5.

Description: A posture of adoration, asking for good life, health and prosperity

Phrases or epithets

Upper register: *Hauron the great god, lord of the sky, ruler of the eternity* (*ḥwrn ʿ3 ntr nb pt nb nḥḥ*)

Hauron-Atum, father of the gods, who gives a long life

(*ḥwr-itm itn ntrw rdi 3wi ʿnḥ*)

Lower register: *Hauron the great god, lord of the sky, gives beautiful life* (*ḥwrn ʿ3 ntr nb pt rdi nfr ʿnḥ*)¹⁰¹⁸

HR4. Stele of Mosi¹⁰¹⁹ (HR4)

Material: Limestone

Provenance: Giza, surroundings of Great Sphinx

Date: Thutmose III (1479-1425 BC)

Inventory no.: Cairo JE 72266

Bibliography: PM III pt.I, 43;¹⁰²⁰ Tazawa 2009, 60, Doc.1, pl.VIII with an additional bibliography.

Description: The manifestation of Hauron as a sphinx

Phrases or epithets

Thutmose III, given life, Hauron the good god, lord of the sky (*Mn ḥpr Rʿ rdi ʿnḥ ḥwrn nfr ntr nb pt*)¹⁰²¹

HR5. Stele of Hatiay (HR5)

Material: Limestone

Provenance: Giza, surroundings of Great Sphinx

Date: Sety I (1294-1279 BC)

Inventory no.: Cairo JE 72269

Bibliography: PM III pt.I, 43;¹⁰²² Tazawa 2009, 62, Doc.5 with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Tazawa added van Dijk 1989, 59-68; 1995, 29; Warmenbol 2006, 58.

Description: Hauron is identified as Horemakhet

Phrases or epithets

Upper register: *Hauron- Horemakhet the good god, lord of the sky, ruler of the eternity* (*ḥwrn ḥrm3ḥt nfr ntr nb pt ḥk3 dt*)

Lower register: *Hauron, who gives life, prosperity, health* (*rdi n ḥwrn ʿnḥ wd3 snb= f*)¹⁰²³

HR6. Stele of Sety I (HR6)

Material: Limestone

Provenance: Giza, Temple of the Sphinx

¹⁰¹⁶ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 61, Doc.3.

¹⁰¹⁷ Tazawa (2009, 61, Doc.4) has cited this item as PM III² pt.I, 44, which is wrong.

¹⁰¹⁸ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 61, Doc.4.

¹⁰¹⁹ Tazawa (2009, 60, Doc.1) has cited this object as the stele of Mes, which is wrong.

¹⁰²⁰ Tazawa (2009, 60, Doc.1) has referred to PM III² pt.I, 43, which is wrong.

¹⁰²¹ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 60, Doc.1.

¹⁰²² Tazawa (2009, 62, Doc.5) has suggested PM III² pt.I, 43, which is wrong.

¹⁰²³ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 62, Doc.5.

Date: Sety I (1294-1279 BC)

Inventory no.: in situ

Bibliography: PM III pt.I, 39; 1024 Tazawa 2009, 66, Doc.17 with an additional bibliography.

Description: Hauron is described as the father of the king

Phrases or epithets

*Hauron-Horemakhet (ḥwrn-ḥrm3ḥt)*¹⁰²⁵

HR7. Stele of Tjenerhir (HR7)

Material: Limestone

Provenance: Qantir

Date: Rameses II (1279-1213 BC)

Inventory no.: Cairo JE 86123

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 62, Doc.6, pl.IV with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Tazawa added Lipinski 2009, 215; Munnich 2013, 92 with an additional bibliography.

Description: Hauron is depicted in human form with hawk's face

Phrases or epithets

*Hauron (ḥwrn)*¹⁰²⁶

HR8. Stele of Amenwahsu (HR8)

Material: Limestone

Provenance: Giza, surroundings of Great Sphinx

Date: Rameses II (1279-1213 BC)

Inventory no.: Cairo JE 72262

Bibliography: PM III pt.I, 42;¹⁰²⁷ Tazawa 2009, 62, Doc.7, pl.VIII with an additional bibliography.

Description: An offering table and the inscription of the name Hauron

Phrases or epithets

Upper register: *Hauron- Horemakhet the great god*

*(ḥwrn ḥrm3ḥt ʿ3 ntr)*¹⁰²⁸

HR9. Stele of Para'emhab (HR9)

Material: Limestone

Provenance: Giza, surroundings of Great Sphinx

Date: 19th Dynasty (?)

Inventory no.: Preserved in the stores of the Service of Antiquities at Giza (no.9 of the Inventory of the excavations of S.Hassan)

Bibliography: PM III pt.I, 44;¹⁰²⁹ Tazawa 2009, 63, Doc.8, pl.IX with an additional bibliography.

Description: An offering to Hauron

Phrases or epithets

An offering which the king gives to Hauron , the good god, lord of the sky

*(ḥtp di nsw ḥrwn nfr ntr nb pt)*¹⁰³⁰

¹⁰²⁴ Tazawa (2009, 66, Doc. 17) has suggested PM III² pt.I, 39, which is wrong.

¹⁰²⁵ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 66, Doc.17.

¹⁰²⁶ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 62, Doc.6.

¹⁰²⁷ Tazawa (2009, 62, Doc.7) has cited this item as PM III² pt.I, 42, which is wrong.

¹⁰²⁸ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 63, Doc.7.

¹⁰²⁹ Tazawa (2009, 63, Doc.8) has suggested PM III² pt.I, 44, which is wrong.

¹⁰³⁰ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 63, Doc.8.

HR10. Stele of Paia (Pay) (HR10)

Material: Limestone

Provenance: Giza

Date: 19th Dynasty

Inventory no.: Cairo JE 72289

Bibliography: PM III pt.I, 46;¹⁰³¹ Tazawa 2009, 67, Doc.18 with an additional bibliography.

Description: The inscription records that the worshipper is the Measurer of Hauron.

Phrases or epithets

Hauron (*ḥwrn*)¹⁰³²

HR11. Stele of Kharuef (HR11)

Material: Limestone

Provenance: Giza, surroundings of Great Sphinx

Date: 19th-20th Dynasty (?)

Inventory no.: Preserved in the stores of the Service of Antiquities at Giza (no.9 of the Inventory of the excavations of S.Hassan)

Bibliography: PM III pt.I, 43;¹⁰³³ Tazawa 2009, 63, Doc.9 with an additional bibliography.

Description: Adoration of a worshipper for Hauron

Phrases or epithets

Upper register: *Hauron the great god (ḥwrn ʿ3 ntr)*¹⁰³⁴

HR12. Stele of Aanakhtkhou (HR12)

Material: Limestone

Provenance: Thebes

Date: 19th-20th Dynasty

Inventory no.: Hannover, Kestner-Museum 1935. 200. 218

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 64, Doc.10, pl.IX with an additional bibliography.

Description: Hauron is described as hawk

Phrases or epithets

*Hauron the great god (ḥwrn ʿ3 ntr)*¹⁰³⁵

HR13. Stele of Nekhtdhout¹⁰³⁶ (HR13)

Material: Limestone

Provenance: Giza, surroundings of Great Sphinx

Date: 19th-20th Dynasty

Inventory no.: Cairo JE 72275

Bibliography: PM III pt.I, 43;¹⁰³⁷ Tazawa 2009, 64, Doc.11, pl.IX with an additional bibliography.

Description: An offering to the Hauron

Phrases or epithets

Upper register: *Hauron-Horemakhet (ḥwrn ḥrm3ḥt)*

Lower register: *An offering which the king gives to Hauron-Horemakhet the great god, give life, prosperity, health (ḥtp di nsw ḥwrn ḥrm3ḥt nfr ntr rdi ʿnh wd3 snb)*¹⁰³⁸

¹⁰³¹ Tazawa (2009, 67, Doc. 18) has cited this object as PM III² pt.I, 46, which is wrong.

¹⁰³² Translation after Tazawa 2009, 67, Doc.18.

¹⁰³³ Tazawa (2009, 63, Doc.9) has referred to PM III² pt.I, 43, which is wrong.

¹⁰³⁴ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 63, Doc.9.

¹⁰³⁵ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 64, Doc.10.

¹⁰³⁶ Tazawa (2009, 64, Doc.10) has cited this item as the stele of Djehutynakht, which is wrong.

¹⁰³⁷ Tazawa (2009, 64, Doc.11) has referred to PM III² pt.I, 43, which is wrong.

¹⁰³⁸ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 64, Doc.11.

HR14. Stele of Ma'a (HR14)**Material:** Limestone**Provenance:** Giza, surroundings of Great Sphinx**Date:** New Kingdom**Inventory no.:** Cairo JE 72277**Bibliography:** PM III pt.I, 43;¹⁰³⁹ Tazawa 2009, 65, Doc. 12 with an additional bibliography.**Description:** An offering to the Hauron**Phrases or epithets***Hauron the great god, lord of the sky (ḥrwn ʿ3 ntr nb pt)¹⁰⁴⁰***HR15. Stele of Yukh¹⁰⁴¹ (HR15)****Material:** Limestone**Provenance:** Giza, surroundings of Great Sphinx**Date:** New Kingdom**Inventory no.:** Cairo JE 72270**Bibliography:** PM III pt.I, 44;¹⁰⁴² Tazawa 2009, 65, Doc.13 with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Tazawa added Warmenbol 2006, 58-59.**Description:** An offering to the Hauron**Phrases or epithets***An offering which the king gives to Hauron, the good god, lord of the sky**(htp di nsw ḥrwn nfr ntr nb pt)¹⁰⁴³***HR16. Stele of Amenemhab (HR16)****Material:** Limestone**Provenance:** Giza, surroundings of Great Sphinx**Date:** New Kingdom**Inventory no.:** Cairo JE 72259**Bibliography:** PM III pt.I, 45;¹⁰⁴⁴ Tazawa 2009, 65, Doc.14 with an additional bibliography.**Description:** Hauron provides love and favour**Phrases or epithets***Hauron-Horemakhet gives favour/(praise?) and love (ḥwrn ḥrm3ḥt rdi ḥsi mri)¹⁰⁴⁵***HR17. Stele of Nebny (HR17)****Material:** Limestone**Provenance:** Giza, surroundings of Great Sphinx**Date:** New Kingdom**Inventory no.:** Cairo JE 72290**Bibliography:** PM III pt.I, 45;¹⁰⁴⁶ Tazawa 2009, 65, Doc.15, pl.IX with an additional bibliography.**Description:** Hauron provides love and favour**Phrases or epithets***Hauron-Horemakhet gives favour/ (praise?) and love (ḥwrn ḥrm3ḥt rdi ḥsi mri)¹⁰⁴⁷*

¹⁰³⁹ Tazawa (2009, 65, Doc.12) has cited this item PM III² pt.I, 43, which is wrong.

¹⁰⁴⁰ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 65, Doc. 12.

¹⁰⁴¹ Tazawa (2009, 65, Doc. 13) has cited this item as Ywkh, which is wrong.

¹⁰⁴² Tazawa (2009, 65, Doc. 13) has referred to PM III² pt.I, 44, which is wrong.

¹⁰⁴³ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 65, Doc.13.

¹⁰⁴⁴ Tazawa (2009, 65), has cited this item as PM III² pt.I, 45, which is wrong.

¹⁰⁴⁵ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 65, Doc.14.

¹⁰⁴⁶ Tazawa (2009, 65, Doc.15) has referred to PM III² pt.I, 45, which is wrong.

¹⁰⁴⁷ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 65, Doc.15.

HR18. Stele of Tha (HR18)

Material: Limestone

Provenance: Giza, surroundings of Great Sphinx

Date: New Kingdom

Inventory no.: Cairo JE 72271

Bibliography: PM III pt.I, 44; ¹⁰⁴⁸Tazawa 2009, 66, Doc.16 with an additional bibliography.

Description: Hauron is identified with Ra-Horemakhet as god of Afterlife

Phrases or epithets

Hauron Ra Horemakhet gives beautiful lifetime (to fragmented to transliterate) (*ḥwrn rꜥ ḥrm3ḥt rdi nfr ꜥnh*)¹⁰⁴⁹

HR19. Stele –niche of Assistant of the overseer of workman (HR19)

Material: Stone

Provenance: Giza, Sphinx Court

Date: New Kingdom

Inventory no.: Present Location unknown

Bibliography: PM III pt.I, 46; ¹⁰⁵⁰Tazawa 2009, 67, Doc.19 with an additional bibliography.

Description: A niche, where the statue of Hauron was placed.

Phrases or epithets

*House of Hauron (Pr ḥwrn)*¹⁰⁵¹

4.3. Statues (HS1)

HS1. Statue of Rameses II (HS1)

Material: Grey granite and Limestone

Provenance: Tanis

Date: Rameses II (1279-1213 BC)

Inventory no.: Cairo JE 64735

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 67, Doc.20 with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Tazawa added Zivie-Coche 2011, 4, fig.3.

Description: Hauron is manifested as a falcon and protects Rameses II

Phrases or epithets

*The beloved of Hauron (mryy ḥwrn)*¹⁰⁵²

4.4. Personal names (HN1)

HN1. Personal name: Haurona

Material: Papyrus

Provenance: Memphis

Date: During the co-regency of Thutmose III and Amenhotep II

Inventory no.: Pap.Ermitage 1116A

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 71, Doc. 37 with an additional bibliography.

¹⁰⁴⁸ Tazawa (2009, 66, Doc.16) has cited this item as PM III² pt.I, 44, which is wrong.

¹⁰⁴⁹ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 66, Doc.16.

¹⁰⁵⁰ Tazawa (2009, 67, Doc.19) has referred to PM III² pt.I, 46, which is wrong.

¹⁰⁵¹ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 67, Doc.19.

¹⁰⁵² Translation after Tazawa 2009, 67, Doc.20.

Description: This phrase links to a ration or a person

Phrases or epithets

“The house of Haurona (Pr ḥwr n3), in the House of Sebait”¹⁰⁵³

4.5 Foundation plaques (HF1-12)

HF1. Foundation plaque (HF1)

Material: Faience

Provenance: Giza

Date: Amenhotep II (1427-1400 BC)

Inventory no.: Brooklyn Museum 36.619.3

Bibliography: PM III pt.I, 40;¹⁰⁵⁴ Tazawa 2009, 69, Doc. 24, pl.X with an additional bibliography.

Description: Hauron is the beloved god of Amenhotep II

Phrases or epithets

The beloved of Hauron-Horemakhet (mryy ḥwrn ḥrm3ḥt)¹⁰⁵⁵

HF2. Foundation plaque (HF2)

Material: Faience

Provenance: Giza

Date: Amenhotep II (1427-1400 BC)

Inventory no.: Brooklyn Museum 36.619.5

Bibliography: PM III pt.I, 40;¹⁰⁵⁶ Tazawa 2009, 69, Doc.25, pl.XI with an additional bibliography.

Description: Hauron is the beloved god of Amenhotep II

Phrases or epithets

The beloved of Hauron-Horemakhet (mryy ḥwrn ḥrm3ḥt)¹⁰⁵⁷

HF3. Foundation plaque (HF3)

Material: Faience

Provenance: Giza

Date: Amenhotep II (1427-1400 BC)

Inventory no.: Brooklyn Museum 36.619.6

Bibliography: PM III pt.I, 40;¹⁰⁵⁸ Tazawa 2009, 69, Doc. 26, pl. XI with an additional bibliography.

Description: Hauron is the beloved god of Amenhotep II

Phrases or epithets

The beloved of Hauron-Horemakhet (mryy ḥwrn ḥrm3ḥt)¹⁰⁵⁹

HF4. Foundation plaque (HF4)

Material: Faience

Provenance: Giza

Date: Amenhotep II (1427-1400 BC)

¹⁰⁵³ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 71, Doc. 37.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Tazawa (2009, 68, Doc. 24) has cited this object as PM III² pt.I, 40, which is wrong.

¹⁰⁵⁵ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 69, Doc. 24.

¹⁰⁵⁶ Tazawa (2009, 69, Doc.25) has referred to PM III² pt.I, 40, which is wrong.

¹⁰⁵⁷ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 69, Doc.25.

¹⁰⁵⁸ Tazawa (2009, 69, Doc.26) has cited this item as PM III² pt.I, 40, which is wrong.

¹⁰⁵⁹ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 69, Doc. 26.

Inventory no.: Brooklyn Museum 36.619.11

Bibliography: PM III pt.I, 40;¹⁰⁶⁰ Tazawa 2009, 69, Doc.27, pl.XI with an additional bibliography.

Description: Hauron is the beloved god of Amenhotep II

Phrases or epithets

The beloved of Hauron-Horemakhet (mryy ḥwrn ḥrm3ḥt)¹⁰⁶¹

HF5. Foundation plaque (HF5)

Material: Faience

Provenance: Giza

Date: Amenhotep II (1427-1400 BC)

Inventory no.: Brooklyn Museum 36.619.12

Bibliography: PM III pt.I, 40;¹⁰⁶² Tazawa 2009, 69, Doc.28, pl.XI with an additional bibliography.

Description: Hauron is the beloved god of Amenhotep II

Phrases or epithets

The beloved of Hauron-Horemakhet (mryy ḥwrn ḥrm3ḥt)¹⁰⁶³

HF6. Foundation plaque (HF6)

Material: Faience

Provenance: Giza

Date: Amenhotep II (1427-1400 BC)

Inventory no.: Brooklyn Museum 36.619.1

Bibliography: PM III pt.I, 40 with an additional bibliography.¹⁰⁶⁴

Description: Hauron is the beloved god of Amenhotep II

Discussion: This rectangular green glazed panel bears an inscription written in black ink. The orientation of *mry* differs from the other plaques HF1-5.

Phrases or epithets

The beloved of Hauron-Horemakhet (mryy ḥwrn ḥrm3ḥt)¹⁰⁶⁵

HF7. Foundation plaque (HF7)

Material: Faience

Provenance: Giza

Date: Amenhotep II (1427-1400 BC)

Inventory no.: Brooklyn Museum 36.619.2

Bibliography: PM III pt.I, 40 with an additional bibliography.¹⁰⁶⁶

Description: Hauron is the beloved god of Amenhotep II

Discussion: This rectangular green glazed panel bears an inscription written in black ink. The orientation of *mry* differs from the other plaques HF1-5.

Phrases or epithets

The beloved of Hauron-Horemakhet (mryy ḥwrn ḥrm3ḥt)¹⁰⁶⁷

¹⁰⁶⁰ Tazawa (2009, 69, Doc. 27) has mentioned PM III² pt.I, 40, which is wrong.

¹⁰⁶¹ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 69, Doc.27.

¹⁰⁶² Tazawa (2009, 69, Doc. 28) has suggested PM III² pt.I, 40, which is wrong.

¹⁰⁶³ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 69, Doc.28.

¹⁰⁶⁴ Tazawa (2009, 69, Doc. 28) has suggested PM III² pt.I, 40, which is wrong.

¹⁰⁶⁵ Translation after PM III pt.I, 40.

¹⁰⁶⁶ Tazawa (2009, 69, Doc. 28) has suggested PM III² pt.I, 40, which is wrong.

¹⁰⁶⁷ Translation after PM III pt.I, 40.

HF8. Foundation plaque (HF8)

Material: Faience

Provenance: Giza

Date: Amenhotep II (1427-1400 BC)

Inventory no.: Brooklyn Museum 36.619.8

Bibliography: PM III pt.I, 40 with an additional bibliography.¹⁰⁶⁸

Description: Hauron is the beloved god of Amenhotep II

Discussion: This rectangular green glazed panel bears an inscription written in black ink. The orientation of *mry* differs from the other plaques HF1-5.

Phrases or epithets

*The beloved of Hauron-Horemakhet (mryy ḥwrn ḥrm3ḥt)*¹⁰⁶⁹

HF9. Foundation plaque (HF9)

Material: Faience

Provenance: Giza

Date: Amenhotep II (1427-1400 BC)

Inventory no.: Brooklyn Museum 36.619.9

Bibliography: PM III pt.I, 40 with an additional bibliography.¹⁰⁷⁰

Description: Hauron is the beloved god of Amenhotep II

Discussion: This rectangular green glazed panel bears an inscription written in black ink. The orientation of *mry* differs from the other plaques HF1-5.

Phrases or epithets

*The beloved of Hauron-Horemakhet (mryy ḥwrn ḥrm3ḥt)*¹⁰⁷¹

HF10. Foundation plaque (HF10)

Material: Faience

Provenance: Giza

Date: Amenhotep II (1427-1400 BC)

Inventory no.: Brooklyn Museum 36.619.10

Bibliography: PM III pt.I, 40 with an additional bibliography.¹⁰⁷²

Description: Hauron is the beloved god of Amenhotep II

Discussion: This rectangular green glazed panel bears an inscription written in black ink. The orientation of *mry* differs from the other plaques HF1-5.

Phrases or epithets

*The beloved of Hauron-Horemakhet (mryy ḥwrn ḥrm3ḥt)*¹⁰⁷³

HF11. Foundation plaque (HF11)

Material: Faience

Provenance: Giza

Date: Amenhotep II (1427-1400 BC)

Inventory no.: Brooklyn Museum 36.619.4

Bibliography: PM III pt.I, 40 with an additional bibliography.¹⁰⁷⁴

Description: Hauron is the beloved god of Amenhotep II

¹⁰⁶⁸ Tazawa (2009, 69, Doc. 28) has suggested PM III² pt.I, 40, which is wrong.

¹⁰⁶⁹ Translation after PM III pt.I, 40.

¹⁰⁷⁰ Tazawa (2009, 69, Doc. 28) has suggested PM III² pt.I, 40, which is wrong.

¹⁰⁷¹ Translation after PM III pt.I, 40.

¹⁰⁷² Tazawa (2009, 69, Doc. 28) has suggested PM III² pt.I, 40, which is wrong.

¹⁰⁷³ Translation after PM III pt.I, 40.

¹⁰⁷⁴ Tazawa (2009, 69, Doc. 28) has suggested PM III² pt.I, 40, which is wrong.

Discussion: This rectangular green glazed panel bears an inscription written in black ink. The orientation of *mry* differs from the other plaques HF1-5.

Phrases or epithets

*The beloved of Hauron-Horemakhet (mryy ḥwrn ḥrm3ḥt)*¹⁰⁷⁵

HF12. Foundation plaque (HF12)

Material: Faience

Provenance: Giza

Date: Amenhotep II (1427-1400 BC)

Inventory no.: Brooklyn Museum 36.619.7

Bibliography: PM III pt.I, 40 with an additional bibliography.¹⁰⁷⁶

Description: Hauron is the beloved god of Amenhotep II

Discussion: This rectangular green glazed panel bears an inscription written in black ink. This foundation plaque is similar to the other five plaques (HF1-5).

Phrases or epithets

*The beloved of Hauron-Horemakhet (mryy ḥwrn ḥrm3ḥt)*¹⁰⁷⁷

4.6. Inscriptions (HII-4)

HI1. Lintel with the name of Tutankhamun

Material: Limestone

Provenance: Giza

Date: Tutankhamun (1336-1327 BC)

Inventory no.: Cairo JE57195

Bibliography: PM III pt.I, 41;¹⁰⁷⁸Tazawa 2009, 69, Doc.29 with an additional bibliography.

Description: Hauron is the beloved god of Tutankhamun

Phrases or epithets *The beloved of Hauron (mryy ḥwrn)*¹⁰⁷⁹

HI2. Column

Material: Granite

Provenance: El-Gharbanyat

Date: Rameses II (1279-1213 BC)

Inventory no.: Burg el- Arab in situ

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 70, Doc.31 with an additional bibliography.

Description: Column of Hauron

Phrases or epithets

*beloved of Hauron (mryy ḥwrn)*¹⁰⁸⁰

HI3. Inscription on the basement of sphinx statue

Material: Basalt

Provenance: Tell el-Maskhuta

Date: Rameses II (1279-1213 BC)

Inventory no.: Cairo TR/20/11/48/6

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 70, Doc.32 with an additional bibliography.

¹⁰⁷⁵ Translation after PM III pt.I, 40.

¹⁰⁷⁶ Tazawa (2009, 69, Doc. 28) has suggested PM III² pt.I, 40, which is wrong.

¹⁰⁷⁷ Translation after PM III pt.I, 40.

¹⁰⁷⁸ Tazawa (2009, 69, Doc.29) has cited this item as PM III² pt.I, 41, which is wrong.

¹⁰⁷⁹ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 69, Doc.29.

¹⁰⁸⁰ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 70, Doc.31.

Description: Hauron is from Lebanon

Phrases or epithets

*Hauron (ḥwrn)*¹⁰⁸¹

HI4. Doorjamb (HI4)

Material: Limestone

Provenance: Giza, the south-western chamber in the Temple of Amenhotep II

Date: Sety I (1294-1279 BC)

Inventory no.: in situ

Bibliography: PM III pt.I, 40;¹⁰⁸² Tazawa 2009, 70, Doc.30, pl.XI with an additional bibliography.

Description: Hauron is described as the father of Sety I

Phrases or epithets

Face B: *Sety Mernenptah built his monument for his father Hauron (it ḥwrn)*¹⁰⁸³

4.7 Papyrus (HP1-4)

HP1. A letter concerning the Wonders of Memphis (pSallier IV verso 1.1-4.8) (HP1)

Material: Papyrus

Provenance: Purchased from M.Sallier

Date: Middle of the reign of Rameses II (1279-1213 BC)

Inventory no.: BM EA 10184

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 70, Doc.33 with an additional bibliography.

Description: The location of Hauron's house is in Memphis

Phrases or epithets

*The cattle house of Hauron in Memphis*¹⁰⁸⁴

HP2. Protest against the Conscription of certain men for forced labour (pTurin A)

Material: Papyrus

Provenance: Memphis

Date: End of 19th Dynasty

Inventory no.: Turin no. 1882

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 71, Doc. 34 with an additional bibliography.

Description: The location of Hauron's house is in Memphis

Phrases or epithets

*The house of Hauron (Pr ḥwrn) in Memphis*¹⁰⁸⁵

HP3. Magical spell (Harris Magical Papyrus verso I, I-III, 5;Section X) (HP3)

Material: Papyrus

Provenance: Bought in Thebes

Date: Rameses III (1184-1153 BC)

Inventory no.: BM EA10042

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 71, Doc. 35 with an additional bibliography.

Description: Hauron is against animals and evil

¹⁰⁸¹ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 70, Doc.32.

¹⁰⁸² Tazawa (2009, 70, Doc.30) has referred to PM III² pt.I, 40, which is wrong.

¹⁰⁸³ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 70, Doc.30.

¹⁰⁸⁴ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 70, Doc.33.

¹⁰⁸⁵ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 71, Doc. 34.

Phrases or epithets

*Hauron ignores your complainments*¹⁰⁸⁶

HP4. Magical spell (Harris Magical Papyrus verso I, I-III, 5;Section Y) (HP4)

Material: Papyrus

Provenance: Bought in Thebes

Date: Rameses III (1184-1153 BC)

Inventory no.: BM EA10042

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 71, Doc. 36 with an additional bibliography.

Description: Hauron is paralleled with a herdsman and he is against savage animals

Phrases or epithets

(vs2) *Hauron drive me to the field*

(vs9) *Hauron is powerful herdsman*¹⁰⁸⁷

¹⁰⁸⁶ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 71, Doc.35.

¹⁰⁸⁷ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 71, Doc.36.

4.8 Iconography

A. Sphinx style (HR1-5, HR8-9, HR11, HR13-15, HR18)

The most common appearance of Hauron is the Sphinx style, which is attested on stelae. The sphinx is portrayed on the upper zone of the stelae and stands to the left, facing to the right (HR1-5, HR8-9, HR11, HR13-15, HR18). This scene has four variations: a) the sphinx, which is sitting on the ground or pedestral, b) sphinx, which is sitting on the ground or pedestral with a *šwt* above his back, c) above the sphinx there is a winged solar disc and d) a human figure of the king, who is accompanied by the Sphinx.

A. Sitting on the pedestral (HR1-5, HR8-9, HR11, HR13-15, HR18)

The Sphinx is sitting on the pedestral facing to the right, where an offering table stands. The god wears a hawk's plumage, an Egyptian beard and Nemes cloth with uraeus (HR1-5, HR8-9, HR11, HR13-15, HR18).

A2. *šwt*-symbol above the back of Sphinx (HR1, HR3-4, HR13)

The Sphinx is sitting on the ground facing to the right. Sphinx wears a hawk's plumage, an Egyptian beard and Double crown. A large *šwt*-symbol above the back of Sphinx is portrayed (HR1, HR3-4, HR13).

A3. Winged solar disc above the back of Sphinx (HR2, HR5, HR11)

The Sphinx is sitting on the pedestral facing to the right, where an offering table stands. The god wears a hawk's plumage and an Egyptian beard. Above the sphinx there is a winged solar disc (HR2, HR5, HR11).

A4. The figure of the king accompanied the Sphinx (HR4-5)

The Sphinx is sitting on the pedestral facing to the right. It wears a hawk's plumage, the Osiris beard and the Double crown with a Nemes cloth and ureus. In front of the Sphinx there are two figures of the king, symbolizing the ka of the pharaoh (HR4-5).¹⁰⁸⁸

¹⁰⁸⁸ Zivie-Coche 2002, 60-63.

B. Hawk style (HM1, HR12, HR16-17, HS1)

Hauron is portrayed as a hawk on the double pedestals, faces to the right and wears only an Egyptian Double crown and a flail on his back (HM1, HR12, HR16-17, HS1).

C. Anthropomorphic form (HR7, HR10)

This scene demonstrates the first depiction of Hauron in anthropomorphic form. The god is portrayed with a hawk face and human body. He wears a double crown and holds a w3s-sceptre on his right hand and ϵnh symbol on his left hand (HR7, HR10).

4.9 Qualities

The god, Hauron is placed in the netherworld, dwells in the mountains and desert.¹⁰⁸⁹ Hauron has power¹⁰⁹⁰ over the evil forces, snakes, evil spirits of the underworld and any enemy, who express the powers of chaos.¹⁰⁹¹

In Egypt, Reshef bears the titles “the great god” (ꜥ3 *ntr*),¹⁰⁹² and “lord of the sky” (*nb pt*),¹⁰⁹³ which are more general titles and can be used for all the deities in Egypt. One of the main attributes of Hauron in Egypt is his protection against the evil and enemies. Due to his attribute, Hauron is regarded as the guardian/protector of the pharaoh and Egypt. A second attribute of Hauron in Egypt is associated with the military outposts, which controlled the desert routes. It seems that Hauron is not only the protector against snakes or scorpions, but the protector deity against the enemies, who came from the desert in order to attack in Egypt.¹⁰⁹⁴ Hauron can also be associated with the god Harmakhis. His relation with the form of Sphinx has been made due to the fact that the Sphinx is located in the desert, where the sphinx can be viewed by the immigrants and the sight may remind them their own Hauron.¹⁰⁹⁵

¹⁰⁸⁹ Sladek 1974, 61-63.

¹⁰⁹⁰ KTU 1.82.

¹⁰⁹¹ KTU 1.82, 40ff; KTU 1.82, 25-29; KTU 1.100, 61-69; Van Dijk 1989, 62.

¹⁰⁹² For example see the stela, which reads: “*Hauron the great god (ḥwrn ꜥ3 ntr)*”, see HR11.

¹⁰⁹³ For example see the stela, which bears the inscription: “*An offering which the king gives to Hauron, the good god, lord of the sky (ḥtp-dī-nsw ḥrwn nfr ntr nb pt)*”, see HR15.

¹⁰⁹⁴ Van Dijk 1989, 63.

¹⁰⁹⁵ Van Dijk 1989, 65.

5. Anat

5.1. Seals, amulet, Scarabs, scaraboids and other art in miniature (AM1-7)

AM1. Cylinder Seal (AM1)¹⁰⁹⁶

Material: Hematite

Provenance: Minet el-Beida

Date: 18th Dynasty

Inventory No.: Paris, Louvre Museum, AO 14811.

Bibliography: Cornelius 2004, 24, Cat. 1.3 with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Cornelius added Schroer 2011, 102f, Nr. 594. Schaeffer 1932, pl. 11,1-3; Frankfort 1939, pl. 45b; Bossert 1951, fig. 831a; Keel 1977a, Abb. 27; Schaeffer-Forrer 1983, 12f, R.S.3.041; Winter 1987, Abb. 213; Amiet 1992, fig. 19, no. 92.

Description: Anat is next to the king's throne, holding a weapon and wearing an atef crown.

Phrases or epithets

No inscriptions

AM2. Amulet (AM2)

Material: Composite material

Provenance: Tell el-Far'a

Date: 19th Dynasty

Inventory No.: London, University College, UC52733

Bibliography: Schroer 2011, 322f, Nr. 883.

Description: Figurine of Anat, wearing an atef crown.

Phrases or epithets

No inscriptions

AM3. Amulet (AM3)

Material: Composite material

Provenance: Tell el-Far'a

Date: 19th Dynasty

Inventory No.: London, British Museum, L1236.2.

Bibliography: Herrmann 1994, Nr. 155.

Description: Figurine of Anat, wearing an atef crown.

Phrases or epithets

No inscriptions

AM4. Amulet (AM4)

Material: Composite material

Provenance: Beth Shemesh

Date: 1250-1000 BC

Inventory No.: Jerusalem, Rockefeller Museum, J161.

Bibliography: Cornelius 2004, 39 with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Cornelius added

¹⁰⁹⁶ For parallel objects see Buchanan 1966, no. 1008, pl. 62.

Grant 1929, 188, Nr. 446; Rowe 1936, 267, pl. 30, A3.

Description: Figurine of Anat, wearing an atef crown.

Phrases or epithets

No inscriptions

AM5. Amulet (AM5)¹⁰⁹⁷

Material: Composite material

Provenance: Beth Shean

Date: 1250-1000 BC

Inventory No.: Philadelphia, University Museum, 29-104-180.

Bibliography: Cornelius 2004, 39 with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Cornelius added Rowe 1940, 77, pl. 33.

Description: Figurine of Anat, wearing an atef crown.

Phrases or epithets

No inscriptions

AM6. Amulet (AM6)

Material: Composite material

Provenance: Megiddo

Date: 1250-1000 BC

Inventory No.: Chicago, Oriental Institute, A23760.

Bibliography: Loud 1948, 182, pl. 205, 27; Herrmann 1994, Nr. 156.

Description: Figurine of Anat, wearing an atef crown.

Phrases or epithets

No inscriptions

AM7. Scarboid (AM7)

Material: Black stone

Provenance: Akko

Date: 18th -19th Dynasty

Inventory No.: Wilfried Israel Museum, Hazorea 174.

Bibliography: Cornelius 2004, 116, Cat. 3.12 with an additional bibliography.

Description: Winged female in tight long kilt facing the god Ptah.

Phrases or epithets

No inscriptions

5.2 Bronzes (AB1-AB2)

AB1. Figurine of Anat (AB1)

Material: Bronze

Provenance: Kamid el-Loz

¹⁰⁹⁷ For parallel objects see Reisner 1958, pl. 20, 13566; Pritchard 1969, Abb. 488; Winter 1978, Abb. 209; 1983, Abb. 212-214; Abou Assaf 1980, 57-102, Bd. 12, Taf. I; Amiet 1987, 137; Keel and Uehlinger 1992, 99.

Date: 1350-1200 BC

Inventory No.: Beirut, Musée National, 16596.

Bibliography: Cornelius 2004, Cat. 1.4 with an additional bibliography

Description: Figurine of Anat, wearing an atef crown.

Phrases or epithets

No inscriptions

AB2. Figurine of Anat (AB2)

Material: Bronze

Provenance: Unknown (Memphis?/Delta?)

Date: 19th Dynasty

Inventory No.: Private collection (Michaelides collection)¹⁰⁹⁸

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 74, Doc.6 with an additional bibliography.

Description: A female figurine, who wears an atef crown and a tight long tunic.

Phrases or epithets

No inscriptions

5.3. Statues (AS1-2)

AS1. Statue of Rameses II and Anat (AS1)

Material: Red granite

Provenance: Tanis

Date: Rameses II (1279-1213 BC)

Inventory No.: Louvre AF 2576

Bibliography: KRI II 445; RITA II 445¹⁰⁹⁹; Tazawa 2009, 74, Doc 4, pl.XII with an additional bibliography.

Description: Next to the king there is a female wearing a costume with two bands on her chest.

Phrases or epithets

Both sides of dorsal pillar: *Beloved of Anat* (*ꜥnꜥi mri*)

Rear of dorsal pillar: *I am your mother Anat* (*mwt=k ꜥnꜥi*)¹¹⁰⁰

AS2. Statue of seated Rameses II and Anat (AS2)

Material: Grey granite

Provenance: Tanis

Date: Rameses II (1279-1213 BC)

Inventory No.: Cairo JE6336

Bibliography: KRI II 445, 10; 446; RITA II 445, 10; 446;¹¹⁰¹ Tazawa 2009, 74 Doc.5, pl.XII with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Tazawa added Zivie-Coche 2011, 4, fig.2; Schroer 2011, 322f, Nr. 882.

Description: Anat is wearing an atef crown with horns. Her hand is on the knee and the other rests on the shoulder of the king.

¹⁰⁹⁸ Tazawa (2009, 74, Doc.6) has cited this item in Private collection (Michaelides collection).

¹⁰⁹⁹ Tazawa (2009, 74, Doc 4) has cited this object as RITA II 273, which is wrong number.

¹¹⁰⁰ Translation after RITA II 445 and Tazawa 2009, 74, Doc 4.

¹¹⁰¹ Tazawa (2009, 74, Doc 5) has cited this object as RITA II 273, which is wrong number.

Phrases or epithets

Left edge: *Anat lady of the sky, mistress of the gods* (ꜥnti nbt pt ntrw)

Dorsal pillar: *I am your mother loved, possessing love, lady of monuments and excellence* (nb mrt mnw hr mnhw)¹¹⁰²

5.4 Reliefs (AR1-5)

AR1. Block of relief stele: Dyad of Rameses II and Anat (AR1)

Material: Limestone

Provenance: Saqqara? (Tanis?)

Date: Rameses II (1279-1213 BC)

Inventory No.: Brooklyn Museum 54.67

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 75, Doc. 7 with an additional bibliography.

Description: Anat id behind Rameses II and wears an atef crown and a layered necklace.

Phrases or epithets *Anat lady of the sky* (ꜥnti nbt pt)¹¹⁰³

AR2. Relief on column (AR2)

Material: Red granite

Provenance: Heliopolis

Date: Merenptah (1279-1213 BC)

Inventory No.: in situ

Bibliography: KRI IV 38; RITA IV 38;¹¹⁰⁴ Tazawa 2009, 75, Doc.8 with an additional bibliography.

Description: Anat wears an atef crown with horns and a ribbon on the back and offers a weapon to the king.

Phrases or epithets *Anat mistress of every land* (ꜥnti nbt t3)¹¹⁰⁵

AR3. Stele of Nakht (AR3)

Material: Basalt

Provenance: Beth Shean (Temple of Anat)

Date: Rameses III (1184-1153 BC)

Inventory No.: Rockefeller J. 36.920

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 73, Doc.3 with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Tazawa added Schroer 2011, 320f, Nr. 881.

Description: Anat is dressed with a long tunic and holds a w3s-scepter in her left hand and an ankh in the other hand.

Phrases or epithets

Anat, lady of heaven, mistress of all the gods (ꜥntiit nbt pt ntrw)

An offering to Anat, she give life, prosperity and health (hꜥp di nsw ꜥnit rdi ꜥnh wd3 snb)¹¹⁰⁶

AR4. Stele of Qeh¹¹⁰⁷ (AR4)

¹¹⁰² Translation after RITA II 445, 10;446 and Tazawa 2009, 74, Doc 5.

¹¹⁰³ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 75, Doc 7.

¹¹⁰⁴ Tazawa (2009, 75, Doc 8) has cited this object as RITA IV 24-26, which is wrong number

¹¹⁰⁵ Translation after RITA IV 38 and Tazawa 2009, 75, Doc.8.

¹¹⁰⁶ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 73, Doc.3.

Material: Limestone

Provenance: Deir el-Medina

Date: Rameses II (1279-1213 BC)

Inventory No.: BM EA191

Bibliography: PM I² pt.2, 722;¹¹⁰⁸ KRI III 603; RITA III 603;¹¹⁰⁹ Tazawa 2009, 72, Doc.1, pl.V with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Tazawa added Budin 2015b, 323; Quirke 1992, 47, fig.26; Cornelius 1993, 38, pl.II, fig.4; Schroer 2011, 322f, Nr. 884.

Description: Anat is seated in a throne. She raises her left hand with a weapon and holds a spear and shield in the other hand. She wears an atef-crown, a long tunic dress and a broad collar around her neck.

Phrases or epithets

Lower register: *Anat, lady of the sky, mistress of the gods, all protection, life, stability and power with her* (ꜥnt nbt hryt nbt ntrwt s3 ꜥnh ddt wsr ns)

Above the worshippers: *Giving to Anat, kissing the earth to your ka, o heavenly (rdi n ꜥnti (t) sn n k3 pt)*¹¹¹⁰

AR5. Fragment of stele of Neferhotep (AR5)

Material: Limestone

Provenance: Deir el-Medina

Date: Rameses III (1184-1153 BC)

Inventory No.: Winchester, Winchester College, 830.¹¹¹¹

Bibliography: KRI V 668, 15; RITA V 668, 15;¹¹¹² Tazawa 2014, 109, fig.6; 2009, 73, Doc.2, pl.XII. To bibliography of Tazawa added Cornelius 1994, 71, pl.A; Schroer 2011, 308f, Nr. 867.

Description: The name of Anat is mentioned next to a female naked goddess, standing en face on the back of a lion and holding a lotus flowers in the right hand and serpent in the other hand.

Phrases or epithets *Antit (ꜥnti (t))*¹¹¹³

5.5 Vessel (AV1-2)

AV1. Vassel (AV1)

Material: Silver

Provenance: Bubastis

Date: 1100 BC

Inventory No.: Cairo CG 53264

Bibliography: Cornelius 2004, fig. 8. To bibliography of Cornelius added Montet 1937, fig. 179.

Description: A figure is manifested with feathered headdress with uraeus, holding a spear, a shield and an ankh in the other hand.

Phrases or epithets

No inscriptions

AV2. Vessel of Sennefer (AV2)

Material: Mottled granite

Provenance: Memphis

Date: Horemheb (1323-1295 BC)

Inventory No.: Present location unknown

¹¹⁰⁷ Tazawa (2009, 72, Doc.1) has cited this object as Qaha, which is wrong.

¹¹⁰⁸ Tazawa (2009, 72, Doc.1) has cited this object as PM I² pt.2, 723, which is wrong.

¹¹⁰⁹ Tazawa (2009, 72, Doc 1) has cited this object as RITA III 413-414, which is wrong number.

¹¹¹⁰ Translation after RITA III 603 and Tazawa 2009, 72, Doc 1.

¹¹¹¹ Tazawa (2014, 109; 2009, 73, Doc.2) has not cited this object.

¹¹¹² Tazawa (2009, 73, Doc 2) has cited this object as RITA V 668, 16, which is wrong number

¹¹¹³ Translation after RITA V 668, 15 and Tazawa 2009, 73, Doc.2; 2014, 109.

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 76, Doc.13, pl.VII with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Tazawa added Budin 2015a, 4.

Description: This is a stone bowl, which is inscribed with text.

Phrases or epithets *Anat daughter of Ptah, lady of truth* (ꜥnꜥi s3t pth nbt m3ꜥt)¹¹¹⁴

5.6 Graffito (AG1)

AG1. Graffito

Material: Limestone

Provenance: Deir el-Bahri

Date: Beginning or First half of 19th Dynasty

Inventory No.: in situ

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 77, Doc. 19 with an additional bibliography.

Description: The text mentions that a priest of the temple of Thutmose I made an offering to deities among them is Anat.

Phrases or epithets *Anat of residence of South and North* (ꜥnꜥi niit rsi mhꜥt)¹¹¹⁵

5.7. Papyrus (AP1-10)

AP1. pChester Beatty VII verso 1.5-2.4

Material: Papyrus

Provenance: Unknown

Date: Rameses II (1279-1213 BC)

Inventory No.: BM EA 10687

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 78, Doc.20 with an additional bibliography.

Description: In the story, Anat is described as a warrior deity.

Phrases or epithets

Came Anat the divine, the victorious, acting as a warrior clad as a man and girl as women (iꜥntꜥ nꜥtry nꜥt iri miꜥh3iri mi ꜥ3y iri mi st)¹¹¹⁶

AP2. pLeiden I 343+I 345, recto I4-III2 and verso III1-IV8

Material: Papyrus

Provenance: Memphis

Date: 19th -20th Dynasty

Inventory No.: Leiden I 343+ I 345

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 79, Doc.24 with an additional bibliography.

Description: Spell against disease.

Phrases or epithets

Anat stop! (ꜥnꜥi imi hiw)¹¹¹⁷

AP3. pLeiden I 343+I 345, recto XVIII, x+1-2

Material: Papyrus

Provenance: Memphis

Date: 19th- 20th Dynasty

Inventory No.: Leiden I 343+ I 345

¹¹¹⁴ Translation after Budin 2015a, 4; Tazawa 2009, 76, Doc.13.

¹¹¹⁵ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 77, Doc 19.

¹¹¹⁶ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 78, Doc.20.

¹¹¹⁷ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 79, Doc.24.

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 80, Doc. 27 with an additional bibliography.

Description: Spell against disease.

Phrases or epithets

Anat and Astarte draw your blood and poison (ꜥnti ꜥstrt sphr snf mtwt)¹¹¹⁸

AP4. pLeiden I 343+I 345, verso VI9-V8

Material: Papyrus

Provenance: Memphis

Date: 19th- 20th Dynasty

Inventory No.: Leiden I 343+ I 345

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 80, Doc. 28 with an additional bibliography.

Description: Spell against disease.

Phrases or epithets

The chisel of Anat is struck in your temple (md3t ꜥnti h3ꜥim hwt ntr)¹¹¹⁹

AP5. pLeiden I 343+I 345, recto III-IV, verso VI

Material: Papyrus

Provenance: Memphis

Date: 19th -20th Dynasty

Inventory No.: Leiden I 343+ I 345

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 79, Doc.25 with an additional bibliography.

Description: Spell against disease.

Phrases or epithets

Anat brings seven jugs of silver and eight jugs of bronze and she pours the blood upon the ground (ꜥnti rnn sfh mntiw hꜥ hmnrw mntiw hsmn wdꜥ snfw hr t3)¹¹²⁰

AP6. pLeiden I 343+I 345, recto VI

Material: Papyrus

Provenance: Memphis

Date: 19th - 20th Dynasty

Inventory No.: Leiden I 343+ I 345

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 80, Doc.26 with an additional bibliography.

Description: Spell against disease.

Phrases or epithets

I have sucked at the beasts of Anat the great cow of Seth (šnꜥ mnd ꜥnti wrt stꜥ)¹¹²¹

AP7. Harris Magical Papyrus verso I, 1-III, 5, section X

Material: Papyrus

Provenance: Bought in Thebes

Date: Rameses III (1184-1153 BC)

Inventory No.: BM EA 10042

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 78, Doc.21 with an additional bibliography.

Description: An incantation against wild animals, such as lions mentions the name of Anat in order to suppress the evil.

Phrases or epithets

¹¹¹⁸ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 80, Doc. 27.

¹¹¹⁹ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 80, Doc. 28.

¹¹²⁰ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 79, Doc.25.

¹¹²¹ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 80, Doc.26.

*Overpowered by Anat (dr ʿntj)*¹¹²²

AP8. Harris Magical Papyrus recto III, 8-9 (AP8)

Material: Papyrus

Provenance: Bought in Thebes

Date: Rameses III (1184-1153 BC)

Inventory No.: BM EA 10042

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 79, Doc.22 with an additional bibliography.

Description: An incantation against crocodiles mentions that Anat is pregnant, but she can not give birth.

Phrases or epithets

*Anat and Astarte are pregnant but they could not give birth (ʿntj ʿstrt bk3w m ir msi)*¹¹²³

AP9. Horus and Seth (pChester Beatty I Recto)

Material: Papyrus

Provenance: Thebes

Date: Rameses V (1147-1143 BC)

Inventory No.: Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, CBL Pap 1

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 79, Doc.23 with an additional bibliography.

Description: In the story of Horus and Seth, Anat is described as daughter of Ra.

Phrases or epithets

*Give him Anat and Astarte, your two daughters (rdi=fʿntj ʿstrt snw s3tw)*¹¹²⁴

AP10. Legend of Anat

Material: Papyrus

Provenance: Unknown

Date: New Kingdom

Inventory No.: pTurin CGT 54051

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 80, Doc. 29 with an additional bibliography.

Description: Spell against snake poison.

Phrases or epithets

*Linen of Anat (sšrw ʿntj)*¹¹²⁵

5.8. Inscriptions (AII-9)

AI1. Door jamb inscription (AI1)

Material: Limestone

Provenance: Piramesse (Tanis)

Date: Rameses II (1279-1213 BC)

Inventory No.: in situ

Bibliography: KRI II 459; RITA II 459;¹¹²⁶ Tazawa 2009, 77, Doc. 16 with an additional bibliography.

Description: The name of Anat is mentioned in the door jam.

Phrases or epithets

*Mother Anat of Rameses II (mwt ʿntj rʿmssw)*¹¹²⁷

¹¹²² Translation after Tazawa 2009, 78 Doc.21.

¹¹²³ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 79, Doc.22.

¹¹²⁴ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 79, Doc.23.

¹¹²⁵ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 80, Doc. 29.

¹¹²⁶ Tazawa (2009, 77, Doc 16) has cited this object as KRII 458-459 and RITA II 283, which are wrong numbers.

AI2. Door jamb inscription

Material: Limestone

Provenance: Piramesse (Tanis)

Date: Rameses II (1279-1213 BC)

Inventory No.: in situ

Bibliography: KRI II 459, 1; RITA II 459, 1;¹¹²⁸ Tazawa 2009, 77, Doc. 17 with an additional bibliography.

Description: Anat is described as a daughter of Ra.

Phrases or epithets *Beloved of Anat* (*ꜥttrꜥ mri*)¹¹²⁹

AI3. Door jamb inscription

Material: Limestone

Provenance: Tell Abqa'in

Date: Rameses II (1279-1213 BC)

Inventory No.: WA/8

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 77, Doc. 18 with an additional bibliography.

Description: The name of Anat is mentioned in the door jam.

Phrases or epithets

Rameses beloved of Anat (*ꜥfmr mnw ꜥn t ꜥni n r'msssw*)¹¹³⁰

AI4. Stele inscription (AI4)

Material: Red granite

Provenance: Gebel Murr

Date: Rameses II (1279-1213 BC)

Inventory No.: Ismailia 2758

Bibliography: KRI II 304; RITA II 304;¹¹³¹ Tazawa 2009, 75, Doc. 9 with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Tazawa added Cornelius 1994 BR8.

Description: The name of Anat is mentioned in the fourth lines of text on a stele.

Phrases or epithets *the Beloved of Anat, lady of heaven* (*ꜥnt nbt pt mri*)¹¹³²

AI5. Stele inscription (Marriage stele) (AI5)

Material: Alabaster

Provenance: Abu Simbel; Elephantine; Karnak; Amarna West; Aksha

Date: Rameses II (1279-1213 BC)

Inventory No.: in situ

Bibliography: KRI II 238, 1, 256, 10; RITA II 238, 1, 256, 10;¹¹³³ Tazawa 2009, 75-76, Doc. 10 with an additional bibliography.

Description: The first marriage of Rameses II with the daughter of Hattusili III.

Phrases or epithets *Nursling of Anat* (*mhry ꜥnt*)¹¹³⁴

¹¹²⁷ Translation after RITA II 459 and Tazawa 2009, 77, Doc. 16.

¹¹²⁸ Tazawa (2009, 77, Doc 17) has cited this object as KR II 459 and RITA II 283, which are wrong numbers.

¹¹²⁹ Translation after RITA II 459, 1 and Tazawa 2009, 77, Doc. 17.

¹¹³⁰ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 77, Doc 18.

¹¹³¹ Tazawa (2009, 75, Doc 9) has cited this object as KR II 303-304 and RITA II 137-140, which are wrong numbers.

¹¹³² Translation after RITA II 304 and Tazawa 2009, 75, Doc. 9.

¹¹³³ Tazawa (2009, 75-76, Doc 10) has cited this object as KR II 233-256, 256-257 and RITA II 89, 97 which are wrong numbers.

¹¹³⁴ Translation after RITA II 238, 1, 256, 10 and Tazawa 2009, 75-76, Doc. 10.

AI6. Relief inscription (Second Libyan war) (AI6)

Material: Sandstone

Provenance: Medinet Habu

Date: Rameses III (1184-1153 BC)

Inventory No.: in situ

Bibliography: KRI V 60; RITA V 60;¹¹³⁵ Tazawa 2009, 77, Doc. 14 with an additional bibliography.

Description: Anat protects Rameses III in the second campaign against Libyans.

Phrases or epithets *Anat and Astarte shield him (ḥi nb ʿnti ʿstrti)¹¹³⁶*

AI7. Obelisk inscription (AI7)

Material: Granite

Provenance: Tanis

Date: Rameses II (1279-1213 BC)

Inventory No.: in situ

Bibliography: KRI II 408; RITA II 408;¹¹³⁷ Tazawa 2009, 77, Doc. 15 with an additional bibliography.

Description: The name of Anat is mentioned on the southern face of the obelisk.

Phrases or epithets *Suckling of Anat (ḥr ʿnti)¹¹³⁸*

AI8. Hieratic inscription on an ostrakon (so-called “Poem on the King’s Chariot”) (AI8)

Material: Limestone

Provenance: Thebes

Date: Seti II (1200-1194BC)

Inventory No.: oEdinburgh 916

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 76, Doc. 11 with an additional bibliography.

Description: Anat protects the chariot of the king

Phrases or epithets *Anat is for your chariot (mrkbt ʿnti)¹¹³⁹*

AI9. Hieratic inscription on an ostrakon

Material: Limestone/Pottery (?)

Provenance: Deir el-Medina

Date: Rameses IV (1153-1147 BC)

Inventory No.: o Dem 429 (oMichaelides 85)

Bibliography: KRI VI 156; RITA VI 156;¹¹⁴⁰ Tazawa 2009, 76, Doc. 12 with an additional bibliography.

Description: An ostrakon, which twelve lines is written. The scribe Ipwy reports to Bakenamen that the provision sent from Egypt for the festival of Anat.

Phrases or epithets *Festival of Anat (ḥb ʿnti)¹¹⁴¹*

¹¹³⁵ Tazawa (2009, 77, Doc 14) has cited this object as KRI V 59-60, which is wrong number, without mentioning the translation of Kitchen.

¹¹³⁶ Translation after RITA V 60 and Tazawa 2009, 77, Doc. 14.

¹¹³⁷ Tazawa (2009, 77, Doc 15) has cited this object as RITA 234, which is wrong number

¹¹³⁸ Translation after RITA II 408 and Tazawa 2009, 77, Doc. 15.

¹¹³⁹ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 76, Doc. 11.

¹¹⁴⁰ Tazawa (2009, 76, Doc. 12) has missed the translation of Kitchen.

¹¹⁴¹ Translation after RITA VI 156 and Tazawa 2009, 76, Doc. 12.

5.9. Names on royal chariots (AC1)

AC1. Name: A team of the royal chariot span

Material: Sandstone

Provenance: Memphis

Date: Seti I (1294-1279BC)

Inventory No.: in situ

Bibliography: KRI I 7; RITA I 7;¹¹⁴² Tazawa 2009, 81, Doc.30 with an additional bibliography.

Description: Anat is associated with the royal chariot.

Phrases or epithets *Anat is content* (*ʿnīṯ ḥri*)¹¹⁴³

5.10 Personal names (AN1-15)

AN1. The name of The first daughter of Rameses II I her sarcophagus

Material: Stone

Provenance: Valley of Queens, tomb 71

Date: Rameses II (1279-1213 BC)

Inventory No.: Cairo JdE 47370

Bibliography: KRI II 924, 1-10; RITA II 924, 1-10.

Description: The name Bintant is written in the figure of Rameses's daughter.

Discussion: The name of Anat is mentioned in order to confirm the divine origin of Rameses II. For similar cases see AN1-8.

Phrases or epithets *Bintant* (*b3ntʿnt*)¹¹⁴⁴

AN2. Name: The first daughter of Rameses II

Material: Sandstone

Provenance: Kom el-Aqarib

Date: Rameses II (1279-1213 BC)

Inventory No.: Cairo JdE 45975

Bibliography: KRI II 502; RITA II 502.

Description: The name Bintant is written in the figure of Rameses's daughter.

Discussion: The name of Anat is mentioned in order to confirm the divine origin of Rameses II. For similar cases see AN1-8.

Phrases or epithets *Bintant* (*b3ntʿnt*)¹¹⁴⁵

AN3. The Name of the first daughter of Rameses II in a statue

Material: Limestone

Provenance: Hermopolis

Date: Rameses II (1279-1213 BC)

Inventory No.: Present location unknown

Bibliography: KRI II 504, 1; RITA II 504, 1.

Description: The name Bintant is written in the figure of Rameses's daughter.

Discussion: The name of Anat is mentioned in order to confirm the divine origin of Rameses II. For similar cases see AN1-8.

Phrases or epithets *Bintant* (*b3ntʿnt*)¹¹⁴⁶

¹¹⁴² Tazawa (2009, 81, Doc 30) has cited this object as KRI 7-8 and RITA I 6-7, which are wrong numbers.

¹¹⁴³ Translation after RITA I 7 and Tazawa 2009, 81, Doc.30.

¹¹⁴⁴ Translation after RITA II 924, 1-10.

¹¹⁴⁵ Translation after RITA II 502.

AN4. The Name of the first daughter of Rameses II in a statue

Material: Limestone

Provenance: Karnak, Temple of Amun: Pylon II

Date: Rameses II (1279-1213 BC)

Inventory No.: Present location unknown

Bibliography: KRI II 555, 1; RITA II 555, 1.

Description: The name Bintant is written in the figure of Rameses's daughter.

Discussion: The name of Anat is mentioned in order to confirm the divine origin of Rameses II. For similar cases see AN1-8.

Phrases or epithets *Bintant (b3ntꜥnt)*¹¹⁴⁷

AN5. The Name of the first daughter of Rameses II in a statue

Material: Limestone

Provenance: Luxor Temple, East Colonnade, northern statue

Date: Rameses II (1279-1213 BC)

Inventory No.: Present location unknown

Bibliography: KRI II 631, 5; RITA II 631, 5.

Description: The name Bintant is written in the figure of Rameses's daughter.

Discussion: The name of Anat is mentioned in order to confirm the divine origin of Rameses II. For similar cases see AN1-8.

Phrases or epithets *Bintant (b3ntꜥnt)*¹¹⁴⁸

AN6. The Name of the first daughter of Rameses II in a statue

Material: Limestone

Provenance: Luxor Temple, West Colonnade, north-central statue

Date: Rameses II (1279-1213 BC)

Inventory No.: Present location unknown

Bibliography: KRI II 633, 5; RITA II 633, 5.

Description: The name Bintant is written in the figure of Rameses's daughter.

Discussion: The name of Anat is mentioned in order to confirm the divine origin of Rameses II. For similar cases see AN1-8.

Phrases or epithets *Bintant (b3ntꜥnt)*¹¹⁴⁹

AN7. The Name of the first daughter of Rameses II in a statue

Material: Limestone

Provenance: Great Temple, Southernmost Colossus

Date: Rameses II (1279-1213 BC)

Inventory No.: Present location unknown

Bibliography: KRI II 752, 5; RITA II 752, 5.

Description: The name Bintant is written in the figure of Rameses's daughter.

Discussion: The name of Anat is mentioned in order to confirm the divine origin of Rameses II. For similar cases see AN1-8.

Phrases or epithets *Bintant (b3ntꜥnt)*¹¹⁵⁰

¹¹⁴⁶ Translation after RITA II 504, 1.

¹¹⁴⁷ Translation after RITA II 555, 1.

¹¹⁴⁸ Translation after RITA II 631, 5.

¹¹⁴⁹ Translation after RITA II 633, 5.

¹¹⁵⁰ Translation after RITA II 752, 5.

AN8. The name of the first daughter of Rameses II I her monuments

Material: stone

Provenance: Valley of Queens, tomb 71

Date: Rameses II (1279-1213 BC)

Inventory No.: Present location unknown

Bibliography: KRI II 923, 5-10; RITA II 923, 5-10.

Description: The name Bintant is written in the figure of Rameses's daughter.

Discussion: The name of Anat is mentioned in order to confirm the divine origin of Rameses II. For similar cases see AN1-8.

Phrases or epithets *Bintant (b3nt^cnt)*¹¹⁵¹

AN9. Name: The first daughter of Rameses II (AN9)

Material: Sandstone

Provenance: Serabit el-Khadim

Date: Rameses II (1279-1213 BC)

Inventory No.: BM EA697

Bibliography: KRI II 401; RITA II 401;¹¹⁵² Tazawa 2009, 81, Doc.31, pl.XIII with an additional bibliography.

Description: The name Bintant is written in the figure of Rameses's daughter.

Phrases or epithets *Bintant (b3nt^cnt)*¹¹⁵³

AN10. Name: The 38th son of Rameses II

Material: Sandstone

Provenance: Medinet Habu

Date: Rameses II (1279-1213 BC)

Inventory No.: in situ

Bibliography: KRI II 867; RITA II 867; Tazawa 2009, 81, Doc. 32 with an additional bibliography.

Description: The name of 38th son of Ramesses is Mahiranat.

Phrases or epithets

*Beloved Mahiranat (mri imhry^cnti)*¹¹⁵⁴

AN11. Name: Anatemnakht (Puppy of Rameses II) (AN11)

Material: Sandstone

Provenance: Beit el-Wali

Date: Rameses II (1279-1213 BC)

Inventory No.: in situ

Bibliography: PM VII 23-24; KRI II 196, 15; RITA II 196, 15;¹¹⁵⁵ Tazawa 2009, 81, Doc.33, pl. XIII with an additional bibliography.

Description: The name of Ramesses's puppy is Anatemnakht and it is written in the sandstone.

Phrases or epithets

*Anatemnakht (cⁿti nh)*¹¹⁵⁶

AN12. Personal name: Anatemheb

¹¹⁵¹ Translation after RITA II 923, 5-10.

¹¹⁵² Tazawa (2009, 81, Doc 31) has cited this object as RITA II 229, which is wrong number.

¹¹⁵³ Translation after RITA II 401 and Tazawa 2009, 81, Doc.31.

¹¹⁵⁴ Translation after RITA II 867 and Tazawa 2009, 81, Doc. 32.

¹¹⁵⁵ Tazawa (2009, 81, Doc 33) has cited this object as RITA II 60, which is wrong number.

¹¹⁵⁶ Translation after RITA II 196, 15 and Tazawa 2009, 81, Doc.33.

Material: Limestone

Provenance: Giza, surroundings of Great Sphinx

Date: 19th -20th Dynasty

Inventory No.: Cairo JE72275

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 82, Doc. 35 with an additional bibliography.

Description: The name of the worshipper's wife is Anatemheb, who made an offering to Hauron.

Phrases or epithets

*Anatemheb (ꜥnti mhꜥ)*¹¹⁵⁷

AN13. Personal name: Anatkhaty (AN13)

Material: Papyrus

Provenance: Brought to Cairo Museum Luxor dealer in 1928/29

Date: Rameses V (1147-1143 BC)

Inventory No.: Brooklyn Museum, The Wilbour Papyrus 34.5596.4¹¹⁵⁸

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 82, Doc. 34 with an additional bibliography.

Description: The name Anatkhaty is written in the papyrus.

Phrases or epithets

*Lady Anatkhaty by his hand (nbt ꜥntꜥ3ꜥtꜥ in drꜥ)*¹¹⁵⁹

AN14. Personal name: Anaterem¹¹⁶⁰ (AN14)

Material: Papyrus

Provenance: Unknown

Date: New Kingdom

Inventory No.: BM EA 10466¹¹⁶¹

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 82, Doc. 36 with an additional bibliography.

Description: The name Anaterem is written in the papyrus.

Phrases or epithets *Anaterem (ꜥnti rm)*¹¹⁶²

AN15. Personal name: Anaterem (AN15 I-XXI)

Material: Papyrus

Provenance: Egypt

Date: New Kingdom

Inventory No.: EA10466,1-21

Bibliography: Quirke 1993, 195

Description: The name Anaterem is written in the papyrus.

Discussion: The sheets of the papyrus from the Book of the Dead of Paser bears the name of Anaterem. Anaterem is the mother of Paser and indicates her Asiatic origin.

Phrases or epithets *Anaterem (ꜥnti rm)*¹¹⁶³

¹¹⁵⁷ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 82, Doc. 35.

¹¹⁵⁸ Tazawa (2009, 82, Doc. 34) has not cited this item in the inventory number of the museum.

¹¹⁵⁹ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 82, Doc. 34.

¹¹⁶⁰ Tazawa (2009, 82, Doc. 36) has cited this object as Anatram, which is wrong name.

¹¹⁶¹ Helck (1971b, 362) and Lloyd (1994, 2.3.3.4), have mentioned this object as BM EA 11466, which is wrong number.

¹¹⁶² Translation after Tazawa 2009, 82, Doc. 36.

¹¹⁶³ Translation after Quirke 1993, 195.

5.11 Iconography¹¹⁶⁴

A. Seated with weapons in her hands (AM1, AB1, AR4, AV1)

There are two archaeological materials which depict Anat seated on a throne, holding shield, mace or bow. In both scenes, the goddess wears a long dress, a crown such as an atef crown and holds weapons, such as shields and mace, reflecting the warrior character of the goddess. The scene, where the goddess is next to the animals, such as lions and birds demonstrates the Near Eastern origins and the connection of Anat, as a hunter,¹¹⁶⁵ as described in the Ugaritic texts (AM1).¹¹⁶⁶ In the second and third scenes (AR4, AV1), the goddess holds a mace-axe above her head, shield and a spear.¹¹⁶⁷ The figurine of Anat depicts her in a menacing posture (AB1), which is similar with the posture of Reshef.¹¹⁶⁸

B. Standing with peaceful posture (AM2-6, AB2)

In figurines, the goddess Anat takes a standing posture, wearing an atef crown and holds a spear (AB2). Other figurines present in a peaceful posture, wears an atef crown and a long dress (AM2-6).

C. Standing next to the pharaoh (AS1-2, AR1-2)

In royal context, the goddess Anat is standing next to the pharaoh, wears an atef crown and a long dress (AS1-2, AR1-2). However, in her appearance on statues, she is accompanied by the pharaoh, she took the king by the hand (AS1) or she lays the pharaoh's hand with her hand (AS2). In a similar way, the goddess is depicted on a relief next to the king (AR1), while in her depiction on a column, she stands in front of the pharaoh and holds a mace, sword and an *ʿnh*-symbol (AR2).

¹¹⁶⁴ For an alternative categorization of Qadesh see the catalogue of Cornelius 2008, 24-40 and Tazawa 2009, 119-120.

¹¹⁶⁵ Cornelius 1993, 21; Day 1992, 181; 1991, 143.

¹¹⁶⁶ KTU 1.3 II. The story of Anat and Aqhat identifies her hunter role, see 1.18 IV 12-13; Watson 1977, 74 and n. 30. Two additional textual sources confirm Anat's portrayal as a huntress. In the first text 1.22 I 11 the birds are her prey and in 1.114 22-23 she leaves El's banquet to go for hunting, see Hvidberg-Hansen 1979, 87.

¹¹⁶⁷ Tazawa 2009, 120; Cornelius 1993, 22

¹¹⁶⁸ Tazawa 2009, 120; Cornelius 1993, 22, n.13. See the stela Avignon 16 and Cambridge EGA 3002.1943 in Schulman 1985, figs. 14, 16. For more details see the discussion in Cornelius 1994.

D. Winged (AM7)

Another image of the goddess is her appearance as a winged deity (*AM7*). The figure of the winged goddess was connected with Astarte, as she was the daughter of Ptah,¹¹⁶⁹ but the suggestion of Lipinski identifies the goddess Anat, as a winged goddess next to the god Ptah.¹¹⁷⁰

E. Qadesh style (AR5)

The name of Anat is appeared next to a naked woman, who stands en face on a lion (*AR5*). The name of the goddess is written next to the names of Astarte and Qadesh. The fact that the names of the three goddesses are included in the figure of Qadesh, it may indicate their association with Hathor, as the characteristics of her are associated with these of Qadesh.¹¹⁷¹

¹¹⁶⁹ Cornelius 1994, 107; 1998, 172; 2000, 75; Keel 1997, 530.

¹¹⁷⁰ Lipinski 1996, 257.

¹¹⁷¹ Tazawa 2009, 120.

5.12 Qualities

One of the most important goddesses in the Ancient Ugarit pantheon was Anat ('nt).¹¹⁷² In Ugarit texts she was manifested as a warrior goddess, justified by the mythic tablets¹¹⁷³ where Anat wades in the blood of enemies slain in the battlefield and having their heads and hands dissevered.¹¹⁷⁴ As a warrior goddess she kills both human and supernatural foes, carrying weapons such as bows and swords, an aspect attested on the role the goddess acquired in the case of her brother Baal.¹¹⁷⁵ In the story, Anat managed to threaten the god of cosmos, El,¹¹⁷⁶ and find the god of death, Mot, who had swallowed Baal and kill him.¹¹⁷⁷ This maternal feeling can justify the origination of her epithet as a warrior from her function as a protector goddess.¹¹⁷⁸ Her violent character is also reflected in the story of Aqhat, where she demands Aqhat's bow,¹¹⁷⁹ due to her manifestation as a huntress goddess.¹¹⁸⁰ It was Aqhat's rejection of

¹¹⁷² In Ugarit texts, there is a deity called "'n'" and some scholars suggest that maybe is the male consort of 'nt, see Selz 2000, 35; Stuckey 2005, 36. For more suggestions about the Anat's name see Gray 1979, 25-27; Pardee 1990, 464-466; Smith 1995; Kapelrud 1969, 28. According to the Ugaritic texts, the goddess Anat is represented as a virgin, see Bowman 1978, 174. The epithet "virgin" reflects her sexually nature as she has never given a birth. Perhaps a clearer translation of the title *Bilt* would be "Spinster," a female who remains single, see Daly and Caputi 1987, 167. Also, there is no clear reference in texts to Anat engaging in sexual intercourse. Furthermore, she can not associated with procreativity, as she mentioned in the theophoric personal names as anatummi (Anat is my mother) and bin-Anat (son of Anat), Abdi-Anati/Ninurta, see Na'aman 1990, 5. Also, The epithet *bilt* "virgin", is the most common in the Ugarit texts, reflecting her sexuality, as Anat was always in the period of adolescence in which male and female gender are not defined completely, see Day 1991, 145; 1992, 183; Selz 2000, 36; Wenham 1972, 347. For the epithet "virgin" in Ugaritic texts see KTU 3.1ii 31; 1.6iii 23; 1.13R 19; Translation after Wyatt 1998, 75. She could delight in male activities and due to her sex-role limits, she does not belong to the group of "reproductive goddess", see Day 1991, 53, 73.

¹¹⁷³ Contra Selz 2000, 35, where he suggests that there is no trace of Anat as a warrior goddess.

¹¹⁷⁴ Walls 1992, 54-59; Pope 1968; Stuckey 2003, 130. The texts records: "*She battled violently and looked...Anat fought and saw her soul swelled with laughter, her heart was filled with joy, Anat's soul was exuberant, as she plunged knee-deep in the soldiers' blood, up to her things in the warriors' gore*", KTU 1. 19, column 2; Translation after Coogan 1978, 91.

¹¹⁷⁵ CAT 1.3.IV.49,1.10.II.16. In the story of the Battle with Mot, Baal desires a cow-calf in Ouhr. Many scholars suggest that Anat is the heifer, but the text only mentions the two wives of Baal and not Anat at all, as Anat is searching for him and she finally found the place where Baal the heifer mated, see Parker 1997, 171; Bowman 1978, 181. Contra Patai 1967, 8; Niehr 1998, 32, who suggested that Anat is consort of Baal.

¹¹⁷⁶ "*I will smash your head, I will make your gray hair run with blood, your gray beard with gore*", KTU 1. 19, column 5; Translation after Coogan 1978, 95.

¹¹⁷⁷ Coogan 1978, 14, 107, 112. CTA.6.II. 31-37. At this point, after the deliverance of Baal, the text reveals her maternal side of her and her connection with Baal: "*Like the heart of a cow for her calf, like the heart of a ewe for her lamb, so was Anat's heart for Baal*"; KTU 1. 19, column 2; Translation after Coogan 1978, 111; Wyatt 2002, 135.

¹¹⁷⁸ See for example KTU 1.3.III: 37-47, where Anat manifested as a protector goddess. For the translation of the text see Wyatt 1998, 79-80.

¹¹⁷⁹ "*Ask for silver and I shall give (it) you, [for gold and I shall be]stow (it) on you. Just give your bow to [Virgin] Ana[t], your arrows to the Beloved of the Powerful One!*" CTA 18.I.1-12=KTU 1.17vi20, translation after Wyatt 1998, 272. For the symbolic meaning and representation of bow in the Ancient Near East and Egypt see Wilkinson 1991.

¹¹⁸⁰ Three other texts manifest Anat as a huntress goddess: "Birds are her prey", see KTU 122i: II;" She leaves El's banquet to go hunting, see KTU I.114; "She is a benefactress deity of animals", see KTU.1.10;1.13; Coogan 1978, 50; Day 1991, 143. Another suggestion is that her name means "springs", see Albright 1932, 190ff;

the offering of his bow, which arose the willing of Anat to kill him.¹¹⁸¹ In the murder of Aqhat, Anat manifested as a vulture¹¹⁸² and with the collaboration of Yatpan, a Sutean warrior, circles Aqhat and kills him.¹¹⁸³ At this point, the textual sources make us wonder if Anat's attitude was well depicted in the archaeological material, but according to Mullen, her violent nature is unparalleled in the Ugarit materials.¹¹⁸⁴

Her protector character, may originated from her maternal feelings. She presented as a "mother of people" from an Ugarit poem in which she conceives a son by Baal in the form of heifer.¹¹⁸⁵ Her maternal nature is also identified in the *Epic of Keret*, representing the wet nurse of Kert's son, Yassubu a, who sucked on the breast milk of her.¹¹⁸⁶

Another epithet of Anat, which is known in Ugarit text is the epithet "Anat, the virgin".¹¹⁸⁷ This epithet can be used symbolically in order to underline the young age of the girl¹¹⁸⁸ and not her sexual aspects, as she is pregnant by Baal.¹¹⁸⁹

Her association with authority can also attested on her titles. In a magical spell, Anat is described as "lady of kingship" and "mistress of domination".¹¹⁹⁰ Her relation with royal authority is also confirmed in Egypt.

In Egyptian textual sources such as the Chester Beatty papyrus, Anat was presented as a daughter of Ra and wife of Seth.¹¹⁹¹ In magical spells, such as the Harris Magical Papyrus¹¹⁹² Anat was called "the goddess, who is pregnant,¹¹⁹³ but do not bear", allowing us to make two interpretations: a) her adolescence and the healthy sexuality, which is never used in

Caquot and Sznycer 1980, 9, 13; Caquot et al. 1989, 41. Another aspect supports that her name has an Arabic origin and means 'clouds', see Lipinski 1995, 309.

¹¹⁸¹"If I meet you in the paths of rebellion, [find you] in the paths of pride, I will feel you under [my feet], Finest, cleverest of fellows!" CAT.1.17 VI 41-45. Translation after Parker 1997.

¹¹⁸²It is not the only story, where Anat is presented with wings, as other story records: "Virgin Anat spread her wings, she spread her wings and winged her way towards the shores of Shamak, filled with wild oxen." KTU 1.10 ii 10; Translation after Wyatt 1998, 156. Scholars suggest that she can appear as a bird, see Fensham 1996.

¹¹⁸³"To strike him twice [on the head], three times over the ear, Spi[lling] hid blood [like] a butcher, [Down to his knees], like a killer.[His] life went off like a breath, his soul [like a sneeze], from [his nose] like smoke." CAT 1.18 V27-37.

¹¹⁸⁴Mullen 1980, 68, no.110.

¹¹⁸⁵KTU I:10. After translation of Coogan 1978, 50.

¹¹⁸⁶KTU 1.14-1.16. After translation of Wyatt 2002, 176.

¹¹⁸⁷KTU 1.3 II 32.

¹¹⁸⁸Olyan 1987, 161-166.

¹¹⁸⁹KTU I:10.

¹¹⁹⁰KTU 1.108.

¹¹⁹¹Pritchard 1969, 15, 250; Walls 1992,147; Pinch 2002,102.

¹¹⁹²P. London BM 10042 r° III, 5 – 10, Translation after Pritchard 1943, 79; Leitz 1999, 35, pl. 14.

¹¹⁹³In KTU 1.31, Anat bears, without having conceived in contrast with Egyptian tradition, where she conceives, but does not bear, see Wyatt 1998, 173, no.36.

reproduction and b) her disability in giving birth due to her sexual relations with Seth, a god who brings abortion.¹¹⁹⁴

Turning the discussion to her political role, her relationship with royal authority is also confirmed in her titles as as “mistress of every land” (*ʿnti nbt t3*),¹¹⁹⁵ “mistress of the gods” (*nbt ntrwt*)¹¹⁹⁶ and “Anat lady of the sky” (*ʿnti nbt pt*),¹¹⁹⁷ corresponding to the title of Qudshu and reflecting the association of the “Heaven Cow”, Hathor. She promoted the campaign of Shasu-Beduin by Sety I, who called her “Anat is content” (*ʿnt hrī*)¹¹⁹⁸ and supported the reign of Rameses III in order to regain the royal dignity.¹¹⁹⁹ However, her association with Ramses II was so close in order to support him in the war than expressing her maternal functions and make Anat a divine mother,¹²⁰⁰ such as Hathor with Horus.¹²⁰¹ In parallel, apart from her maternal nature, she is also reflects her bloodthirstiness, which can be associated with Sekhmet and Bastet.¹²⁰²

¹¹⁹⁴ Wyatt 1999, III. See for example the declaration of Seth in Turin papyrus where god says: “I am a Man of a million cubits, whose name is Evil Day. As for the day of giving birth or conceiving, there is no giving birth and trees bear no fruit”, translation after te Velde 1977, 29.

¹¹⁹⁵ See for example the relief, which reads: *Anat mistress of every land* (*ʿnti nbt t3*), see AR2.

¹¹⁹⁶ See for instance, the stela of Qeh, which bears the inscription in Lower register: “*Anat, lady of the sky, mistress of the gods, all protection, life, stability and power with her* (*ʿnt nbt hryt nbt ntrwt s3 ʿnh ddt wsr ns*)” and above the worshippers: “*Giving to Anat, kissing the earth to your ka, o heavenly* (*rdi n ʿnti (t) sn n k3 pt*)”, see AR4

¹¹⁹⁷ See for example the relief, which reads: “*Anat lady of the sky* (*ʿnti nbt pt*)” See AR1.

¹¹⁹⁸ A team of the royal chariot span bears the inscription: “*Anat is content* (*ʿnt hrī*)”, see AC1.

¹¹⁹⁹ Tazawa 2009, 148.

¹²⁰⁰ Nursling of Anat (*mhry ʿnt*), see AN15 (X). Also, in the statue of Anat with Ramesses II, which bears the inscription in both sides of dorsal pillar: *Beloved of Anat* (*ʿnti mri*), Rear of dorsal pillar: *I am your mother Anat* (*mwt=k ʿnti*), see AS1. Also, the same epithet is presented in the second statue of Ramesses II with Anat, which reads: Left edge: *Anat lady of the sky, mistress of the gods* (*ʿnti nbt pt ntrw*), Dorsal pillar: *I am your mother loved, possessing love, lady of monuments and excellence* (*nb mrt mnw hr mnhw*), see AS2.

¹²⁰¹ Walls 1992, 153; Hulin 1982; Redford 1992.

¹²⁰² Tazawa 2009, 133.

6. Qadesh

6.1 Seals, amulet, Scarabs, scaraboids and other art in miniature (QM1-53)

QM1. Foil (QM1)

Material: Gold

Provenance: Minet el-Beida

Date: 18th Dynasty

Inventory no.: L AO 14.714

Bibliography: Cornelius 2004, 130, cat. 5.20 with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Cornelius added Budin 2015a, 3, fig.2; Ibid., 2015, 329, fig.22; Lahn 2014, 356, Kat. 37, 404.

Description: A naked goddess pointing her toes to the right on the back of a lion. She holds gazelles by the feet in both hands. She wears a Hathor headdress, bracelets and necklace with petals. Behind her there are serpents and stars.

Phrases or epithets

No inscriptions

QM2. Pendant (QM2)

Material: Bronze

Provenance: Akko

Date: 18th Dynasty

Inventory no.: Present location unknown

Bibliography: Cornelius 2004, 131, cat. 5.21 with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Cornelius added Schroer 2011, 304f, Nr. 862; Lahn 2014, 359, Kat. 43, 407.

Description: A naked goddess pointing her toes to the left on the back of a lion. She holds a long-stemmed lotus flower in each hand. She wears a Hathor headdress, a disk, a necklace and bracelets in her arms.

Phrases or epithets

No inscriptions

QM3. Plaque (QM3)

Material: Gold

Provenance: Minet el-Beida

Date: 18th Dynasty

Inventory no.: L AO 14.716

Bibliography: Cornelius 2004, 132, cat. 5.23 with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Cornelius added Lahn 2014, 357, Kat. 41, 406.

Description: A naked goddess facing the front. She wears a Hathor curls and she holds flowers in each hand.

Phrases or epithets

No inscriptions

QM4. Plaque (QM4)

Material: Gold

Provenance: Tel Harasim

Date: 18th Dynasty

Inventory no.: Fribourg, collection BIBEL+ORIENT, VRep 2004.10.¹²⁰³

Bibliography: Cornelius 2004, 132, cat. 5.24 with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Cornelius

¹²⁰³ Cornelius (2004, 132, cat. 5.24) suggested the Museum Hashephela, Kfar Menachem IAA 94-1457.

added Lahn 2014, 367, Kat. 66, 419 with an additional bibliography.

Description: A naked goddess facing the front. She wears a Hathor curls and she holds flowers in each hand.

Phrases or epithets

No inscriptions

QM5. Plaque (QM5)

Material: Terracotta

Provenance: Tel Harasim

Date: 18th Dynasty

Inventory no.: Present location unknown.¹²⁰⁴

Bibliography: Cornelius 2004, 132, cat. 5.25 with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Cornelius added Lahn 2014, 367, Kat. 67, 419.

Description: A naked goddess facing the front, but the face is missing. She holds flowers in each hand.

Phrases or epithets

No inscriptions

QM6. Pendant (QM6)

Material: Gold

Provenance: Minet el-Beida

Date: 18th Dynasty

Inventory no.: L AO 14.717

Bibliography: Cornelius 2004, 133, cat. 5.27 with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Cornelius added Lahn 2014, 356, Kat. 38, 405.

Description: A naked goddess pointing her toes to the right on the back of a lion. She holds two rams by the feet and a long-stemmed lotus flower on each side. She wears a Hathor headdress, bracelets and necklace.

Phrases or epithets

No inscriptions

QM7. Pendant (QM7)

Material: Gold

Provenance: Minet el-Beida

Date: 18th Dynasty

Inventory no.: Aleppo 4575

Bibliography: Cornelius 2004, 133, cat. 5.28 with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Cornelius added Lahn 2014, 357, Kat. 40, 406.

Description: A naked goddess facing the front. She holds long-stemmed lotus flower and papyrus plants in both hands and stars and disk on the left hand. She wears a Hathor headdress and necklace.

Phrases or epithets

No inscriptions

QM8. Pendant (QM8)

Material: Gold

Provenance: Uluburun

Date: 18th Dynasty

Inventory no.: Ulu Burun KW 703

Bibliography: Cornelius 2004, 134, cat. 5.29 with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Cornelius

¹²⁰⁴ Cornelius 2004, 132, cat. 5.25.

added Lahn 2014, 355, Kat. 36, 403.

Description: A naked goddess facing the front. She holds a gazelle in each hand. She wears a high crown and four bracelets, Hathor headdress and necklace.

Phrases or epithets

No inscriptions

QM9. Plaque (QM9)

Material: Terracotta

Provenance: Aphek

Date: 18th Dynasty

Inventory no.: Tel Aviv Institute of Archaeology, IAA 90-266

Bibliography: Cornelius 2004, 134, cat. 5.31 with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Cornelius added Lahn 2014, 361, Kat. 48, 410.

Description: A naked goddess facing the front. She holds long- stemmed lotus flowers. She wears a Hathor headdress.

Phrases or epithets

No inscriptions

QM10. Plaque (QM10)

Material: Terracotta

Provenance: Gezer

Date: 18th Dynasty

Inventory no.: IAA 67-434

Bibliography: Cornelius 2004, 135, cat. 5.33 with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Cornelius added Lahn 2014, 363, Kat. 55, 413.

Description: A naked goddess facing the front and the feet are missing. She holds long- stemmed flowers and wears a Hathor headdress.

Phrases or epithets

No inscriptions

QM11. Plaque (QM11)

Material: Terracotta

Provenance: Timnah

Date: 18th Dynasty

Inventory no.: Present location unknown

Bibliography: Cornelius 2004, 135, cat. 5.34 with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Cornelius added Lahn 2014, 364, Kat. 59, 415.

Description: A naked goddess facing the front. She wears a Hathor headdress with the ears exposed and she holds flowers.

Phrases or epithets

No inscriptions

QM12. Plaque (QM12)

Material: Terracotta

Provenance: Tell Zafit

Date: 18th Dynasty

Inventory no.: RJ P.9

Bibliography: Cornelius 2004, 136, cat. 5.37 with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Cornelius added Lahn 2014, 366, Kat. 65, 418.

Description: A naked goddess facing the front. She holds long- stemmed flowers in both hands and each stalk is a rosette star.

Phrases or epithets

No inscriptions

QM13. Plaque (QM13)

Material: Terracotta

Provenance: Purchased in Jerusalem

Date: 18th Dynasty

Inventory no.: H 762 Hecht Museum Haifa

Bibliography: Cornelius 2004, 137, cat. 5.41 with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Cornelius added Lahn 2014, 370, Kat. 74, 422.

Description: A naked goddess facing the front. She holds long- stemmed flowers and standing on the stem.

Phrases or epithets

No inscriptions

QM14. Plaque (QM14)

Material: Terracotta

Provenance: Megiddo

Date: 18th Dynasty

Inventory no.: Berlin VA 15134a

Bibliography: Cornelius 2004, 138, cat. 5.45 with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Cornelius added Lahn 2014, 360, Kat. 46, 409.

Description: A naked goddess facing the front. She wears a necklace with Hathor headdress and holds lotus plants.

Phrases or epithets

No inscriptions

QM15. Plaque (QM15)

Material: Terracotta

Provenance: Gezer

Date: 18th Dynasty

Inventory no.: Present location unknown.

Bibliography: Cornelius 2004, 139, cat. 5.51 with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Cornelius added Lahn 2014, 362, Kat. 51, 412.

Description: A naked goddess facing the front. She wears a Hathor headdress and holds plants.

Phrases or epithets

No inscriptions

QM16. Plaque (QM16)

Material: Terracotta

Provenance: Ugarit

Date: 18th Dynasty

Inventory no.: Present location unknown

Bibliography: Cornelius 2004, 142, cat. 5.62 with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Cornelius added Lahn 2014, 357-358, Kat. 42, 407.

Description: A naked woman wears a Hathor headdress and holds long- stemmed flowers.

Phrases or epithets

No inscriptions

QM17. Mold (QM17)**Material:** Clay**Provenance:** Tel Qarnajim**Date:** Middle of 18th-19th Dynasty**Inventory no.:** Jerusalem, Israel Museum, IAA 76-999**Bibliography:** Cornelius 2004, Cat. 5:13 with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Cornelius added Budin 2015a, 14. Fig.19; Schroer 2011, 312f, Nr. 870; Lahn 2014, 359, Kat. 44, 408.**Description:** A naked goddess wears a Hathor headdress, facing to the front.**Phrases or epithets** No inscriptions**QM18. Plaque (QM18)****Material:** Terracotta**Provenance:** Tell Beit Mirsim**Date:** 18th- 19th Dynasty**Inventory no.:** RJ I.8997**Bibliography:** Cornelius 2004, 140, cat. 5.57 with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Cornelius added Lahn 2014, 371, Kat. 76, 423.**Description:** A naked goddess facing the front. She wears a feathered headdress and holds plants.**Phrases or epithets**

No inscriptions

QM19. Plaque (QM19)**Material:** Terracotta**Provenance:** Beth Shemesh**Date:** 18th-19th Dynasty**Inventory no.:** UM 61-14-1282**Bibliography:** Cornelius 2004, 139, cat. 5.53 with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Cornelius added Lahn 2014, 365-366, Kat. 62, 416.**Description:** A naked goddess facing the front. She wears a Hathor headdress and holds plants.**Phrases or epithets**

No inscriptions

QM20. Plaque (QM20)**Material:** Terracotta**Provenance:** Lachish**Date:** 18th -19th Dynasty**Inventory no.:** BM 1980.1214.2266**Bibliography:** Cornelius 2004, 136, cat. 5.38 with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Cornelius added Lahn 2014, 369, Kat. 71, 421.**Description:** A naked goddess facing the front. She holds long- stemmed plants and wears a Hathor headdress, anklets and armllets.**Phrases or epithets**

No inscriptions

QM21. Pendant (QM21)**Material:** Silver**Provenance:** Lachish

Date: 1200–1130 BCE

Inventory no.: Present location unknown.

Bibliography: Weissbein et al. 2016, 48-51, fig.5 with an additional bibliography.

Description: A naked goddess wears a Hathor headdress, facing to the front.

Phrases or epithets

No inscriptions

QM22. Plaque (QM22)

Material: Terracotta

Provenance: Beth Shemesh

Date: 19th Dynasty

Inventory no.: UM 61-14-1316

Bibliography: Cornelius 2004, 140, cat. 5.55b with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Cornelius added Lahn 2014, 368, Kat. 68, 419.

Description: A naked goddess facing the front. She wears a Hathor headdress and holds plants.

Phrases or epithets

No inscriptions

QM23. Plaque (QM23)

Material: Terracotta

Provenance: Beth Shemesh

Date: 19th Dynasty

Inventory no.: UM 61-14-1316

Bibliography: Cornelius 2004, 139, cat. 5.52 with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Cornelius added Lahn 2014, 366, Kat. 63, 417.

Description: A naked goddess facing the front. She wears a Hathor headdress and holds plants.

Phrases or epithets

No inscriptions

QM24. Foil (QM24)

Material: Gold

Provenance: Lachish

Date: 19th Dynasty

Inventory no.: IAA 78-1

Bibliography: Cornelius 2004, 131, cat. 5.22 with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Cornelius added Schroer 2011, 312f, Nr. 869; Budin 2015a, 13, fig.18; 2015b, 328, fig.21; Lahn 2014, 368, Kat. 20, 420 with an additional bibliography.

Description: A naked goddess standing on the back of a horse and facing to the right. She holds two lotus flowers in each hand and she wears a crown with horns and feathers.

Phrases or epithets

No inscriptions

QM25. Amulet (Pendant) (QM25)

Material: Gilded bronze

Provenance: unknown

Date: 19th Dynasty

Inventory no.: Athens, National Archaeological Museum 559

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 101, Doc.17 with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Tazawa added Lahn 2014, 334, Kat. 7, 379.

Description: A pendant, which manifest a triad group. In the centre stands en face a naked goddess

pointing her toes on the back of a lion. She wears a Hathor headdress with a naos-sistrum on the top and holds a lotus flowers in the right hand and a serpent in the other hand.

Phrases or epithets

No inscriptions

QM26. Amulet (Pendant) (QM26)

Material: Faience

Provenance: unknown

Date: 19th -20th Dynasty

Inventory no.: Athens, National Archaeological Museum 944

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 101, Doc. 16 with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Tazawa added Lahn 2014, 334, Kat. 6, 378.

Description: A naked goddess pointing her toes on the back of a lion. She holds two long-stemmed lotus flower in her left hand and a serpent in the other. She wears a Hathor headdress and broad collar around her neck.

Phrases or epithets

No inscriptions

QM27. Pendant (QM27)

Material: Gold

Provenance: Ugarit

Date: New Kingdom

Inventory no.: Bible Lands Jerusalem 2120.

Bibliography: Cornelius 2004, 130, cat. 5.20a with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Cornelius added Lahn 2014, 356-357, Kat. 39, 405.

Description: A naked goddess pointing her toes to the right on the back of a lion. She holds rams by the feet in both hands. She wears a Hathor headdress, bracelets and necklace with petals.

Phrases or epithets

No inscriptions

QM28. Plaque (QM28)

Material: Bronze

Provenance: Purchased

Date: New Kingdom

Inventory no.: L AO 4654

Bibliography: Cornelius 2004, 134, cat. 5.30 with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Cornelius added Lahn 2014, 359-360, Kat. 45, 409.

Description: A naked goddess facing the front. She holds long-stemmed lotus flowers. She wears Hathor headdress, bracelets and anklets.

Phrases or epithets

No inscriptions

QM29. Plaque (QM29)

Material: Terracotta

Provenance: Gezer

Date: New Kingdom

Inventory no.: RJ P.41

Bibliography: Cornelius 2004, 134, cat. 5.32 with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Cornelius added Lahn 2014, 361, Kat. 50, 411.

Description: A naked goddess facing the front. She holds long-stemmed plants in both hands. She wears a

Hathor headdress, large ram's horns, six bracelets, necklace, and an atef-crown.

Phrases or epithets

No inscriptions

QM30. Plaque (QM30)

Material: Terracotta

Provenance: Beth Shemesh

Date: New Kingdom

Inventory no.: UM 61-14-1655

Bibliography: Cornelius 2004, 135, cat. 5.35 with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Cornelius added Lahn 2014, 365, Kat. 61, 416.

Description: A naked goddess facing the front. She holds long- stemmed plants in both hands. She wears a coiffure and four bracelets.

Phrases or epithets

No inscriptions

QM31. Plaque (QM31)

Material: Terracotta

Provenance: Beth Shemesh

Date: New Kingdom

Inventory no.: RJ I.8641

Bibliography: Cornelius 2004, 136, cat. 5.36 with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Cornelius added Lahn 2014, 366, Kat. 64, 417.

Description: A naked goddess facing the front, but the feet are missing. She holds long- stemmed plants in both hands and wears a Hathor headdress.

Phrases or epithets

No inscriptions

QM32. Plaque (QM32)

Material: Terracotta

Provenance: Tell el-Hesy

Date: New Kingdom

Inventory no.: Istanbul 2105 P.T

Bibliography: Cornelius 2004, 136, cat. 5.39 with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Cornelius added Lahn 2014, 370, Kat. 73, 422.

Description: A naked goddess facing the front. She holds long- stemmed plants and wears a Hathor headdress and necklace.

Phrases or epithets

No inscriptions

QM33. Plaque (QM33)

Material: Terracotta

Provenance: Tell Beit Mirsim

Date: New Kingdom

Inventory no.: Present location unknown.

Bibliography: Cornelius 2004, 137, cat. 5.40 with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Cornelius added Lahn 2014, 370, Kat. 75, 423.

Description: A naked goddess facing the front. She holds long- stemmed plants in both hands.

Phrases or epithets

No inscriptions

QM34. Plaque (QM34)

Material: Terracotta

Provenance: unknown

Date: New Kingdom

Inventory no.: Collection R. Braun Jerusalem ¹²⁰⁵

Bibliography: Cornelius 2004, 137, cat. 5.42 with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Cornelius added Lahn 2014, 373, Kat. 84, 427.

Description: A naked goddess facing the front and the feet are missing. She holds long- stemmed flowers

Phrases or epithets

No inscriptions

QM35. Plaque (QM35)

Material: Terracotta

Provenance: Megiddo

Date: New Kingdom

Inventory no.: Present location unknown.

Bibliography: Cornelius 2004, 137, cat. 5.44 with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Cornelius added Lahn 2014, 360, Kat. 47, 410.

Description: A naked goddess facing the front. She holds long- stemmed flowers in the right hand, other arm is missing.

Phrases or epithets

No inscriptions

QM36. Plaque (QM36)

Material: Terracotta

Provenance: Gezer

Date: New Kingdom

Inventory no.: R J P.14

Bibliography: Cornelius 2004, 138, cat. 5.46 with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Cornelius added Lahn 2014, 362, Kat. 52, 412.

Description: A naked goddess facing the front. She wears a Hathor headdress, scroll pattern above her head and holds flowers.

Phrases or epithets

No inscriptions

QM37. Plaque (QM37)

Material: Terracotta

Provenance: Gezer

Date: New Kingdom

Inventory no.: Present location unknown.

Bibliography: Cornelius 2004,138, cat. 5.47 with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Cornelius added Lahn 2014, 363, Kat. 56, 414.

Description: A naked goddess facing the front. She wears a Hathor headdress and holds flowers.

Phrases or epithets

¹²⁰⁵ Cornelius (2004, 137, cat. 5.42) has cited this item in Collection R. Braun Jerusalem.

No inscriptions

QM38. Plaque (QM38)

Material: Terracotta

Provenance: Gezer

Date: New Kingdom

Inventory no.: Present location unknown.

Bibliography: Cornelius 2004, 138, cat. 5.48 with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Cornelius added Lahn 2014, 364, Kat. 58, 414.

Description: A naked goddess facing the front. She wears a Hathor headdress and holds flowers.

Phrases or epithets

No inscriptions

QM39. Plaque (QM39)

Material: Terracotta

Provenance: Gezer

Date: New Kingdom

Inventory no.: Istanbul 5510 P.T

Bibliography: Cornelius 2004, 139, cat. 5.49 with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Cornelius added Lahn 2014, 362, Kat. 53, 412.

Description: A naked goddess facing the front. She wears a necklace with Hathor headdress, bracelets, necklace and holds flowers.

Phrases or epithets

No inscriptions

QM40. Plaque (QM40)

Material: Terracotta

Provenance: Gezer

Date: New Kingdom

Inventory no.: Present location unknown.

Bibliography: Cornelius 2004, 139, cat. 5.50 with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Cornelius added Lahn 2014, 364, Kat. 57, 414.

Description: A naked goddess facing the front. She wears four bracelets and Hathor headdress and holds flowers.

Phrases or epithets

No inscriptions

QM41. Plaque (QM41)

Material: Terracotta

Provenance: Tell Zakhariya

Date: New Kingdom

Inventory no.: Present location unknown.

Bibliography: Cornelius 2004, 140, cat. 5.54 with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Cornelius added Lahn 2014, 368, Kat. 69, 420.

Description: A naked goddess facing the front. She wears a Hathor headdress and holds plants.

Phrases or epithets

No inscriptions

QM42. Plaque (QM42)**Material:** Terracotta**Provenance:** Lachish**Date:** New Kingdom**Inventory no.:** BM ANE 1980.1214.11951**Bibliography:** Cornelius 2004, 140, cat. 5.55 with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Cornelius added Lahn 2014, 369, Kat. 72, 421.**Description:** A naked goddess facing the front. She wears a Hathor headdress and holds plants.**Phrases or epithets**

No inscriptions

QM43. Plaque (QM43)**Material:** Terracotta**Provenance:** Jericho**Date:** New Kingdom**Inventory no.:** UCL Institute of Archaeology 46.10/72**Bibliography:** Cornelius 2004, 140, cat. 5.55a with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Cornelius added Lahn 2014, 361, Kat. 49, 411.**Description:** A naked goddess facing the front. She wears a necklace and holds plants.**Phrases or epithets**

No inscriptions

QM44. Plaque (QM44)**Material:** Terracotta**Provenance:** Tell Bet Mirsim**Date:** New Kingdom**Inventory no.:** Fribourg, collection BIBEL+ORIENT, VRep 2004.6.¹²⁰⁶**Bibliography:** Cornelius 2004, 140, cat. 5.56 with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Cornelius added Lahn 2014, 371, Kat. 77, 424.**Description:** A naked goddess wears a Hathor headdress and holds plants.**Phrases or epithets**

No inscriptions

QM45. Plaque (QM45)**Material:** Terracotta**Provenance:** unknown**Date:** New Kingdom**Inventory no.:** RJ P.22**Bibliography:** Cornelius 2004, 141, cat. 5.60 with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Cornelius added Lahn 2014, 372, Kat. 80, 425.**Description:** A naked goddess facing the front. She wears a Hathor headdress, scroll pattern above and holds plants.**Phrases or epithets**

No inscriptions

QM46. Plaque (QM46)**Material:** Terracotta

¹²⁰⁶ Cornelius (2004, 140, cat. 5.57) has not cited this object.

Provenance: unknown

Date: New Kingdom

Inventory no.: RJ P.7

Bibliography: Cornelius 2004, 141, cat. 5.58 with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Cornelius added Lahn 2014, 372, Kat. 81, 426.

Description: A naked goddess facing the front. She wears a Hathor headdress, necklace, four bracelets and holds plants.

Phrases or epithets

No inscriptions

QM47. Plaque (QM47)

Material: mould

Provenance: Gezer

Date: New Kingdom

Inventory no.: Istanbul 5511 P.T

Bibliography: Cornelius 2004, 141, cat. 5.59 with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Cornelius added Lahn 2014, 363, Kat. 54, 413.

Description: A naked goddess facing the front. She wears a Hathor headdress and holds long- stemmed flowers.

Phrases or epithets

No inscriptions

QM48. Plaque (QM48)

Material: Terracotta

Provenance: unknown

Date: New Kingdom

Inventory no.: RJ P.29

Bibliography: Cornelius 2004, 141, cat. 5.61 with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Cornelius added Lahn 2014, 373, Kat. 82, 426.

Description: A naked goddess facing the front. She wears a Hathor headdress, necklace, four bracelets and holds plants.

Phrases or epithets

No inscriptions

QM49. Plaque (QM49)

Material: Terracotta

Provenance: El-Kebire

Date: New Kingdom

Inventory no.: Israel Museum 68.32.156 (6).

Bibliography: Cornelius 2004, 141, cat. 5.61a with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Cornelius added Lahn 2014, 365, Kat. 60, 415.

Description: A naked female holding plants.

Phrases or epithets

No inscriptions

QM50. Plaque (QM50)

Material: Terracotta

Provenance: unknown

Date: New Kingdom

Inventory no.: Present location unknown.

Bibliography: Cornelius 2004, 137, cat. 5.43 with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Cornelius added Lahn 2014, 373, Kat. 83, 427.

Description: A naked goddess facing the front. She holds long- stemmed flowers.

Phrases or epithets

No inscriptions

QM51. Plaque (QM51)

Material: Terracotta

Provenance: unknown

Date: New Kingdom

Inventory no.: Instabul, Archaeological Museum Nr. 5509.

Bibliography: Cornelius 2004, 79, pl.C with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Cornelius added Lahn 2014, 372, Kat. 79, 425.

Description: A naked goddess facing the front. She holds animals. Above her head there are horned animals.

Phrases or epithets

No inscriptions

QM52. Plaque (QM52)

Material: Terracotta

Provenance: Tell Beit Mirsim

Date: New Kingdom

Inventory no.: Present location unknown

Bibliography: Cornelius 2004, 64, Abb. 50 with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Cornelius added Lahn 2014, 371, Kat. 78, 424.

Description: A naked goddess facing the front with her arms hanging down.

Phrases or epithets

No inscriptions

QM53. Pendant (QM53)

Material: Gold

Provenance: Zincirli

Date: New Kingdom

Inventory no.: Present location unknown

Bibliography: Cornelius 2004, 57, Abb. 47 with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Cornelius added Lahn 2014, 374, Kat. 85, 428.

Description: A naked goddess facing the front, holding plants.

Phrases or epithets

No inscriptions

6.2 Reliefs (QR1-16)

QR1. Anonymous stele (QR1)

Material: Limestone

Provenance: Unknown (Deir el-Medina?)

Date: 18th -19th Dynasty

Inventory no.: Cairo JE 26049

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 96, Doc. 1, pl.XVI with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Tazawa added Zivie-Coche 2011, 7, fig.7; Lahn 2014, 333, Kat. 5, 378.

Description: A naked goddess pointing her toes on the back of a lion and she wears a headdress, like Nemes with a vessel and plants on the top. She holds a lotus flowers in the left hand and a serpent in the other hand.

Phrases or epithets

Lady of the sky (nbt pt)¹²⁰⁷

QR2. Anonymous stele (QR2)

Material: Limestone

Provenance: Memphis

Date: 18th -19th Dynasty

Inventory no.: Cairo JE 45535

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 66, Doc. 2, pl.II with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Tazawa added Lahn 2014, 336, Kat. 10, 382.

Description: A naked goddess pointing her toes on the back of a base line and she wears a Hathor headdress with naos-sistrum.

Phrases or epithets

No inscriptions

QR3. Anonymous stele (QR3)

Material: Limestone

Provenance: Bought in Egypt in 1890

Date: 18th -19th Dynasty

Inventory no.: Copenhagen AEIN 313 (1908 E536)

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 100, Doc.15 with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Tazawa added Lahn 2014, 334-335, Kat. 8, 380.

Description: A naked goddess pointing her toes on the back of a lion. She wears a Hathor headdress with a naos-sistrum on the top and holds a lotus flowers in the left hand and a serpent in the other hand.

Phrases or epithets

No inscriptions

QR4. Stele (QR4)

Material: Limestone

Provenance: Deir el-Medina

Date: 18th -19th Dynasty

Inventory no.: EC JE 55316

Bibliography: Cornelius 2004, 129, cat. 5.18 with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Cornelius added Lahn 2014, 333, Kat. 4, 377.

Description: A naked goddess pointing her toes to the right on the back of a lion. She holds a long-stremmed lotus flower in her left hand and a serpent in the other. She wears a Hathor headdress and a disk

Phrases or epithets

No inscriptions

QR5. Stele of Iniahay (QR5)

Material: Limestone

Provenance: Deir el-Medina

Date: Beginning of 19th Dynasty

¹²⁰⁷ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 96, Doc. 1, pl.XVI.

Inventory no.: Moscow I.1a. 5613 (3177)

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 98, Doc.8, pl.VI with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Tazawa added Lahn 2014, 335, Kat. 9, 381.

Description: A naked goddess pointing her toes on the back of a lion. She wears a Hathor headdress with a naos-sistrum on the top and holds three lotus flowers in the right hand and two serpents in the other hand.

Phrases or epithets

Qadeshet great of magic, lady of the sky, mistress of the stars
(*kdšt w3dt hk3t nbt pt nbt sb3w*)¹²⁰⁸

QR6. Stele of illegible dedicator (QR6)

Material: Limestone

Provenance: Deir el-Medina

Date: Rameses II (1279-1213 BC)

Inventory no.: Moscow I. 1.a. 5614 (4087)

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 97, Doc. 3, pl.XVII with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Tazawa added Lahn 2014, 337, Kat. 12, 384.

Description: A naked goddess pointing her toes on the back of a lion and she wears a Hathor wig with a small abacus, disc and crescent moon. She holds three lotus flowers in the left hand and three serpents in the other hand.

Phrases or epithets

No inscriptions

QR7. Fragment of Stele (QR7)

Material: Limestone

Provenance: Deir el-Medina?

Date: Rameses II (1279-1213 BC)

Inventory no.: BM EA60308 (263)

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 97, Doc. 4, pl.XVII with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Tazawa added Lahn 2014, 346, Kat. 19, 393.

Description: A naked goddess pointing her toes on the back of a base line. She holds three lotus flowers in her right hand and two serpents in the other. She wears a Hathor wig on the top and broad collar around her neck.

Phrases or epithets

No inscriptions

QR8. Stele of Qeh¹²⁰⁹ (QR8)

Material: Limestone

Provenance: Deir el-Medina

Date: Rameses II (1279-1213 BC)

Inventory no.: BM EA191

Bibliography: KRI III 603, 10; RITA III 603, 10; ¹²¹⁰ Tazawa 2009, 98, Doc. 6, pl.V with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Tazawa added Budin 2015b, 323; 2015, 2; Lahn 2014, 342, Kat. 14, 388.

Description: A Triad depicts a naked goddess pointing her toes on the back of a lion and she holds a lotus flowers in the right hand and two serpents in the other hand.

Phrases or epithets

*Qadeshet lady of the sky (kdšt nbt pt)*¹²¹¹

¹²⁰⁸ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 98, Doc.8.

¹²⁰⁹ Tazawa (2009, 98, Doc.6), has mentioned the stele as Qaha, which is wrong.

¹²¹⁰ Tazawa (2009, 98, Doc. 6), has cited this object as KRI III 603, 9 and RITA III 413-414, which are wrong numbers.

QR9. Stele of Huy (QR9)

Material: Limestone

Provenance: Deir el-Medina

Date: Rameses II (1279-1213 BC)

Inventory no.: Louvre C86

Bibliography: KRI III 791, 13-14, 792, 4; RITA III 791, 13-14, 792, 4;¹²¹² Tazawa 2009, 98, Doc. 7, pl.V with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Tazawa added Lahn 2014, 338, Kat. 13a, 385.

Description: A Triad stele depicts a naked goddess pointing her toes on the back of a lion and she wears a Hathor wig and a sun disc. She holds a lotus flowers in the right hand and a serpent in the other hand.

Phrases or epithets

Recto: Qadesh lady of the sky mistress of all the gods (*kdš nbt pt hnwt ntrw nb*)

Verso: Giving a praise to Qadesh, Lady of heaven, mistress of all the gods, she may give life, prosperity and health for the ka of the lady of the house (*rdi n kdš nbt pt hnwt ntrw nb rdi nḥ wd3 snb n k3 n nbt pr*)

Giving praise to the Lady of heaven, paying homage to the lady of both lands, that she may grant a good life, (with) enjoyment of health for the spirit of her daughter (*rdi n nbt pt šnk t3n3t nbt t3wi rdi nḥ nfr sm3 im snb n k3 n s3t*)

Giving praise to Qadesh, diving hand, paying homage to the mistress of both lands, that she may give a good life to one who is loyal to her for the spirit of her daughter (*rdi n kdš ntrd3t šnk t3n3t nbt t3wi rdi nḥ nfr n hr mwst n k3 n s3t*)

Giving praise to the daughter of Re, paying homage to the mistress of the gods, that she may grant my name may abide in her temple for the spirit of her dear daughter (*rdi nšrit rḥ šnk t3n3t nbt ntrw rdi rn mnn imrpr št n k3 n s3t*)¹²¹³

QR10. Stele of Ramose (QR10)

Material: Limestone

Provenance: Deir el-Medina

Date: Rameses II (1279-1213 BC)

Inventory no.: Turin 50066

Bibliography: KRI III 621, 5; RITA III 621, 5;¹²¹⁴ Tazawa 2009, 97, Doc.5, pl.V with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Tazawa added Zivie-Coche 2011, 7, fig.7; Ziffer et al. 2009, 336, fig.4a; Schroer 2011, 310f, Nr. 868; Lahn 2014, 344, Kat. 16, 390.

Description: A Triad stele depicts a naked goddess pointing her toes on the back of a lion and she wears a Hathor wig and a sun disc. She holds a lotus flowers in the right hand and a serpent in the other hand.

Phrases or epithets Qadesh lady of the sky, mistress of the gods (*kdš nbt pt nbt ntrw*)¹²¹⁵

QR11. Fragment of stele of Neferhotep (QR11)

Material: Limestone

Provenance: Deir el-Medina

Date: Rameses III (1184-1153 BC)

Inventory no.: Winchester, Winchester College, 830.¹²¹⁶

Bibliography: KRI V 668, 16; RITA V 668, 16;¹²¹⁷ Tazawa 2014, 109, fig.6; 2009, 100, Doc.14, pl.XII with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Tazawa added Ziffer et al. 2009, 335, fig. 3; Schroer 2011, 308f,

¹²¹¹ Translation after RITA III 603, 10 and Tazawa 2009, 98, Doc. 6.

¹²¹² Tazawa (2009, 98, Doc.7), has cited the item as KRI III 791, 13 and RITA III 530, which are wrong numbers.

¹²¹³ Translation after RITA III 791, 13-14, 792, 4 and Tazawa 2009, 98, Doc. 7.

¹²¹⁴ Tazawa (2009, 97, Doc.5), has cited the item as KRI III 621, 6 and RITA III 242, which are wrong numbers.

¹²¹⁵ Translation after RITA III 621, 5 and Tazawa 2009, 97, Doc.5.

¹²¹⁶ Tazawa (2014, 109; 2009, 100, Doc.14) has not cited this object.

Nr. 867; Lahn 2014, 336, Kat. 11, 383.

Description: A naked goddess pointing her toes on the back of a lion and under her right arm there are texts. She wears a Hathor wig on the top and holds a lotus flowers in the right hand and a serpent in the other hand.

Phrases or epithets Qadeshet (*kdšt*)¹²¹⁸

QR12. Stele of illegible dedicator (QR12)

Material: Limestone

Provenance: Deir el-Medina

Date: 19th Dynasty

Inventory no.: BM EA355

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 99, Doc. 10 with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Tazawa added Ziffer et al. 2009, 336, fig.4b; Lahn 2014, 343, Kat. 15, 389.

Description: A naked goddess pointing her toes on the back of a lion. She wears a Hathor wig and holds some short stems of lotus flowers in the right hand and three serpents in the other hand.

Phrases or epithets

No inscriptions

QR13. Anonymous stele (QR13)

Material: Limestone

Provenance: unknown

Date: 19th Dynasty

Inventory no.: Cairo JE26048

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 99, Doc.11, pl.VI with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Tazawa added Lahn 2014, 354, Kat. 33, 401.

Description: A naked goddess pointing her toes on the back of a lion. She wears a Hathor headdress and holds two lotus flowers in the left hand and a serpent in the other hand.

Phrases or epithets

No inscriptions

QR14. Fragment of stele (QR14)

Material: Limestone

Provenance: Deir el-Medina?

Date: 19th Dynasty

Inventory no.: BM EA817

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 99, Doc. 12 with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Tazawa added Lahn 2014, 345, Kat. 18, 392.

Description: A Triad stele presents a naked goddess pointing her toes on the back of a lion and holds three lotus flowers in her right hand.

Phrases or epithets

No inscriptions

QR15. Stele of Takeret (QR15)

Material: Limestone

Provenance: Unknown

Date: 19th Dynasty

¹²¹⁷ Tazawa (2009, 100, Doc.14), has cited the item as KRI V 668, 16, without mentioning the translation of Kitchen.

¹²¹⁸ Translation after RITA V 668, 16 and Tazawa 2009, 100, Doc.14; 2014, 109.

Inventory no.: Berlin 21626

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 98, Doc.9, pl.XVII with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Tazawa added Schroer 2011, 308f, Nr. 866; Lahn 2014, 332, Kat. 3, 377.

Description: A naked goddess pointing her toes on the back of a lion. She wears a Hathor headdress with a naos-sistrum on the top and holds a lotus flowers in the left hand and a serpent in each hand.

Phrases or epithets

Qadeshet beloved of Ptah, lady of the sky (kšt mrr tn pth nbt pt)¹²¹⁹

QR16. Anonymous stele (QR16)

Material: Limestone

Provenance: Deir el-Medina?

Date: 19th Dynasty

Inventory no.: Vienna 1012

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 99, Doc.13 with an additional bibliography.¹²²⁰ To bibliography of Tazawa added Lahn 2014, 345, Kat. 17, 391.

Description: A Triad stele depicts a naked goddess pointing her toes on the back of a lion and she wears a Hathor wig and a sun disc.

Phrases or epithets Qadesh (*kšš*)¹²²¹

6.3. Inscriptions (QI1)

QI1. Inscription on the offering basin (QI1)

Material: Granite

Provenance: Memphis

Date: Amenhotep III (1390-1352 BC)

Inventory no.: Basel, Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig, BSAE 1022¹²²²

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 101, Doc.18 with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Tazawa added Lahn 2014, 330, Kat.1, 376.

Description: This object is a sculptured in the style of a kneeling man, who holds a basin. The basin bears inscriptions from the middle to the right and left.

Phrases or epithets *Great magic, lady of the sky, mistress of the house (w3dt hk3t nbt pt nbt pr)¹²²³*

6.4. Vessel (QV1)

QV1. Vessel of Sennefer (QV1)

Material: Mottled granite

Provenance: Memphis (or its environs)

Date: Horemheb (1323-1295 BC)

Inventory no.: Present location unknown

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 101, Doc.19, pl.VII with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Tazawa added Budin 2015a, 4; Lahn 2014, 331, Kat.2, 376.

¹²¹⁹ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 98-99, Doc.9.

¹²²⁰ Tazawa provides more detailed bibliography, see Tazawa 2009, 99, Doc. 13.

¹²²¹ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 99-100, Doc.13.

¹²²² Tazawa (2009, 101, Doc.18) has cited the item in the Private collection of Heckscher, which was the previous location of this object.

¹²²³ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 101, Doc.18.

Description: This is a stone bowl, which is inscribed with text.

Phrases or epithets *Qadesh lady of the stars of heavens (kdšt nbt sb3w ptw)*¹²²⁴

6.5 Papyrus (QP1-2)

QP1. A letter concerning the Wonders of Memphis (pSallier IV verso 1.1-4.8) (QP1)

Material: Papyrus

Provenance: Purchased from M.Sallier

Date: Middle of the reign of Rameses II (1279-1213 BC)

Inventory no.: BM EA10184

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 101, Doc.20 with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Tazawa added Lahn 2014, 350, Kat.30.

Description: The papyrus mentions that Qadesh were worshiped in Memphis

Phrases or epithets *Qadesh (kdšt)*¹²²⁵

QP2. Magical spell (pLeiden I 343+I 345, recto XXIII-XXIV)¹²²⁶

Material: Papyrus

Provenance: Memphis

Date: 19th-20th Dynasty

Inventory no.: Leiden I343+I 345

Bibliography: Tazawa 2009, 101, Doc.21 with an additional bibliography. To bibliography of Tazawa added Lahn 2014, 352, Kat.31, 400.

Description: Qadesh appears in a magical spell against disease, *smn*.

Phrases or epithets

*Qadesh (kdšt)*¹²²⁷

¹²²⁴ Translation after Budin 2015a, 4; Tazawa 2009, 101, Doc.19.

¹²²⁵ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 101, Doc.20.

¹²²⁶ Tazawa (2009, 101, Doc.21) mentioned recto XXII-XXIV, which is wrong.

¹²²⁷ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 101, Doc.21.

6.6 Iconography¹²²⁸

A. Naked woman in a triad stele (QR2-3, QR5, QR8-10, QR12-14, QR16)

Qadesh can be recognized by the fact that she is naked, while she stands on a lion or a ground line, holds serpents or papyrus on her hands and wears the Hathor wig with different crowns, such as solar disk or naos-headdress.¹²²⁹ The goddess is also accompanied by two male deities, Reshef (QR3, QR5, QR8-10, QR12-14, QR16) or Baal (QR2) on her left and Min or Onuris on her right (QR2-3, QR5).¹²³⁰

A1. Naked woman in a triad stele standing en face on a lion (QR3, QR4-6, QR8-10, QR12-16, QM25)

The scene depicts three figures. From the left to right Min, Qadesh on a lion and Reshef are attested. Min stands on a pedestal, which looks like a shrine, and behind him there are lotus flowers. Qadesh stands on a lion en face, holds two serpents on her left hand and lotus flowers on the other hand (QR3, QR4-6, QR8-10, QR12-14, QM25). Reshef wears a Near eastern hair style with a gazelle head in front, short beard, and length kilt with belt. The only Egyptian characteristics of Reshef are the *ʿnh* symbol and a spear.

A2. Naked woman in a non triad stele standing profile on a horse (QM17, QM24)

A gold foil depicts the goddess Qadesh. The goddess faces to the left, standing on a horse. The horse also faces to the left and wears a large feather (QM17, QM24). Qadesh wears a Hathor wig with curls upon her head and holds long stem lotuses on her V-pose arms.

A3. Naked woman in a triad stele standing on a stable ground (QR2)

Three deities without any inscription are depicted on a stela. A naked female goddess stands in the centre of the ground line. She wears a Hathor headdress with a sistrum, which identifies the goddess Qadesh. The figure on the right wears a Near Eastern beard and holds no weapons, while the other male deity wears a kilt and non-Egyptian cylindrical headdress (QR2).

¹²²⁸ For an alternative categorization of Qadesh see the catalogue of Cornelius 2008, 45-58 and Tazawa 2009, 121-122. Another categorization has been made by Kletter, who classified teracottas with Hathor hairdress and holding flowers, see Kletter 1996, 34, 270-27, 273.

¹²²⁹ Budin 2015a, 2; Zivie-Coche 2011, 6.

¹²³⁰ Budin 2015a, 2.

B. Naked woman in a non triad stele standing on a stable ground (QR7)

A naked woman stands en face on a base line. She stretches her arms in a V-posture, holds lotus flowers on her right hand and serpents on the other hand. Upon her head, she wears a Hathor wig on the top of which an abacus is fixed, a collar around her neck (QR7).

B1. Naked woman in a non triad stele standing en face on a lion (QM1-2, QM4, QM26-27, QR4, QR11, QR15)

A naked female goddess stands en face on a lion, while her body is profile. She stretches out her arms in a V-posture, holds serpents on her right hand and lotus flowers on the other hand. Upon her head, she wears a Hathor wig variable crowns such as abacus or sistrum (QM1-2, QM4, QM26-27, QR4, QR11, QR15).

B2. Naked woman in a non triad stele standing profile on a lion (QR1)

The goddess, Qadesh, who is presented on a stela, stands on a lion, faces to the right, holds a lotus flower on her left hand and a serpent on her right. Upon her head, wears a Nemes headdress with a vessel in which plants are recognizable (QR1).

B3. Naked woman in a non triad stele standing on a halfmoon (QM3)

A naked woman stands en face on a halfmoon. She stretches her arms in a V-posture.

6.7 Qualities

The name of Qudsu (qdš)¹²³¹ is attested in the Ugarit texts,¹²³² meant “holy” or “holy place”.¹²³³ The term of qdš is used for the epithet of El,¹²³⁴ but it can not be associated with the epithet of Asherah, as there are no depictions with inscriptions identifying her with Qudsu.¹²³⁵ According to recently studies there is uninscribed archaeological material, which identified her appearance and she might be regarded as an independent deity.¹²³⁶ The fact that Qudsu is described in the texts as a divinity as the goddess who serves Asherah and prepares her mule¹²³⁷ reflects a goddess with her own cult.¹²³⁸ Her holiness is not associated with sexual rites,¹²³⁹ or merely with fertility,¹²⁴⁰ as her basic iconographical characteristic is a lion, which connected with power,¹²⁴¹ describing her as “mistress of animals”.¹²⁴²

In Egypt, her name is recognizable as “*Qadešet*” or “*Qadesh*” and many titles are link to her, attesting an independent divinity.¹²⁴³ One of her titles is the “great of magic” (*w3dt ḥk3t*)¹²⁴⁴. The application of this divine epithet to Qadesh is aiming to boost her functions as a fertility goddess by magical support. Apart from her name, the objects, which the goddess carries in her hands are linked to symbolic aspects, such as the lotus or papyrus are associated with revival, happiness and resurrection and snakes are linked to the protection against evil or sometimes as a symbol has negative meaning.¹²⁴⁵

¹²³¹Wb. V 82. In Akkadian “qasdutu”, see Black et al., 1999, 286.

¹²³²CTA 14.IV.197-206=KTU 1.14.IV.34-44=UT:KRT 197-206=RS.3.44. Autograph: CTA II, fig.37.

¹²³³Cornelius 2004, 94; Wilkinson 2003, 164; Coogan 1978, 63; Hadley 2000, 47

¹²³⁴In KTU 1.16; van Koppen and van den Toorn 1999; Wyatt 1999, 100. For more information about the association of Qudshu with El, see Pope 1955, 44; Perlman 1978, 81; Wiggins 1991; Smith 1994, 95; van der Toorn 1996, 326.

¹²³⁵Cornelius 1993, 29. Contra Mayer 1986, 37; Hadely 2000, 47; Keel and Uehlinger 1998, 68; Negbi 1976, 99; Albright 1954a, 26; 1968b, 106, who suggest that the name of Qushu is associated with Asherah. Also, the suggestion that she is a cultic or sacred prostitute has been rejected, see Frevel 1995; Bird 1997. For more information about Qudsu, see Frever 1995; Bird 1997; Gese 1970, 149-150; de Moor 1971, 130; Cornelius 1989, 61-62; 1993.

¹²³⁶Cornelius 2004; 1993; Schulman 1982, 86, n.24.

¹²³⁷KTU 1.4 IV 14-17; Cornelius 1993, 31.

¹²³⁸Schulman 1982, 86, n.24.

¹²³⁹Barstad 1984, 22ff; Hackett 1989, 68-70; Oden 1987, 131ff.

¹²⁴⁰Cornelius 1993, 32.

¹²⁴¹Keel 1992, 148; 1986, 148; Keel et.al 1989, 59.

¹²⁴²Cornelius 1993, 32.

¹²⁴³Cornelius 2004, 96. Contra Stadelmann 1967, 114-115, who suggests that Qadesh was a cultic form of Anat and Astarte and as a “Hypostasis” of two goddess.

¹²⁴⁴Cornelius 2004, 58; Keel 1992, 207, 244.

¹²⁴⁵Budin 2015a, 15, 17; Ziffer et.al 2009, 335.

Due to the annexation of Canaan and the deification of Ramesses II and his marriage with the daughter of Hattusili III and queen Puduhepa in 1245 BCE,¹²⁴⁶ the iconography of a nude goddess with Syrian style in Egypt became popular, as it was a peaceful period for both regions.¹²⁴⁷

¹²⁴⁶ For the treaty of Ramesses II and Hattusil III, see KR II 225, 1-232, 10; RITA II 79-85; Brand 2007, 15-33. For the first Hittite marriage of Ramesses II, see KR II 233, 15-281, 10; RITA II 86-110. For the second Hittite marriage of Ramesses II, see KR II 282, 1, 282, 5-284, 1; RITA II 110-112; Brand 2005.

¹²⁴⁷ Bryce 2006, 10.

Chapter 2: Syro-Palestinian deities in Egypt: their role in the political and diplomatic field

The Egyptian authority, which was shaped during the New Kingdom period, followed a long period of economic development and militaristic achievements, expanding its boundaries in the region of the Levant.¹²⁴⁸ The relevant archaeological material, such as stele and seal and textual sources, such as relief inscriptions and hymns of this period record the importation and manifestation of Syro-palestinian deities, such as Baal, Astarte, Anat and Reshef in the political field, demonstrating their appearance in royal campaigns. However, internal¹²⁴⁹ and external¹²⁵⁰ textual sources reflect more aspects of their appearance in the political and diplomatic fields. Thus, in this chapter, it is necessary to re-examine their role and contribution to the political authority and diplomacy of the pharaohs of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasty and to define the reason for their importation in the political context. The aim of this chapter is to demonstrate: a) their appearance and participation in the military campaigns of the pharaohs, by adding new archaeological material, b) their manifestation in Amarna Letters, c) the appearance of these Syro-palestinian deities in the treaty of Rameses II with Hattusili III, d) their appearance in the diplomatic marriage of Ramesses II.

Among the most important studies, which are associated with the political role of Syro-palestinian deities and their relation with the pharaohs, through iconography and archaeological material, are the studies of Cornelius (1994; 2004; 2017), Tazawa (2009; 2014), Zivie (2011), Schmitt (2013) and Ulanowski (2013). On the other hand, there are studies, such as that of Redford (1973b; 1992), Selz (2000), Wilkinson (2003), Munnich (2009) and Morris (2015a; 2015b), which summarize the appearance of Syro-palestinian deities in the military campaigns or add a different point of view of their participation in the political and diplomatic field.¹²⁵¹

¹²⁴⁸ Spalinger 2005, 1.

¹²⁴⁹ Such as the treaty of Ramesses II and the Marriage stele.

¹²⁵⁰ Such as the Amarna letters.

¹²⁵¹ Apart from articles and books, lexicons, such as these of Hart 2005, 22, 43, 137 and van der Toorn et al 1999, 36, 132, 109, 700 included Syro-palestinian deities and mentioned the connection between them and the Egyptians pharaohs. More particularly, they presented the appearance of each Syro-palestinian deity in Near East and Egypt and the manifestation of Anat, see Hart 2005, 22; van der Toorn et.al 1999, 36. For Baal, see Hart 2005, 43; van der Toorn et.al 1999, 132. For Astarte, see Hart 2005, 34; van der Toorn et.al 1999, 109. For Qadesh, see Hart 2005, 132 and Reshef, see Hart 2005, 137; van der Toorn et.al 1999, 700. Lastly, the relation between them and Ramesses II, Ramesses III and Amenhotep II is also mentioned. For example, the god Baal is mentioned in the battle of the Qadesh, *Sutekh, great of Strength, Baal in person (swth ʿ3phty B'r m ḥꜥ=f)* see Hart 2005, 43.

The first published monograph of Cornelius entitled *The Iconography of the Canaanite Gods Reshef and Ba'al: Late Bronze and Iron Age I Periods (C 1500-1000 BCE)*, concerns the iconographical representations of Baal and Reshef during the Late Bronze Age.¹²⁵²

In his examination, a full catalog description of the relevant archaeological material such as reliefs, seals and statues are included, while an analysis of their iconographic attributes, divides them into “menacing god”, “standing god”, “deities on animals” and “monster slayer”.¹²⁵³

According to his research, the first category includes Reshef, who is presented with a raised hand, holding a weapon in a menacing way over its head, such as a battle-axe, mace, mace-axe and a shield and he is dressed in the short, knee-length kilt.¹²⁵⁴ At the same time, Baal is presented in the same way as Reshef, raising his hand and holding weapons above his head, but he is never depicted with a shield.¹²⁵⁵

In the second category, Reshef is standing among the other two deities, Min and Qadesh. In all cases, Reshef wears a knee-length kilt with a belt, a collar, the white crown and he holds the spear in his right hand and an *ʿnh* symbol in his left hand.¹²⁵⁶ Parallel, Baal is depicted with a streamer and bull horns, holding a *w3s*-sceptre in his left hand and a *hps* sword on the other hand.¹²⁵⁷

There are several manifestations that present Reshef and Baal in a sitting position on horseback or driving a chariot.¹²⁵⁸ Cornelius states that “*The deity is depicted on a lion or a bull because of the connection with the numinous power represented by the animal. Riding the horse has a more "practical" reason. The horse is especially used in warfare. When it is used with a deity, it indicates the deity's connection with war - as is the case with Astarte and Reshef.*”¹²⁵⁹ In the case of Baal, the god is depicted on a lion or a horse with wings.¹²⁶⁰ Next to the god Baal there is a *wd3t*-eye, symbolizing the protection and regeneration.¹²⁶¹

¹²⁵² Cornelius 1994, 23-263.

¹²⁵³ Cornelius 1994, 23-263.

¹²⁵⁴ Cornelius 1994, 25-57.

¹²⁵⁵ Cornelius 1994, 134-142.

¹²⁵⁶ Cornelius 1994, 57-72.

¹²⁵⁷ Cornelius 1994, 142-161.

¹²⁵⁸ Cornelius 1994, 72-73.

¹²⁵⁹ Cornelius 1994, 81.

¹²⁶⁰ Cornelius 1994, 195-211.

¹²⁶¹ Cornelius 1994, 211.

The last category presents the god Baal winged, wearing a kilt with two tassels between the legs. The figure faces to the right, standing on a double base-line. The god grabs a serpent hanging in its length, but no weapon is visible.¹²⁶²

Through his examination, Cornelius also demonstrated the relation of these deities with pharaohs.¹²⁶³ According to him, the sphinx stela of Amenophis II links Reshef to horses and associated him with other two deities, Montu and Astarte.¹²⁶⁴ The Karnak stela informs us that Amehotep II is associated with Montu, while in the version of Memphis, the same king is compared with Reshef.¹²⁶⁵ Through his investigation, he indicated that the textual sources of Reshef contain warlike characteristics.¹²⁶⁶ In another point of his research, Cornelius suggested that “*these texts came from the context of battle. The scenes depicting Reshef on horseback and in the chariot all show him with weapons and therefore emphasize his warlike character. This is further emphasized by the accompanying inscriptions mentioning Reshef together with Montu and describing the subjugation and destruction of Egypt’s enemies*”.¹²⁶⁷

A similar investigation of Cornelius, which is associated with the connection between Anat, Astarte and Qadesh and the pharaohs, has been made in his book *The Many Faces of the Goddess: The Iconography of the Syro-Palestinian Goddesses Anat, Astarte, Qedeset, and Asherah c. 1500-1000 BCE*.¹²⁶⁸

In his research, he collected the iconographic material on the deities Anat, Astarte, Asherah and Qadesh and defined five iconographical types: a) the armed goddess,¹²⁶⁹ b) the seated goddess,¹²⁷⁰ c) the standing goddess,¹²⁷¹ d) the equestrian goddess¹²⁷² and e) a naked woman holding objects.¹²⁷³ For each of these types, he presented a detailed catalog, which includes the present location of the item, bibliography, a detailed description of the item and some religion-historical observations.

In the case of “armed goddess”, three types have been attested: i) the seated menacing goddess, ii) the standing menacing goddess and iii) the standing armed goddess. Cornelius states that “*such figures are commonly described as “smiting” deities, but in a study on the*

¹²⁶² Cornelius 1994, 212.

¹²⁶³ Cornelius 1994, 86.

¹²⁶⁴ Cornelius 1994, 86.

¹²⁶⁵ Cornelius 1994, 86.

¹²⁶⁶ Cornelius 1994, 86.

¹²⁶⁷ Cornelius 1994, 87.

¹²⁶⁸ Cornelius 2004, 21-87.

¹²⁶⁹ Cornelius 2004, 21-26.

¹²⁷⁰ Cornelius 2004, 29.

¹²⁷¹ Cornelius 2004, 34.

¹²⁷² Cornelius 2004, 40-44.

¹²⁷³ Cornelius 2004, 45-52.

iconography of the gods Baal and Reshef, it has been argued that the term “menacing” is more appropriate, because the lifted menacing hand in itself is important as a gesture of power”.¹²⁷⁴ The second category focuses on the images of a goddess who is seated peacefully. In this category, a seated figure of Anat depicts her next to the great devotee, pharaoh Ramses II.¹²⁷⁵ The next category includes iconographical materials, which depict a female figure merely standing and holding a staff or scepter. In this case, a statue of Anat presents her holding the hand of the pharaoh.¹²⁷⁶ At the same time, the type of “equestrian goddess” attests to three trends: i) The goddess is menacing on horseback, ii) She is menacing an enemy and iii) The goddess stands or kneels on horseback.¹²⁷⁷ According to Cornelius, the largest iconographical material is included in the last category “naked woman holding objects”, where two groups are presented: i) the goddess is standing in a triad flanked by two other figures and ii) she is standing alone, but in some cases with worshippers. These groups are subdivided into: standing on a lion i) with the variants or ii) without any pedestal.¹²⁷⁸

Based on the previous categorization of the iconographical material, the postures, the titles of each deity, Cornelius managed to determine the function of these deities.¹²⁷⁹ Cornelius states that “*Anat occurs on various items with that Anatophile, Rameses II, who called himself “beloved of Anat” and her his “mother”. This has more to do with her help in war than describing her maternal and nursing abilities. Rameses II was “obsessed” with Anat and even used her name for his daughter*”.¹²⁸⁰ Cornelius also notes that “*The equestrian Astarte occurs with the pharaohs Thutmose IV and Rameses II, but also standing with Amenophis II, Rameses II, Merneptah and Siptah*”,¹²⁸¹ while Qadesh “*formed part of the popular cult of Egypt*”.¹²⁸² Lastly, he suggested that “*the domination of Egyptian styles in Syro-Palestinian art is clearly evident. The political and cultural domination of Egypt in this region led to the “exporting” of the Syro-Palestinian deities to Egypt. The pharaohs and conquering armies brought back these deities to Egypt, as did POW’s and slaves from Syro-Palestine.*”¹²⁸³

¹²⁷⁴ Cornelius 2004, 21.

¹²⁷⁵ Cornelius 2004, Cat. 2.1.

¹²⁷⁶ Cornelius 2004, 34.

¹²⁷⁷ Cornelius 2004, 40-41.

¹²⁷⁸ Cornelius 2004, 45.

¹²⁷⁹ Cornelius 2004, 84-85.

¹²⁸⁰ Cornelius 2004, 85.

¹²⁸¹ Cornelius 2004, 85.

¹²⁸² Cornelius 2004, 86.

¹²⁸³ Cornelius 2004, 87.

Cornelius also in his article *"From Bes to Baal: Religious Interconnections between Egypt and the East"*, studies the interconnections between Egypt and Syro-palestine and summarizes the importation of Syro-palestinian deities in the military campaign .¹²⁸⁴

In his research, he mentioned the introduction of Syro-palestinian deities, Anat, Astarte, Qadesh, Baal, Reshef and Hauron into the Egyptian religion and cultural system.¹²⁸⁵ According to Cornelius, these deities are mentioned in the Egyptian texts, such as the Papyrus Sallier IV, which refer to Baal, Anat and Qadesh, while magical spells mentioned the deities Anat, Reshef and Hauron.¹²⁸⁶

Apart from the religious and cultural connections, these deities are associated with the royal authority.¹²⁸⁷ Astarte is presented together with Reshef in order to reinforce the athletic skills of Amenhotep II.¹²⁸⁸ Cornelius notes that *"The link with chariots and horses might explain why she became popular. Many Levantine deities were introduced because of their martial traits, giving further support to the military prowess of the pharaoh"*.¹²⁸⁹ Baal and Anat were popular under the reign of Rameses II, as they are depicted next to the pharaoh, symbolizing the military power.¹²⁹⁰ The god Hauron was introduced by Amenhotep II and became popular in the reign of Rameses II, while the goddess Qadesh was popular in the lower rank.¹²⁹¹ Lastly, Reshef was worshipped by Amenhotep II and he was associated with Egyptian authority, such as chariots and horses.¹²⁹²

A more detailed analysis of the contribution of Syro-palestinian deities in the political field during the Late Bronze Age has been made by Tazawa with her book *Syro-Palestinian Deities in New Kingdom Egypt: The Hermeneutics of their Existence*.¹²⁹³ In her research, she cataloged the iconographical material and the textual sources, which are related to the Syro-palestinian deities.¹²⁹⁴ Based on the iconographical material, she studied the iconographical elements in the appearances of Anat, Astarte, Qadesh, Baal, Reshef and Hauron.¹²⁹⁵

According to her study, Anat is presented seated with brandishing posture or she is seated next to Ramesses II, where Anat *"puts her right hand on the shoulder of Ramesses II*

¹²⁸⁴ Cornelius 2017, 209-217.

¹²⁸⁵ Cornelius 2017, 215.

¹²⁸⁶ Cornelius 2017, 215.

¹²⁸⁷ Cornelius 2017, 215.

¹²⁸⁸ Cornelius 2017, 215.

¹²⁸⁹ Cornelius 2017, 215.

¹²⁹⁰ Cornelius 2017, 215.

¹²⁹¹ Cornelius 2017, 215.

¹²⁹² Cornelius 2017, 217.

¹²⁹³ Tazawa 2009, 1-170.

¹²⁹⁴ Tazawa 2009, 13-101.

¹²⁹⁵ Tazawa 2009, 114-129.

benevolently as a royal protector”,¹²⁹⁶ while in several appearances she is manifested in a peaceful posture, clasping pharaoh's hand.¹²⁹⁷ A different appearance is that of Astarte, who is depicted in a peaceful posture, while in several scenes, she is manifested as an equestrian with brandishing position or whipping posture, especially during the Ramesside period.¹²⁹⁸ On the other hand, Qadesh in Egypt is standing on a lion in a triad stele, while several stelae display her alone.¹²⁹⁹ In the case of Baal, the god is manifested in a menacing posture or winged, standing on an animal or slaying a serpent.¹³⁰⁰ Also, several scenes display Baal holding the w3s-sceptre and the ʿnh symbol or giving the sword to the pharaoh. Tazawa states: “*Such a close relationship between the god and the king in which the former guarantees the latter military successes in the royal context is not characteristic of the surviving materials to Reshef*”.¹³⁰¹ Despite the fact that Reshef is displayed holding shield or w3s-sceptre in a branding posture,¹³⁰² he was linked with chariots and horses.¹³⁰³ Tazawa agrees with the suggestion of Schulman, who states that “Reshef has connections with chariots and chariot-horses, but it does not mean that Reshef was characteristically on the back of a horse”.¹³⁰⁴ Tazawa also describes and underlines the relation of Reshef with horses through the sphinx stele,¹³⁰⁵ Memphis stele¹³⁰⁶ and the inscription in Medinet Habu¹³⁰⁷ as follows: “*The sphinx stele reports Reshef and Astarte rejoiced because the king could take care of horses excellently and handle them from the chariot skillfully*”,¹³⁰⁸ “*The Memphis stele states only that the king crossed the Orontes river in northern Syria “like Reshef (ršp)”*”¹³⁰⁹ and “*the inscription of Ramesses III in Medinet Habu narrates that the chariot-warriors are as mighty as Reshef, this means not that is in horseback but that Egyptian chariots are very strong like Reshef himself*”.¹³¹⁰ Last but not least, Hauron is appeared as a sphinx, facing to the right or as a hawk, while other scenes depict him as an anthropomorphic form or he is associated with the netherworld.¹³¹¹

¹²⁹⁶ Tazawa 2009, 120.

¹²⁹⁷ Tazawa 2009, 120.

¹²⁹⁸ Tazawa 2009, 121.

¹²⁹⁹ Tazawa 2009, 123.

¹³⁰⁰ Tazawa 2009, 115.

¹³⁰¹ Tazawa 2009, 115.

¹³⁰² Tazawa 2009, 117-118.

¹³⁰³ Tazawa 2009, 117.

¹³⁰⁴ Tazawa 2009, 117; Schulman 1977, 13.

¹³⁰⁵ See Tazawa 2009, 2.1.2. Doc.52.

¹³⁰⁶ See Tazawa 2009, 2.1.2. Doc. 53.

¹³⁰⁷ See Tazawa 2009, 2.1.2. Doc. 57.

¹³⁰⁸ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 117.

¹³⁰⁹ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 117.

¹³¹⁰ Tazawa 2009, 117.

¹³¹¹ Tazawa 2009, 118-119.

Apart from the iconographical material, the study of Tazawa focuses on the relevant textual sources, such as votive stelae, titles, eulogies, relief inscriptions, hymns and economic and historical records, which contribute to the interpretation of these deities in their worship in Egypt.¹³¹² In her research, Tazawa suggests that *“the first attestation of the name of Baal is a record of offering¹³¹³ in which the existence of a cult of Baal is confirmed in Peru-nefer during the reign of Thutmose III or Amenhotep II”*.¹³¹⁴ In the 19th Dynasty, his name appeared more frequently in royal contexts, presenting him as *“a symbol of prowess and bravery of the king”*.¹³¹⁵ More particular, Tazawa mentions that *“The royal reliefs of historical records in the major temples in Thebes show the name of Baal only in royal eulogies, especially relating to foreign campaigns, in which Baal is used to emphasize how great, powerful and valiant the Egyptian kings are”*.¹³¹⁶

The written materials, which are associated with Reshef, indicate that the god, Reshef manifests less in the official records, as the name of Baal was the most popular for the promotion of king’s greatness.¹³¹⁷ Although the name of Reshef is recorded under the reign of Amenhotep II, as the king was competent to handle horses.¹³¹⁸ In the case of Hauron, his epithets did not indicate a particular quality. According to Tazawa, *“it seems that one of the original characteristics of Hauron as a protective would have been employed by extension as a guardian or protector of evils, enemies and all the harmful nuisances in Egypt among both the royal family and ordinary people: for the former Hauron is the protector of the king and Egypt and the god shepherd for the latter”*.¹³¹⁹

Compared with Hauron, the qualities of the goddess, Anat, demonstrate her effusive relationship with the Egyptian authority. Tazawa also notes that the epithet *“mistress of all the gods (nbt ntrwt)”*¹³²⁰ which is also applied to Astarte, can be regarded as the female version of the epithet *“king of the god (nsw ntr)”*¹³²¹ given to Amun, as the state god.¹³²² By this way, this epithet implies a relation between Anat and Egyptian royal authority, as demonstrated by the statues of Anat and Ramesses II and by her other epithets identifying her as the divine mother

¹³¹² Tazawa 2009, 129.

¹³¹³ Tazawa 2009, 2.1.1. Doc.89.

¹³¹⁴ Tazawa 2009, 130.

¹³¹⁵ Tazawa 2009, 130.

¹³¹⁶ Tazawa 2009, 130. For the inscriptions see Tazawa 2009, 2.1.1. Docs. 60-86, 90-93, 95-97, 101.

¹³¹⁷ Tazawa 2009, 131.

¹³¹⁸ Tazawa 2009, 131. For the inscription see Tazawa 2009, 2.1.2. Doc. 53.

¹³¹⁹ Tazawa 2009, 132.

¹³²⁰ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 132.

¹³²¹ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 132.

¹³²² Tazawa 2009, 132.

of king, thus potentially making Anat the royal goddess.¹³²³ Moreover, the strong connection between Anat and the royal family, especially Rameses II, is confirmed from the name of first daughter, Bintanat (*b3ntʿnt*),¹³²⁴ the 38th son, Mahiranat (*mhryʿnti*)¹³²⁵ and a puppy dedicated in a battle scene, *Anatemnakht* (*ʿntinh*)¹³²⁶,¹³²⁷.

Another royal deity, which was also contributed to the authority is Astarte. According to the study of Tazawa, as an official royal goddess, Astarte was a war deity, reinforcing and protecting the pharaoh.¹³²⁸ Her name was linked with the pharaohs and their campaigns, such as that of Rameses III “*Anat and Astarte are a shield for him (skyy nb ʿntit ʿštī r)*”.¹³²⁹ Tazawa suggests that “*this connection between Astarte and a chariot is probably extended from the association of Astarte with horses which pull chariots*”.¹³³⁰

Last but not least, Qadesh bears several titles in Egypt. Tazawa states “*it seems unreasonable for Qadesh to bear the third “Lady of both lands (nbt t3wi)”*¹³³¹ which would show her rulership-like, because Qadesh has never appeared in the royal or official contexts. It is plausible to consider that Qadesh might be awarded this third epithet as an extension of her relationship with Anat and Astarte both of who had a strong connection with the royal family”.¹³³²

The study of Tazawa is also devoted to the investigation of the relation between these Syro-palestine deities, except from Qadesh, and five pharaohs in royal scenes: Amenhotep II, Thutmose IV, Sety I, Rameses II and Rameses III.¹³³³

On the Sphinx stele, Astarte and Reshef are mentioned on the text, where Amenhotep II is presented as an excellent and skillful equestrian.¹³³⁴ Tazawa suggests that the interpretation of Helck¹³³⁵ and Stadelmann,¹³³⁶ who stated that this adoption was due to the personality of the pharaoh, is not sufficient and the viewpoint should be focused on the militaristic propaganda of the pharaoh.¹³³⁷ According to her “*the king was compared to Reshef in his prowess and dauntlessness. Consequently Reshef must have appeared here as the divine advocate of*

¹³²³ Tazawa 2009, 132.

¹³²⁴ For the name see Tazawa 2009, 2.1.4. Doc. 31.

¹³²⁵ For the name see Tazawa 2009, 2.1.4. Doc. 32.

¹³²⁶ For the name see Tazawa 2009, 2.1.4. Doc. 33.

¹³²⁷ Tazawa 2009, 132-133.

¹³²⁸ Tazawa 2009, 134.

¹³²⁹ For the inscription see Tazawa 2009, 134.

¹³³⁰ Tazawa 2009, 134.

¹³³¹ Tazawa 2009, 135.

¹³³² Tazawa 2009, 135.

¹³³³ Tazawa 2009, 137.

¹³³⁴ Tazawa 2009, 137-138. For the Sphinx Stele see Tazawa 2009, 2.1.2. Doc. 52, 2.1.5. Doc. 31.

¹³³⁵ Helck 1966, 5.

¹³³⁶ Stadelmann 1967, 56.

¹³³⁷ Tazawa 2009, 138.

military issue to support the claim made by Amenhotep II, and then the god was associated with horses themselves in the military context.”¹³³⁸ At the same time, the goddess Astarte is manifested together with Reshef. Tazawa states that “*her appearance could be interpreted as the emergence of a military goddess who cooperates with Reshef to promote the dignity of the great military king, Amenhotep II.*”¹³³⁹

In contrast to the image of Amenhotep II, Thutmose IV never promoted his athletic skills.¹³⁴⁰ Under his reign, one fragment of a stele¹³⁴¹ and an inscription of his body chariot¹³⁴² record the name of Astarte.¹³⁴³ According to Tazawa “*Both of these cases indicate the close association between Astarte and horses, which extended to the connection of the goddess and war. It is not strange that the Egyptian king retained the conception of Astarte as a war goddess, even though this was a more peaceful era, because we can see that the king led several campaigns into the Levant.*”¹³⁴⁴

Following the 19th Dynasty and the reign of Sety I, four Syro-palestinian deities are recorded: Baal Hauron, Anat and Astarte.¹³⁴⁵ The name of the goddess, Astarte, is attested in the battle of the king against Shasu-Beduin.¹³⁴⁶ The goddess is accompanied by Montu as the protectors of the king.¹³⁴⁷ At the same time the name of Hauron was associated with the protection of the pharaoh, as his divine-father in the royal ideology.¹³⁴⁸ The name of goddess Anat is attested on the names of the horses of the royal chariot,¹³⁴⁹ while the name of Baal appeared in order to underline the pharaoh’s “heroism”.¹³⁵⁰ According to Stadelmann “*Baal, Anat and Astarte are certainly employed in order to “support” the king in each military scene of the Shasu-Bedouin campaign in the first year of Sety I.*”¹³⁵¹

The same Syro-palestinian deities continued under the reign of Rameses II. Hauron was associated with Ra cult and the king promoted him in order to gain control of Amun’s authority.¹³⁵² The god Baal was regarded as the symbol of royal heroism and power, in which the pharaoh, as Stadelmann stated, “*should be compared to Baal, as a weather god, striding*

¹³³⁸ Tazawa 2009, 138.

¹³³⁹ Tazawa 2009, 138-139.

¹³⁴⁰ Tazawa 2009, 139.

¹³⁴¹ For the fragment of the stele see Tazawa 2009, 2.1.5, Doc.2.

¹³⁴² For the inscription of the body chariot see Tazawa 2009, 2.1.5, Doc.32.

¹³⁴³ Tazawa 2009, 139.

¹³⁴⁴ Tazawa 2009, 139.

¹³⁴⁵ Tazawa 2009, 140-141.

¹³⁴⁶ For the name of Astarte see Tazawa 2009, 2.1.5, Doc.37.

¹³⁴⁷ Tazawa 2009, 141.

¹³⁴⁸ Tazawa 2009, 142.

¹³⁴⁹ For the name of Anat see Tazawa 2009, 2.1.4, Doc.30.

¹³⁵⁰ Tazawa 2009, 141.

¹³⁵¹ Stadelmann 1967, 135.

¹³⁵² Tazawa 2009, 144.

over the mountains and throwing lightning and thunders bolts.”¹³⁵³ In the case of Anat, the king emphasized to his relation with her by associating the name of the goddess with the names of his royal children and promoting her name in his first Hittite marriage.¹³⁵⁴ At the same time, the goddess Astarte preserved her role with horses and chariots and her protective role under the reign of Rameses II.¹³⁵⁵

For the reconstruction of the royal ideology, four Syro-palestinian deities, Baal, Anat, Astarte and Reshef, are recorded under the reign of Rameses III, but there is no personal relation between them and the pharaoh, as the previous pharaohs had.¹³⁵⁶ Tazawa suggests that *“Only Medinet Habu was used as a “theatre” for the propaganda of the king who employed these four Syro-palestinian deities on the coattails of Rameses II in order to recover royal dignity.”*¹³⁵⁷

Her second research has been accomplished with her article entitled *“Astarte in New Kingdom Egypt: Reconsideration of her role and function”*, which is focused on the female deity, Astarte and her role and function in Egypt.¹³⁵⁸ As she notes *“Egyptian kings sent many military campaigns into the Syro-Palestinian region in this period, resulting in these six ‘pagan deities’ being brought into Egypt as well as battle booty such as prisoners, food, and metals, and also voluntary settlers in the form of craftsmen, merchants and so on”*.¹³⁵⁹

In her research, Tazawa managed to present the iconographical characteristics, titles and her connection with the pharaohs.¹³⁶⁰ In Egypt, Astarte is displayed on an equestrian style. According to Tazawa, the equestrian style of Astarte includes two motifs: a) the brandishing posture and possibly b) the whipping posture.¹³⁶¹ In the first case, Astarte is manifested on horseback, raises her arm holding a lance or spear, and wears an Atef-crown.¹³⁶² The brandishing posture on horseback underlines the warrior nature of Astarte.¹³⁶³ The second case, involves the whipping posture, where the goddess is displayed on grasping the reins in one hand and placing the other on the rump of a horse.¹³⁶⁴

¹³⁵³ Stadelmann 1967, 39.

¹³⁵⁴ Tazawa 2009, 145. For the name of Anat in the Hittite marriage of Rameses II see Tazawa 2009, 2.1.4, Doc.10.

¹³⁵⁵ Tazawa 2009, 145.

¹³⁵⁶ Tazawa 2009, 148.

¹³⁵⁷ Tazawa 2009, 147-148.

¹³⁵⁸ Tazawa 2014, 103-123.

¹³⁵⁹ Tazawa 2014, 103.

¹³⁶⁰ Tazawa 2014, 103-123.

¹³⁶¹ Tazawa 2014, 106.

¹³⁶² Tazawa 2014, 106.

¹³⁶³ Tazawa 2014, 107.

¹³⁶⁴ Tazawa 2014, 106.

Apart from the equestrian style, Astarte involves another category, where the goddess wears a long dress, an Atef-crown, holds a w3s-sceptre and an 'nh symbol and stands in a peaceful position.¹³⁶⁵ Tazawa states that “when Astarte takes up this position, she always appears in the offering scene in which the king or the humble dedicate their worship to her”.¹³⁶⁶

In the political field, Tazawa suggested that “Astarte is accepted as a royal goddess who supports and protects the kings of Egypt in the military scenes, such as Amenhotep II, Thutmose IV, Sety I, Sety II, and Rameses III. Furthermore, some children of Rameses II had theophoric names embedded with the name of Astarte: Meryastarte (mri^ctrtt) and Astartehirwonmef (štrti hr wnmy=f)... It is highly plausible that the supposedly miraculous healing of Amenhotep III from severe health problems after he received the cult figurine of Ishtar (Mesopotamian Astarte) from the ruler of Mitanni influenced the Egyptians and consequently made them trust and count on Astarte for their own prosperity, health and stability”.¹³⁶⁷

In the same spirit, as the study of Tazawa, is the article of Zivie-Coche “Foreign deities in Egypt”.¹³⁶⁸ In her research, Zivie demonstrated the appearance of Baal, Reshef, Hauron, Astarte and Qadesh in the reign of Amenhotep II, with the exception of Anat who did not appear, before the reign of Ramesses II by quoting the iconographical and cultural context of them.¹³⁶⁹

According to her research, the appearance of these deities followed the Egyptian style and rules.¹³⁷⁰ The god Reshef is displayed with a shield, arrows and quiver, symbolizing the protective role of the god,¹³⁷¹ while the iconographical appearance of Baal did not diversify from the image of Seth-Baal in Egypt with an exception of his crown.¹³⁷² Hauron is manifested as a mixed form of half animal, sphinx, and half human body.¹³⁷³ In the case of female Syro-palestinian deities, Astarte is presented as a young woman on horseback, while Qadesh is represented nude, standing on a lion, holding serpents and a bouquet of papyrus in her hands.¹³⁷⁴

¹³⁶⁵ Tazawa 2014, 108.

¹³⁶⁶ Tazawa 2014, 108.

¹³⁶⁷ Tazawa 2014, 110.

¹³⁶⁸ Zivie-Coche 2011, 1-10.

¹³⁶⁹ Zivie-Coche 2011, 1-10.

¹³⁷⁰ Zivie-Coche 2011, 6.

¹³⁷¹ Zivie-Coche 2011, 6.

¹³⁷² Zivie-Coche 2011, 6.

¹³⁷³ Zivie-Coche 2011, 6.

¹³⁷⁴ Zivie-Coche 2011, 6.

In her study, Zivie-Coche stated that “*they come from Memphis and make frequent allusions to Peru-nefer, the port of Memphis with an important military and economic function. Peru-nefer had a pantheon that was quite unique, comprising the majority of known foreign gods under the aegis of Amun “Lord of Peru-nefer,” whose membership has recently been established*”.¹³⁷⁵ Especially in the political field, Zivie-Coche suggested that the first records of Reshef, Astarte and Hauron occurred under the reign of Amenhotep II.¹³⁷⁶ More particularly, the relevant archaeological material such as the Victory Stela of Memphis, a rock stela in a quarry at Tura, the Sphinx Stela at Giza, foundation plaques of the chapel of Harmachis at Giza, and the so-called Astarte Papyrus, confirm the reign of Amenhotep II.¹³⁷⁷ However, the earliest manifestation of Qadesh is dated in the reign of Amenhotep III, where a statue of Ptahankh associates her name with the high priesthood of Ptah.¹³⁷⁸

Following the 19th Dynasty, Rameses II declared himself beloved of the goddess Anat, presenting himself with the goddess in two monumental dyads. The pharaoh had also a close relation with the god Hauron. A statue of Hauron presented the pharaoh as a child underneath the throat of the Hauron-falcon at Pi-Ramesses.¹³⁷⁹ Apart from Hauron and Anat, Rameses II reinforced his relation with the god Seth by erecting the stela of 400th year of rule of Seth depicted as Ba'al”.¹³⁸⁰

Another recent study is the researcher of Schmitt by his article “Astarte, Mistress of Horses, Lady of the Chariot: The Warrior Aspect of Astarte”, where the attributes and characteristics of Astarte through the textual sources and iconographical material have been investigated.¹³⁸¹

According to his research, the first record of Astarte is attested on a relief under the reign of Amenhotep II, which bears the inscription “*Astarte in front of Per-nefer (šštr̄t̄ ḥntt pr nfr)*”¹³⁸² and an inscription on the tomb of Thutmose IV reads “*Valiant with his chariot team like Astarte (tnrḥr ssmt mj šštr̄t̄)*”.¹³⁸³ Schmitt notes that “*the phenomenon that a foreign goddess like Astarte became a prominent Egyptian goddess associated exclusively with war in the late 18th and 19th Dynasties has several reasons: Both Helck and Assmann have characterized the transition from the 18th to the 19th Dynasty beginning with Horemheb as a*

¹³⁷⁵ Zivie-Coche 2011, 3.

¹³⁷⁶ Zivie-Coche 2011, 3.

¹³⁷⁷ Zivie-Coche 2011, 3.

¹³⁷⁸ Zivie-Coche 2011, 3.

¹³⁷⁹ Zivie-Coche 2011, 3.

¹³⁸⁰ Zivie-Coche 2011, 3.

¹³⁸¹ Schmitt 2013, 213-225.

¹³⁸² For the translation and transliteration see Schmitt 2013, 219.

¹³⁸³ For the translation and transliteration see Schmitt 2013, 219.

occupation of power by the military leaders, thus a “military dictatorship” based on the military power of chariotry.¹³⁸⁴ Thus as a violent goddess associated with horses, Astarte, became the goddess of choice”.¹³⁸⁵ Her name also is mentioned on the vessel of Sennefer after the god Ptah and the other Syro-palestinian deities: Anat and Reshef participating on the side of Egyptians, reflecting the incorporation of Syro-palestinian deities and the association of Astarte with horses, attributes that can protect the military power and secure the result of the Egyptian domination in Levant.¹³⁸⁶

In his research, Schmitt studied her royal iconography, where she is also associated with the pharaoh.¹³⁸⁷ A relief from the tomb of Hetepka depicts the king making an offering to the goddess, who is dressed with a long dress, wears an Atef-crown and holds shield and spear.¹³⁸⁸ In a cylinder seal, Astarte wears the atef-crown and she holds a spear with a god, Reshef or Baal, in a menacing posture, demonstrating her participation in the domination over Canaan.¹³⁸⁹

In the same spirit, as the previous studies, is the article of Ulanowski, entitled “God Reshef in the Mediterranean”, where the manifestation and development of god Reshef in the Mediterranean region such as Palestine, Cyprus and Egypt is analyzed.¹³⁹⁰

In Egypt, Reshef is appeared as an armed and menacing god and holds weapons such as an axe, a club, or a mace, knives or a spear, a bow and a shield, emphasizing to his attribute as a protector deity.¹³⁹¹ His appearance is associated with other gods, such as Astarte, Baal, Min, Qudshu, Seth, Amun-Re and Montu.¹³⁹² According to Ulanowski, “Reshef was introduced by Amenhotep II (1425–1400 BC) and becomes a royal patron especially as a warrior god (he was largely replaced as royal god by Baal in the Ramesside Period)”.¹³⁹³

Following these phases of collection, several supplementary researches summarize the sources with regard to Syro-palestinian deities in Egypt, examining them either as a part of their general study in cultural relations, or studying a specific archaeological material. An examination has been made by Redford with his article, entitle “New light on the Asiatic

¹³⁸⁴ Helck 1971, 456; Assmann 1996, 284-285; Schmitt 2013, 220.

¹³⁸⁵ Schmitt 2013, 220.

¹³⁸⁶ Schmitt 2013, 221.

¹³⁸⁷ Schmitt 2013, 222.

¹³⁸⁸ Schmitt 2013, 222-223.

¹³⁸⁹ Schmitt 2013, 223.

¹³⁹⁰ Ulanowski 2013, 158-159.

¹³⁹¹ Ulanowski 2013, 157.

¹³⁹² Lipinski 2009, 153, 155, 220.

¹³⁹³ Lipinski 2009, 180–187, 204–207; Ulanowski 2013, 158.

campaigning of Horemheb”.¹³⁹⁴ Redford examined a stone bowl, which bears the inscription “Anat daughter of Ptah, lady of truth (ꜥnti s3t pth nbt m3ꜥt)”¹³⁹⁵ and the names and titles of other Syro-palestina deities such as Astarte, Reshef and Qadesh.¹³⁹⁶

According to his research, after the military campaigns of Thutmose III and the introduction of foreigners into Egypt, Syro-palestinian deities acquired cult centers.¹³⁹⁷ The goddess Astarte has been worshipped under the reign of Amenhotep II.¹³⁹⁸ Her name was linked to the Egyptian god Ptah, as she was regarded as the daughter of the latter.¹³⁹⁹ In Egypt, Anat is manifested as a protector of the king, due to the royal origin of the texts and she was the daughter of either Ptah or Re.¹⁴⁰⁰ The god Reshef was manifested under the reign of Amenophis III and Ramesside times, where he acquired a closer relation with Ptah.¹⁴⁰¹ Qadesh appeared as a nude female figure in frontal position and she was regarded as a symbol of sexual desirability.¹⁴⁰²

Three Syro-palestinian deities, Anat, Astarte and Reshef, had a close relation with royalty. Redford suggested that “they have a specific connection with the king’s chariot horses and enjoy a reputation as divine protectors in battle”.¹⁴⁰³ According to him “this role probably arose as much out of their legendary prowess in warfare as anything else; but it had, from the Egyptian point of view, the interesting psychological effect of neutralizing the enemies trust in their gods. When a Canaanite prince took the field against the Egyptians, he found himself in the anomalous position of facing a foe protected by his own deities. In view of the trio’s function vis-a vis chariotry in battle, it is especially appropriate that the Memphite bowl was dedicated on the eve of a military campaign and by an overseer of the king’s stable”.¹⁴⁰⁴

A second supplementary effort, which approaches the issue of connection of Syro-palestine deities with pharaohs, has been made also by Redford with his book *Egypt, Canaan and Israel in ancient times*.¹⁴⁰⁵

Redford stated that “foreign gods first appear in Egypt under royal patronage”.¹⁴⁰⁶ More particularly, in order to reinforce his argument, Redford cited specific examples of

¹³⁹⁴ Redford 1973, 36, 45.

¹³⁹⁵ Translation after Redford 1973b, 37.

¹³⁹⁶ Redford 1973, 36, 43-46.

¹³⁹⁷ Redford 1973, 43.

¹³⁹⁸ Redford 1973, 44.

¹³⁹⁹ Redford 1973, 44.

¹⁴⁰⁰ Redford 1973, 44-45.

¹⁴⁰¹ Redford 1973, 45.

¹⁴⁰² Redford 1973, 45.

¹⁴⁰³ Redford 1973, 45.

¹⁴⁰⁴ Redford 1973, 45.

¹⁴⁰⁵ Redford 1992, 231-233.

selected pharaohs, such as Hatshepsut, Amenophis II and Amenophis III, who used foreign deities, such as Baal, Anat, Astarte and Reshef, for their protection.¹⁴⁰⁷ Amenhotep II displayed Astarte and Reshef for the protection of his chariot team, while Amenhotep III accepted the statue of the goddess Ishtar in the hope that she might cure him of his sickness.¹⁴⁰⁸

In his research, Redford suggested that “*Both Baal and Astarte display openly their warlike traits, which appealed to the Egyptian military and account for their rabid assimilation into the pantheon. Anat too, and the warrior god Reshef, appealed to the Egyptians, and the latter possessed a temple somewhere in the Delta.*”¹⁴⁰⁹ The god Hauron manifested in the region of Giza and his sphinx image was associated with the appearance of Canaanite’s god, while Qadesh is displayed as a nude woman, who is linked to the Egyptian goddess Hathor.¹⁴¹⁰

Redford also mentions that “*Asiatic deities were such strong personalities and now had such a large resident constituency that they entered the Egyptian pantheon with their own names and traits. Baal’s name appears transliterated into hieroglyphics and gave rise as late as Ptolemaic times to a denominative verb in Egyptian meaning “to make war”. Both Anat and Astarte survive in formal lists of Egyptian gods well into Roman times; and were popular enough to be used as theophoric elements in purely Egyptian names*”.¹⁴¹¹

Another reference to the Syro-palestinian deities and their connection with pharaohs has been made by Selz with her article “Five divine ladies: thoughts on Inana(k), Istar, In(n)in(a), Annunatum, and Anat, and the origin of the title “queen of heaven””.¹⁴¹² In her research, she included five goddesses, Inana(k), Istar, In(n)in(a), Annunatum, and Anat, studying their functions in Ugarit, the origins of their names and their roles in Egypt and the Near East.¹⁴¹³ Among to these deities, the goddess Anat is described as “lady of heaven” (*nbt pt*), “mistress of all the gods” (*nbt ntrw*).¹⁴¹⁴ Selz stated that “*Egyptian sources, under the reign of Ramesses II, which attest to Anat as a wet nurse and cow, are obviously influenced by syncretistic fusion with the Egyptian Hathor and Isis*”.¹⁴¹⁵

¹⁴⁰⁶ Redford 1992, 231.

¹⁴⁰⁷ Redford 1992, 231-232.

¹⁴⁰⁸ Redford 1992, 231.

¹⁴⁰⁹ Redford 1992, 232.

¹⁴¹⁰ Redford 1992, 232.

¹⁴¹¹ Redford 1992, 232.

¹⁴¹² Selz 2000, 29-37.

¹⁴¹³ Selz 2000, 29-37.

¹⁴¹⁴ Selz 2000, 36.

¹⁴¹⁵ Selz 2000, 36.

Similar research has been made by Wilkinson entitled *The complete gods and goddesses of ancient Egypt* in order to demonstrate the presence of Syro-palestinian deities under the reign of pharaohs.¹⁴¹⁶

In his study, he described the goddess as a woman, who is holding a spear, axe and shield. She also wears a long dress and the White crown of Upper Egypt.¹⁴¹⁷ Wilkinson suggested that “*she became one of the patron deities of the military exploits of the Ramessid kings. A war hound of Rameses II was called “Anat in strength” and the goddess was said to personally protect Rameses III in the battle*”.¹⁴¹⁸

Apart from Anat, another goddess was manifested with weapons in Egypt. The goddess Astarte is portrayed as a naked woman on a horse, holding weapons and wearing an Atef crown,¹⁴¹⁹ demonstrating her association with chariots and horses.¹⁴²⁰ Wilkinson notes that “*she is mentioned on the Sphinx stela set up by Amenophis II as being delighted with the young prince’s equestrian skill and, like the Syrian goddess Anat, was believed to protect the pharaoh’s chariot in battle*”.¹⁴²¹

Another important study is the examination of Munnich by his article “Two Faces of Resheph in Egyptian Sources of the New Kingdom”, where he analyzed the different aspects of his qualities in the official and non-official level.¹⁴²²

According to his research, the god Reshef was imported under the reign of Amenhotep II.¹⁴²³ The athletic activities and skills of the pharaoh were linked to the god Reshef and the goddess Astarte on Sphinx stela.¹⁴²⁴ The name of Reshef is recorded on a stele, which refers to the campaign of the pharaoh and reads: “*His majesty passed the orontes by water like Reshef (ršp)*”.¹⁴²⁵ The military attribute of the god is reflected on the temple of Amun, where the text associates the god Montu with the god Reshef, recording their names: “*Montu-Reshef (mntw-ršp)*”.¹⁴²⁶

Apart from the textual sources, the iconographical material presents Reshef as a warrior deity. In a relief of the temple of Amenophis II, Reshef is driving a chariot,¹⁴²⁷ while other

¹⁴¹⁶ Wilkinson 2003, 137-139.

¹⁴¹⁷ Wilkinson 2003, 137.

¹⁴¹⁸ Wilkinson 2003, 137.

¹⁴¹⁹ Wilkinson 2003, 138-139.

¹⁴²⁰ Wilkinson 2003, 138.

¹⁴²¹ Wilkinson 2003, 138.

¹⁴²² Munnich 2009, 53-58.

¹⁴²³ Munnich 2009, 54.

¹⁴²⁴ Munnich 2009, 54.

¹⁴²⁵ Munnich 2009, 54.

¹⁴²⁶ Munnich 2009, 54.

¹⁴²⁷ Munnich 2009, 55.

scenes depict him holding a spear and a shield.¹⁴²⁸ Another stela from the mortuary temple of Thutmose IV displays pharaoh in a worship posture next to a riding god, Reshef, who holds a spear in one hand and a shield.¹⁴²⁹ Munnich suggested that “*on the basis of the above mentioned written and iconographic sources one should include, that at the courts of Pharaohs of the 18th Dynasty, Reshef was regarded as the god helpful during fights with enemies. Especially close to him was the fight on the chariots or riding, as he was depicted on reliefs or royal stelae*”.¹⁴³⁰

The selection of Syro-palestinian deities is not restricted only in military campaigns, another study suggested the economical benefits, which can arise from the selection of these deities in Egypt. This examination has been made by Morris in his article “Exchange, extraction, and the politics of ideological money laundering in Egypt's New Kingdom Empire”.¹⁴³¹ More particularly, in her study mentioned that the Egyptian authority used and sent statues in Syro-palestinian temples in order to take the advantage of the loyalty of its vassals.¹⁴³² Through the examination of the textual sources, such as the inscription of Thutmose III's chief treasurer Sennefer and the story of Wenamun, the political benefits are reflected.¹⁴³³ The political benefits included many important and expensive items, which were used as offerings to an Egyptian god or goddess.¹⁴³⁴ Especially, when Egyptians identified their god with other foreign deities, they presented their movement as a sacred offering to an Egyptian god. The result of this action was the expression of devotion and respect for the deity by foreigners.¹⁴³⁵

An aspect of this exchange has been studied by Morris with his entitled research “Egypt, Ugarit, the god Ba'al, and the puzzle of a royal rebuff”,¹⁴³⁶ where she analysis four explanations of the king of Ugarit's preference to Egyptian sculptor, who would made a statue of the king, facing Baal¹⁴³⁷ and in response to the king, Merneptah refused his request.¹⁴³⁸

According to the examination of Morris, the king of Ugarit selected Egypt, as the Egyptian statues were valuable, as their body were composed of expensive substances on earth, such as lapis lazuli and electrum. However, the act of presenting such a gift as divine

¹⁴²⁸ Munnich 2009, 55.

¹⁴²⁹ Munnich 2009, 56.

¹⁴³⁰ Munnich 2009, 57.

¹⁴³¹ Morris 2015a, 167, 169, 186.

¹⁴³² Morris 2015a, 167.

¹⁴³³ Morris 2015a, 169.

¹⁴³⁴ Morris 2015a, 169.

¹⁴³⁵ Morris 2015a, 186.

¹⁴³⁶ Morris 2015b, 315-351.

¹⁴³⁷ Morris 2015b, 316-317.

¹⁴³⁸ Morris 2015b, 317.

statue to a foreign ruler in order to re-reinforce the political relations had already expressed by Thutmose III and Amenhotep II.¹⁴³⁹

Morris also suggested that “the subsequent employment of these statues may have served other covertly economic purposes”.¹⁴⁴⁰ In order to reinforce her argument, Morris quotes the Year 400 Stela, where the king is presented standing and offering before the god Baal.¹⁴⁴¹ Similar depiction of Baal Saphon with a worshipper has been donated by an Egyptian official called Mamy at the Baal temple at Ugarit.¹⁴⁴² It seems that the stele of Rameses II verified not only the close relation between the pharaoh and the Seth of Avaris, but renewed his relation with the patron god of Ugarit.¹⁴⁴³ Morris suggested that “*the king of Ugarit’s invitation to Merneptah was not unique but was rather an invitation to the pharaoh to renew or amplify the trade ties mediated through the temple that had already been set up in his father’s reign. Luxury goods found at Ugarit bearing the cartouche of this king suggest that trade resumed in the latter half of Ramesses’s reign to levels last seen in the late of 18th Dynasty*”.¹⁴⁴⁴

Another explanation is related with the statues as landowners.¹⁴⁴⁵ According to the research of Morris, Egyptian gods did own property abroad in the New Kingdom. Thus, “*when the deity that received the offerings on behalf of the Egyptians was one adored by the locals, this practice presumably provided taxpayers with a palatable landlord and made them feel as if the produce they delivered ensured them spiritual as well as imperial credit.*”¹⁴⁴⁶

Last but not least, the other explanation is linked to the pharaoh’s statue as a tripwire.¹⁴⁴⁷ Morris stated that “*the idea was that the bestowal of even a token amount of Egyptian troops signaled that a vassal enjoyed pharaonic support, a factor that would be recognized and hopefully respected by potential aggressors.*”¹⁴⁴⁸

It is possible to gather that the invitation of the king aimed to change his loyalty from the distracted Hatti to Egypt, a region that was military power and it was a significant maritime

¹⁴³⁹ Morris 2015b, 318, 321.

¹⁴⁴⁰ Morris 2015b, 318, 325.

¹⁴⁴¹ Morris 2015b, 330.

¹⁴⁴² Morris 2015b, 330.

¹⁴⁴³ Morris 2015b, 330.

¹⁴⁴⁴ Morris 2015b, 330; Matoian 2015, 50; Caubet 1991, 213-214; Singer 1999, 673.

¹⁴⁴⁵ Morris 2015b, 332.

¹⁴⁴⁶ Morris 2015b, 333-334.

¹⁴⁴⁷ Morris 2015b, 340.

¹⁴⁴⁸ Morris 2015b, 340; Bernhardt 1971, 139.

trade route. By inviting Merneptah, the king of Ugarit would protect Ugarit and the patron deity, Baal.¹⁴⁴⁹

All the aforementioned studies focused on the military role of the Syro-palestinian deities in Egypt, without mentioning the textual sources, which can indicate more qualities and roles of them by the pharaohs. The examinations of Tazawa and Schmitt focus on five selected pharaohs, studying their relations with these deities in royal scenes¹⁴⁵⁰ and the participation of these deities in the military campaigns.¹⁴⁵¹ However, there are textual sources such as the treaty between Ramesses II and Hattusilis III, which are not mentioned at all in their researches. The treaty of Egypt with Hattusili III indicates foreign deities, who are witnesses in their deal.¹⁴⁵² In his treaty, Rameses II mentioned a large number of foreign deities, among them the name of Astarte of Hatti¹⁴⁵³ is included, adding a new role to the goddess.¹⁴⁵⁴

Thus, the effort of Tazawa for the connection of Syro-palestinian deities with royal authority needs to be re-examined, as there are more textual sources, such as names of the daughter of Ramesses II, Amarna letters, which mention the names of Syro-palestinian deities and serve the personal purposes of the kings in order to regain their power and glory.¹⁴⁵⁵ For example, in the diplomatic marriage of Rameses II the name of Anat is recorded on a stele,¹⁴⁵⁶ indicating the close relation of the pharaoh with the goddess. The research of Redford on Syro-palestinian deities can not justify the cause and appearance of them in Egypt,¹⁴⁵⁷ as in his research there is no analysis of archaeological material or textual source, which can identify the presence of Syro-palestinian deity in royal authority. The close connection of these deities with royalty can be demonstrated through the inscription of the chariot, which reads: “*Anat is content*” (𐎠𐎎𐎢𐎣 𐎣𐎢𐎠).¹⁴⁵⁸ Furthermore, there are two statues from Tanis,¹⁴⁵⁹ which depict Anat next to the king, Ramesses II. The first statue records: “*Anat lady of the sky, mistress of the gods*” (𐎠𐎎𐎢𐎣 𐎎𐎠𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎢𐎣𐎠𐎢𐎣)¹⁴⁶⁰ and the second bears the inscription: “*Beloved of Anat, I am your mother Anat*” (𐎠𐎎𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎢𐎣𐎠𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎢𐎣𐎠𐎢𐎣).¹⁴⁶¹ Apart from the archaeological material, textual sources

¹⁴⁴⁹ Morris 2015b, 343.

¹⁴⁵⁰ Tazawa 2009, 137.

¹⁴⁵¹ Schmitt 2013, 222-224.

¹⁴⁵² Langdon and Gardner 1920; Bryce 2006.

¹⁴⁵³ Langdon and Gardner 1920, 194.

¹⁴⁵⁴ Spalinger 2005; Bryce 2006; Langdon and Gardner 1920, 194; Brand 2007.

¹⁴⁵⁵ Brand 2005; Bryce 2006; Spalinger 2005.

¹⁴⁵⁶ For the marriage stele see PM II 59; PM V 225; PM VII 98, 159; KRI II 256; RITA II 256.

¹⁴⁵⁷ Redford 1992, 231-233; 1973, 44-45.

¹⁴⁵⁸ PM II 19-23; KRI I 7; RITA I 7.

¹⁴⁵⁹ Louvre AF 2576; Cairo JE6336.

¹⁴⁶⁰ PM IV, 24; KRI II 445, 10; 446; RITA II 445, 10; 446.

¹⁴⁶¹ PM IV, 24; KRI II 445; RITA II 445.

such as reliefs, autobiographical texts, inscriptions on the temples, also reflect the appearance of Syro-palestinian deities in Egypt, but there are not included in his research. Indicative example is an inscription of Amenhotep II's Syrian campaign records: "*His majesty crossed the Orontes by water, wading forth like Reshef (ršp)*".¹⁴⁶²

In the light of the prowess of the pharaoh and his dependence on gods in order to advance his profile, the introduction of Syro-palestinian deities in the political field needs to be re-studied. The political developments and the relation of Syro-palestinian deities with royal authority caused the importation and the selection of them in the political context by the pharaohs. Through the textual sources, the definition of the diplomatic and political relations of these deities with the pharaohs in Egypt during the Late Bronze Age will be made. Apart from textual sources, archaeological material is also helpful for our interpretation of the importation of Syro-palestinian deities in the royal authority, such as stelae, which record the name of a Syro-palestinian deity or their connection with the pharaohs, indicating the official period of their importation in Egypt. Before analyzing the role of Syro-palestinian deities in the political and diplomatic context, it is necessary to examine the relation of Egyptian kingship with gods.

2.1. Aspects of Egyptian kingship in the political field

Pharaonic kingship is described as the earthly surrogate of the god and it is connected with religious ideas.¹⁴⁶³ The participation of deities in the Egyptian kingship and the creation of the empire added prestige to the character of the pharaoh,¹⁴⁶⁴ as the latter depended on divine power, value and support.¹⁴⁶⁵ This issue can be examined through the titles of the king in textual sources, such as in the case of the diplomatic marriage of Rameses II or in royal campaigns of the pharaohs.¹⁴⁶⁶ In addition, the dependence of the pharaoh on Syro-palestinian deities can be approached through his iconography,¹⁴⁶⁷ where he is manifested in a worship posture and make offerings to the god in order to ensure his victory. However, the preservation of the empire required a more permanent and well organized military establishment.¹⁴⁶⁸ Thus,

¹⁴⁶² Urk. IV 1302.

¹⁴⁶³ Redford 1995, 160.

¹⁴⁶⁴ Redford 1995, 168; Schneider 2004, 323-324; Brand 2005, 25; O'Connor & Silverman 1995, xix, xviii.

¹⁴⁶⁵ Baines 1995, 3.

¹⁴⁶⁶ Baines 1995, 4.

¹⁴⁶⁷ Baines 1995, 5.

¹⁴⁶⁸ Baines 1995, 22.

the pharaoh was depended on gods in order to defeat his enemies¹⁴⁶⁹ and to legitimize his authority in Egypt.¹⁴⁷⁰ The attempt to emphasize the divine kingship and the powers of gods caused the increase of the popularity of the deities, which are connected with the status of the pharaoh on earth.¹⁴⁷¹

In Eighteen Dynasty, military biographies describe military episodes in relation to the pharaoh, underling the role of the protagonist.¹⁴⁷² Pharaoh is presented as a strong man, who tramples his enemies and smites them by himself.¹⁴⁷³ It was the events of this period, which transformed the pharaoh into a chief of troops, a strong ruler, who does it on his own, without any assistance.¹⁴⁷⁴ The fact that the pharaoh acted by himself with confidence and independence can be interpreted it as a concept of “performing athlete”.¹⁴⁷⁵ Every pharaoh of the Eighteen Dynasty acceded themselves in the hunt after their victory.¹⁴⁷⁶

The same royal motivation in relation to legitimacy is continued in the reigns of Amenhotep II and Thutmose IV, where the Great Sphinx stela records the athletic and leisure activities of the young pharaoh, Amenhotep II, reflecting the pharaoh’s personal fitness to rule legitimation by reference to great monuments and semi-popular religious cults.¹⁴⁷⁷ In New Kingdom period, some temples were dedicated to kings or gods in which kings had cult. Through the implications to monuments, pharaohs could illustrate their achievements and reinforce their divine origin.¹⁴⁷⁸

However, Amenhotep III went further from the previous pharaohs and established a cult of himself as a god whom he was manifested worshipping.¹⁴⁷⁹ Apart from his cult, Amenhotep III acquired the role of the sun-barque, presenting himself as loyal to Amun-Re.¹⁴⁸⁰

While under the reign of Akhenaten, the pharaoh managed to create his own statues as a pharaoh in relation to the god and to his people,¹⁴⁸¹ by exposing himself as an imperial

¹⁴⁶⁹ Baines 1995, 3, 23.

¹⁴⁷⁰ Baines 1995, 24; Redford 1995, 161.

¹⁴⁷¹ Baines 1995, 34; Redford 1995, 160.

¹⁴⁷² Baines 1995, 23.

¹⁴⁷³ Redford 1995, 161.

¹⁴⁷⁴ Redford 1995, 166-167.

¹⁴⁷⁵ Redford 1995, 167; Decker 1981; 1984; Edel 1979.

¹⁴⁷⁶ Redford 1995, 167.

¹⁴⁷⁷ Baines 1995, 24.

¹⁴⁷⁸ Baines 1995, 25.

¹⁴⁷⁹ Baines 1995, 25.

¹⁴⁸⁰ Baines 1995, 25-26.

¹⁴⁸¹ Baines 1995, 27.

pharaoh in literature.¹⁴⁸² Pharaoh's reliefs present figures of a chief priest of his cult as king and his iconography reflect his own divinity.¹⁴⁸³ It seems that that the elements of kingship, cosmos and culture were affected by the policy of Akhenaten, focusing on the restoration of the traditional cult of gods.¹⁴⁸⁴ After the reign of Akhenaten, the emphasis on kingship of gods increased their prestige in relation with the pharaoh.¹⁴⁸⁵

Tutankhamun managed to follow a harder line toward the monotheism of Akhenaten, by closing the temples of Sun-disc, reopening the shrines of the gods and accepting new cult statues and priests. By this implication, foreign campaigns would be more successful and the role of the pharaoh was reaffirmed.¹⁴⁸⁶

When the reign passed to Horemheb, the Egyptian kingship developed its political position to an institution, which supports social and theological issues,¹⁴⁸⁷ reinforcing the relation between the pharaoh and the gods.¹⁴⁸⁸ In the 19th Dynasty and the reign of Sety I, the political propaganda was expressed through the monuments, and the political movements of the pharaohs, underlining their personal image and actions,¹⁴⁸⁹ while the piety of the pharaoh was expressed by the building temples, texts, reliefs, emphasizing to the close relation between the pharaoh and gods.¹⁴⁹⁰ These two characteristics, the royal piety and divinity, were essential for the close devotion to the gods, as the pharaoh had to accomplish legitimacy through his actions.

After his successful military campaigns and the building programs, Sety I managed to revive the king's divine aspect. After his death, Rameses II increased the pharaoh's divine aspect and emphasized the establishment of legitimacy.¹⁴⁹¹ The characteristic of royal ideology in the early Ramesside age was the relationship between Rameses II and the gods and the depiction of himself as one of them.¹⁴⁹² Rameses II is manifested with Amun-Ra in order to

¹⁴⁸² Redford 1995, 169.

¹⁴⁸³ Baines 1995, 27.

¹⁴⁸⁴ Baines 1995, 34.

¹⁴⁸⁵ Baines 1995, 34.

¹⁴⁸⁶ Baines 1995, 29.

¹⁴⁸⁷ Murnane 1995, 186.

¹⁴⁸⁸ Baines 1995, 30; Murnane 1995, 187. The preservation of pharaoh and his divine father were necessary for the continuity of the "living" god and his father, see Murnane 1995, 188. The royal divinity or the divine origin of the pharaoh, which derives from the personal piety and the profile of pharaoh as a god, reappeared and mentioned in the names of pharaohs and their iconography, see Silverman 1995,50-51; Brand 2005,26.

¹⁴⁸⁹ Brand 2005, 23-25.

¹⁴⁹⁰ Brand 2005, 26.

¹⁴⁹¹ Brand 2005, 26.

¹⁴⁹² Brand 2005, 35-36.

acquire royal dependence and divine status.¹⁴⁹³ The significance of this association is that the pharaoh is described as an individual appearance of the sun god, one of a many faces of Re.¹⁴⁹⁴

At this period, royal ideology continuously developed in order to deal with its enemies and eventually to triumph over threats to the authority, legitimacy and even the stability of the new regime. The twenty-first year of Ramesses' II reign (c. 1259 BCE) was paramount, reason being, at that time a peace treaty was formulated between Egypt and the Hittites.¹⁴⁹⁵ In this case, Rameses II did not follow the triumphalist pharaonic ideology, which is associated with the extension of the borders,¹⁴⁹⁶ but his aim was to acquire the control of the neighboring lands and people as a buffer zone.¹⁴⁹⁷ Under his reign, the role and profile of the pharaoh was evolved. His royal epithets are associated with the concept of the pharaoh as a great warrior, who protects his people and Egypt.¹⁴⁹⁸

However, a different royal image of the pharaoh was expressed in the diplomatic marriage of Rameses II. In the case of the second diplomatic marriage of Rameses II with the daughter of Hatussilis III, the pharaoh was described as a wonder from a divine birth.¹⁴⁹⁹ By this time, Ramesses II was himself a god and the military exploits of his first two decades had diminished in importance.

Having analyzed the pharaonic kingship, it is necessary to re-examine the role of Syro-palestinian deities and their contribution to the political authority and diplomacy of the pharaohs in royal campaigns, Amarna Letters, the treaty of Rameses II with Hattusili III and their appearance in the diplomatic marriage of Ramesses II.

2.2. The role of Syro-palestinian deities in the military campaigns

In the early New Kingdom Period, the combination of the Egyptian activities in the southern Levant with Syro-palestinian deities contributed to the creation of an empire and added prestige to the character of the pharaoh.¹⁵⁰⁰ More particularly, the pharaoh was

¹⁴⁹³ Baines 1995, 31.

¹⁴⁹⁴ Brand 2005, 31.

¹⁴⁹⁵ Brand 2007, 15.

¹⁴⁹⁶ Redford 1992, 148.

¹⁴⁹⁷ Brand 2005, 27.

¹⁴⁹⁸ Baines 1995, 31; Higginbotham 2000, 33.

¹⁴⁹⁹ Brand 2005, 33.

¹⁵⁰⁰ Redford 1995, 166-168; Schneider 2004, 323-324; Brand 2005, 25; O'Connor & Silverman 1995, xix, xviii; Darnell and Manassa 2007, 16; Trigger 2003, 102. For more information on the participation of Syro-palestinian deities in the military campaigns see Hoffmeier 1989, 188; Kemp 1978, 21; Morris 2005, 27; Stadelmann 1967, 21-27; Horn 1969, 37; Helck 1966, 1-14; 1971, 446; Redford 1992, 231-232; Tazawa 2009, 137.

depended on gods in order to defeat his enemies¹⁵⁰¹ and to legitimize his authority in Egypt.¹⁵⁰² The attempt to emphasize the divine kingship and the powers of gods caused the increase of the popularity of the deities, which are connected with the status of the pharaoh on earth.¹⁵⁰³ Thus, it is necessary to re-examine the appearance of Syro-palestinian deities, defining the political context of their appearance, contribution and their participation in the military campaigns of Egypt to the Levant.

Seth-Baal

The first reference to Seth-Baal is recorded in the Ahmose Stela, at the time of the expulsion of Hyksos by Ahmose (BII). The Ahmose stela reads: “The overshadowed sky ($p=t$ $\dot{s}n^c=t$) come in a tempest of rain ($n wnt 3bw$), with darkness (kkw) in the condition of the West and torrential rain ($d^cmhwy=t$), louder than the voice of the masses ($k3j=tj r hrw rhy=t$), louder from the mountain more than the thunder of the cataract at Elephantine ($kh3 hr h3\dot{s}=t r hrw kr=tj jmj=t 3bw$)”.¹⁵⁰⁴ Stadelmann suggested that the voice of Baal can be heard in the yell of the thunder,¹⁵⁰⁵ while Allon stated that those elements of Baal’s appearances find their clear expression in the Sethian vocabulary: in *smnw* ‘rainstorm,’ *srk* ‘snow,’ *krj* ‘storm, clouds,’ *nšnj* ‘storm, rage.’¹⁵⁰⁶ Schneider suggested that the stele can be interpreted as a meteorological phenomena of that kind to Seth of Avaris, the adopted form of the Syrian weather god Baal. His main center of worship of him was in the Hyksos capital. The meteorological phenomenon of Near Eastern texts clearly attribute to Baal the power over clouds, storms and lightning, and describe his manifestation in his thundering voice.¹⁵⁰⁷ Robert K. Ritner - Nadine Moeller stated that the Ahmose stela constitute a record of the cataclysmic Thera event.¹⁵⁰⁸ At the same time, Feinman suggested that the stele indicate the need of the pharaoh to liberate the land from Hyksos and legalize his authority, through the demonstration of the divine sanction and restoration of the cosmic order.¹⁵⁰⁹

¹⁵⁰¹ Baines 1995, 3, 23.

¹⁵⁰² Baines 1995, 24.

¹⁵⁰³ Baines 1995, 34.

¹⁵⁰⁴ Transliteration and translation of stela after Schneider 2010, 406.

¹⁵⁰⁵ Stadelmann 1967, 27.

¹⁵⁰⁶ Allon 2007, 20.

¹⁵⁰⁷ Schneider 2010, 406.

¹⁵⁰⁸ Ritner and Moeller 2013, 77-78; 2014, 18-19.

¹⁵⁰⁹ Feinman 2015, 260-261.

The tempest stela indicates the acculturation of Seth god with Baal, who latter was worshipped by the Hyksos.¹⁵¹⁰ The suggestions of Schneider and Feinman can interpret and justify the appearance of Seth-Baal as a meteorological phenomenon. The interpretation of Schneider can be demonstrated in the texts 7F, 8-9B, where the hieroglyphic symbols of Seth above the normal sky and the sky with rain (E21 and N4) indicate that these references link to the Seth of Avaris, the adapted form of the Syrian god, Baal.¹⁵¹¹ The association of Baal with Seth took place in the court of Avaris,¹⁵¹² where Hyksos acculturated Baal with Seth, as both deities were storm gods and regarded as the deities of foreign lands and controllers of the seas.¹⁵¹³ Despite the fact that Baal was well-known to Hyksos already from the 13th Dynasty,¹⁵¹⁴ the stela of Ahmose constitutes the first record of Seth-Baal in Egypt. The presentation of Baal, emphasizing his characteristics, aimed to indicate the powerful god of Hyksos metaphorically against the gods and power of Egypt, bringing darkness and disaster over Thebes.¹⁵¹⁵ The interpretation of the stele is completed by the aspect of Feinman. The pharaoh witnessed the disaster and through divine approval he managed to liberate Egypt from Hyksos.

Another mention of the name of Seth-Baal is recorded in the campaign against Shasu-Beduin under the reign of Sety I. The scene depicts the king attacking Shashu. He is wearing a wig, standing on his chariot and he is shooting the enemies.¹⁵¹⁶ Above the king and the horses the inscription reads: “The good god, the sun for Egypt, the moon for all lands, Montu upon the hill countries. He is not overthrown, but stout-hearted like Ba’al” (*ntr nfr rꜥn Kmt iꜥh n t3w nb(w) Mnt(w) hr h3swt n hnn.tw.f shm-ib mi Bꜥrw.n wn*).¹⁵¹⁷ According to

¹⁵¹⁰ The cult of Seth in Avaris is attested before the importation and establishment of Hyksos into the north-eastern Delta. Junker and Vandier, who proposed that Hyksos assimilated Seth into their religious beliefs, because the god was already in the north-eastern Delta, see Junker 1939; Vandier 1949, 218. Junker, who tried to demonstrate the existence of Seth in 4th Dynasty, see Junker 1939, 84, while Cerny suggested the 2nd Dynasty, see Cerny 1944, 295-298. The previous studies disappeared from the studies of Kees and Helck, see Kees 1955, 110 and Helck 1971b, 92, n.17. Archaeological evidence contribute powerfully to this demonstration, such as the such as the title of King Nehesi of Avaris, which refers to the alliance of him to Seth, see Bietak 1984; 1990, 14; Tazawa 2009, 154; Goldwasser 2006, 123. For more bibliography see Tazawa 2009, 154, n.748. A scarab from Sidon also demonstrates the indication of the cult of Seth in Avaris, before the impact of Hyksos by the text: “Seth, lord of I3ii (*sth nb I3ii*)”, which is dated to 12th Dynasty, see Loffet 2006; Goldwasser 2006, 123. It seems that the cult of Seth in Egypt continued in the period of Hyksos, as the deity became part of religious beliefs of Hyksos, see te Velde 1977, 127.

¹⁵¹¹ Schneider 2010, 406.

¹⁵¹² Goldwasser 2006, 123.

¹⁵¹³ Morris 2015a, 328; Zandee 1963, 148; te Velde 1977, 85, 122-123, 128; Bietak 1990, 13; Morenz 1973, 238; Allon 2007, 20; Silver 1991, 208. For the development of attributes of Seth from Middle to New Kingdom, see Allon 2007, 18.

¹⁵¹⁴ For the manifestation of Baal during the 13th Dynasty see Bietak 2006, 202-204, figs.4, 5a-g.

¹⁵¹⁵ Schneider 2010, 409.

¹⁵¹⁶ Tazawa 2009, 27, Doc. 60.

¹⁵¹⁷ Translation after RITA I 6, 15 and Tazawa 2009, 27, Doc. 60.

Stadelmann, the name of Baal is mentioned here in order to reinforce the pharaoh in military scenes of the Shasu-Beduin campaign.¹⁵¹⁸ Tazawa suggests that the name of Baal is recorded in order to emphasize and underline the king's power.¹⁵¹⁹ The aspect of Tazawa contributes to the explanation of the role of Baal in the royal campaigns. His name is associated with the royal power of the king and reinforces his prestige.

The god, Baal, is also attested to the campaign against Libya. The scene depicts the king attacking Libyans. He is wearing a pleated loincloth and a blue crown, standing on his chariot and he is holding a scimitar sword in his right hand and a bow in his left hand.¹⁵²⁰ Above the Libyans there is an inscription that reads: "And the whole country shall see that he is like *Ba'al*, when he threads the mountains" (*n t3 r-dr.f sw mi B'rw hb.f dwy*).¹⁵²¹ Tazawa states that the name of Baal extolled the heroism of Sety I against the enemies.¹⁵²² The aspect of Tazawa justifies the role of Baal in the military campaigns, as the god reinforces the prowess and greatness of the pharaoh.

Several records of the name Baal have been made in both iconographic and textual manifestations. A fragment of a stele of Sety I is dedicated to Amun-Ra, Montu, Seth-Baal and Hathor. The scene presents the king adoring the three deities. Behind the Amun-Ra stands Seth-Baal who holds a was-sceptre and wears a conical crown. The stele represents the first royal manifestation of Baal in Egypt. Tazawa suggests that Seth-Baal appears in order to reinforce the power of the Egyptian army and the king.¹⁵²³ Parallel, the name of Baal is mentioned in the campaign against the Hittites. The scene depicts the king attacking Hittites. He is wearing a wig, standing on his chariot and he is shooting the enemies.¹⁵²⁴ The main text records: "Great in terror like *Ba'al* in foreign countries" (*3 hryt mi B'r hr h3swt*).¹⁵²⁵ According to Tazawa, the name of Baal is used again in order to underline the heroism of Sety I against the enemies.¹⁵²⁶ The suggestions of Tazawa can justify the use of the name of Baal, as the name of Baal is connected with royal eulogies, especially royal campaigns, where Baal is mentioned in order to underline the greatness, powerfulness of the pharaoh. However, this association can explain and confirm the political and ideological motivations of this period,

¹⁵¹⁸ Stadelmann 1967, 135.

¹⁵¹⁹ Tazawa 2009, 141.

¹⁵²⁰ Tazawa 2009, 28, Doc. 62.

¹⁵²¹ Translation after KRI I 21, 3-4; RITA I 21, 3-4; Tazawa 2009, 28, Doc. 62.

¹⁵²² Tazawa 2009, 141.

¹⁵²³ Tazawa 2009, 156.

¹⁵²⁴ Tazawa 2009, 27, Doc. 61.

¹⁵²⁵ Translation after RITA I 17, 13; Tazawa 2009, 27, Doc. 61.

¹⁵²⁶ Tazawa 2009, 141.

which emphasized to the close relation of the pharaoh with the divine,¹⁵²⁷ underlining their personal image and actions.¹⁵²⁸

Continuing to the 19th Dynasty and after Seti's death, the name of Seth-Baal is recorded in the campaigns of Rameses II, especially in the battle of Qadesh. A scene of conflict between Rameses II and the Hittite king¹⁵²⁹ bears the inscription: “*Seth great of power, Baal in person*” (*ʿ3phty B’r m hʿ=f*).¹⁵³⁰ A text also reads: “He is like Seth great of Strength, Baal in person” (*swth ʿ3phty B’r m hʿ=f*),¹⁵³¹ while a message from the Hittite king to the Egyptian pharaoh¹⁵³² records: “You are Seth, Ba’al himself” (*Ntk swth B’r m hʿw.f*).¹⁵³³ Tazawa stated that despite the fact that Seth and Baal are two identical deities, the god Baal is appeared on his own in royal and battle scenes in order to underline the heroism characteristic of the pharaoh.¹⁵³⁴ Apart from the fact that Baal was used in order to reinforce the royal power of the pharaoh, the suggestion of Tazawa can be associated with the devotion of Rameses II to Seth and compared himself as a god, claiming that the god is his divine father.¹⁵³⁵ Thus, Seth was the symbol of royal power and the king should be compared to Baal, as the weather and fertility god.¹⁵³⁶

Several other texts from the battle of Qadesh record the name of Baal, such as the case of the Egyptian troops, which had been attacked by the Hittites in the campaign of Qadesh.¹⁵³⁷ The inscription records: “He was like Baal in his hour” (*sw mi B’r m wnw.f*).¹⁵³⁸ Another relief depicts the Egyptian troops surrounded by the Hittites,¹⁵³⁹ bearing the inscription: “I was like Ba’al at their backs in his moment of power” (*iw.i m B’r m s3.sn m 3t shm.f*)¹⁵⁴⁰ and a text which records the will of the pharaoh to stand up against the Hittites by himself¹⁵⁴¹ reads: “He was like Ba’al at their backs in his moment of power” (*iw.i m B’r m s3.sn m 3t shm.f*).¹⁵⁴² The pSallier III 1=pChester Beatty III verso 1 records: “He was like Baal in his hour” (*sw mi B’r m wnw.f*).¹⁵⁴³ At the same time, the pSallier III 4 reads: “Seth great of power, Baal in person”

¹⁵²⁷ Brand 2005, 26-27.

¹⁵²⁸ Brand 2005, 23-25.

¹⁵²⁹ Tazawa 2009, 28, Doc. 65.

¹⁵³⁰ Translation after RITA II 53,2 and Tazawa 2009, 28, Doc. 65.

¹⁵³¹ Translation after RITA II 139,10-11 and Tazawa 2009, 30, Doc. 69.

¹⁵³² Tazawa 2009, 29, Doc. 67.

¹⁵³³ Translation after RITA II 90, 2 and Tazawa 2009, 29, Doc. 67.

¹⁵³⁴ Tazawa 2009, 145.

¹⁵³⁵ See the first marriage stele of Rameses II, KRI II 238.

¹⁵³⁶ Stadelmann 1967, 39.

¹⁵³⁷ Tazawa 2009, 28, Doc. 64.

¹⁵³⁸ Translation after RITA II 29, 1 and Tazawa 2009, 28, Doc. 64.

¹⁵³⁹ Tazawa 2009, 29, Doc. 66.

¹⁵⁴⁰ Translation after RITA II 71, 1 and Tazawa 2009, 29, Doc. 66.

¹⁵⁴¹ Tazawa 2009, 29, Doc. 68.

¹⁵⁴² Translation after RITA II 120, 4 and Tazawa 2009, 29, Doc. 68.

¹⁵⁴³ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 35, Doc. 90.

(*ʕpḥty Bʿr m ḥʕ=f*),¹⁵⁴⁴ while pSallier III 5 bears the inscription: “I was like Baal at their backs in his moment of power” (*iw.i m Bʿr m s3.sn m 3t šḥm.f*), I killed among them, I did not let up.¹⁵⁴⁵ Another text also records the name of Baal in the battle of Qadesh. The pSallier III 9 reads: “You are Seth, Baal in person (*Bʿr m ḥʕ=f*), dread of you is like a torch-brand in the land of Hatti”¹⁵⁴⁶ The previous suggestion of Tazawa can also be applied and justify the name of Baal in these texts. The Syro-palestinian god Baal is appeared in royal and battle scenes, reinforcing the prestige and the power of the pharaoh.¹⁵⁴⁷ The suggestion of Tazawa can be combined with the fact that Rameses II devoted to Seth and compared himself as a god, claiming that the god is his divine father.¹⁵⁴⁸

The same suggestion can be applied also to the case of Syrian and Nubian wars of Rameses II, where the name of Baal is also recorded. Undated Syrian war depicts the king smiting Syrian chief at the top of the fortress.¹⁵⁴⁹ Between the king and the fortress an inscription records: “I believed that there was none like Baal” (*Ib ḥr nn wn ky mi Bʕrw*)¹⁵⁵⁰ Another undated war presents the king standing on a chariot pulled by horses and he is attacking a Levantine force.¹⁵⁵¹ The inscription reads: “He is like Baal (*bʕr*) in the foreign lands”.¹⁵⁵² Another text records the name of Baal in the battle of Rameses II against Nubians. The texts records: “[mostly lost.....] like Baal (*mi Bʕrw*).¹⁵⁵³ Last but not least the god Baal is also mentioned in four stelae, which are also dated to the reign of Rameses II. Name of Baal is attested on the stele of Gebel Shaluf I. The text on Face B reads: “King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Usermare Setepenre, son of Ra, Ramesses II, at the coming of his army, valiant like Baal (*mi Bʕr*)”.¹⁵⁵⁴ Another case is a fragment of the lower right corner, where it is impossible to determine any depiction of deities.¹⁵⁵⁵ The text reads: Powerful in strength, whose strong arm is boasted of; who plunders....[Bull of Seth? a Montu son of] Montu, who acts with his strong arm, powerful warrior. Bull of Baal (*bʕr*) king of the two lands, Usermaatra Setepenra, son of Ra [Rameses II].¹⁵⁵⁶ It seems that the battle of Qadesh, Nubian and Syrian wars and

¹⁵⁴⁴ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 35, Doc. 91.

¹⁵⁴⁵ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 35, Doc. 92.

¹⁵⁴⁶ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 35, Doc. 93.

¹⁵⁴⁷ Tazawa 2009, 145.

¹⁵⁴⁸ See the first marriage stele of Rameses II, KRI II 238.

¹⁵⁴⁹ Tazawa 2009, 28, Doc. 63.

¹⁵⁵⁰ Translation after RITA II 196, 7 and Tazawa 2009, 28, Doc. 63.

¹⁵⁵¹ Tazawa 2009, 30, Doc. 70.

¹⁵⁵² Translation after RITA II 159, 8 and Tazawa 2009, 30, Doc. 70.

¹⁵⁵³ Translation after RITA 203, 13.

¹⁵⁵⁴ Translation after RITA II 302, 10.

¹⁵⁵⁵ Tazawa 2009, 30, Doc. 71.

¹⁵⁵⁶ Translation after RITA II 296, 15; Tazawa 2009, 30, Doc. 71.

royal stele of Rameses II associate Rameses II as the god Baal or Seth with Baal in order to promote the power of the Egyptian authority or as a patron deity, who could ensure the legitimacy and the promotion of the pharaoh.¹⁵⁵⁷

On the other hand, there are visual images of Baal accompanied by the name of Seth. The stele of 400 year belongs to this category, as the name of Seth is included with the appearance of the god Baal. The god is presented with an Egyptian beard, wears a decorated knee-length kilt and holds an *ꜥnh* symbol and a *w3s* scepter.¹⁵⁵⁸ The text records: “Seth of Rameses, may he give all his life (*sth n rꜥ ms s sw di ꜥnh nb=f*), King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Usermaatra Setepenra, son of Ra, Rameses-Meryamun giving wine to his father who made him, given life for the ka of the lord Seth, son of Nut”.¹⁵⁵⁹ Another presentation of Baal is in the rhetorical stele of Rameses II (Doc.-Fig. 4.1.45.), which presents the god with Egyptian beard, wears a decorated knee-length kilt and holds an *ꜥnh* symbol and a *w3s* scepter.¹⁵⁶⁰ The text records: Seth, great in power, lord of heaven, given his life (*sth ꜥ3phty nbpt di ꜥnh=f*)¹⁵⁶¹ A third case is the upper register of the stele (Doc.-Fig. 4.1.46.), which depicts a figure, who is standing and wearing a conical crown with a short streamer from its top.¹⁵⁶² An inscription above the figure reads: “Seth, great in power given life (*sth ꜥ3phty di ꜥnh*)”.¹⁵⁶³ Cornelius suggested that the god Baal is manifested with Egyptian characteristics and he is bearing the name of Seth due to the fact that Ba'al and Seth are identified with each other. Both are regarded as storm deities.¹⁵⁶⁴ Allon stated that through the association of Seth with Baal, their common characteristics and attributes were underlined.¹⁵⁶⁵ Tazawa stated that Seth-Baal is not regarded as a warrior deity in campaigns, but he is also a royal patron, who can protect the pharaoh and provide him divine legality.¹⁵⁶⁶ The aspect of Cornelius and Allon can interpret the appearance of Baal with the name of Seth from the aspect of iconography, while the suggestion of Tazawa refers to the symbolic meaning of Seth-Baal in the royal context. Both aspects can justify the presence of Baal as Seth, as the visual representations of Baal with the name of Seth indicate the identification of them and their common attributes, while their royal

¹⁵⁵⁷ Tazawa 2009, 145.

¹⁵⁵⁸ Cornelius 1994, BR 5, 147-148.

¹⁵⁵⁹ Translation after RITA II 287, 5 and Tazawa 2009, 14, Doc. 2, pl.I.

¹⁵⁶⁰ Cornelius 1994, BR 6, 148-149.

¹⁵⁶¹ Translation after RITA II 294, 5 and Tazawa 2009, 14, Doc. 3.

¹⁵⁶² Cornelius 1994 BR 8; Tazawa 2009, 15, Doc.4.

¹⁵⁶³ Translation after RITA II 303, 1-5; Cornelius 1994 BR 8; Tazawa 2009, 15, Doc.4.

¹⁵⁶⁴ Cornelius 1994, 160.

¹⁵⁶⁵ Allon 2007, 20.

¹⁵⁶⁶ Tazawa 2009, 145.

context demonstrates that Baal transformed from a fertility deity to a warrior god, who could guarantee the victory in a campaign.

Reshef

The first reference to Reshef is recorded on a Sphinx stele, where the king is presented armed and displayed his excellent skills in horses and boats.¹⁵⁶⁷ The text reads: Reshef (*ršp*) and Astarte (*štrt*) rejoiced in him as he did all that his heart desired.¹⁵⁶⁸ Simpson stated that Reshef and Astarte manifested as the special patrons of the sporting pharaoh.¹⁵⁶⁹ Tazawa suggested that the pharaoh wanted to reinforce his warrior nature and his skills in horses.¹⁵⁷⁰ Cornelius suggested that Reshef and Astarte were associated with horses and chariots and they were pleased with the horsemanship of the pharaoh, providing him with military power.¹⁵⁷¹ In this context, the suggestion of Tazawa can contribute to the justification of the role of Reshef, who emerge to enjoy the accomplishments of the pharaoh.¹⁵⁷² Amenhotep II demonstrated that he could be the successful pharaoh, focusing in the handle of horses¹⁵⁷³ and the role of Reshef in the written sources contributed powerfully to his interpretation in the courts of his foreign policy. Reshef is associated with chariots and horses, without any mentioning of him on a horseback.¹⁵⁷⁴ His ferocious elements as a deity of devastation, turned into the symbol of the power of the pharaoh in the campaigns.¹⁵⁷⁵

A stela from Memphis presents two scenes, in which the king is wearing the Blue crown and offering wine to Amun-Ra and in the second scene the king is wearing the Nemes-cloth and offering to Ptah.¹⁵⁷⁶ The inscription reads: *His majesty passed the orontes like Reshef (ršp).*¹⁵⁷⁷ Tazawa suggested that Amenhotep II was compared with the courage of Reshef. The warrior characteristics of Reshef were transformed into the symbol of courage of the pharaoh.¹⁵⁷⁸ It is necessary to note that the text underlines the power and bravery of the

¹⁵⁶⁷ Tazawa 2009, 56, Doc.52.

¹⁵⁶⁸ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 56, Doc.52.

¹⁵⁶⁹ Simpson 1951-1952, 184.

¹⁵⁷⁰ Tazawa 2009, 137-138.

¹⁵⁷¹ Cornelius 2017, 215.

¹⁵⁷² Helck 1955, 1282, 15; 1961, 27; Zivie 1976, 62, 68, 86-87; 2011, 3; Cornelius 2017, 215; Tazawa 2014, 110, n.36.

¹⁵⁷³ Tazawa 2009, 138.

¹⁵⁷⁴ Schulman 1977, 13; Fulco 1976, E4, E11-12; Spalinger 1978, 516. Contra Simpson 1960, 73; Stadelmann 1967, 57-58; Fuscaldo 1976, 130; Helck 1971, 540-451; Cornelius 1994, RR35-RR38, who suggested that Reshef is related with horse-riding.

¹⁵⁷⁵ Tazawa 2009, 138.

¹⁵⁷⁶ Tazawa 2009, 56, Doc.53.

¹⁵⁷⁷ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 56, Doc.53.

¹⁵⁷⁸ Tazawa 2009, 138.

pharaoh with these of the god Reshef and demonstrates the association of Reshef as a protector of the military campaigns.

Some parts of a chariot are visible on the lower left. In the middle above is part of a spear and shield, but no part of a horseman. Next to these are the names of two gods and to the right are the heads of two horses.¹⁵⁷⁹ The text reads: *Montu-Reshef (mntw-ršp)*.¹⁵⁸⁰ Tazawa suggested that Reshef is regarded as a war deity and he is associated with Montu.¹⁵⁸¹ The suggestion of Tazawa can justify the identification of Reshef with Montu, as the warrior characteristics of Reshef and his association with horses turned him into an equal deity with an Egyptian.

Another case is a seal, which bears the cartouche of Amenhotep II on either side.¹⁵⁸² The inscription reads: Amenhotep II, beloved of Reshef (*ršpw mri*).¹⁵⁸³ According to Tazawa, it was the time, when the pharaoh was regarded as the powerful and true king.¹⁵⁸⁴ It seems that the close relation with Reshef and the military prowess of the pharaoh can be demonstrated also in this inscription.

A stone bowl (RV1) around the flat top of which a text bears the inscription: *Regnal 6th year under the majesty of the lord of the two lands, Horemheb, the ruler, at the time of his first victorious battle, from Byblos as far as the land of chief Carchemish. An offering, which the king gives to Ptah, south of his wall, lord of the life of the two lands, to Astarte lady of the sky (štrt nbt pt), to Anat the daughter of Ptah, lady of truth (nti s3t pth nbt m3t), to Reshef lord of the sky (ršpw nb pt), to Qadshet the lady of the stars of heavens (kdšt nbt sb3w ptw)*.¹⁵⁸⁵ Redford suggested that the name of Reshef is written, as he is associated with horses, chariots and he is regarded as a protector deity of the pharaoh in his royal campaigns.¹⁵⁸⁶ The suggestion of Redford can justify the role of Reshef in the campaigns, as he expressed the prowess of the royal authority and the skills of the pharaohs.

¹⁵⁷⁹ Tazawa 2009, 57, Doc.55 and Cornelius 1994, 84, RR37.

¹⁵⁸⁰ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 57, Doc.55 and Cornelius 1994, 84, RR37.

¹⁵⁸¹ Munnich 2009, 55; Simpson 1960, 64-65, pl.XVII; Tazawa 2009, 138.

¹⁵⁸² Tazawa 2009, 57, Doc.54.

¹⁵⁸³ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 57, Doc.54.

¹⁵⁸⁴ Tazawa 2009, 138.

¹⁵⁸⁵ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 101, Doc.19, 58, Doc.58, 76, Doc.13, 92, Doc.35, 101; Budin 2015, 4; Redford 1973, 37.

¹⁵⁸⁶ Redford 1973, 45.

Astarte

The first reference to Astarte is recorded on a Sphinx stele, where the king is presented armed and displayed his excellent skills in horses and boats.¹⁵⁸⁷ The text reads: Reshef (*ršp*) and Astarte (*štrt*) rejoiced in him as he did all that his heart desired.¹⁵⁸⁸ Simpson stated that Reshef and Astarte manifested as the special patrons of the sporting pharaoh.¹⁵⁸⁹ Tazawa suggested that the pharaoh wanted to reinforce his warrior nature and his skills in horses.¹⁵⁹⁰ Cornelius suggested that Reshef and Astarte were associated with horses and chariots and they were pleased with the horsemanship of the pharaoh, providing him with military power.¹⁵⁹¹ The suggestion of Simpson can justify only the aspect of the athletic skills of the pharaoh. However, the suggestions of Tazawa and Cornelius can contribute to the demonstration of the role of Astarte, who emerges to enjoy the accomplishments of the pharaoh.¹⁵⁹² Her manifestation can be justified as a military/horse training goddess who cooperates with Reshef in order to promote the military power of the pharaoh.

On the upper part of the stele, the upper body of the king taking an adoration posture by raising his left hand is depicted. Behind him, a figure on a horseback is visible. The deity is considered to be Astarte as she holds a spear and shield and rides a horse.¹⁵⁹³ The inscription reads: “Menkheprure the good god (*ntr nfr*)”.¹⁵⁹⁴ Tazawa suggested that the scene demonstrates the close relation of the goddess with horses, which are associated with the battle. According to her, Thutmose IV rendered Astarte a warrior deity, as he led several battles in the region of the Levant. Tazawa also stated that the appearances of the goddess under the reign of Thutmose IV may interpret as a reminiscence of a previous period.¹⁵⁹⁵ However, the goddess is regarded as a warrior deity and accompanied the king to his military campaigns.

At the same time, the name of Astarte is also written on the tomb of Thutmose IV. The inscription records: “Valiant with his chariot team like Astarte (*tnrḥr ssmt mj šštrt*), strong of heart among the multitude, a possessor of might, lord of action, the good god,

¹⁵⁸⁷ Tazawa 2009, 56, Doc.52.

¹⁵⁸⁸ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 56, Doc.52.

¹⁵⁸⁹ Simpson 1951-1952, 184.

¹⁵⁹⁰ Tazawa 2009, 137-138.

¹⁵⁹¹ Cornelius 2017, 215.

¹⁵⁹² Helck 1955, 1282, 15; 1961, 27; Zivie 1976, 62, 68, 86-87; 2011, 3; Cornelius 2017, 215; Tazawa 2014, 110, n.36.

¹⁵⁹³ Tazawa 2009, 83, Doc. 2

¹⁵⁹⁴ Translation after Munnich 2009, 56; Tazawa 2009, 83, Doc. 2; Leclant 1960, 19ff.

¹⁵⁹⁵ Tazawa 2009, 139.

Menkheperure, given life like Re¹⁵⁹⁶. According to Schmitt, the inscription indicates the strong connection of kingship with the female goddess.¹⁵⁹⁷ The aspect of Schmitt can justify the role of Astarte in the context of campaigns, as due to her warrior attributes and her association with horses, she acquired close relation with royal authority.

The cylinder depicts two figures facing each other and holding spears.¹⁵⁹⁸ Between them there is an inscription that reads the name of Astarte (𐤀𐤍𐤏𐤏).¹⁵⁹⁹ Cornelius suggested that the inscription on the seal does not refer to the female goddess, as there is no inscription for the male deity, but instead indicates the third figure in a textual representation.¹⁶⁰⁰ Tazawa noted that the figure on the left hand is a king, as he is wearing the Blue Crown, adopting the brandishing posture with right hand raised and a scimitar sword.¹⁶⁰¹ On the other hand, Schmitt stated that the seal indicates a menacing male god, perhaps Baal or Reshep and the royal reincorporation of the goddess, Astarte, as a deity of the Egyptian domination in Canaan.¹⁶⁰² Cornelius ignores the iconographical characteristics of the goddess, who is wearing a long dress with an atef-crown from the base of which two ribbons are presented and holds a spear.¹⁶⁰³ The other figure on the left is a king, due to the fact that he wears a blue crown and holds a scimitar sword. The name of Astarte is written on the seal, as she is related to the campaigns of Levant.

The name of Astarte is also recorded on a stone bowl (ASV1) around the flat top of which a text bears the inscription: *Regnal 6th year under the majesty of the lord of the two lands, Horemheb, the ruler, at the time of his first victorious battle, from Byblos as far as the land of chief Carchemish. An offering, which the king gives to Ptah, south of his wall, lord of the life of the two lands, to Astarte lady of the sky (𐤀𐤍𐤏𐤏 nbt pt), to Anat the daughter of Ptah, lady of truth (𐤀𐤎𐤏𐤏 s3t pth nbt m3t), to Reshef lord of the sky (ršpw nb pt), to Qadeshet the lady of the stars of heavens (kdšt nbt sb3w ptw).*¹⁶⁰⁴ Redford suggested that the name of Astarte is written, as she is associated with horses, chariots and she is regarded as a protector deity of the pharaoh in his royal campaigns.¹⁶⁰⁵ The suggestion of Redford can contribute to the

¹⁵⁹⁶ Translation after Cumming 1984, 1559; Schmitt 2013, 219; 1967, Stadelmann 1967, 102.

¹⁵⁹⁷ Schmitt 2013, 219.

¹⁵⁹⁸ Tazawa 2009, 88, Doc.15; Schmitt 2013, 223.

¹⁵⁹⁹ Translation after Schmitt 2013, 223 and Tazawa 2009, 88, Doc. 15.

¹⁶⁰⁰ Cornelius 2004, 90.

¹⁶⁰¹ Tazawa 2009, 88, Doc. 15.

¹⁶⁰² Schmitt 2013, 223.

¹⁶⁰³ Tazawa 2009, 88, Doc. 15.

¹⁶⁰⁴ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 101, Doc.19, 58, Doc.58, 76, Doc.13, 92, Doc.35, 101; Budin 2015, 4; Redford 1973, 37.

¹⁶⁰⁵ Redford 1973, 45.

interpretation of the role of Astarte in the battle, as she is the divine protector of the king, a guarantor goddess of victories.

The goddess is also manifested under the reign of Rameses II, where she is associated with the campaigns of the pharaoh. A stele depicts an offering table in the center and above is a reclining animal with the head of the Egyptian god Seth, who is looking to the right. Rameses II offers some lotus flowers to Astarte, who faces to the left, wears a long dress and an atef crown and holds a scepter.¹⁶⁰⁶ In front of Astarte the inscription records: Astarte, lady of the sky, mistress of the two lands (*ʕštrt nbt pt ḥnwt t3wy*)¹⁶⁰⁷ According to Wilson-Wright, Astarte is appeared receiving offerings from the king and providing divine support in battle.¹⁶⁰⁸ Another relief depicts the pharaoh making an offering before Astarte. The goddess is wearing an Atef-crown, a long garment typical of Egyptian goddesses, a shield and spear in her left hand and a battle axe or similar hand weapon in her other hand.¹⁶⁰⁹ Behind the goddess, the inscription reads: “ I give you all life (*ʕnh*) and dominion (*w3sn*), all health (*snb*), all stability (*ddt*), all joy (*ršwt*), all valor (*wsr*) [like] Re forever”.¹⁶¹⁰ According to Schmitt, the royal representation of the goddess is associated with the pharaoh.¹⁶¹¹ In both cases, the aspects of Wilson-Wright and Schmitt can contribute to the role of Astarte in the battles. Under the prism of royal campaigns, Astarte guarantees for the victories of the pharaohs, providing them with military prowess.

The name Astarte is associated with the god Montu. A scene displays the king standing on a chariot promoted by the god Montu. He is shooting an arrow into the troops of the enemy and two horses pulling the chariot.¹⁶¹² Between the king and horses there is an inscription which reads: “The good god, beloved of Montu, who is valiant with his chariot like Astarte (*ʕštrt*), strong of heart among the people, lord of strength, lord of action, the good god Thutmose IV given life like Ra”.¹⁶¹³ Another scene depicts the king attacking Shashu. He is wearing a wig, standing on his chariot and he is shooting the enemies.¹⁶¹⁴ In front of the face of the king there is an inscription, which records: “King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menmaatra, the son of Ra, Sety-Merenptah, given life like Ra, beloved of Montu and Astarte

¹⁶⁰⁶ Tazawa 2009, 86, Doc.9; Cornelius 2004, 82, 85.

¹⁶⁰⁷ Translation after RITA II 779, 7; Tazawa 2009, 86, Doc.9; Cornelius 2004, 82.

¹⁶⁰⁸ Wilson-Wright 2016, 86.

¹⁶⁰⁹ Cornelius 2004, 104; Schmitt 2013, 222.

¹⁶¹⁰ Translation after Wilson-Wright 2016, 59, fig.13.

¹⁶¹¹ Schmitt 2013, 222-223.

¹⁶¹² Tazawa 2009, 91, Doc.32.

¹⁶¹³ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 91, Doc.32.

¹⁶¹⁴ Tazawa 2009, 93, Doc.37.

(*štrt*)”.¹⁶¹⁵ A block bears texts on two opposite faces.¹⁶¹⁶ The text reads: “Astarte (*štrt*), bull of Seth, Montu son of Montu, who achieves with his sword”.¹⁶¹⁷ Tazawa stated that Astarte was mentioned with the two important male deities, Seth and Montu, demonstrating her warrior attributes.¹⁶¹⁸ The suggestion of Tazawa can justify the identification of Astarte with Montu, as the warrior characteristics of Astarte and her association with horses turned him into an equal deity with an Egyptian god.

Anat

The name of Anat is recorded on a stone bowl (AV2) around the flat top of which a text bears the inscription: *Regnal 6th year under the majesty of the lord of the two lands, Horemheb, the ruler, at the time of his first victorious battle, from Byblos as far as the land of chief Carchemish. An offering, which the king gives to Ptah, south of his wall, lord of the life of the two lands, to Astarte lady of the sky (*štrt nbt pt*), to Anat the daughter of Ptah, lady of truth (*nti s3t pth nbt m3t*), to Reshef lord of the sky (*ršpw nb pt*), to Qadeshet the lady of the stars of heavens (*kdšt nbt sb3w ptw*)*.¹⁶¹⁹ Redford suggested that Anat has a close relation with horses, chariots and she is regarded as a protector deity of the pharaoh in his royal campaigns.¹⁶²⁰ The aspect of Redford justifies the role of Anat as a warrior deity and her association with horses and royal chariots.

Another reference to the name of Anat is written on a relief, which shows part of the southern campaign of Seti I. He wears a Blue crown and holds a bow, a scimitar sword and reins in his left hand (Doc. 1.2.3.).¹⁶²¹ Over the horses the inscription records: Anat is content (*nit hri*).¹⁶²² Tazawa stated that the name of the goddess is associated with the names of the horses, which are included in the drawings of the royal chariots, where the king is receiving his attributes from the rulers of Canaan.¹⁶²³ It seems that Anat as a warrior deity, she is associated with horses and royal chariots, justifying her role as a protector deity of the pharaoh.

In conclusion, the Syro-palestinian deities Baal, Reshef, Astarte and Anat are recorded in the royal battles of the pharaohs. The god Baal is manifested in the royal battles in order to

¹⁶¹⁵ Translation after RITA I 8 and Tazawa 2009, 93, Doc.37.

¹⁶¹⁶ Tazawa 2009, 93, Doc.38.

¹⁶¹⁷ Translation after RITA II 457, 14 and Tazawa 2009, 93, Doc.38.

¹⁶¹⁸ Tazawa 2009, 145.

¹⁶¹⁹ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 101, Doc.19, 58, Doc.58, 76, Doc.13, 92, Doc.35, 101; Budin 2015, 4; Redford 1973, 37.

¹⁶²⁰ Redford 1973, 45.

¹⁶²¹ Tazawa 2009, 81, Doc.30.

¹⁶²² Translation after RITA I 7 and Tazawa 2009, 81, Doc.30.

¹⁶²³ Tazawa 2009, 141.

reinforce the prestige and the power of the pharaoh, while in several visual representations of him, Baal is appeared with the name of Seth, indicating their common attributes and characteristics. At the same time, the god Reshef is associated with Montu, as the warrior characteristics of Reshef and his association with horses turned him into an equal deity with an Egyptian. Under the prism of royal battles, Astarte is also the goddess who guarantees the victories of the pharaohs, providing them with military prowess.¹⁶²⁴ Her warrior characteristics and her close relation with horses associated her with Egyptian gods, such as Montu. The royal horses and chariots are also connected with the goddess Anat. The warrior goddess is regarded as a protector deity of the pharaoh.¹⁶²⁵

2.3. The role of Syro-palestinian deities in diplomatic field

In the diplomatic context, the prestige and image of the pharaoh are reflected through the Amarna letters, which are accepted to be an aspect of diplomatic written communication with the Syro-Palestinian region.¹⁶²⁶ Among of them, there is a corpus of letters from Tyre and Byblos, which contain West Semitic formulaic phrases or sentences, such as the name of Baal and his association with the pharaoh, in the body of the letter, harmonizing with the message. Apart from the Amarna Letters, another Syro-palestinian deity is recorded on the treaty of Rameses II with Hattusilis III, demonstrating a different role in the diplomatic context. After the treaty of Rameses II, his diplomatic marriage with a foreign princess indicates the presence of a different Syro-palestinian deity. Thus, the aim of this chapter is to examine the letter from Tyre EA 147:14 and letter EA 108:09 from Byblos, the treaty of Rameses II with Hattusilis III and the marriage of Rameses II and to interpret the roles of the Syro-palestinian deities and their diplomatic purposes.

2.3.1. Amarna Letters

The letter of Tyre EA 147:14 (BI4) is a typical of the vassal correspondence, where Abi-milki writes to Akhenaten, using the name of Baal: “My lord is the sun god who has come forth over all lands day by day according to the manner of the sun god, his gracious father, who has given life by his sweet breath and returns with his north wind; of whom all the land is established in peace by the power of (his) arm; who has given his voice in the sky like Ba'al

¹⁶²⁴ Hoffmann 2008, 50.

¹⁶²⁵ Hoffmann 2008, 50.

¹⁶²⁶ Mynářová 2012, 551.

(ISKUR), and all the land was frightened at his cry”.¹⁶²⁷ Izre'el suggested that the scribe who wrote it was familiar with the Egyptian language and literature.¹⁶²⁸ On the other hand, Siddall suggested that the correspondence of Abi-milki was associated with the theology of Atenism, as there are references which link to the solar theology of this period.¹⁶²⁹ Schneider stated that the letter indicate the association of the pharaoh with Baal and Re.¹⁶³⁰ Tarawneh suggested that the sender was familiar with the Egyptian religious ideology and shared some common ground with the recipient, aiming to have the message interpreted positively.¹⁶³¹ The aforementioned suggestions underline the Egyptian religious ideology of this period, ignoring the political purposes of this association. However, the aspects of Izre'el, Schneider and Tarawneh are close to our interpretation. In the context of Tyre Amarna Letters, the cultural elements such as the name of Baal were placed in order to draw the interest of the Canaanites in the Egyptian authority and to curry favor with the pharaoh,¹⁶³² as the name of Baal is also connected with royal eulogies, where Baal is recorded in order to reinforce the greatness and powerfulness of the pharaoh.

The name of Baal is also recorded in the letter of Byblos EA 108:09 (BI5), where Rib-Hadda corresponds to the pharaoh: “Is it good in the sight of the king, who is like Baal (ISKUR) and the sun god in heaven, that the sons of ‘Abdi-Ashirta are doing whatever they please? They have taken the horses of the king and the chariots and they have given chariot warriors and soldiers to the land of Suḅaḅru as hostages (?). In whose days has a deed like this been done?”¹⁶³³ Again, in this case, the name is also recorded in the letter in order to underline the superiority and prowess of the Egyptian authority and to increase the prestige of the pharaoh.

In light of this evidence, we can suggest that the name of Baal was placed by the scribes of Tyre and Byblos in order to draw the attention of the officials of Canaan in the Egyptian authority and to curry favor with the pharaoh, approving their requests.¹⁶³⁴ Apart from the royal campaigns, the god Baal is also included in the Amarna Letters in order to reinforce and advanced the image and powerfulness of the pharaoh.

¹⁶²⁷ Translation after Moran 1992, 233; Rainey et.al 2015, 742.

¹⁶²⁸ Izre'el 1995, 2416.

¹⁶²⁹ Siddall 2010, 27.

¹⁶³⁰ Schneider 2010, 409.

¹⁶³¹ Tarawneh 2011, 279.

¹⁶³² Siddall 2010, 30.

¹⁶³³ Translation after Rainey et.al 2015, 585; Moran 1992, 181.

¹⁶³⁴ Siddall 2010, 30.

2.3.2. Treaty of Rameses II and Hattusilis III

Apart from the Amarna Letters, another Syro-palestinian deity is recorded on the treaty of Rameses II with Hattusilis III, the king of the Hittite empire (AST1). The Egyptian text of the treaty, which is related with the peace and brotherhood of the two kings and lands, contains a series of names of deities as witnesses or guarantors of the treaty,¹⁶³⁵ among of them the name of Astarte is mentioned, demonstrating her diplomatic role.¹⁶³⁶

In the Egyptian text, Ramesses II referred to a plethora of deities. Among them the text records the name of Astarte: “Astarte of the land of Hatti” (*ʕntrt np3t3 nht3*).¹⁶³⁷ Langdon and Gardiner suggested that Astarte was regarded as an equal deity with Ishtar, who is mentioned in the Hittite version and others and as a witness goddess to the oath of the two Great kings.¹⁶³⁸ Assmann stated that the treaty had to be sealed by oaths and deities, which are recognizable and acceptable by both parties.¹⁶³⁹ The selection of Ishtar from the Hittite aspect and that of Astarte from the Egyptian side is not made randomly. Both goddesses have a close relation with authority, they are regarded as warrior deities, while the name of Astarte is identified with the Ishtar of Assyria, as their names are written in Amarna letters and on Hittite tablets with the same ideogram.¹⁶⁴⁰

Thus, we came to the conclusion that in the context of diplomatic treaties, Egyptian and Syro-palestinian deities had to be equal in their functions and their relations with the authority in order to be translatable for the needs of international law.

2.3.3. Diplomatic marriage of Rameses II

After the treaty of Egypt and Hittites, they agreed to make their alliance by the marriage of Rameses II and the daughter of the Hittite king, Hattusili III.¹⁶⁴¹ The marriage stele of Rameses II records the name of a female Syro-palestinian deity, Anat (AI5). In the eulogy of the main text records: “Living image of Ra, off spring of him who is within Heliopolis, his flesh is of gold, his bones of silver, and all his limbs of iron. Son of Seth, nursling of Anat (*mhr̄y ʕnt̄*), strong Bull like Seth of Ombos, divine falcon whom the people love.”¹⁶⁴²

¹⁶³⁵ Tucker 1965, 500-503; Freire 2013, 143-144; 2015, 10; 2017, 673.

¹⁶³⁶ Langdon & Gardner 1920, 196.

¹⁶³⁷ Translation after RITA II 230, 1; Langdon & Gardner 1920, 194.

¹⁶³⁸ Langdon & Gardiner 1920, 194.

¹⁶³⁹ Assmann 2004, 25.

¹⁶⁴⁰ For more details about the pronunciation of the names in both cases see, Langdon & Gardiner 1920, 196.

¹⁶⁴¹ Schulman 1979, 186; Tazawa 2009, 75-76, Doc. 10.

¹⁶⁴² Translation after RITA II 238, 1, 256, 10 and Tazawa 2009, 75-76, Doc. 10.

According to Tazawa, the king implied that Seth and Anat were his divine parents.¹⁶⁴³ In this context, the marriage stele indicates the devotion of the pharaoh with Seth and his mother-son relation with Anat. The fact that the diplomatic marriage of Rameses II is dated after the treaty of him with Hattusilis III demonstrates the aim of the Egyptian authority to increase and ensure the diplomatic, geopolitical and economical relations with Hittites.¹⁶⁴⁴

Despite the fact that the marriage of Rameses II with the foreign princess increased his superiority,¹⁶⁴⁵ the stele of Rameses II underlines the divine origin and the divine parents of the pharaoh in order to reinforce his prestige and royal prowess.

To sum up, the appearance of Syro-palestinian deities in the political field was associated with the legalization of Egyptian authority. The pharaoh was depended on gods in order to defeat his enemies,¹⁶⁴⁶ emphasizing the divine kingship and the powers of gods.¹⁶⁴⁷ His dependence on gods is reflected in the royal campaigns, where the deities Baal, Reshef, Anat and Astarte promoted the royal power of the pharaoh and reinforced his prestige. The close relation between the pharaoh and the gods is expressed on reliefs and stelae¹⁶⁴⁸ and his royal iconography, where the king is depicted giving offerings to the gods or is presented in a kneeling posture before the divine, demonstrating dedication to the gods.¹⁶⁴⁹ Apart from the royal campaigns, the name of the Syro-palestinian god Baal is also included in the Letters of Tyre in order to reinforce and advanced the image and powerfulness of the pharaoh. However, a different political role of them is demonstrated in the diplomatic context and the treaty of Rameses II with Hattusilis III, where the name of Astarte is identified with the name of Ishtar. Egyptian and Syro-palestinian deities had to be equal in their functions and their relations with the authority in order to be translatable for the needs of international law. Another aspect of their political role can be also reflected in the diplomatic marriage of Rameses II, where the name of Anat is recorded in order to indicate the divine origin of Rameses II, increasing his prestige and royal prowess.

¹⁶⁴³ Tazawa 2009, 145.

¹⁶⁴⁴ Artzi 1987, 23.

¹⁶⁴⁵ Melville 2005, 225.

¹⁶⁴⁶ Baines 1995, 3, 23.

¹⁶⁴⁷ Baines 1995, 34.

¹⁶⁴⁸ Brand 2005, 26.

¹⁶⁴⁹ Brand 2005, 26.

Chapter 3: Syro-palestinian deities in Egypt: their role in the theological field

Apart from the growing political developments, intense intercultural and commercial relations of Egypt with the Levant through trade, migration and traveling caused the importation of Syro-palestinian deities, creating a close experience of the “other” in images of gods and composing a mixture of Levantine and Egyptian characteristics, qualities and a common religion.¹⁶⁵⁰ The result of this combination was the acceptance of Syro-palestinian deities into the Egyptian pantheon, without examining its concept in the world of gods, but fleshing it out and diversifying it.¹⁶⁵¹ Parallel, the existence of Syro-palestinian deities into the Egyptian religion is allowed,¹⁶⁵² due to its polytheistic nature, which includes every new deity and personalized by name, shape and attributes.¹⁶⁵³ Despite the fact that all six deities were acculturated into the Egyptian pantheon, they were not worshipped by the pharaohs and ordinary people at the same time.

Thus, in this chapter, the contribution and participation of Syro-palestinian deities in the Egyptian religion and their worship by the pharaohs, higher and lower ranks will be studied. The appearance and interpretation of their introduction into the Egyptian pantheon require the study of the evolution of Egyptian religion during the New Kingdom. It was the religious development, which caused the affection of the Egyptian polytheism and added Syro-palestinian deities into the Egyptian pantheon, creating a concept of similarity, where deities had similar characteristics and functions.¹⁶⁵⁴ Through the segmentation of the evolution of the Egyptian religion into three religious periods and examination of the archaeological material such as stelae, papyrus and offering bases, the contribution of Syro-palestinian deities in the religion of the pharaoh and the personal ideas of common people will be interpreted. The first period will include the years 1500 until 1350, when the religious system of Egypt is polytheism, the second phase will involve the years 1350-1330, when the religious system of Egypt turned into monotheism by Akhenaten, while the third phase will include the years 1330 until 1100, when after the Amarna period there is a unity of the God and increase of personal piety.¹⁶⁵⁵

¹⁶⁵⁰ Staubli 2016, 52; Assmann 2004, 25.

¹⁶⁵¹ Zivie-Coche 2011, 7-8.

¹⁶⁵² Silverman 1991, 57-58.

¹⁶⁵³ Zivie-Coche 2011, 5; Cornelius 2017, 209; Bleeker 1975, 112-113; Assmann 2004, 24; 2008, 54.

¹⁶⁵⁴ Zivie-Coche 2011, 5; Cornelius 2017, 209; Bleeker 1975, 112-113; Assmann 2004, 24; 2008, 54.

¹⁶⁵⁵ Assmann 2014, 53-59.

3.1 Worship of Syro-palestinian deities and their role in the official religion of the pharaohs

The polytheistic religious system of Egypt, especially from 1500 BCE to 1350 BCE, could acculturate deities from different cultures with Egyptian deities.¹⁶⁵⁶ The common functions or characteristics of a deity equated with the same traits of other deities.¹⁶⁵⁷ Especially, after the expulsion of Hyksos, Egypt started to appear a universal perspective for its borders and entered to the network of theological-cultural interconnections and transforming itself into a major global player in Levant.¹⁶⁵⁸

Under the reign of Thutmose III and his military accomplishments, foreign beliefs and ideas moved more freely and spread to the higher and lower ranks of Egyptian society. In this period, the Egyptian empire witnessed an interchange of deities, where plaques bearded the name of Thutmose III with the winged god Baal and Astarte, who was depicted in a menacing posture on a horseback. Apart from the plaques, the Syro-palestinian deities were also included in the building program of Thutmose III, which was related to the temples. In order to organize his empire and make it functional, the pharaoh listed the temples geographically from south to north, creating imperial supervision of them. By acculturating a Syro-palestinian deity with one of Egypt he could gain provisions from the offerings of the worshippers.¹⁶⁵⁹ A record of the Baal cult in Memphis area reads: “*The offerings to the god Baal in Peru Nefer*”.¹⁶⁶⁰ The location of the Baal’s temple regarded as important for the preservation of a safe space for the trade and the connection with the Mediterranean Sea and Syria.¹⁶⁶¹

In contrast to the theological issues of the authority of Thutmose III, Amenhotep II focused on the hegemonic power.¹⁶⁶² Under his reign, Syro-palestinian deities such as Astarte and Reshef were mentioned. The archaeological material of Reshef indicates the close relation of the god with Amenhotep II. The first reference to Reshef is recorded on a Sphinx stele together with Astarte (ASR1), where the king is presented armed and displayed his excellent skills in horsemanship and boats.¹⁶⁶³ The text reads: *Reshef (ršp) and Astarte (štrt) rejoiced in him as he did all that his heart desired.*¹⁶⁶⁴ Simpson stated that Reshef and Astarte

¹⁶⁵⁶ Before 1500 BCE, God appeared as a creator deity. The world was originated from god and the other gods was originated from him. God could underlined his uniqueness and he was the highest among the other gods, see Assmann 2014, 53.

¹⁶⁵⁷ Assmann 2004, 24.

¹⁶⁵⁸ Assmann 2014, 53.

¹⁶⁵⁹ Morris 2015b, 171-172.

¹⁶⁶⁰ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 34, Doc. 89.

¹⁶⁶¹ Morris 2015b, 186; Zivie-Coche 1994, 56.

¹⁶⁶² Murnane 2000, 102; Tazawa 2009, 137.

¹⁶⁶³ Simpson 1951-1952, 184.

¹⁶⁶⁴ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 56, Doc.52.

manifested as the special patrons of the sporting pharaoh.¹⁶⁶⁵ Tazawa suggested that through these deities, the pharaoh expressed his warrior nature and his skills in horses.¹⁶⁶⁶ Cornelius proposed that Reshef and Astarte were associated with horses and chariots and they were pleased with the horsemanship of the pharaoh, providing him with military power.¹⁶⁶⁷ The suggestions of Tazawa and Cornelius reflect the political aspects of Reshef and Astarte during the reign of Amenhotep II, as the god Reshef was known among the Semitic newcomers in Egypt¹⁶⁶⁸ and added prestige to the image of Amenhotep II.¹⁶⁶⁹ However, in the religious context, this suggestion of Simpson can contribute to the justification of the role of Reshef and Astarte, who appeared as patron deities of the pharaoh. Amenhotep II demonstrated that he could be a successful pharaoh, focusing in the handle of horses.¹⁶⁷⁰

The close relation of the pharaoh with Reshef can be demonstrated also in a seal, which bears the cartouche of Amenhotep II on either side.¹⁶⁷¹ The inscription reads: *Amenhotep II, beloved of Reshef (ršpw mri)*.¹⁶⁷² According to Tazawa, it was the time, when the pharaoh was regarded as a powerful and true king.¹⁶⁷³ It seems that the close relation with Reshef and the prowess of the pharaoh can be demonstrated also in this inscription.

Apart from Reshef and Astarte, Amenhotep II promoted the god Hauron¹⁶⁷⁴ to the solar cult. A group of archaeological materials indicates the appearance of Hauron as the Great Sphinx. His iconographical appearance and attribute are related to the god Horemakhet.¹⁶⁷⁵

¹⁶⁶⁵ Simpson 1951-1952, 184.

¹⁶⁶⁶ Tazawa 2009, 137-138.

¹⁶⁶⁷ Cornelius 2017, 215.

¹⁶⁶⁸ Munnich 2009, 54.

¹⁶⁶⁹ The oldest mention about the name of Reshef goes back to the reign of Sebekhotep III from 13th Dynasty, when the name of a brewer “Apra-Reshpu” was linked to an Asian person originated from Canaan or Syria, see Papyrus Brooklyn 35.1446 VIII:9; Hayes 1955, 16; ANET 553. The name of Reshef was recorded again under the reign of Amenophis II, which was also linked to an Asian, see Simpson 1960, 66; Albright 1954b, 225. For the name of Reshef on the ostrakon see Metropolitan Museum, field no. 27057.5.

¹⁶⁷⁰ Tazawa 2009, 138.

¹⁶⁷¹ Tazawa 2009, 57, Doc.54.

¹⁶⁷² Translation after Tazawa 2009, 57, Doc.54.

¹⁶⁷³ Tazawa 2009, 138.

¹⁶⁷⁴ In the second millennium, the name of Hauron is recorded in the Middle Kingdom, when two kings bearded the name *ḥw3ny-ibwm*, see Posener 1940, 74 (E17), 92 (E59). For other sources, such as Hebrew ostrakon, the name of Hauron in Mari, see Van Dijk 1989, 60. Hauron imported into the new region by the immigrants, such as craftsmen, traders or prisoners at the beginning of 18th Dynasty, see Tazawa 2009, 160-161 and managed to acculturate into the Egyptian pantheon and associated with other gods such as Horus, Horemakhet and Shed, see Van Dijk 1989, 62-68; Tazawa 2009, 160-163. For other associations of Hauron in the Late period, see Zivie-Coche 2002, 76.

¹⁶⁷⁵ According to the theories of Albright and Gardiner, there was a phonetic similarity between the names of Hauron and Horus, see Albright 1936, 3 and Gardiner 1948, II, 216. However, Hauron is never simply called Horus, but always Horemakhet, as is demonstrated on the votive stelae from Giza. Another theory has been proposed by Helck, who suggested that due to the chthonic attribute of Hauron in his homeland, he was connected with the god Atum, as the creator of the gods and kings and then with the Sphinx, see Helck 1966, 12. However, the Sphinx is not the representation of Atum, he is called Horemakhet-Khepri-Re-Atum in the Dream stela of

Horemakhet was the representation of the Sphinx at Giza and the name of the god was attested in Egypt after the reign of Amenhotep I, where a small fragment reads the phrase: “*The beloved of Horemakhet (mryy ḥrm3ḥt)*.”¹⁶⁷⁶ Under the reign of Amenhotep II, the solar cult was re-established and the acculturation of Horemakhet with Horakhty was impelled under the authority of the pharaoh.¹⁶⁷⁷

Parallel to this acculturation, a large amount of archaeological evidence, such as plaques, indicate the acculturation of Hauron with Horemakhet, bearing the text: “*The beloved of Hauron-Horemakhet (mryy ḥwrn-ḥrm3ḥt)*.”¹⁶⁷⁸ Tazawa suggested that by promoting Horemakhet and finally his establishment as a state god, especially in the reign of Thutmose IV, the prestige of Hauron was elevated and equalized with the status of Horemakhet.¹⁶⁷⁹ Van Dijk stated that the acculturation of these deities also caused by the fact that Hauron and Horemakhet are related with the desert and the form of Sphinx. The location of the Sphinx in the desert, can remind the newcomers of their own god Hauron, who was also the god of the desert in his homeland.¹⁶⁸⁰ Both aspects justify the role of Hauron in the official religion. However, the aspect of van Dijk represents the worship of the ordinary people in Egypt, while the suggestion of Tazawa interprets the role of Hauron in the official worship, where he is elevated with the god Horemakhet in order to promote the solar cult in Egypt.

Despite the fact that Thutmose IV continued the solar cult and devoted himself to the sun god Horemakhet, there is no evidence for the appearance of Hauron at the official level under his reign. It seems that the reign of Thutmose IV was a transitional period, which included changes to the royal ideology and domestic issues, by personalizing the pharaoh as a creator-sun god- rather than a divine warrior, as the previous pharaohs did.¹⁶⁸¹

Around 1350 BCE, the traditional Egyptian polytheism was changed by the introduction of the “New Solar Theology”, under the reign of Akhenaten, and regarded as a great religious revolution.¹⁶⁸² Akhenaten recognized the existence of the other gods, but his new solar religion did not include them as part of the creation and maintenance of the

Thutmose IV, see Urk.IV 1542, 17. Stadelmann agreed with the theories of Gardiner and Albright and added that the god Hauron was the new form of Horemakhet, see Stadelmann 1987, 443. The theory of Stadelmann can be applied, as there is no evidence for the demonstration of this association.

¹⁶⁷⁶ Translation after Zivie 1976, NE 1.

¹⁶⁷⁷ Bryan 1998, 49; Tazawa 2009, 139. This aspect can be demonstrated on the “Stele B”, see Hassan 1953, 85, fig.68.

¹⁶⁷⁸ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 69, Doc. 24-28; PM III pt.I, 40.

¹⁶⁷⁹ Tazawa 2009, 161.

¹⁶⁸⁰ Van Dijk 1989, 65.

¹⁶⁸¹ Bryan 1998, 58-61; Tazawa 2009, 140.

¹⁶⁸² White 1948, 93; Hornung 1992, 47; Assmann 1992, 143; 2004b, 180.

universe.¹⁶⁸³ The “New Solar Theology”, presented as heliomorphic rather than anthropomorphic and more cosmology than theology,¹⁶⁸⁴ symbolizing the source of life¹⁶⁸⁵ and rejecting other deities destroying their temples, images and erasing their names.¹⁶⁸⁶ However, these developments are not an innovation of the reign of Akhenaten, but they have already begun from the 5th Dynasty¹⁶⁸⁷ and the Theban hymns of 18th Dynasty.¹⁶⁸⁸

In contrast to this “New Solar Theology”, which rejects other gods and eliminates the topic of creation,¹⁶⁸⁹ Amarna Letters from Tyre (EA 147:14; 108:09) and the Hymn of Aten denote similar references and characteristics of Aten with the god Baal. In Amarna Letters EA 147:14 (BI4), Abi-milki’s letter records: “*My lord is the sun god who has come forth over all lands day by day according to the manner of the sun god, his gracious father, who has given life by his sweet breath and returns with his north wind; of whom all the land is established in peace by the power of (his) arm; who has given his voice in the sky like Ba‘al (ISKUR), and all the land was frightened at his cry*”.¹⁶⁹⁰ Siddall suggested that based on the text, two ascertainments can be extracted. In the first case, the vassal understands Aten and regarded the pharaoh as the Sun god and at the same time the pharaoh as the son of Aten.¹⁶⁹¹ The aspect of Siddall explains the association of Baal with the pharaoh, as the second ascertainment is related to the reference of Baal, which is unforeseen, as the vassal parallels the pharaoh with the god Baal. This parallelism is allowable as in the poem of the Baal cycle, Baal is recorded to raise his voice and covers the earth (CAT. 1.4 VII: 31-35).¹⁶⁹²

Another reference to Baal is also attested in the Letter EA 108:09 (BI5), where the text reads: “*Is it good in the sight of the king, who is like Baal (ISKUR) and the sun god in heaven, that the sons of ‘Abdi-Ashirta are doing whatever they please? They have taken the horses of the king and the chariots and they have given chariot warriors and soldiers to the land of Su(ba)ru as hostages(?). In whose days has a deed like this been done?*”¹⁶⁹³ Once again, the vassal refers to the Sun god and the Syro-palestinian deity, Baal. Siddall and Schneider

¹⁶⁸³ Assmann 2010, 37-38; 2014, 55.

¹⁶⁸⁴ Assmann 2014, 55; 2001, 209; Teeter 2011, 186.

¹⁶⁸⁵ Assmann 2002a, 216; 2001, 209; Teeter 2011, 186.

¹⁶⁸⁶ Assmann 2014, 54; 2002a, 121-122; 2010, 37; 2004a, 28.

¹⁶⁸⁷ Staubli 2016, 57.

¹⁶⁸⁸ Baines 1998, 277-278. Traditional and archaic hymns of “hourly ritual” for the sun god, see Assmann 1969, 113-64; Graefe 1995. Hymns of the “new solar religion”, see Assmann 1983a, 97-98; 1995, 67-68; Baines 1984, 48. Hymns of the “supreme being”, see Zandee 1987, 127; Assmann 1983b, n.180. Epigraphic Survey 1980, 30-32, pl.7. References of Aten by Hatshepsut, see Teeter 2011, 185.

¹⁶⁸⁹ Assmann 2004b, 184-185.

¹⁶⁹⁰ Translation after Moran 1992, 233; Rainey et.al 2015, 742.

¹⁶⁹¹ Siddall 2010, 27.

¹⁶⁹² Translation after Smith and Pritard 2009, 84.

¹⁶⁹³ Translation after Rainey et.al 2015, 585; Moran 1992, 181.

suggested that the reference to the sun god and the association with Baal demonstrates the high rank of Baal at this period and equalizes the god Baal with Aten.¹⁶⁹⁴ The suggestion of Siddall interprets the association of Baal with Aten, as this association is attested also on columns 9-10 of the Hymn of Aten. Some phrases from the Hymn of Aten records: “You have set the flood in the sky (*di=n=k ḥpy m pt*)”, “He makes waves on mountains like the Great Green (*irr=f hnw ḥr dww mi w3d-wr*)”.¹⁶⁹⁵ The elements of rain and fertility, which are denoted in columns 9-10 of the Hymn of Aten, are also recorded for Baal in the Baal Cycle from Ugarit. The Baal Cycle reads: “Ba’al opens a break in the clouds”, “Let the heavens rain oil”,¹⁶⁹⁶ demonstrating the close relation of Baal with rain and underlines his fertility function.

It is important to note that the status of both gods was equalized by Abi-milki in the two Letters from Tyre (EA 147:14; EA 108:09), while the Hymn of Aten and the Baal Cycle denote that the elements of rain and fertility are originated from Baal traditional functions and then acculturated with the Aten’s characteristics.¹⁶⁹⁷ By studying the Amarna letters and the Hymn of Aten, a mixture of similarities and differences, foreign elements in hymns and poems between the “New Solar Theology” and the god Baal were demonstrated.

The post-Amarna and Ramesside theology, from 1330 until 1100, is regarded as a return to orthodoxy and continues to the Oneness of God.¹⁶⁹⁸ In Amarna theology, the One is related to the Sun, which symbolizes the source of life, while in Ramesside Thebes, the One is a strong aspect of unity, which views the plethora of gods as appearances of the hidden God, surpassing the Oneness idea of the Amarna theology and elevating the new theology to a higher level.¹⁶⁹⁹ The propulsion of the new theology developed through the rise of personal piety.¹⁷⁰⁰ The establishment of a direct relation, which connects the pharaoh with a deity and

¹⁶⁹⁴ Siddall 2010, 28-29; Schwemer 2001, 506-510.

¹⁶⁹⁵ Translation after Lichtheim 1976, 96-100.

¹⁶⁹⁶ Translation after Siddall 2010, 29.

¹⁶⁹⁷ Siddall 2010, 29.

¹⁶⁹⁸ Assmann 2004b, 180.

¹⁶⁹⁹ Assmann 2014, 56-57; 2004b, 188-189; 2004a, 17; 2010, 31-33. Contra Assmann 2010, 36, who states that there are two forms of monotheism in the Egyptian religion. The first form was introduced by Akhenaten, who established a single sun and light god, while the second form re-introduced in the Ramesside periods, where the idea of a hidden god was developed. However, as we have already demonstrated in the reign of Akhenaten, the characteristics of his new god Aten was originated from Baal. Thus, it was a mixture of similarities and differences, knowledge of foreign hymns and poems, which constitute the “new solar theology”. For similar aspect, see Staubli 2016, 57. On the other hand, the Oneness of God constitutes a plethora of gods in a hidden God, where there is no rejection or antagonism in order to called “Monotheism”, but a progress of an evolutionary logic, see Assmann 2014, 57.

¹⁷⁰⁰ Assmann 2004b, 189.

an individual human with the god, constitutes a reaction against the Amarna religion, which promoted the personal piety as a local phenomenon.¹⁷⁰¹

In the early 19th Dynasty, the new perspectives in politics, religion and culture changed the role of the pharaoh.¹⁷⁰² The piety of the king was expressed both by the building temples, texts, reliefs, emphasizing his close relation with god, calling the latter as his father or mother¹⁷⁰³ and by his iconography presentation, where he is depicted to give offerings to the gods.¹⁷⁰⁴ Under the prism of personal piety and theology of universalism, religious ideas between the *Pax Aegyptiaca* authority and the Syro-palestinian deities are included.

Three Syro-palestinian deities, Baal, Hauron and Astarte are recorded under the reign of Seti I. Astarte and the Egyptian god Montu are recorded on a relief at Karnak, where Seti I depicted on a chariot and call him beloved of Montu and Astarte (*ꜥꜥꜥꜥꜥꜥ*).¹⁷⁰⁵ Tazawa suggested that the goddess managed to elevate with the status of Montu and other warrior deities in the military context as both of them were warrior gods.¹⁷⁰⁶ The aspect of Tazawa interprets the role of Astarte, as the connection of Astarte with chariots is originated and reinforced by her appearance with horses, regarding her as a protector deity of the king and the military campaigns and acculturated her with other warrior deities.

Another acculturation, which was also recorded under the reign of Seti I is that of Seth-Baal with Amun-Ra. A fragment of stela depicts the pharaoh, Sety I worshiping Amun-Ra, Seth-Baal, Montu and a female deity, while Amun-Ra holds a scimitar-sword and behind him Seth-Baal holds a *w3s*-sceptre. Tazawa suggested that Amun-Ra was regarded as a guarantee deity for the victory of Egyptian authority in Syro-palestine. Behind him was Seth-Baal, who is also appeared as a warrior deity in order to reinforce the Egyptian military and the pharaoh.¹⁷⁰⁷ Leibovitch suggested that these gods are an amalgamation of Theban and Memphite deities.¹⁷⁰⁸ Te Velde stated that Seth-Baal expressed the role of the state god among to Amun, Ptah and Ra.¹⁷⁰⁹ The aspects of Tazawa and te Velde justify the role of Seth-Baal with Amun, as their manifestation is also recorded also on scarabs. The first scarab depicts Amun accompanied by Seth-Baal, while the second presents Amun, Seth and Baal. The aspect

¹⁷⁰¹ Assmann 2004b, 190-191; 2002a., 121-122; 2008, 82.

¹⁷⁰² Liesegang 2012, 98.

¹⁷⁰³ Assmann 2002a, 32; Liesegang 2012, 98; Brand 2005, 26.

¹⁷⁰⁴ Stauli 2016, 59; Brand 2005, 26.

¹⁷⁰⁵ Translation after RITA I 8 and Tazawa 2009, 93, Doc.37.

¹⁷⁰⁶ Tazawa 2009, 134.

¹⁷⁰⁷ Tazawa 2009, 158-159.

¹⁷⁰⁸ Leibovitch 1953, 106.

¹⁷⁰⁹ te Velde 1977, 109.

of te Velde interprets the association of Seth-Baal with Amun, demonstrating that the god Seth-Baal was equal to Amun, Ra and Ptah and promoting the role of the royal deity.

Another deity, which is also attested under the reign of Seti I is Hauron. Several references to Hauron are recorded on a stele and a doorjamb dated to his reign. The stele presents the king, Seti I, armed with a bow and arrows and shooting at lions and oryx. Between the king and the wild animals there are seven inscribed columns.¹⁷¹⁰ The lower register reads: “*Lord of the two lands, Menmaatra, son of Ra, Sety Merenptah, given life like Ra forever. He has made as his monument for his father Hauron-Horemakhet*” (*ḥwrn-ḥrm3ḥt*).¹⁷¹¹ Due to the fact that the pharaoh devoted himself to the Helipolitan religion, Hauron was acculturated with Horemakhet. Tazawa suggested that the god was regarded as a protector deity and divine father of the king rather than a deity for his campaigns.¹⁷¹² The aspect of Tazawa interprets the role of Hauron in the official religion, demonstrating the close relation of the god with the pharaoh.

Two faces of the Doorjamb are inscribed. Face A bears the name of the pharaoh and Face B reads the name of Hauron. The inscription reads: *Sety Merneptah built his monument for his father Hauron (it ḥwrn)*.¹⁷¹³ Stadelmann stated that the role of the Syro-palestinian deities in the Egyptian royal ideology is more associated with war.¹⁷¹⁴ According to Tazawa, in these two cases, Hauron is regarded as a protector deity of the pharaoh, reinforcing him as a divine father in the context of the royal ideology, identifying him with Ra-Horakhty and not as a martial god in the campaign.¹⁷¹⁵ The suggestion of Stadelmann can not justify the role of Hauron in the royal context, as Hauron is not associated with only war, but he managed to have also an important role to the solar religion at this period.¹⁷¹⁶ The suggestion of Tazawa is correct as her aspect includes the close relation between Hauron and the pharaoh and justifies the real role of Hauron. For example, a lintel with the name of Tutankhamun reads: “*King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Nebkheperura, given life, son of Ra, Tutankhamun like the sun, great wife, Ankhesenamun, the living, the beloved of Hauron (mryy ḥwrn)*”.¹⁷¹⁷ According to Tazawa, the manifestation of Hauron in the royal context is not associated with his warrior

¹⁷¹⁰ Tazawa 2009, 66, Doc, 17.

¹⁷¹¹ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 66, Doc.17.

¹⁷¹² Tazawa 2009, 140.

¹⁷¹³ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 70, Doc.30.

¹⁷¹⁴ Stadelmann 1967, 135.

¹⁷¹⁵ Tazawa 2009, 142.

¹⁷¹⁶ Tazawa 2009, 142.

¹⁷¹⁷ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 69, Doc.29.

nature, but he was acted as a divine father of Tutankhamun, due to the royal ideology and his close relation with Ra-Horakhty.¹⁷¹⁸

Following the next reign, Ramesses II devoted to the god Seth. The king maintained the cult of Seth and the temple of Seth in Avaris¹⁷¹⁹ and developed his cult throughout Egypt. A statue of Ptah, dedicated by a priest bears the inscription: *The temple of Baal (B^cr) in Memphis*,¹⁷²⁰ indicating the location of Baal's temple. At the same time, Ramesses II also restored the temple of Seth at Ombos and the connection of the region with the god. A fragment of stele depicts Seth of Ombos with the characteristics of Baal, as he is presented in a smiting pose, wearing a short kilt and bull horns. The stela reads: "*Seth of Ombos (sth k3 nbi ty)*".¹⁷²¹ Cruz-Uribe stated that Seth was regarded as the protector deity of Ramesses II, as in the battle of Qadesh his name was mentioned for his strength and power.¹⁷²² The aspect of Cruz-Uribe interprets the role of Seth-Baal in the official religion, as the status of Seth was extended and elevated with the status of Baal, considering his warrior character,¹⁷²³ while priests of Baal satisfying him with offerings. A snake-headed carnelian statuette, dedicated by a priest and records: "*The priest of Astarte (štrt),¹⁷²⁴ Serbykhen*"¹⁷²⁵, *The priest of Baal (B^cr) Serbykhen*.¹⁷²⁶ Tazawa suggested that *Serbykhen* was not only the priest of Baal and Astarte, but also the priest of Amun in Peru-Nefer.¹⁷²⁷ The aspect of Tazawa can justify the role of the

¹⁷¹⁸ Tazawa 2009, 142.

¹⁷¹⁹ Bietak 1975, 208f. The cult of Seth in Avaris is attested before the importation and establishment of Hyksos into the north-eastern Delta. Junker and Vandier, who proposed that Hyksos assimilated Seth into their religious beliefs, because the god was already in the north-eastern Delta, see Junker 1939; Vandier 1949, 218. Junker, who tried to demonstrate the existence of Seth in 4th Dynasty, see Junker 1939, 84, while Cerny suggested the 2nd Dynasty, see Cerny 1944, 295-298. The previous studies disappeared from the studies of Kees and Helck, see Kees 1955, 110 and Helck 1971b, 92, n.17. Archaeological evidence contribute powerfully to this demonstration, such as the title of King Nehesi of Avaris, which refers to the alliance of him to Seth, see Bietak 1984; 1990, 14; Tazawa 2009, 154; Goldwasser 2006, 123. For more bibliography see Tazawa 2009, 154, n.748. A scarab from Sidon also demonstrates the indication of the cult of Seth in Avaris, before the impact of Hyksos by the text: "Seth, lord of I3ii (*sth nb I3ii*)", which is dated to 12th Dynasty, see Loffet 2006; Goldwasser 2006, 123. It seems that the cult of Seth in Egypt continued in the period of Hyksos, as the deity became part of religious beliefs of Hyksos, see te Velde 1977, 127.

¹⁷²⁰ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 34, Doc. 88.

¹⁷²¹ Translation after Cornelius 1994 BR 19; Tazawa 2009, 18, Doc.12.

¹⁷²² Cruz-Uribe 2009, 202. The name of Seth is mentioned also in the treaty of Ramesses II with Hattusilis III, where both kings included in their treaty gods of their countries, as witnesses in their arrangement. In the treaty, Hittites presented the storm god Teshub, as their major god in their state, while Egyptians translated the storm god, Teshub as their storm god Seth, demonstrating that the Egyptian pantheon can cover the entire universe, see Van de Mierop 2007, 220; te Velde 1977, 120.

¹⁷²³ Cornelius 1996, 163; te Velde 1977, 123; Allon 2007, 20.

¹⁷²⁴ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 92, Doc.36.

¹⁷²⁵ Tazawa (2009, 92, Doc.36) has translated the name of the priest as "Sarabijahina", which is wrong.

¹⁷²⁶ Tazawa (2009, 34, Doc. 87) has translated the name of the priest as "Sarabijahina", which is wrong.

¹⁷²⁷ Tazawa 2009, 130.

priest, which indicates that the priest serves Baal, Astarte and Amun, demonstrating that the god managed to receive adoration in several places.¹⁷²⁸

The worship of Seth-Baal by the pharaoh can be demonstrated through his iconography on stelae. More particularly, the stela of 400-year depicts three figures. The central figure is the king, Rameses II, who wears the Blue crown and an Egyptian costume, striding to the left. In front of the king an Asiatic god stands looking to the right and the king offers him wine. The Asiatic deity holds a *w3s*-sceptre in his left hand and an *ʿnh*-symbol in his right hand. The god wears a conical crown with a streamer from its top to his ankle, a necklace around his neck, arms and wrists and a knee length kilt. Behind the king there is another figure, which can be seen partially, due to damage. The stela records: “*Seth of Rameses, may he give all his life (sth n rʿ ms s sw di ʿnh nb=f)*”.¹⁷²⁹ Tazawa suggested that Seth represents the hypostasis of the strength that was personified by the manifestation of Baal.¹⁷³⁰ The aspect of Tazawa interprets the role of Seth-Baal in the royal-context.

Another stele of Rameses II presents a figure standing and wearing a conical crown with a streamer from its top. The stela reads: “*Seth, great in power given life (sth ʿ3phty di ʿnh)*”.¹⁷³¹ Cornelius and Tazawa stated that Seth upgraded up to a royal deity together with Baal and regarded as warrior deities in order to promote the strength of the king.¹⁷³² The suggestion of Cornelius and Tazawa justifies the role of Seth and Baal in the royal context.

A Rhetorical stele of Rameses II depicts four figures. The left group consists of Rameses II and Seth. The god strides to the right and wears an Egyptian beard, an Egyptian White crown with a streamer, a necklace around his neck and a knee length kilt. The right hand group depicts the king with Geb. The inscription reads: “*Seth, great in power, lord of heaven, given his life (sth ʿ3phty nbpt di ʿnh=f)*”.¹⁷³³ Tazawa stated that Seth represents the hypostasis of the strength that was personified by the manifestation of Baal.¹⁷³⁴ The aspect of Tazawa interprets the role of Seth-Baal in the royal-context.

The worship of Rameses II included also the god Hauron, who was promoted by the king. The name of Hauron is recorded also in the reign of Rameses II, where a statue which presents Rameses II as a child. He is naked and wears a cap and a sun-disk at the top of his head. Behind the king stands Hauron as a falcon. An inscription at the left and right side of the

¹⁷²⁸ Te Velde 1977, 130, n.7.

¹⁷²⁹ Translation after RITA II 287, 5 and Tazawa 2009, 14, Doc. 2, pl.I.

¹⁷³⁰ Tazawa 2009, 156.

¹⁷³¹ Translation after RITA II 303, 1-5; Cornelius 1994 BR 8; Tazawa 2009, 15, Doc.4.

¹⁷³² Tazawa 2009, 155; Cornelius 1996, 163.

¹⁷³³ Translation after RITA II 294, 5 and Tazawa 2009, 14, Doc. 3.

¹⁷³⁴ Tazawa 2009, 156.

statue reads: Son of Ra, Rameses II, *the beloved of Hauron (mryy ḥwrn)*.¹⁷³⁵ Tazawa suggested that the statue of Rameses II as a child embraced by Hauron as a falcon indicates the adoration of Hauron by the pharaoh and the worship of Ra-Horakhty.¹⁷³⁶ The aspect of Tazawa justifies the role of Hauron under the reign of Rameses II, as the cult of Ra was related with Hauron and the acculturation of the latter with Horemakhet was continued until the reign of Rameses II.¹⁷³⁷

Another column records: “*The Horus Kanakhet-Merymaa, the lord of the two lands Usermaatre Setepenra, son of Ra, lord of crowns Rameses Meryamun, beloved of Hauron (mryy ḥwrn)*”.¹⁷³⁸ Stadelmann stated that the role of the Syro-palestinian deities in the Egyptian royal ideology is more associated with war.¹⁷³⁹ According to Tazawa, Hauron is regarded as a protector deity of the pharaoh, reinforcing him as a divine father in the context of the royal ideology, identifying him with Ra-Horakhty and not as a martial god in the campaign.¹⁷⁴⁰ The aspect of Tazawa interprets the role of Hauron in the official religion, demonstrating the close relation of the god with the pharaoh.

Another deity, who was promoted under the reign of Rameses II, was Anat.¹⁷⁴¹ The archaeological material of her includes stelae, statues, door jambs, and obelisk, indicating the close relation of the goddess with royalty. Two statues of Rameses II present the king with the goddess Anat en face. In the first statue, the king is presented on the left without his crown and the goddess is portrayed on the right, wearing an Asiatic costume with two bands on her chest. Both sides of the dorsal pillar record: “*King of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the two lands, Usermaatra Setepenra, son of Ra, Lord of crowns, Rameses II, Beloved of Anat (ꜥnti mri)*”.¹⁷⁴² Rear of dorsal pillar records: “*Lord of the two lands, Usermaatra Setepenra, lord of the two crowns, Rameses II, I am your mother Anat (mwt=k ꜥnti)...Rameses II, beloved of Anat, lady of the sky (ꜥnti mri nbt pt)*”.¹⁷⁴³ The second statue of Rameses II presents also the king with the goddess Anat en face. The king is presented on the left in a Nemes-cloth with an

¹⁷³⁵ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 67, Doc.20.

¹⁷³⁶ Tazawa 2009, 144.

¹⁷³⁷ Tazawa 2009, 144.

¹⁷³⁸ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 70, Doc.31.

¹⁷³⁹ Stadelmann 1967, 135.

¹⁷⁴⁰ Tazawa 2009, 142.

¹⁷⁴¹ The name of Anat was already mentioned on Hyksos scarabs, which bear the names: ‘Aper-‘Anat, see Martin 1971, no.318, ‘Anat-har, see Von Beckerath 1964, 279 and User-‘Anat, see Redford 1992, 110, 117; Beste 1979, no.2844; For Ryholt the identification of the Hathor remains uncertain and there is no evidence to suggest an equation between Hathor and Anat in the 14th or 15th Dynasty, see Ryholt 1997, 149-50. After the expulsion of Hyksos, there is no evidence for the importation of Anat in Egypt during the 18th Dynasty. Most archaeological evidence indicates the 19th Dynasty, where Anat manifested in both royal and non-royal context.

¹⁷⁴² Translation after RITA II 445 and Tazawa 2009, 74, Doc 4.

¹⁷⁴³ Translation after RITA II 445 and Tazawa 2009, 74, Doc 4.

atef-crown and places his hands on his knees. Next to him, the goddess wears an atef-crown with horns and a costume. Her left hand is on her knee and the other attaches to the shoulder of the king. The left edge reads: “*Anat lady of the sky, mistress of the gods (ʿnti nbt pt ntrw)*”¹⁷⁴⁴ The Dorsal pillar records: “I am your mother loved, possessing love, lady of monuments and excellence (*nb mrt mnw hr mnhw*)”.¹⁷⁴⁵ Tazawa suggested that the two statues of the king demonstrate the tendency of Rameses II to emphasize his mother-son relation with Anat, as he implied that Seth and Anat were his divine parents.¹⁷⁴⁶ The aspect of Tazawa justifies the role of the goddess and her maternal attribute.

The suggestion of Tazawa can be applied also in relief, which presents Rameses II standing to the left and wearing a Blue crown and a collar around his neck. Behind the king is Anat, who faces to the left and wears an atef-crown and a necklace (Doc.-Fig. 1.1.11.). Between the king and Anat the inscription reads: “*Anat lady of the sky (ʿnti nbt pt)*”.¹⁷⁴⁷ According to Tazawa the relief confirms the mother-son relation of the king with Anat.¹⁷⁴⁸

Another archaeological material, which records the name of the goddess and indicates the relation between the goddess and the king is three door jambs. The first door jamb is originated from the remains of temple bearing the name of the Astarte and those of Seth and Montu. The doorjamb records: “*He has made a monument for his Mother Anat of Rameses II (mwt ʿnti rʿmsssw)*”.¹⁷⁴⁹ On the left hand of the same doorjamb, there are two lines of text. The first records the cartouche of Rameses II and the second the name of Anat, as the daughter of Ra: “*Rameses II, Beloved of Anat (ʿttrʿ mri)*”.¹⁷⁵⁰ The third doorjamb is a middle part, which includes an inscription between two single lines on the front face.¹⁷⁵¹ The inscription reads: “*Lord of appearances, Rameses beloved of Amun, beloved of Anat (nf mr mnw fn t ʿni n rʿmsssw)*”.¹⁷⁵² Tazawa stated that the door jambs indicate the mother-son relation between Rameses II with Anat, as the king implied that Seth and Anat were his divine parents.¹⁷⁵³

A more detailed description of the maternal relation of the king with the goddess can be indicated in two stelae and an obelisk inscription. The first stela bears four lines of text, which mention the name of the goddess Anat. The text reads: “*King of Upper and Lower Egypt,*

¹⁷⁴⁴ Translation after RITA II 445, 10; 446 and Tazawa 2009, 74, Doc 5.

¹⁷⁴⁵ Translation after RITA II 445, 10; 446 and Tazawa 2009, 74, Doc 5.

¹⁷⁴⁶ Tazawa 2009, 145.

¹⁷⁴⁷ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 75, Doc 7.

¹⁷⁴⁸ Tazawa 2009, 145.

¹⁷⁴⁹ Translation after RITA II 459 and Tazawa 2009, 77, Doc. 16.

¹⁷⁵⁰ Translation after RITA II 459, 1 and Tazawa 2009, 77, Doc. 17.

¹⁷⁵¹ Tazawa 2009, 77, Doc 18.

¹⁷⁵² Translation after Tazawa 2009, 77, Doc 18.

¹⁷⁵³ Tazawa 2009, 145.

Usermaatra Setepenra, son of Ra, Rameses II, given life, Beloved of Anat, lady of heaven (ꜥnt nbt pt mri)”.¹⁷⁵⁴ According to Tazawa, Anat stated that she bore the pharaoh like Seth in order to become the lord of the lords.¹⁷⁵⁵ The aspect of Tazawa justifies the role of the goddess in the royal context.

Similarly, the maternal relation between the goddess and the pharaoh is also demonstrated on the marriage stele of Rameses II, which records the name of a female Syro-palestinian deity, Anat. In the eulogy of the main text records: “*Living image of Ra, offspring of him who is within Heliopolis, his flesh is of gold, his bones of silver, and all his limbs of iron. Son of Seth, nursling of Anat (mhry ꜥnt), strong Bull like Seth of Ombos, divine falcon whom the people love.*”¹⁷⁵⁶ According to Tazawa, the king implied that Seth and Anat were his divine parents.¹⁷⁵⁷ The suggestion of Tazawa interprets the role of the goddess and it can be applied in our justification of her role in the royal context.

Furthermore, an obelisk inscription indicates the attribute of maternity of the goddess. Four inscriptions are inscribed on each side, while the name of Anat is mentioned in the southern face of shaft: “*King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Usermaatra Setepenra, son of Ra, Rameses II. Bold-hearted in combat, a Montu in battle, suckling of Anat (hr ꜥnti), bull of Seth, Lord of the crowns, Rameses II, like Ra*”.¹⁷⁵⁸ Tazawa suggested that the obelisk indicates the maternal relation of the pharaoh with Anat.¹⁷⁵⁹ The aspect of Tazawa justifies the maternal attribute of the goddess, demonstrating her and Seth as the divine parents of the pharaoh.

It was such the level of adoration, that Ramesses II gave the name of Anat to his 38th son, *Mahiranat (imhryꜥnti)*,¹⁷⁶⁰ his first daughter, *Bintant (b3ntꜥnt)*¹⁷⁶¹ and his puppy, *Anatemnakht (ꜥnti nh)*.¹⁷⁶² Tazawa suggested that the names of king’s daughter, son and puppy indicate the strong relation of the goddess with the royal family of the pharaoh.¹⁷⁶³ The aspect of Tazawa can be applied to our interpretation of the royal role of the goddess.

Another goddess, who was worshipped by Ramesses II, was Astarte. Under the reign of Rameses II, the temple of the goddess was in the eastern part of Delta, while there is evidence

¹⁷⁵⁴ Translation after RITA II 304 and Tazawa 2009, 75, Doc. 9.

¹⁷⁵⁵ Tazawa 2009, 145.

¹⁷⁵⁶ Translation after RITA II 238, 1, 256, 10 and Tazawa 2009, 75-76, Doc. 10.

¹⁷⁵⁷ Tazawa 2009, 145.

¹⁷⁵⁸ Translation after RITA II 408 and Tazawa 2009, 77, Doc. 15.

¹⁷⁵⁹ Tazawa 2009, 145.

¹⁷⁶⁰ Translation after RITA II 867 and Tazawa 2009, 81, Doc. 32.

¹⁷⁶¹ Translation after RITA II 401, 502, 504, 1, 555, 1, 631, 5, 633, 5, 752, 5, 923, 5-10, 924, 1-10 and Tazawa 2009, 81, Doc.31.

¹⁷⁶² Translation after RITA II 196, 15 and Tazawa 2009, 81, Doc.33.

¹⁷⁶³ Tazawa 2009, 133.

of the priests of the goddess. The relation of the pharaoh with the goddess is depicted on stelae. The first stela depicts an offering table in the centre and above is a reclining animal with the head of the Egyptian god Seth, who is looking to the right. Rameses II offering some lotus flowers to Astarte, who faces to the left, wears a long dress and an atef crown and holds a scepter (ASR4).¹⁷⁶⁴ In front of Astarte the inscription records: Astarte, lady of the sky, mistress of the two lands (*štrt nbt pt ḥnwt t3wy*)¹⁷⁶⁵ According to Wilson-Wright, Astarte is appeared receiving offerings from the king and providing divine support in battle.¹⁷⁶⁶ The aspect of Wilson could be applied in military issues. However, the offering of the pharaoh indicate the close relation of the king with the goddess and his request for divine support. The relation of the goddess with Rameses II is demonstrated also on the names of the sons of Rameses II, which bearded the name of Astarte: “*Meryastarte (mrištrt)*”¹⁷⁶⁷ and *Astartehirwonmef (štrti ḥr wnmy=f)*.¹⁷⁶⁸

This aspect is reflected in a relief, which depicts the pharaoh making an offering before Astarte. The goddess is wearing an Atef-crown, a long garment typical of Egyptian goddesses, a shield and spear in her left hand and a battle axe or similar hand weapon on her other hand.¹⁷⁶⁹ Behind the goddess, the inscription reads: “I give you all life (*šnh*) and dominion (*w3sn*), all health (*snb*), all stability (*ddt*), all joy (*ršwt*), all valor (*wsr*) [like] Re forever”.¹⁷⁷⁰ According to Schmitt, the royal representation of the goddess is associated with the pharaoh.¹⁷⁷¹ The aspect of Schmitt can contribute to the role of Astarte in the royal religion, as the goddess guarantees stability and life.

¹⁷⁶⁴ Tazawa 2009, 86, Doc.9; Cornelius 2004, 82, 85.

¹⁷⁶⁵ Translation after RITA II 779, 7; Tazawa 2009, 86, Doc.9; Cornelius 2004, 82.

¹⁷⁶⁶ Wilson-Wright 2016, 86.

¹⁷⁶⁷ Translation after RITA II 560, 867, 9 and Tazawa 2009, 95, Doc.47.

¹⁷⁶⁸ Translation after RITA II 559-560, 563, 868:4 and Tazawa 2009, 95, Doc.48.

¹⁷⁶⁹ Cornelius 2004, 104; Schmitt 2013, 222.

¹⁷⁷⁰ Translation after Wilson-Wright 2016, 59, fig.13.

¹⁷⁷¹ Schmitt 2013, 222-223.

3.2 Worship of Syro-palestinian deities and their role in the religion of the lower ranks

The evolution of Egyptian religion during the New Kingdom had a great influence also in the Egyptian society, beginning by the Pharaoh and continues down to the lower rank.¹⁷⁷² For a successful importation and acceptance to the local communities and the common people, Syro-palestinian deities should be associated with the fragility of live,¹⁷⁷³ as Egyptians maintained a personal relation with their gods, approaching them by prayers, offerings and requests for assistance in personal issues, such as illness, good life and stability in their lives.¹⁷⁷⁴ Despite the fact that there is no Egyptian term for “piety”, which can indicate and reconstruct the “beliefs” and religious practices of Egyptians,¹⁷⁷⁵ the scene of worship and offering denotes a private ritual act, which was composed by ritualistic texts, demonstrating the personal relationship between the worshiper and the deity.¹⁷⁷⁶ The restoration and interpretation of personal piety, practice and the beliefs of individuals require both textual sources and archaeological material, which originate from Egyptian temples, tombs, shrines and privacy settings. Texts on a stele and magical spells¹⁷⁷⁷ from Dei el-Medina,¹⁷⁷⁸ which include the practice of magic in wild animals, such as scorpions and snakes,¹⁷⁷⁹ have also a significant role in our research, as they can give us a glimpse for the attributes of the Syro-palestinian deities in the lower rank, demonstrating the individual’s religious beliefs and practices of the worship of Syro-palestinian deities in Egypt, during the New Kingdom.¹⁷⁸⁰

In this chapter, the textual sources and archaeological material accompanied by the religious evolution will be separated into three religious phases in order to denote the functions of Syro-palestinian deities, the personal requests of worshippers to the Syro-palestinian deities and the increase of their worship through the religious evolution. The first phase, 1500 until 1350, will include the traditional Egyptian religion, where people worshipped a variety of

¹⁷⁷² Liesegang 2012, 97.

¹⁷⁷³ Boomas 2018, 141.

¹⁷⁷⁴ Teeter 2011, 76. For the factors which prevent the acceptance of foreign deities in Egypt, see Boomas 2018, 134-135.

¹⁷⁷⁵ Assmann 1989, 68; 2002a, 229; Luiselli 2011, 13; 2008, 1; Eyre 2011, 609.

¹⁷⁷⁶ Kemp 1995, 26; Luiselli 2011, 29.

¹⁷⁷⁷ The idea of medicine includes devices, such as spells against scorpions, snakes, crocodiles and demons. In medical treatment almost everything can be called magical, see Assmann 1997, 4.

¹⁷⁷⁸ Professional scribes may have handled the preparation of religious guidebooks, see Lesko 1994, 135. According to the study of Baines and Eyre, only 5-7.5% of men were fully literate in Deir el-Medina, see Baines and Eyre 1983, 90-91. At the same time, they estimated that the literacy was 1% for the whole population of Egypt, see Baines and Eyre 1983, 61.

¹⁷⁷⁹ Lesko 1994, 130.

¹⁷⁸⁰ Sadek and Posener have suggested that already in the Old and Middle Kingdoms ordinary people “had their beliefs and could often practice their rites outside the official priesthood and temple cult”, see Sadek 1987, 10, 42; Posener 1975, 195-210.

deities, the second phase, from 1350-1330, where the lower rank had no immediate relationship with the god, as the only way to communicate with the Aten was through the pharaoh, Akhenaten, while the third phase, from 1330 until 1100, includes an increase of personal piety and beliefs.¹⁷⁸¹

The first phase of worship of Syro-palestinian deities by the lower ranks of Egyptian society includes the direct relation and communication between the worshipper and the deity, without the intervention of a third mediator.¹⁷⁸² Among the Syro-palestinian deities, who had a great impact on lower rank is the god Hauron. Several written and artistic sources, related to the god Hauron, denote the sense of personal religion in the daily life of the ordinary people, especially in the region of Deir el-Medina and Giza, which were regarded as the place for his worship,¹⁷⁸³ expressing their requests for assistance in the cases for illness and good life. The Stele of Mosi¹⁷⁸⁴ presents a sphinx, facing to the right. The sphinx wears an Egyptian beard and Nemes-cloth with uraeus. In the lower register, there is an adorer, who is standing with the posture of adoration, raising both hands. Behind the adorer there is a follower who holds lotus flowers in his left hand and raises his other hand for adoring (HR4). The stela records: “*Thutmose III, given life, Hauron the good god, lord of the sky (Mn-hpr-R^c rdi ʿnh hwrn nfr ntr nb pt).*”¹⁷⁸⁵ Tazawa suggested that the epithets of Hauron, such as lord of the sky, the great god, are general for all the deities in Egypt. However, the epithet “lord of the sky” (*nb pt*) is reminiscent of Baal.¹⁷⁸⁶ She also stated that the stela indicates the protector function of Hauron, who defend his worshippers from evil, illness and other harmful issues.¹⁷⁸⁷ The aspect of Tazawa interprets the function of Hauron, demonstrating his protector role among the ordinary people.

Another stele, called stela of Amenemistneb, depicts a sphinx, sitting on the ground and looking right. The sphinx wears a hawk’s plumage an Egyptian beard and a Double crown. In the lower register, there are two adorers. The first is standing with the posture of adoration, raising both hands, while the second adorer is behind him and stands as a follower (HR1). The

¹⁷⁸¹ Assmann 2014, 53-59.

¹⁷⁸² Baines and Frood 2011, 6; Bickel 2003, 23-45; Liesegang 2012, 97-98.

¹⁷⁸³ Tazawa 2009, 152.

¹⁷⁸⁴ Tazawa (2009, 60, Doc.1) has cited this object as the stela of Mes, which is wrong.

¹⁷⁸⁵ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 60, Doc.1.

¹⁷⁸⁶ Tazawa 2009, 132; Zivie-Coche 1976, 313.

¹⁷⁸⁷ Tazawa 2009, 132.

stela bears the inscription: “*Hauron (ḥwrn)*”.¹⁷⁸⁸ It seems that role of the god is also the protectiveness against evil, illness and other harmful issues.¹⁷⁸⁹

The Stele of Nehi, presents a sphinx, sitting on the ground and looking right. The sphinx wears a hawk’s plumage an Egyptian beard and Nemes-cloth with uraeus. In the lower register, there is an adorer, who is standing with the posture of adoration, raising both hands (HR2). The stela records: *Servant of Hauron, who gives life, prosperity, health and beautiful lifetime (ḥwrn m rdi =f ḥnh wd3 snb ḥḥ nfr)*.¹⁷⁹⁰ Tazawa suggested that stela demonstrates the protector attributes of the god from evil, illness and other harmful issues.¹⁷⁹¹ The aspect of Tazawa interprets the function of Hauron, demonstrating his protector role among the ordinary people.

The god Hauron is also attested on the Stele of Tutuia, which presents a sphinx, sitting on the pedestal and looking right. The sphinx wears a hawk’s plumage an Egyptian beard and Double crown with a Nemes-cloth and uraeus. In the lower register, there are four figures. The first adorer is standing with the posture of veneration, raising both hands and he is accompanied by his sister and two brothers. His sister wears a long dress and holds lotus flowers in her left hand and raises her other hand for adoring. His brothers take the same posture (HR3). The upper register of the stela reads: “*Hauron the great god, lord of the sky, ruler of the eternity (ḥwrn ʿ3 ntr nb pt nb nḥḥ) Hauron-Atum, father of the gods, who gives a long life (ḥwr-itm itn ntrw rdi 3wi ḥnh)*”, while the lower register records: “*Hauron the great god, lord of the sky, gives beautiful life (ḥwrn ʿ3 ntr nb pt rdi nfr ḥnh)*”.¹⁷⁹² Tazawa suggested that the epithets of Hauron, such as lord of the sky, the great god, are general for all the deities in Egypt, while the stela demonstrates the protector attributes of the god from evil, illness and other harmful issues.¹⁷⁹³ The aspect of Tazawa interprets the function of Hauron, demonstrating his protector role among the ordinary people.

The god Hauron is also depicted with the god Shed. Two amulets from Deir el-Medina present these two deities. On the right side of the first amulet, the god Shed is presented. The god holds arrows and a bow in his right hand and three snakes rear up from his left foot. On the other side, the god Hauron is presented as a falcon, standing on a pedestal. The god wears a Double crown, while three snakes appear from his talons (HM1). The amulet

¹⁷⁸⁸ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 61, Doc.2.

¹⁷⁸⁹ Tazawa 2009, 132.

¹⁷⁹⁰ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 61, Doc.3.

¹⁷⁹¹ Tazawa 2009, 132.

¹⁷⁹² Translation after Tazawa 2009, 61, Doc.4.

¹⁷⁹³ Tazawa 2009, 132.

bears the inscription: “*Asiatic Hauron is strong (ḥwrn ʿ3m wsr)*”¹⁷⁹⁴ The second amulet, only a flail is depicted, it might be argued that the flail is on the back of Hauron, as a falcon (HM1.). Above the flail, the name of Hauron is recorded: *Hauron (ḥwrn)*.¹⁷⁹⁵ On the other side of the amulet, the figure of Shed is presented as a young male. He looks to the left and wears a *sšd* with uraeus and a parietal braid of hair, symbolizing the youth. Tazawa and Van Dijk stated that the appearance of Hauron as a falcon is related to the form of Horus.¹⁷⁹⁶ However, Tazawa interpreted this association, suggesting that Horus is a member of the triad Horus-Isis-Shed¹⁷⁹⁷ and he is described as the lord of the desert, associating his attribute with Shed and Hauron, who are also gods of the desert in their homelands.¹⁷⁹⁸ It seems that both aspects can justify the role of Hauron in the non-royal context, demonstrating his attributes as a god of the desert, who offers protection against the inhabitants from evil spirits and dangerous animals. The close association of Hauron with the god Shed¹⁷⁹⁹ can be interpreted by the text, which mentions that the god Shed rescues Hauron.¹⁸⁰⁰ The god Shed is a protective god against illness and harmful bites¹⁸⁰¹ and he is described as a young boy with kilt, shaven head and holds serpents, lions, scorpions and his bow and quiver, confirming his attribute as a rescuer.¹⁸⁰²

Apart from Hauron, the god Reshef was also worshipped by ordinary people. The god is attested on the relief of Nesby, which displays five adorers from the left to right. The first two figures are Nesby with his wife Tibiw. Nesby dedicates a libation jar pouring water in his right hand and incense in his left hand. The third figure is his son, Humay, who offers a gazelle in his left hand and arrows in his right hand. The other figure is the brother of Humay, Sennefer, who is a herdsman of the cattle of Horus and holds sandals. The last figure is also a herdsman. In front of them, there are three figures. The first figure wears a Double crown and holds a *w3s*-scepter in his right hand and an *ʿnh* symbol in his other hand. The second figure wears a White crown and holds a flail and a *ḥk3* crook with hands. The third deity adopts a brandishing posture with a mace and spear in his left hand and a shield in his right hand. The deity wears a White crown and an Egyptian style beard (RR3) The stela records: “*Reshef the*

¹⁷⁹⁴ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 68, Doc.21.

¹⁷⁹⁵ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 68, Doc.22.

¹⁷⁹⁶ Tazawa 2009, 162; Van Dijk 1989, 63.

¹⁷⁹⁷ Sauneron 1953, 53-55; Tazawa 2009, 162.

¹⁷⁹⁸ RITA III, 427.

¹⁷⁹⁹ The god Shed was already known in Egypt from the 1st Dynasty, see Brunner 1958, 13.

¹⁸⁰⁰ For the text see Doc. 6.24; Fig. 6.24; Tazawa 2009, 2.1.3 Doc.21, pl.X.

¹⁸⁰¹ Brunner 1958, 14-16; Sternberg-el Hotabi 1999.

¹⁸⁰² Tazawa 2009, 162; Van Dijk 1989, 62.

great god, lord of the sky (ršpw ntr ʿ3 nb pt)".¹⁸⁰³ Tazawa suggested that the epithet "the great god" is a general epithet, which can be applied to many deities.¹⁸⁰⁴ The aspect of Tazawa justifies the epithet of Reshef, demonstrating his worship among the other deities.

The first attribute of the god is reflected on the Stele of Betu, which depicts the god accompanied by the goddess Astarte. The right arm of the god, Reshef, is upraised, holding a mace and a shield in his left hand. Reshef wears a long kilt and a white crown and faces the goddess, Astarte. Astarte takes a brandishing pose, wears an atef-crown, a long dress and holds a spear and shield (RR1). The stela reads: "*Reshef lord of the house of the stable of horses (ršp nb pr d3i ssmtw)*".¹⁸⁰⁵ Hoffmeier and Kitchen suggested that the foreign owner of the stela, named Betu, was the 'overseer of horses' and his devotion to Reshef and Astarte is associated with horses and warfare.¹⁸⁰⁶ Munnich stated the stela indicates the close relation between Reshef with horses.¹⁸⁰⁷ Tazawa suggested that the epithet "lord of the house of the stable of horses" indicates the close relation of Reshef with horses.¹⁸⁰⁸ The aforementioned aspects interpret the relation of Reshef with horses during the reign of Amenhotep II in the non-royal context.

A different attribute of the god is demonstrated in the Stele of Amenemopet, which depicts two figures facing each other. The right figure is an adorer who holds a libation jar in his right hand, pouring water to a lotus flower on the ground and dedicating an offering in the left hand. The left figure wears the white crown with uraeus in front and holds a mace and shield (RR2). Above the worshipper, the inscription reads: "*Reshef the great god (ršpw ntr ʿ3). Made by the servant Amenemopet, may he live again*".¹⁸⁰⁹ Tazawa suggested that the epithet "the great god" is a general epithet, which can be applied to many deities.¹⁸¹⁰ However, Munnich stated that the stela represents a request for healing.¹⁸¹¹ The aspect of Tazawa focuses on the epithet of the god instead of his divine role. On the other hand, the suggestion of Munnich is more appropriate for our interpretation, as the stela indicates the healing attributes of the god.

¹⁸⁰³ Translation after Cornelius 1994, 49, RR27 and Tazawa 2009, 52, Doc.38.

¹⁸⁰⁴ Tazawa 2009, 131.

¹⁸⁰⁵ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 38, Doc.1.

¹⁸⁰⁶ Hoffmeier and Kitchen 2007, 136.

¹⁸⁰⁷ Munnich 2009, 63.

¹⁸⁰⁸ Tazawa 2009, 131, 138.

¹⁸⁰⁹ Translation after Cornelius 1994, 44, RR21; Tazawa 2009, 39, Doc. 2 with an additional bibliography.

¹⁸¹⁰ Tazawa 2009, 131.

¹⁸¹¹ Munnich 2009, 57.

Another deity who was also worshipped by the lower ranks in Memphis and Deir el-Medina is Qadesh.¹⁸¹² The goddess is depicted on stelae, accompanied by Min and Reshef, creating the triad stele. Several stelae display a naked goddess pointing her toes on the back of a lion and she wears a headdress, like Nemes, while several stelae depict her wearing a Hathor headdress with naos-sistrum, a vessel and plants on the top. She holds a lotus flower in her left hand and a serpent in her other hand. Qadesh stands naked on a lion and holds snakes on her left side, where Reshef is standing, while on the other hand holds lotus flowers on her right side, where her hand reached out to Min.¹⁸¹³ Munnich suggested that the appearance of Min with an erect phallus, the snakes, which are also phallic animals and the lotus flowers as aphrodisiac constitute a fertility scene, where Qadesh is the central goddess, symbolizing life, love¹⁸¹⁴ and health.¹⁸¹⁵ The appearance of the male god Min is connected with love, while Reshef symbolizes health, as the snakes are connected with healing.¹⁸¹⁶ The suggestion of Munnich justifies the role of the Qadesh in the non-royal context. It seems that the divine triad (Qadesh-Min-Reshef) can be regarded as a unity, mixing fertility attributes and symbols.¹⁸¹⁷

The goddess is recorded also in an offering basin, which depicts a kneeling man, wearing a kilt and an Egyptian wig. The man holds a large rectangular basin in his arm (QI1). On the front there is an inscription, which reads: *Great magic, lady of the sky, mistress of the house (w3dt ḥk3t nbt pt nbt pr)*.¹⁸¹⁸ Tazawa suggested that the divine epithets of the goddess, such as “great in magic” aim to reinforce the benefit from her as a fertility deity by magical support.¹⁸¹⁹ The aspect of Tazawa interprets the role and quality of Qadesh in the non-royal context, as the stela is dated to the reign of Thutmose IV-Amenhotep III, demonstrating and adding a new attribute of the goddess, which is associated with the security of health by the support of magic.

The name of Qadesh is recorded on a stone bowl (QV1) around the flat top of which a text bears the inscription: *Regnal 6th year under the majesty of the lord of the two lands,*

¹⁸¹² Archaeological evidence of the goddess Qadesh can not indicate if the goddess was imported by Hyksos or by the Egyptian invasion and domination in Syro-palestine, see Budin 2015a, 4. Contra Stadelmann 1967, 114-115, who suggested that Qadesh was not an independent goddess in Egypt, but she was a cultic form of Anat and Astarte.

¹⁸¹³ Tazawa 2009, 165; Munnich 2009, 62. Instead of Min, several steale depict the god Onuris, see Docs.-Figs. 3.1.19-3.1.20, 3.1.25., 3.1.41.

¹⁸¹⁴ The naked goddess is not connected with the erotic sphere, see Cornelius 2004, 97-98 with the exception of the stela Berlin 21626.

¹⁸¹⁵ Munnich 2009, 62.

¹⁸¹⁶ Keel 1992, 208.

¹⁸¹⁷ Tazawa 2009, 165-167; Sales 2012, 117.

¹⁸¹⁸ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 101, Doc.18.

¹⁸¹⁹ Tazawa 2009, 135.

*Horemheb, the ruler, at the time of his first victorious battle, from Byblos as far as the land of chief Carchemish. An offering, which the king gives to Ptah, south of his wall, lord of the life of the two lands, to Astarte lady of the sky (ʿštrt nbt pt), to Anat the daughter of Ptah, lady of truth (ʿnti s3t pth nbt m3ʿt), to Reshef lord of the sky (ršpw nb pt), to Qadshet the lady of the stars of heavens (kdšt nbt sb3w ptw).*¹⁸²⁰ Tazawa suggested that the epithet “lady of the stars” could be interpreted as an extension of the epithet “lady of the sky”.¹⁸²¹ The aspect of Tazawa can justify the attribute of Qadesh in the non-royal context. It seems that the goddess is included in the vessel inscription due to the fact that there are the deities Reshef and Astarte, who are regarded as deities of the sky.

Apart from Qadesh, the goddess Astarte was also adored by the common people in Peru-nefer.¹⁸²² Most of the archaeological material of Astarte, which is related to the lower ranks, is uninscribed, presenting her riding on horseback. However, there are two stelae, which indicate the qualities and role of Astarte in the non-royal context. The Stele of Betu presents Reshef and Astarte. The right arm of the god, Reshef, is upraised, holding a mace and a shield in his left hand. Reshef wears a long kilt and a white crown and faces the goddess, Astarte. Astarte takes a brandishing pose, wears an atef-crown, a long dress and holds a spear and shield. (ASR1). The stela reads: “*Astarte name (r ʿštrti rn)*”¹⁸²³ Hoffmeier and Kitchen suggested that the foreign owner of the stela, named Betu, was the ‘overseer of horses’ and his devotion to Reshef and Astarte is associated with horses and warfare.¹⁸²⁴ Tazawa stated that the equestrian motif is central to the adoration of Astarte by the ordinary people, especially gatekeeper, stable masters and servant.¹⁸²⁵ The aspect of Hoffmeier and Kitchen justifies the role of Astarte in her worship by the ordinary people, indicating the association of the goddess with horses.

Another stela indicates a different aspect of the role of the goddess in her worship. The stela of Ram depicts three figures. In the center, a shaven-headed man, named Ram, is standing and wearing a loincloth. His leg is weak and his foot is atrophied, while he is offering a burning incense or a loaf of bread in his left hand and holding a lotus in the other hand. His wife, Aam follows him and carries bread or fruit on her left hand and gazelle in her right hand, while their son, Ptahemheb, is standing at a smaller scale (ASR6). The inscription records:

¹⁸²⁰ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 101, Doc.19, 58, Doc.58, 76, Doc.13, 92, Doc.35, 101; Budin 2015a, 4; Redford 1973, 37.

¹⁸²¹ Tazawa 2009, 136.

¹⁸²² Tazawa 2009, 153.

¹⁸²³ Translation after Hoffmeier and Kitchen 2007, 128, fig.1a-b and Tazawa 2009, 83, Doc.1, pl.IV.

¹⁸²⁴ Hoffmeier and Kitchen 2007, 136.

¹⁸²⁵ Tazawa 2009, 153.

“Astarte (ʿ3štrt) from Kharu”¹⁸²⁶ Tazawa suggested that the illness of Amenhotep III and the cult image of Istar (Astarte) in Egypt, inspired trust in the common people for their health and prosperity.¹⁸²⁷ The aspect of Tazawa interprets the role and quality of Astarte in the non-royal context, as the stela is dated to the reign of Thutmose IV-Amenhotep III, demonstrating and adding a new attribute of the goddess, which is associated with the security of joy and happiness.

In 18th Dynasty Peru-Nefer and the Memphite region were the centers of the cult of Baal.¹⁸²⁸ However, the first record of the god in the lower rank is attested in the biography of Sennufer (BI2). The text records: “*I went forth to this my [. . .] who rides upon the storm (tp šnyt). I entered into Lebanon [. . . . Hathor, mistress of Byblos, and I authorized] that an offering of a myriad of things be presented to her on behalf [of the life, prosperity and health of the Sovereign. . . .]*”¹⁸²⁹ Redford suggested that the phrase “who rides upon the storm” refers to the god Baal, who rides the clouds.¹⁸³⁰ The aspect of Redford justifies the attributes of the god Baal, as the god is connected with the attributes of fertility, which includes the sky, clouds, thunder and storms.¹⁸³¹

Apart from the autobiographical texts, the god Seth-Baal is manifested on plaques, figurines, amulets, scarabs and seals, winged, slays a serpent and wears a short kilt and a conical crown or in other cases he holds plants like a scepter. Tazawa suggested that these plaques, amulets, scarabs and seals were brought by the merchants and traders both from Egypt and Syro-palestine in order to visit the temple of Baal in the Memphis area.¹⁸³² The aspect of Tazawa interprets the role and attributes of Baal in the non-royal context, indicating that the god Baal was a protector of the traders and generally in nautical issues.¹⁸³³

The next phase, which involves 1350-1330, is regarded as a turning point of personal piety.¹⁸³⁴ The common people had no direct communication with the god, as any relation with the Aten was through the pharaoh, Akhenaten. In other words, the personal piety turned into loyalty to the pharaoh, where people’s good actions and behavior transformed into devotion to

¹⁸²⁶ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 92, Doc.33.

¹⁸²⁷ Tazawa 2009, 135.

¹⁸²⁸ See 4.4.27, where a letter mentions that Baal was worshipped in Memphis.

¹⁸²⁹ Translation after Pritchard 1954, 243.

¹⁸³⁰ Redford 2003, 175, no.56.

¹⁸³¹ Contra Tazawa 2009, 130, who suggested that Baal is not presented as a fertility deity in Egypt.

¹⁸³² Tazawa 2009, 115.

¹⁸³³ Tazawa 2009, 115.

¹⁸³⁴ Dunand and Zivie-Coche 2004, 15.

the king and obedience to him,¹⁸³⁵ ceasing their prayers and votive offerings to the Syro-palestinian deities.

It was the Amarna period, which manages to reinforce the personal religion of ordinary people, as the latter had less confidence in the divine kingship and the creator god.¹⁸³⁶ At this time, also, the instability between the temple and state transformed the relation between the pharaoh with the god from the king, who executes the demands of the god into the direct relation of the god with the common people.¹⁸³⁷ The cases of healing, sickness and other requests of common people could be involved in a religious dialogue between human and god through the personal piety, where the human can choose his patron deity.¹⁸³⁸

On the basis of the above development, written sources and archaeological material confirm the personal piety also in the case of Syro-palestinian deities. Among the archaeological material, a large number of stelae can indicate the worship of the god Reshef in the non-royal context. Despite the fact that there are stelae, which present a figure wearing a white crown and holding a weapon, shield and spear, without any inscriptions, there is inscribed archaeological material, which demonstrates his worship in the non-royal context. The first stela, called stela of Tjenerhir, depicts Amun-Ra and Reshef. Both deities wear kilts and belts and hold a *w3s*-scepter in their right hands and an *ʿnh* symbol in their other hands. Amun-Ra wears a feathered crown, while Reshef wears an Egyptian white crown. The lower register of the stela presents a figure, who adores Hauron. Hauron is depicted in anthropomorphic form, hawk's face and wears a Double crown. The god holds a *w3s*-scepter in the right hand and an *ʿnh* symbol in his left hand (HR7).¹⁸³⁹ Tazawa stated that the stela demonstrates the protector attributes of the god, Hauron, from evil, illness and other harmful issues.¹⁸⁴⁰ The aspect of Tazawa justifies the role of Hauron and Reshef, demonstrating their protector role among the ordinary people.

The attributes of Reshef can also be demonstrated in the two Stele of Pashed. The first stela presents Reshef seated on a throne, wearing a white crown and holding a shield and mace (RR15). The stela reads: “*Reshef, the great god. The protection and life are behind him. Giving praise to Reshef, the great god, that he may give life, prosperity and health (ršp ntr ʿ3 s3 ʿnh*

¹⁸³⁵ Teeter 2011, 189.

¹⁸³⁶ Tazawa 2009, 151; Assmann 2002a, 229; Baines and Frood 2011, 2.

¹⁸³⁷ Assmann 2001, 216; Tazawa 2009, 151.

¹⁸³⁸ Baines and Frood 2011, 3; Assmann 2002a, 121-122; Baines 1991, 179-180; Luiselli 2008, 4.

¹⁸³⁹ Cornelius (1994, 65, RR32), who translates Amun-Re king of the gods, *Reshef Hauron (jmn-rʿ njswt ntrw ršpw ḥwrw)*. Translation after RITA III 266, 5 and Tazawa 2009, 39, Doc.4.

¹⁸⁴⁰ Tazawa 2009, 132.

ḥ3=f rdit d3tw n ršpw ntr ʿ3 di=f ʿnh wd3 snb)”.¹⁸⁴¹ The second stela depicts Reshef seated on a throne, holding a spear and shield (RR16). The stela reads: “*Giving praise to Reshef, kissing the ground to the great god, that he may give life, prosperity and health alertness, favour and love (rdit i3w n ršpw sn wdb t3 n ntr ʿ3 di=f ʿnh wd3snb spd ḥr ḥsiw mri)*”.¹⁸⁴² Munnich suggested that the stela of Pashed indicate the protective role of the god from illness, giving prosperity and health to his adorers.¹⁸⁴³ The aspect of Munnich justifies the protective and healing character of the god Reshef in the non-royal context.

The healing character of the god Reshef can also be demonstrated on the Stele of Sul. The stela presents Reshef in a brandishing posture, holding a spear and battleax (RR29). The stela reads: “*Reshef multiplies the good god. May give life and health everyday (ršpw k3b ntr nfr di=f ʿnh snb rʿnb)*”.)¹⁸⁴⁴ Tazawa suggested that the phrase “the multiple” demonstrates the fertility character of the god Reshef in Egypt to whom lower ranks request for a better life in the next world.¹⁸⁴⁵ The aspect of Tazawa can justify the fertility role of Reshef and the phrase seems to double the profit.¹⁸⁴⁶

Another stela from Qantir depicts a figure, striding on a baseline to the right. The figure takes a branding posture with a spear in the right hand and another spear and shield together in the other hand. It wears a White crown with a knee-length kilt and a collar around his neck (RR8). The stela records: “*Reshef, the great god, who hears prayers (ršpw ntr ʿ3 sdm nḥi)*”.¹⁸⁴⁷ Tazawa suggested that the epithet “who hears prayer” indicates that the god, Reshef, is treated as a god of benefits such as health occur, prosperity, fertility and stability of afterlife.¹⁸⁴⁸ The suggestion of Tazawa interprets the attribute of the god, as Reshef regarded as a fertility deity, who protects from illnesses and evil spirits. His epithet “who hear prayer” is applied also in the god Ptah at Memphis. It seems that the god Reshef would have some relation with Memphis and Ptah, as a savior deity, while Reshef in Deir el-Medina had a place of worship and was recognized by the ordinary people, such as workmen, bringing the title of Ptah in Deir el-Medina.¹⁸⁴⁹

¹⁸⁴¹ Translation after RITA IV 240, 15-16, Cornelius 1994, 45, RR23 and Tazawa 2009, 43, Doc. 12.

¹⁸⁴² Cornelius (1994, RR26, 49) has translated “Giving praise to Reshef and making obeisance to the great god”, which is wrong. Translation after RITA IV 241, 2-6 and Tazawa 2009, 43, Doc.13.

¹⁸⁴³ Munnich 2009, 61.

¹⁸⁴⁴ Translation after Cornelius 1994 RR7 and Tazawa 2009, 48, Doc.28.

¹⁸⁴⁵ Tazawa 2009, 131.

¹⁸⁴⁶ Tazawa 2009, 131.

¹⁸⁴⁷ Translation after RITA III 447, 5, Cornelius 1994, 25, RR2 and Tazawa 2009, 40, Doc. 5.

¹⁸⁴⁸ Tazawa 2009, 131.

¹⁸⁴⁹ Tazawa 2009, 152.

There is also a category, called triad stela, where the god Reshef appears with Qadesh and Min. More particularly, the stela of Ramose depicts three deities. The left-hand figure is Min. In the center, a naked goddess points her toes on the back of a lion and she wears a Hathor wig and a sun disc. She holds a lotus flower in her right-hand and a serpent in her other hand. The right-hand figure is Reshef, who wears a White crown with a knee-length kilt and a collar around his neck. The god holds a spear in his right hand and his left hand grasps a mace and a similar blade (RR9). The stela reads: “*Reshef, the great god, lord of the sky, the ruler of the divine Ennead, lord of eternity (ršpw ntr ʿ3 nb pt ḥḳ3 psdt nb nḥḥ)*”.¹⁸⁵⁰ Another stela, called Stele of Qaha, presents three deities. The left-hand figure is Min. In the center, a naked goddess points her toes on the back of a lion and the right-hand figure is the god Reshef. The god is presented in an Asiatic style. He has an Asiatic hairstyle with a gazelle head in front and holds an ʿnh-symbol in his left hand (RR13.) *The stela reads: “Reshef the great god, lord of the sky, the ruler of the divine Ennead (ršpw ntrʿ3 nb pt ḥḳ3 psdt)*”.¹⁸⁵¹ Cornelius and Munnich suggested that the god Reshef is attested in the divine triad, where he is depicted armed with weapons in order to defeat the demons, reinforcing his image, as a protective and healing deity.¹⁸⁵² However, the epithets which are recorded on the stelae are also important. Schulman stated that the epithet “the ruler of the divine Ennead” appeared only in the triad stelae, in which Reshef is appeared as a sub-god.¹⁸⁵³ Tazawa suggested that the epithet was created only for Reshef.¹⁸⁵⁴ The aspect of Schulman can not be applied to our interpretation as there is a stela of Huy, which presents also three deities. The left-hand figure is Min. In the center, a naked goddess points her toes at the back of a lion and the last deity is Reshef. The god holds an ʿnh-symbol in his left hand instead of a weapon or a shield (RR12) However, the stela bears the inscription: “*Reshef the great god, lord of eternity, sovereign of everlasting mighty (ršpw ntr ʿ3 nb r n nḥḥ ḥḳ3dt)*”¹⁸⁵⁵ without mentioning that Reshef belongs to the divine Ennead. It seems that the suggestion of Tazawa can justify the attribute of Reshef, as he was the only deity among the Syro-palestinian deities, who managed to bear the title “the ruler of the divine Ennead”, indicating his association with Seth, who was also included in the Helipolitan Ennead.¹⁸⁵⁶

¹⁸⁵⁰ Translation after RITA III 621, 5-6, Cornelius 1994, 57, RR28 and Tazawa 2009, 40, Doc.6.

¹⁸⁵¹ Translation after RITA III 603, 10, Cornelius 1994, 62 RR30 and Tazawa 2009, 42, Doc.10.

¹⁸⁵² Munnich 2009, 61-63; Cornelius 1994, 259.

¹⁸⁵³ Schulman 1981, 166.

¹⁸⁵⁴ Tazawa 2009, 131.

¹⁸⁵⁵ Translation after RITA III 791, 13, Cornelius 1994, 61, RR29 and Tazawa 2009, 41, Doc.9.

¹⁸⁵⁶ Wilkinson 2003, 197.

Another association of Reshef with other deities is attested in the stela of Matybaal. The stela presents Reshef wearing a white crown and holding a spear, shield and mace (RR37). The stela reads: “*Seth, great in power, lord of the sky, Reshef (sth ʿ3 phtj nb pt ršpw)*”.¹⁸⁵⁷ Tazawa suggested that the stela demonstrates the close connection of Reshef with the god Seth, as the latter was the son of the sky goddess Nut.¹⁸⁵⁸ The aspect of Tazawa adds a different aspect of Reshef and interprets his role in the Heliopolitan Ennead, as the son of Nut.

Apart from these titles, the name of Reshef is also recorded on a stela, which bears several epithets of Reshef. More particularly, the Stele of P[////] depicts Reshef wearing a white crown and holding a mace, shield and spear (RR20). The stela reads: “*Reshef the great god, lord of eternity, ruler of eternity and beautiful lifetime. Reshef, the great god, son of the lord of the sky (ršpw ntr ʿ3 nb rn nhḥ ḥḳ3 dt nfr ʿḥ ʿ nb pt ršpw ntr ʿ3 s3 nb pt)*”.¹⁸⁵⁹ A second stela, called stela of Hay presents Reshef wearing the white crown with a gazelle head in front, a knee-length kilt and a collar around his neck and he is seated in a throne with a branching posture. The god holds a spear in his right hand and his left hand grasps a mace and a similar blade with an Egyptian shield (RR11). The stela reads: “*Reshef, the good god (ršpw ntr nfr)*”.¹⁸⁶⁰ The Stele of Nebnefer depicts Reshef seated on a throne and holding a spear and shield. The god wears a knee-length kilt (RR14). The stela reads: “*Reshef the great god, lord of the sky (ršpw ntr ʿ3 nb pt)*”.¹⁸⁶¹ Another stela depicts Reshef holding a spear in his right hand and another spear and shield in the other hand (RR34). The stela reads: “*Reshef, the great god (ršpw ntr ʿ3)*”.¹⁸⁶² Tazawa suggested that the epithet “the great god” is a general epithet, which can be applied to many deities.¹⁸⁶³ The aspect of Tazawa justifies the epithet of Reshef, demonstrating his worship among the other deities.

Another Syro-palestinian deity, who is manifested in 19th Dynasty and adored by the lower rank, is the god Baal. Most of the archaeological material of Baal, which is related to the ordinary people, is uninscribed, presenting him as a figure, which wears a conical crown and a short kilt with tassels (BM6) or depicts him as a winged figure, which its posture reminds us Seth slaying Apophis in the sacred sun bark (BM1.). However, there are two stelae, which indicate the qualities and role of Baal in the non-royal context. The Stele of Mami presents two

¹⁸⁵⁷ Translation after Cornelius 1994, 72, RR34; Tazawa 2009, 51, Doc.36.

¹⁸⁵⁸ Tazawa 2009, 159.

¹⁸⁵⁹ Translation after Cornelius 1994, RR17 and Tazawa 2009, 45, Doc.20.

¹⁸⁶⁰ Tazawa (2009, 41, Doc.8), has translated “the great god”, which is wrong. Translation after RITA III 788, 7 and Cornelius 1994, 46, RR24.

¹⁸⁶¹ Translation after RITA III 583, 15, Cornelius 1994, 48, RR25 and Tazawa 2009, 42, Doc.11.

¹⁸⁶² Translation after Cornelius 1994, 33, RR8 and Tazawa 2009, 47, Doc.23.

¹⁸⁶³ Tazawa 2009, 131.

figures. The first figure is the adorer of the deity, taking a posture of adoration. The left-hand figure is a deity, who wears a conical crown with a streamer and holds a *w3s*-sceptre (BR2). The stela bears the inscription: “Baal-Zaphon (*b^cr spn*)”.¹⁸⁶⁴ Tazawa suggested that despite the fact that the stela was found in the Baal temple in Ras Shamra, the motif, style and inscriptions are all Egyptian, presenting an Asiatic figure, Baal Zaphon.¹⁸⁶⁵ The aspect of Tazawa interprets the worship of Baal in Ugarit by the royal scribe from Egypt, demonstrating his worship in Ugarit by the ordinary people of Egypt.

A different attribute of the god Baal is demonstrated on the Stele of Mentutauinakht, which depicts two figures. On the right hand, the first figure is offering flowers to the second figure in front of him. The second figure strides to the adorer, wears a conical crown with bull horns and a streamer hanging from its top to his ankles and a knee-length kilt. The deity holds a *w3s*-scepter in his left hand and an *ʿnh* symbol on his other hand (BR11). The stela records: “*An offering that the king gives to Seth, great in power (ḥtp di nsw sth ʿ3pḥty)*”.¹⁸⁶⁶ Tazawa stated that the stela presents the Asiatic characteristics of Seth-Baal rather than Seth himself.¹⁸⁶⁷ However, the aspect of Tazawa interprets the iconographical appearance of the god Seth-Baal, without defining his attributes in Egypt. According to the inscription of the stela and the dedicator, who is a commander of the army, the god Seth-Baal is related to military stronghold or power and strength in military issues with regard to the Syro-palestine.¹⁸⁶⁸

Apart from the god Baal, the ordinary people worshipped the god Hauron. Two papyruses record the location of Hauron in Egypt. The first letter (HP1) reads: “*The cattle house of Hauron in Memphis*,”¹⁸⁶⁹ while the second papyrus (HP2.) records: “*The house of Hauron (Pr ḥwrn) in Memphis*.”¹⁸⁷⁰ Both papyruses indicate the region of Memphis, as the location of Hauron. The worship of the god is confirmed on the stelae, which record his iconography and the requests of his worshippers. The Stele of Hatiay presents a sphinx, sitting on the pedestal. The sphinx wears a hawk’s plumage an Egyptian beard and Double crown with a Nemes-cloth and uraeus. In the lower register, there is an adorer, who is standing with the posture of veneration (HR5). The Upper register of the stela records: “*Hauron-Horemakhet the good god, lord of the sky, ruler of the eternity (ḥwrn-ḥrm3ḥt nfr ntr nb pt ḥk3*

¹⁸⁶⁴ Translation after Cornelius 1994 BR 11; Tazawa 2009, 16, Doc.8.

¹⁸⁶⁵ Tazawa 2009, 115.

¹⁸⁶⁶ Translation after Cornelius 1994 BR 13; Tazawa 2009, 18, Doc.11.

¹⁸⁶⁷ Tazawa 2009, 18, Doc.11.

¹⁸⁶⁸ Contra Tazawa 2009, 115, who suggested that the attributes of Baal, which are related to the military and naval stronghold, are functions of the 18th Dynasty.

¹⁸⁶⁹ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 70, Doc.33.

¹⁸⁷⁰ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 71, Doc. 34.

dt)”, while the Lower register reads: “*Hauron, who gives life, prosperity, health (rdi n ḥwrn ʿnh wd3 snb= f)*”.¹⁸⁷¹ Albright¹⁸⁷² and Gardiner¹⁸⁷³ stated that there is a phonetic similarity between their names, which made the Egyptians connect these two deities. On the other hand, Helck suggested that the attributes of Hauron are related to the attributes of Atum and through the latter god, Hauron is connected with the sun god, Horus.¹⁸⁷⁴ However, Stadelmann agreed with the suggestion of Albright and Gardiner and added that it may have been the novelty of Horemakhet, which can explain the connection of this god with the newcomer god Hauron.¹⁸⁷⁵ A different aspect has been suggested by Tazawa, who stated that the epithets of Hauron, such as lord of the sky, the great god, are general for all the deities in Egypt, while the stela demonstrates the protector attributes of the god from evil, illness and other harmful issues.¹⁸⁷⁶ Tazawa also added that the relation of Hauron with Horemakhet indicates that Hauron adjusted to the Helipolitan theology, through his association with Horemakhet by the Egyptian authority in order to reinforce the power of the sun god Ra.¹⁸⁷⁷ The aspect of Tazawa interprets the function of Hauron, demonstrating his protector role among the ordinary people and his association with the solar cult, which had already appeared from the reign of Amenhotep I.¹⁸⁷⁸

Another stela, called Stele of Tha, depicts a sphinx, sitting on the pedestal. The sphinx wears a hawk’s plumage and a Nemes-cloth. In the lower register of the stela, an adorer is presented. The worshipper is standing with the posture of adoration, looking left (HR18) The stela reads: “*Hauron Ra Horemakhet gives beautiful lifetime (to fragmented to transliterate) (ḥwrn-rʿ-ḥrm3ḥt rdi nfr ʿnh)*”.¹⁸⁷⁹ Tazawa suggested that the stela demonstrates the establishment of the state god Horemakhet and the elevation of Hauron to same level of prestige.¹⁸⁸⁰ The suggestion of Tazawa can justify the role of Hauron in the non-royal context, indicating his attributes and his association with the solar cult.

The Stele of Amenwahsu depicts a sphinx, sitting on a pedestal. The sphinx wears a hawk’s plumage an Egyptian beard and Double crown with a Nemes-cloth and uraeus. The sphinx is looking to the right, where there is an offering table. Behind the table two figures are standing with a posture of adoration. Behind the Sphinx, Horus stands in anthropomorphic

¹⁸⁷¹ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 62, Doc.5.

¹⁸⁷² Albright 1936, 3.

¹⁸⁷³ Gardiner 1948, II, 216.

¹⁸⁷⁴ Helck 1966, 12.

¹⁸⁷⁵ Stadelmann 1987, 443.

¹⁸⁷⁶ Tazawa 2009, 132.

¹⁸⁷⁷ Tazawa 2009, 161.

¹⁸⁷⁸ Zivie-Coche 1976, NE 1; Tazawa 2009, 161.

¹⁸⁷⁹ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 66, Doc.16.

¹⁸⁸⁰ Tazawa 2009, 161.

form and holds a *w3s*-scepter in the left hand and an *ʿnh* symbol in his right hand (HR8). The upper register of the stela records: “*Hauron- Horemakhet the great god (ḥwrn-ḥrm3ḥt ʿ3 ntr)*”.¹⁸⁸¹ Albright¹⁸⁸² and Gardiner¹⁸⁸³ stated that there is a phonetic similarity between their names, which made the Egyptians connect these two deities. On the other hand, Helck suggested that the attributes of Hauron are related to the attributes of Atum and through the latter god, Hauron is connected with the sun god, Horus.¹⁸⁸⁴ However, Stadelmann agreed with the suggestion of Albright and Gardiner and added that it may have been the novelty of Horemakhet, which can explain the connection of this god with the newcomer god Hauron.¹⁸⁸⁵ A different aspect has been suggested by Tazawa, who stated that the epithets of Hauron, such as lord of the sky, the great god, are general for all the deities in Egypt, while the stela demonstrates the protector attributes of the god from evil, illness and other harmful issues.¹⁸⁸⁶ Tazawa also added that the relation of Hauron with Horemakhet indicates that Hauron adjusted to the Helipolitan theology, through his association with Horemakhet by the Egyptian authority in order to reinforce the power of the sun god Ra.¹⁸⁸⁷ The aspect of Tazawa interprets the function of Hauron, demonstrating his protector role among the ordinary people and his association with the solar cult, which had already appeared from the reign of Amenhotep I.¹⁸⁸⁸

A different function of the god is attested on the Stele of Para'emhab, which presents a sphinx, sitting on the ground and looking to the left. The sphinx wears a Nemes-cloth with uraeus. In the lower register of the stela a worshipper is standing at the left corner with the posture of veneration, raising both hands. Behind him, a cow with a solar disc and the horns of the goddess Hathor is portrayed. A woman kneels and suckles under this cow (HR9) The stela records: “*An offering which the king gives to Hauron, the good god, lord of the sky (ḥtp-di-nsw ḥrwn nfr ntr nb pt)*”.¹⁸⁸⁹ Van Dijk proposed that the form of Sphinx reminded the newcomers from Syro-palestinian coast of their own deity Hauron, who was considered as a deity of desert or caves.¹⁸⁹⁰ Tazawa stated that the epithets of Hauron, such as lord of the sky, the great god, are general for all the deities in Egypt, while the stela demonstrates the protector attributes of

¹⁸⁸¹ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 63, Doc.7.

¹⁸⁸² Albright 1936, 3.

¹⁸⁸³ Gardiner 1948, II, 216.

¹⁸⁸⁴ Helck 1966, 12.

¹⁸⁸⁵ Stadelmann 1987, 443.

¹⁸⁸⁶ Tazawa 2009, 132.

¹⁸⁸⁷ Tazawa 2009, 161.

¹⁸⁸⁸ Zivie-Coche 1976, NE 1; Tazawa 2009, 161.

¹⁸⁸⁹ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 63, Doc.8.

¹⁸⁹⁰ Van Dijk 1989, 65.

the god from evil, illness and other harmful issues.¹⁸⁹¹ The aspect of Tazawa interprets the function of Hauron, demonstrating his protector role among the ordinary people.

The same attribute of the god is demonstrated on the Stele of Kharuef, which presents a sphinx, sitting on the pedestal. The sphinx wears a hawk's plumage an Egyptian beard and Double crown with a Nemes-cloth and uraeus. In the lower register, there is a worshipper, who stands with the posture of veneration (HR11). The stela reads: "*Hauron the great god (ḥwrn ʿ3 ntr)*".¹⁸⁹² Van Dijk proposed that the form of Sphinx reminded the newcomers from Syro-palestinian coast of their own deity Hauron, who was considered as a deity of desert or caves.¹⁸⁹³ Tazawa, who stated that the epithets of Hauron, such as lord of the sky, the great god, are general for all the deities in Egypt, while the stela demonstrates the protector attributes of the god from evil, illness and other harmful issues.¹⁸⁹⁴ The aspect of Tazawa interprets the function of Hauron, demonstrating his protector role among the ordinary people. However, the Asiatic origin of the Hauron is also demonstrated through the front part of the sphinx statue (Doc. 6.1.10), which mentions that the god originated from Lebanon. The stela records: *Hauron (ḥwrn) is from Lebanon.*"¹⁸⁹⁵

The Stele of Nekhtdout¹⁸⁹⁶ presents a sphinx, sitting on the pedestal. The sphinx wears an Egyptian beard and a Nemes-cloth with uraeus. In the lower register, there are two figures. The first is a man, who stands with the posture of veneration, while the second is a woman who wears lotus flower and incense cone in her head (HR13). The Upper register reads: "*Hauron-Horemakhet (ḥwrn- ḥrm3ḥt)*", while the lower register records: "An offering which the king gives to Hauron-Horemakhet the great god, give life, prosperity, health (*ḥtp-din-sw ḥrwn- ḥrm3ḥt nfr ntr rdi ʿnh wd3 snb*)".¹⁸⁹⁷ Albright¹⁸⁹⁸ and Gardiner¹⁸⁹⁹ stated that there is a phonetic similarity between their names, which made the Egyptians connect these two deities. On the other hand, Helck suggested that the attributes of Hauron are related to the attributes of Atum and through the latter god, Hauron is connected with the sun god, Horus.¹⁹⁰⁰ However, Stadelmann agreed with the suggestion of Albright and Gardiner and added that it may have been the novelty of Horemakhet, which can explain the connection of this god with

¹⁸⁹¹ Tazawa 2009, 132.

¹⁸⁹² Translation after Tazawa 2009, 63, Doc.9.

¹⁸⁹³ Van Dijk 1989, 65.

¹⁸⁹⁴ Tazawa 2009, 132.

¹⁸⁹⁵ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 70, Doc.32.

¹⁸⁹⁶ Tazawa (2009, 64, Doc.10) has cited this item as the stele of Djehutynakht, which is wrong.

¹⁸⁹⁷ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 64, Doc.11.

¹⁸⁹⁸ Albright 1936, 3.

¹⁸⁹⁹ Gardiner 1948, II, 216.

¹⁹⁰⁰ Helck 1966, 12.

the newcomer god Hauron.¹⁹⁰¹ A different aspect has been suggested by Tazawa, who stated that the epithets of Hauron, such as lord of the sky, the great god, are general for all the deities in Egypt, while the stela demonstrates the protector attributes of the god from evil, illness and other harmful issues.¹⁹⁰² Tazawa also added that the relation of Hauron with Horemakhet indicates that Hauron adjusted to the Helipolitan theology, through his association with Horemakhet by the Egyptian authority in order to reinforce the power of the sun god Ra.¹⁹⁰³ The aspect of Tazawa interprets the function of Hauron, demonstrating his protector role among the ordinary people and his association with the solar cult, which had already appeared from the reign of Amenhotep I.¹⁹⁰⁴

Another stela called stele of Ma'a, depicts a sphinx wearing a hawk's plumage an Egyptian beard and a Nemes-cloth with uraeus. In the lower register, there is an adorer, who wears a military dress and raises his right hand in the posture of veneration and clutches a gazelle with his left hand (HR14). The stela records: "*Hauron the great god, lord of the sky (ḥrwn ʿ3 ntr nb pt)*".¹⁹⁰⁵ Van Dijk proposed that the form of Sphinx reminded the newcomers from Syro-palestinian coast of their own deity Hauron, who was considered as a deity of desert or caves.¹⁹⁰⁶ Tazawa, who stated that the epithets of Hauron, such as lord of the sky, the great god, are general for all the deities in Egypt, while the stela demonstrates the protector attributes of the god from evil, illness and other harmful issues.¹⁹⁰⁷ The aspect of Tazawa interprets the function of Hauron, demonstrating his protector role among the ordinary people.

The Stele of Yukh¹⁹⁰⁸ presents a sphinx, sitting on the pedestal and looking right. The sphinx wears a hawk's plumage an Egyptian beard and Double crown with a Nemes-cloth and uraeus. In the lower register, there are two figures. The first is a man, who is standing with the posture of veneration, raising both hands, while the second is a woman who holds lotus flowers in her left hand (HR15). The stela reads: "*An offering which the king gives to Hauron, the good god, lord of the sky (ḥtp-di-nsw ḥrwn nfr ntr nb pt)*".¹⁹⁰⁹ Van Dijk proposed that the form of Sphinx reminded the newcomers from Syro-palestinian coast of their own deity Hauron, who was considered as a deity of desert or caves.¹⁹¹⁰ Tazawa, who stated that the

¹⁹⁰¹ Stadelmann 1987, 443.

¹⁹⁰² Tazawa 2009, 132.

¹⁹⁰³ Tazawa 2009, 161.

¹⁹⁰⁴ Zivie-Coche 1976, NE 1; Tazawa 2009, 161.

¹⁹⁰⁵ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 65, Doc. 12.

¹⁹⁰⁶ Van Dijk 1989, 65.

¹⁹⁰⁷ Tazawa 2009, 132.

¹⁹⁰⁸ Tazawa (2009, 65, Doc. 13) has cited this item as Ywkh, which is wrong.

¹⁹⁰⁹ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 65, Doc.13.

¹⁹¹⁰ Van Dijk 1989, 65.

epithets of Hauron, such as lord of the sky, the great god, are general for all the deities in Egypt, while the stela demonstrates the protector attributes of the god from evil, illness and other harmful issues.¹⁹¹¹ The aspect of Tazawa interprets the function of Hauron, demonstrating his protector role among the ordinary people.

The Stele of Aanakhtkhonsu presents Hauron as a hawk, sitting on double pedestal and looking to the right. The sphinx wears an Egyptian Double crown. In front of the hawk, there are two figures. The first is a man, who dedicates lotus flowers in his left hand and burning incense in his right hand. Behind him, a woman stands and wears a transparent dress and on her is an incense cone. She raises her left hand and holds his husband with the right hand (HR12). The stela reads: “*Hauron the great god (ḥwrn ʿ3 ntr)*”.¹⁹¹² Tazawa, who stated that the epithets of Hauron, such as lord of the sky, the great god, are general for all the deities in Egypt, while the stela demonstrates the protector attributes of the god from evil, illness and other harmful issues.¹⁹¹³ The aspect of Tazawa interprets the function of Hauron, demonstrating his protector role among the ordinary people.

At the same time, the stela of Amenemhab presents a hawk, sitting on a pedestal. (HR16) The upper register of the stela records: “*Hauron-Horemakhet gives favour/(praise?) and love (ḥwrn-ḥrm3ḥt rdi ḥsi mri)*”.¹⁹¹⁴ Albright¹⁹¹⁵ and Gardiner¹⁹¹⁶ stated that there is a phonetic similarity between their names, which made the Egyptians connect these two deities. On the other hand, Helck suggested that the attributes of Hauron are related to the attributes of Atum and through the latter god, Hauron is connected with the sun god, Horus.¹⁹¹⁷ However, Stadelmann agreed with the suggestion of Albright and Gardiner and added that it may have been the novelty of Horemakhet, which can explain the connection of this god with the newcomer god Hauron.¹⁹¹⁸ A different aspect has been suggested by Tazawa, who stated that the epithets of Hauron, such as lord of the sky, the great god, are general for all the deities in Egypt, while the stela demonstrates the protector attributes of the god from evil, illness and other harmful issues.¹⁹¹⁹ Tazawa also added that the relation of Hauron with Horemakhet indicates that Hauron adjusted to the Helipolitan theology, through his association with

¹⁹¹¹ Tazawa 2009, 132.

¹⁹¹² Translation after Tazawa 2009, 64, Doc.10.

¹⁹¹³ Tazawa 2009, 132.

¹⁹¹⁴ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 65, Doc.14.

¹⁹¹⁵ Albright 1936, 3.

¹⁹¹⁶ Gardiner 1948, II, 216.

¹⁹¹⁷ Helck 1966, 12.

¹⁹¹⁸ Stadelmann 1987, 443.

¹⁹¹⁹ Tazawa 2009, 132.

Horemakhet by the Egyptian authority in order to reinforce the power of the sun god Ra.¹⁹²⁰ The aspect of Tazawa interprets the function of Hauron, demonstrating his protector role among the ordinary people and his association with the solar cult, which had already appeared from the reign of Amenhotep I.¹⁹²¹

The stela of Nebnety depicts a hawk, sitting on a double-decker pedestal and looking to the right. (HR17) The stela records: “*Hauron-Horemakhet gives favour/ (praise?) and love (ḥwrn-ḥrm3ḥt rdi ḥsi mri)*”.¹⁹²² Albright¹⁹²³ and Gardiner¹⁹²⁴ stated that there is a phonetic similarity between their names, which made the Egyptians to connect these two deities. On the other hand, Helck suggested that the attributes of Hauron are related to the attributes of Atum and through the latter god, Hauron is connected with the sun god, Horus.¹⁹²⁵ However, Stadelmann agreed with the suggestion of Albright and Gardiner and added that it may have been the novelty of Horemakhet, which can explain the connection of this god with the newcomer god Hauron.¹⁹²⁶ A different aspect has been suggested by Tazawa, who stated that the epithets of Hauron, such as lord of the sky, the great god, are general for all the deities in Egypt, while the stela demonstrates the protector attributes of the god from evil, illness and other harmful issues.¹⁹²⁷ Tazawa also added that the relation of Hauron with Horemakhet indicates that Hauron adjusted to the Helipolitan theology, through his association with Horemakhet by the Egyptian authority in order to reinforce the power of the sun god Ra.¹⁹²⁸ The aspect of Tazawa interprets the function of Hauron, demonstrating his protector role among the ordinary people and his association with the solar cult, which had already appeared from the reign of Amenhotep I.¹⁹²⁹

Another stela, called stela of Tjenerhir, depicts Amun-Ra and Reshef. Both deities wear kilts and belts and hold a *w3s*-scepter in their right hands and an *ḥnḥ* symbol on their other hands. Amun-Ra wears a feathered crown, while Reshef wears an Egyptian white crown. The lower register of the stela presents a figure, who adores Hauron. Hauron is depicted in anthropomorphic form, hawk's face and wears a Double crown. The god holds a *w3s*-scepter in the right hand and an *ḥnḥ* symbol in his left hand (HR7). The stela records:

¹⁹²⁰ Tazawa 2009, 161.

¹⁹²¹ Zivie-Coche 1976, NE 1; Tazawa 2009, 161.

¹⁹²² Translation after Tazawa 2009, 65, Doc.15.

¹⁹²³ Albright 1936, 3.

¹⁹²⁴ Gardiner 1948, II, 216.

¹⁹²⁵ Helck 1966, 12.

¹⁹²⁶ Stadelmann 1987, 443.

¹⁹²⁷ Tazawa 2009, 132.

¹⁹²⁸ Tazawa 2009, 161.

¹⁹²⁹ Zivie-Coche 1976, NE 1; Tazawa 2009, 161.

“*Hauron (ḥwrn)*”.¹⁹³⁰ Tazawa stated that the stela demonstrates the protector attributes of the god from evil, illness and other harmful issues.¹⁹³¹ The aspect of Tazawa interprets the function of Hauron, demonstrating his protector role among the ordinary people.

The stela of Paia (Pay) presents three deities. From the left, the two deities look to the right and the other deity looks to the left. The figure to the right is a falcon-headed man, holding an *ḥnh* symbol in his left hand, while his right hand grasps the hand of a figure standing in front of him. Both of them hold a *w3s*-scepter and some weapons. The second figure is naked and he has a lock of hair. Behind the second figure, a goddess is presented, wearing an Asiatic-style layered dress and holding a *w3s*-scepter in the left hand and an *ḥnh* symbol in his right hand (HR10). The stela records the name of Hauron: “*Hauron (ḥwrn)*”.¹⁹³² Tazawa suggested that the stela indicates the connection of Hauron with Shed, his mother, Metery and Horus.¹⁹³³ The suggestion of Tazawa interprets the connection of these deities with Hauron. The god Shed is associated with Hauron, as both deities are regarded as protector deities. Also, the god Shed shares the same attributes with Horus, as both gods grasp serpents, scorpions and lions and both of them are included in the triad Horus-Isis-Shed, where the latter played the role of the child of Horus and Isis.¹⁹³⁴

Stele –niche of Assistant of the overseer of a workman has a naos shape. In the center, there is a niche, where the statue of Hauron-Horemakhet was placed. Above the niche there is a winged solar disc (HR19) The stela records: “*House of Hauron (Pr ḥwrn)*”¹⁹³⁵ The stela demonstrates the worship of Hauron in the non-royal context, as the stela was dedicated by an assistant of the overseer of a workman.

The Syro-palestinian deity Anat is also attested in this period, but she is not so widely by her worshippers from the lower ranks, as the goddess was promoted by Ramesses II. Among the few elements of Anat, which are attested in the non-royal context,¹⁹³⁶ is a stela from Deir el –Medina, which is dedicated to Qadesh by Qeh and depicts Anat, seating on a throne. She raises her left hand with a weapon and holds a spear and shield in the other hand. She wears an atef-crown, a long tunic dress and a broad collar around her neck (AR4). The stela bears an inscription for Anat and records: “*Anat, lady of the sky, mistress of the gods, all*

¹⁹³⁰ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 62, Doc.6.

¹⁹³¹ Tazawa 2009, 132.

¹⁹³² Translation after Tazawa 2009, 67, Doc.18.

¹⁹³³ Tazawa 2009, 162.

¹⁹³⁴ Two stela from Deir el-Medina present the triad Horus-Isis-Shed, see KR III 625, 15; RITA III 625, 15 (Louvre E 16343) and KR III, 626, 5; RITA III 626, 5 (DeM 238).

¹⁹³⁵ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 67, Doc.19.

¹⁹³⁶ For the archaeological material, which is related to the 20th Dynasty see Docs.-Figs. 1.2-1.3.

protection, life, stability and power with her “ (ḥnt nbt ḥryt nbt ntrwt s3 ḥnh ddt wsr ns), “Giving to Anat, kissing the earth to your ka, o heavenly” (rdi n ḥnti (t) sn n k3 pt).¹⁹³⁷ Tazawa suggested that the stela indicates the peripheral role of Anat instead of central in order to reinforce and multiply the effects of the requests of Qeh.¹⁹³⁸ The aspect of Anat can justify her role and qualities in the non-royal context.

Another example is the stela of Nakht in which Anat is dressed with a long tunic and holds a w3s-scepter in her left hand and an ankh in the other hand (AR3). The stela reads: *Anat, lady of heaven, mistress of all the gods* (ḥntiit nbt pt ntrw). *An offering to Anat, she gives life, prosperity and health* (ḥtp di nsw ḥnti rdi ḥnh wd3 snb).¹⁹³⁹ The stela of Nakht indicates the role of Anat, as a goddess who can guarantee prosperity and health.

The attribute of the goddess can be demonstrated also in the inscription of a graffito, which refers to a priest of the temple of Thutmose I, who stayed there in order to be purified, devoting offerings to deities, among of them the name of the goddess Anat is included (AG1). The text reads: “*Anat of residence of South and North*” (ḥnti niit rsi mḥtt).¹⁹⁴⁰ Tazawa suggested that the graffito indicates the curative qualities of the goddess.¹⁹⁴¹ The suggestion of Tazawa can interpret the curative attributes of the goddess. However, the graffito indicates also the request of a priest in order to be purified by the goddess.

Apart from Anat, the goddess Astarte is also worshipped by ordinary people. The goddess is presented in equestrian posture or she is standing on a baseline next to the worshipper. A stela depicts a female equestrian figure in a brandishing posture, seating on a horse and facing to the right. Her right hand is raised and holds a lace and the other hand grasps the mane of the horse. The goddess wears an Atef-crown and two crossing bands on her chest. On the lower register, there is a female figure, who is looking to the left. She is offering burning incense in his right hand, while the other hand is raised in a pose of adoration (ASR10). Tazawa stated that the equestrian motif is central to the adoration of Astarte by ordinary people, especially gatekeeper, stable masters and servant.¹⁹⁴²

Another stela presents two female figures. The left hand figure is depicted as larger than the other and stands on a baseline. She wears an atef-crown and a long ribbon on her back and she holds a scepter in his left hand and an ḥnh symbol in her other hand. Opposite her is a

¹⁹³⁷ Translation after RITA III 603 and Tazawa 2009, 72, Doc 1.

¹⁹³⁸ Tazawa 2009, 152.

¹⁹³⁹ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 73, Doc.3.

¹⁹⁴⁰ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 77, Doc 19.

¹⁹⁴¹ Tazawa 2009, 133.

¹⁹⁴² Tazawa 2009, 153.

worshipper, who wears a long dress and a lotus flower on her head. In her left hand, she offers lotus flowers to the goddess, while her right hand is hanging down her body (QR1).

The goddess Qadesh was the most popular deity, who worshipped by the common people in Egypt. Despite the fact that there are stelae, which present the naked goddess standing on her toes on the back of a lion, wearing a Hathor headdress and holds two lotus flowers in the left hand and a serpent in the other hand, without bearing any inscriptions (QR7). However, the archaeological material demonstrates her worship in the non-royal context.¹⁹⁴³ The Stele of Takeret presents a naked goddess pointing her toes on the back of a lion. She wears a Hathor headdress with a naos-sistrum on the top and holds a lotus flowers in the left hand and a serpent in each hand. Behind her there are stars (QR15). The stela records: “*Qadeshet beloved of Ptah, lady of the sky (kšt mrr tn pth nbt pt)*”.¹⁹⁴⁴ Stadelmann stated that her depiction of stars can justify her title “lady of the sky” and it can be compared with the foil from Minet el-Beida, which presents a naked goddess pointing her toes to the right on the back of a lion. She holds gazelles by the feet in both hands. She wears a Hathor headdress, bracelets and necklace with petals. Behind her there are serpents and stars (QM1).¹⁹⁴⁵ Tazawa suggested that her epithet “lady of the sky” is originated from Syro-palestine,¹⁹⁴⁶ while Tazawa the title “beloved of Ptah” is originated from her worship in Memphis, where a temple was dedicated to her according to a letter (QP1),¹⁹⁴⁷ The aspects of Tazawa and Stadelmann can interpret the qualities of Qadesh in the non-royal context, indicating her fertility qualities.

The goddess Qadesh is also manifested accompanied by Min and Reshef in the “triad stele”. It seems that in religious Egyptian thought, trinity is a way of solving the plurality of gods, transforming it into a divine unity, where the three gods have the same divine powers.¹⁹⁴⁸ The concept of trinity is distinguished into two categories. The first category is called “tritheistic structure”, which includes deities with common attributes such as fertility and royal

¹⁹⁴³ For the archaeological material, which is related to the 20th Dynasty see Doc.-Fig. 3.14.

¹⁹⁴⁴ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 98-99, Doc.9.

¹⁹⁴⁵ Stadelmann 1967, 115-116.

¹⁹⁴⁶ Tazawa 2009, 136.

¹⁹⁴⁷ Tazawa 2009, 136.

¹⁹⁴⁸ Sales 2012, 122, 125; te Velde 1970, 80. According to Sales, there are two types of trinity. The first is the “tritheistic structure”, a family group, which is based on the criteria of fertility, while the second is called “modalistic conception”, where the god manifests under three aspects, see Sales 2012, 119. Another suggestion has been made by Otto, who stated that there are two types of triads: “1+2=3” type and “1+1+1=3” type. In the first category he referred to the case of Atum (1), who brought forth Shu and Tefnut (2) on his own, which was composed of three deities. In the second case, three deities are connected to a local context such as Amun-Mut-Khons at Karnak, see Otto 1963, 267-268. A different approach has been stated by te Velde, who suggested that there are two categories for trinity: the “one”, where there is no sexual differentiation between the three gods and the “pluralistic triad”, where there is a mixture of a male and female gods and goddesses, see te Velde 1970, 80-81.

legitimacy.¹⁹⁴⁹ The second category is called “modalistic conception”, where the deities of the trinity are not three distinct forms but three modes, under which god manifests himself.¹⁹⁵⁰

In the first category, “tritheistic structure”, the “triad stela” of Qadesh, which displays the goddess Qadesh with Min and Reshef is included. There are five stelae of Qadesh which represent the “tritheistic structure”, as these stelae are linked to the fertility attributes of the deities. The first stela, called stela of Iniahay, depicts a naked goddess pointing her toes on the back of a lion. She wears a Hathor headdress with a naos-sistrum on the top and holds three lotus flowers in the right hand and two serpents in the other hand (QR5). The stela bears the inscription: “*Qadeshet great of magic, lady of the sky, mistress of the stars (kdšt w3dt hk3t nbt pt nbt sb3w)*”.¹⁹⁵¹ Tazawa suggested that the title of “great of magic” is applied in order to reinforce her by a magical aim,¹⁹⁵² while her epithet “mistress of the stars” or “lady of the sky” is originated from Syro-palestine.¹⁹⁵³ The aspects of Tazawa can interpret the qualities of Qadesh in the non-royal context. Apart from her title, her association with magic can be also demonstrated through her iconographical presentation, as she is presented to hold snakes in her hands.¹⁹⁵⁴ Her second title, “lady of the sky”, is originated from Syro-palestine, as there is a foil from Minet el-Beida, which presents a naked goddess pointing her toes to the right on the back of a lion. She holds gazelles by the feet in both hands. She wears a Hathor headdress, bracelets and necklace with petals. Behind her there are serpents and stars (QM1).

At the same time, a stela also presents a naked goddess pointing her toes at the back of a lion and she wears a Hathor wig and a sun disc (QR4). The stela reads the name of the goddess: Qadesh (*kdš*)¹⁹⁵⁵ Tazawa states that the goddess is associated with fertility.¹⁹⁵⁶ The aspect of Tazawa can interpret the role of Qadesh, as a fertility goddess. However the stelae demonstrate that the iconographical characteristics can also confirm her fertility attributes.

The stela of Qeh presents a naked goddess pointing her toes at the back of a lion and she holds a lotus flower in the right hand and two serpents in the other hand (QR8). The stela reads: “*Qadeshet lady of the sky (kdšt nbt pt)*”.¹⁹⁵⁷ Tazawa suggested that the epithet “mistress of the stars” or “lady of the sky” is originated from Syro-palestine.¹⁹⁵⁸ The aspects of Tazawa

¹⁹⁴⁹ Sales 2012, 119.

¹⁹⁵⁰ Sales 2012, 119.

¹⁹⁵¹ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 98, Doc.8.

¹⁹⁵² Tazawa 2009, 135.

¹⁹⁵³ Tazawa 2009, 136.

¹⁹⁵⁴ Tazawa 2009, 135-136.

¹⁹⁵⁵ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 99-100, Doc.13.

¹⁹⁵⁶ Tazawa 2009, 153.

¹⁹⁵⁷ Translation after RITA III 603, 10 and Tazawa 2009, 98, Doc. 6.

¹⁹⁵⁸ Tazawa 2009, 136.

can interpret the qualities of Qadesh in the non-royal context, demonstrating her fertility qualities.

The stela of Huy in Deir el-Medina depicts a naked goddess pointing her toes on the back of a lion and wears a Hathor wig and a sun disc. She holds a lotus flower in the right hand and a serpent in the other hand (QR9). The stela records: “*Qadesh lady of the sky mistress of all the gods*” (*kḏš nbt pt ḥnwt ntrw nb*). “*Giving a praise to Qadesh, Lady of heaven, mistress of all the gods, she may give life, prosperity and health for the ka of the lady of the house*” (*rdi n kḏš nbt pt ḥnwt ntrw nb rdi ʿnh wd3 snb n k3 n nbt pr*). “*Giving praise to the Lady of heaven, paying homage to the lady of both lands, that she may grant a good life,(with) enjoyment of health for the spirit of her daughter*” (*rdi n nbt pt šnḳ t3n3t nbt t3wi rdi ʿnh nfr sm3 im snb n k3 n s3t*). “*Giving praise to Qadesh, diving hand, paying homage to the mistress of both lands, that she may give a good life to one who is loyal to her for the spirit of her daughter*” (*rdi n kḏš ntrd3t šnḳ t3n3t nbt t3wi rdi ʿnh nfr n ḥr mwst n k3 n s3t*). Tazawa states that the goddess Qadesh is connected with Min and Reshef, as she is regarded as a fertility deity.¹⁹⁵⁹ The aspect of Tazawa can interpret the role of Qadesh, as a fertility goddess. However the stela demonstrates that the iconographical characteristics and her qualities, which are related to life and prosperity, can also confirm her fertility attributes.

The stela of Ramose depicts a naked goddess pointing her toes on the back of a lion and she wears a Hathor wig and a sun disc. She holds a lotus flower in the right hand and a serpent in the other hand (QR10). The stela records: “*Qadesh lady of the sky, mistress of the gods* (*kḏš nbt pt nbt ntrw*)”.¹⁹⁶⁰ Tazawa suggested that the epithet “mistress of the stars” or “lady of the sky” is originated from Syro-palestine.¹⁹⁶¹ The aspects of Tazawa can interpret the qualities of Qadesh in the non-royal context, demonstrating her fertility qualities.

In the second category, “modalistic conception”, the stela of Neferhotep is included. The stela depicts a female naked goddess, standing en face on the back of a lion and holding a lotus flower in the right hand and serpent in the other hand (QR11). Next to the goddess the names of Anat (*ʿnti (t)*), Astarte (*ʿ3štrt*) and Qadesh (*kḏšt*) are recorded.¹⁹⁶² Helck suggested that the scribe record the names of the Syro-palestinian goddesses who were popular in Egypt.¹⁹⁶³ A different explanation has been proposed by Pope,¹⁹⁶⁴ Wiggins¹⁹⁶⁵ and van Koppen

¹⁹⁵⁹ Tazawa 2009, 153.

¹⁹⁶⁰ Translation after RITA III 621, 5 and Tazawa 2009, 97, Doc.5.

¹⁹⁶¹ Tazawa 2009, 136.

¹⁹⁶² Translation after Tazawa 2009, 73, Doc.2, 86, Doc.11, 100, Doc.14.

¹⁹⁶³ Helck 1971a, 463, n.145

¹⁹⁶⁴ Pope 1971, 926.

& van der Toorn,¹⁹⁶⁶ who stated that the appearance of Qadesh in this stela is a blending or syncretism of several deities, which leads to the worship of three related goddesses, expressed by a single deity. Cornelius stated that Qadesh is the goddess, who is represented visually and the other two goddesses, Anat and Astarte, are only indicated by their names.¹⁹⁶⁷ The aforementioned aspects of Helck and Cornelius can not justify the existence of the three names of the goddesses, as they do not express the theological concept of this period. Furthermore, the aspect of Pope, Wiggins and van Koppen & van der Toorn can be applied to our interpretation as their suggestion concerns the syncretism of several deities, who manifested as a single goddess. Thus, under the “modalistic concept” the three deities reflect the three ways of appearance the same divine power, representing one reality and reducing the plurality of deities. In other words, the trinity manages to change the unit to plurality and vice versa.¹⁹⁶⁸

¹⁹⁶⁵ Wiggins 1991, 384.

¹⁹⁶⁶ van Koppen & van der Toorn 1999, 416.

¹⁹⁶⁷ Cornelius 1993, 30.

¹⁹⁶⁸ Sales 2012, 125; te Velde 1971, 81.

3.3 Syro-palestinian deities in Egypt: their role in Magical texts

In ancient Egypt, magic was rooted in theology. The term used in this source is “heka” (*ḥkꜣ*).¹⁹⁶⁹ Magic in the sense of heka is defined as the infiltrating power by which the world was created and humanity was ruled.¹⁹⁷⁰ On the other hand, magic as a particular discourse refers to the same infiltrating power, but in a particular area of activity or interest, such as the personal sphere,¹⁹⁷¹ demonstrating that magic was sent to humanity as a gift from the god in order to deal with unexpected events. Thus, magic, in the personal sphere, is regarded as a religious act, which can be performed in a private space of the house for personal purposes and on a contingent occasion.¹⁹⁷² The idea of the private sphere can be extended in the case of spells against poisons, diseases and several dangers from animals such as crocodiles and bears, which performed on the river or on the road.¹⁹⁷³ Magical texts from the village of Deir el-Medina taken into account to examine the appearance of Syro-palestinian deities in the daily life of Egyptians.

Magical texts against *smn* and *ḥmrk*

In pLeiden I 343+I 345, recto XXIII-XXIV¹⁹⁷⁴ (QP2) the name of Qadesh is mentioned. The text reads: “Come! Come forth from the limbs of M born of N”, as said *Qadeshet* (*kdšt*) Come! Come forth [from the limbs] of M born of N” as said *ḥmrk*. Come! Come forth [from the limbs] of M born of N” as said Sia who has come forth from the land of Ra.[“Come! Come forth [from the limbs of M born of N” as said] Nut”.¹⁹⁷⁵ According to Tazawa, the name of goddess Qadesh is also mentioned in the diseases *smn* and *ḥmrk* to defeat disease.¹⁹⁷⁶ The aspect of Tazawa can justify the role of Qadesh in pLeiden I 343+I 345, recto XXIII-XXIV, as the goddess is regarded as a savior deity, who uses magical powers to heal diseases.¹⁹⁷⁷

Another Syro-plestinian deity is recorded in pLeiden I 343+ I 345,recto I4-III2 and verso III 1-IV 8, which describes the cooperation of Baal, Seth and Reshef in order to defeat

¹⁹⁶⁹ Pinch 1994, 9; Assmann 1997, 3.

¹⁹⁷⁰ Assmann 1997, 3.

¹⁹⁷¹ Assmann 1997, 3.

¹⁹⁷² Assmann 1997, 3.

¹⁹⁷³ Borghouts 1994, 121.

¹⁹⁷⁴ Tazawa (2009, 101, Doc.21) mentioned recto XXII-XXIV, which is wrong.

¹⁹⁷⁵ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 101, Doc.21.

¹⁹⁷⁶ Tazawa 2009, 101, Doc.21.

¹⁹⁷⁷ Tazawa 2014, 119.

the diseases *smn* and *ḥw*. The text records: “*Baal is stuck in your head*” (BP3).¹⁹⁷⁸ Tazawa suggests that the name of Baal is effective against diseases.¹⁹⁷⁹ The suggestion of Tazawa can justify the role of Baal in magical texts. The god is manifested to neutralize the disease *smn* and *ḥw*, indicating his role as a healing deity against diseases.

In pLeiden I 343+I 345, recto IV9-VI 2, verso VI 5-VIII 12 (RP3) the name of Reshef is recorded. The papyrus reads: “*Your foreleg is served by Reshef*”.¹⁹⁸⁰ Tazawa suggested that the god Reshef is presented with Baal and Seth in order to overcome the diseases *smn* and *ḥw*.¹⁹⁸¹ The aspect of Tazawa can interpret the role of Reshef in this incantation. The magical spell is used to protect from the animals, demonstrating the healing function of Reshef against evil.¹⁹⁸²

The name of Anat is recorded on pLeiden I 343+I 345, verso VI9-V8 (AP4). The text records: “*The chisel of Anat is struck in your temple (md3t ḥnti ḥ3ḥim ḥwt ntr)*”.¹⁹⁸³ Tazawa stated that the magician reminds the disease that he made its mother and he knows how she can bring birth. The goddess Anat is mentioned to neutralize the “temple” of the *ḥw*.¹⁹⁸⁴ The aspect of Tazawa is close to our interpretation, as the goddess is considered a healing deity.¹⁹⁸⁵

The name of the goddess Anat is also recorded on pLeiden I 343+I 345, recto I4-III2 and verso III1-IV8 (AP2) and reads: “*Anat stop!*” (*ḥnti imi hiw*).¹⁹⁸⁶ Tazawa stated that Anat is considered as a healing deity.¹⁹⁸⁷ The aspect of Tazawa is close to our interpretation, as the goddess is considered a healing deity.¹⁹⁸⁸

In pChester Beatty VII verso 1.5-2.4 (AP1) the name of Anat is also mentioned. The text reads: “*Came Anat the divine, the victorious, acting as a warrior clad as a man and girt as women (iiḥntt ntry nḥt iri miḥ3iri mi t3y iri mi st)*”.¹⁹⁸⁹ Tazawa suggested that the incantation reflects the violent and sensitive aspect of Anat, as she asks from Ra to save Seth from a disease.¹⁹⁹⁰ The suggestion of Tazawa can justify the role of Anat, demonstrating the maternity and bloodthirstiness of the goddess.

¹⁹⁷⁸ After the translation of Tazawa 2009, 36, Doc. 98.

¹⁹⁷⁹ Tazawa 2009, 130.

¹⁹⁸⁰ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 58, Doc.62.

¹⁹⁸¹ Tazawa 2009, 130.

¹⁹⁸² Tazawa 2009, 58, Doc. 62.

¹⁹⁸³ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 80, Doc. 28.

¹⁹⁸⁴ Tazawa 2009, 80, Doc. 28.

¹⁹⁸⁵ Tazawa 2009, 135; 2014, 110.

¹⁹⁸⁶ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 79, Doc.24.

¹⁹⁸⁷ Tazawa 2009, 135; 2014, 110.

¹⁹⁸⁸ Tazawa 2009, 135; 2014, 110.

¹⁹⁸⁹ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 78, Doc.20.

¹⁹⁹⁰ Tazawa 2009, 133.

Magical texts against the Syrian bear (*ḥtm*)

Apart from the name of Qadesh, the Harris Magical Papyrus verso I, I-III, 5; Section X, the name of Hauron is described in combat with Anat and Reshef in order to defeat the evil, the text reads: “*Hauron ignores your complains..You are strong herdsman*”¹⁹⁹¹ “*Hauron ignores your complains..*”¹⁹⁹² (HP3). Tazawa and van Dijk suggested that this incantation is written for agriculture to prevent them from the dangers of animals, such as lions, hyenas, jackals and bears (*ḥtm*). This incantation may originate from Syro-palestine, as the participation of other Syro-palestinian deities, Anat and Reshef, is attested and the incantation is written for the protection against the Syrian bear (*ḥtm*).¹⁹⁹³ The aspect of Tazawa and van Dijk can justify the role of Hauron in this incantation, as the god is regarded as a guardian or protector from diseases and evils.¹⁹⁹⁴

In Harris Magical Papyrus verso I, I-III, 5; Section Y (HP4) the name of Hauron is also mentioned. The incantation records: “*(vs2) Hauron drive me to the field. Horus, prevent intruders... (vs9) Hauron is powerful herdsman*”.¹⁹⁹⁵ Tazawa states that also this incantation is against animals. The herdsman is associated with Hauron and the latter is paralleled with Horus.¹⁹⁹⁶ Van Dijk suggested that incantation is written for the protection against the Syrian bear (*ḥtm*) and originated from the Syro-palestine. According to him, the god is presented as the god of the desert, who protects his inhabitants.¹⁹⁹⁷ The aspect of Tazawa and van Dijk can justify the role of Hauron in this incantation, as the god is considered as a protector deity against evils and harmful diseases.¹⁹⁹⁸

In Harris Magical Papyrus verso I, I-III, 5, section X (AP7) the name of Anat is mentioned. The text reads: “*Overpowered by Anat (dr ʿnti)*”¹⁹⁹⁹ Tazawa and van Dijk suggested that this incantation is written for agriculture to prevent them from the dangers of animals, such as lions, hyenas, jackals and bears (*ḥtm*). This incantation may originate from Syro-palestine, as the participation of other Syro-palestinian deities, Anat and Reshef, is

¹⁹⁹¹ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 71, Doc.36.

¹⁹⁹² Translation after Tazawa 2009, 71, Doc.36.

¹⁹⁹³ van Dijk 1989, 63; Tazawa 2009, 71, Doc.35.

¹⁹⁹⁴ Tazawa 2009, 132.

¹⁹⁹⁵ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 71, Doc.36.

¹⁹⁹⁶ Tazawa 2009, 71, Doc.36.

¹⁹⁹⁷ van Dijk 1989, 63.

¹⁹⁹⁸ Tazawa 2009, 132.

¹⁹⁹⁹ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 78 Doc.21.

attested and the incantation is written for the protection against the Syrian bear (*htm*).²⁰⁰⁰ The aspect of Tazawa and van Dijk can justify the role of Anat in this incantation, as she is regarded as a protector deity from diseases and evils.

Magical text against poison

In pLeiden I 343+ I 345, recto IV 9-VI 2 and verso VII 5-VIII 12, the name of Baal is also recorded. The text reads: “*Baal strikes against you with the ʿs wood which is in his hand. He strikes you again with the spears of ʿs wood which is in his hand*” (BP4).²⁰⁰¹ Tazawa suggests that the name of Baal is effective against the diseases.²⁰⁰² The suggestion of Tazawa can contribute to our interpretation of Baal’s role in magical texts. The god is described with Reshef in order to defeat the disease, demonstrating the healing function of Reshef against evil.

The name of Reshef is mentioned in pChester Beatty VII verso 4.8-4.9 (RP1). The text reads: “*Reshef is against you, lord of the marrow*”.²⁰⁰³ Tazawa suggested that the epithet of the god “lord of the marrow” is associated with the Syro-palestinian origin of Reshef, who is regarded as a savior deity.²⁰⁰⁴ Munnich stated that the god Reshef is described as a divine doctor, who protects different parts of the body against a poison.²⁰⁰⁵ The suggestion of Munnich can justify the role of Reshef in pChester Beatty VII verso 4.8-4.9, as the god is regarded a divine doctor of different diseases.

The god Reshef is also mentioned in Harris Magical Papyrus verso I, 1-III, 5, section X (RP4). The papyrus records: “*The poisons of Reshef and of his wife Itum*”²⁰⁰⁶ Munnich states that the papyrus presents Reshef as the protector deity against the sickness *s3mwn3*, demonstrating that the god is helpful for overcoming the demons in the private context.²⁰⁰⁷ The suggestion of Munnich can justify the role of Reshef in Harris Magical Papyrus verso I, 1-III, 5, section X, as the god is regarded a divine doctor of different diseases.

²⁰⁰⁰ van Dijk 1989, 63; Tazawa 2009, 79, Doc.21.

²⁰⁰¹ After the translation of Tazawa 2009, 36, Doc. 99.

²⁰⁰² Tazawa 2009, 130.

²⁰⁰³ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 58, Doc.59.

²⁰⁰⁴ Tazawa 2009, 131.

²⁰⁰⁵ Munnich 2009, 59.

²⁰⁰⁶ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 58, Doc.60.

²⁰⁰⁷ Munnich 2009, 59-60.

Another deity, which is also recorded in a spell against poisons is Anat. The goddess is recorded an episode with Seth (AP1), as recorded in the Chester Beatty Papyrus VII.²⁰⁰⁸ The text reads: “*Came Anat the divine, the victorious, acting as a warrior clad as a man and girl as women (ii^cntt ntry nht iri mi^ch3iri mi t3y iri mi st)*”.²⁰⁰⁹ In the story, the goddess Anat is described as a non-feminine goddess, she has warrior manners and she is dressed like a man.²⁰¹⁰ The god Seth sees the Seed Goddess bathing and has sex with her. Due to the fact that the sun god is allowed to mate with the Seed goddess, this act poisons Seth.²⁰¹¹ Anat visits her father Ra, and ask him to free Seth from the illness.²⁰¹² Based on the story, the close relation of Anat between the god Re and Seth can be demonstrated. She is Re’s daughter and the wife of Seth,²⁰¹³ underling the fact that she is the right person, who can take part in the conflict of the two gods, by asking Re to release Seth from the seed.²⁰¹⁴ By the role of Anat, the god Re will ensure his resurrection and Seth will recover from the illness.²⁰¹⁵

Magical text against *s3mwn3*

Another magical text, pLeiden I 343+I 345, recto XI 2-14 and verso XVII (RP2), records the name of Reshef. The papyrus presents Reshef as the protector deity against sickness *s3mwn3*, demonstrating that the god is helpful for overcoming the demons in the private context. The text reads: “*Reshef kills with those who go before him*”.²⁰¹⁶ Munnich suggested that this incantation presents Reshef as a god, who can protect from evil and sickness, demonstrating his basic function in the private sphere.²⁰¹⁷ The aspect of Munnich can interpret the role of Reshef in this incantation. The magical spell is used in order to protect from the animals, demonstrating the healing function of Reshef against evil.

²⁰⁰⁸ Gardiner 1935, 61-63; van Dijk 1986, 34-38; Peal 2014, 211. For other versions of the story, see van Dijk 1986, 32-33.

²⁰⁰⁹ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 78, Doc.20.

²⁰¹⁰ Peal 2014, 213.

²⁰¹¹ Pinch 2002, 102. For more bibliography see Pinch 2002, 102.

²⁰¹² Manniche 1987, 54.

²⁰¹³ Peal 2014, 230; van Dijk 1986, 41.

²⁰¹⁴ van Dijk 1986, 41.

²⁰¹⁵ van Dijk 1986, 41; Griffiths 1960, 51. For the connected episodes of the Conflict of Horus and Seth see, Griffiths 1960, 28-52; Amenta 2004, 7-21.

²⁰¹⁶ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 58, Doc.61.

²⁰¹⁷ Munnich 2009, 60.

Magical text against poisonous animals

Two Syro-Palestinian deities are recorded in pLeiden I 343+ I 345, recto XVIII, x+1-2 (AP3). The text reads: “*Anat and Astarte draw you forth your blood*” (ʿnṯi ʿstrt sphr snf mtwt).²⁰¹⁸ Tazawa stated that Anat and Astarte are considered healing deities.²⁰¹⁹ Wilson-Wright suggested that the Syro-Palestinian goddesses, Anat and Astarte, regarded as a reminiscence of the incantation texts Ugarit.²⁰²⁰ In both cases, the goddess Astarte is recorded together with Anat in order to neutralize the poison.

The goddess Anat is also mentioned in pLeiden I 343+I 345, recto III-IV, verso VI (AP5). The text reads: “*Anat brings seven jugs of silver and eight jugs of bronze and she pours the blood upon the ground* (ʿnṯi rnn sfh mntiw ḥd ḥmnw mntiw ḥsmn wdḥ snfw ḥr t3).”²⁰²¹ Tazawa stated that the incantation reflects the violent and sensitive aspect of Anat in order to heal her father.²⁰²² The suggestion of Tazawa can justify the role of Anat, demonstrating the maternity and bloodthirstiness of the goddess.

Magical text against crocodiles

Both deities are recorded also in Harris Magical Papyrus recto III, 8-9 (AP8). The text reads: “*Anat and Astarte are pregnant but they could not give birth* (ʿnṯi ʿstrt bk3w m ir msi).”²⁰²³ Tazawa stated that both deities are considered as healing deities.²⁰²⁴ Wilson-Wright suggested that the Syro-palestinian goddesses, Anat and Astarte, regarded as a reminiscence of the incantation texts Ugarit.²⁰²⁵ In both cases, the goddess Astarte is recorded together with Anat in order to neutralize the poison.

²⁰¹⁸ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 94, Doc.46.

²⁰¹⁹ Tazawa 2009, 135; 2014, 110.

²⁰²⁰ Wilson-Wright 2016, 103-104.

²⁰²¹ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 79, Doc.25.

²⁰²² Tazawa 2009, 133.

²⁰²³ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 79, Doc.22.

²⁰²⁴ Tazawa 2009, 135; 2014, 110.

²⁰²⁵ Wilson-Wright 2016, 103-104.

Milk as a medicine

Anat is also recorded on the pLeiden I 343+I 345, recto VI (AP6). The text reads: “*I have sucked at the beasts of Anat the great cow of Seth (šnḳ mnd ʿnṯi wrt stḥ)*”.²⁰²⁶ Tazawa suggested that the incantation reflects the maternity of Anat, as the magician has fed the milk of Anat.²⁰²⁷ The suggestion of Tazawa can justify the role of Anat, demonstrating the maternity and bloodthirstiness of the goddess.

Magical text against snake poison

The name of the goddess Anat is recorded on the pTurin CGT 54051 (AP10). The texts records: “*Linen of Anat (sšrw ʿnṯi)*”.²⁰²⁸ Tazawa suggested that the goddess Anat is recorded in order to neutralize the snake poison.²⁰²⁹ The aspect of Tazawa confirms the role of Anat in the magical texts against poison, as the goddess is considered as a healing deity.²⁰³⁰

²⁰²⁶ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 80, Doc.26.

²⁰²⁷ Tazawa 2009, 133.

²⁰²⁸ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 80, Doc. 29.

²⁰²⁹ Tazawa 2009, 80, Doc. 29.

²⁰³⁰ Tazawa 2009, 135; 2014, 110

Chapter 4: Acculturation of Syro-palestinian deities with Egyptian gods

The relations between the eastern Delta and the southern Canaan were more intense than the relations between the eastern Delta with Thebes.²⁰³¹ The influence in southern Canaan was stronger due to the close distance between Egypt and its Egyptian administration of the region during the New Kingdom.²⁰³² The different products of the two regions, human capacities and resources caused the trade and exchange.²⁰³³ At the same time, merchants, who transferred goods and ideas in both regions, the migration of slaves and prisoners of war and the Egyptian soldiers, who served in Canaan, brought back Syro-Palestinian deities, adapting the nature of the “other” and acculturating to the Egyptian cultural system.²⁰³⁴ According to the aspect of Schneider, an individual of foreign origin who was introduced and lived in Egypt was subject to an adaptation to the social and cultural system of his host country. The concept of acculturation,²⁰³⁵ describes the adaption, which constitutes the development of identity, language, literature, alphabet, values, images of gods and religious concepts²⁰³⁶ that follow the inclusion of foreign ethnic individuals and groups in the Egyptian society.²⁰³⁷ The result of this interaction was the creation of an Egyptian-Levantine koine.²⁰³⁸ Entering the new region, Egypt, meant to acquire a new ideological code, which can serve the pharaoh instead of his enemies.²⁰³⁹

Thus, the aim of this chapter is to study the similar attributes, mythological concepts and iconographical characteristics of Syropalestinian deities to Egyptian deities in order to demonstrate that this similarity is a part of the acculturation process for the acceptance of these deities in the official and lower ranks.

²⁰³¹ Staubli 2016, 50.

²⁰³² Cornelius 2017, 210.

²⁰³³ Staubli 2016, 52.

²⁰³⁴ Cornelius 2017, 210; Zivie-Coche 2011, 3; Staubli 2016, 52; Quack 2015, 263.

²⁰³⁵ For other terms, such as assimilation, accommodation, absorption, adaptation, integration or amalgamation, see Dupront 1966; Heckmann 1992, 167; Staubli 2016, 52.

²⁰³⁶ Staubli 2016, 52.

²⁰³⁷ Kousoulis 2012, 131; Schneider 2010, 144-6; 2003; 2006

²⁰³⁸ Staubli 2016, 52.

²⁰³⁹ Schneider 2010, 144.

Baal-Osiris

In Egypt, the fertility attributes of Baal could be acculturated with the god Osiris, who was also a fertility deity,²⁰⁴⁰ considering his iconographical appearance with the green color in his body, which symbolizes fertility²⁰⁴¹ or the transformation of the king in the netherworld. In Ugarit, the king appeared as Baal after his death,²⁰⁴² while in Egypt the pharaoh manifested as Osiris. It seems that both gods have several common elements in their attributes. However, Baal in Egypt did not maintain his fertility attribute, as he was selected for his warrior character, which is similar to the character of Seth.

Seth-Baal-Amun

A fragment of stela depicts the pharaoh, Sety I worshipping Amun-Ra, Seth-Baal, Montu and a female deity, while Amun-Ra holds a scimitar-sword, behind him Seth-Baal holds a *w3s*-sceptre (BR3). Tazawa suggested that Amun-Ra was regarded as a guarantee deity for the victory of Egyptian authority in Syro-Palestine. Behind him was Seth-Baal, who is also appeared as a warrior deity in order to reinforce the Egyptian military and the pharaoh.²⁰⁴³ Leibovitch suggested that these gods are an amalgamation of Theban and Memphite deities.²⁰⁴⁴ Te Velde stated that Seth-Baal expressed the role of the state god among Amun, Ptah and Ra.²⁰⁴⁵ The aspect of te Velde is more appropriate for our interpretation of the association of Seth-Baal with Amun, as both deities are presented as equal deities and became comparable with the other two deities, Ptah and Ra.²⁰⁴⁶

Another stela presents a worshipper, Amun-Ra, Mut and a second miniature figure of Amun-Ra. The god holds a *w3s*-sceptre in his left hand and an *ʿnh* symbol in his right. He is seated on a throne accepting the adoration of the adorer. The goddess Mut and the miniature figure of Amun-Ra are standing behind the seated god. In the lower register, four deities are presented. From the right to left, Ptah, Sobek, Amun and Seth-Baal are facing the right. The god Seth-Baal holds a *w3s*-sceptre in his left hand and an *ʿnh* symbol in his right (BR9). Tazawa suggested that the stela was made by a craftsman in order to acquire stability in his

²⁰⁴⁰ Zandee suggested that Seth was also a fertility deity, based on the spell of CT 576, see Zandee 1963, 153-154.

²⁰⁴¹ Tazawa 2009, 155.

²⁰⁴² de Moor 1987, 188, n.5.

²⁰⁴³ Tazawa 2009, 158-159.

²⁰⁴⁴ Leibovitch 1953, 106.

²⁰⁴⁵ te Velde 1977, 109.

²⁰⁴⁶ Tazawa 2009, 157.

afterlife.²⁰⁴⁷ The suggestion of Tazawa contributes to the association of Seth-Baal with Amun, as the presence of Seth-Baal indicates his acculturation into the solar religion and his attribute as a protector of the sacred bark from Apophis.²⁰⁴⁸ Our interpretation can be applied also in the case of the two scarabs, which present the god Seth-Baal accompanied by the god Amun (BM19), reinforcing our argument for their association and the acculturation of Seth-Baal into the solar theology.

Seth-Baal

The acculturation of Seth-Baal is recorded already from the early 18th Dynasty in Egypt. The first official record of Seth-Baal has referred to the stela of Ahmose, describing the characteristics of Baal, employing the Seth animal. The stela reads: “The overshadowed sky (*p=t šn^c=t*) come in a tempest of rain (*n wnt 3bw*), with darkness (*kkw*) in the condition of the West and torrential rain (*d^cmhw^y=t*), louder than the voice of the masses (*k3j=tj r hrw rhy=t*), louder from the mountain more than the thunder of the cataract at Elephantine (*kh3 hr h3š=t r hrw kr=tj jmj=t 3bw*)”.²⁰⁴⁹ Stadelmann suggested that the voice of Baal can be heard in the yell of the thunder,²⁰⁵⁰ while Allon stated that those elements of Baal’s appearances find their clear expression in the Sethian vocabulary: in *smnw* ‘rainstorm,’ *srk* ‘snow,’ *krj* ‘storm, clouds,’ *nšnj* ‘storm, rage.’²⁰⁵¹ Schneider suggested that the stele can be interpreted as a meteorological phenomenon of that kind to Seth of Avaris, the adopted form of the Syrian weather god Baal. His main center of worship was in the capital of Hyksos. The meteorological phenomena of Near Eastern texts clearly attribute to Baal the power over clouds, storms and lightning, and describe his manifestation in his thundering voice.²⁰⁵² Robert K. Ritner - Nadine Moeller stated that the Ahmose stela constitutes a record of the cataclysmic Thera event.²⁰⁵³ At the same time, Feinman suggested that the stele indicates the need of the pharaoh to liberate the land from Hyksos and legalize his authority, through the demonstration of the divine sanction and restoration of the cosmic order.²⁰⁵⁴

²⁰⁴⁷ Tazawa 2009, 157.

²⁰⁴⁸ Tazawa 2009, 157.

²⁰⁴⁹ Translation after Schneider 2010, 405-409; Ritner and Moeller 2013, 62; 2014, 5-6.

²⁰⁵⁰ Stadelmann 1967, 27.

²⁰⁵¹ Allon 2007, 20.

²⁰⁵² Schneider 2010, 406.

²⁰⁵³ Ritner and Moeller 2013, 77-78; 2014, 18-19.

²⁰⁵⁴ Feinman 2015, 260-261.

The tempest stela indicates the acculturation of Seth god with Baal, who latter was worshipped by the Hyksos.²⁰⁵⁵ The suggestion of Schneider interprets and justifies the appearance of Seth-Baal as a meteorological phenomenon. The interpretation of Schneider can be demonstrated in the texts 7F, 8-9B, where the hieroglyphic symbols of Seth above the normal sky and the sky with rain (E21 and N4) indicate that these references link to the Seth of Avaris, the adapted form of the Syrian god, Baal.²⁰⁵⁶ The association of Baal with Seth took place in the court of Avaris,²⁰⁵⁷ where Hyksos acculturated Baal with Seth, as both deities were storm gods and regarded as the deities of foreign lands and controllers of the seas.²⁰⁵⁸

At the same time, scarabs depict a winged figure, wearing a conical crown and standing whether in the sacred bark and slaying a serpent (BM1), whether on a horseback (BM15) or in the ground accompanied by two uraeus (BM21-22.).

In contrast to the scarabs, which present him winged and associated him with the solar cult, stelae record the appearance of Seth, bearing the characteristics of Baal.²⁰⁵⁹ The stela of 400-year depicts three figures. The central figure is the king, Rameses II, who wears the Blue crown and an Egyptian costume, striding to the left. In front of the king an Asiatic god stands looking to the right and the king offers him wine. The Asiatic deity holds a *w3s*-sceptre in his left hand and an *ʕnh*-symbol in his right hand. The god wears a conical crown with a streamer from its top to his ankle, a necklace around his neck, arms and wrists and a knee-length kilt. Behind the king there is another figure, which can be seen partially, due to damage (BR4). The stela records: “*Seth of Rameses, may he give all his life (sth n rʕ ms s sw di ʕnh nb=f)*”.²⁰⁶⁰

Another stele of Rameses II presents a figure standing and wearing a conical crown with a streamer from its top (BR6). The stela reads: “*Seth, great in power given life (sth ʕ3phty*

²⁰⁵⁵ The cult of Seth in Avaris is attested before the importation and establishment of Hyksos into the north-eastern Delta. Junker and Vandier proposed that Hyksos assimilated Seth into their religious beliefs, because the god was already in the north-eastern Delta, see Junker 1939; Vandier 1949, 218. Junker tried to demonstrate the existence of Seth in the 4th Dynasty, see Junker 1939, 84, while Cerny suggested the 2nd Dynasty, see Cerny 1944, 295-298. The previous studies disappeared from the studies of Kees and Helck, see Kees 1955, 110 and Helck 1971b, 92, n.17. Archaeological evidence contributes powerfully to this demonstration, such as the title of King Nehesi of Avaris, which refers to his alliance with Seth, see Bietak 1984; 1990, 14; Tazawa 2009, 154; Goldwasser 2006, 123. For more bibliography see Tazawa 2009, 154, n.748. A scarab from Sidon also demonstrates the indication of the cult of Seth in Avaris, before the impact of Hyksos by the text: “Seth, lord of I3ii (*sth nb I3ii*)”, which is dated to 12th Dynasty, see Loffet 2006; Goldwasser 2006, 123. It seems that the cult of Seth in Egypt continued in the period of Hyksos, as the deity became part of the religious beliefs of Hyksos, see te Velde 1977, 127.

²⁰⁵⁶ Schneider 2010, 406.

²⁰⁵⁷ Goldwasser 2006, 123.

²⁰⁵⁸ Morris 2015a, 328; Zandee 1963, 148; te Velde 1977, 85, 122-123, 128; Bietak 1990, 13; Morenz 1973, 238; Allon 2007, 20; Silver 1991, 208. For the development of attributes of Seth from Middle to the New Kingdom, see Allon 2007, 18.

²⁰⁵⁹ Morris 2015a, 330.

²⁰⁶⁰ Translation after RITA II 287, 5 and Tazawa 2009, 14, Doc. 2, pl.I.

di ʿnh)”.²⁰⁶¹ A Rhetorical stele of Rameses II depicts four figures. The left group consists of Rameses II and Seth. The god strides to the right and wears an Egyptian beard, an Egyptian White crown with a streamer, a necklace around his neck and a knee-length kilt. The right-hand group depicts the king with Geb (BR5). The inscription reads: “*Seth, great in power, lord of heaven, given his life (sth ʿ3phty nbpt di ʿnh=f)*”.²⁰⁶²

Last but not least, the Stele of Mentutauinakht depicts two figures. On the right hand, the first figure is offering flowers to the second figure in front of him. The second figure strides to the adorer wearing a conical crown with bull horns and a streamer hanging from its top to his ankles and a knee-length kilt. The deity holds a *w3s*-scepter in his left hand and an ʿnh symbol in his other hand (BR11). The stela records: “*An offering that the king gives to Seth, great in power (hṭp di nsw sth ʿ3phty)*”.²⁰⁶³

Seth-Baal-Ra

As we analyzed previously, the god Seth-Baal is depicted winged with a human body and animal head, standing at the prow of a boat, spearing the serpent Apophis, wearing an Egyptian Nemes cloth with bull horns, kilt and tassels and a sun disc is presented above his head (BR7).²⁰⁶⁴ The elements of sacred bark and the solar disc can indicate a close association of the god Seth-Baal with Ra.²⁰⁶⁵ The god Seth-Baal is also attested on the Astarte Papyrus, where Seth-Baal is presented as the protector deity of the Ennead.²⁰⁶⁶ The story is inspired by the Baal Cycle from Ugarit, where Baal vanquishes Yam.²⁰⁶⁷ In the Egyptian version, the hero deity, who manages to kill Yam and protect the Ennead is Seth-Baal. He was the ideal candidate for this role, as he is regarded as the vanquisher of Apophis.²⁰⁶⁸

In Spells 160, 647, and 1128, Seth is presented as a protector of the god Ra and the solar barque from the evil serpent Apophis,²⁰⁶⁹ while the conflict between Seth and Yam is recorded on the Hearst magical papyrus, which reads: “*Who is wise like Ra? Who is as wise as this god, who blackens his belly in order to seize the God above? Even as Seth conjured the*

²⁰⁶¹ Translation after RITA II 303, 1-5; Cornelius 1994 BR 8; Tazawa 2009, 15, Doc.4.

²⁰⁶² Translation after RITA II 294, 5 and Tazawa 2009, 14, Doc. 3.

²⁰⁶³ Translation after Cornelius 1994 BR 13; Tazawa 2009, 18, Doc.11.

²⁰⁶⁴ Cornelius 1994, 163-164; Keel and Uehlinger 1998, 76-78.

²⁰⁶⁵ Tazawa 2009, 157.

²⁰⁶⁶ Schneider 2003,161; Staubli 2016, 59; Pehal 2014, 71.

²⁰⁶⁷ KTU 1.1 – 1.2; Smith 1994, 81-180.

²⁰⁶⁸ Te Velde 1977, 99-109.

²⁰⁶⁹ de Buck 1938, 380-381; 1961, 458; Faulkner 1973, 138-139; 1978, 166; Cruz-Urbe 2009, 204. For the description of how the Apophis was defeated by Isis and Seth, see Borghouts 1973, 114–115; Assmann 1995, 51–53.

sea, so will Seth conjure you, Asiatic disease! Then you will no longer wander about in the body of X son of Y".²⁰⁷⁰ The relation between the god Seth with Ra is also described in the story of "The Contendings of Horus and Seth", where Seth is also recorded as the son of the god Ra.²⁰⁷¹ These texts can be associated with the aforementioned archaeological material, indicating the close relation of Seth-Baal with Ra and his association with the solar theology.

Reshef-Seth

In the early 18th Dynasty, the god Reshef is attested on two scarabs, which present the god Reshef holding a mace and shield and wearing a white crown (RM1-RM2). These scarabs indicate that there was a cult of Reshef in Egypt during the 18th Dynasty among the Semitic newcomers, who entered the new region.²⁰⁷² After the Syrian conquest, Reshef was promoted by the pharaohs in order to reinforce their power.²⁰⁷³ The selection of Reshef, instead of Seth, reinforces the image of Amenhotep II did not happen by chance, as Reshef was sharing some attributes and characteristics of Seth.²⁰⁷⁴

The first evidence is the iconographical characteristics of Reshef. The god wears a White crown with a gazelle in the front of the crown, a length kilt, a belt and a collar around his neck. He is portrayed in a menacing posture with his raised hand, holding a mace and a shield.²⁰⁷⁵ Reshef wears the White crown, whether he is sitting (RR15) or standing (RR32) and whether he is alone (RR34-RR35) or with other deities (RR37-RR38). The White crown with a gazelle is also a common crown for Seth-Baal,²⁰⁷⁶ as the gazelle symbolizes the desert. In this case, it seems that Reshef shares the White crown with Seth.

Another piece of evidence, which contributes to the association of Reshef with Seth is his titles. Among the titles of Reshef, Stele of Qaha, presents three deities. The left-hand figure is Min. In the center, a naked goddess points her toes on the back of a lion and the right-hand figure is the god Reshef. The god is presented in an Asiatic style. He has an Asiatic hairstyle with a gazelle head in front and holds an *ḥnḥ*-symbol in his left hand (RR13). The stela reads:

²⁰⁷⁰ Translation after van Dijk 1986, 37.

²⁰⁷¹ Oden 1978, 358.

²⁰⁷² Munnich 2009, 54.

²⁰⁷³ Munnich 2009, 53-54.

²⁰⁷⁴ Wilkinson 2003, 126; Tazawa 2009, 158. Contra Sadek, who did not accept this suggestion and stated that it was Baal not Reshef, who is acculturated with Seth, see Sadek 1988, 155, n.2.

²⁰⁷⁵ The iconography of Reshef in Egypt is related to the appearance of Baal-Zaphon, as both deities wear a conical crown with a gazelle in the front of the crown, a length kilt and a belt, holding *w3s*-sceptre, see Levy 2014, 308-309.

²⁰⁷⁶ Tazawa 2009, 127.

“Reshef the great god, lord of the sky, the ruler of the divine Ennead (*ršpw ntrꜥ3 nb pt ḥk3 psdt*)”.²⁰⁷⁷ The title “ruler of the divine Ennead” connects him with Seth, as this title is a common epithet for Seth.²⁰⁷⁸ The title “Lord of the sky” (*nb pt*) characterized both deities as sons of the goddess Nut and brothers of Osiris, Isis and Nephthys²⁰⁷⁹ and not only a cosmic deity. The group of Ennead consisted of Atum, Shu and Tefnut, who gave birth to Geb and Nut, who also gave birth to Osiris, Isis, Seth and Nephthys. The group of Ennead was created by the priests of Heliopolis to include Osiris and his relevant deities into their theological sphere, placing not only deities of creation, but also deities of the afterlife.²⁰⁸⁰ It seems that the attribute of the god Reshef in Ugarit, which is related to the death and netherworld, can justify his role and title in Egypt.²⁰⁸¹ Due to the fact that he was the god of the netherworld, he is associated with fertility and solar deities.²⁰⁸²

The third characteristic of Reshef, which indicates his association with Seth is his connection with mining.²⁰⁸³ A stela from Memphis (RR36) presents a figure on the left and three figures on the right facing each other. The first figure strides to the right, holding a spear in his left hand, while in his right-hand grasps a mace. The figure wears a knee-length kilt with tassels, a broad collar around his neck and a corselet on his chest. The other three figures are the worshippers. The leading one is shaven-headed, probably a priest, who offers incense. Behind him, his woman holding lotus flowers and next to her there is a boy, who raises his left hand in an adoration posture. In the lower register, there are four figures, all of them are in an adoration posture. A first figure is a man, who is raising his hand and holding lotus flowers. The other three figures are women. In front of them, there are two table offerings, which bear gold rings, cooper oxide ingots and burning incense. Schulman suggested that there is a close relation between the god Reshef and mining.²⁰⁸⁴ Te Velde stated that the same items were included in the offerings of Seth as he was the god of miners, who work in the desert.²⁰⁸⁵ More particularly, the region of Ombos, was regarded as the gold town, where the cult of Seth was popular. Both aspects can justify the connection of Reshef with Seth-Baal. The cult of Seth-Baal in the region of Ombos is confirmed by a fragment of stela. The stela depicts Seth of

²⁰⁷⁷ Translation after RITA III 603, 10, Cornelius 1994, 62 RR30 and Tazawa 2009, 42, Doc.10.

²⁰⁷⁸ Wilkinson 2003, 197. Contra Schulman who suggested that this title is common only in the triad stela, in which Qadesh is the main deity, see Schulman 1981,166.

²⁰⁷⁹ Tazawa 2009, 159.

²⁰⁸⁰ Wilkinson 2003, 79.

²⁰⁸¹ Tazawa 2009, 130.

²⁰⁸² Munnich 2013, 148.

²⁰⁸³ Schulman 1981, 162-164.

²⁰⁸⁴ Schulman 1981, 162-164.

²⁰⁸⁵ te Velde 1977, 116.

Ombos with the characteristics of Baal, as he is presented in a smiting pose, wearing a short kilt and bull horns (BR12). The stela reads: “*Seth of Ombos (sth k3 nbi ty)*”.²⁰⁸⁶

The fourth characteristic of Reshef, which associates him with Seth is his relation with the protection of life, healing and his warrior attributes.²⁰⁸⁷ The god Reshef is regarded as the god of life, healing and at the same time he is considered the god of sickness, who causes death. This polarity of the attributes of the god reflects the ability of the Reshef to control the negative and positive forces, health and sickness, life and death.²⁰⁸⁸ At the same time, Seth in Egypt was regarded as the protector deity of the sun-god from Apophis, but also the god of disorder and confusion in Egypt.²⁰⁸⁹

Astarte

The goddess Astarte is regarded as the daughter of Ptah and Re²⁰⁹⁰ and due to this association Astarte is related to the attribute of Sekhmet and Bestet.²⁰⁹¹ The epithets of Bastet are also related to these of Astarte, both deities are regarded as “lady of the two lands” (*nbt t3*) and “lady of heaven” (*nbt pt*).²⁰⁹² Her warrior character is shared with Bastet and Sekhmet, who are also described as bloodthirsty deities. The warrior character of the goddess is also confirmed in the Astarte papyrus. The goddess Astarte is described in a story, in which Yam appears as an aquatic element. The story begins with the separation of the earth and heaven and the creation of the world.²⁰⁹³ The god Renenutet, is challenged by Yam, who demanded tribute from the gods. Renenutet sends him silver, gold and lapis lazuli, but that is not enough. Thus, the god sends Astarte to Yamm.²⁰⁹⁴ Astarte goes to the shore, sings and dances and then Yam wants her as his bride. At this point, Astarte is appeared as a blood-thirsty goddess, as Yam characterized her as an angry goddess²⁰⁹⁵ and at the same time the story reflects the

²⁰⁸⁶ Translation after Cornelius 1994 BR 19; Tazawa 2009, 18, Doc.12.

²⁰⁸⁷ Tazawa 2009, 159.

²⁰⁸⁸ Albright 1968, 77-78; Tazawa 2009, 160; Cornelius 1994, 259; Fulco 1976, 24, 70-71.

²⁰⁸⁹ Tazawa 2009, 160.

²⁰⁹⁰ The text records: “*Give him Anat and Astarte, your two daughters (rdi=f nti strt snw s3tw)*”, Translation after Tazawa 2009, 94, Doc.45, see Doc. 2.2.20.

²⁰⁹¹ Stadelmann 1967, 104.

²⁰⁹² For the title of Bastet see for example the statue Cairo CG 595. For the translation of the statue see Borchardt 1925, 149.

²⁰⁹³ For the text and its translation, see Sayce 1933:, 56-59; Simpson 2003, 108-111; Ayali-Darshan 2015, 31-35.

²⁰⁹⁴ The relation of Astarte with the sea is not her main characteristic and possibly originated from the accidental mixing of her attributes with those of Athiratu, as the title of the latter in Ugaritic texts is “Lady Athiratu of the sea”, see KTU 1.3; 1.4; 1.6, Tazawa 2009, 134. According to Tazawa, the immigrants or worshippers, who came from the Levant to Egypt, transferred this confusion with them, see Tazawa 2009, 134. For more information see Stuckey 2003, 131; Coogan 1978, 97, 116; Hadley 2000, 50; Petty 1990, 7. For several interpretations of her title, see Hadley 2000, 49-51; Binger 1997, 43-50.

²⁰⁹⁵ 2, X+ 18. Translation after Pehal 2014, 243.

sexual nature of the goddess.²⁰⁹⁶ This performance is intimated by the Sea's sarcastic questions regarding her naked body: "*Have you worn out the sandals that are on your feet? Have the clothes that are on you been torn by your going and coming through the sky and earth*".²⁰⁹⁷ The goddess returned in order to inform the Ennead council for her attempt, but her mission fails, as the Sea continues to threaten the gods with floods. Then, Seth enters the story and manages to battle with Yam and put an end to the sea's demands.²⁰⁹⁸ The Syro-Palestinian deity Astarte combines the warrior attribute also by her iconography, where the goddess is depicted on a horse, holding a shield, spear or bow and the textual sources, where she is manifested as the protector of the royal army. Thus, her protector character against the enemies is also associated with the attribute of Sekhmet and Bestet, who is also appeared as the protector deity of the pharaoh.²⁰⁹⁹

Apart from her aggressive attributes, Astarte reflects a different aspect of motherhood, protecting children or beloved ones.²¹⁰⁰ Her protector and healing attributes are demonstrated in the spells, that she invoked in spells against diseases, without suggesting that Astarte is included in the classical motherhood group of Hathor. For example, Anat and Astarte are recorded in pLeiden I 343+ I 345, recto XVIII, x+1-2 (ASP3), where the text reads: "*Anat and Astarte draw your forth your blood*" (ꜥnti ꜥstrt sphr snf mtwt)".²¹⁰¹

There is no archaeological evidence or textual sources, which can indicate a direct combination of Astarte and female Egyptian goddesses in Egypt. However, Stadelmann suggested that Astarte is associated with Sekhmet, due to the fact that she was the daughter of Ptah and she had a connection with Memphis, the central cult of Sekhmet.²¹⁰² Tazawa agrees with the suggestion of Stadelmann and adds the region of Peru-nefer as a region, where the cult of Astarte also existed.²¹⁰³ The aspects of Stadelmann and Tazawa can interpret the acculturation of the goddess Astarte with Sekhmet, as Astarte has a strong relation with horses, which are related to the military campaigns of Egyptian authority.²¹⁰⁴

²⁰⁹⁶ Pehal 2014, 243.

²⁰⁹⁷ 2, X+ 19. Translation after Ayali-Darshan 2015, 33.

²⁰⁹⁸ Pinch 2002, 108-109; van Dijk 1986, 31-32. For more bibliography see Pinch 2002, 109; van Dijk 1986, 32; Ayali-Darshan 2015, 32, n.35; 2020.

²⁰⁹⁹ te Velde 1977, 461.

²¹⁰⁰ Tazawa 2014, 120, 122; 2009, 164.

²¹⁰¹ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 94, Doc.46.

²¹⁰² Stadelmann 1967, 104.

²¹⁰³ Tazawa 2014, 122, no.83.

²¹⁰⁴ Tazawa 2014, 122. The association of Sekhmet and Astarte is also confirmed in the Roman Period, see PM V, 168 (3)- (4).

Hauron-Horemakhet

The god Hauron was imported into the Egyptian region by the immigrants of Syro-Palestine, such as traders, craftsmen, prisoners of war and slaves from the beginning of the 18th Dynasty.²¹⁰⁵ The first association of the god Hauron is attested on the Stele of Tutuia, which presents a sphinx, sitting on the pedestal and looking right. The sphinx wears a hawk's plumage an Egyptian beard and a double crown with a Nemes-cloth and uraeus. In the lower register, there are four figures. The first adorer is standing with the posture of veneration, raising both hands and he is accompanied by his sister and two brothers. His sister wears a long dress and holds lotus flowers in her left hand and raises her other hand for adoring. His brothers take the same posture (HR3). The upper register of the stela reads: "*Hauron the great god, lord of the sky, ruler of the eternity (ḥwrn ʿ3 ntr nb pt nb nḥḥ) Hauron-Atum, father of the gods, who gives a long life (ḥwr-itm itn ntrw rdi 3wi ʿnh)*", while the lower register records: "*Hauron the great god, lord of the sky, gives beautiful life (ḥwrn ʿ3 ntr nb pt rdi nfr ʿnh)*".²¹⁰⁶ Helck suggested that the chthonic attributes of Hauron in Ugarit are related to the attributes of Atum in Egypt and then the latter god is equated with the Sphinx, indicating the god Horus.²¹⁰⁷ Van Dijk stated that the Sphinx is not only a representation of Atum. He added also that the sphinx reminded the newcomers from the Syro-Palestinian region of their own deity.²¹⁰⁸ Thus, both aspects can justify the relation between Atum and Horus, as the sun gods, who had an influence on the association with Horus and Hauron via Atum.²¹⁰⁹

Another stela, called Stele of Tha, depicts a sphinx, sitting on a pedestal. The sphinx wears a hawk's plumage and a Nemes-cloth. In the lower register of the stela, an adorer is presented. The worshipper is standing with the posture of adoration, looking left (HI4.) The stela reads: "*Hauron Ra Horemakhet gives beautiful lifetime (ḥwrn-rʿ-ḥrm3ḥt rdi nfr ʿnh)*".²¹¹⁰ Albright,²¹¹¹ Gardiner²¹¹² and Quack²¹¹³ stated that there is a phonetic similarity between their names, which made the Egyptians connect these two deities. On the other hand, Helck suggested that the attributes of Hauron are related to the attributes of Atum and through the

²¹⁰⁵ Tazawa 2009, 160-161.

²¹⁰⁶ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 61, Doc.4.

²¹⁰⁷ Helck 1966, 12.

²¹⁰⁸ Van Dijk 1989, 65.

²¹⁰⁹ Helck 1966, 12.

²¹¹⁰ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 66, Doc.16.

²¹¹¹ Albright 1936, 3.

²¹¹² Gardiner 1948, II, 216.

²¹¹³ Quack 2015, 264.

latter god, Hauron is connected with the sun god, Horus.²¹¹⁴ However, Stadelmann agreed with the suggestion of Albright and Gardiner and added that it may have been the novelty of Horemakhet, which can explain the connection of this god with the newcomer god Hauron.²¹¹⁵ A different aspect has been suggested by Tazawa, who suggested that the stela demonstrates the establishment of the state god Horemakhet and the elevation of Hauron to same level of prestige.²¹¹⁶ Tazawa also added that the relation of Hauron with Horemakhet indicates that Hauron adjusted to the Helipolitan theology, through his association with Horemakhet by the Egyptian authority in order to reinforce the power of the sun god Ra.²¹¹⁷ It seems that the god Hauron was the only Syro-palestinian deity, who managed to connect his name with an Egyptian deity Horemakhet in a form as “Hauron-Horemakhet” and replaced Horemakhet by presenting the same iconographic representation.²¹¹⁸

Hauron-Shed

Another association of the god Hauron can be demonstrated through the relevant archaeological material of the god Shed. Two amulets from Deir el-Medina present these two deities. On the right side of the amulet, the god Shed is presented. The god holds arrows and a bow in his right hand and three snakes rear up from his left foot. On the other side, the god Hauron is presented as a falcon, standing on a pedestal. The god wears a Double crown, while three snakes appear from his talons (HR1). The amulet bears the inscription: “*Asiatic Hauron is strong (ḥwrn ʿ3m wsr)*”²¹¹⁹ The second amulet, only a flail is depicted, it might be argued that the flail is on the back of Hauron, as a falcon (HR10.). Above the flail, the name of Hauron is recorded: *Hauron (ḥwrn)*.²¹²⁰ On the other side of the amulet, the figure of Shed is presented as a young male. He looks to the left and wears an *sšd* with uraeus and a parietal braid of hair, symbolizing the youth. Tazawa and Van Dijk stated that the appearance of Hauron as a falcon is related to the form of Horus.²¹²¹ However, Tazawa suggested that Horus is a member of the triad Horus-Isis-Shed²¹²² and he is described as the lord of the desert, associating his attribute

²¹¹⁴ Helck 1966, 12; Quack 2015, 263-264.

²¹¹⁵ Stadelmann 1987, 443.

²¹¹⁶ Tazawa 2009, 161.

²¹¹⁷ Tazawa 2009, 161.

²¹¹⁸ Tazawa 2009, 161.

²¹¹⁹ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 68, Doc.21.

²¹²⁰ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 68, Doc.22.

²¹²¹ Tazawa 2009, 162; Van Dijk 1989, 63.

²¹²² Sauneron 1953, 53-55; Tazawa 2009, 162.

with Shed and Hauron, who are also gods of the desert in their homelands.²¹²³ Based on the attributes of these deities, both aspects can justify the association of Hauron with Shed via Horus. In the story of Osiris, Horus and Isis, the god Horus is the child of Isis, who was endangered by enemies and wild animals. His mother protects him by providing him with herbs and charms. This fact described Horus as a savior deity, who protects his ordinary people.²¹²⁴ The same myth is recorded in two stelae from Deir el-Medina, which present the triad, Osiris, Isis and Shed, demonstrating the god Shed as the child of Isis and Osiris.²¹²⁵

The association of the god Hauron with Shed is also attested on the stele of Paia (Pay), which presents three deities. From the left, the two deities look to the right and the other deity looks to the left. The figure to the right is a falcon-headed man, holding an *ꜥnh* symbol in his left-hand, while his right-hand grasps the hand of a figure standing in front of him. Both of them hold a *w3s*-scepter and some weapons. The second figure is naked and he has a lock of hair. Behind the second figure, a goddess is presented, wearing an Asiatic-style layered dress and holding a *w3s*-scepter in the left hand and an *ꜥnh* symbol in his right hand (HR10). The stela records the name of Hauron: “Hauron (*hwrn*)”.²¹²⁶ Tazawa suggested that the stela indicates the connection of Hauron with Shed, his mother, Metery and Horus.²¹²⁷ The suggestion of Tazawa interprets the connection of these deities with Hauron. The god Shed is associated with Hauron, as both deities are regarded as protector deities. Also, the god Shed shares the same attributes with Horus, as both gods grasp serpents, scorpions and lions and both of them are included in the triad Horus-Isis-Shed, where the latter played the role of the child of Horus and Isis.²¹²⁸

Anat

Early records of Anat present her with an atef crown (AR1, AR4-AR5, AB1-AB2, AS1-2), while a cylinder seal from Minet el-Beida depicts a seated pharaoh, shooting with his bow at animals, next to his throne a striding menacing goddess is presented, holding a weapon and wearing an atef crown (AR5). Cornelius suggested that the goddess is supporting the pharaoh in the hunt.²¹²⁹ The aspect of Cornelius interprets the role of the goddess in Minet el-

²¹²³ RITA III, 427.

²¹²⁴ Brunner 1958, 18.

²¹²⁵ KRI III 625, 15; 626, 10; RITA III 625, 15; 626, 10.

²¹²⁶ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 67, Doc.18.

²¹²⁷ Tazawa 2009, 162.

²¹²⁸ Two stela from Deir el-Medina present the triad Horus-Isis-Shed, see KRIII 625, 15; RITA III 625, 15 (Louvre E 16343) and KRIII, 626, 5; RITA III 626, 5 (DeM 238).

²¹²⁹ Cornelius 2004, 24, Cat. 1.3 with additional bibliography.

Beida and confirms her connection with authority. This connection of Anat with authority is also demonstrated in Egypt and justifies the cause of her importation into royal authority.²¹³⁰ Anat is regarded as the daughter of Ra²¹³¹ and she is attested in the royal context, especially under the reign of Rameses II where a close relation of the king and the goddess is reflected. For example, two statues of Rameses II present the pharaoh with the goddess Anat en face. In the first statue, Rameses II is presented on the left without his crown and the goddess is portrayed on the right, wearing an Asiatic costume with two bands on her chest (AI4). Both sides of the dorsal pillar record: “*King of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the two lands, Usermaatra Setepenra, son of Ra, Lord of crowns, Rameses II, Beloved of Anat (‘nti mri)*”.²¹³² Rear of dorsal pillar records: “*Lord of the two lands, Usermaatra Setepenra, lord of the two crowns, Rameses II, I am your mother Anat (mwt=k ‘nti)...Rameses II, beloved of Anat, lady of the sky (‘nti mri nbt pt)*”.²¹³³ The second statue of Rameses II presents also the king with the goddess Anat en face. The king is presented on the left in a Nemes-cloth with an atef-crown and places his hands on his knees. Next to him, the goddess wears an atef-crown with horns and a costume. Her left hand is on her knee and the other attaches to the shoulder of the king (AI5.). The left edge reads: “*Anat lady of the sky, mistress of the gods (‘nti nbt pt ntrw)*”.²¹³⁴ The Dorsal pillar records: “*I am your mother loved, possessing love, lady of monuments and excellence (nb mrt mnw hr mnḥw)*”.²¹³⁵ The two statues of Rameses II demonstrate the maternity attributes of Anat, associating her with the goddesses Hathor and Sekhmet, who was also a divine mother of the king.²¹³⁶ The relation of mother-son is demonstrated also in the magical spells, where the magician says that he has fed the milk of Anat, the cow of Seth. The text records: “*I have sucked at the beasts of Anat the great cow of Seth*” (šnḳ mnd ‘nti wrt stḥ) (AP3).²¹³⁷ Parallel, the goddess, Mut gives him milk and enters into him by giving life and domination, while she promises to the pharaoh million of years.²¹³⁸ The goddess Mut could also take the form of a human-female goddess and the form of a

²¹³⁰ Contra Tazawa, who suggested that the goddess Anat and Baal were introduced into the royal context, due to the stories of these two deities, see Tazawa 2009, 133.

²¹³¹ The text records: “*Give him Anat and Astarte, your two daughters (rdi=f‘nti ‘strt snw s3tw)*”, Translation after Tazawa 2009, 79, Doc.23, see Doc. 1.2.33.

²¹³² Translation after RITA II 445 and Tazawa 2009, 74, Doc 4.

²¹³³ Translation after RITA II 445 and Tazawa 2009, 74, Doc 4.

²¹³⁴ Translation after RITA II 445, 10; 446 and Tazawa 2009, 74, Doc 5.

²¹³⁵ Translation after RITA II 445, 10; 446 and Tazawa 2009, 74, Doc 5.

²¹³⁶ Tazawa 2009, 163, 164; 2014, 122-123.

²¹³⁷ Tazawa 2009, 133.

²¹³⁸ te Velde 1997, 459.

vulture, which symbolizes the motherhood. The latter form is also associated with Anat, as in the story of Aqhat in Ugarit, Anat manifested as a vulture and kills the princes.²¹³⁹

Apart from the “divine mother” attributes, the goddess combines the “warrior divine” attributes and is regarded as a protector deity of her beloved, children and love partner.²¹⁴⁰ Her warrior characteristics are reflected on a spell against disease, which reads: “*Anat brings seven jugs of silver and eight jugs of bronze and she pours the blood upon the ground*” (ʿnti rnn sfh mntiw ḥd ḥmnw mntiw ḥsmn wdḥ snfw ḥr t3) (AP6).²¹⁴¹ Her warrior attributes are shared with Bastet and Sekhmet, who are also described as bloodthirsty deities. The epithets of Bastet are related to these of Anat. Both deities are regarded as “lady of the two lands” (*nbt t3*) and “lady of heaven” (*nbt pt*).²¹⁴² The Syro-Palestinian deity Anat combines also the warrior attribute in her iconography, where the goddess is depicted on a throne, holding shield, mace or bow and by the textual sources, where she is manifested as the protector of the royal army and the protector deity of the pharaoh.²¹⁴³ Thus, her protector character against the enemies and her close relation with the pharaoh can also be associated with the attributes of Sekhmet, who is also appeared as the protector deity of the pharaoh and curative goddess.²¹⁴⁴

Anat-Isis

The goddess was acculturated with one of the others aspects of Isis, which was the role of sister-wife or brother-husband in the story of Osiris. This role is demonstrated in the Baal cycle,²¹⁴⁵ which is parallel to the story of Osiris and Isis. In both stories, the husband (Osiris) and lover (Baal) are murdered by Seth in the Egyptian version and Mot in the Ugarit story. Both goddesses looking for the dead body of their lover/husband. In the Egyptian story, the body of pieces of the body of Osiris was hurled all over Egypt and Isis was looking for him in Egypt, while in the Ugarit version Anat was looking for Baal in the netherworld. At the end of both stories, Isis and Anat managed to resurrect their bodies.²¹⁴⁶

²¹³⁹It is not the only story, where Anat is presented with wings, as other story records: “Virgin Anat spread her wings, she spread her wings and winged her way towards the shores of Shamak, filled with wild oxen.” KTU 1.10 ii 10; Translation after Wyatt 1998, 156. Scholars suggest that she can appear as a bird, see Fensham 1966.

²¹⁴⁰Tazawa 2009, 164; 2014, 119-120.

²¹⁴¹Translation after Tazawa 2009, 79, Doc.25.

²¹⁴²For the title of Bastet see for example the statue Cairo CG 595. For the translation of the statue see Borchardt 1925, 149.

²¹⁴³Tazawa 2009, 163-164.

²¹⁴⁴te Velde 1977, 461; Tazawa 2014, 120.

²¹⁴⁵KTU 1.5 vi-1.6.

²¹⁴⁶For more information about the resurrection in Egypt see Assmann 2002b, 124-135.

Anat-Seth

Another association of Anat can be demonstrated through the story of Anat with Seth, (AP1), as recorded in the Chester Beatty Papyrus VII.²¹⁴⁷ The texts records: “*Came Anat the divine, the victorious, acting as a warrior clad as a man and girt as women (iī^cntt ntry nht iri mi^ch3iri mi t3y iri mi st)*”.²¹⁴⁸ In the story, the goddess Anat is described as a non- feminine goddess, she has warrior manners and she is dressed like a man.²¹⁴⁹ The role of Anat has associated with that of Nephthys.²¹⁵⁰ The Egyptian goddess Nephthys symbolizes the childless woman, acting as a wailing woman and wet- nurse. Like Nephthys Anat acts and dresses like a man and she is childless, as she conceived a child, but she can not give birth.²¹⁵¹ The appearance of Isis, mother of Re, who descends from the heavens in order to uncover the seed, and the manifestation of Hathor, the primeval wife of Re, who is manifested as a seed in the story can justify the role of Anat, who is regarded as the daughter of Re.²¹⁵² The goddess Anat bridges the gap between the two deities and shares the attributes of both of them.²¹⁵³

Qadesh

Before analyzing the acculturation of Qadesh with the Egyptian goddesses, it is necessary to define the origin of her image and her importation in Egypt. The first hypothesis associates Qadesh with the “Nude Female” plaques and their spread into the Ancient Near East.²¹⁵⁴ In this category, the nude female goddess holds her breasts, draws back her robes and sometimes stands with arms at her sides.²¹⁵⁵ However, the plaques of Qadesh depict the goddess in V-pose, holding objects and sometimes standing upon an animal.

²¹⁴⁷ Gardiner 1935, 61-63; van Dijk 1986, 34-38; Peal 2014, 211. For other versions of the story, see van Dijk 1986, 32-33.

²¹⁴⁸ Translation after Tazawa 2009, 78, Doc.20.

²¹⁴⁹ Peal 2014, 213.

²¹⁵⁰ van Dijk 1986, 41.

²¹⁵¹ van Dijk 1986, 42.

²¹⁵² van Dijk 1986, 42.

²¹⁵³ The appearances of Isis, Hathor and Anat constitute the manifestation of one god, Re. These deities are part of the multiplicity of constituted powers, roles and forms of a divine person, which Assmann called a “constellation”, see Assmann 1969, 339-352.

²¹⁵⁴ Budin 2015a, 4; Keel and Uehlinger 1998, 26-29; Winter 1983, 93-134.

²¹⁵⁵ Stuckey 2003, 135.

Another hypothesis links the Qadesh as an evolution image of the Egyptian goddess Beset.²¹⁵⁶ The images of Beset are recorded during the Middle Kingdom and present a nude, en face goddess with a leonine head and like Qadesh often holds snakes.²¹⁵⁷ The problem with this suggestion is that the iconography of Beset disappeared after the 13th Dynasty and absent after the Second Intermediate period. Thus, this hypothesis can not justify the origin of the image of Qadesh, as there is a chronological gap between the last manifestation of Beset and the early manifestation of the goddess Qadesh in Egypt.²¹⁵⁸

An alternative hypothesis connects the goddess Qadesh with the category of “Palestinian Branch Goddess”.²¹⁵⁹ The variations of the Branch Goddess are dated to MBII period and present the goddess as a nude, en face female deity, who wears a nemes-style headdress and her legs are straight, while her arms are straight to the body or she holds her breasts.²¹⁶⁰ As was the case of Beset, there is a chronological gap between the last manifestation of the Branch Goddess and the appearance of Qadesh. Apart from the chronological gap, the iconographical characteristics of the Branch Goddess do not match the traits of Qadesh. The Branch goddess is never depicted in a V-pose, as her arms are hanging down to the sides of the body or she holds her breasts. Last but not least, the Branch goddess is never presented with animals or holding objects as Qadesh.

Finally, there is another hypothesis, which supports that the evolution of the image of Qadesh is originated from the Syro-Anatolian region, after gave rise to the Hittite dominated the Levant to the northern and then spread into the south and then to Egypt.²¹⁶¹ The last suggestion can interpret the evolution of Qadesh and her manifestation in Egypt, as several plaques of 18th Dynasty originated from the region of Minet el-Beida (QR1, QR6, QR9-QR10), Tel Harasim (QR7-QR8), Akko (QR2), Uluburun (QR12), Apeh (QR13), Timnah (QR5), Tell Zafit (QR15), Megiddo (QR11), Ugarit (QM26), Gezer (QR3, QR14), Tel Qarnajim (QM25).

Entering the region of Egypt, the goddess acquired some attributes and iconographical traits of Hathor, which can be demonstrated through their iconography and attributes.²¹⁶² In iconography, the goddess Qadesh is wearing the Hathoric headdress, as Hathor did in Egypt,

²¹⁵⁶ Budin 2015a, 5.

²¹⁵⁷ Budin 2015a, 5; 2015b, 323.

²¹⁵⁸ Contra Waraksa 2007, 140; Pinch 1993, 217; Bourriau 1988, 110, who suggested that the goddess Qadesh originated from the Egyptian goddess Beset.

²¹⁵⁹ Keel and Uehlinger 1998, 54.

²¹⁶⁰ Budin 2015a, 6.

²¹⁶¹ Budin 2015a, 15.

²¹⁶² Contra Stadelmann, who suggested that Qadesh is not an independent goddess, but she is a ‘hypostasis’ of Anat and Astarte, based on the stele of Neferhotep, see Stadelmann 1967, 114-115.

while the objects in their hands, flowers, papyrus and snakes, are associated with the happiness, regeneration and rebirth.²¹⁶³ Qadesh is standing on an Egyptian lion, which links to the god Aker,²¹⁶⁴ who guards the gates of Underworld.²¹⁶⁵ Qadesh seems to be related with the maternity group of Hathor, instead of the bloodthirsty deities. The titles of Qadesh, which varied from the “Lady of the stars” (*nbt sb3wt*)²¹⁶⁶ to “Lady of the sky” (*nbt ḥryt*),²¹⁶⁷ and the symbolization of the objects of Qadesh are associated with the titles of Hathor in Egypt, who is regarded as the goddess of foreigners, sky, love and goddess in the land of death in West.²¹⁶⁸

Qadesh-Isis

The title of Qadesh as “great of magic” (*w3dt ḥk3t*) is associated with the attribute of Isis, as both deities, regarded as savior goddesses and use magic in order to heal the sufferers.²¹⁶⁹ The association of Isis with magic is indicated in the story of Osiris and Isis,²¹⁷⁰ where Isis and her sister Nephthys looked for the body. When they found it, Isis used her magic powers to reverse the effects of decay and helped with her magic Anubis in the mummification process of Osiris and joined the pieces together. Isis was not able only to revive Osiris, but to conceive and protect her child, Horus by the power of magic.²¹⁷¹ Through the power of magic, Isis with the eldest magician (*ḥk3 smsw*),²¹⁷² also contributed to the defeat of Apophis in the Amduat, reciting spells to protect the sun god Ra from Apophis.²¹⁷³ It seems that there is an association of Qadesh with Isis and due to their magic. However, Qadesh is not associated with the warrior group of Hathor (Sekhmet and Bastet), as there is no evidence for her warrior attribute. At the same time, Qadesh is not related to motherhood deities directly, but as a goddess of fertility and her nude appearance and her sexuality finally manages to become a mother.²¹⁷⁴ All the presented archaeological materials can indicate the close relation of Qadesh with Hathor and Isis, without suggesting that Qadesh is Hathor or Isis, but there

²¹⁶³ Budin 2015a, 15; 2015b, 325.

²¹⁶⁴ Another symbolism of lion is the connection with military power, see Cornelius 1989, 63.

²¹⁶⁵ Budin 2015b, 325. For the suggestion that the motif may originate from Anatolia, see Akurgal 1962, fig.19, pl.77. For the motif in Hittites and the Neo-Hittites cultures, see Keel 1977b, 152-158. For the suggestion that the motif extended into Syria, see Helck 1971b, 463. For the Mesopotamian origin of the motif, see Albright 1939, Pritchard 1943. For the association of Qadesh with Ishtar, see Volokhine 2000, 66; Cornelius 1989, 60.

²¹⁶⁶ Cornelius 2004, 58; de Vartavan 2005, 82.

²¹⁶⁷ Stadelmann 1967, 115-116.

²¹⁶⁸ Cornelius 2004, cat. 5.28; Budin 2015b, 325.

²¹⁶⁹ Tazawa 2014, 119.

²¹⁷⁰ Pinch 2002, 78-79. For more bibliography, see Pinch 2002, 78-80.

²¹⁷¹ Pinch 1994, 25; van Dijk 1995, 1702-1706.

²¹⁷² Münster 1968, 192-197.

²¹⁷³ te Velde 1970, 175.

²¹⁷⁴ Tazawa 2014, 120-121. Contra Tazawa 2009, 136, who suggested that Qadesh, due to her magical attributes and her associations with Isis, can be included in the Hathor cycle.

were similar iconographical elements and characteristics in their attributes, which allowed the acceptance and acculturation of Qadesh in Egypt.

Qadesh-Reshef-Min

Last but not least, apart from the Egyptian goddesses, Qadesh is also acculturated with the Egyptian god Min in a form of a pluralistic triad. The relation between Qadesh, Reshef and Min has been studied by several scholars. Te Velde suggested that normally, this triad should represent a divine family “father mother and child”.²¹⁷⁵ However, the suggestion of te Velde can not be applied to this case, as based on the archaeological material Qadesh, Reshef and Min are not considered as divine parents and child.²¹⁷⁶ Fulco stated that these three deities are related with the fertility attributes, adding that Min and Reshef are the co-consorts of Qadesh,²¹⁷⁷ while Sadek agreed and developed the suggestion of Fulco, adding that Qadesh and Reshef are divine couples, without clarifying the role of Min.²¹⁷⁸ Helck proposed a different explanation, suggesting that Qadesh, Min and Reshef represent the “triad of sexuality”. According to him, Qadesh and Min are regarded as the deities of eroticism and protect the sexual life, with Reshef being the god of love.²¹⁷⁹ A different aspect was proposed by Shoemaker, who stated that Qadesh has a dualistic role between the two male deities. According to him, the god Reshef maintained his negative attributes, which are related to death, illness, destruction and warrior nature. On the other hand, Min is regarded as the god of vitality, fertility and regeneration, while Qadesh unites these two different attributes of Min and Reshef, symbolizing life against death or regeneration versus destruction.²¹⁸⁰

The aspect of Shoemaker approaches our interpretation and justifies the role of the triad “Qadesh-Min-Reshef”. The god Reshef is portrayed with weapons and at the same time he is considered a protector deity against diseases with curative powers. The snakes which are offered by the goddess Qadesh to Reshef are connected with healing,²¹⁸¹ confirming the attributes and the role of Reshef in the triad. The god Min is connected with love and the lotus flowers, which are also offered by Qadesh are considered as an aphrodisiac, constituting a fertility scene. The goddess Qadesh as a central deity of this fertility scene, symbolizing life,

²¹⁷⁵ Te Velde 1971, 84.

²¹⁷⁶ Tazawa 2009, 166.

²¹⁷⁷ Fulco 1976, 24.

²¹⁷⁸ Sadek 1988, 156.

²¹⁷⁹ Helck 1966, 7-10.

²¹⁸⁰ Shoemaker 2001.

²¹⁸¹ Keel 1992, 208.

love,²¹⁸² rebirth, regeneration and health.²¹⁸³ Thus, the trinity “Qadesh-Min-Reshef” constitutes the pluralistic triad, based on the fertility attributes of these three deities, regarding them as “three in One”.²¹⁸⁴

²¹⁸² The naked goddess is not connected with the erotic sphere, see Cornelius 2004, 97-98 with the exception of the stela Berlin 21626.

²¹⁸³ Munnich 2009, 62.

²¹⁸⁴ Tazawa 2009, 167.

Chapter 5: Conclusions

The proposed doctoral research managed to reexamine the causes or ways of importation and acculturation of six Syro-Palestinian deities-Reshef, Baal, Astarte, Hauron, Anat and Qadesh- into the Egyptian pantheon, studying their appearances at the political and diplomatic level,²¹⁸⁵ official and personal religion,²¹⁸⁶ magical spells against diseases or poisons²¹⁸⁷ and their acculturation with Egyptian deities.²¹⁸⁸ The relevant archaeological material, such as stelae, reliefs, statues, scarabs, ostraca, amulets, seals, and textual sources, such as autobiographical texts and magical papyrus, which are included in the present research, demonstrate that these deities worshipped by the pharaohs, ordinary people and foreigners. It seems that most of the regions of Egypt were influenced by foreigners. The proposed model of the research can contribute to the explanation of the acculturation of these Syro-Palestinian deities into the Egyptian system and the perception of these deities and their attributes on the official and non-official levels. More particularly, through the aspects of Assmann²¹⁸⁹ Staubli,²¹⁹⁰ Baines²¹⁹¹ and Brand,²¹⁹² it is possible to study the causes, which allowed their entrance to the divine world of Egypt and acculturation of them in official and non-official level.

In the political sphere, the aspect of Baines, which suggests that there is a close relation of kingship under the prism of theology,²¹⁹³ underlines the dependence of the pharaoh on gods to defeat his enemies²¹⁹⁴ and the royal motivation for legitimization,²¹⁹⁵ is demonstrated in the appearance of Syro-Palestinian deities in the political field. Their manifestation was associated with the legalization of Egyptian authority, while the pharaoh was depended on gods to defeat his enemies, emphasizing the divine kingship and the powers of gods. His dependence on gods is reflected in the royal campaigns, where the deities Baal, Reshef, Anat and Astarte promoted the royal power of the pharaoh and reinforced his prestige. At the same time, the aspect of Brand, which is related to the personal image of the pharaohs

²¹⁸⁵ For the political field see Chapter 2 and Subchapters 2.1. and 2.2. For the diplomatic context see Subchapters 2.3., 2.3.1., 2.3.2. and 2.3.3.

²¹⁸⁶ For the official religion see Chapter 3 and Subchapter 3.1. For personal religion see Subchapter 3.2.

²¹⁸⁷ For the magical spells see Subchapter 3.3.

²¹⁸⁸ For the acculturation of Syro-Palestinian deities with Egyptian gods see Chapter 4.

²¹⁸⁹ Assmann 2004, 24-25.

²¹⁹⁰ Staubli 2016, 52, 58-59.

²¹⁹¹ Baines 1995, 3, 23, 24, 34.

²¹⁹² Brand 2005, 23-26.

²¹⁹³ Baines 1995, 3.

²¹⁹⁴ Baines 1995, 3, 23.

²¹⁹⁵ Baines 1995, 24.

and their actions,²¹⁹⁶ through royal piety and divinity,²¹⁹⁷ reinforces our interpretation for the close relation between kings and gods.²¹⁹⁸ The close relation between the pharaoh and the gods is expressed on reliefs and stelae and his royal iconography, where the king is depicted giving offerings to the gods or he is presented in a kneeling posture before the divine, demonstrating dedication to the gods.²¹⁹⁹ Thus, the Syro-palestinian deities Baal, Reshef, Astarte and Anat are recorded in the royal battles of the pharaohs. The god Baal is manifested in the royal battles to reinforce the prestige and the power of the pharaoh, while in several visual representations of him, Baal is appeared with the name of Seth, indicating their common attributes and characteristics. At the same time, the god Reshef is associated with Montu, as the warrior characteristics of Reshef and his association with horses turned him into an equal deity with an Egyptian. Under the prism of royal battles, Astarte is also the goddess who guarantees the victories of the pharaohs, providing them with military prowess. Her warrior characteristics and her close relation with horses associated her with Egyptian gods, such as Montu. The royal horses and chariots are also connected with the goddess Anat. The warrior goddess is regarded as a protector deity of the pharaoh.

Apart from the aspects of Baines and Brand, the archaeological material and textual sources demonstrated that the Syro-Palestinian deities did not appear only in royal campaigns, but their manifestation is recorded in the diplomatic field, such as the Letters of Tyre and Byblos, the diplomatic marriage of Rameses II and the treaty of Rameses II with Hattusilis III, indicating various and different aspects of their role and attribute in the political and diplomatic context. More particularly, the name of the Syro-Palestinian god Baal is included in the Letters of Tyre and Byblos to reinforce and advance the image and powerfulness of the pharaoh.²²⁰⁰ Also, we can suggest that the name of Baal was placed by the scribes of Tyre and Byblos to draw the attention of the officials of Canaan in Egyptian authority and to curry favor with the pharaoh, approving their requests.²²⁰¹

However, a different political role of them is demonstrated in the diplomatic context and the treaty of Rameses II with Hattusilis III, where the name of Astarte is identified with the name of Ishtar. Thus, we concluded that in the context of diplomatic treaties, Egyptian and

²¹⁹⁶ Brand 2005, 23-25.

²¹⁹⁷ Brand 2005, 25-26.

²¹⁹⁸ Brand 2005, 26.

²¹⁹⁹ See subchapter 2.2.

²²⁰⁰ See subchapter 2.3.1.

²²⁰¹ Siddall 2010, 30.

Syro-palestinian deities had to be equal in their functions and their relations with the authority to be translatable for the needs of international law.²²⁰²

Another aspect of their political role can be also reflected in the diplomatic marriage of Rameses II, where the name of Anat is recorded. Although the marriage of Rameses II with the foreign princess increased his superiority,²²⁰³ the stele of Rameses II underlines the divine origin and the divine parents of the pharaoh to reinforce his prestige and royal prowess.

On the other hand, Assmann suggests that name and character of a deity are transportable and different deities from different regions are equated with others.²²⁰⁴ The religious development caused the affection of the Egyptian polytheism and added Syro-palestinian deities into the Egyptian pantheon, creating a concept of similarity, where deities had similar characteristics and functions.²²⁰⁵ Parallel, the political and intercultural relations of Egypt and its cross-cultural exchanges led also to the concept of common religion.²²⁰⁶ This aspect is identified in the treaty of Rameses II and Hattusilis III. The treaty includes deities, who are witnesses to their oath. Among the names, which are written in the treaty, the name of Astarte has been recorded: “Astarte of the land of Hatti” (*ʿntrt np3ḫ nhḫ3*).²²⁰⁷ The appearance and interpretation of their introduction into the Egyptian pantheon were examined through the segmentation of the evolution of the Egyptian religion into three religious periods: i) the years 1500 until 1350, when the religious system of Egypt is polytheism, ii) the years from 1350 until 1330, when the religious system of Egypt turned into monotheism by Akhenaten iii) and the years from 1330 until 1100, when after the Amarna period there is a unity of the God and increase of personal piety.²²⁰⁸ The result of this research was the demonstration of the personal ideas of common people and the relations and roles of these deities in the royal religion of the pharaoh.

In the official religion, which was expressed by the pharaohs and the elite of Egyptian authority, the goddess Astarte and Reshef were regarded as patron deities of the pharaohs, as both of them support the prowess of the king. Especially, in the case of Astarte, pharaohs gave her name to their sons. The power of the pharaoh and his strength could also be promoted by the god Baal, as his name is equal to other warrior deities, elevating his prestige with Egyptian deities. His name is also recorded on the Letters of Tyre and Byblos under the reign of

²²⁰² See subchapter 2.3.2.

²²⁰³ Melville 2005, 225.

²²⁰⁴ Assmann 2004, 24.

²²⁰⁵ Zivie-Coche 2011, 5; Cornelius 2017, 209; Bleeker 1975, 112-113; Assmann 2004, 24; 2008, 54.

²²⁰⁶ Assmann 2004, 24-25.

²²⁰⁷ Translation after RITA II 230, 1; Langdon & Gardner 1920, 194.

²²⁰⁸ Assmann 2014, 53-59.

Akhenaten, while his attributes are similar to the characteristics of Atenism, indicating the influences of the monotheism of Akhenaten in Egypt. At the royal level, the god Hauron was regarded as a protector deity and divine father of the king rather than a deity for his campaigns. The god was also included in the solar cult and acculturated with Horemakhet under the authority of the pharaoh. Last but not least, close and maternal relations were developed between the pharaoh, Rameses II and the goddess Anat. Rameses II emphasized his mother-son relation with Anat, as he implied that Seth and Anat were his divine parents,²²⁰⁹ while he gave the name of Anat to his daughters and sons.

In the personal sphere, through the personal requests of ordinary people, such as slaves and merchants, attributes related to stability, health, peace, and fertility in daily life have been demonstrated. The research demonstrates that the god Baal is regarded as a commander of the army and he is related to a military stronghold or power and strength in military issues concerning the Syro-Palestine, adding a different attribute of the god.²²¹⁰ The god Hauron is regarded as a protector deity, who defends his worshippers from evil, illness and other harmful issues.²²¹¹ Reshef is considered as a healing god, as there are requests for good life, which indicates another attribute of the god in the lower ranks. His healing attributes are confirmed also in the triad stele, where he is accompanied by Qadesh and Min. The goddess Qadesh is holding snakes, which also symbolize health and healing. In the lower rank, a different role of Astarte has been demonstrated. Astarte is associated with the security of joy and happiness, enriching the aspect of Tazawa, who supported that Astarte is a protector deity of the sea traders.²²¹² Anat also appears as a goddess who can guarantee prosperity and health, while the attributes of the goddess Qadesh are associated with the security of health by the support of magic.

The intercultural interconnections, which are expressed through the aspect of Staubli, affected Egyptian polytheism, adding Syro-Palestinian deities into the Egyptian pantheon. According to Staubli, the cultural interconnections between Egypt and the Levant, such as the products of each region, the different human abilities, the migration and travels, challenged Egypt to adopt the nature of the “other”.²²¹³ The present research indicates that the six Syro-Palestinian deities were acculturated with several Egyptian deities. The level of their acculturation can be demonstrated through mythology, iconography and their common

²²⁰⁹ Tazawa 2009, 145.

²²¹⁰ Tazawa suggested that Baal was a protector of the sea traders, see Tazawa 2009, 153.

²²¹¹ Tazawa 2009, 132.

²²¹² Tazawa 2009, 153.

²²¹³ Staubli 2016, 52.

attributes. Myths can not transfer messages, but can construct a disorderly experience for the listeners. The creation of a myth may be motivated by political or other reasons and serve religious propaganda (Astarte papyrus) or it can be recited (Anat-Seth in Anat Myth) and can be adopted by other cultures.²²¹⁴ More particularly, the iconographical traits and some attributes of the goddess Qadesh, such as the Hathoric headdress and her fertility attributes are similar to the attributes and characteristics of the goddess Hathor. Also, the magical attributes of Qadesh are associated with the attributes of the Egyptian deity Isis, which are mentioned in the mythological circle of Osiris-Isis. Last but not least, Qadesh is also acculturated with the Egyptian god Min through the form of a pluralistic triad, as the trinity “Qadesh-Min-Reshef” is based on the fertility attributes of these three deities, regarding them as “three in One”.²²¹⁵ The warrior character of the goddesses Astarte and Anat is shared with Bastet and Sekhmet, who are also described as bloodthirsty and protector deities, while the god Reshef is connected with Seth. These two deities share the same iconographical traits, such as the White crown with a gazelle and the same titles, such as “ruler of the divine Ennead” and “lord of the sky”. Lastly, Reshef and Seth share the same attributes, as both of them are connected with the protection of life, healing and warrior attributes. Another deity, which managed to acculturate into the Egyptian pantheon, is Hauron. The god is related to Horemakhet. This identification demonstrates that Hauron adjusted to the Heliopolitan theology, through his association with Horemakhet by the Egyptian authority to reinforce the power of the sun god Ra. The god Shed is associated with Hauron, as both deities are regarded as protector deities and they are connected with Horus. Another association has been demonstrated also in the case of Baal. The god Baal is connected with Ra, as in the story of Baal Cycle from Ugarit, Baal vanquishes Yam.²²¹⁶ At the same time, in the Egyptian version, Baal is the hero deity, who manages to kill Yam and protect the Ennead. He was the ideal candidate for this role, as he is regarded as the vanquisher of Apophis.²²¹⁷ The god Baal is also connected with the god Amun. The presence of Seth-Baal with Amun in several stelae indicates his acculturation into the solar religion and his attribute as a protector of the sacred bark from Apophis.

The main goal of this thesis is the examination of the places of their worship in Egypt. The relevant archaeological material and textual sources, which have been gathered, indicate

²²¹⁴ Pehal 2010, 251.

²²¹⁵ Tazawa 2009, 167.

²²¹⁶ KTU 1.1 – 1.2; Smith 1994, 81-180.

²²¹⁷ Te Velde 1977, 99-109.

new places of origin and enrich the previous studies of Tazawa,²²¹⁸ and Cornelius²²¹⁹ with new published and unpublished archaeological material from Egypt.

The archaeological material of Qadesh originated from the regions of Deir el-Medina and Memphis.²²²⁰ However, the new archaeological material added more regions such as Ugarit, El-Kebire, Gezer, Tell Beit Mirsim, Tell Harasim, Beth Shemesh, Jericho, Lachish, Tell Zakhariya, Meggido, Tell el-Hesy, Tell Zafit, Timnah, Aphek, Uluburun, Minet el-Beida and Akko.²²²¹

In the case of Reshef, Tazawa stated that the archaeological material of the god is originated from the regions such as Deir el-Medina, Athribis, Memphis, El Sebu'a, Qantir, Tell Gezer, Beth Shan, Western Thebes and Zagazig,²²²² but the added material originated also from the regions of Deir el- Balah, Minet el-Beida, and El-Simbillawein.²²²³

Tazawa included also the regions Beirut, Tell el-Fara'h, Tell el-Yahudiya, Byblos, Buhen, Deir el-Balah, Saqqara, Medinet Habu, Tell Qasile, Serabit el- Khadim, Thebes, Nabesha, Ras Shamra, Memphis, Qantir, Matmar and Tanis as a place of origin for the archaeological material of Baal.²²²⁴ However, the added archaeological material demonstrates also the places Jaffa, Tell Basta, El-Badari, Saft el-Hinna, Gebel Murr, Tell Nebi Mend, Beth Shean, Dotan, Bethel, Tell Keisan, Beth Shemesh, and Geser as the newly added places of origin.²²²⁵

Another result of the present doctoral research is the new chronological definition of the importation of these deities into the Egyptian pantheon during the Late Bronze Age. Based on the stela of Ahmose, the first description of the attributes of Baal, such as 'rainstorm,' 'snow,' 'storm', 'clouds' are recorded. The meteorological phenomena of Near Eastern texts clearly attribute to Baal the power over clouds, storms and lightning, and describe his manifestation in his thundering voice.²²²⁶ This aspect vitiates the aspects of Helck²²²⁷ and Tazawa,²²²⁸ who supported that the first manifestations and records of them are under the reign of Thutmose III.

²²¹⁸ Tazawa 2009.

²²¹⁹ Cornelius 2004; 1994.

²²²⁰ Tazawa 2009, 110.

²²²¹ See subchapter 3.1.

²²²² Tazawa 2009, 106.

²²²³ See subchapter 5.1.

²²²⁴ Tazawa 2009, 105.

²²²⁵ See chapter 4.1.

²²²⁶ Schneider 2010, 406.

²²²⁷ Helck 1971, 446.

²²²⁸ Tazawa 2009, 137.

Despite the fact that the present research managed to examine the six Syro-Palestinian deities, which entered the Egyptian pantheon and study several aspects of the importation and acculturation of these deities in Egypt during the Late Bronze Age, the theme of Syro-palestinian deities includes other research topics, which can be identified as a promising area for additional research.

A first, and highly important topic for research is the examination of the continuation of these deities in the late New Kingdom until the end of the Third Intermediate Period. It would be interesting to study if these deities maintained their roles and attributes in the political and diplomatic field or they disappeared from the political scenes after the ultimate collapse of the Egyptian empire. There is also a lack of research on the worship of these deities. It is necessary to examine if these six deities continued to be worshipped by the pharaohs and the ordinary people until the end of the Third Intermediate Period. Another question for further research is related to the acculturation of these deities with the Egyptian gods. It would be useful to investigate if there is more evidence for the identification of these six Syro-Palestinian deities with Egyptian gods, through mythology, magical spells, reliefs and autobiographical texts, and to explore if the term “syncretism” can be applied in the Third Intermediate Period. Additionally, is it possible for the aforementioned research questions to be interpreted under the prism of the proposed model of the present research or there is a need for a new theory, which can justify the appearance of these deities during the Late period?

Another potentially fruitful area of research would be the foreign deities as travelers in Late Bronze Age Egypt. This topic is also associated with political authority, as foreign deities are considered an ultimate tool of diplomacy and due to their attributes they can be identified with the other deities. The theme of traveling gods can give us a glimpse of the reasons for the gods’ travels, such as diplomatic marriage, healing, oath and treaty.

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Appendix

Baal



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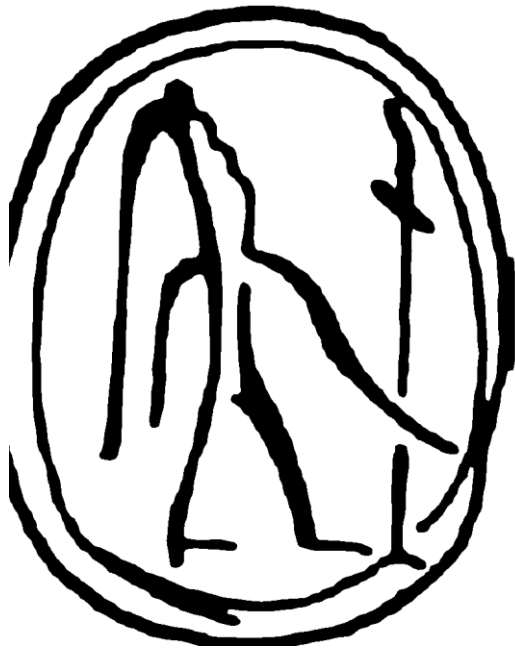
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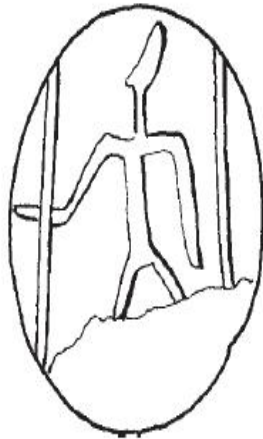
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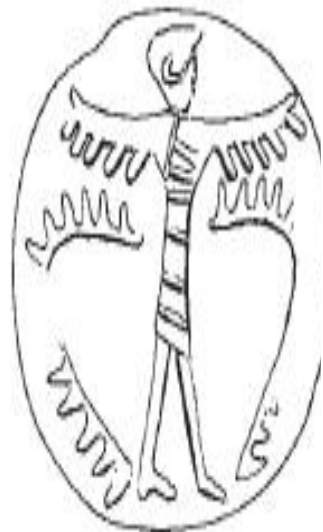
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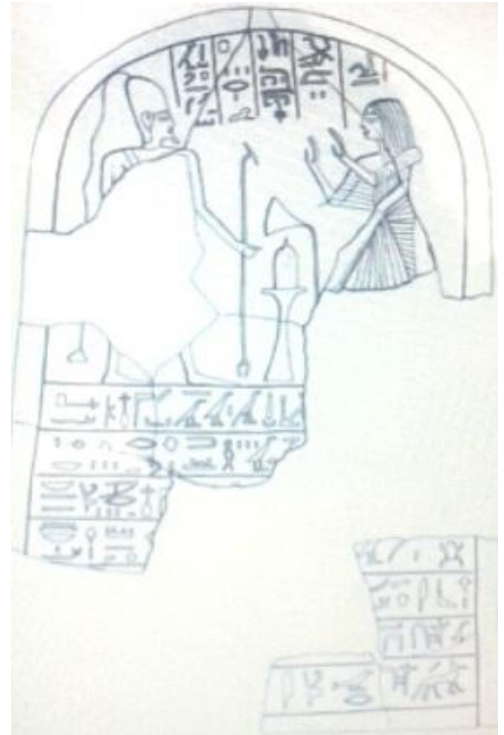
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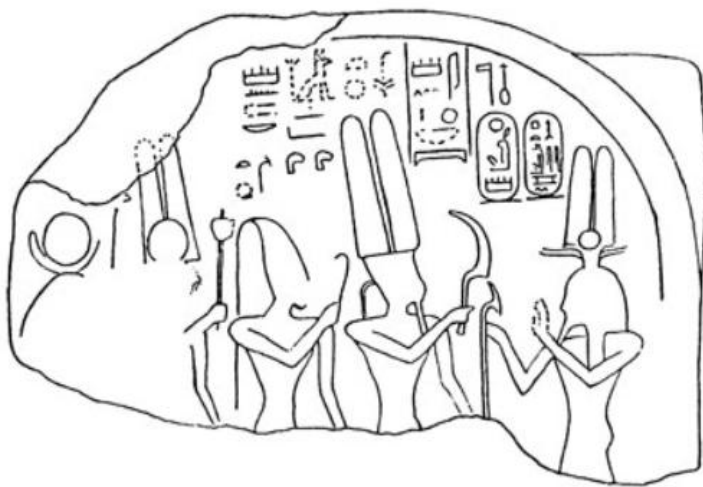
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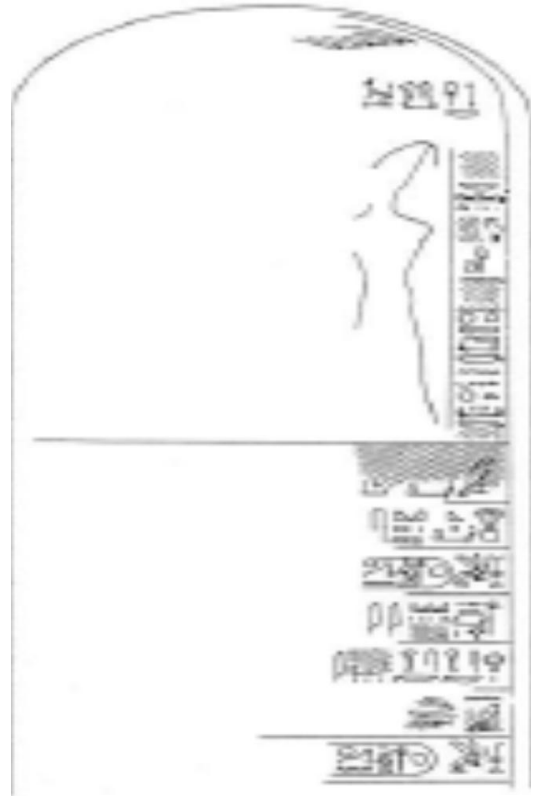
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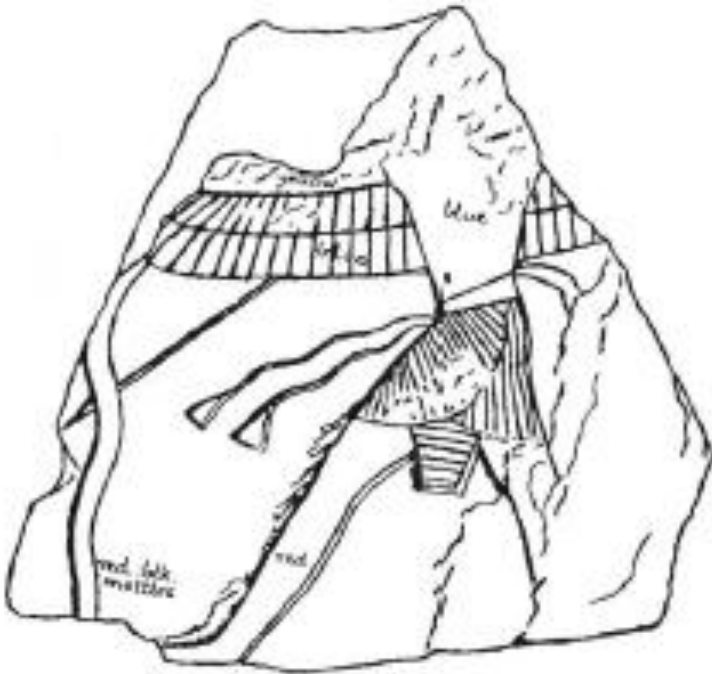
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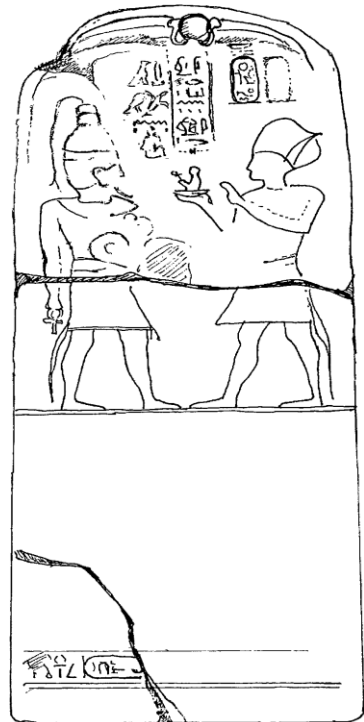
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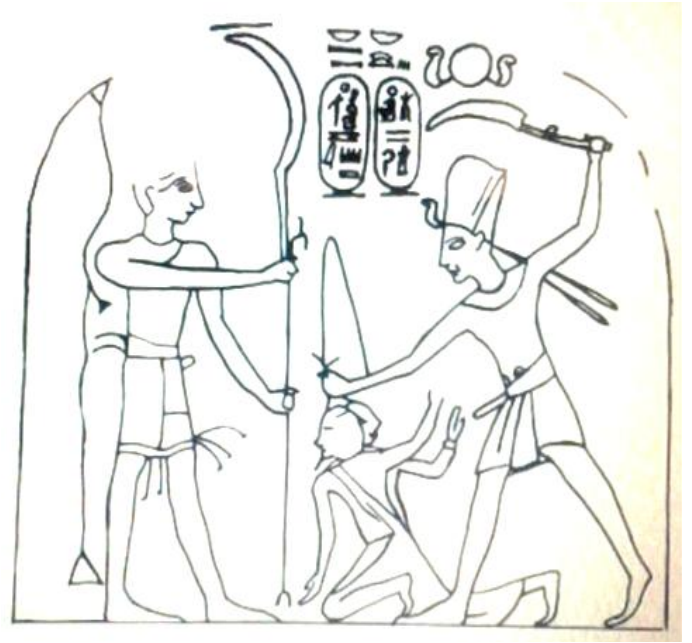
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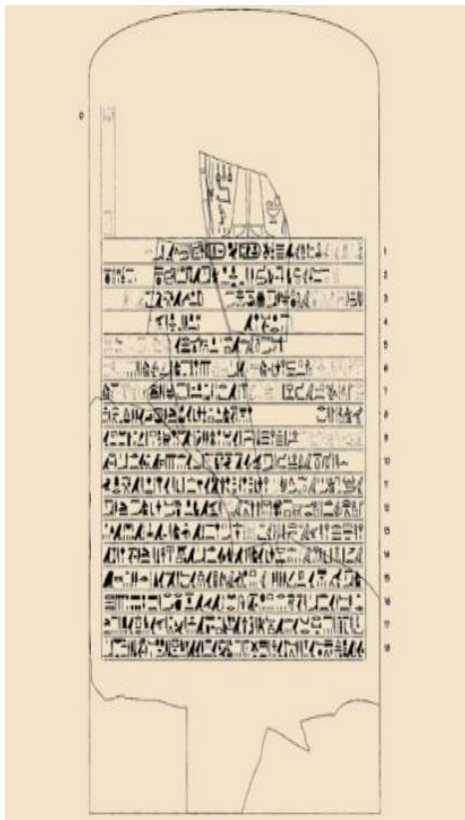
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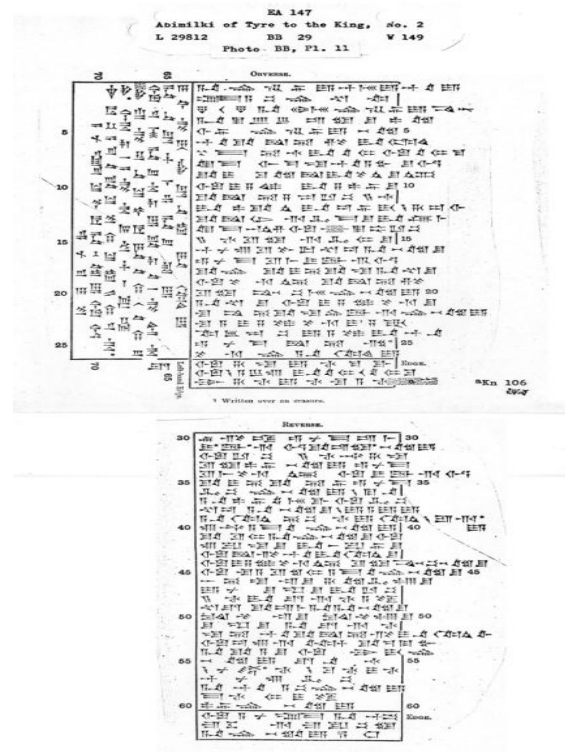
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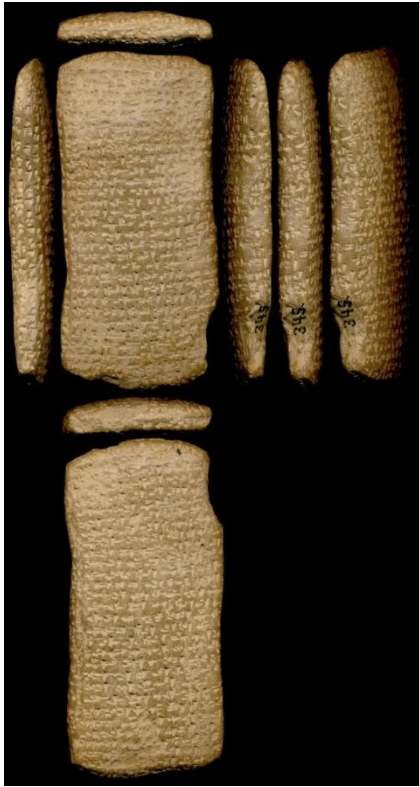
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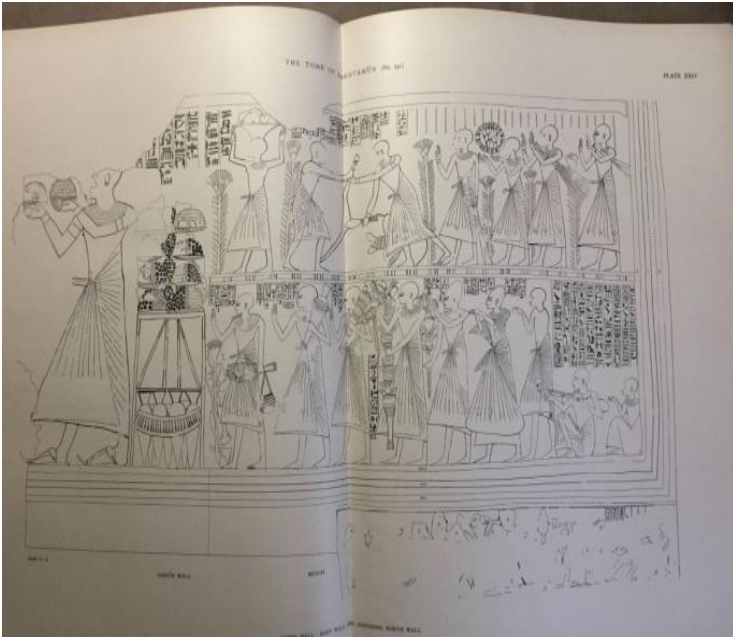
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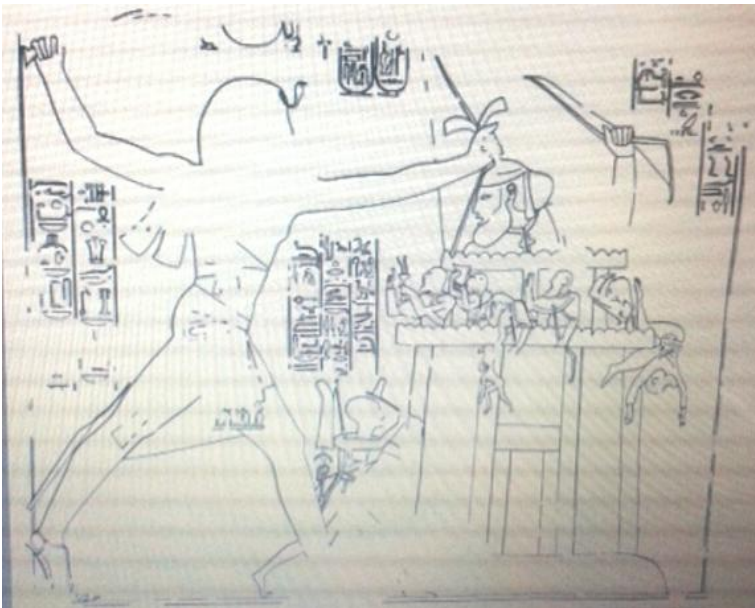
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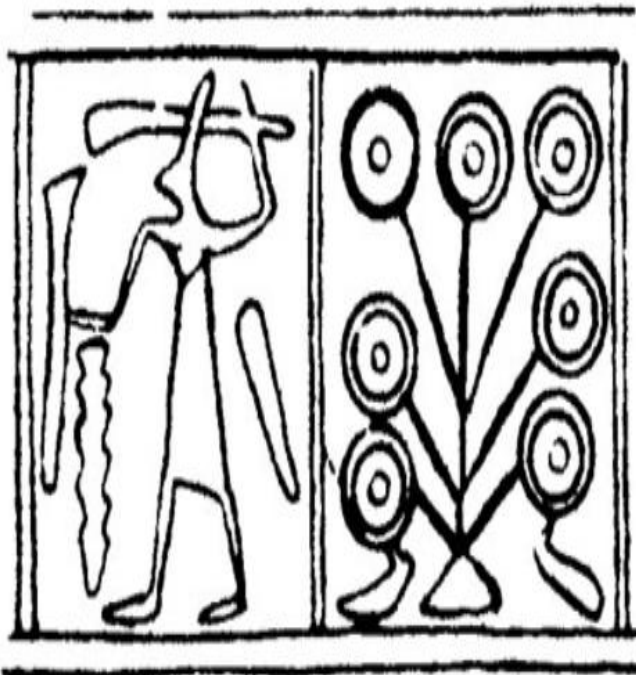
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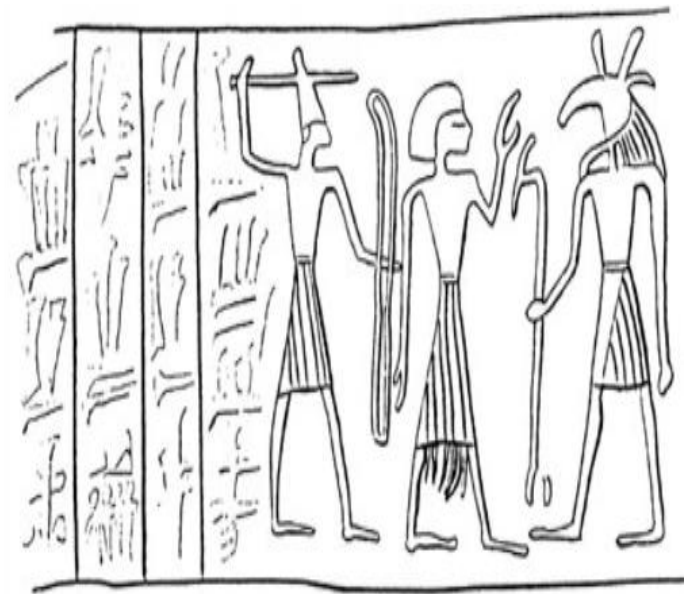
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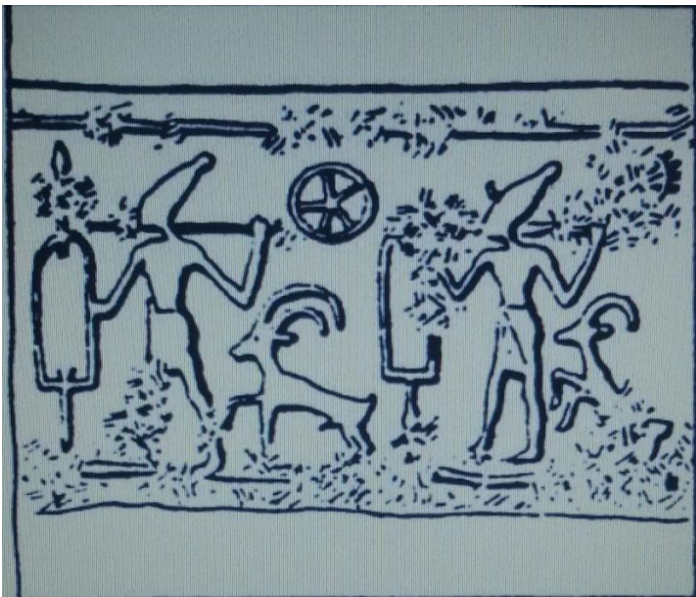
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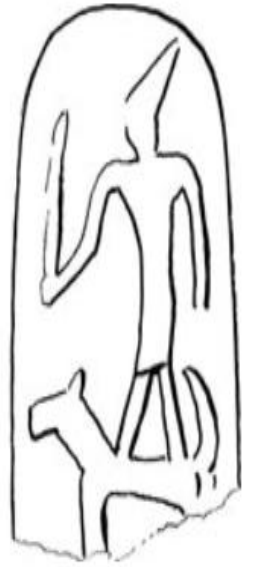
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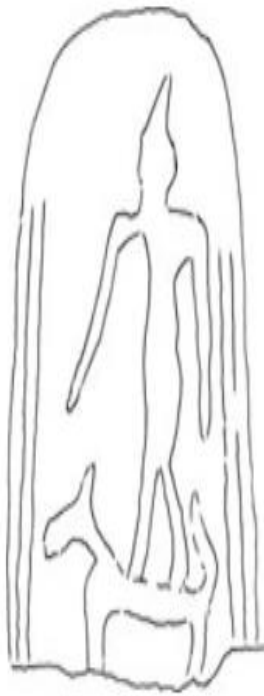
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RR1



RR2



RR3



RR4



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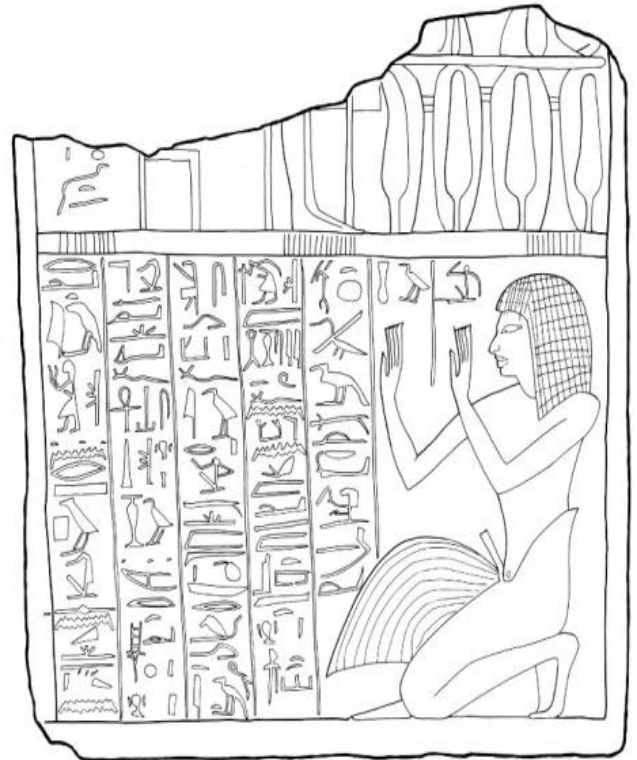
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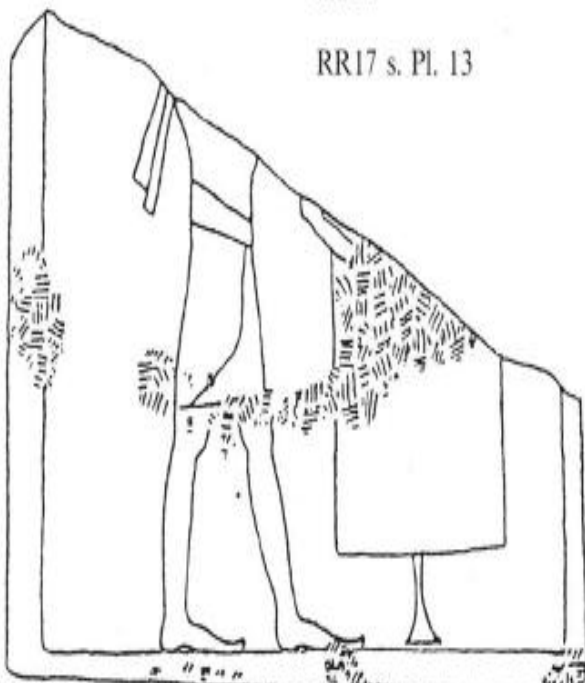
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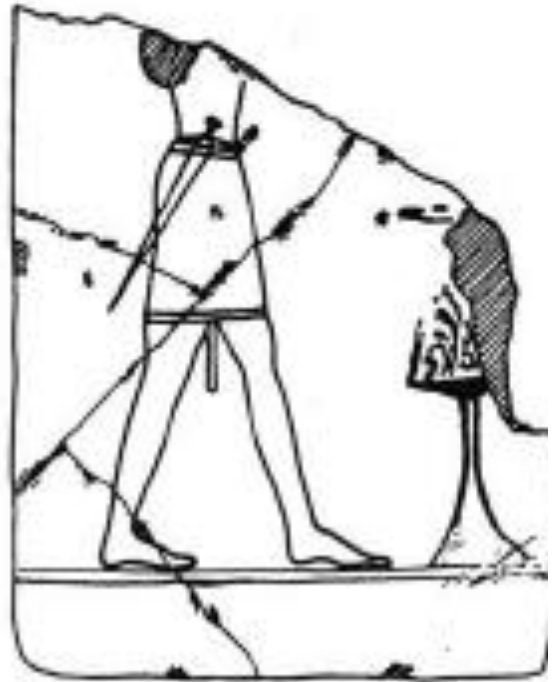
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RR33



RR19a

RR19b

RR34



RR22

RR35



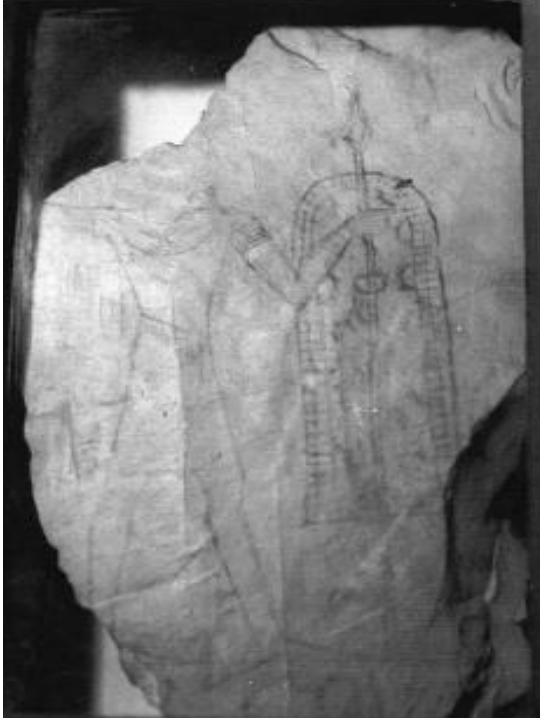
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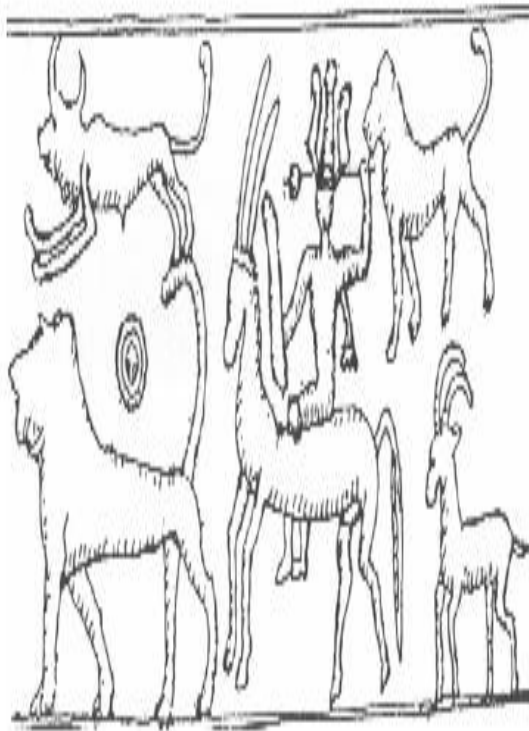
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ASR1



ASR2



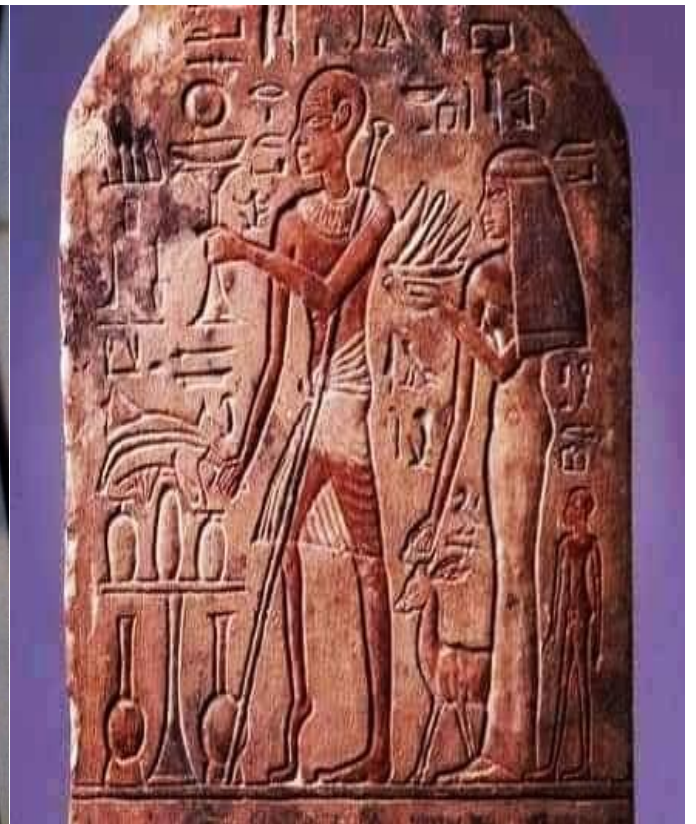
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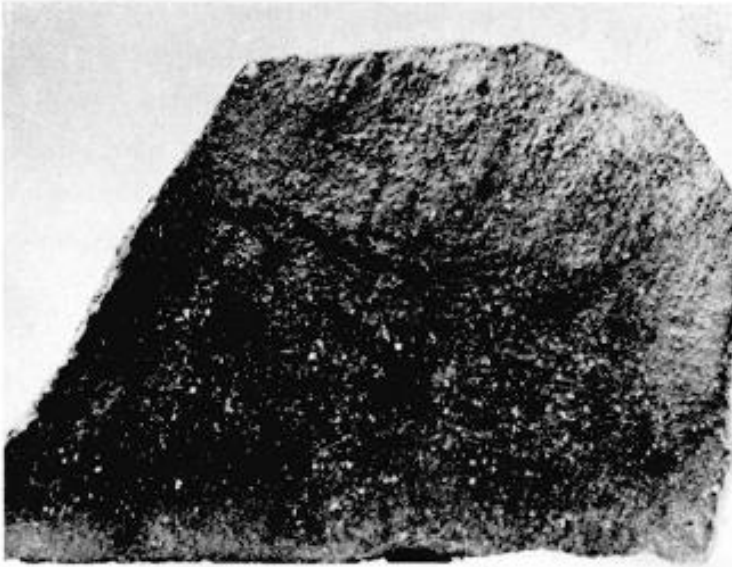
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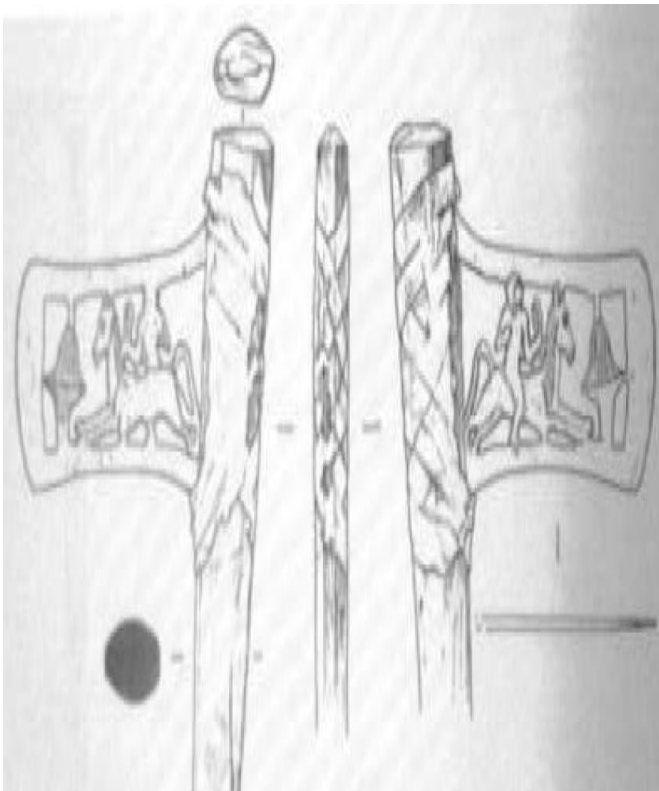
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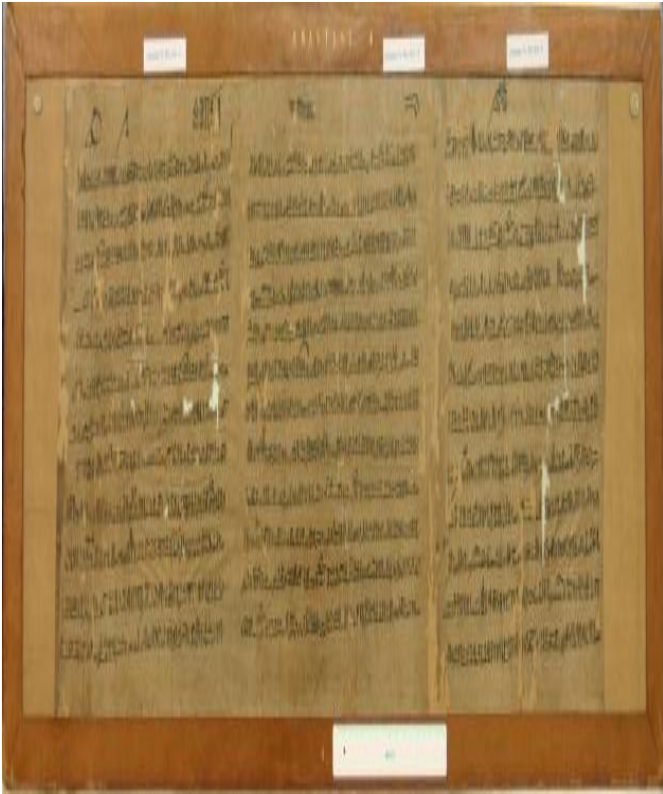
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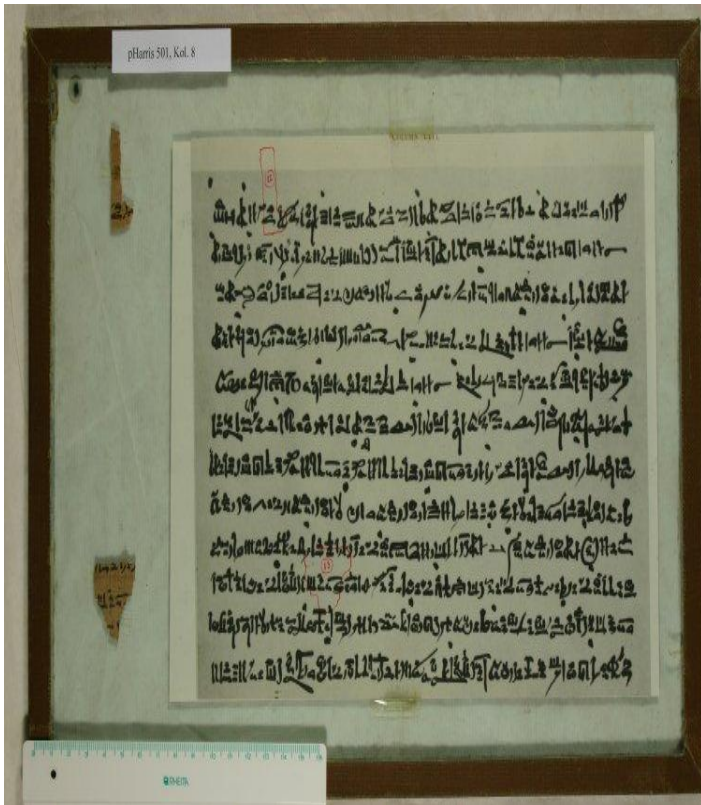
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ASP1



ASP2



ASP4

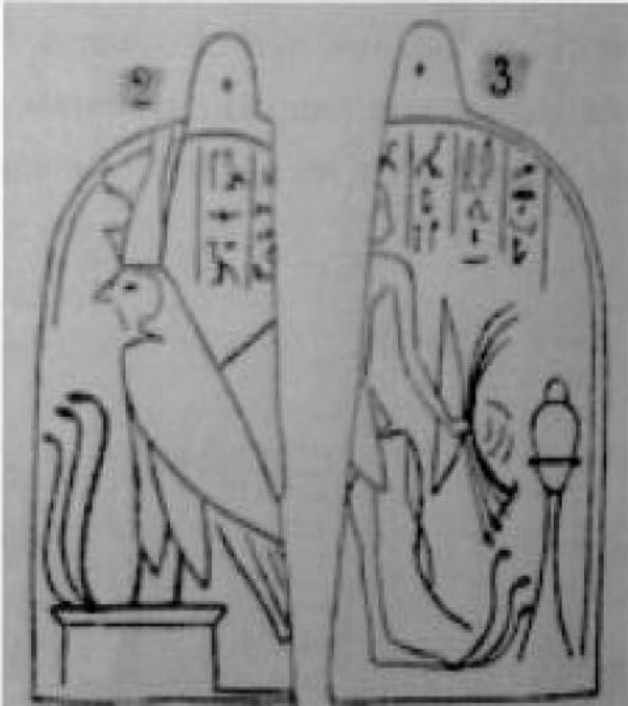


ASV1



AST1

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HR1



HR2



HR4



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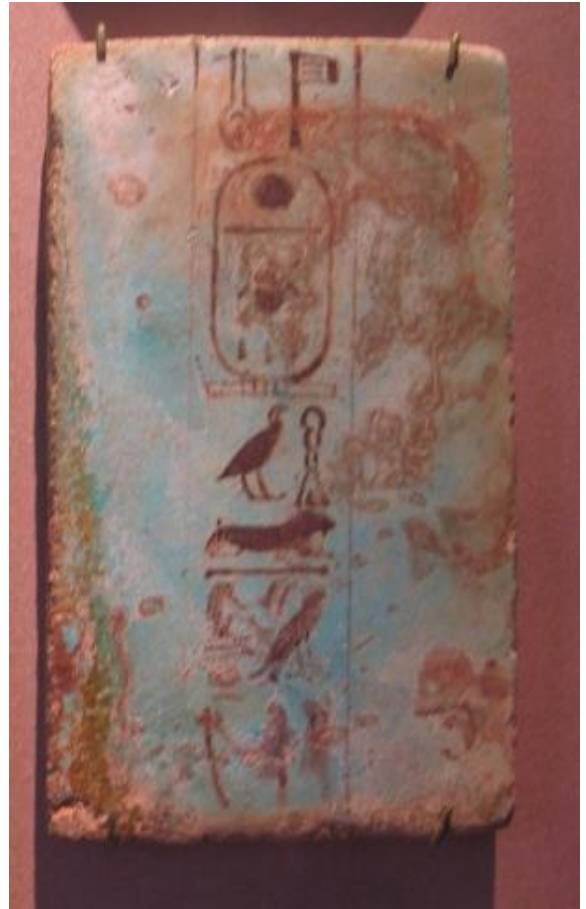
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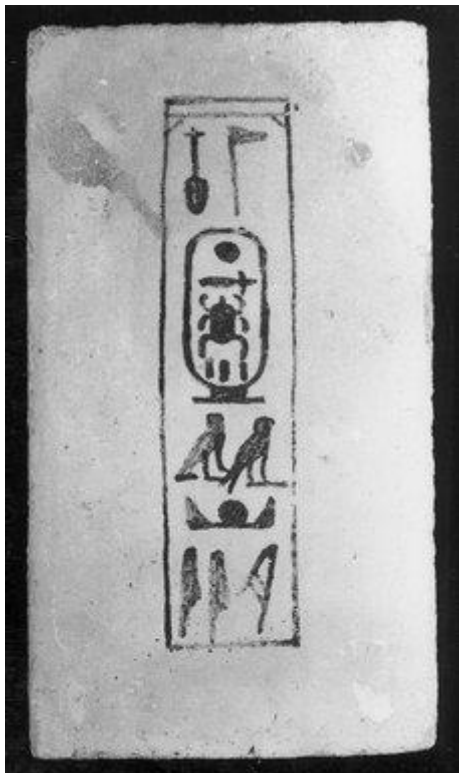
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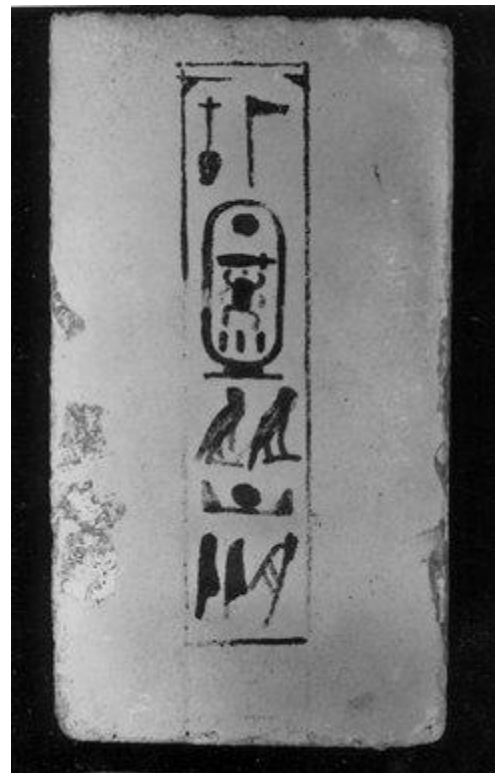
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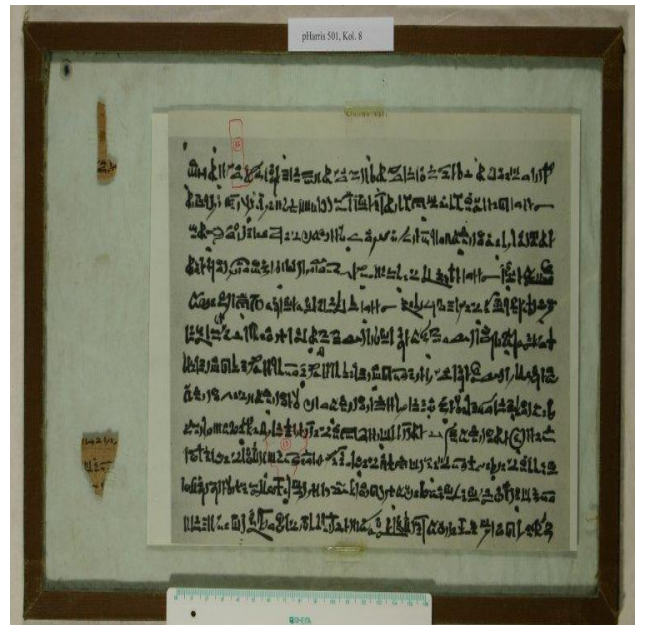
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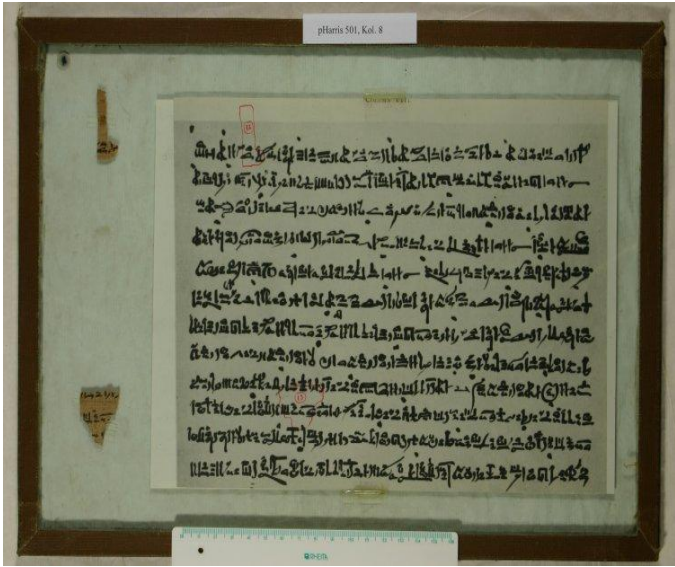
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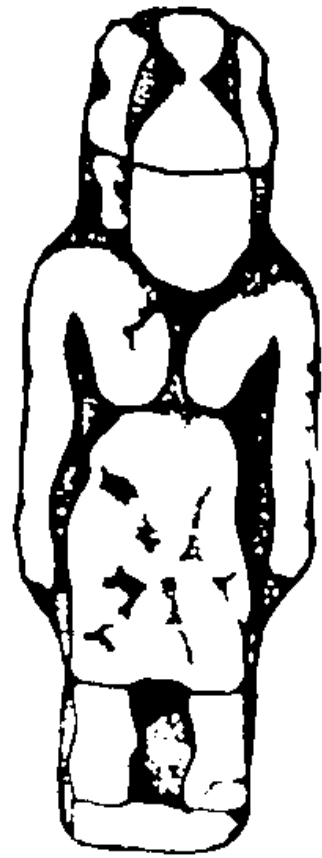


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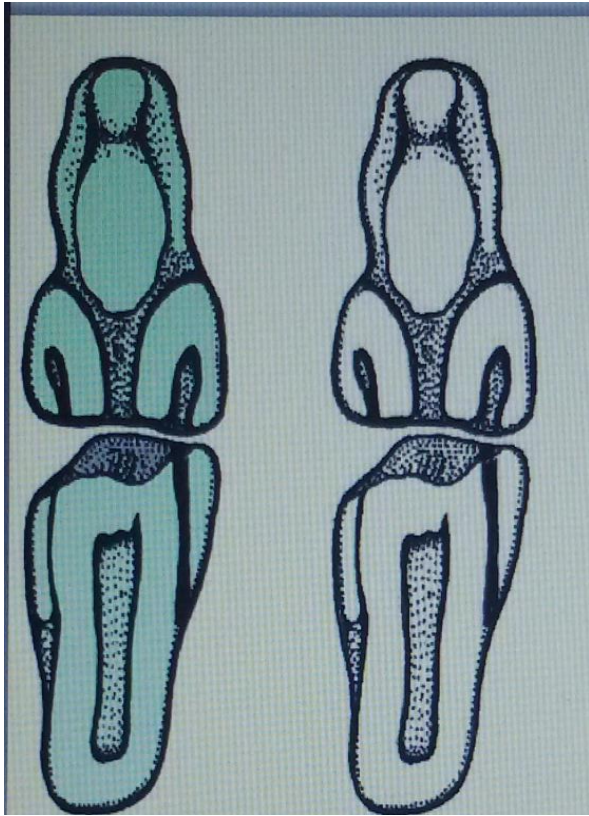
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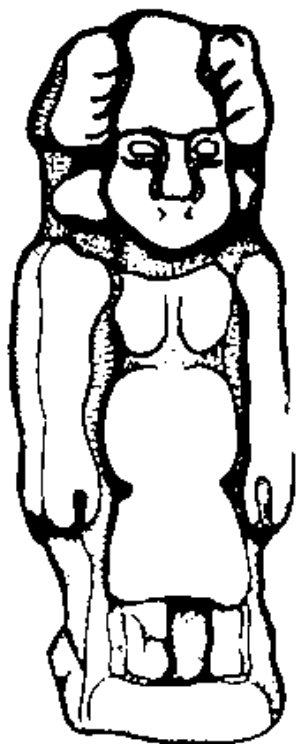
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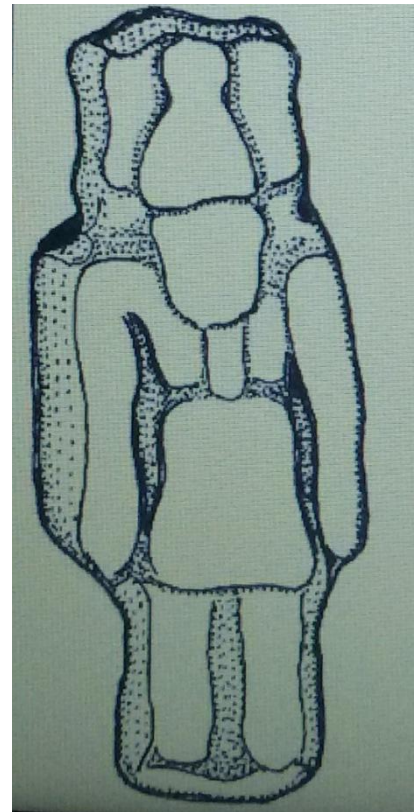
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AM6



AM7



AB1



AB2



AS1



AS2



AR1



AR2



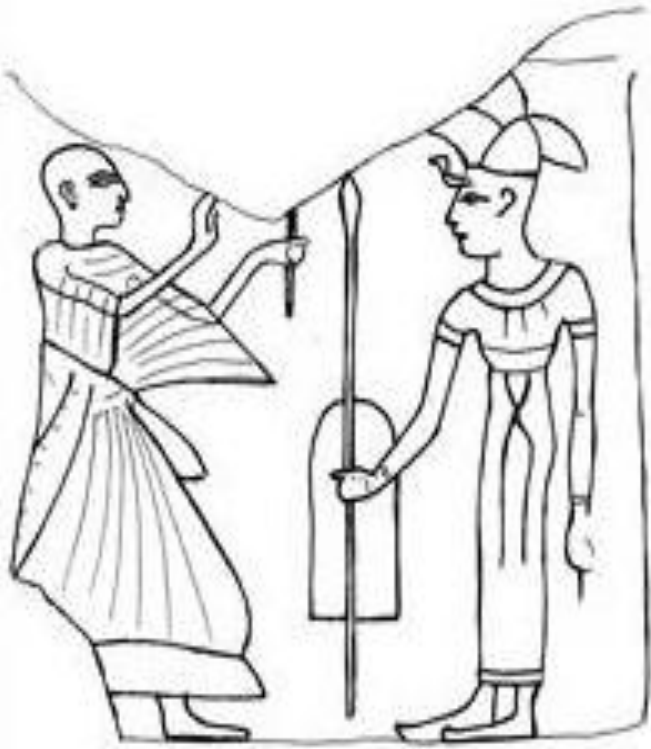
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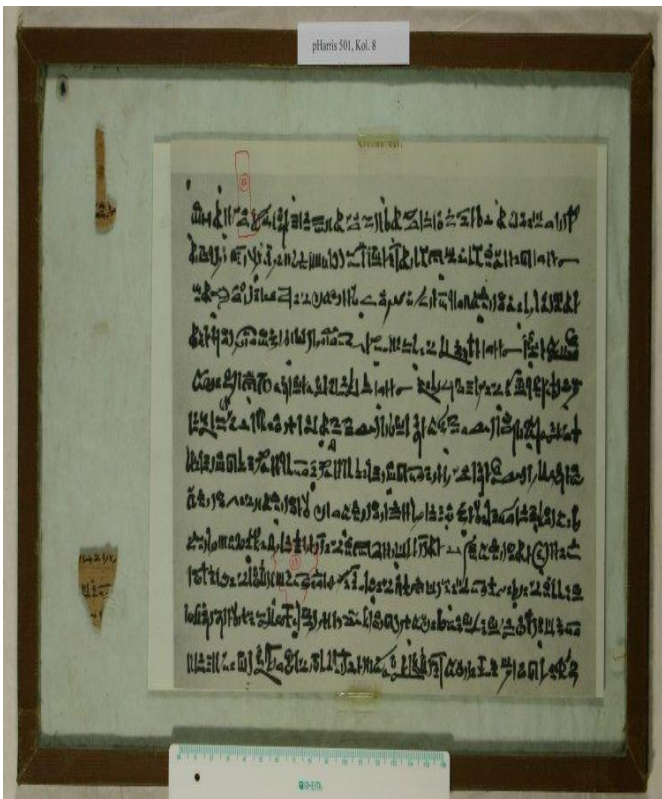
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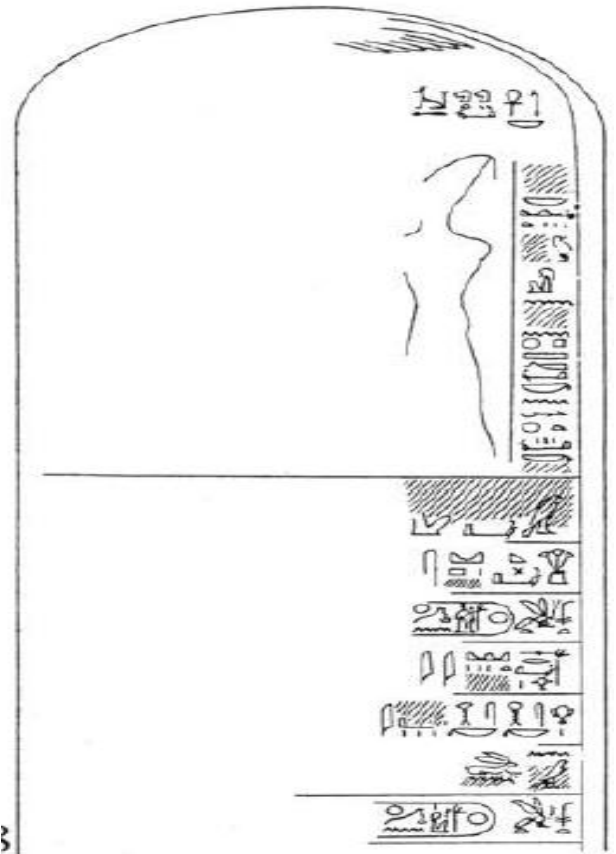
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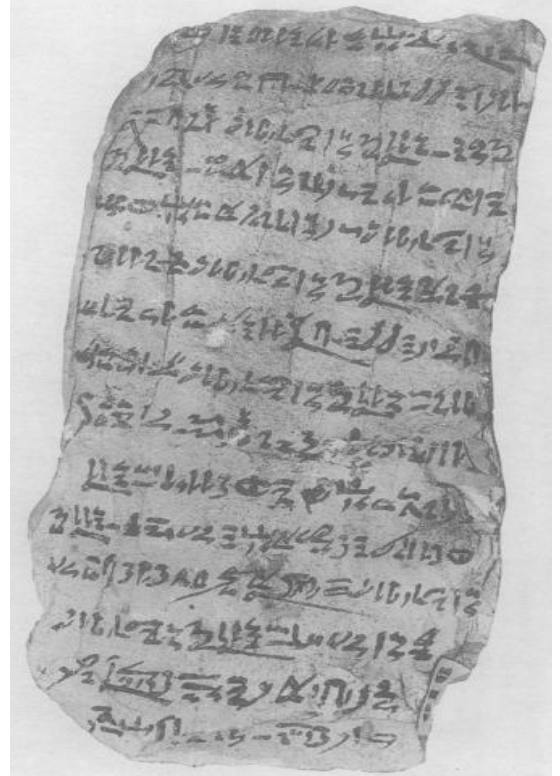
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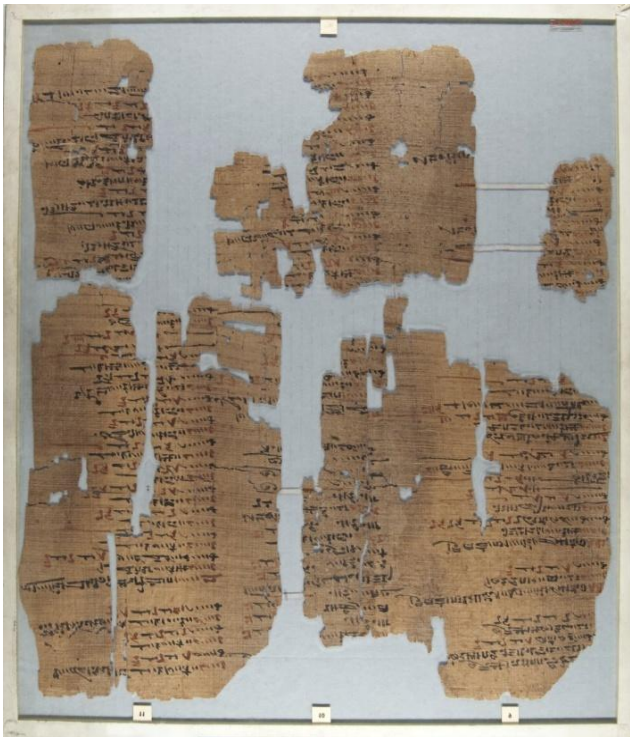
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AN9



AN11



AN13



AN14



AN15 (I)



AN15 (II)



AN15 (III)



AN15 (IV)



AN15 (V)



AN15 (VI)



AN15 (VII)



AN15 (VIII)



AN15 (IX)



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AN15 (XI)



AN15 (XII)



AN15 (XIII)



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AN15 (XV)



AN15 (XVI)



AN15 (XVII)



AN15 (XVIII)



AN15 (XIX)



AN15 (XX)



AN15 (XXI)

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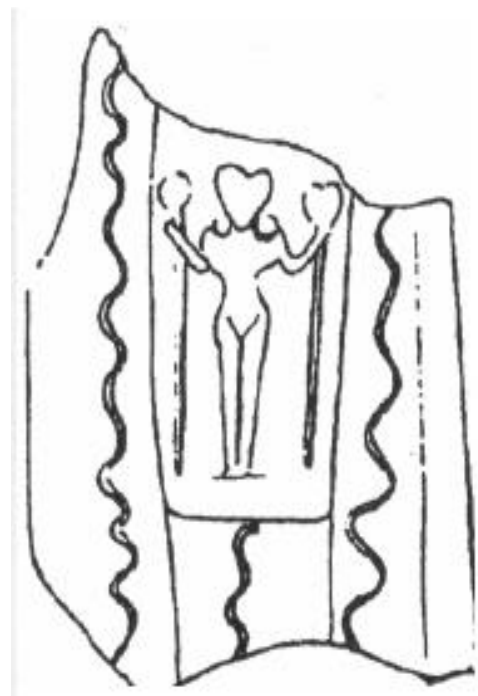
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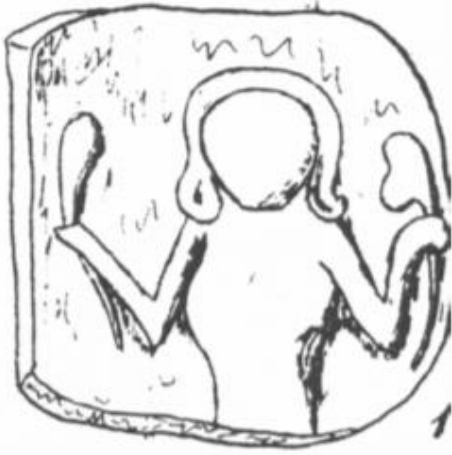
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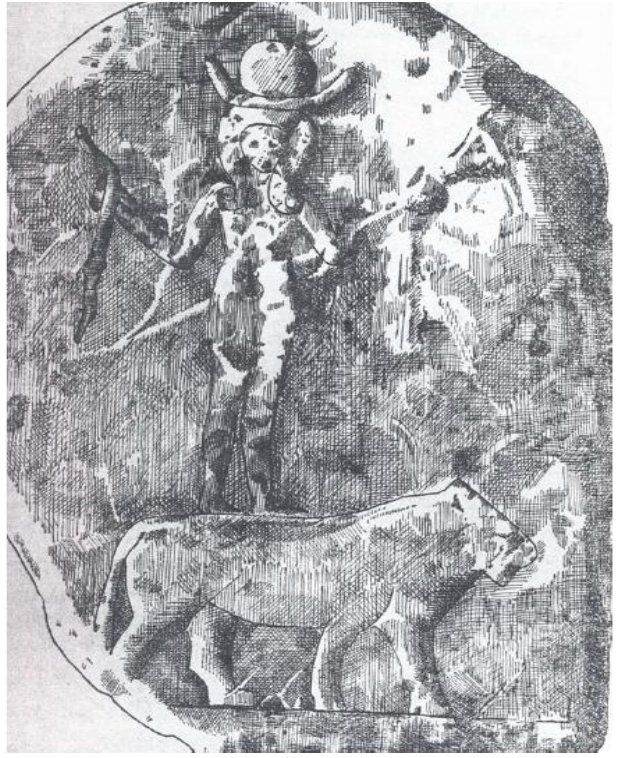
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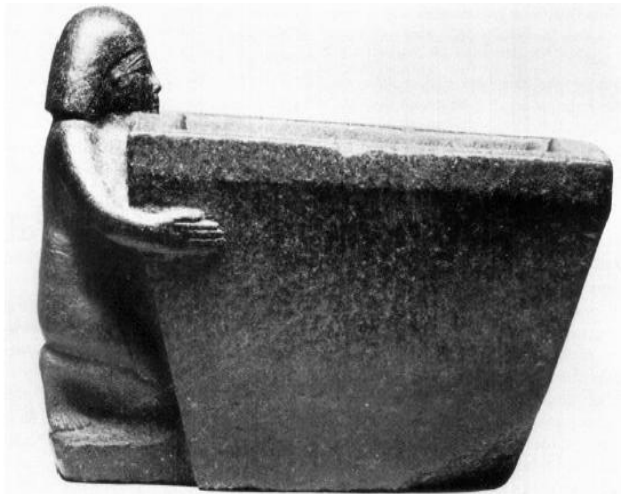
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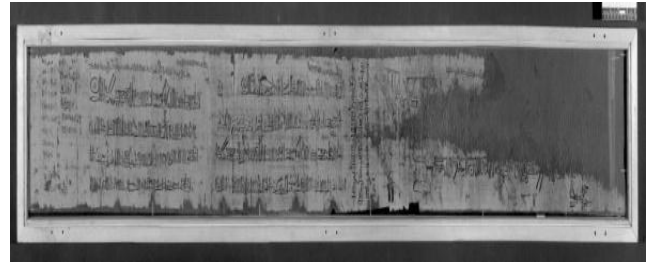
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