

ICONOGRAPHIC MOTIFS FROM
PALESTINE/ISRAEL AND DANIEL 7:2-14

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DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that the work contained in this thesis is my own original work and has not previously in its entirety or in part been submitted at any university for a degree.



Signature

15/10/92

Date

OPSOMMING

Hierdie proefskrif is 'n ikonografiese studie van die motiewe van die see, die leeu, vierke, horings en die wese op die troon in die ikonografie van Palestina/Israel met verwysing na die visioen in Dan. 7:2-14. Die proefskrif begin met 'n gedetailleerde navorsingsgeskiedenis van die voorgestelde invloede onderliggend aan die visioen van Dan. 7. Twee belangrike resultate blyk uit die navorsingsgeskiedenis: (1) die Ou Testamentiese en Kanaänitiese mitologie is die twee populêrste voorgestelde invloede; (2) ikonografiese verwysings is gewoonlik nie op gedetailleerde ikonografiese studies gebaseer nie.

Meer as 10 000 ikonografiese voorwerpe uit Palestina/Israel wat uit 1750-333 v.C. dateer, is ondersoek. Moontlik relevante motiewe is tydens omvattende ondersoeke uitgesoek vir 'n katalogus waarin hulle beskryf en ontleed is. Daarna is die ikonografiese resultate kortliks met die Ou Testament gekontrasteer. Ten slotte is die ikonografiese resultate met die beeldspraak in Dan. 7 vergelyk.

Die ikonografiese motief van die mitologiese chaossee het geen direkte invloed op Dan. 7 gehad nie. Daar is vasgestel dat die gevleuelde leeu van Dan. 7 verskeie konsepte oordra. Die leeu as simbool vir 'n koning (koninkryk) weerspieël die motief van die farao as leeu maar kan ook op 'n kosmologiese stryd dui. Die regop houding van die leeu in Dan. 7:4 is geïdentifiseer as 'n spesifieke verwysing na die leeu soos hy in die Mesopotamiese ikonografie oorwin word. Die vierke beeld die volgende denkbeelde uit of is daaraan verwant: Die verbete aanval van 'n roofvoël, die stryd in 'n kosmologiese konteks, en 'n aanduiding van 'n demoniese aard. Die konsep van 'n gevaarlike gevleuelde dierlike wese kom van Mesopotamië. Teen die agtergrond dat vierke 'n demoniese aard kan aandui, kan 'n verwysing na Dan. 4:29-34 nie uitgesluit word nie.

Ikonografies relevante motiewe vir die horings van die vierde dier is koninklike heerskappy, die kosmologiese stryd tussen goed en kwaad, die demoniese aard van die dier met horings, en die horing as simbool wat 'n goddelike wese identifiseer, wat dus ook die idee kan uitdruk dat die enkele horing van die vierde dier nie slegs God opponeer nie, maar ook die voorregte van die goddelike $\mu\omicron\nu\omicron\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omega\tau\omicron\varsigma$ (LXX), "eenhoring", opeis (vgl. Num. 23:22, 24:8 en 2 Sam. 22:3).

Die motief van die wese op die troon in die tweede deel van die visioen het die volgende resultate gelewer: eerstens is daar – buiten vir 'n enkele uitsondering – geen uitbeelding wat 'n godheid op 'n troon kan verteenwoordig in die konteks van 'n oordeel op kosmiese vlak wat die straf van 'n lewensgevaarlike dier betrek nie. Sulke beeldspraak is egter wel in Mesopotamië bekend. Tweedens toon die "Oue van dae" van Dan. 7 besonder sterk ooreenkomste met die voorstellings van die bebaarde wese op die troon in die ikonografie van die 8ste en 7de eeue. Derdens kon 'n direkte verband tussen die gevleuelde wiel op die Yehud *drachma* en die "Oue van dae" se troon met wiele nie aangetoon word nie. Laastens word die assosiasie van vuur met die troon nie in die ikonografie van Palestina/Israel gereflekteer nie.

ABSTRACT

This dissertation is an iconographic study of the motifs of the sea, lion, wings, horns, and the enthroned in the iconography of Palestine/Israel with reference to the vision of Dan 7:2-14. The dissertation starts with a detailed research history on proposed influences underlying the vision of Dan 7. Two basic results emerge from the research history: (1) the OT and Canaanite mythology are the two most popular suggested influences; (2) iconographic references were generally not based on detailed iconographic studies.

The iconographic study's design is as follows: More than 10'000 iconographic objects from Palestine/Israel dating from 1750-333 BCE were investigated. In comprehensive surveys of motifs possible relevant motifs were selected for a catalogue where they were described and analysed. Then the iconographic results were briefly contrasted with the OT. Finally the iconographic results were discussed in the light of the corresponding imagery of Dan 7.

The iconographic result relevant for the sea of Dan 7 is that iconographic motifs of the mythological chaos sea had no direct influence on Dan 7. The winged lion of Dan 7 was identified as conveying several concepts. The lion as symbol for a king(dom) reflects the motif of the pharaoh as lion but can also indicate a cosmological struggle. The upright posture of the lion of Dan 7:4 was identified as a specific reference to the rampant lion as it is subdued in Mesopotamian iconography. The wings express or are related to the following concepts: the fierce attack of a bird of prey, the struggle in a cosmological context, and as indicator of a demonic nature. The concept of a winged theriomorphic dangerous being derives from Mesopotamia. Against the background that wings can indicate a demonic nature a reference to Dan 4:29-34 cannot be excluded.

Iconographic relevant motifs for the horns of the fourth beast are royal domination, the cosmological struggle between good and evil, the demonic nature of the horned animal, and the horn as symbol which identifies a divine being and can therefore also express the notion that the single horn of the fourth beast is not only opposing God but also demanding the prerogatives of the divine μονοκέρωτος (LXX) "unicorn" (cf. Num 23:22;24:8 and 2 Sa 22:3).

The motif of the enthroned in the second part of the vision yielded the following results: first, with one exception there is no depiction which would represent an enthroned deity in the context of a judgement on a cosmic level involving the punishment of a life-threatening beast. Such imagery is known in Mesopotamia, however. Second, the "Ancient of days" of Dan 7 is strikingly similar to the conceptions of the bearded enthroned in the iconography of the 8th and 7th centuries. Third, a direct connection between the winged wheel on the Yehud drachm and the wheeled throne of the "Ancient of days" could not be established. Lastly, the association of fire with the throne is not reflected in the iconographic repertoire of Palestine/Israel.

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The study covers more than 10'000 objects, and I am indebted to Professor Othmar Keel for readily allowing me complete access to all the information regarding the seal-amulet file of the Biblical Institute at the University of Fribourg (BIF), Switzerland. The original rather narrow approach in terms of selected motifs expanded to include a whole array of additional motifs, thanks to his suggestions. On a personal note I would like to thank also for the kind hospitality at the BIF where I occupied for many months from morning to evening an always-busy office as well as for the open home where I could stay.

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Table of contents

1. INTRODUCTION	1
1.1. RELEVANCE.....	1
1.2. AIMS.....	4
1.3. CONSIDERATIONS ON THE RESEARCH DESIGN.....	7
1.3.1. <i>Research history</i>	7
1.3.2. <i>Geographical and chronological parameters and objects to be investigated</i>	8
1.3.3. <i>The basic design of the iconographic study</i>	11
1.3.3.1. The selected iconographic motifs.....	11
1.3.3.2. The horizontal approach by a survey of motifs.....	12
1.3.3.3. The vertical approach by a catalogue of possible relevant motifs.....	14
1.3.4. <i>Points of contact with the Old Testament</i>	15
1.3.5. <i>Conclusion</i>	16
1.4. WAYS TO ACCESS THE INFORMATION CONTAINED IN THIS STUDY.....	16
2. RESEARCH HISTORY ON THE INFLUENCES AND TRADITIONS UNDERLYING THE VISION OF DAN 7:2-14	18
2.1. INTRODUCTION.....	18
2.2. THE MOTIFS OF THE SEA, THE FOUR WINDS, AND THE FOUR BEASTS (VERSES 2-8).....	22
2.2.1. <i>Babylonian influence</i>	22
2.2.2. <i>Greek influence</i>	28
2.2.3. <i>Canaanite influence</i>	30
2.2.4. <i>Astrological influence</i>	36
2.2.5. <i>Phoenician influence</i>	39
2.2.6. <i>Iranian influence</i>	40
2.2.7. <i>Egyptian influence</i>	40
2.2.8. <i>Treaty curse imagery influence</i>	41
2.2.9. <i>Birth omen influence</i>	42
2.2.10. <i>Vision of the Netherworld</i>	44
2.2.11. <i>Old Testament influence</i>	48
2.2.11.1. The different uses of Old Testament passages.....	49
2.2.11.2. The most cited Old Testament parallels to Dan 7:2-8.....	55
2.2.12. <i>Iconographic influence</i>	61
2.2.12.1. Lion.....	61
2.2.12.2. Bear.....	64
2.2.12.3. Leopard.....	66
2.2.12.4. Fourth Beast.....	68
2.3. THE MOTIFS OF THE JUDGEMENT SCENE, THE "ANCIENT OF DAYS", AND THE "SON OF MAN" (VERSES 9-14).....	75
2.3.1. <i>Babylonian influence</i>	75
2.3.2. <i>Canaanite influence</i>	78
2.3.3. <i>Iranian influence</i>	92
2.3.4. <i>Indian influence</i>	99
2.3.5. <i>Astrological influence</i>	100
2.3.6. <i>Greek influence</i>	102
2.3.7. <i>Egyptian influence</i>	102
2.3.8. <i>Tyrian influence</i>	103
2.3.9. <i>Syro-Palestinian influence</i>	105
2.3.10. <i>Vision of the Netherworld</i>	106
2.3.11. <i>Old Testament influence</i>	109
2.3.11.1. Traditio-historical explanations of the "son of man".....	110
2.3.11.1.1. Messiah.....	110
2.3.11.1.2. Angelic being.....	114
2.3.11.1.3. The people of Israel.....	116

	2.3.11.1.4. The glory of Yahweh	117
	2.3.11.1.5. Adam	119
2.3.11.2.	Structural traditio-historical explanations of Dan 7:9-14.....	120
	2.3.11.2.1. The Israelite enthronement festival.....	120
	2.3.11.2.2. Psalm 89.....	121
	2.3.11.2.3. Zion-David/four-empire/enemy-of-God traditions.....	123
	2.3.11.2.4. Ezekiel	124
2.3.11.3.	The most cited Old Testament parallels to Dan 7:9-14	127
2.3.12.	<i>Iconographic influence</i>	131
	2.3.12.1. The outward appearance of the "Ancient of days"	131
	2.3.12.2. The "Ancient of days" enthroned.....	133
	2.3.12.3. The throne of the "Ancient of days"	133
	2.3.12.4. The audience of the enthroned "Ancient of days".....	134
	2.3.12.5. The outward appearance of the "son of man"	134
	2.3.12.6. The "son of man" coming with clouds.....	134
	2.3.12.7. The investiture of the "son of man"	135
2.4.	CONCLUSION.....	136
3.	ICONOGRAPHIC MOTIFS RELATING TO THE VISION OF DAN 7	139
3.1.	THE GREAT SEA	145
3.1.1.	<i>Survey of motifs involving the weather god and the overcoming of life-threatening forces, particularly those associated with the sea</i>	147
	3.1.1.1. The weather god in the context of fertility.....	147
	3.1.1.2. The weather god and the bull	149
	3.1.1.3. The weather god with celestial connotations.....	150
	3.1.1.4. The weather god as protector	152
	3.1.1.5. The weather god (?) enthroned	152
	3.1.1.6. The weather god and the pharaoh.....	153
	3.1.1.7. The weather god in adoration scenes.....	153
	3.1.1.8. The weather god in combat against and as victor over life-threatening forces	154
	3.1.1.9. Seth in combat with the mythological life-threatening forces of the sea	156
	3.1.1.10. The crocodile as symbol for mythological life-threatening forces of the sea overcome by the lion and the Horus-type hero	157
3.1.2.	<i>Catalogue and analysis of possible relevant motifs</i>	160
	3.1.2.1. The weather god (and Seth) and the lion	162
	3.1.2.1.1. Catalogue.....	162
	3.1.2.1.2. Analysis.....	166
	3.1.2.1.3. Geographical and chronological distribution.....	169
	3.1.2.2. The weather god and the serpent.....	170
	3.1.2.2.1. Catalogue.....	170
	3.1.2.2.2. Analysis.....	171
	3.1.2.2.3. Geographical and chronological distribution.....	173
	3.1.2.3. The weather god and <i>Mischwesen</i>	174
	3.1.2.3.1. Catalogue.....	174
	3.1.2.3.2. Analysis.....	174
	3.1.2.3.3. Geographical and chronological distribution.....	176
	3.1.2.4. The crocodile overcome by the lion/pharaoh/rising sun	177
	3.1.2.4.1. Catalogue.....	177
	3.1.2.4.2. Analysis.....	179
	3.1.2.4.3. Geographical and chronological distribution.....	180
	3.1.2.5. The Horus-type hero as "master of crocodiles".....	181
	3.1.2.5.1. Catalogue.....	181
	3.1.2.5.2. Analysis.....	182
	3.1.2.5.3. Geographical and chronological distribution.....	184
3.1.3.	<i>Iconographic summary of the catalogue</i>	185

3.2. THE LION.....	189
3.2.1. <i>Survey of motifs involving the lion</i>	191
3.2.1.1. The lion in the sphere of the goddess.....	191
3.2.1.2. The lion attacking humans, horned animals, and crocodiles, as well as serving as a symbol for royal and divine power	193
3.2.1.3. The lion attacking a bull	198
3.2.1.4. The lion attacked/overcome by the weather god/bull.....	199
3.2.1.5. The lion attacked by the king.....	201
3.2.1.6. Mistress/master of lions.....	203
3.2.1.7. The guardian, statue base, and demon lion	205
3.2.1.8. The lion as element in Amun cryptography.....	207
3.2.1.9. The lion in animal scenes	208
3.2.1.10. The lone lion	209
3.2.2. <i>Catalogue and analysis of possible relevant motifs</i>	217
3.2.2.1. The attacking lion.....	219
3.2.2.1.1. The lion attacking a human	219
3.2.2.1.1.1. Catalogue.....	219
3.2.2.1.1.2. Analysis.....	222
3.2.2.1.1.3. Geographical and chronological distribution	224
3.2.2.1.2. The lion attacking a horned animal (and a human)	225
3.2.2.1.2.1. Catalogue	225
3.2.2.1.2.2. Analysis.....	232
3.2.2.1.2.3. Geographical and chronological distribution	236
3.2.2.1.3. The lion overcoming the crocodile	237
3.2.2.1.3.1. Catalogue.....	237
3.2.2.1.3.2. Analysis.....	238
3.2.2.1.3.3. Geographical and chronological distribution	240
3.2.2.2. The attacked and vanquished lion	241
3.2.2.2.1. The lion attacked and overcome by gods.....	241
3.2.2.2.1.1. Catalogue	241
3.2.2.2.1.2. Analysis.....	245
3.2.2.2.1.3. Geographical and chronological distribution	248
3.2.2.2.2. The lion attacked by the king/royal hero	249
3.2.2.2.2.1. Catalogue.....	249
3.2.2.2.2.2. Analysis.....	255
3.2.2.2.2.3. Geographical and chronological distribution	257
3.2.2.2.3. Mistress/master of lions.....	258
3.2.2.2.3.1. Catalogue.....	258
3.2.2.2.3.2. Analysis.....	261
3.2.2.2.3.3. Geographical and chronological distribution	263
3.2.2.3. The solitary roaring rampant lion	264
3.2.2.3.1. Catalogue.....	264
3.2.2.3.2. Analysis.....	264
3.2.2.3.3. Geographical and chronological distribution.....	266
3.2.3. <i>Iconographic summary of the catalogue</i>	267
3.3. THE WINGS	273
3.3.1. <i>Survey of motifs involving wings</i>	275
3.3.1.1. Winged gods/goddesses.....	275
3.3.1.2. Winged sphinxes	283
3.3.1.3. Winged griffins.....	289
3.3.1.4. Winged uraei.....	295
3.3.1.5. Single winged bulls	298
3.3.1.6. Master of winged animals/Mischwesen	299
3.3.1.7. Winged horses.....	301
3.3.1.8. Winged canide	302
3.3.1.9. Winged anthropomorphic figures (genii, heros, demons).....	302

3.3.1.10.	Winged theriomorphic figures (monsters, dragons)	306
3.3.2.	<i>Catalogue and analysis of possible relevant motifs</i>	309
3.3.2.1.	The winged Baal-Seth	312
3.3.2.1.1.	Catalogue	312
3.3.2.1.2.	Analysis	313
3.3.2.1.3.	Geographical and chronological distribution	316
3.3.2.2.	The aggressive griffin	317
3.3.2.2.1.	Catalogue	317
3.3.2.2.2.	Analysis	319
3.3.2.2.3.	Geographical and chronological distribution	322
3.3.2.3.	Winged bulls	323
3.3.2.3.1.	Catalogue	323
3.3.2.3.2.	Analysis	323
3.3.2.3.3.	Geographical and chronological distribution	325
3.3.2.4.	Master of winged animals	326
3.3.2.4.1.	Catalogue	326
3.3.2.4.2.	Analysis	327
3.3.2.4.3.	Geographical and chronological distribution	329
3.3.2.5.	Winged demons, heroes, and dragons involved in the struggle with life-threatening forces and the control of the cosmic order	330
3.3.2.5.1.	Catalogue	330
3.3.2.5.2.	Analysis	331
3.3.2.5.3.	Geographical and chronological distribution	333
3.3.3.	<i>Iconographic summary of the catalogue</i>	334
3.4.	THE HORNS	336
3.4.1.	<i>Survey of motifs involving horns</i>	338
3.4.1.1.	None-bovine horns/horned animals (Cervidae, Antilopinae, Caprinae)	338
3.4.1.1.1.	Horns and solitary horned animals	338
3.4.1.1.2.	Horned animals flanking a central tree	346
3.4.1.1.3.	Suckling horned animals	348
3.4.1.1.4.	Horned animals and a worshipper	350
3.4.1.1.5.	Horned animals in an astral context	350
3.4.1.1.6.	Horned animals hunted and attacked	352
3.4.1.1.7.	Master/mistress of horned animals	357
3.4.1.1.8.	Horned animals as symbol for might	359
3.4.1.2.	Bovine horns/animals	360
3.4.1.2.1.	Solitary bovines	360
3.4.1.2.2.	The bull and the weather god	362
3.4.1.2.3.	Attacking bovine animals	363
3.4.1.2.4.	Bovine animals attacked	365
3.4.1.2.5.	Master/mistress of bovine animals	365
3.4.1.2.6.	Suckling cows	366
3.4.1.2.7.	Bovine animals and the scorpion	367
3.4.1.2.8.	A human above a bull	368
3.4.1.2.9.	Bovine animals in an astral and solar context	369
3.4.1.3.	None-bovine and bovine horned animals together	369
3.4.1.4.	Goddesses/gods with horns and associated with horned animals	370
3.4.1.5.	Horned dragons, monsters, and demons	380
3.4.2.	<i>Catalogue and analysis of possible relevant motifs</i>	382
3.4.2.1.	Non-bovine horned animals	385
3.4.2.1.1.	The horned animal attacked by a human figure	385
3.4.2.1.1.1.	Catalogue	385
3.4.2.1.1.2.	Analysis	391
3.4.2.1.1.3.	Geographical and chronological distribution	393
3.4.2.1.2.	The horned animal attacked by the lion	394
3.4.2.1.2.1.	Catalogue	394
3.4.2.1.2.2.	Analysis	401

	3.4.2.1.2.3. Geographical and chronological distribution	403
3.4.2.1.3.	The horned animal attacked by a human and a lion.....	404
	3.4.2.1.3.1. Catalogue	404
	3.4.2.1.3.2. Analysis.....	405
	3.4.2.1.3.3. Geographical and chronological distribution	406
3.4.2.1.4.	The horned animal attacked by a griffin.....	407
	3.4.2.1.4.1. Catalogue	407
	3.4.2.1.4.2. Analysis.....	408
	3.4.2.1.4.3. Geographical and chronological distribution.....	409
3.4.2.1.5.	Master/mistress of horned animals	410
	3.4.2.1.5.1. Catalogue	410
	3.4.2.1.5.2. Analysis.....	412
	3.4.2.1.5.3. Geographical and chronological distribution	415
3.4.2.1.6.	The horned animal as symbol for might	416
	3.4.2.1.6.1. Catalogue	416
	3.4.2.1.6.2. Analysis.....	416
	3.4.2.1.6.3. Geographical and chronological distribution	418
3.4.2.2.	Bovine animals.....	419
3.4.2.2.1.	The bull and the aggressive weather god	419
	3.4.2.2.1.1. Catalogue	419
	3.4.2.2.1.2. Analysis.....	419
3.4.2.2.2.	Attacking bovine animals.....	419
	3.4.2.2.2.1. Catalogue	419
	3.4.2.2.2.2. Analysis.....	421
	3.4.2.2.2.3. Geographical and chronological distribution	423
3.4.2.3.	Horned gods/goddesses with threatening or power-displaying poses or attributes	424
	3.4.2.3.1. Catalogue	424
	3.4.2.3.2. Analysis.....	426
	3.4.2.3.3. Geographical and chronological distribution	428
3.4.2.4.	Horned dragons, monsters, and demons.....	429
	3.4.2.4.1. Catalogue	429
	3.4.2.4.2. Analysis.....	431
	3.4.2.4.3. Geographical and chronological distribution.....	432
3.4.3.	<i>Iconographic summary of the catalogue</i>	433
3.5.	THE ENTHRONED	439
3.5.1.	<i>Survey of motifs involving seated figures</i>	440
3.5.1.1.	The enthroned on seals, ivories, coins, and ceramics	440
	3.5.1.1.1. The solitary enthroned without an object in his hand.....	440
	3.5.1.1.2. The solitary enthroned holding an object in his hand	447
	3.5.1.1.3. The enthroned with one additional figure.....	452
	3.5.1.1.4. The enthroned with two additional figures (in the main scene) ..	456
	3.5.1.1.5. The enthroned with more than two additional figures.....	459
	3.5.1.1.6. Two seated figures facing each other	460
3.5.1.2.	Enthroned figurines and statues.....	461
3.5.2.	<i>Catalogue and analysis of possible relevant motifs</i>	466
3.5.2.1.	The enthroned in the context of overcoming a dangerous beast	470
	3.5.2.1.1. Catalogue.....	470
	3.5.2.1.2. Analysis.....	470
3.5.2.2.	The bearded enthroned god.....	471
	3.5.2.2.1. Catalogue.....	471
	3.5.2.2.2. Analysis.....	476
	3.5.2.2.3. Geographical and chronological distribution.....	479
3.5.2.3.	The enthroned on a throne with wheels	480
	3.5.2.3.1. Catalogue.....	480
	3.5.2.3.2. Analysis.....	480
3.5.2.4.	The fire associated with the enthroned.....	482

3.5.2.4.1. Catalogue.....	482
3.5.2.4.2. Analysis.....	482
3.5.2.4.3. Geographical and chronological distribution.....	483
3.5.3. <i>Iconographic summary of the catalogue</i>	484
4. POINTS OF CONTACT BETWEEN THE ICONOGRAPHIC IMAGERY FROM PALESTINE/ISRAEL AND THE OLD TESTAMENT	486
4.1. THE GREAT SEA	486
4.1.1. <i>The serpent overcome</i>	487
4.1.2. <i>The lion and the serpent</i>	490
4.1.3. <i>The crocodile</i>	491
4.2. THE LION.....	494
4.2.1. <i>The attacking lion</i>	494
4.2.1.1. God and/as the lion.....	494
4.2.1.1.1. The lion attacking an individual	494
4.2.1.1.2. The lion attacking nations.....	495
4.2.1.1.3. God as protective lion.....	495
4.2.1.2. The ungodly as lion.....	496
4.2.1.3. The wicked ruler(s) oppressing their own people as a lion	497
4.2.1.4. The foreign king(dom) as lion	497
4.2.1.5. Israelite tribes and the royal house of Judah as lion	498
4.2.2. <i>The attacked/subdued lion</i>	499
4.3. THE WINGS.....	502
4.3.1. <i>The swift attacking eagle or vulture</i>	502
4.4. THE HORNS.....	504
4.4.1. <i>The horned animal attacked/the horn broken or cast down</i>	504
4.4.2. <i>The horned animal/horn associated with the evil</i>	505
4.4.2.1. The goat demon/the goat for Azazel.....	505
4.4.2.2. The horn of the wicked.....	506
4.4.3. <i>The horned animal/horn as symbol of royal power</i>	508
4.4.4. <i>The horned animal/horn as mighty nation</i>	509
4.4.5. <i>God, the divine sphere, and the horn</i>	510
4.5. THE ENTHRONED	512
4.5.1. <i>The enthroned and the judgment</i>	512
4.5.2. <i>The enthroned on a throne with wheels</i>	513
4.5.3. <i>The enthroned associated with fire</i>	515
5. GENERAL CONCLUSION	517
5.1. THE ICONOGRAPHY FROM PALESTINE/ISRAEL AND THE VISION OF DAN 7	517
5.1.1. <i>The great sea</i>	517
5.1.2. <i>The lion</i>	525
5.1.3. <i>The wings</i>	531
5.1.4. <i>The horns</i>	535
5.1.5. <i>The enthroned</i>	541
5.2. RETROSPECTION AND OUTLOOK	549
APPENDICES	556
APPENDIX A: THE TEXT OF DAN 7 ACCORDING TO THE RSV AND BHS	556
APPENDIX B: CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES	558
LIST OF FIGURES	559
TEXT FIGURES.....	559
FOOTNOTE FIGURES	573
LIST OF GRAPHS	574
LIST OF MAPS	575

ABBREVIATIONS	576
BIBLIOGRAPHY	581
INDICES	634
SUBJECT INDEX	634
BIBLICAL REFERENCES	647
FIGURE INDEX	651
CATALOGUE INDEX	662
FOOTNOTE INDEX	669

1. Introduction

1.1. *Relevance*

In recent years the study of the religion and history of Palestine/Israel received new impetus by the emphasis of a primary witness which thus far received little attention, namely, the visual world of that region. For centuries the classical study of this field was based largely on literary information. This changed with the re-discovery of the biblical lands in the 19th century in the travels of researchers such as the German U. J. SEETZEN (1767–1810) and the Swiss J. L. BURCKARDT (1784–1817). The interest in the biblical lands culminated at the end of the 19th century with the first excavation in Palestine under the direction of the Englishman Sir W. F. PETRIE at Tell el-Ḥesi. After centuries of literary study of the land of the Bible, its people and their religion, archaeology suddenly provided a completely new “hands-on” experience (cf. SCHROER/STAUBLI 1993). Part and parcel of this new perspective on the religion and history of the land of the Bible was the confrontation with the imagery of this new world. And so it is not surprising that iconographic sources also became the focus of study. However, the proper and systematic use of iconographic sources as a means to understand more clearly the religion–history of Palestine/Israel was still far away. Particularly “biblical scholars, preoccupied with texts, i.e., with words, seem[ed] utterly unaware of the power of visual images – especially as these functioned effectively in largely nonliterate societies” (DEVER 1995:48) and therefore neglected them for decades as a vital aid to a better understanding of the biblical world. Coincidentally, in the same year as J. BERGER stated that “no other kind of relic or text from the past can offer such a direct testimony (as an image) about the world which surrounded other people at other times” (1972:10), the publication of O. KEEL’S by–now–renowned book *Die Welt der altorientalischen Bildsymbolik und das Alte Testament am Beispiel der Psalmen* (= KEEL 1984a) indicated a serious interest in considering the world of images from

the ancient Near East as a vital aspect for providing a more accurate picture of the religion-history of Palestine/Israel and the interpretation of the Old Testament. Indeed KEEL and a circle of colleagues and students produced in the next 25 years a steady flow of exegetical-iconographic studies¹ which led to the designation of the "Freiburg school" (DEVER 1995:48). The high expectations about a new dimension in biblical interpretation was well expressed by J. J. M. ROBERTS when he stated that the "exclusively textual orientation has been a serious flaw in the approach of many biblical scholars", and the systematic incorporation of iconographic evidence in the exegetical process "is perhaps the most promising direction taken in recent scholarship's use of the comparative material" (KNIGHT/TUCKER 1985:95).

An awareness of the relevance which is nowadays given to a holistic approach to the understanding of the religious world of Palestine/Israel by the incorporation of visual information, makes it evident that the whole corpus of the Old Testament is a legitimate field of study. Texts which use a very graphic language are destined to be studied in the first place against a background of iconographic imagery. Therefore the very nature of the language makes the vision of Dan 7:2-14 an ideal candidate for such an investigation (for the text of Dan 7 cf. p. 556). Not only do new developments for a more holistic approach to the religions of Palestine/Israel make a study of the relevant iconographic imagery of the vision of Dan 7 important, but also the pictorial language of the vision itself. A third reason that the vision of Dan 7 awaits a closer investigation in the light of ancient Near Eastern iconography is the fact that almost every commentator since the beginning of the 19th century made some mention of iconographic connections. At the same time it should be cautioned that the iconographic remarks found in almost every Daniel commentary are not based necessarily on detailed iconographic studies. They are based rather on a general knowledge of ancient Near Eastern art than on a comprehensive evaluation of the imagery world of the ancient Near East. One

¹ KEEL/UEHLINGER 1996:182-187 lists nearly 90 entries up to 1996.

reason for this situation is not necessarily a reticence to let the images speak – in fact in the case of Dan 7 every commentator is anxious not to forget the visual world – but the simple fact that the exegete has no adequate source of information which would allow him to make a well-researched statement on the role of ancient Near Eastern iconography on Dan 7. Thus what is needed in the first instance is not a new exegetical discussion of the vision of Dan 7 or a theoretical study on the relationship between text and image, but simply basic iconographic data which can be used by the exegete in his/her particular task. For this reason this vision presents an excellent possibility for investigating ways in which recent iconographic research can enrich the text-orientated approach to it.

In studying the use of iconographic sources in the interpretation of Dan 7, one will observe that in most cases they were used to indicate a very particular influence of the iconographic imagery on the text rather than to provide a better general understanding of the concepts used in this vision. In fact iconographic sources are regarded as one of many possible influences and traditions which underlie the vision of Dan 7. The vivid imagery in this vision lends itself as no other passage does to the application with all force of tradition-historical tools to get to the roots of the imagery language. As the research history on the influences and traditions underlying the vision of Dan 7 will show, this passage evoked a bewildering number of suggestions of what contributed to the formulation of the imagery in this biblical text. In this regard ancient Near Eastern art is considered by most exegetes in some or other way as being a significant influence for certain parts of the vision of Dan 7. Since a detailed iconographic study was never done on the imagery of the vision of Dan 7, the present work will seek to provide a relevant tool with which to assess this particular influence on the basis of hard data and not just a superficial acquaintance with some famous pieces of art. It is hoped that in this way this iconographic study will provide helpful information to throw new light on the vexing question of the tradition-history of this vision.

1.2. Aims

Before the discussion of a number of particular aims, an overarching aspect should first be mentioned which is appropriate for a work combining three different fields – that of iconography, of the history of religions, and of biblical studies. In the first place this study is an iconographic work and therefore *an appreciation of the visual world*. The latter statement can be understood in two ways: first, images should be given the serious consideration that they deserve (cf. KEEL 1992a). Although this work will make connections to other fields, art has to be studied for art's sake. Images have to be appreciated in their own right and should not become misused evidence for a purpose for which they were never intended.² Second, images should not be studied just for the image's sake. Images are ultimately bearers of messages. In the same way that the biblical scholar who cannot see beyond the letter and understand the *sensus plenior* fails in his/her objective, so does the one who uses images like a collection of clip-art to illustrate a text without an interest in the message of the images themselves. An appreciation of the image presupposes a willingness to open the mind to the conceptual world which is behind a graphic expression. In this sense it is a basic aim of this study that images be appreciated for what they are as well as for what they convey.

The most important specific aim of this study is to provide the researcher of visual art, the student of the history of religions, as well as the biblical scholar with *a comprehensive sketch of five motifs* with more than 500 supporting images and *a detailed catalogue of over 400 objects* of possible relevant images for the vision of Dan 7.

² The following paragraph in a recent iconographic work in ancient Near Eastern studies summarises this point well: "... iconographic sources are independent sources for the study of religion. They are important because many mental ideas, images and concepts do not always or only lend themselves to verbal description and can sometimes only be understood when studied in a visualized form. This is especially true when studying religion. The visual sources should be studied independently and not through texts, which in some cases serve only as *Störfaktor* (Keel [=1992a:1–23]) and do not always help in interpreting the iconographic items" (CORNELIUS 1994:18).

A further aim of this study is to make especially the text-orientated researcher aware that it is *not so much a "literal" or descriptive parallel between image and text that is of the greatest interest and value but that a common Vorstellungswelt or concept is much more important*. Text and image are two different ways of expressing a certain concept. When the linguistic and visual expressions are not congruent on the surface level, it should not mean *a priori* that they do not express a similar idea. Thus this study is not a search for *the* authentic image which provides the ultimate *Vorlage* or model for the visionary imagery of Dan 7; rather, the common concept is emphasised in order to go beyond the simple pinpointing of exciting "parallels".

This primarily iconographic study intends moreover to build a bridge to the Old Testament and in particular to Dan 7. What will be done is *to point out conceptual and descriptive parallels as seen from an iconographic perspective*. By this is meant that images as bearers of a message and a *Vorstellungswelt* can express concepts similar to those of the literary tradition and need to be correlated with the latter. Since this is not a literary but an *iconographic* study, the ultimate relevance of the findings of this study for the textual tradition demands that the iconographic suggestions be validated by a comprehensive textual study which is beyond the scope of the present work. What is intended is to provide a sound iconographic basis for an in-depth application in the various other fields. Suggested parallels to the biblical text in this study should be considered and evaluated accordingly.

Since the iconographic influence which is suggested for parts of the vision of Dan 7 is one among a bewildering number of suggested traditio-historical influences, *a comprehensive research history on the influences and traditions underlying the vision of Dan 7 – covering one century of research – will be provided*. No detailed research history on both parts of the vision (vs. 2–8/9–14) exists to date and with this study the gap should be closed. In contrast to other research histories on parts of this vision, this study provides as much as possible of the original text in the footnotes in order to retain and reflect the atmosphere of the intense debate which characterised the study of this vision.

Part and parcel of the study of visual information and their correlation with Dan 7 will be *indications as to what role iconography played in the tradition–history of Dan 7*. This will not be done by way of a theoretical discussion correlating iconographic influences with others. The intense occupation with iconographic sources and the conceptual world associated with them will produce a natural outflow of indicators which will shape the role these sources played in the formation of the imagery language of Dan 7.

Since this study will be of interest for different fields of study, particularly for biblical studies, misunderstandings might arise as to what this work is all about. For clarification and to counteract wrong expectations, a few remarks on what this study does *not* aim at are in order. First of all this study is not a literary, exegetical, interpretative, or theological discussion of Dan 7 based on iconographic evidence but an art–historical, iconographic study of motifs and their concepts in order to provide a better understanding of the imagery of Dan 7.

Although this study operates to a certain extent with image and (biblical) text it should not be considered as a methodological treatise on the relationship between image and text. The research history will reveal that in the past images primarily served to illustrate a textual interpretation without real interest in what concepts were associated with the adduced iconographic imagery. Therefore this study is designed to make aware that images have the right to be seen as what they are in their own right (cf. KEEL 1992a). Points of contact with the biblical text should be considered as what is expressed with the title “points of contact”, namely, as a stimulating cross–reference to another medium which conveys similar concepts. Whether these suggestions find validation by biblical scholarship can be determined only by a particular study in that field. What is attempted here is to provide the necessary sources in an adequate manner to allow the non–iconographic biblical scholar to do such an investigation.

The intensive occupation with the various traditio–historical explanations for Dan 7 in the research history should not prepare the ground for the proposal of a new overall iconographic explanation of the tradition–history of Dan 7. Rather the opposite is intended by the research

history, namely, to indicate the fallacy of making generalised and one-sided statements about the origin of the imagery of Dan 7 or a desperate attempt to be able to pinpoint every detail of the textual or visual *Vorlage* of Dan 7. In this sense this study tries to provide as balanced as possible an evaluation of what iconographic sources can and cannot contribute to the better understanding of the message of Dan 7.

This study does not intend to discuss every motif of the vision of Dan 7 in the light of ancient Near Eastern iconography but uses a selection of the most promising motifs from a particular region in order to enrich the understanding of Dan 7. Likewise this study is not a general discussion of numerous iconographic motifs against the background of the whole ancient Near Eastern iconographic repertoire but a geographically limited in-depth study of a few selected motifs.

1.3. Considerations on the research design

1.3.1. Research history

The starting point for this study is an in-depth research history on the influences and traditions underlying the vision of Dan 7. Although this study is designed as iconographic investigation, the research history will deal with the whole range of proposed influences and not limit itself to just the iconographic work done in regard to Dan 7 in order to maintain an objective perspective. A second reason is to make the reader aware of the numerous proposed influences, the intricate tradition-history, and the multifaceted nature of the suggested background of Dan 7.

The research history will provide two³ basic results: first, it will crystallise the currently two most popular influences on Dan 7, namely, the Old Testament and Canaanite mythology, and

³ It will be noted that the summary of the research history is not intended as evaluation and discussion which of the proposed influences is now the best, *et cetera*. It rather serves to point out the relevant features which are important for the following iconographic study.

thereby provide the basic geographic and chronological framework for the iconographic study; second, the particular results of the iconographic section of the research history in the light of other influences will determine the role and function which is assigned to the iconographic sources in the study of the vision of Dan 7. Thus the research history will provide the needed caution against making visual art another all-explaining influence. I will therefore not attempt to make an exegetical study on Dan 7 as if the iconographic evidence would provide the secrets to every literary, interpretative, or theological question of this vision. The insight of the research history should lead rather to an in-depth study of the iconographic sources themselves. The latter intention is furthermore underlined by the observation in the research history that images were mainly used to illustrate the text but that the images themselves did not receive the attention which due them. Thus already the research history will result in an emphasis of conceptual similarities than "literal" or descriptive parallels, or in other words to understand better the conceptual world which is behind Dan 7 rather than to pinpoint a specific iconographic *Vorlage* for the text.

1.3.2. Geographical and chronological parameters and objects to be investigated

Since the research history identified the Old Testament and Canaanite mythology as most likely background of the imagery of Dan 7, it is obvious that the iconographic study needs to take these results as a starting point to define its geographical and chronological parameters. It follows therefore that neither the iconography of Mesopotamia or Persia nor that of the Hellenistic period should be studied but that of Syro-Palestine from the Late Bronze Age to the beginning of the post-exilic period. This limitation does not preclude the fact that there are other influences. In fact it will be seen that by defining one particular region, foreign motifs – which occur in a subordinate role in the Levant and correspond to the imagery of Dan 7 – suggest influences which are not associated with Syro-Palestine. But in order to contrast the

results of the iconographic study with those of general research on Dan 7 it is necessary to work with the same parameters.

Guiding geographical and chronological parameters are, in an iconographic study which ultimately operates with archaeological artefacts, only as good as the information which is provided by the objects of the investigation. Therefore this study limits itself to objects which stem from legal excavations and provide the best data. Where this is not the case, the object must be otherwise identified as belonging to the defined region and period.⁴

Not only must the quality of information on the single object be guaranteed, but the sketch of the iconographic landscape also needs to be representative. A particular feature of this study is the serious attempt not to pick out single pieces or objects in order to build a theory on them but to provide an inter-connecting web of iconographic information by collecting as much material as possible in order to arrive at the most accurate result within the given parameters. Coincidentally the geographical and chronological parameters suggested by the research history overlap with those of one of the most ambitious projects in the study of the iconography of the Levant. What is referred to is the publication of all legally-excavated stamp seal amulets from Palestine/Israel predominantly from around the Middle Bronze Age II B down to the Persian period (c. 1760-333) by the Biblical Institute of the University of Fribourg (BIF), Switzerland, under the direction of O. KEEL.⁵ Since I was granted complete access to all relevant information of these c. 9'000 stamp seal amulets at the BIF, this corpus was made the primary source for the present study. In order to maintain uniformity both in terms of quality of the information of the single object as well as in regard to the geographical region to be covered, it was necessary to adapt the chronological and geographical framework suggested by the research history to that of the BIF seal amulet project. In terms of chronology this resulted in a

⁴ A specific case is e.g. name seals. Although many of them are not from controlled excavations in many cases the epigraphic information allows a geographical and chronological assignment.

slightly longer period by going back to the MB II B (1760–1540/1450) period and including the complete Persian period (539–333)⁶ (for the adopted chronological tables cf. appendix B on p. 558). In regard to the geographical region this resulted in a smaller area to be covered, namely, only that of Palestine/Israel excluding Jordan,⁷ the Lebanon and southern Syria.⁸ It was considered preferable to work within these parameters and do a comprehensive study on a slightly more limited area than to add the above-excluded regions and cover them only superficially and not with the same quality due to the lack of a readily-available source of archaeological and iconographic data.

This study does not propose to cover the whole range of ancient Near Eastern iconography. The region will be limited by the criterion of what is considered the most influential in the formation of Dan 7 and by the availability of material to provide an in-depth study. In order that the study be as comprehensive as possible within the defined parameters, the following sources were added to the core of about 9'000 stamp seals and amulets: about 400 cylinder seals, ivories, bronze and terracotta figurines, statues, ceramics, cult-stands, incense altars, other cult-objects, stelae, wall paintings, bullae, and coins, which brings the total count of objects investigated for this study to more than 10'000. When one is aware of the mass of media which carry images in Palestine/Israel alone, it is obvious that an extension to Syria and Mesopotamia would have resulted in a number which would have been beyond the scope of a single work. Thus what this study provides is an in-depth iconographic perspective from Palestine/Israel from about 1760–333 involving more than 10'000 objects.

⁵ The project which started in the early 80s resulted so far in the publication of the introductory volume on the corpus of stamp seal amulets from Palestine/Israel and the first volume of the catalogue itself (cf. KEEL 1995a; *ibid.* 1997).

⁶ The Hellenistic period was not only excluded because the quality of information is currently different to the preceding periods, but also because the research history clearly indicates that the traditio-historical influence from that period is hardly considered as relevant. The single significant iconographic suggestion on one feature of Dan 7, namely, the fourth beast and its horns, which used material from the Hellenistic period is not a traditio-historical study on the basis of iconographic material but an explanation of an *a priori* historical interpretation against the light of iconographic motifs from that suggested framework (cf. pp. 69–74).

⁷ The publication of all seal amulets from controlled excavations in Jordan will be the goal of a new project of the BIF from 1998–2001 which will be undertaken by the author of this study in collaboration with O. KEEL.

1.3.3. The basic design of the iconographic study

1.3.3.1. The selected iconographic motifs

It was pointed out that this study does not attempt nor consider it a proper approach to propose an overall iconographic explanation of every motif which occurs in the vision of Dan 7. Thus instead of staying on the surface and searching for a corresponding image for every little detail of the vision of Dan 7, this study selects a number of motifs from the iconographic repertoire of Palestine/Israel which promise the most rewarding results and investigates them in depth. The selected motifs are: the great sea, the lion, the wings, the horns, and the enthroned. As will be noticed the selection includes not only different themes such as the sea or the first beast, but also just features, such as wings or the horns of the fourth beast, as well as the most vivid imagery of the second part of the vision, that of the enthroned, thus providing a cross-section of the vision of Dan 7. More information on the selection of the various motifs is found in the introductory remarks in the relevant sections of the iconographic study. Only one remark is in order at this juncture: the selected motifs do not correspond necessarily to the description in the vision. Dan 7:4 speaks of a winged lion, but this study will investigate the motif of the lion and that of the wings separately. The detailed rationale for such an approach will be given at the appropriate place in the course of this study. However, for the present the reader should be prepared for the fact that this iconographic study will not be in the first instance an exercise of matching image and text on a descriptive level but it should be a journey into the conceptual world of Palestine/Israel from the 18th to the 4th centuries on the basis of images in order to understand the imagery of Dan 7, not necessarily on the basis of a congruent linguistic and graphic image but of a common *Vorstellungswelt*.

⁸ On the definition of the area cf. *ibid.* 1995a:13.

1.3.3.2. The horizontal approach by a survey of motifs

This iconographic study is not designed with the misguided conviction that a number of representative images will provide a satisfying source of information. It is obvious that such a method is prone to misinterpreting images, staying on the surface, being unable to see inter-connections, reiterating preconceived ideas, indicating no real interest to work with the images themselves, *et cetera*. What is attempted here is the study of all types of variants involving in turn each of the five selected motifs. Thus when the motif of the lion will be investigated, it means that the whole repertoire of motifs involving the lion will be studied. This will be done by way of a survey of motifs. It is hoped that the creation of an iconographic background and climate by delving into the whole repertoire of a motif and not just fixing on a single image will not only provide a much better basis for a judgement of the finally relevant imagery but help the researcher at the end of the 20th century to adapt to a world which is often an unknown territory. In order to make the reader aware of the reason a survey of motifs is so vital and what it is all about, another familiar field should serve as further explanation. As a lexical form of a word can have a number of meanings, so an image can be used with completely different connotations. Therefore the text-oriented biblical scholar is used to work with lexicons to find out the particular meaning of a word to make a correct interpretation. Likewise iconographic studies need to work with a "pictorial lexicon" in order to identify the various shades of meaning and uses of a certain motif in order to arrive at a proper understanding of the pictorial message. This is exactly what will be done in the horizontal approach. An attempt is made to provide as comprehensive as possible a survey of motifs in which the different variants are discussed briefly. No serious scholar would attempt to propose in the course of a literary study the translation of a sentence unknown to him/her. Even when there is a hint as to what a certain word means he/she will consult a lexicon to make sure that the particular interpretation of the word is correct. When a lexicon does not provide that information it will be necessary to make a word study. The latter case applies to the interpretation of many iconographic "words",

i.e., images. There exists no iconographic "word" lexicon for the study of ancient Near Eastern iconography.⁹ In fact not even all "words" are systematically collected and collated. A first attempt in this regard is the stamp seal amulet project by the Biblical Institute at the University of Fribourg. Therefore an attempt to make a definite statement on the iconography and meaning of a certain image in Palestine/Israel still demands the painstaking basic work of sketching the iconographic landscape by representative surveys of motifs.¹⁰ This is exactly what will be done in this study. This means that sub-topics may be mentioned in the course of this survey which will have no direct influence on Dan 7. But if the researcher is truly interested in what an image means then he/she will find the time and energy to devote to the stimulating process of getting to know a conceptual world other than his/her own field of specialisation. One of the reasons for the scepticism¹¹ about the use of images for the exegetical work lies not only in the fact that images are frequently picked at random without adequate iconographic study but also that the text-orientated scholar is often not in the position to place isolated images into a wider iconographic landscape. It is obvious that with a limited horizon certain image-text relations cannot be appreciated as they should be. It is therefore hoped that by the wide survey of motifs the misunderstanding of individual motifs can be counteracted, that against the wider and more transparent background a particular motif receives a better contrast and meaning and that new shades of meaning and inter-connection become visible. As a by-product the surveys of motifs will also present "pictorial lexicons" on five motifs which thus far did not exist. Although I do not claim to have covered every motif that was represented in Palestine/Israel from 1760-333 the survey in hand will be an excellent basis to which to refer

⁹ For classical iconography however cf. the *Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae (LIMC)*. Eds.: H. Ch. Ackermann/ J.-R. Gisler et al. Zürich/München: Artemis, 1981-1997.

¹⁰ One of the urgent needs expressed during the international symposium on "Images as mass media and sources for the cultural and religious history of the Eastern Mediterranean and the Near East (1st millennium B.C.E.)" held in Fribourg, Switzerland, on November 25-29, 1997, was that of comprehensive motif histories on frequently occurring motifs. Thus, although e.g. the motif of the lion is omnipresent and used in countless iconographic studies there exists no detailed motif history discussing all variants, styles, regional aspects on the basis of a comprehensive study of all available material.

¹¹ Cf. e.g. the controversy between B. COUROYER and O. KEEL in KEEL 1985:26-38.

when dealing with one of the five studied motifs. For some technical remarks on the survey itself the reader is referred to the introduction of the iconographic study on p. 139.

1.3.3.3. The vertical approach by a catalogue of possible relevant motifs

After the survey of motifs there needs to be a selection of possible¹² relevant motifs for the inclusion in a catalogue where they will be studied to assess their meaning in more detail. The iconographic method which will be used is based on the descriptive, analytical, and interpretative steps as defined by E. PANOFSKY.¹³ The criteria which will determine the inclusion in the catalogue are of a conceptual and descriptive nature. It is obvious that a close descriptive analogy will result automatically in an inclusion in the catalogue. The conceptual criteria are taken as widely as possible. The rationale for this is as follows: this is an iconographic study and it would be methodologically unsound to let the text determine what the iconographic expression of a certain concept should look like (cf. also footnote 2 on p. 4). The text may have a basic guiding function but not to the extent that iconographic concepts are read in the light of textual conventions. Thus conceptual criteria will aim at being inclusive rather than exclusive. As an example of a conceptual criterion, the motif of the lion might be illustrative. The lion is frequently depicted in the context of fertility. It is obvious that such a meaning is not intended anywhere in Dan 7 and therefore lions in such context will be excluded from the catalogue.

The details of the catalogue will be discussed in the introduction to the iconographic section starting on p. 139. Only the basic structure and purpose are discussed here. Each of the five selected motifs will be subdivided into sub-motifs. Each motif will have a catalogue section

¹² Since the survey is not comprehensive in terms of an iconographic analysis there might still be a partial misunderstanding of certain motifs. Therefore we can only speak of *possible* relevant motifs. Only the detailed iconographic analysis and the comparison with the text can determine to what extent a certain motif is relevant for the better understanding of the text.

¹³ For a summary of the iconographic methodological framework by PANOFSKY (1979a; *ibid.* 1997b) see EGGLEER 1992:23–28 and KEEL 1992a:267–273. Despite the very helpful and necessary theoretical framework provided by PANOFSKY, CORNELIUS (1994:18) stated “that it is rather difficult to differentiate between these phases as they are closely connected.” An excellent paper which evolves along the steps of the PANOFSKY-model is KEEL 1994b.

where the individual objects with their data are listed, followed by a brief iconographic analysis and a map to indicate the geographical distribution as well as a graph which will plot the chronological distribution.¹⁴ Every object will have the following information: object data, description, date, provenance, literature. Finally at the end of each of the five motifs an iconographic summary will bring together the results of the various sub-motifs.

1.3.4. Points of contact with the Old Testament

The research history will indicate that the Old Testament is considered an important contributor to the imagery of Dan 7. Although the iconographic results could be compared directly with Dan 7, it will be more fruitful when the Old Testament tradition is incorporated as the study moves to a final assessment. What is the purpose of this second last step in this study? It is to bring a greater awareness of concepts similar to those crystallised in the iconographic study. No more and no less. Thus the reader should not expect a literary, exegetical, or theological discussion on the mentioned verses. The section is kept very brief. The references are not considered as a final verdict on the iconographic influence on them. They should only alert the reader to the fact that there is a similarity. Therefore this section will list only those passages which have some kind of relationship to the iconographic motif under discussion and compare features and concepts *from an iconographic perspective*. In order to be able to make a final statement on these passages a study along literary and exegetical methods is necessary. This is beyond the scope of this iconographic study. But it is hoped that the iconographic sources provided and the point of contact suggested will contribute to exegetical studies which will incorporate visual information.

¹⁴ If there is only one object in a section the geographical and chronological distribution will be left out.

1.3.5. Conclusion

The conclusion is divided into two sections. The first part will assess those motifs in Dan 7 which are related to the iconographic study. When available, points of contact with the Old Testament will be incorporated in the final assessment of a motif. Since this is not an exhaustive study of the vision of Dan 7 but only of five selected motifs, an iconographic conclusion which would bring together five individual motifs would be a *tour de force*. Therefore each motif will be treated separately. The second part of the conclusion is devoted to some remarks in regard to the contribution of this study to scholarship and a forecast of which further steps have to be taken to advance the better understanding of the religions of the biblical world with the help of visual sources from the ancient Near East.

1.4. Ways to access the information contained in this study

In order to facilitate the use of this text several indices are provided. Besides the usual *textual index* several pictorial indices are listed at the end of this study. The *figure index* depicts every image which appears in the text. The figure number is given in bold, and after the slash the page where it occurs is mentioned. If the image was used more than once, additional occurrences are added in the same format. Within the text the multiple use of the same image is cross-referenced. The *catalogue index* functions in the same way as the figure index does. Thus all catalogued images can also be accessed by this index. The multiple use of the same catalogue object (cf. the introduction to the iconographic section on p. 143) is indicated by an additional reference. Within the catalogue the multiple use of the same object in the catalogue is cross-referenced after the literature entry under the heading: "catalogue cross-reference(s)". Likewise if a catalogue depiction was discussed in the text elsewhere the "text figure cross-reference(s)" will indicate where. A separate *footnote index* will give the information necessary to access footnote images.

A remark with regard to photographs is in order at this juncture. Where good photographs were available they were used, particularly in the catalogue, in order to provide the reader with prime sources. In a few cases the quality is inferior because the originals were often almost black. In these cases the images were computer enhanced. As a result, the images that appear in this study are of a quality far better than that of those originally available as photographs.

2. Research history on the influences and traditions underlying the vision of Dan 7:2-14

2.1. Introduction

Two legitimate questions might be asked in regard to the research history that is to follow. First, why review such a wide variety of suggested tradition histories and influences on the vision of Dan 7¹⁵ instead of presenting only the proposed iconographic links to this passage? Second, why give a research history that spans the whole spectrum of proposals including even the more obscure references or interpretations?

Both questions are related directly to the very heart of this study. It will not escape the careful student that most of the previous iconographic research relating to Dan 7 did not go beyond a comparison of images. The results accordingly were rather meagre. This study will approach the task from a different angle. What sets this iconographic study apart from other iconographic treatments of the vision of Dan 7 is that ancient Near Eastern iconography is treated as more than just a collection of clip-art, the most appropriate images of which were pasted into a document. Ancient Near Eastern iconographic representations comprise more than graphical components that lend themselves for comparison. Ancient Near Eastern iconography deals primarily with concepts, and concepts can be expressed in various forms that might not necessarily correspond formally with each other. Thus a simple comparison of literary expressions with their formal iconographic counterparts runs the risk of missing important aspects. The employment of iconographic material must therefore not only address the surface structure but also involve the conceptual deep structure. Based on this, conceptual correlation is considered to be as important for proper understanding as is a formal similarity

¹⁵ The term "Dan 7" stands throughout this study for the *vision* of Dan 7, i.e., Dan 7:2-14, respectively in the first part of this history of research for Dan 7:2-8 and in the second part for Dan 7:9-14.

between text and image. Therefore, the present research history will introduce a wider background to the vision of Dan 7 than just a narrow iconographic perspective.

Once it is accepted that a more comprehensive background is to be considered, the vision in Dan 7 burgeons into a multifaceted challenge. The following research history will demonstrate that the background of the Danielic vision is complex and defies a simplistic explanation. Approaching this vision with only one particular perspective in mind without taking into account the intricate nature of the imagery will not do it justice. Therefore I perceived it to be imperative that the whole spectrum of suggestions be presented, even if only to make apparent the complexity of the vision and avoid the pitfalls of abandoned approaches.

Even without the just-adduced reasons, a detailed review of the proposed traditions and influence underlying the vision of Dan 7 is a worthwhile undertaking for the simple reason that none exists so far. What is available are often more or less detailed treatments of either the first part (Dan 7:2-8) or the second part (Dan 7:9-14) of the vision. In the second part the whole issue is usually reduced to a single topic, i.e., the "son of man." Traditio-historical reviews on the whole vision are scant and very often cover only a few pages, barely outlining the parameters of the whole debate. It is hoped that the following research history will be a step towards filling this void.

The research of the background to the vision of Dan 7 has often been more than just an academic exercise. It cannot be overlooked that on occasion a heated ideological struggle charged the atmosphere. Therefore the present research history will not only present results but also open the window slightly to this other side of the academic debate. In order to let the reader participate more actively, footnotes will sometimes contain substantive quotations in the original language to elucidate underlying concepts and present critical scholarly responses more accurately in order to highlight the impact that certain ideas have had. Bare summaries comprising only facts would omit a major portion that was part and parcel of the various results forthcoming from the last 100 years of research.

The research history presented here is intended to be what its name suggests. Therefore I do not attempt to enter into the discussion on what the correct background of this vision is supposed to be. A short overview of the many proposals gives one a presentiment that there is no consensus as to which of them presents the ultimate solution. Such a foreboding is only too well justified. Although it would be tempting to engage in this discussion, this would inevitably distract from the goal of the present study and must be sidelined. In keeping with this approach, criticism of the various proposals has been restricted to a summary of scholarly objections. This having been said, there is much that can be learned from some of the approaches that were put forward, while others indicate which directions it would be futile to pursue.

The structure of the research history has been adapted to the particularly complex and heterogeneous nature of the proposed backgrounds of the vision. Thus, since many tradition-historical studies often emphasise only one part of the vision, the research history is divided into the commonly-accepted two parts of the vision. Another feature of many treatments is that different origins for particular parts of the vision were proposed by a single author. Therefore each part of the vision was subdivided into the various suggested backgrounds. Thus it is a frequent feature that the work or views of one scholar appears in different subsections. In regard to the order within each of the two main sections, it must be pointed out that the first three backgrounds mentioned are the most important extra-biblical explanations of each part (excluding the Greek influence in the first section).¹⁶ They are followed in chronological order by the remaining extra-biblical proposals. Both sections are concluded by suggested Old Testament and iconographic influences. As pointed out above, critical scholarly remarks to the various proposals have been placed in summary form in the last footnote of the particular background. The chronological starting point for the following research history is H. GUNKEL'S

¹⁶ For historical reasons in regard to the research history it was placed there, not because of the impact it had.

suggested Babylonian background which launched the traditio-historical explanations of the vision of Dan 7 with all its vigour.¹⁷

¹⁷ The following research history presents the positions as held by their authors.

2.2. The motifs of the sea, the four winds, and the four beasts (verses 2–8)

2.2.1. Babylonian influence

The first scholar to propose a Babylonian-related background to Dan 7 was H. GUNKEL in his religio-historical investigation *Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit* published in 1895. Several unexplained elements¹⁸ in the vision of Dan 7 led GUNKEL to the conclusion that this vision was not created by the author himself – otherwise he would have given interpretative hints for these unexplained features – but that the author had adopted and allegorised pre-existing material (1895:327,328).

GUNKEL'S methodological starting point and basis for his religio-historical analysis of the vision of Dan 7 was a comparison of the Danielic motif of beasts coming up from the sea symbolising kingdoms hostile to God, with similar imagery in other Old Testament and apocryphal passages.¹⁹ These comparative passages represent – according to GUNKEL²⁰ – an adaptation of the Babylonian creation myth *Enuma Elish*, namely, a version that functioned as *prophecy* and was *directed against the political enemy*.²¹ Since GUNKEL believed he had encountered in Dan 7 the same eschatologically-coloured version of the Babylonian creation

¹⁸ Such elements were according to GUNKEL (1895:327,328): (1) Why do the beasts come out of the sea while only the Greek-Macedonian empire came from the sea? (2) What is the purpose of the four winds that stir up the sea? (3) What does it mean that the first beast assumes a human posture and mind? (4) Why are kingdoms depicted as animals? (5) How can it be explained that the fourth kingdom does not correspond to a specific animal? (6) Why is the strange image of "one like a 'son of man' coming in the clouds of heaven" used to illustrate God's people? (7) The figure 3 ½ which is not explained by the context.

¹⁹ Isa 30:7; Eze 29; 32; Psa 68:31; 87:4; Isa 27:1; Psa 74; Ps Sol 2.

²⁰ It should be noted that it was not GUNKEL who first drew attention to poetic Old Testament passages as reflections of the *Enuma Elish*. Such a connection was already proposed by T. K. CHEYNE in 1877. Furthermore, GUNKEL has been accused of outright plagiarism by not giving credit to G. A. BARTON who already in 1893 published an article which cited the main passages about Rahab and Leviathan as reflections of the *Enuma Elish* – an article that was used by GUNKEL in the preparation of his *Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit* (LAMBERT 1965:287,288).

²¹ "Nun ist oben gezeigt worden, dass diese Stücke [cf. the passages mentioned in footnote 19 on p. 22] den babylonischen Chaosmythus enthalten, der eine Weissagung geworden war und herkömmlich auf einen politischen Feind gedeutet wurde" (GUNKEL 1895:328).

myth as in his adduced group of comparative passages, he argued that the Danielic vision had to be interpreted in the light of this comparative material.²²

Thus GUNKEL did not simply compare the *Enuma Elish* myth with Dan 7.²³ Rather, he compared Old Testament and apocryphal parallels which, according to GUNKEL, exhibited elements of *adapted chaos myth traditions* and added Dan 7 to this list. It is evident that GUNKEL did not view the *Enuma Elish* myth as we know it as the direct source of Dan 7. What the author of Dan 7 used, according to GUNKEL, was an *adapted* version of the *Enuma Elish*, which was believed to be an ancient tradition revealed by God to one of his prophets of old.²⁴

GUNKEL'S position was soon adopted by a number of scholars, such as D. K. MARTI (1901:48),²⁵ H. ZIMMERN (SCHRADER/ZIMMERN/WINCKLER 1903:508,513), and G. HÖLSCHER (1919:126,129), without adding any new arguments.

²² For additional support of his thesis, GUNKEL (ibid. 328-333) cited the following list of elements found in Dan 7 which correspond with the remaining recensions of the *Enuma Elish* as he had found them in various Old Testament and apocryphal passages: (1) the term "beast" is used; (2) the beasts come out of "the great sea"; (3) the beasts "ascend" from the sea; (4) the winds stir up the sea before the beasts come out of it; (5) although the beasts belong to the sea, their dominion is also on the land; (6) the beasts are enemies of man and God; (7) the stamping with the feet; (8) the blaspheming of God; (9) the war against the holy ones and their defeat; (10) God remembers his people and will establish his kingdom after the victory over the enemy. Elements that had no clear literary parallels were understood by GUNKEL not as the work of the author of Dan 7 but were explained as a reflection of a different version of the Babylonian creation myth. He mentioned the following features: (1) the figure 3 ½; (2) the burning of the fourth beast with fire; (3) the "son of man"; (4) the description of the throne of the "Ancient of days"; (5) the plucking of three horns; (6) the ten horns; (7) a *single* chaos beast, exhibiting the aspects of a lion, eagle, bear, and leopard (ibid. 330-333).

²³ A basic feature of GUNKEL'S approach is his notion that the author of Dan 7 operated with a *variation* of the *Enuma Elish* myth. GUNKEL was well aware that the parallels to the *Enuma Elish* in its traditional form were not necessarily convincing when studied in detail. Therefore he had to postulate a different origin, i.e., non-extant adapted versions of the *Enuma Elish* myth, which are reflected in various Old Testament and apocryphal passages.

²⁴ Therefore GUNKEL questioned that the author of Dan had known the "original" *Enuma Elish*: "Er [the author of Dan 7] hat nicht als der Erste den Chaos-Mythus als Weissagung gefasst; vielmehr waren ihm darin schon viele Geschlechter vorangegangen. Der Verfasser hat den Mythus in dieser Form bereits überkommen; und es ist durchaus nicht selbstverständlich, dass er seinen ursprünglichen Sinn noch gekannt habe [my emphasis]. Eine uralte Weissagung [i.e., a prophecy-against-the-political-enemy variant of the *Enuma Elish*] cursierte (*sic*) damals: es werde einst am Ende der Tage eine schreckliche Zeit kommen, wo die Mächte der Finsternis auf Eden herrschen, Gottes Volk bedrängen und schrecklich gegen den Höchsten freveln; aber auf diese Tage des Zorns werde nach Gottes Rat die Zeit kommen, wo 'der Menschensohn', auf den Wolken des Himmels kommend das Regiment ergreift ... Diese Beobachtung sind wichtig für eine gerechte Beurteilung des Apokalyptikers. Der Verfasser des Daniel hat diese Weissagung nicht ex eventu erfunden und seine willkürliche Erdichtung frischweg dem alten Propheten in den Mund gelegt - wie hätte er dann selbst daran glauben können? -, sondern er hat sie aus der Tradition übernommen, und er hat dabei den ganz richtigen Eindruck gehabt, dass die Überlieferung uralte sei: einem Propheten der alten Zeit muss sie von Gott offenbart sein" (ibid. 334,335).

²⁵ MARTI (1901:49) did not only have the Babylonian mythological cosmogony in mind when he traced the background of Dan 7 but also some Western Asian influence. Thus he compared the expression "the four winds of heaven" with the Phoenician *wind kolphia* "father of the world" (רוח כל מאר) "wind from every side".

The first significant deviation from GUNKEL'S original thesis was proposed by E. MEYER. He advanced the view that the core of Dan 7 reflects a *four-beast* Babylonian²⁶ myth – not to be identified with the *Enuma Elish* – rather than a *one-beast*²⁷ myth proposed by GUNKEL (1921:197 with footnote 2). This Babylonian four-beast myth originated from an even older myth of the battles of the gods (ibid. 195).²⁸ However, a serious weakness of this thesis was acknowledged by MEYER himself, namely, that such a myth was unknown (ibid. 197).

Additional criticism of GUNKEL'S link between Dan 7 and the *Enuma Elish* was voiced by W. BAUMGARTNER. In his Daniel commentary published in 1926 he rejected any such link and suggested another Babylonian myth as the background of Dan 7, namely, the myth of Bel and Labbu, although he found this inconclusive as well because only one beast was mentioned. Nevertheless, BAUMGARTNER argued that the apocalyptist used “diese alten Mythenstoffe” (1926:24), since they contained the mood which was important for his composition.

While C. H. KRAELING (1927:145) followed GUNKEL without reservation, renewed doubt about a pan-Babylonian background of Dan 7 was discernible in the 1930s. Thus, although E. G. H. KRAELING basically agreed with GUNKEL'S thesis, he elaborated on this as MEYER had done on the splitting up of one beast into four, which he explained was “due to the influence of the Iranian theory of four ages of history as held by Daniel” (1933:228).²⁹

²⁶ MEYER (1921:197) seemed in addition to assume some Hittite and Persian influence since he remarked: “Dass der Mythos von den vier Tieren fremden Ursprungs ist, bedarf keiner Ausführung. Ihre Gestalt entspricht den phantastischen Mischwesen, welche die babylonische wie die chetitische Mythologie geschaffen und die Kunst in unzähligen Variationen dargestellt hat, und als die auch die persischen Skulpturen die Dämonen bilden.”

²⁷ However, by the time MEYER had advanced his views GUNKEL himself had already given up the one-beast theory and also assumed an underlying myth with four beasts (GUNKEL 1910:81 with footnote 3). Contra a four-beast-myth cf. BAUMGARTNER 1939:219 and p. 25 below as well recently GESE 1983:378. A late supporter of MEYER'S four-beast myth is BENTZEN 1952:59; cf. also below footnote 49 on p. 31.

²⁸ According to this myth, which MEYER did not identify with the *Enuma Elish*, the sea harboured the most terrible monsters. When at the end of the world all elements will be loose and when all four winds together come down unto the world sea and stir up its deepest deep, four monsters will ascend unto the earth, one more terrible than the other in order to destroy the earth, until they will die in the final judgement (1921:197).

²⁹ Recently REID (1989:84,90) argued along the same lines (cf. p. 40).

Furthermore, the recently-available Ugaritic texts from Ras Shamra constituted another element that contributed to the weakening of a Babylonian background to Dan 7. Thus, although A. BENTZEN'S (1937:31-33) position shows a tendency to endorse a Babylonian background in regard to the sea³⁰ and the four beasts, he favoured a distinctly Canaanite influence for the fourth beast (cf. p. 30). Furthermore, BENTZEN described the four winds as cosmogonic symbols of doom in only very general terms and in his discussion of the four beasts he placed greater emphasis on the symbolic nature of the beasts, i.e., their appearance as symbols of the general ancient Near Eastern *Weltvorstellung* rather than their link to a specific myth (cf. also pp. 62, 65, and 67).

In a similar fashion BAUMGARTNER'S review of 25 years of research of the Book of Daniel exhibits a very high degree of ambiguity and ambivalence, with no clear preference for any position. He seemed to endorse a general Babylonian mythological background as proposed by GUNKEL in 1895. His opposition against the *Enuma Elish* myth as the ultimate source for the background of Dan 7, as verbalised in his commentary on Daniel in 1926, is still detectable. BAUMGARTNER was more inclined to follow MEYER'S theory of a four-beast myth than to subscribe to the *Enuma Elish* tradition as the sole source of Dan 7 (1939:218). In the course of his discussion BAUMGARTNER (ibid. 218,219) also questioned any link to a specific Babylonian myth. In this he followed H. JUNKER (1932:36-38)³¹ who held that the beasts of Dan 7 are not of mythological origin but only the most terrible beasts known in Israel - the lion and the leopard - being described in typical ancient Near Eastern mythological fashion. This led BAUMGARTNER to reject MEYER'S four-beast theory - a position he favoured above GUNKEL'S original one-beast theory - only to conclude the whole discussion with a pro-mythological, pro-GUNKEL

³⁰ It is not entirely clear if BENTZEN directly referred to a Babylonian background in regard of the sea, since he used the term "creation story" when he stated: "Das grosse Meer ... ist wohl sicher das Chaosmeer der Schöpfungsgeschichte" (1937:31) which would indicate Gen 1 but at the same time added a reference to VOLZ 1934:280 which speaks of the creation *myth*, i.e., the *Enuma Elish*, and in the second edition supplemented it with a reference to KAPELRUD 1952:102ff. which refers to the Ugaritic chaos sea.

³¹ Similar BEEK 1935:38.

statement: "... man fühlt sich viel eher versucht, mit Hölscher ... auf Gunkels erste Deutung [i.e., one chaos-beast was split up into four in order to fit the four kingdoms] zurückzugreifen" (1939:219).

A renewed forceful case for a Babylonian background was made by E. W. HEATON who compared the Danielic four winds of the heaven that "brake forth upon the great sea" with "the god Marduk [who] stationed the four winds and then advanced to slay Tiamat, a female dragon and her brood, in order to create an ordered universe" (1956:175). Furthermore, he argued that the Hebrew word *tehom*, used in Gen. 1:2 is "philologically the same as *Tiamat*" and that "both are used as proper names without definite article" (*ibid.*).³² In addition HEATON quoted G. R. DRIVER (1926:142) who stated that "among Tiamat's brood were great lions, raging serpents and vipers" and that "a frequent motif in Babylonian art is the contest between the god of creation and diverse monsters."

For A. JEFFERY (1956:452), writing in the *Interpreter's Bible* commentary, the four winds of heaven resembled the four winds of the creation epic, and the great sea was understood as the "circumambient ocean" which is found in Sumerian and Babylonian mythology as well as Old Testament passages such as Gen 1:2, 7:11, Amo 7:4, and Isa 51:10. Furthermore, a new possible Babylonian background was hinted at for the fourth beast by referring to the *širusšu*³³ of Babylonian mythology (*ibid.* 455), although JEFFERY also considered a Canaanite background as a possibility (*cf.* p. 31).

In contrast to HEATON, who was the last all-out supporter of a Babylonian background, subsequent scholars mentioned only partial parallels, especially the notions of the primeval sea and the four winds. Among these are A. B. RHODES (1961:416) who made reference to the four winds, while K. KOCH (1961:9 with footnote 2) referred to the sea, as did N. W. PORTEOUS (1962:80) who traced the background of Dan 7 back ultimately to the

³² Contra *cf.* the reference in footnote 34.

Babylonian creation myth, but emphasised much more the role of the Ugaritic texts as transmitter and thereby their decisive influence on Dan 7.³⁴ O. PLÖGER (1965:108) and R. HAMMER (1976:75) understood the four winds to be a symbol of the whole cosmos which is described in its primeval state before creation by the imagery of the chaotic sea, thereby alluding to the Babylonian creation myth.³⁵ Among French exegetes M. DELCOR (1968:295,296; *ibid.* 1971:143,144) compared the sea to Tiamat in the Babylonian creation epic and A. LACOCQUE stated that "the four winds, for example, are instruments in the hand of Marduk which prevent Tiamat (the Primordial Ocean) from escaping" (1979:138 *ibid.* 1976:105), although both made allowance for a possible partial Canaanite background (cf. p. 32). Likewise J. E. GOLDINGAY (1988:153) in his recent commentary on Daniel rejected a Babylonian mythological background for Dan 7,³⁶ but still maintained that the Babylonian myth *Enuma Elish* has links to Dan 7 that are hard to view as "coincidental" (*ibid.* 151), but which become much more meaningful with reference to the later Ugaritic combat myth. Finally, in a recent survey of the Danielic animal imagery, E. C. LUCAS upheld that "the phrase 'the four winds of heaven' and the imagery of the beasts arising out of the turbulent sea" (1990:185; 164) suggests an influence from the Babylonian creation epic *Enuma Elish*, although "the number, form, and sequence of the monsters ... cannot be explained by appeal to *Enuma Elish*" (*ibid.* 165).³⁷

³³ Possibly JEFFERY took up a suggestion by MONTGOMERY (cf. below p. 68).

³⁴ Thus, in the ascending beasts PORTEOUS could not see a parallel to the Babylonian creation myth that was worth mentioning whether in regard to appearance or function. If a parallel to the creation myth was to be sought the closest one would be the fourth beast, but only in regard to the appearance not in function due to the missing fight between God and the fourth beast. Because both the Ugaritic combat myth and Gen 1 do not report a fight between El and Leviathan, respectively God and the *tehom*, PORTEOUS (1962:80) saw a parallel in these two texts with Dan 7. Cf. however TSUMURA (1989:45-65) who rejected on the basis of linguistic arguments a direct or indirect connection between the creation story of Gen 1 and the Babylonian creation myth and Ugaritic Baal myth. Cf. also HEIDEL 1951:102-114, WESTERMANN 1974:145,146, KLOOS 1986:70-86, and KVANVIG 1988:504 and below, footnote 35.

³⁵ Although PLÖGER did not explicitly specify the underlying myth as the Babylonian creation myth, his parallels to creation are understood so, since the Ugaritic texts do not speak of the creation as such, although some understand them as cosmogonic (COLLINS 1977:99; CLIFFORD 1984; GRØNBÆK 1985; 1986:318-320).

³⁶ Cf. GOLDINGAY'S criticism of the Babylonian background (1988:153).

³⁷ Critical remarks against a Babylonian influence include the following (cf. also footnote 211 on p. 78):

2.2.2. Greek influence

Although proposals for a Greek influence on Dan 7 did not have any significant impact on the study, from a research historical perspective O. EISSFELDT'S early position represents a preparatory step for the development of a Canaanite religio-historical background of Dan 7. In his religio-historical study of Baal Zaphon, EISSFELDT briefly touched on Dan 7, namely, only the fourth beast. EISSFELDT (1932:23,25) pointed out that the fight between Zeus and Typhon, as we find it in the Apollodorian library, is a reflection of an old myth going back to the second millennium³⁸ that was connected with the northern Syrian mountain range of the *mons Casius* which dominated the famous city of Ugarit. Because EISSFELDT saw in the Ugaritic dragon *ltn* a reference to the Greek god Typhon, he argued "dass wir auch aus Ras Schamra doch vielleicht noch etwas wie den Typhon-Mythus erwarten dürfen" (ibid. 24). In regard to Dan 7 EISSFELDT made a historical application equating the fourth beast with Typhon, respectively, the Seleucid kingdom and its king.³⁹ EISSFELDT (ibid. 26,27) supported his argument by a descriptive

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- (1) General statements criticised this position as too one-sided and exaggerated (JUNKER 1932:33), too far-fetched (YOUNG 1954:34), overstressed (LUCAS 1990:162), and that the genuine similarities are very modest (BEEK 1935:37,38) "too few to demonstrate dependence" (CASEY 1979:35), and are outweighed by the differences (DOUKHAN 1989:154, footnote 32);
 - (2) Number, description, and combination of beasts do not correspond (JUNKER 1932:36; DELCOR 1968:296; STAUB 1978:353; LACOCQUE 1976:106 - ibid. 1979:139; PORTER 1983:35; LUCAS 1990:164,165);
 - (3) *Enuma Elish* is chronologically too far-removed from Dan 7 (STAUB 1978:353);
 - (4) Dan 7 is not a *combat* myth: "The material in Dan. 7:2–7, however, does not, in our judgement, qualify as a chaos or combat myth. Combat myths usually entail direct conflict and accent divine intervention; whereas Dan. 7:2–7 presents an evolution within history. Succession of the four world empires in Dan. 7:2–7 is dependent, not on combat, but on the demise of the predecessor ... Therefore, it may be concluded that there is no combat myth in Dan 7. Rather, there is an expression of spatial and ethical dualism, which has been conceived by some scholars as implying a chaos or combat myth" (REID 1989:82,83; cf. also KOCH 1980:231); cf. also footnote 63 no. 7b on p. 35.

³⁸ According to EISSFELDT (1932:5) the Greek cult of Zeus Casius succeeded the Baal cult at *mons Casius* respectively at the mountain of Zaphon.

³⁹ "Erwägt man nämlich, dass das vierte Tier von Dan 7 das Griechen- oder Seleukidenreich meint und dass der König dieses Reiches in Dan 11 mit Betonung 'König des Nordens' genannt wird, bedenkt man ferner, dass in Jes 27,1 die für Ras Schamra nachgewiesene Liwjan-Gestalt von einem jüdischen Dichter oder Apokalyptiker als Symbol für Syrien verwendet worden ist, so drängt sich die Vermutung auf, dass in Dan 7 auf das Seleukidenreich und seinen König ein Mythus angewandt worden ist, der an dem Land des Nordens, ursprünglich wohl am Berge Zaphon, haftete, wie auch die drei ersten Tiere in einer uns freilich nicht mehr sicher erkennbaren Art mit dem Reich und Land, das sie repräsentieren, verknüpft sein mögen, dass es also the Typhon-Gestalt ist, die für das vierte Tier von Dan 7 und auch für Apc Joh 12. 13. 17 Modell gestanden hat (EISSFELDT 1932:25,26).

comparison of the fourth beast in Dan 7 with the Greek god Typhon, as narrated by Apollodor. In stating his conclusions, EISSFELDT remarked:

Auch in Einzelheiten lassen sich trotz all der grossen Verschiedenheiten manche Übereinstimmungen zwischen dem vierten Tiere Daniels und dem Typhon Apollodors aufzeigen. Wichtiger aber ist dies, dass beiden gemeinsam ist der grausig-unheimliche Eindruck, den sie auf den Betrachter machen, und der freche Trotz, mit dem sie selbst gegen den obersten Gott vorgehen. Man wird also in der Tat annehmen dürfen, dass der Verfasser unseres Danielbuches oder der des ihm zugrunde liegenden älteren Buches oder auch der der Einzelvision von Kap. 7 den aus dem Gebiet des Griechen- oder Seleukidenkönigs stammenden Mythenstoff benutzt hat, um an ihm die Furchtbarkeit dieses Königs aufzuzeigen (ibid. 27).

While EISSFELDT, in his essay on Baal Zaphon published in 1932, focused primarily on a Typhonic perspective for the fourth beast of Dan 7,⁴⁰ he also introduced for the first time a Canaanite⁴¹ element in the discussion on the background of Dan 7:2-8⁴² by referring in passing to the dragon *ltn* without giving it a central role in his discussion – and unintentionally associating it with the Canaanite⁴³ school of the religio-historical background of the first part of the vision of Dan 7.⁴⁴

KOCH (1961:9, footnote 1) followed EISSFELDT'S early position, as J. W. VAN HENTEN also recently did albeit with a slight difference, in arguing that the author of Dan 7 used mythic features of *Seth*-Typhon to characterise Antiochus IV Epiphanes (175-164 B.C.E.) as a Typhonic figure (1993:225,235), although he did not exclude "Canaanite mythology as the principal source of information for Daniel 7" (ibid. 228).

⁴⁰ Cf. also KEARNS 1982:128,129, footnote 179.

⁴¹ On the relationship between the Canaanite and Greek tradition see ibid. p. 85, footnote 2, and ibid. pp. 96,97, footnote 35.

⁴² For the first overall Canaanite reference on the vision of Dan 7 see p. 78 with footnote 212.

⁴³ Although the generalising term "Canaanite" seems not to be very accurate in reference to the adduced Ugaritic texts, it has to be remarked that these comparative passages are not considered to be the direct *Vorlage* of Dan 7 (cf. footnote 125 on p. 52) but only an illustrative example of Canaanite traditions which "are best represented by the Ugaritic texts" (COLLINS 1977:101). Since it is the general term used in scholarship when referring to the Ugaritic parallels to Dan 7 it will be retained.

⁴⁴ On the Canaanite aspect of EISSFELDT'S essay see below p. 30.

2.2.3. Canaanite influence

As seen above (p. 29) in as early as 1932 EISSFELDT mentioned the Ugaritic texts in connection with Dan 7 without using them to point out a Canaanite⁴⁵ background. The same position was maintained in EISSFELDT'S Introduction to the Old Testament, published two years later. No reference to a Canaanite background of the fourth beast was made, only Typhon was mentioned.⁴⁶ It is only with the second edition of EISSFELDT'S Introduction to the Old Testament in 1956 that a shift of the Canaanite role of the fourth beast to a more central position is discernible:

Von den vier Tieren in c. 7 ist das vierte deutlich mythlogischer Herkunft, wenn es auch kaum, wie GUNKEL gemeint hat, das Chaostier ist, das hier als Vorbild gedient hat, sondern eher eine im nördlichen Syrien, also im Bereich der damit symbolisierten Seleukidenmacht, beheimatete Typhon-Gestalt *oder eines der Ungeheuer, mit denen nach den ugaritischen Texten Ba'al, von seiner Schwester 'Anat kräftig unterstützt, zu kämpfen hat* [my emphasis], und die Darstellung Persiens ... (EISSFELDT 1956a:648).

By referring also to the Ugaritic text⁴⁷ as a possibility rather than only to the late Greek Typhon tradition, EISSFELDT gave room for the option that the older Ugaritic material could be the primary background of Dan 7.

Despite EISSFELDT'S early mention of the Ugaritic texts, it was BENTZEN who in 1937 truly initiated the Canaanite school of thought regarding the background of Dan 7. Although BENTZEN still seemed to equate the sea (cf. p. 25 with footnote 30) and beasts of Dan 7 with the Babylonian cosmogony (1937:31 = *ibid.* 1952:59), he introduced a new Canaanite perspective in regard to the fourth beast:⁴⁸

Das vierte Tier (7–8), dass offenbar den Höhepunkt der Gottlosigkeit bezeichnet, scheint ... von der durch die Ras Schamra-Texte für etwa 1200 v. Chr. nachge-

⁴⁵ In regard to the terminology see footnote 43.

⁴⁶ "Auch bei den Visionen von c. 7–12 lässt es sich sicher nachweisen, dass ihnen ältere Stoffe zugrunde liegen, insbesondere bei denen von c. 7 und 8. Von den vier Tieren in c. 7 ist das wie GUNKEL gemeint hat, das Chaosungeheuer ist, das hier zum Vorbild gedient hat, sondern eher eine im nördlichen Syrien, also im Bereich der damit symbolisierten Seleukidenmacht, beheimatete Typhon-Gestalt, und die Darstellung Persiens unter einem Widder und Syrien-Griechenland unter einem Stein- oder Ziegenbock in c. 8 ..." (EISSFELDT 1934:578).

⁴⁷ Compare the same passage of the first edition in footnote 46.

⁴⁸ STEINMANN (1950:110,111 = *ibid.* 1960:87,89) also compared the fourth beast with Leviathan but probably having only biblical references in mind.

wiesenen Liwjatan-Gestalt beeinflusst zu sein, die auch wohl in dem Typhon Apollodors weiterlebt und bei ihm eine aufs stärkste an c.7 erinnernde Ausgestaltung erfahren hat (ibid. 33 = ibid. 1952:61).

While EISSFELDT (cf. p. 28) emphasised up to 1934 the Typhonic aspect of the fourth beast, indicating only in 1956 the significance of the Ugaritic texts as the foundation for a primarily Canaanite interpretation, BENTZEN had shifted his focus as early as 1937 to the Canaanite texts, although he allowed the possibility that this motif was also used for Typhon later on. BENTZEN'S Canaanite perspective was underlined in the second edition of his commentary on Daniel with a new reference to the sea (1952:59)⁴⁹ by mentioning A. S. KAPELRUD'S (1952:102ff) discussion on "Prince Sea" in the Ras Shamra texts.

The dual reference to the Ugaritic *ltn*/Leviathan and the Apollodorian Typhon was retained by BAUMGARTNER (1939:221) and JEFFERY (1956:455) for the background of the fourth beast,⁵⁰ whereby the latter still attributed other features to a general Babylonian background (cf. p. 26).

As GUNKEL'S study was ground-breaking for a Babylonian background (cf. p. 22) and BENTZEN'S for a Canaanite background (cf. p. 30) so is J. EMERTON'S contribution considered fundamental for the further development of the Canaanite school. In contrast to GUNKEL, who laid emphasis on the motif-complex of the sea, winds, and beasts, EMERTON approached his discussion on the background of Dan 7 from the imagery of the "son of man" (cf. p. 79). Nevertheless it is surprising that EMERTON devoted only one paragraph to the sea-winds-beasts motif in which he stated that "the Ugaritic texts tell of the slaying of the dragon *ltn* [typifying the sea god Yam], who is probably to be associated with the O.T. Leviathan" (1958:228).⁵¹ While EMERTON perceived in the first part of Dan 7 only a *general* influence by the Ugaritic motif of the slaying of the sea monster and the resulting kingship of

⁴⁹ In the second edition of his Daniel commentary BENTZEN (1952:59) also pointed out that while GUNKEL postulated only a single source he felt that this would be too restrictive, mentioning MEYER'S suggestion of an unknown myth that knew of four beasts rising out of the sea (cf. p. 24 with footnote 27).

⁵⁰ Similar also FOHRER (1968:476) still citing EISSFELDT'S "Baal Zaphon".

⁵¹ EMERTON (1958:228, notes 4 and 5) also made reference to the victory of the goddess Anat over the sea dragon (*ltn*) (DRIVER 1956:86,87, V. iii, esp. lines 55,56), which is in fact attributed to Baal (ibid. 102-105, I* i, esp. lines

the victor,⁵² it is significant that he also attributed a considerable number of deviating details in this motif-complex to other influences.⁵³

After EMERTON, the Canaanite background of Dan 7 was increasingly referred to on the one hand as the most likely one, while on the other hand it was recognised that this influence on the first part of the Danielic vision is very often upon closer scrutiny seen to be vague, general and indirect.

Thus, independently of EMERTON, L. ROST (1958:41-43) published in the same year a short essay that similarly traced the "son of man" motif to Ugaritic mythology without explicitly referring to the motif of the sea, winds, and beasts.⁵⁴ RHODES (1961:416) interpreted only the sea against the background of the Ugaritic sea-dragon Yam as did DELCOR (1968:295,296; *ibid.* 1971:143,144) while advocating a completely different origin for the beasts (cf. p. 38). C. COLPE, after EMERTON the next significant supporter of a Canaanite background, likewise gave only very brief attention to the motif-complex of the sea, winds, and beasts. Except for a statement that the fourth beast had to be equated with the chaos dragon *ltn* or the sea monster Yam, COLPE (1969:418) did not adduce any other Ugaritic parallel for the whole motif-complex of the first part of the vision.⁵⁵ As did his compatriot DELCOR, LACOCQUE

1-3 and 28,29), and the victory of Baal over Yam, the sea (*ibid.* 77-83, esp. lines III* A 23-27), which he observed as related themes.

⁵² The victory of Baal over the dragon *ltn*, as EMERTON (1958:228) pointed out, seemed to have a bearing on his status as king, which he understood as being reflected in Dan 7:14, where the "son of man" is given dominion, glory and an everlasting kingdom after the destruction of the fourth beast: "The coming with clouds thus has a place in Dan. vii, which is organically related to the destruction of the beast from the sea and to the conferring of kingship. It is not explicitly stated that the 'son of man' kills the fourth beast, but the Canaanite parallels suggest that this occurred in the underlying myth" (*ibid.* 232).

⁵³ EMERTON (*ibid.* 227) mentioned the following other influences: Inner-Danielic (the number of four kingdoms), traditional sources (the number of four kingdoms), iconographic (the description of the beasts), Old Testament (the description of the beasts), independent origins (the rising out of the water of the beasts), and contributions from the author of the Book of Daniel himself (some details of the description of the beasts), and the needs of the situation (details of the description of the beasts and their story).

⁵⁴ Only indirectly ROST mentioned the Babylonian and Ugaritic mythology. He questioned what it was that gave the "son of man" the right to assume royal authority: "Soll man dabei an die Besiegung des Chaosdrachens denken, wie von Marduks Thronbesteigung berichtet wird? Oder sind es die Bitten der Anat gewesen, wie im ugaritischen Mythos?" (1958:43). Furthermore, he mentioned that the vision of the four beasts is an ancient theme, which is separate from the "son of man" tradition (*ibid.* 41).

⁵⁵ In connection with the symbols of the four beasts only a reference to Hos 13:7,8 and two iconographic parallels (by citing NORTH 1957:267-271) was made (COLPE 1969:423, footnote 167).

(1976:105 = *ibid.* 1979:138; 130) pointed only very vaguely to some kind of Canaanite influence.⁵⁶

In a digression from his traditio-historical study of Baal-Hadad (cf. below pp. 83–86) R. KEARNS (1982:124–129) also discussed Yam as chaos monster in Ugaritic texts. Although he mentioned the commonly-cited Old Testament passages as a reflection of this theme in regard to an apocalyptic adaptation in Dan 7:7, he concluded that possibly only meagre remnants survived. The typical designations of Yam as chaos monster are missing; what remains is solely his rebellious character (*ibid.* 129) which is not directed against any divine enemy (*ibid.* 134).⁵⁷

While G. R. BEASLEY-MURRAY (1983:44 with footnote 1) followed the Canaanite school without discussing details, J. DAY'S position displays the same differentiating approach as observed since EMERTON by accepting that the motif of the "sea hostile to God is of Canaanite origin" (1985:152) but that:

Whilst the four beasts, and especially the last, appear to play the *role* ascribed to the dragon Leviathan in Canaanite mythology, the fact remains that the precise *form* of the beasts does not correspond to that of Leviathan and the other dragons attested in Ugaritic (*ibid.* 152,153).⁵⁸

⁵⁶ LACOCQUE mentioned the Canaanite influence especially in connection with the "son of man" motif (1979:129) in a section (= *ibid.* 129–133) that was added in the English translation of his commentary. Only two instances mention imagery from the first part of the vision of Dan 7 in connection with Canaanite mythology: (1) a quote by CROSS (1973:345), mentioning Yam and Leviathan (LACOCQUE 1979:130); (2) a reference to the Canaanite myth of the god Yam as another option than the *Enuma Elish* which he seemed to favour (*ibid.* 138 = *ibid.* 1976:105; cf. also p. 27 above). A connection between the fourth beast and the Ugaritic Leviathan was rejected (*ibid.* 141 = *ibid.* 1976:107).

⁵⁷ Not very substantial is KEARNS' evidence for a link between the destruction of Yam and the fourth beast by fire. KEARNS' starting point for such a link is based on a single Ugaritic passage (CTA 4 V 70 = DRIVER 1956:96; GIBSON 1978:60) which mentions the call 'ql' of Hadad (*w<f>m.qlh.b'rpt*; "he will give his call into the clouds"; the English translation is based on KEARNS' [1982:139] German translation). According to KEARNS in the later history of the Hadad tradition Hadad's call was transformed into a fiery weapon which destroyed his enemies (*ibid.* 142,143). The oldest witness to this shift from call to fire is according to KEARNS (*ibid.* 163) Psa 29:7: *קל יהוה חצב להבות אש* "The call of Yahweh kills (with) flames (and) fire" (translation according to KEARNS). KEARNS (*ibid.* 154) noted that the verb *חצב* is problematic in this passage in so far as no attested Hebrew meaning seems to fit. Proposals include "cleave", "split", "hollow out or carve", "poke up (fire)", "spray", "lay about", "smite" (*ibid.* 154,155 with footnotes 312–315,319). Implying a dependence on the Hadad tradition, KEARNS (*ibid.* 155) proposed the connotation of "smite", "kill" for *חצב* in Psa 29:7. A very distant reflection of such a fiery destruction of Yam by Hadad – as is alluded to in Psa 29 – is according to KEARNS also likely in the case of Dan 7:11, which describes the destruction of the fourth beast by fire, "falls das vierte furchtbare Tier eine Verwertung von Jamm sein sollte" (*ibid.* 166).

⁵⁸ On DAY'S position for the origin of the form of the beasts see footnote 120 on p. 52.

Despite the acknowledged limited Ugaritic influence on the first part of the vision of Dan 7, this traditio-historical explanation did not lose its attraction, so that even GOLDINGAY, who gave biblical traditions a central role in regard to the background of Dan 7 by stating that “appeal to foreign influence [is] inappropriate where the material has Jewish parallels” (1988:150), could not dismiss the parallels in the “Ugaritic combat myth *Baal*, which has more links with Daniel 7 [than the *Enuma Elish*] ...” (ibid. 151).

The last to be mentioned is J. J. COLLINS, presently the most prominent advocate of the Canaanite school. According to COLLINS, the author of Dan 7 used traditional Old Testament imagery⁵⁹ which in turn had been formed by Canaanite myths, thereby also indicating that the Canaanite influence on Dan 7 was only an indirect one.⁶⁰ Thus COLLINS traced the motif of the sea back to the Canaanite mythological motif of Yam and saw in the Danielic beasts variants of the Ugaritic dragon *ltn* (1993b:286–289; cf. also ibid. 1977:98,99).⁶¹ On the other hand, COLLINS, in common with EMERTON, also attributed most of the details of the first part of the vision of Dan 7 to various other influences.⁶² While COLLINS admitted that many details of the first part of the vision of Dan 7 are not derived from Ugaritic myths, he still maintained that:

there is a point of analogy, insofar as both [the Ugaritic *ltn* and the fourth beast of Dan 7] are monsters associated with the sea and opposed to the good god in the story. Most scholars, however, see the analogy against a broader background. The

⁵⁹ Cf. his reference to Job 26:7,12,13; Psa 89:9–11; 74:13–17; Isa 51:9,10; 17:12–14; 27:1 (COLLINS 1977:96,97).

⁶⁰ “There is no doubt that the Canaanite myths have most directly influenced the biblical tradition” (ibid. 98), but although “the tradition [of Dan 7] is ultimately of Canaanite origin ... the symbolism of the sea is familiar from the Hebrew Bible and does not itself require direct acquaintance with Canaanite sources” (ibid. 1993a:126 = ibid. 1993b:289; cf. also ibid. 1975:596,597).

⁶¹ As a further parallel COLLINS (1977:99) pointed to the four heads of the third beast and the ten horns of the fourth beast, which he interpreted as a reflection of the Ugaritic dragon with its seven heads. However, in his recent commentary on Daniel he retracted somewhat from this parallel: “The correspondence between *Lôtān*/Leviathan and the fourth beast of Daniel 7 is not exact. The name is not found in Daniel and the description is not that of a serpent with seven heads” (ibid. 1993b:288).

⁶² Thus, COLLINS (ibid. 289) stated that “the description of the individual beasts, however, cannot be explained from any Canaanite sources now available.” Furthermore, “Daniel speaks of *four* beasts that come up out of the sea” (ibid. 291). As origin for the description of the beasts COLLINS assumed biblical tradition and hybrid forms of Mesopotamian mythology (ibid. 289) and art in general (ibid. 285). The function of the beast, i.e., that they represent kingdoms was understood by COLLINS as a reflection of traditional Hebrew and Ugaritic usage of names of male animals to designate nobility, and the figure of four kingdoms, is explained as traditional sequence which presumably derived from Dan 2 (ibid. 1977:104).

primary enemy, both in Daniel and in the Canaanite myth, is the sea, Yamm (1993b:288).⁶³

⁶³ Critical remarks against a Canaanite influence include the following (cf. also footnote 263 on p. 91):

- (1) The sea in Dan 7: (a) is not divine (FERCH 1980:81) and not animate (*ibid.*; KVANVIG 1988:508); (b) is not a chaos symbol but interpreted as the earth (FERCH 1980:81); cf. however the objection by COLLINS: "Ferch objects that 'the sea and beast are interpreted as the earth and four kings or kingdoms and not as chaos symbols.' This is to confuse the reference of the symbols (the kings/kingdoms) with their expressive value (chaos symbols)" (1981:92,93);
- (2) Winged deities are almost non-existent in Ugaritic mythology (FERCH 1980:81);
- (3) The four beasts: (a) no specific parallel for any beast (KVANVIG 1988:508; PORTER 1983:35; FERCH 1980:81; cf. also DAY above on p. 33); (b) the beasts are not chaos symbols but interpreted as four kings or kingdoms (*ibid.*); cf. however no. 1b above; (c) all four beasts leave the water since they are not aquatic animals, in contrast to the Ugaritic Leviathan whose realm is the sea (COPPENS 1968:500; cf. similar already KRAELING 1927:145; GUNKEL above in footnote 22, no. 5 on p. 23);
- (4) The historical perspective associated with the beasts in Dan 7 is missing in the Ugaritic texts (FERCH 1980:81);
- (5) The fourth beast/Leviathan: (a) Lotan is only mentioned once in the Ugaritic texts (*ibid.* 79); (b) Lotan or Leviathan is not mentioned in Dan 7 (*ibid.* 80); (c) the parallel is not obvious (LACOCQUE 1976:107 = *ibid.* 1979:141; cf. also KEARNS above on p. 33) since the features do not coincide (COPPENS 1968:500; FERCH 1980:80); (d) Dan 7 declines any comparison by emphasising the unique nature of the fourth beast (PLÖGER 1965:109);
- (6) Ugaritic texts are chronologically too far-removed from Daniel and without convincing (extra-biblical) transmission history (CAQUOT 1967:55; DELCOR 1968:297; STAUB 1978:353; MOSCA 1986:498);
- (7) Dan 7 is not a *combat* myth: (a) cf. footnote 37, no. 4 on p. 27; (b) "the fourth beast in Daniel 7 meets its demise not in a combat with the 'son of man'" (FERCH 1980:80; cf. also footnote 263, no. 2c on p. 91);
- (8) No direct dependence on the Ugaritic mythology is necessary since the Old Testament provides the source for the images and motifs (MOSCA 1986:500–502; CASEY 1979:18; KVANVIG 1988:350, footnote 24; cf. also HARTMAN/DI LELLA 1978:212; DOUKHAN 1989:154, footnote 32);
- (9) A "conservative defender of the traditional faith" (CASEY 1979:18; cf. also CARAGOUNIS 1986:38) would use native Israelite imagery. Cf. the response by COLLINS: "...some critics demand 'congeniality in ideological standpoint between the presumed background and the author of our text', with the implication that pagan mythology is in principle not congenial to the work of a pious Jew. This formulation of the issue assumes that the ideological standpoint of the text is clear-cut, and risks confusing what is congenial to the text with what is congenial to the critic. Appropriation of foreign motifs and thought patterns requires that some aspect of the presumed background be congenial to the author, but does not require identity of outlook ... Whether pagan myths constitute the background to Daniel 7 must be judged by the light they throw on the text, not pre-judged by modern assumptions about what is permissible for an ancient Jew" (1993a:123 = *ibid.* 1993b:282);
- (10) "... religio-historical parallels should be considered against the totality of the phenomenological conceptions of the works in which such correspondences occur. Likewise ... single motifs [should not be] torn out of their living contexts" (FERCH 1980:75); cf. the response by COLLINS: "These principles are quite valid if we wish to compare the message of Daniel, or its pattern of religion, with that of the Ugaritic myths. Such comparison has never, to my knowledge, been the issue in the parallels between Daniel and Ugarit, and is rarely if ever involved in the identification of any mythological allusions in apocalyptic literature. Equally, scholars who identify mythological images do not claim that they have the same meaning or reference in their new contexts ... Pace Ferch, traditional images are constantly 'torn from their living contexts' and transferred to new ones ... No scholar has ever denied that there is 'discontinuity' between Daniel 7 and Ugarit, or indeed that the discontinuity is more significant than the continuity in determining the present image of the text. All that is claimed is that the imagery of Daniel has traditional associations and that these associations are one significant factor in the communicative power of the text" (1981:91; cf. also *ibid.* 1993b:281 = *ibid.* 1993a:124);
- (11) Parallels are inadequate and not specific enough (CASEY 1979:35; KVANVIG 1988:509) therefore "in the light of the complexities just noted [in the Ugaritic texts], it becomes apparent that religio-historical parallels must not be established too readily. It is a methodological necessity to examine single parallel terms and motifs in the total context in which they occur. To study parallels in isolation is to open oneself to the danger of misreading elements of one culture in terms of another and of suppression of adverse evidence in the interests of a theory" (FERCH 1980:79); cf. the response by COLLINS: "... we cannot demand exact reproduction of the myth, and the symbols do not necessarily carry the same reference as in the original ... What carries over are the allusions and associations ... The pattern of the relationship here is more

2.2.4. Astrological influence

The first remark referring to astrological influence in the Book of Daniel goes back to a private communication by M. F. C. BURKITT to F. CUMONT in 1909:

Le choix de ces animaux [referring to the ram and he-goat of Dan 8:20,21] symboliques paraît avoir été inspiré par la théorie [i.e., astral-geography⁶⁴] qui soumettait la Perse au Bélier, la Syrie au Capricorne (Αἰγόκερω) (CUMONT 1909:273).

BURKITT'S suggestion that the choice of the ram and the he-goat in Dan 8 as symbols for the Persians and Syrians⁶⁵ was motivated by the Zodiac signs of Aries and Capricorn, associated in astral-geography with these two peoples, was subsequently taken up by many scholars.

Among these scholars was F. BOLL (1914:46) who attempted to locate the underlying imagery of the book of Revelation. In a final remark on the "son of man" in Rev 1:13-16, BOLL (ibid. 50-53) suggested a remote dependence on the imagery of the "Ancient of days" and the "son of man" in Dan 7, whereby he equated the latter with the "man" mentioned in Dan 10:5,6. BOLL traced the origin of these Danielic passages to astrological literature and cited as examples several passages from two Hermetic books.⁶⁶ In his list of parallels he failed however, to mention Dan 7. Apart from Eze 1:7 and eight passages from Revelation BOLL listed only Dan 10:5,6 as Danielic parallel to his Hermetic material.

While H. GRESSMANN made numerous contributions to the study of the background of the second part of the vision of Dan 7 (cf. pp. 75,95,97,101,102,132), only one dealt with the first part, namely, his brief mention of the rising out of the sea of the four beasts as an astrological

important than the variation in detail" (1981:92,93); "It should be no surprise that his composition is a new entity, discontinuous in some respects with all its sources. What is significant is whether there are also aspects of the text that are rendered more intelligible when considered in the context of the proposed background" (ibid. 1993b:282; cf. also ibid. 1993a:124 and above footnotes 53 on p. 32 and 62 on p. 34).

⁶⁴ According to astral-geography astrological constellations, represented by animals, influence the destiny of nations and individuals (cf. CAQUOT 1955:9,10).

⁶⁵ But cf. the apt remark of DAY (1985:154) that the he-goat in Dan 8:21 according to the text does not represent Syria but Greece.

⁶⁶ I.e., Σαλμενιχιακά/Σαλμεσχοινιακά and Ἑρμοῦ πρὸς Ἀσκληπιὸν ἢ λεγομένη ἱερὰ βίβλος. No direct relationship between Daniel and the two Hermetic books were claimed, since "das einzelne Bild immer in einem Teil [von den] Einzelheiten [ab]weicht, da es sich ja nicht um eine unmittelbare Quelle für die apokalyptische Tradition handeln kann, sondern nur um einen Gesamttypus von verwandter Prägung" (BOLL 1914:52).

reflex of Babylonian-Iranian astrology which knows of a primeval cave below the sea being the abode of the god of destiny (1925:19).

The tentative beginnings of proposals for astrological influence on Dan 7 were finally shaken off with an all-out pan-astrological interpretation by R. EISLER who traced everything that the visionary of Dan 7 saw to astral-geography (1930:660-665).⁶⁷

Considerably more modest was J. STEINMANN (1950:108 = *ibid.* 1960:85) who argued that the wings of the lion are indicative of the astrological origin of this symbol.

The most influential proponent of an astral-geographical interpretation of the first part of Dan 7 was the Frenchman, A. CAQUOT, who found a balance between the indecisive early attempts and the untenable imaginations of EISLER. After suggesting that the four beasts of Dan 7 represented the four directions of the earth which were occupied by Babylon in the South, Media in the North, Persia in the East, and Greeks in the West,⁶⁸ CAQUOT (1955:9-12) applied the principles of astral-geography, as had been done with Dan 8. However, he was unable to make the same equations as had been done in Dan 8, i.e., "Zodiac X rules over nation Y", because only one animal, namely, the lion, appeared in the signs of the Zodiac and even in this case the lion was not associated with Babylonia.⁶⁹ Thus CAQUOT was forced to find an astral-geographical list of animals other than the generally-used twelve Zodiac signs. He found them in the so-called *paranatellonta*⁷⁰ as used in the Babylonian list of Teucer, dating from the 2nd century B.C.E. Unfortunately this list did not completely match Dan 7 either. Thus Persia was

⁶⁷ Thus, EISLER (1930:664,665) explained the four winds as the four *κέντρα κόσμου*, the four corners of the world, and the four beasts rising out of the sea as the rising signs of the Zodiac. The lion was equated by EISLER with the Zodiac of Leo. Based on a "corrected" verse order (*ibid.* 662,663), the iron teeth (dual!) of verse 7 and the three ribs of verse 5 were attributed to the lion and interpreted as the two bright stars ϵ and μ and as the main stars of the constellation below the Zodiac of Leo. The bear was associated with the Zodiac of the Great Bear and the panther with that of Pegasus. Based again on a correction of the text, the fourth beast of Dan 7 was fitted out with the eagle's wings of verse 4 explaining it therefore as the Zodiac of the Eagle.

⁶⁸ CAQUOT (1955:9) saw in the order of Babylon, Media, Persia, and Greece the Babylonian tradition that associated the four winds in the following sequence: South, North, East, West.

⁶⁹ LUCAS (1990:178) pointedly remarked that CAQUOT (1955:12) on the one hand acknowledged that the lion was not associated with Babylonia, but on the other hand failed to indicate that Leo rules over Asia.

not represented by the leopard but by the cat. CAQUOT explained this substitution of one feline with another by the remark: "Le chat ... paraît avoir été inconnu des Sémites: Il n'a de nom ni en accadien, ni en araméen, ni en hébreu biblique. Il est donc possible qu'on lui ait substitué un autre félin" (ibid. 11). In the case of Media, CAQUOT was faced with the problem, that it did not appear in Teucer's list at all. However, CAQUOT argued that

dans Teucros, un des décans⁷¹ du Cancer, affecté au Nord, a l'ourse pour symbole et la chorographie met l'Arménie sous sa dépendance ... Comme l'Arménie, la Médie est rangée par les astrologues dans les pays du Nord ... (ibid.).

After solving the problem of Media by associating it with the northern region next to Armenia upon which the bear exerts its influence, CAQUOT had to solve the problem of the lion which was associated in Teucer's list with Asia and not with Babylonia (which stands according to Teucer under the influence of the dog). This was achieved by referring to Ptolemy who associated Mesopotamia with Leo. CAQUOT pointed out that there was no astrological animal that could adequately represent the terrible fourth power. Thus he argued that it was replaced by an imaginary composite creature that met the imagination of the listeners, "non pas en leur évoquant le dragon du chaos babylonien, ni le *ltn* ougaritique, mais plus simplement le Léviathan des Prophètes et des Psaumes, la Bête de la mer, de l'Ouest" (ibid. 12).⁷²

CAQUOT'S explanation was followed by E. BICKERMANN (1967:102), DELCOR (1968:299; ibid. 1971:145-147), and M. CASEY (1978:20), while Z. ZEVIT (1968:391,92) reluctantly accepted it as the least unsatisfactory among those presented. Even COLLINS (1975:601) in one of his early treatments on Dan 7 considered an astrological explanation for the choice of the Danielic beasts,⁷³ a position he abandoned later on.⁷⁴ The possibility of astrological influence

⁷⁰ The *paranatellonta* are three "accompanying constellations" for each of the 12 signs of the Zodiac, which are also represented by animals and exert influence over a particular region of the earth. For a brief summary of the whole concept see in English LUCAS 1990:178, in German STAUB 1978:356, footnote 15.

⁷¹ I.e., a specific constellation of the *paranatellonta*.

⁷² More than a decade later CAQUOT (1967:39) reaffirmed his position as pointed out in 1955.

⁷³ "The choice of those particular beasts probably derives from the signs of the Zodiac" (COLLINS 1975:601).

⁷⁴ Cf. the most recent statement of COLLINS (1993b:295, footnote 153) in which he assessed the astrological explanation put forward by CAQUOT as "extremely hypothetical".

was also hinted at by LACOCQUE (1979:139; *ibid.* 1976:106), and more recently by P. MOSCA (1986:499, footnote 17), and M. BARKER (1987:123, footnote 29).⁷⁵

2.2.5. Phoenician influence

The attempt to establish a Phoenician influence on the first part of the vision in Dan 7 was restricted to verse 2 and to the final decade of the last century and the first year of this century. In his commentary on Daniel A. A. BEVAN (1892:120, footnote 1) referred to R. SMITH who suggested that Dan 7:2 is borrowed from the Phoenicians who “believed the world (Αἰών), personified as a man, to have been born ἐκ τοῦ Κολπία ἀνέμου καὶ γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ Βάαυ (i.e., Hebr. בָּרוּ). Here the wind Kolphia seems to be כָּל פְּאָרֵי הַיָּם ‘the wind from every quarter’”. The same argument was taken up only once, namely, by MARTI (1901:49).

⁷⁵ Critical remarks against an astrological influence include the following:

- (1) CAQUOT used questionable manipulation and argumentation with no immediate evidence in regard to the equation between Media and the bear, the connection of the lion with Babylon, and the substitute of the leopard with the cat (COFFENS 1969:125; DAY 1985:155; GOLDINGAY 1988:151; COLLINS 1993b:295, footnote 153), whereby the rationale for the substitution of the leopard by the cat is undermined by (a) the post-biblical Hebrew word *hānūl* denoting “cat”; (b) the mentioning of the cat in the Letter of Jeremiah 21 (c. 300 B.C.E.), so that “therefore [is] no reason why Daniel 7 should not have alluded to the cat if precise symbolism was required” (DAY 1985:155). LUCAS (1990:180) also cited Akkadian evidence for the occurrence of the cat in literature from Old Babylonian times onwards;
- (2) The very basis from which CAQUOT launched his thesis is questionable, namely, that Dan 8 also reflects the influence of Teucer’s astral-geography, because (a) the he-goat of Dan 8:21 is not equated with Syria but with Greece (DAY 1985:154; LUCAS 1990:182); (b) when the Greeks took over from the Babylonians the 12 signs of the Zodiac were all translated into Greek names with one exception, namely, the Ram, whose Babylonian name was *hun.ga = agru*, “the hireling” (the origin of the later Greek equivalent is not known). Hence even on Seleucid tablets the traditional Babylonian designations were used, so that “one would hardly expect the Ram to appear as an astrological symbol ...” (*ibid.* 181);
- (3) A system of 36 esoteric symbols would hardly have been understood by the readers of Dan 7 (STAUB 1978:357);
- (4) “Also, Caquot fails to note that Ptolemy treats Babylonia, Assyria, and Chaldea as separate countries, and it is only Chaldea that he puts under Leo. The others he puts directly under Virgo. These considerations show that there are too many problems and uncertainties in Caquot’s thesis for it to carry conviction” (LUCAS 1990:181);
- (5) LUCAS (*ibid.* 180) reminds that Teucer’s system is not a Babylonian, but an Egyptian system (CAQUOT 1955:11; STAUB 1978:356, footnote 15) in a Hellenised form that was known in Babylonia by the first century CE, whereby LUCAS even questions the Babylonian location of Teucer. Thus “this casts considerable doubt on the validity of Caquot’s appeal to Teucros’ schema to illuminate the animal imagery of Daniel 7, especially when there is so little direct correspondence between the animals and countries of that chapter and of the astrological schema” (*ibid.* 180,181);
- (6) No astrological equivalent was produced for the fourth beast (PORTER 1983:35).

2.2.6. Iranian influence

While proposals for an Iranian influence are numerous for the second part of the vision of Dan 7, they did not have a significant impact on the first part. D. VÖLTER compared the beasts in Dan 7 to the gruesome beasts and tyrannical kings who were the instruments of *Ahriman* (1902:173). A similar position was held by ZIMMERN (SCHRADER/ZIMMERN/WINCKLER 1903:508). MEYER likened the demise of the fourth beast within the judgement scene of Dan 7 to the Iranian serpent-like *Azi* and dragon-like *Azi Dahaka* (1921:199).⁷⁶ A. FREIHERR VON GALL (1926:267) took up MEYER'S suggestion and claimed that although the imagery of the four beasts is of Babylonian origin, these beasts represent in reality Persian demons in Babylonian garb, particularly the fourth beast. KRAELING considered MEYER'S Iranian explanation of the fate of the fourth beast "not impossible" but most likely "improbable" (1933:229). Recently S. B. REID argued that although the four beasts are an "*ad hoc* creation of the author", following thereby L. F. HARTMAN/A. DI LELLA (1978:212), the animal imagery acts merely "as a vehicle for the historical [four world empire] schema" (REID 1989:84) which REID perceived as indicative that "the original setting of the animal imagery ... may well have been Persian" (ibid. 90).⁷⁷

2.2.7. Egyptian influence

Against the background of Antiochus IV Epiphanes (175-164 B.C.E.), J. C. H. LEBRAM pointed out that the enemy of God's people in Dan 7 acts "als eine Art Gegentypus des ägyptischen Königs ..., dessen Funktion auch durch die Polarität von Erhaltung und Störung der Ordnung bestimmt ist" (1975:747). LEBRAM proceeded to argue that Egypt provided a

⁷⁶ The animals as such MEYER compared with Babylonian mythology (cf. p. 24).

⁷⁷ As a critical remark to an Iranian influence on this part of the vision COLLINS (1993b:283) pointed out that there is no explanation for the beasts rising out of the sea (cf. also footnote 281 on p. 98).

similar tradition of prophecy⁷⁸ with a literary structure akin to Jewish apocalyptic prophecy. He concluded that "die Darstellung des Antiochus als des Feindes der göttlichen Ordnung unter dem Einfluss spätägyptischer Geschichtsinterpretation steht" (ibid. 749), which associated the "gottfeindlichen fremdländischen" king with Typhon⁷⁹ – the Greek form of the Egyptian god Seth (ibid. 1984:89). As vehicle of transmission LEBRAM singled out wisdom literature (ibid. 1975:749,750). More specific parallels to Dan 7 were not made.⁸⁰

2.2.8. Treaty curse imagery influence

T. WITTSTRUCK (1978:100-102) suggested that the influence of treaty curses accounts for the final shape of the beast imagery of Dan 7. He cited two Sefire inscriptions (Sf I A 30-31; Sf II A 9)⁸¹ of which the first has the animal sequence as snake, scorpion, bear, leopard, and the second as lion, [lacuna], leopard. On the basis of the first inscription he conjectured that the lacuna of the second inscription had to be read "bear," thereby resulting in the same sequence as in Dan 7. As additional support WITTSTRUCK referred to Hos 13:7,8, Jer 5:6; 15:3.⁸²

⁷⁸ Referred to were: "The Prophecy of Nefer-rohu" (cf. WILSON 1969b:444-446), "The Demotic Chronicle" (cf. McCOWN 1925:387-392), and "The Oracle of the Potter" (cf. KOENEN 1968:178-209).

⁷⁹ On Antiochus IV Epiphanes and Typhon see VAN HENTEN 1993:223-243.

⁸⁰ Regarding to criticism of an Egyptian influence cf. the remark in footnote 77 which was also applied to a suggested Egyptian background.

⁸¹ Sf I A 30-31 (FITZMYER 1967:14,15): "May the gods send every sort of devourer against Arpad and against its people! [May the mo]uth of a snake [eat], the mouth of a scorpion, the mouth of a bear, the mouth of a leopard!"; Sf II A 9 (ibid. 80,81): "[... and may] the mouth of a lion [eat] and the mouth of [a ...] and the mouth of a leopard!"

⁸² Critical remarks against a treaty curse imagery influence include the following:

(1) In the same volume of the *Journal of Biblical Literature* in which WITTSTRUCK published his proposal RIMBACH (1978:565,566) remarked that the reading of "bear" (*dbhh*) as well as "leopard" (*nirrh*) in Sf IA 30-31 are very uncertain due to damage (cf. also FITZMYER 1967:48,49 and DUPONT-SOMMER 1960:242). Secondly, RIMBACH pointed out that the reading "bee" (*dbrh*) and "ant" are much more suitable in the context of the curse, which "centers on the destruction of vegetation and enumerates reptiles and insects as the agency of such destruction" (ibid. 565), thus resulting in the sequence: snake, scorpion, bee, ant, moth, louse, whereby the latter two insects are taken from the extended context. With this the conjecture of "bear" in the second Sefire inscription (Sf II A 9) seems even on weaker ground, than it was due to the lacuna itself (cf. also GOLDINGAY 1988:151; PORTER 1983:36);

(2) DAY (1985:154), following basically RIMBACH, added: "... it is doubtful whether Sefire treaty I A 31 can give one confidence in this, since the leopard is the only animal common to both lists as they stand" (cf. also COLLINS 1993b:295, footnote 154) and "even if the sequence lion, bear, leopard were attested in the eighth-century B.C. Syrian Sefire treaty, it would be extremely hazardous to conclude that it must therefore be treaty usage which lies behind the beasts in the second century B.C. book of Daniel" (DAY 1985:154).

2.2.9. Birth omen influence

P. A. PORTER drew attention to the parallels between the peculiar physical characteristics of the beasts of Dan 7 and 8⁸³ and the Mesopotamian birth omen series “*Shumma Izbu* (‘If an anomaly ...’), a collection of at least twenty-four tablets in which anomalous human and animal births and their bearing on the future affairs of both individuals and state are delineated” (1983:16).

PORTER (ibid. 17–22) listed four different types of parallels: (1) *common peculiar physical features*;⁸⁴ (2) *historical omens* that identify birth anomalies with specific kings;⁸⁵ (3) an anomaly

⁸³ PORTER (1983:22–27) extended his investigation also to the Bokkhoris Lamb tradition, 1 En 85–90, the Testament of Joseph 19, and the Revelation of John.

⁸⁴ The following parallels of animals raised on one side, multiple-headed animals, multiple-horned animals, animals with displaced eyes, horned animals with claws are mentioned by PORTER (1983:17,18) for chapter 7:

Daniel

7:5 And behold, another beast, a second one, like a bear. *It was raised up on one side ...*

7:5 it had three ribs in its mouth between its teeth ...

7:6 After this I looked, and lo, another, like a leopard ... and the beast had four heads; and dominion was given to it.

7:7 After this I saw in the night visions, and behold, a fourth beast, ... and it had ten horns.

7:8 ... and behold, in this horn were eyes ...

7:19 the fourth beast ... with its .. claws of bronze

Shumma Izbu

XIV 10 If an anomaly's right shoulder is raised – your enemy will carry off the power of your country; a palace official will die; birth of a moron in your land.

XIV 11 If an anomaly's left shoulder is raised – the prince will carry off the power of the enemy land; birth of a moron in the enemy land.

XVII 16' If an anomaly holds its lung(s) in its mouth – a strong king [...]

VII A 1–2 If an anomaly has two heads, but (only) one neck – the king will conquer wherever he turns; he will conquer a land which does not belong to him (var.), the king will have no opponent.

VAT 17293 If an anomaly has four heads (mentioned by PORTER [ibid. 19, footnote 20] as probably belonging to tablet VIII of the *Shumma Izbu*; translated by LUCAS 1990:175)

IX 64' If an anomaly has one horn on its left and two on its forehead, and none on the right – overthrow of the army of the prince; the army of the enemy [...]

X 42' If an anomaly's eyes are on the top of its head – end of the reign.

X 63' If an anomaly's eyes are normal, but it has a third one on its hoof – an enemy will overthrow the prince's auxiliary troops.

XIX 15' If a cow gives birth and (the calf's) fore-feet are like the paws of a lion – the prince's weapon.

XIV 47 If an anomaly's four legs are like the paws of a lion – [...]

⁸⁵ PORTER (1983:20) mentioned only one less specific example for Dan 7 (all others were for Dan 8):

Daniel

7:24 As for the ten horns, out of this kingdom ten kings shall arise, and another shall arise after them; he shall be different from the former ones, and shall put down three kings.

Shumma Izbu

VII 80' If an anomaly has two heads, two spines, six (sets of) ribs, two tails, six feet, three eyes, (and) three bases – the sons of the king will fight among themselves, and one among them will fall.

as basis for a *time prediction*;⁸⁶ (4) the *Shumma Izbu* series that knows a comparative form, similar to Dan 7, where *beasts*⁸⁷ are likened instead of being identified.⁸⁸ An additional parallel is mentioned by PORTER (ibid. 28) when he stated that “the fact that certain details in the visions find no specific correspondence in the interpretation and vice versa – is comparable to a similar lack of detailed correspondence between protasis and apodosis in numerous birth-omen texts.” PORTER concluded his discussion on the physical peculiarities of Dan 7 and 8 by pointing out that “... the animal anomalies in these visions originally had an evocative power by virtue of their stylistic dependence on Mesopotamian omen literature, rather than because of any perceived literal absurdity” (ibid. 29).

After discussing the *physical features* of the animals of Dan 7 and 8, PORTER (ibid. 33–42) proposed that the *function* of these animal images is dominated by and accounted for by the root metaphor of the shepherd (mediated by the office of the king) by comparing them to the Animal Apocalypse of 1 En 85–90 (ibid. 43–60), the Old Testament lamentation literature, and

⁸⁶PORTER (ibid. 20,21) gives only a single example for Dan 7 and 8:

Daniel

7:24,25 As for the ten horns ... another shall arise after them ... the saints of the Most High ... shall be given into his hand for *a time, two times, and half a time*.

Shumma Izbu

XX 19' If a mare bears twins and they have one chest, two heads[...] two hips [...] normal feet, tail and hair – the days of the prince will be long; [...] the king will become strong; the land will not be happy for *six years*; its (the mare's) owner will die.

⁸⁷ Therefore, PORTER interpreted the comparative form “like a son of man” as reference to a figure that “is not necessarily a member of the human species” (ibid. 28).

⁸⁸ PORTER (ibid. 22) mentioned four examples for Dan 7 (the phrase “if a ewe gives birth to” has to be understood according to Old Babylonian omens as “If a ewe gives birth to an anomaly like”; cf. ibid. 21):

Daniel

7:4 The first was like a lion and had eagles' wings ...

7:5 And behold, another beast, a second one, like a bear ...

7:6 After this I looked, and lo, another, like a leopard ...

7:13 I saw in the night visions, and behold, with the clouds of heaven there came one like a son of man ...

Shumma Izbu

V 50 If a ewe gives birth to a lion, and it has the head of a *huqu*-bird – the son of a widow will seize the throne.

V 107 If a ewe gives birth to a bear – a person with no right to the throne will seize it.

V 96 If a ewe gives birth to a leopard – a prince will seize universal kingship.

V 51 If a ewe gives birth to a lion, and it has a human face – ...

XVIII 33' If a goat gives birth to a human, (var.), a cripple – [...]

XX 24' If a mare gives birth to a human – the whole land will have good fortune.

other ancient Near Eastern texts (ibid. 61–120). Recently PORTER'S position received sympathetic evaluation by GOLDINGAY (1988:151).⁸⁹

2.2.10. Vision of the Netherworld

A hallmark of the research on the background of Dan 7 is often a very complex mixture of different traditions proposed in order to account for all the details of this vision since "no text has been discovered which combines all or most of the features of the vision" (KVANVIG 1981:85). It was this assessment that H. S. KVANVIG challenged, when he claimed in a preliminary report published in 1981 that he had discovered the very text that served as the "real background" of Dan 7, combining "most of the features extant in the vision of Daniel 7" (1981:85,86).⁹⁰ According to KVANVIG the imagery of Dan 7 "is derived from an Akkadian vision of the nether world and closely related traditions" (1988:346). The text referred to is the "Vision

⁸⁹ Cf. also the repeated references to PORTER in GOLDINGAY'S commentary on the text of Dan 7 (1988:161–163). Critical remarks against a birth omen influence include the following:

- (1) There are no parallels for winged animals (LUCAS 1990:174);
- (2) The features of the beast of Dan 7 can also be explained as "the result of the author's imagination working on the historical referent in the light of the images of *Mischwesen* that are common in Babylonian art, mythology, and birth omens. There need be no direct dependence on the omens" (ibid. 174,175);
- (3) In Dan 7 the symbols "stand in direct, allegorical, relationship to the historical referent ... The relationship between the form of the *izbu* and the historical events in the apodosis is unclear. There is certainly no direct symbol-referent relationship" (ibid. 175);
- (4) If a mantic wise man was responsible for Dan 7 "one would expect the language ... to be patterned on the canonical phraseology if dependent, in a literary sense, on the omens" (ibid.);
- (5) The Babylonian birth omen traditions in the Levant did not continue beyond the Late Bronze Age. In Greek divination birth omens did not play major role (ibid. 177);
- (6) The case for the root metaphor of the shepherd as origin for the animal metaphors of Dan 7 is weakened because in Dan 7 "the motif of sheep and shepherd is not explicitly present" (COLLINS 1993b:303, footnote 235);
- (7) The parallels between the Animal Apocalypse and Dan 7 and 8 are not entirely convincing, because (a) the shepherds in 1 En 85–90 are not described as beasts; (b) the beast representing foreign powers in the Animal Apocalypse are normal and not monstrous; (c) the beasts in Dan 7 function once as (king)-shepherds and on the other as subjects of the "son of man"-shepherd, which is a highly unlikely use of a metaphor; (d) the description of kings in the ancient Near East by way of animal imagery is not limited to the metaphor of the shepherd, therefore not necessitating the backdrop to this one metaphor (KVANVIG 1988:499).

⁹⁰ Nevertheless KVANVIG lowered the high expectations raised in his introduction with a disclaimer in the last paragraph of his preliminary publication by stating: "I do not claim that the author of Dan 7 has read the Assyrian vision. The way the parallels occur do rather point towards a knowledge about traditions derived from this unique and strange text in Mesopotamian milieu. Neither do I claim that the Assyrian vision is the only source behind Dan 7. There are certainly others ... But I do think that traditions from the Assyrian vision form the main source of Dan 7" (1981:88).

of the Netherworld",⁹¹ i.e., the Assyrian text VAT 10057, dating from the seventh century B.C.E., which is dealt with in detail by KVANVIG in his book *Roots of Apocalyptic* published in 1988. A second Akkadian dream vision, "The Death-Dream of Enkidu," part of the "Humbaba story" found in the *Gilgamesh* epic,⁹² is also used for comparison with Dan 7. According to KVANVIG (ibid. 354) the "Death-Dream of Enkidu" forms the background of the "Vision of the Netherworld". However, "even though the vision [of the Netherworld] is dependent upon the Death-Dream [of Enkidu], the motifs are transferred to another setting and used with another intention" (ibid. 439).

⁹¹ The "Vision of the Netherworld" was first published by EBELING (1931:1-19). A revised edition was published by VON SODEN (1936), which received only a few changes later by EBELING (1937) and VON SODEN (1938). A new transliteration and translation of lines 42-49 of VON SODEN'S edition was provided by FRANK (1941). English translations of the "Vision of the Netherworld" are found in SPEISER 1969c:109,110, HEIDEL 1949:132-136, and KVANVIG 1988:390-399. The content of the "Vision of the Netherworld" is as follows: It opens with the identification of the report as a night-vision or dream. In autobiographical style the visionary describes fifteen hybrid gods of the netherworld, as he starts to recount the content of his dream. The enumeration of these gods follows a new static picture: "One man [*ištēn eflu*], his body was black like pitch. His face was similar to that of an Anzu-bird. He was wearing a red robe. In his left hand he was holding up a bow. In his right hand he was hol[ding] a sword. [With his left foot he was treading on]." (line 50). In a new scene, the visionary watches as the warrior god Nergal is seated on a royal throne to hold judgement over the dreamer, who is brought into the presence of Nergal, who delivers a long speech. In the first part of this speech the visionary is threatened with the death-sentence because he has dishonoured Nergal's wife. However the sentence is finally commuted - due to the intercession of the divine counsellor - into the prospect that the visionary's future will bring disturbance, dishonesty, and rebellion instead of immediate death. The second part of Nergal's speech is introduced with a description of a spirit in the netherworld who is the "exalted shepherd; to whom my father [], the king of the gods, gives/gave full responsibility; whom from sunrise to sunset he allows to look over the lands in their totality [], and he r[ul]es over everything; to [w]hom, in view of his priesthood, Aššur [decr]ees the celebration of the holy New-Years festival in the open country, in the garden of fertility, an image of Lebanon. [] in all eternity" (lines 62B-64). This ideal king is then set in contrast with a rebel king, the father of the visionary. Of both is predicted that they will suffer together because of the crime they committed. As the dreamer awakes he describes his feelings resulting from the just-experienced dream to conclude his account with praises for Nergal and the divine queen. The epilogue tells how the dream changed the scribe's corrupt attitude into the willingness to do all that Nergal commands.

⁹² In the Neo-Assyrian version from Kuyuncik the "Death-Dream of Enkidu" is found on tablet VII, column iv, lines 11-54. A translation is found in SPEISER 1969b:87, tab. 7, col iv, 11-54). KVANVIG (1988:355-361) gives a partly new translation which includes newly discovered tablets also containing "The Death-Dream of Enkidu". The content of "The Death-Dream of Enkidu" is as follows: The introduction informs the reader that Enkidu saw a dream during the night-time. The vision opens by describing the violent reaction of nature as death breaks into the world. In lines 17,18 the first figure is introduced, "one man" whose "face was similar to that of an Anzu-bird". He engages Enkidu in a fight, which "is interrupted by a cry from Enkidu to Gilgamesh for help" (ibid. 361). Since Gilgamesh did not come to help, the man is transformed into a bird-like creature. The report continues with a description of the descent to the nether world. On arriving in the nether world Enkidu describes how the royal dwellers of the nether world participate in a banquet. The final section is a further description of dwellers of the nether world over whom the queen of the nether world, Ereshkigal, resides in judgement. The report breaks off with the following two lines (53/54): "Lifting up her [Ereshkigal's] head, she looked at me [Enkidu]: / Saying: 'Who has brought this one here?'"

KVANVIG made the following comparisons between the "Death-Dream of Enkidu" (=E), the "Vision of the Netherworld" (=K), and Dan 7 (=D): (1) *Gattung*, (2) structure of content, (3) and words and phrases.⁹³

(1) Comparing the three texts in regard to the *Gattung* "vision" (ibid. 443-448) Kvanvig tabulated the correspondences as follows (ibid. 448):

	<i>D</i>	<i>K</i>	<i>E</i>
Basic classification	Night-vision Introduction Opening Scenes (5) Reaction (2x)	Night-vision Introduction Opening Scenes (2) Reaction (2x)	Night-vision Introduction Opening ?
Further classification	Symbolic Throne-scene	Partly symbolic Throne-vision	? Throne-scene
Experience	Vision + audition Action by the visionary (restrained)	Vision + audition Action by the visionary	Vision + audition Action by the visionary (dominating)
Intention	Destruction of another person Religious-political intention	Destruction of the visionary Destruction of another person Religious-political intention	Destruction of the visionary

KVANVIG concluded that "the three texts share a basic pattern for visions. They are all night-visions, but besides this they show individual variations. D and K have more in common than D and E" (ibid. 444).

(2) The comparison of the "structure of content" (ibid. 448-451), relating to the first part of the Danielic vision, resulted in the following comparative table (ibid. 452):

<i>Sequences</i>	<i>Features</i>		
	<i>D</i>	<i>K</i>	<i>E</i>
Action of nature	Winds		Thunder-storm
Monsters	Description of monsters Listing of monsters Transformation	Description of monsters Listing of monsters Transformation Description of the man	Description of monster Description of the netherworld

(3) The comparison of "words and phrases" (ibid. 451-456) resulted in the following: In regard to the action of the nature (the winds and the sea in Dan 7), KVANVIG (ibid. 451) listed only one parallel, namely, in the Death-Dream of Enkidu (line 15): "The heaven howled, the

⁹³ The parallels put forward by KVANVIG for the structure of content and for words and phrases are separated in this review in so far as those pertaining to the first part of the vision will be discussed in the following paragraphs

earth echoed") but none for the "Vision of the Netherworld". In regard to the missing motif of the sea KVANVIG argued that:

yam in Dan 7 is ... functionally equivalent to Apsu in several Mesopotamian texts. The 'sea' in these cases is the abyss, the abode of monstrous creatures ... But in Dan 7 the monsters do not remain in the nether world, but emerge from below to bring disaster on earth" (ibid. 505, 506).

For the comparison of the monster-features, KVANVIG (ibid. 455) presented the following comparative table:

	<i>D</i>	<i>K</i>	<i>E</i>
1st monster	lion with eagle-wings lion raised upon two feet upon two feet like a man	lion-eagle lion standing on hind legs feet like a man	lion-eagle lion-eagle standing upright one man
2nd monster	raised on one side ribs in his mouth stand up, devour!	monster missing hind leg grasping the hair of a victim name of monster: hurry, remove!	
3rd monster	four bird-wings four heads	monster with wings monster with two heads	
4th monster	no name of last monster two creatures described terrible and dreadful stamped with its feet ten horns human eyes and a mouth that spoke	no name of last monster last monster composed of two bodies possessing terror and dreadful splendour with its left foot it was treading (horned) crown of last monster second part of last monster: head of a man	

After assessing the parallels of the beasts⁹⁴ between the "Vision of the Netherworld"⁹⁵ and the first part of the Danielic vision, KVANVIG concluded that "in our opinion these parallels are so significant that they may indicate a dependence - especially when we take into consideration that they occur in two night-visions with the same sequence of basic content" (ibid. 457).⁹⁶

while those relating to the second part of the vision are listed in the second part of this review on the research history of Dan 7.

⁹⁴ "In the description of the monsters there are so many similarities that we think we can conclude that the texts share the same basic imagery. This, however, does not automatically mean that the texts are related in one way or another. Some features are fairly common in descriptions of monsters in the Ancient Near East ... There are, however, details given in the texts that taken together could point toward a relationship, even though some of them also are represented in other texts ... the parallels between the last-described monster in the two texts are also outstanding..." (ibid. 457).

⁹⁵ In regard to the "Death-Dream of Enkidu" KVANVIG (ibid. 459) concluded that "although there are significant similarities also between the Death-Dream and Dan 7, these do not demonstrate a likely dependence."

⁹⁶ The following critical remarks against an influence from the "Vision of the Netherworld" have been put forward (cf. also footnote 307 on p. 109):

2.2.11. Old Testament influence

Influence from the Old Testament⁹⁷ on the first part of the vision of Dan 7 is generally acknowledged by most scholars. However, the use of the biblical passages referred to and – dependent on this – also the degree of their influence on Dan 7, differs among scholars. The following section distinguishes five main uses of Old Testament passages and points out their relevance in the evaluation of Old Testament influence on the first part of the Danielic vision of chapter 7.⁹⁸

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- (1) The "Vision of the Netherworld" has 15 monsters, Dan 7 only 4 (DAY 1985:159; LUCAS 1990:169; COLLINS 1993b:285 = *ibid.* 1993a:129);
 - (2) The Akkadian text does not have bear or leopard characteristics (DAY 1985:159; LUCAS 1990:169);
 - (3) The monsters from the nether world are not associated with the sea (DAY 1985:159; LUCAS 1990:169);
 - (4) The monsters in the Assyrian texts are gods, not beasts that function as symbols of empires (LUCAS 1990:169; COLLINS 1993b:285 = *ibid.* 1993a:129);
 - (5) The claimed similarities between the monsters are either incidental (GOLDINGAY 1988:151), non-existent, trivial (LUCAS 1990:170), or an exaggeration (COLLINS 1993b:285, footnote 65) because: (a) features from different gods are combined to furnish parallels to the Danielic beasts (*ibid.*); (b) the monster in line 46 of the Akkadian text that has the head of a lion and the feet of the Zu-bird does not mention wings which is the specific eagle-feature of the first Danielic beast (LUCAS 1990:169); (c) the monster mentioned in line 48A of the "Vision of the Netherworld" described as missing one leg making it limping if it would stand upright, as parallel to the Danielic bear is "pure supposition and also adopts an unusual interpretation of the meaning of an obscure phrase describing the bear in Daniel" (*ibid.*); (d) the parallels to the third Danielic beast are at best "trivial" (*ibid.* 170) when citing the following comparative passages from VAT 10057: "The upholder of Evil (had) the head of a bird; his wings were open as he flew to and fro, (his) hands (and) feet were human" (line 45); "All that is Evil (had) two heads; one head was (that of) a lion, the other head [...]" (line 47); (e) the two gods in line 48 of the Akkadian text whose name the visionary does not know are not a parallel to the fourth Danielic beast because the first is compared to a known manifestation, i.e., the Anzu-bird (*ibid.*); (f) interpreting the crown worn by the second of the two unknown gods as representing a horned head-gear is an assumption (*ibid.*);
 - (6) There is no parallel in the "Vision of the Netherworld" to the winds and the sea of Dan 7 as KVANVIG himself admitted (*cf.* above p. 47) (COLLINS 1993b:284 = *ibid.* 1993a:129; *ibid.* 1993b:291 = *ibid.* 1993a:131);
 - (7) *Genre*, patterns, and functions are different in the two visions: (a) the Akkadian vision is a *message dream* whereas Dan 7 is a *symbolic dream* (*ibid.* 1993b:284 = *ibid.* 1993a:129); (b) the pattern of relationships is different: namely, Dan 7 has two opposing parties, VAT 10057 reports no opposition (*ibid.* 1993b:285,286 = *ibid.* 1993a:131; *ibid.* 1993b:291 = *ibid.* 1993a:131); (c) the Danielic text provides reassurance and consolation, the "Vision of the Netherworld" "culminates in renewed piety" (*ibid.* 1993b:286 = *ibid.* 1993a:131);
 - (8) The visionary in VAT 10057 is involved in the action of the dream while Daniel is not (*ibid.*);
 - (9) No destruction of a monster occurs in the Akkadian text (*ibid.* 1993b:291 = *ibid.* 1993a:131).
- ⁹⁷ Apocryphal parallels are frequently cited; however, in the final analyses of the influence from the Old Testament on Dan 7 they remain largely without impact. Some of the most frequent passages referred to are: Pss 2:2,29,32,33; 4 Ezr 6:49,50; 11:1; 12:10–12; 13:1–3,5; 2 Bar 29:4; 1 En 60:7; 85–90; 90:9; 1 Mac 1:24; 2 Mac 5:17; Sib Ora III, 388–400.
- ⁹⁸ The distinguished different uses do not claim to be exhaustive nor a meticulous methodological analysis. In fact many authors used several methods in their discussions which is a reflection of the complexity of the whole chapter which resists a single explanatory pattern. Nevertheless some basic differences can be observed.

2.2.11.1. The different uses of Old Testament passages

(1) The most basic use of the Old Testament in the study of the vision of Dan 7 is as *reference source without traditio-historical evaluation*. While this type of use is employed by almost all scholars in addition to other uses described below, a few studies on Dan 7 do not go beyond this methodology at all. Besides citing parallels to specific Danielic features, they lack any traditio-historical discussion of the first part of Dan 7. Commentaries that fall in this group include the works of S. R. DRIVER (1900), J. A. MONTGOMERY (1927), J. GOETTSBERGER (1928), R. H. CHARLES (1929), and H. C. LEUPOLD (1969).

(2) In contrast to the previous methodology, supporters of a mythological background for the vision of Dan 7 used these very same Old Testament parallels as *evidence for the transmission (and reflection) of mythological concepts* into biblical tradition and their mediating function for Dan 7. Furthermore, since Dan 7 reflects an imagery and structure similar to the adduced mythologically-coloured biblical tradition, it is argued that Dan 7 should be understood and interpreted along the same line. More or less explicit statements in this regard have been made by GUNKEL,⁹⁹ MARTI,¹⁰⁰ BENTZEN,¹⁰¹ HEATON,¹⁰² EMERTON,¹⁰³ RHODES,¹⁰⁴

⁹⁹ "Welcher Stoff aber Dan 7 zu Grunde liegt, kann nach den bisherigen Ausführungen nicht zweifelhaft sein. Tiere, die aus dem Wasser emporsteigen und gottfeindliche Weltreiche bedeuten, sind uns aus dem Obigen wohlbekannt (*sic*). Dan 7 ist mit Jes 307 Ez 29 32 Ψ 6831 874 Jes 271 Ψ 74 Ψ Sal 2 aufs nächste verwandt und daher auch ebenso wie diese Stellen zu beurteilen. Nun ist oben gezeigt worden, dass diese Stücke den babylonischen Chaosmythus enthalten, der eine Weissagung geworden war und herkömmlich auf den politischen Feind gedeutet wurde. Dasselbe gilt also auch für Daniel 7" (GUNKEL 1895:328; cf. also p. 334).

¹⁰⁰ "Wie bei den geschichtlichen Darstellungen, so schöpft der Verf. auch hier aus der alten Überlieferung. Sah ein Dñes in den Thaten Gottes bei der Befreiung des Volkes aus Ägypten und beim Kampf der Urzeit mit den Chaosungeheuern einen Beweis der gewaltigen Macht (s. zu Jes 43 19 50 2f. 51 9-11), die Gott in neuen Thaten (*sic*) herrlich bekunden wird, so fand man bald in den Ereignissen jener Zeit die Geschehnisse der Endzeit präfiguriert (s. zu Jes 31 8 37 36), und hier verwendet nun der Verf. die Elemente des alten Schöpfungsmythus zur Schilderung seines Gesichtes von den letzten Zeiten" (MARTI 1901:48).

¹⁰¹ "Die Eschatologisierung des Schemas von Psalm 2 haben wir nun im *Traumgesicht Daniels* Dan. 7 ... Das eschatologische Traumgesicht ist jedoch sogar mythologischer als der Psalm ... Im Traumgesicht Daniels beobachten wir ein Beispiel dessen, was wir 'die Renaissance der Mythologie' im späteren Judentum nennen können" (BENTZEN 1948:72,73- *ibid* 1955:74 - *ibid*. 1970:74).

¹⁰² "Even a cursory reading of Daniel's vision will show that the writer is drawing on the same mythology [i.e., the Babylonian Epic of Creation] as Psa. 74 and 89" (HEATON 1956:171).

¹⁰³ "It has often been suggested that there is a connection between this chapter and the Babylonian myth of Tiamat, the monster of the watery chaos who is slain by Marduk. But it would probably be a mistake to think simply of direct Babylonian influence on Daniel. The O.T. has a number of references to a struggle between Yahweh and Rahab or Leviathan, the chaos dragon, and it is therefore probable that any foreign influence was mediated

PORTEOUS,¹⁰⁵ LACOCQUE,¹⁰⁶ COLLINS,¹⁰⁷ KVANVIG,¹⁰⁸ and GOLDINGAY.¹⁰⁹ This kind of utilisation of the Old Testament considers biblical tradition on the one hand as an important factor in the formulation of Dan 7, while on the other hand very often sidelining its influence because the main emphasis is laid on the mythological imagery that lies behind the biblical tradition rather than on its mediating function.

(3) The use of the Old Testament *as reflector of ancient Near Eastern concepts and symbols in general* was emphasised in particular by JUNKER. While the use of Old Testament parallels described in the previous paragraph emphasises the dependence of Dan 7 on ancient Near Eastern mythology, JUNKER replaced the notion of a mythological origin with the idea of a more *general influence from ancient Near Eastern concepts*.¹¹⁰ Thus a consistent feature of JUNKER'S

through the O.T. tradition. It is also likely that the foreign source was the religion of Canaan, not Babylon" (EMERTON 1958:228).

¹⁰⁴ "When the biblical writers use expressions which had their origin in ancient mythology, those expressions have been run through the 'chemistry' of Israel's faith and have thereby become suitable vehicles for communicating the distinctive, biblical revelation" (RHODES 1961:417).

¹⁰⁵ "Wir müssen überdies die Bezugnahmen auf den Schöpfungsmythos in Ps. 74,13ff. und Ps. 89,9ff. in Betracht ziehen, in denen Leviathan und Rahab das urzeitliche Ungeheuer der Tiamat des babylonischen Mythos darstellen ... Es ist kaum zu bezweifeln, dass die Mythen und Rituale ... die Quelle der Bilder darstellen, die sich im 7. Kapitel finden ..." (PORTEOUS 1962:79,80).

¹⁰⁶ "The imagery used in the first part of this chapter draws its materials from the ancient cosmologies ... Thus A. Bentzen sees an instance of remythologisation here (of Psa. 2, for example)" (LACOCQUE 1976:105,106 - ibid. 1979:138,139).

¹⁰⁷ "The vision accounts ... are formulated in traditional language, much of which is drawn ultimately from ancient Near Eastern mythology" (COLLINS 1977:95); "From the preceding discussion it should be clear that when the apocalypticist in Daniel 7 describes the sea churned up by the winds and four huge beasts coming up out of the sea, he was using traditional imagery. As we have seen, the stormy sea is ubiquitous in the OT as a symbol of chaos—an image derived from the Sea, Yam, of Canaanite myth" (ibid. 99); "... many of the motifs associated with the Ba'al myth were adapted to Israelite religion in the period of the monarchy" (ibid. 1993b:293 - ibid. 1993a:134).

¹⁰⁸ "With regard to the sea and the monsters in Dan 7, we cannot see any particular reason to connect this material directly to Ugaritic myths. The correspondences to the myth about the slaying of the sea monster are of such a kind that the spread of this myth in Israelite milieu - as attested in the Old Testament - should be sufficient as background" (KVANVIG 1988:504).

¹⁰⁹ "Thus it is illuminating to imagine the author of Dan 7 combining the combat as adopted in the OT but also as known in the learned tradition with the four-regimes scheme and the form of the dream from chap. 2 ..." (GOLDINGAY 1988:152).

Cf. also the statement by HOOKER relating to the second part of the vision but expressing a similar sentiment as the above group: "Whether or not such a [enthronement] festival ever existed, the evidence which its advocates have brought forward shows that the myth, if not the ritual, had been absorbed into Hebrew thought. While Daniel may possibly have been influenced by foreign cults, he did not introduce anything which was alien to Hebrew tradition: the motifs which he employs already have their place in the life of the nation" (1967:18; cf. also pp. 20,23).

¹¹⁰ JUNKER stated his own position by attributing it - in a slightly overstressed statement - also to GUNKEL: "Wenn auch Gunkels Auffassung in der Herleitung der Vision aus dem Chaosmythos einseitige, heute von ihm selbst aufgegebenen Übertreibung ist, so hat er doch das Verdienst, innerhalb der Kritik den Weg frei gemacht zu haben

discussion is the rejection of a mythological origin and at the same time the emphasis of a more general ancient Near Eastern conceptual and symbolic background of Dan 7.¹¹¹

(4) A considerable number of scholars assessed Old Testament parallels *as evidence of a "demonstrably biblical pedigree"*¹¹² for the first part of the vision of Dan 7. The following can be mentioned in this regard: JUNKER,¹¹³ M. A. BEEK,¹¹⁴ BENTZEN,¹¹⁵ BAUMGARTNER,¹¹⁶ PLÖGER,¹¹⁷ COLLINS,¹¹⁸ HARTMAN/DI LELLA,¹¹⁹ DAY,¹²⁰ MOSCA,¹²¹ J. DOUKHAN,¹²² and LUCAS.¹²³

für eine unbefangene Würdigung des Alters der Vision. Auch methodisch hat er den richtigen Weg gewiesen, indem er die Vision nicht als künstliches, rein literarisches Produkt auffasst, sondern sie aus der *Vorstellungswelt und den Symbolen den Alten Orients* [my emphasis], aus der ja auch die babylonischen Mythen gestaltet sind, zu verstehen suchte" (1932:33).

¹¹¹ Cf. the following statements: "Das Meer erscheint in der *allgemeinen orientalischen Vorstellung* [my emphasis] als ein feindliches zerstörendes Element" (ibid. 34); "Auch die vier Winde ... sind kosmische Elemente, die eine ähnliche *symbolische* [my emphasis; JUNKER avoids the term 'mythological'] Bedeutung haben wie das Meer" (ibid. 35); "Die Darstellung der feindlichen Mächte durch wilde schreckliche Tiere ist zwar ein in den mythologischen Erzählungen häufig wiederkehrender Zug, aber doch kein ausschliesslich mythologisches Motiv, sondern weit verbreitet in der *altorientalischen Kunst und Literatur* [my emphasis]" (ibid.); "Selbst wenn das Motiv [of hostile nations represented by beasts] ursprünglich aus der Mythologie stammt, so ist es doch im Laufe der Zeit zur *abgeblassten literarischen Form* [my emphasis] geworden, die man nicht mehr als mythologisch im eigentlichen Sinne bezeichnen kann" (ibid.); "Die Vision verwendet hier [speaking of the four-headed leopard] ganz frei *allgemeine Motive* [my emphasis] aus der religiösen Kunst des Orients zu symbolischen Zwecken" (ibid. 42).

¹¹² To use MOSCA'S (1986:500) terminology.

¹¹³ "Entscheidend ist aber, dass die Zusammenstellung: Löwe, Bär, Leopard sich rein literarisch ohne jedes mythologische Motiv leicht erklärt. Man beachte nur einmal die verschiedenen Stellen des AT., an denen gefährliche Raubtiere zusammengestellt werden ..." (JUNKER 1932:37).

¹¹⁴ "Wir treffen aber das Nebeneinander von Löwe, Bär und Panther öfters im AT und das kann uns vielleicht auf die richtige Spur bringen und uns davor warnen, einen zu tiefen Grund für das Vorkommen dieser Tiere zu suchen" (BEEK 1935:8,9).

¹¹⁵ "Indes lassen sich die Raubtiergestalten bei dem jüdischen Verfasser zur Not auch allein auf dem AT heraus verstehen" (BENTZEN 1937:32 = ibid. 1952:59).

¹¹⁶ "Andererseits kommt der Bär im AT öfter mit dem Löwen, wie auch dem Wolf und Panther zusammen vor. So wird Junker recht haben: der Apokalyptiker nennt die drei gefährlichsten Raubtiere, die Israel kennt, und zeichnet das erste und dritte in der beliebten altorientalischen-mythischen Form" (BAUMGARTNER 1939:218,219).

¹¹⁷ "Die ausschliessliche Herleitung dieses Teils der Vision [speaking of the four beasts] aus dem alttestamentlichen Bereich wird sicher einseitig sein, aber sie beherrscht doch die Zeichnung, und Entlehnungen sind eher unbewusst geschehen als eine wirkliche Übernahme fremder Vorstellungen" (PLÖGER 1965:110).

¹¹⁸ "The fact that the beasts in Dan 7 represent kingdoms may reflect the traditional Hebrew and Ugaritic use of the names of male animals to designate nobility. The specific list of beasts in this vision finds its closest parallel in Hosea 13:7 ..." (COLLINS 1977:104); "The sea and the beasts in Daniel 7 might be derived and understood adequately from the scattered references to this imagery in the Hebrew bible (ibid. 99); "The specific descriptions of the beasts are not drawn from any known variant of the *Chaaskampf*. Perhaps the most popular suggestion has looked to Hos 13:7-8, where God threatens that he will be to Israel like a lion, a leopard, a bear, or a 'wild beast'" (ibid. 1984:80); "A more plausible background [for the four beasts] is found in biblical prophecy. Lion, bear, and leopard are mentioned in Hos 13:7-8 in the context of a divine threat ... This passage is the closest parallel we have to the sequence of animals in Daniel 7, although the order of the second and third is reversed. Mention of an unidentified wild beast also provides a possible parallel to the fourth beast of Daniel ..." (ibid. 1993b:295).

(5) Taking into account the role of the Old Testament as outlined above and as reflected in the following tabulation of the most cited Old Testament parallels (cf. p. 55), as well as the fact that even advocates of a mythological origin of Dan 7 refrained from claiming that there is a direct link between Dan 7¹²⁴ and the adduced mythological background,¹²⁵ one would deem it

¹¹⁹ HARTMAN/DI LELLA (1978:212), although considering the four beast as “*ad hoc* creation of the author” (cf. also REID 1989:84), pointed out that “there is no need here to look for any direct borrowing from ancient mythological literature, such as the Babylonian epic *Enuma Elish*. Our author could easily have derived his idea of monsters coming up out of the sea from the Bible ...”.

¹²⁰ “The most attractive view is that the four beasts of Dan. 7 owe their fundamental derivation to Hos. 13:7–8 ...” (DAY 1985:156; cf. also p. 157).

¹²¹ MOSCA (1986:500) listed the following parallels for the first part of Dan 7: (1) the “great sea” as symbol of chaos; (2) the “winds of heaven” stirring up the sea; (3) the “great sea” as a spawning ground of Yahweh’s enemies; (4) the description of the fourth beast; (5) the association of horns with kingship and/or might; (6) the arrogant speech that leads to judgement. The Old Testament parallels for the second part of the vision include: (1) the heavenly court and positioning of thrones; (2) the “Ancient of days”; (3) the whiteness of snow and the purity of wool; (4) the wheeled throne with fiery flames; (5) the angelic attendants; (6) the heavenly books; (7) the fate of the fourth beast; (8) the idiom “son of man”, (9) the “clouds of heaven”; (10) the granting of universal and everlasting kingship (ibid. 500,501).

¹²² DOUKHAN (1989:154, footnote 32) followed HARTMAN/DI LELLA (cf. above footnote 119).

¹²³ “Overall, we would agree with Day’s conclusion that, ‘the fundamental basis for the four types of beast is drawn from Hos. 13:7–8, with some influence from ancient near-eastern *Mischwesen*’” (LUCAS 1990:183).

¹²⁴ A notable exception is KYANVIG according to COLLINS (1993b:281, footnote 39); but cf. above footnote 90 on p. 44.

¹²⁵ Although this is true, explicit statements in this regard were rather scanty (cf. e.g. the statements by GUNKEL: “Er [the author of Dan 7] hat nicht als der Erste den Chaos-Mythus als Weissagung gefasst; vielmehr waren ihm darin schon viele Geschlechter vorangegangen. Der Verfasser hat den Mythus in dieser Form bereits überkommen; und es ist durchaus nicht selbstverständlich, dass der seinen ursprünglichen Sinn noch gekannt habe” [1895:334]; EMERTON: “The O.T. has a number of references to a struggle between Yahwe and Rahab or Leviathan, the chaos dragon, and it is, therefore, probable that any foreign influence was mediated through the O.T. tradition” [1958:228]; COLPE: “Die ugaritischen Texte repräsentieren jedoch nicht genau die Mythologie, die in Palästina geglaubt wurde” [1969:421]).

However FERCH’S (1980) criticism of the Canaanite school sparked more clearly-formulated statements, particularly from COLLINS (lately also very well summarised by BAUER 1996:141–144). On the one hand COLLINS (1981:91–93; cf. also DAY 1985:164) is correct that FERCH overlooked in his criticism of the Ugaritic background of Dan 7 that there is no explicit claim of direct linkage (cf. previous paragraph), on the other hand it has to be pointed out that the advocates of a mythological background of Dan 7 often over-emphasised the mythological aspect, thereby sidelining the issue that one should not assume any direct link to a specific ancient Near Eastern myth. COLLINS (1981:91) was correct in stating that “no scholar has ever denied that there is ‘discontinuity’ between Dan 7 and Ugarit” but it seems also to be true that the emphasis on the role of the biblical tradition was neglected in the pursuit of establishing links between Dan 7 and ancient Near Eastern myths. It is only with COLLINS’ article on mythic allusions in Daniel that we now encounter explicit statements in this regard. Cf. the following statements by COLLINS: “It is not, however, claimed that the author of Daniel had before him the exact Ugaritic text which we now possess ... It is highly unlikely that the exact variant of the Ugaritic myth which was discovered by chance in the twentieth century was known to the author of Daniel. The significance of the Ugaritic myths for Daniel, then, is not that they provide the immediate source but that they give an example of traditional usage which illustrates the allusive context of the imagery” (ibid. 90,91); “The [biblical] tradition [of God subduing the monsters Rahab and Leviathan] is ultimately of Canaanite origin, but the symbolism of the sea is familiar from the Hebrew Bible, and does not in itself require direct acquaintance with the Canaanite sources” (ibid. 1993a:126; cf. ibid. 1993b:289); “Most theories about the religio-historical background of Daniel do not claim to have identified a specific text on which the author of Daniel drew. For Gunkel, the *Enūma eliš* was the source of the tradition of the *Chaoskampf*, not necessarily the immediate prototype of Dan 7” (ibid. 281); “No one would argue that the extant Ugaritic texts were the actual sources on which the author of Dan 7 drew” (ibid. 291); “We must allow, however, that whoever composed Dan 7 was a creative author, not a mere copyist of ancient sources. It should be not surprise that his composition is a new entity, discontinuous in some respects with all its sources” (ibid. 1993a: 124,125 - ibid. 1993b:281,282); “It must be emphasized that no one suggests that

only logical to investigate whether the Old Testament had an even more prominent position in the formulation of Dan 7.

While the advocates of a general biblical influence on Dan 7 acknowledge a distant mythological connection, they contend that it is much more likely that the closer biblical tradition was ultimately the main influence on the formulation of Dan 7 instead of the mythological concepts that underlie the biblical tradition.¹²⁶

Two studies with a more coherent perspective of Old Testament influence on Dan 7 have recently been put forward. The first to be mentioned is MOSCA'S (1986:498) essay that, apart from pointing to a widespread dependence on the Old Testament (cf. footnote 121 on p. 52), addressed mainly the issue that the time gap between the Ugaritic material and the composition of Dan 7 has not been bridged satisfactorily in regard to the motif of the "son of man". The missing link in this regard is, according to MOSCA (ibid. 508-517), Psa 89 and 8. But far from discussing only this Danielic motif from the perspective of Psa 89 and 8, MOSCA developed a general pattern from these Psalms that serves as the immediate background for

the author of Daniel knew this myth in the precise formulation found at Ugarit ... the myth of Baal and Yam is one formulation of a traditional narrative presupposed in Daniel 7, and can throw light on the choice of imagery and structure of relationships in the biblical text" (ibid. 1993a:125; cf. the slightly different phrasing in ibid. 1993b:286). Apart from the lack of clear statements in regard to the role of the adduced mythological material, the term "myth" itself led to considerable misunderstanding and overemphasis of the mythological aspect. Cf. in this regard COLLINS' statement that "in Danielic scholarship the term 'myth' has usually been introduced with reference to the derivation of traditional imagery ... It may, in fact, be better to speak of traditional imagery and avoid the controversial category 'myth'" (1981:90).

¹²⁶ Cf. e.g. M. CASEY (1979:18): "In the OT the sea is used to symbolize the turbulent world and peoples ... More than that, the sea has mythological overtones ... If Babylonian material lies behind this, it is a long way behind. Nearer at hand are the Ugaritic texts ... Above all, clear evidence of this way of thought occurs in the OT ... If we consider this now ... it means that in using the sea as a symbol of hostility to God he was drawing on native Israelite imagery, as a conservative defender of the traditional faith might be expected to ... The winds are the four cardinal winds. It is not surprising that they are found in the Babylonian epic of creation, but it is more relevant that they were already in use in Israel ...". Similar to this statement is the position of BALDWIN (1978:136) although less explicit: "The attempt will be made in expounding these visions to show that they are not without their connections with the rest of the Old Testament, and that it is these connections which provide the original material out of which the visions have grown. That does not mean that the possibility of foreign borrowing is ruled out ...". Lately BAUER put forward a very balanced assessment when he stated: "Die Vision von den vier Tieren, die aus dem von den vier Winden aufgewühlten Meer emporsteigen, hat eine lange Traditionsgeschichte und fusst ursprünglich auf Mythen des Vorderen Orients, in denen vom Kampf Gottes gegen die Chaoswasser des Meeres erzählt wird. Diese alten Mythen haben ihren Niederschlag auch an anderen Stellen des Alten Testaments gefunden ... Noch einmal: Natürlich wollten die Verfasser des Buches Daniel nicht sagen, es sei Baal, von dem sie sich Rettung versprochen. Sie schöpften diese Bilder aus den biblischen Überlieferungen ihres Volkes, und wahrscheinlich wussten sie schon gar nicht mehr, wo diese ursprünglich herkamen." [my emphasis] (1996:141,160, cf. also especially pp. 141-144 with a section on the use of religio-historical parallels).

the whole vision of Dan 7. Since MOSCA'S main argument concerns the second part of the vision of Dan 7, his article will be dealt with in the second part of this research history (cf. p. 121).

Recently E. HAAG introduced a literary, form–historical, and traditio–historical investigation of Dan 7 with the following two questions that lie at the heart of the issue under discussion:

Lässt sich für das in Daniel 7 dargestellte Visionsgeschehen und seine Interpretation eine Verwurzelung in der alttestamentlichen Tradition wahrscheinlich machen? Oder bedarf es hierzu des Rückgriffs auf die Religionsgeschichte, speziell auf die altorientalische Mythologie? (1993a:137)

These questions were answered in HAAG'S (ibid. 158–185) traditio–historical treatment of Dan 7, which is subdivided into a semantic analysis and a theological synthesis. Although HAAG acknowledged in his semantic analysis the distant mythological background of the motif of the four winds and the stirred–up great sea, he clearly maintained that the Old Testament has to be considered ultimately as the main formative factor of Dan 7 (ibid. 158,159).

The “four winds” (Dan 7:2) together with the “clouds of heaven” (Dan 7:13) have to be understood against the Old Testament background as concomitant circumstances of a theophany.¹²⁷ The “great sea” was also interpreted by HAAG on the one hand as an image for God's creative sovereignty over the primeval waters,¹²⁸ and on the other hand as a symbol for the destructive forces in history.¹²⁹ While HAAG acknowledged mythological overtones in the motifs of the wind and sea, he maintained that the four beasts are not derived from ancient Near Eastern mythological traditions at all (ibid. 160), but are to be understood solely from biblical tradition. The backdrop for the beast imagery is the biblical tradition that God uses foreign nations (represented by fearful animals) to execute his judgements in the process of his salvific–historical revelation.¹³⁰ The composite nature of the animals was interpreted by HAAG (ibid. 161,162) as a deliberate creation of the author, combining various prophetic symbols to

¹²⁷ Jer 49:36; Eze 37:9; Zec 2:10; 6:5.

¹²⁸ Gen 1:2,6,7,9; Isa 17:12–14; Psa 46:4; 93:3,4.

¹²⁹ Gen 6:13; 7:11; Isa 5:30; 28:18,19; Jer 6:23.

¹³⁰ Hos 13:7,8.

characterise the different ancient empires,¹³¹ rather than an attempt by the author to use iconographic material to symbolise these empires. In conclusion HAAG (ibid. 163) stated:

Aus alledem ergibt sich der Schluss, dass in der Grundschrift von Daniel 7 die Darstellung von dem Heraufsteigen der vier Tiere aus dem Grossen Meer offenbar auf dem Hintergrund einer Glaubensüberlieferung erfolgt ist, deren Inhalt besagt, dass Gott selbst im Vollzug seiner heilsgeschichtlichen Offenbarung in der Welt eine Dreiergruppe von Herrschaftsträgern mit einem festen Auftrag bestellt und sie anschliessend von einem nicht mehr mit diesem Auftrag versehenen, vierten Herrschaftsträger ablösen lässt.

Based on this semantic analysis, HAAG proceeded to identify three biblical traditions that were employed by the author of Dan 7 in the formulation of his vision: The Zion–David–tradition,¹³² the four–empire–tradition,¹³³ and the enemy–of–God–tradition.¹³⁴ Although these traditions will be discussed in more detail only in the second part of the research history (cf. p. 123), it should be pointed out here that HAAG'S study is significant in so far as it attempts to present a coherent case for a general biblical influence on Dan 7.

2.2.11.2. *The most cited Old Testament parallels to Dan 7:2–8*

In assessing the influence of the biblical tradition on Dan 7, one cannot overlook the numerous references that were made to it. Although the following most cited Old Testament¹³⁵ parallels to the first part of the Danielic vision obviously cannot by themselves settle the complex issue of the background of Dan 7, the sheer number of the approximately 100 passages should caution against sidelining the influence of the biblical tradition on Dan 7.¹³⁶

¹³¹ Lion: Jer 4:6,7; 50:17; 51:38; 38:40; 49:20; Eze 17:3–15; Hab 1:8; Eze 29:18; Jer 51:25,26,41; bear: Amo 3:12; Isa 13:17; 21:2; Jer 51:11, 28; leopard: Isa 41:2,3; 46:11; 45:1–7; fourth beast: Isa 10:7–11.

¹³² As MOSCA so did HAAG (1993a:177) cite Psa 89 as crucial in this regard.

¹³³ Reference is made by HAAG (ibid. 180) to the tradition that God appoints foreign nations to execute his judgements (cf. Isa 5:26–29; 10:5,6; Jer 1:15; 4:6; 6:1, 22; 25:9; 27; Isa 8:7,8; 28:15)

¹³⁴ Adduced in this regard were Isa 10; 14; Eze 38; 39; Zec 12–14 (ibid. 181).

¹³⁵ For apocryphal parallels see footnote 97 on p. 48.

¹³⁶ Although the presented bibliographic references were established as carefully as possible I do not claim to have not overlooked some parallels. This is especially the case because not every single article and study of the last 100 years could be indexed, a task which would go beyond the purpose of this review. Nevertheless it is hoped that the result represents a helpful overview of Old Testament parallels to Dan 7:2–8.

The following explanatory remarks are in order:

- (1) The nature of the parallels is not uniform. They include mainly lexical, structural, and traditio–historical parallels. No attempt has been made to classify them into subgroups.
- (2) Only passages that were cited by at least three different authors were considered.

The four winds (7:2)	
Gen 1:2	GUNKEL 1895:329; MARTI 1901:49; STEINMANN 1950:106 - <i>ibid.</i> 1960:85; HARTMAN/DI LELLA 1978:211; MOSCA 1986:500, footnote 19; GOLDINGAY 1988:160; COLLINS 1993a:133, footnote 49 - <i>ibid.</i> 1993b:292, footnote 128 (citing MOSCA 1986:500,501)
Dan 8:8	CHARLES 1929:175; YOUNG 1953:142; JEFFERY 1956:452; RHODES 1961:416; DELCOR 1968:295; <i>ibid.</i> 1971:143; BALDWIN 1978:138; CASEY 1979:18; GOLDINGAY 1988:160; HAAG 1993a:159; <i>ibid.</i> 1993b:56; BAUER 1996:144
Dan 11:4	CHARLES 1929:175; YOUNG 1953:142; JEFFERY 1956:452; RHODES 1961:416; DELCOR 1968:295; <i>ibid.</i> 1971:143; BALDWIN 1978:138; CASEY 1979:18; GOLDINGAY 1988:160; HAAG 1993a:159; <i>ibid.</i> 1993b:56; BAUER 1996:144
Zec 2:6	CHARLES 1929:175; YOUNG 1953:142; JEFFERY 1956:452; RHODES 1961:416; DELCOR 1968:295; <i>ibid.</i> 1971:143; HAMMER 1976:75; BALDWIN 1978:138; CASEY 1979:18; GOLDINGAY 1988:160; HAAG 1993a:159; <i>ibid.</i> 1993b:56
Zec 6:5	CHARLES 1929:175; YOUNG 1953:142; JEFFERY 1956:452; RHODES 1961:416; HAMMER 1976:75; BALDWIN 1978:138; CASEY 1979:18; GOLDINGAY 1988:160; KVANVIG 1988:510; HAAG 1993a:159; <i>ibid.</i> 1993b:56; BAUER 1996:144
The great sea (7:2)	
Gen 1:2	HEATON 1956:174,175; JEFFERY 1956:452; KOCH 1961:9, footnote 2; RHODES 1961:416; PORTEOUS 1962:83; PLÖGER 1965:108; HARTMAN/DI LELLA 1978:211; HAAG 1993a:159; <i>ibid.</i> 1993b:56
Gen 7:11	JUNKER 1932:34; JEFFERY 1956:452; HAMMER 1976:75; HARTMAN/DI LELLA 1978:211; MOSCA 1986:500, footnote 18; COLLINS 1993a:133, footnote 49 - <i>ibid.</i> 1993b:292, footnote 128 (citing MOSCA 1986:500,501); HAAG 1993a:159; <i>ibid.</i> 1993b:56
Job 38:8	GUNKEL 1895:329; MARTI 1901:49; HEATON 1956:176; JEFFERY 1956:452; KVANVIG 1988:503; GOLDINGAY 1988:149
Psa 46:2,3	GUNKEL 1895:328; EMERTON 1958:234; KOCH 1961:10; PLÖGER 1965:108; GOLDINGAY 1988:149; HAAG 1993a:159,180; <i>ibid.</i> 1993b:56
Psa 93:3,4	PLÖGER 1965:108; KEARNS 1982:133, footnotes 205,206; GOLDINGAY 1988:149; HAAG 1993a:159,180; <i>ibid.</i> 1993b:56

- (3) In regard to the grouping of bibliographic references under one specific heading it has to be noted that sometimes an overlap occurs, because the same biblical parallel was discussed by scholars under different headings, e.g., the sea monsters were discussed by some under Dan 7:2 (stressing more the aspect of the sea) by others under Dan 7:3 (stressing more the aspect of the monsters). To make the presentation easier to read both groups were combined under one heading, whereby the wording of the Danielic text was taken as the basis. Thus, all bibliographic references that cited biblical parallels containing the both features of sea and monster, irrespective of their interpretation, were placed under Dan 7:3. However, bibliographic references that cited biblical passages dealing only with the sea were grouped under Dan 7:2. Another example of overlap occurs when some scholars stressed the actual wording of the biblical text (dragon in the Nile) while others concentrated on the interpretation (symbol of hostile foreign nations). In this case both bibliographic references were grouped under the verse they referred to, in this specific case to Dan 7:3. This is also the case when the beasts representing hostile foreign nations are not aquatic animals.
- (4) Sometimes the author mentioned only a chapter of a specific biblical book, although he had the specific verse in mind under which it is grouped in the table.
- (5) The following general references to Dan 7 should for the sake of completeness also be mentioned:
Psa 2: BENTZEN 1955:75,76; LACOCQUE 1976:105,106 - *ibid.* 1979:139; GOLDINGAY 1988:149;
Psa 48: EMERTON 1958:234; PORTEOUS 1962:81; GOLDINGAY 1988:149;
Dan 2: GUNKEL 1895:333, footnote 2; HÖLSCHER 1919:126; GOETTSBERGER 1928:53; JUNKER 1932:36,37; BENTZEN 1937:31 - *ibid.* 1952:58; JEFFERY 1956:450,453; NOTH 1957:268,270,271; *ibid.* 1959:24,25; PLÖGER 1959:20-22; RHODES 1961:420; PORTEOUS 1962:77,84; PLÖGER 1965:105,106; NOTH 1969:24; LACOCQUE 1976:98,100,105 - *ibid.* 1976:123,24,38; COLLINS 1977:160; HARTMAN/DI LELLA 1978:208; CASEY 1979:7-9; GESE 1983:376; COLLINS 1984:79; LEBRAM 1984:83,84; TOWNER 1984:92,93; MOSCA 1986:500, footnote 19; GOLDINGAY 1988:160; KVANVIG 1988:484; GOLDINGAY 1988:148; LUCAS 1990:183; KRATZ 1991:43-55; COLLINS 1993a:129 - *ibid.* 1993b:284; *ibid.* 1993a:133, footnote 49 - COLLINS 1993b:292, footnote 128 (citing MOSCA 1986:500,501); COLLINS 1993b:277,297; TENGSTROM 1993:82-93;
Dan 4: LEBRAM 1984:83,84; TOWNER 1984:92; KRATZ 1991:43,44; COLLINS 1993a:129 - *ibid.* 1993b:284; COLLINS 1993b:277; Daniel 5: PORTER 1983:111,112; GOLDINGAY 1988:148; KRATZ 1991:47;

Isa 17:12-14	GUNKEL 1895:328; MONTGOMERY 1927:285; JUNKER 1932:34; HEATON 1956:175; JEFFERY 1956:452; EMERTON 1958:234; RHODES 1961:417; PORTEOUS 1962:81,83; PLÖGER 1965:108; COPPENS 1968:500, footnote 24; DELCOR 1968:295; <i>ibid.</i> 1971:144; ZEVIT 1968:391; LEUPOLD 1969:284; HAMMER 1976:75; LACOCQUE 1976:105, footnote 6 = <i>ibid.</i> 1979:138, footnote 66; COLLINS 1977:97; BALDWIN 1978:138; HARTMAN/DI LELLA 1978:211; CASEY 1979:18; GOLDINGAY 1988:149; COLLINS 1993a:126, footnote 19 = <i>ibid.</i> 1993b:288; HAAG 1993a:159; <i>ibid.</i> 1993b:56
Isa 51:10	GUNKEL 1895:329; MARTI 1901:49; MONTGOMERY 1927:285; CHARLES 1929:175; JUNKER 1932:34; YOUNG 1953:142; JEFFERY 1956:452; RHODES 1961:416; HARTMAN/DI LELLA 1978:211; MOSCA 1986:500, footnote 18; COLLINS 1993a:133, footnote 49 = <i>ibid.</i> 1993b:292, footnote 128 (citing MOSCA 1986:500,501)
Jer 6:23	JEFFERY 1956:452; RHODES 1961:417; PORTEOUS 1962:83; PLÖGER 1965:108; COPPENS 1968:500, footnote 24; ZEVIT 1968:391; HAMMER 1976:75; HAAG 1993a:159; <i>ibid.</i> 1993b:56
Jer 46:7,8	MONTGOMERY 1927:285; HEATON 1956:175; RHODES 1961:417; LEUPOLD 1969:284; LACOCQUE 1976:105, footnote 6 = <i>ibid.</i> 1979:138, footnote 66; HARTMAN/DI LELLA 1978:211; CASEY 1979:18
Amo 7:4	MONTGOMERY 1927:285; JUNKER 1932:34; JEFFERY 1956:452; HARTMAN/DI LELLA 1978:211; MOSCA 1986:500, footnote 18; COLLINS 1993a:133, footnote 49 = <i>ibid.</i> 1993b:292, footnote 128 (citing MOSCA 1986:500,501)
The beasts from the sea (7:3)	
Job 7:12	GUNKEL 1895:329; HEATON 1956:175; HARTMAN/DI LELLA 1978:212; KEARNS 1982:125, footnote 158; MOSCA 1986:500, footnote 20; COLLINS 1993a:133, footnote 49 = <i>ibid.</i> 1993b:292, footnote 128 (citing MOSCA 1986:500,501)
Job 9:13	JUNKER 1932:34; HEATON 1956:175; HOOKER 1967:20; HARTMAN/DI LELLA 1978:212; KEARNS 1982:127, footnote 171; MOSCA 1986:500, footnote 20; COLLINS 1993a:133, footnote 49 = <i>ibid.</i> 1993b:292, footnote 128 (citing MOSCA 1986:500,501)
Job 26:12,13	EISSFELDT 1932:29 with footnote 1; JUNKER 1932:34; HEATON 1956:175; HOOKER 1967:20; COLLINS 1977:96 with footnote 3; HARTMAN/DI LELLA 1978:212; KEARNS 1982:126, footnote 166 and 127, footnote 171; MOSCA 1986:500, footnote 20; KVANVIG 1988:503; GOLDINGAY 1988:149; COLLINS 1993a:133, footnote 49 = <i>ibid.</i> 1993b:292, footnote 128 (citing MOSCA 1986:500,501); <i>ibid.</i> 1993a:126, footnote 19 = <i>ibid.</i> 1993b:288; BAUER 1996:145
Job 41:1	EISSFELDT 1932:29, footnote 1; MOSCA 1986:500, footnote 21; GOLDINGAY 1988:149; COLLINS 1993a:133, footnote 49 = <i>ibid.</i> 1993b:292, footnote 128 (citing MOSCA 1986:500,501)
Psa 68:30	GUNKEL 1895:329,328; MONTGOMERY 1927:286; EISSFELDT 1932:25; JUNKER 1932:35; JEFFERY 1956:453; RHODES 1961:417; HOOKER 1967:19, footnote 1; HAMMER 1976:75; CASEY 1979:19; COLLINS 1993a:121 = <i>ibid.</i> 1993b:280
Psa 74:13-17	GUNKEL 1895:328,329; MARTI 1901:49; MONTGOMERY 1927:286; CHARLES 1929:175; EISSFELDT 1932:25,29 with footnote 1; JUNKER 1932:34; HEATON 1956:170,171,174,175; JEFFERY 1956:452; EMERTON 1958:234; RHODES 1961:416; PORTEOUS 1962:79,81; HOOKER 1967:19, footnote 1 and p. 20; DELCOR 1968:295; <i>ibid.</i> 1971:144; HAMMER 1976:75; COLLINS 1977:96; CASEY 1979:18; HARTMAN/DI LELLA 1978:212; KEARNS 1982:125, footnote 158 and p. 126, footnote 168; COLLINS 1984:77; MOSCA 1986:500, footnote 20; GOLDINGAY 1988:149; COLLINS 1993a:121 = <i>ibid.</i> 1993b:280; <i>ibid.</i> 1993a:133, footnote 49 = <i>ibid.</i> 1993b: 292, footnote 128; <i>ibid.</i> 288; HAAG 1993a:160,180; <i>ibid.</i> 1993b:56; BAUER 1996:141
Psa 80:13	MONTGOMERY 1927:286; JUNKER 1932:35; HEATON 1956:170; CASEY 1979:19
Psa 87:4	GUNKEL 1895:328; EISSFELDT 1932:25,29, footnote 1; JUNKER 1932:35; MOSCA 1986:500, footnote 20; COLLINS 1993a:133, footnote 49 = <i>ibid.</i> 1993b:292, footnote 128 (citing MOSCA 1986:500,501); COLLINS 1993a:121 = <i>ibid.</i> 1993b:280
Psa 89:9-11	GUNKEL 1895:329; EISSFELDT 1932:29 with footnote 1; JUNKER 1932:34; HEATON 1956:170,171,175; PORTEOUS 1962:79; HOOKER 1967:20; DELCOR 1968:295; <i>ibid.</i> 1971:144; COLLINS 1977:96; HARTMAN/DI LELLA 1978:212; CASEY 1979:18; KEARNS 1982:127, footnote 171; COLLINS 1984:77; MOSCA 1986:500, footnote 20; <i>ibid.</i> 508-515; GOLDINGAY 1988:149; COLLINS 1993a:126; footnote 19 = <i>ibid.</i> 1993b:288; <i>ibid.</i> 1993a:133, footnote 49 = <i>ibid.</i> 1993b:292, footnote 128 (citing MOSCA 1986:500,501); HAAG 1993a:180; BAUER 1996:145
Psa 104:25,26	JUNKER 1932:34; HEATON 1956:175; JEFFERY 1956:452; DELCOR 1968:295; <i>ibid.</i> 1971:144; CASEY 1979:18

Isa 27:1	GUNKEL 1895:328,329; MARTI 1901:49; MONTGOMERY 1927:286; CHARLES 1929:175; EISSFELDT 1932:25,26,29; YOUNG 1953:143; JEFFERY 1956:453; EMERTON 1958:227, footnote 3; RHODES 1961:416; HEATON 1956:175; HOOKER 1967:20; DELCOR 1968:295; <i>ibid.</i> 1971:144; LACOCQUE 1976:106 - <i>ibid.</i> 1979:139; COLLINS 1977:97; HARTMAN/DI LELLA 1978:212; CASEY 1979:18; KEARNS 1982:125, footnote 158 and 126, footnotes 163,166; DAY 1985:157; MOSCA 1986:500, footnote 20; KVANVIG 1988:504; GOLDINGAY 1988:149; COLLINS 1993a:121 - <i>ibid.</i> 1993b:280; <i>ibid.</i> 1993a:133, footnote 49 - <i>ibid.</i> 1993b:292, footnote 128 (citing MOSCA 1986:500,501); <i>ibid.</i> 1993b:288,295; HAAG 1993a:160; <i>ibid.</i> 1993b:56; BAUER 1996:141
Isa 51:9,11	MARTI 1901:48; EISSFELDT 1932:29 with footnote 1; JUNKER 1932:34,35; YOUNG 1953:143; HEATON 1956:174; HOOKER 1967:20; COLLINS 1977:97; HARTMAN/DI LELLA 1978:212; CASEY 1979:18; KEARNS 1982:125, footnote 158 and 127, footnote 171; COLLINS 1984:77; MOSCA 1986:500, footnote 20; GOLDINGAY 1988:149; COLLINS 1993a:133, footnote 49 - <i>ibid.</i> 1993b:292, footnote 128 (citing MOSCA 1986:500,501); <i>ibid.</i> 1993a:126, footnote 19 - <i>ibid.</i> 1993b:288; <i>ibid.</i> 1993b:295; HAAG 1993a:160; <i>ibid.</i> 1993b:56; BAUER 1996:144
Eze 29:3	GUNKEL 1895:328,329; MONTGOMERY 1927:286; EISSFELDT 1932:29, footnote 1; YOUNG 1953:143; HEATON 1956:175; JEFFERY 1956:453; EMERTON 1958:234; RHODES 1961:417; PORTEOUS 1962:81; HOOKER 1967:19,20, footnote 1; HAMMER 1976:75; LACOCQUE 1976:106 - <i>ibid.</i> 1979:139; CASEY 1979:19; KVANVIG 1988:504; GOLDINGAY 1988:149; COLLINS 1993a:121 - <i>ibid.</i> 1993b:280
Eze 32:2-8	GUNKEL 1895:329,328; MARTI 1901:49; EISSFELDT 1932:27,29, footnote 1; HEATON 1956:175; JEFFERY 1956:453; KVANVIG 1988:504; GOLDINGAY 1988:149; MOSCA 1986:500, footnote 20; COLLINS 1993a:121 - <i>ibid.</i> 1993b:280; <i>ibid.</i> 1993a:133, footnote 49 - <i>ibid.</i> 1993b:292, footnote 128 (citing MOSCA 1986:500,501)
Eze 38	EMERTON 1958:234; PORTEOUS 1962:81; GOLDINGAY 1988:149; HAAG 1993a:181
Eze 39	JUNKER 1932:35; EMERTON 1958:234; PORTEOUS 1962:81; GOLDINGAY 1988:149; HAAG 1993a:181
Zec 2:1-4	GUNKEL 1895:333; VON RAD 1965:312; PORTER 1983:66
OT in general	PLÖGER 1965:110
The first beast: lion with eagle's wings (7:4)	
1 Sa 17:34-37	JUNKER 1932:37; BEEK 1935:9, footnote 1; BAUMGARTNER 1939:218,219 (citing JUNKER 1932:37); LUCAS 1990:182
Pro 28:15	JUNKER 1932:37; BEEK 1935:9, footnote 1; BAUMGARTNER 1939:218,219 (citing JUNKER 1932:37); LUCAS 1990:182
Sol 4:8	JUNKER 1932:37; BEEK 1935:9, footnote 1; BAUMGARTNER 1939:218,219 (citing JUNKER 1932:37)
Isa 11:6,7	JUNKER 1932:37; BAUMGARTNER 1939:218,219 (citing JUNKER 1932:37); BEEK 1935:9, footnote 1
Jer 4:6,7	CHARLES 1929:176; YOUNG 1953:143; JEFFERY 1956:453; RHODES 1961:417; COPPENS 1968:501 footnote 25; HAMMER 1976:76; LACOCQUE 1976:106, footnote 3 - <i>ibid.</i> 1979:139, footnote 72; CASEY 1979:19,20; GOLDINGAY 1988:161; LUCAS 1990:182; COLLINS 1993b:297; HAAG 1993a:161; <i>ibid.</i> 1993b:57; BAUER 1996:147
Jer 5:6	JUNKER 1932:37; BEEK 1935:9, footnote 1; BAUMGARTNER 1939:218,219 (citing JUNKER 1932:37); CASEY 1979:19; GOLDINGAY 1988:148; COLLINS 1993b:295, footnote 154; HAAG 1993b:57
Jer 49:19-22	DRIVER 1900:81; GOETTSBERGER 1928:53; CHARLES 1929:176; YOUNG 1953:143; HEATON 1956:176; JEFFERY 1956:453; RHODES 1961:417; DELCOR 1968:298; LEUPOLD 1969:289; HAMMER 1976:76; LACOCQUE 1976:106, footnote 3 - <i>ibid.</i> 1979:139, footnote 72; BALDWIN 1978:139; CASEY 1979:20; GOLDINGAY 1988:148,161; LUCAS 1990:182; COLLINS 1993b:297; HAAG 1993a:161; <i>ibid.</i> 1993b:57
Jer 50:17	GOETTSBERGER 1928:53; CHARLES 1929:176; YOUNG 1953:143; JEFFERY 1956:453; RHODES 1961:417; LEUPOLD 1969:289; HAMMER 1976:76; LACOCQUE 1976:106, footnote 3 - <i>ibid.</i> 1979:139, footnote 72; CASEY 1979:20; LUCAS 1990:182; COLLINS 1993b:297; HAAG 1993a:161; <i>ibid.</i> 1993b:57; BAUER 1996:147
Lam 3:10	JUNKER 1932:37; BEEK 1935:9, footnote 1; BAUMGARTNER 1939:218,219 (citing JUNKER 1932:37); HAAG 1993b:57
Lam 4:19	DRIVER 1900:81; YOUNG 1953:143; CASEY 1979:20; GOLDINGAY 1988:161
Eze 1:10	BENTZEN 1952:59 - <i>ibid.</i> 1937:31; RHODES 1961:417; BALZ 1968:85; GOLDINGAY 1988:149
Eze 17:3	DRIVER 1900:81; CHARLES 1929:176; YOUNG 1953:143; HEATON 1956:176; JEFFERY 1956:453; RHODES 1961:417; PORTEOUS 1962:85; LEUPOLD 1969:289; HAMMER 1976:76; LACOCQUE 1976:106, footnote 3 - <i>ibid.</i> 1979:139, footnote 72; CASEY 1979:20; GOLDINGAY 1988:149; LUCAS 1990:182; COLLINS 1993b:297; HAAG 1993a:161; <i>ibid.</i> 1993b:57; BAUER 1996:147

Dan 2:32,37,38	DRIVER 1900:81; MARTI 1901:49; CHARLES 1929:176; JEFFERY 1956:453; RHODES 1961:417; LACOCQUE 1976:98 - ibid. 1976:123; TOWNER 1984:93; KVANVIG 1988:484,487; GOLDINGAY 1988:148,162
Dan 4	DRIVER 1900:81; MARTI 1901:49; MONTGOMERY 1927:287; GOETTSBERGER 1928:53,54; JUNKER 1932:39; BENTZEN 1937:32 - ibid. 1952:60; HEATON 1956:176; JEFFERY 1956:454; RHODES 1961:417; LACOCQUE 1976:98 - ibid. 1976:123; BALDWIN 1978:139; CASEY 1979:20; PORTER 1983:111,112; KVANVIG 1988:484; GOLDINGAY 1988:148,162; COLLINS 1993b:297; HAAG 1993b:57; BAUER 1996:147
Hos 13:7,8	JUNKER 1932:37; BEEK 1935:9, footnote 1; BAUMGARTNER 1939:218,219 (citing JUNKER 1932:37); HAMMER 1976:75; LACOCQUE 1979:139, footnote 76; DAY 1985:156; GOLDINGAY 1988:148; LUCAS 1990:182,183; COLLINS 1993b:295; HAAG 1993a:161; ibid. 1993b:57; BAUER 1996:145
Amo 5:19	JUNKER 1932:37; BEEK 1935:9, footnote 1; BAUMGARTNER 1939:218,219 (citing JUNKER 1932:37); LUCAS 1990:182; HAAG 1993b:57
Hab 1:8	DRIVER 1900:81; CHARLES 1929:176; YOUNG 1953:143; HEATON 1956:176; RHODES 1961:417; PORTEOUS 1962:85; LACOCQUE 1976:106, footnote 3 - ibid. 1979:139, footnote 72; CASEY 1979:20; GOLDINGAY 1988:161; COLLINS 1993b:297,298; HAAG 1993a:161; ibid. 1993b:57
The second beast: bear (7:5)	
1 Sa 17:34-37	DRIVER 1900:82; MONTGOMERY 1927:288; JUNKER 1932:37; BEEK 1935:9, footnote 1; BAUMGARTNER 1939:218,219 (citing JUNKER 1932:37); HEATON 1956:176; JEFFERY 1956:454; RHODES 1961:418; LEUPOLD 1969:290; GOLDINGAY 1988:162; LUCAS 1990:182; COLLINS 1993b:297, footnote 178
2 Ki 2:24	DRIVER 1900:82; RHODES 1961:418; GOLDINGAY 1988:162; COLLINS 1993b:297
Pro 17:12	JEFFERY 1956:454; RHODES 1961:418; HARTMAN/DI LELLA 1978:212; GOLDINGAY 1988:162
Pro 28:15	JUNKER 1932:37; BEEK 1935:9, footnote 1; BAUMGARTNER 1939:218,219 (citing JUNKER 1932:37); YOUNG 1953:144; HEATON 1956:176; JEFFERY 1956:454; RHODES 1961:418; LEUPOLD 1969:290; GOLDINGAY 1988:162; LUCAS 1990:182
Isa 11:6,7	JUNKER 1932:37; BAUMGARTNER 1939:218,219 (citing JUNKER 1932:37); BEEK 1935:9, footnote 1; MONTGOMERY 1927:288; JEFFERY 1956:454; RHODES 1961:418; COLLINS 1993b:297, footnotes 178, 180
Isa 13:17,18	MARTI 1901:50; DRIVER 1900:82; MONTGOMERY 1927:288; CHARLES 1929:178; JEFFERY 1956:454; HEATON 1956:177; RHODES 1961:419; PORTEOUS 1962:86; COPPENS 1968:501, footnote 25; LACOCQUE 1976:99,106 - ibid. 1979:123,140; HAAG 1993a:162; ibid. 1993b:57; LUCAS 1990:182
Isa 21:2	DRIVER 1900:82; PORTEOUS 1962:86; COPPENS 1968:501, footnote 25; LACOCQUE 1976:99,106 - ibid. 1979:123,140; LUCAS 1990:182; HAAG 1993a:162; ibid. 1993b:57
Isa 51:11	DRIVER 1900:82; MARTI 1901:50; MONTGOMERY 1927:288; CHARLES 1929:178; HEATON 1956:177; JEFFERY 1956:454; RHODES 1961:419; LACOCQUE 1976:99 - ibid. 1979:123; HARTMAN/DI LELLA 1978:212; LUCAS 1990:182; COLLINS 1993b:298; HAAG 1993a:162; ibid. 1993b:57
Isa 51:28	DRIVER 1900:82; MARTI 1901:50; MONTGOMERY 1927:288; CHARLES 1929:178; HEATON 1956:177; JEFFERY 1956:454; RHODES 1961:419; LACOCQUE 1976:99 - ibid. 1979:123; HARTMAN/DI LELLA 1978:212; LUCAS 1990:182; COLLINS 1993b:298; HAAG 1993a:162; ibid. 1993b:57
Lam 3:10	JUNKER 1932:37; BEEK 1935:9, footnote 1; BAUMGARTNER 1939:218,219 (citing JUNKER 1932:37); JEFFERY 1956:454; RHODES 1961:418; GOLDINGAY 1988:162; HAAG 1993b:57
Dan 2:32,39	DRIVER 1900:82; CHARLES 1929:177; HEATON 1956:176; RHODES 1961:418; TOWNER 1984:93
Hos 13:7,8	DRIVER 1900:82; MONTGOMERY 1927:288; JUNKER 1932:37; BEEK 1935:9, footnote 1; BAUMGARTNER 1939:218,219 (citing JUNKER 1932:37); YOUNG 1953:144; HEATON 1956:176; LEUPOLD 1969:290; HAMMER 1976:75; LACOCQUE 1976:106 - ibid. 1979:140; ibid. 1979:139, footnote 76; DAY 1985:156; GOLDINGAY 1988:148; LUCAS 1990:182,183; COLLINS 1993b:295; HAAG 1993a:161; ibid. 1993b:57; JEFFERY 1956:454; RHODES 1961:418; HARTMAN/DI LELLA 1978:212; GOLDINGAY 1988:162; COLLINS 1993b:297, footnote 178; BAUER 1996:145
Amo 3:12,13	MONTGOMERY 1927:288; JEFFERY 1956:454; RHODES 1961:418; LEUPOLD 1969:290; DELCOR 1971:147; HARTMAN/DI LELLA 1978:212; COLLINS 1993b:297, footnote 178; LACOCQUE 1976:106 - ibid. 1979:140
Amo 5:19	DRIVER 1900:82; MONTGOMERY 1927:288; JUNKER 1932:37; BEEK 1935:9, footnote 1; BAUMGARTNER 1939:218,219 (citing JUNKER 1932:37); YOUNG 1953:144; HEATON 1956:176; JEFFERY 1956:454; RHODES 1961:418; LACOCQUE 1976:106 - ibid. 1979:140; GOLDINGAY 1988:162; LUCAS 1990:182; COLLINS 1993b:297, footnote 178; ibid. 1993b:57
The third beast: leopard with four wings and four heads (7:6)	
Sol 4:8	JUNKER 1932:37; BEEK 1935:9, footnote 1; BAUMGARTNER 1939:218,219 (citing JUNKER 1932:37); JEFFERY 1956:454; RHODES 1961:419; GOLDINGAY 1988:163

Isa 11:6,7	JUNKER 1932:37; BEEK 1935:9, footnote 1; BAUMGARTNER 1939:218,219 (citing JUNKER 1932:37); JEFFERY 1956:454; RHODES 1961:419; GOLDINGAY 1988:163
Isa 41:2,3	MONTGOMERY 1927:289; HEATON 1956:177; PORTEOUS 1962:86; DELCOR 1971:147; GOLDINGAY 1988:163; COLLINS 1993b:298; HAAG 1993a:162; <i>ibid.</i> 1993b:57; BAUER 1996:147
Jer 5:6	DRIVER 1900:83; MONTGOMERY 1927:289; BEEK 1935:9, footnote 1; BAUMGARTNER 1939:218,219 (citing JUNKER 1932:37); YOUNG 1953:146; JEFFERY 1956:454; RHODES 1961:419; LEUPOLD 1969:293; DELCOR 1971:147; LACOCQUE 1976:107, footnote 4 = <i>ibid.</i> 1979:140, footnote 83; GOLDINGAY 1988:148,163; COLLINS 1993b:295, footnote 154; HAAG 1993b:57
Eze 1	MONTGOMERY 1927:290; STEINMANN 1950:109 = <i>ibid.</i> 1960:87; PLÖGER 1965:109; BALZ 1967:85; GOLDINGAY 1988:163; COLLINS 1993b:298
Dan 2:39	DRIVER 1900:83; MONTGOMERY 1927:290; CHARLES 1929:178; HEATON 1956:177; JEFFERY 1956:455; TOWNER 1984:93; COLLINS 1993b:298
Dan 11:2,3	MARTI 1901:50; GOETTSBERGER 1928:54; BENTZEN 1937:33 = <i>ibid.</i> 1952:61; JEFFERY 1956:455; RHODES 1961:419; LACOCQUE 1976:107, footnote 8 = <i>ibid.</i> 1979:140, footnote 87; GOLDINGAY 1988:163; BAUER 1996:147
Hos 13:7,8	DRIVER 1900:83; MONTGOMERY 1927:289; JUNKER 1932:37; BEEK 1935:9, footnote 1; BAUMGARTNER 1939:218,219 (citing JUNKER 1932:37); YOUNG 1953:146; JEFFERY 1956:454; RHODES 1961:419; LEUPOLD 1969:293; DELCOR 1971:147; HAMMER 1976:75; LACOCQUE 1976:107, footnote 4 = <i>ibid.</i> 1979:140, footnote 83; <i>ibid.</i> 1979:139, footnote 76; DAY 1985:156; GOLDINGAY 1988:148,163; LUCAS 1990:182,183; COLLINS 1993b:295; HAAG 1993a:161; <i>ibid.</i> 1993b:57; BAUER 1996:145
Hab 1:8	DRIVER 1900:83; JEFFERY 1956:454; RHODES 1961:419; LEUPOLD 1969:293; BALDWIN 1978:139; BAUER 1996:151
The fourth beast (7:7)	
Dan 2:40	DRIVER 1900:84; MONTGOMERY 1927:290; HEATON 1956:177; JEFFERY 1956:455; LACOCQUE 1976:107, footnote 8 = <i>ibid.</i> 1979:140, footnote 87; TOWNER 1984:93; COLLINS 1993b:299
The horns of the fourth beast (7:8)	
Deu 33:17	DRIVER 1900:84; YOUNG 1953:147; JEFFERY 1956:456; RHODES 1961:420
1 Sam 2:1,10	MORENZ 1951:152, footnote 3; YOUNG 1953:147; DELCOR 1971:148; MOSCA 1986:500, footnote 22; COLLINS 1993a:133, footnote 49 = <i>ibid.</i> 1993b:292, footnote 128 (citing MOSCA 1986:500,501)
Psa 18:3	MORENZ 1951:152; YOUNG 1953:147; MOSCA 1986:500, footnote 22; COLLINS 1993a:133, footnote 49 = <i>ibid.</i> 1993b:292, footnote 128 (citing MOSCA 1986:500,501)
Psa 75:4-6,10	JEFFERY 1956:456; RHODES 1961:420; MOSCA 1986:500, footnote 22; GOLDINGAY 1988:149; COLLINS 1993a:133, footnote 49 = <i>ibid.</i> 1993b:292, footnote 128 (citing MOSCA 1986:500,501)
Dan 8:3-9,20-25	DRIVER 1900:84; HÖLSCHER 1919:121; BAUMGARTNER 1926:20; CHARLES 1929:179; HEATON 1956:177; JEFFERY 1956:456; RHODES 1961:420; LACOCQUE 1976:107 = <i>ibid.</i> 1979:141
Dan 11:21	CHARLES 1929:179; HEATON 1956:177; BICKERMANN 1967:103; LACOCQUE 1976:99 = <i>ibid.</i> 1976:123; COLLINS 1993b:299
Zec 2:1-4	MONTGOMERY 1927:290; MORENZ 1951:152; JEFFERY 1956:456; BICKERMANN 1967:103; ZEVIT 1968:392, footnote 32; BALDWIN 1978:140; COLLINS 1993b:299; PORTER 1983:63,64-66; BAUER 1996:152
The eyes of the little horn of the fourth beast (7:8)	
Psa 101:5	MONTGOMERY 1927:290; JEFFERY 1956:456; GOLDINGAY 1988:164; COLLINS 1993b:299
Isa 2:11	MONTGOMERY 1927:290; HEATON 1956:177; JEFFERY 1956:456; LACOCQUE 1976:108 = <i>ibid.</i> 1979:141; GOLDINGAY 1988:164; COLLINS 1993b:299
Isa 5:15	MONTGOMERY 1927:290; GOLDINGAY 1988:164; COLLINS 1993b:299
Dan 8:23	HEATON 1956:177; RHODES 1961:420; PORTEOUS 1962:87; LACOCQUE 1976:108 = <i>ibid.</i> 1979:141
The mouth of the little horn of the fourth beast speaking great things (7:8)	
Psa 12:3,4	DRIVER 1900:84; MONTGOMERY 1927:290; CHARLES 1929:180; YOUNG 1953:148; HEATON 1956:177; JEFFERY 1956:456; LACOCQUE 1976:108 = <i>ibid.</i> 1979:141; BALDWIN 1978:140; GOLDINGAY 1988:164; COLLINS 1993b:299
Isa 10:7-12	MOSCA 1986:500, footnote 23; COLLINS 1993a:133, footnote 49 = <i>ibid.</i> 1993b:292, footnote 128 (citing MOSCA 1986:500,501); GOLDINGAY 1988:164; HAAG 1993a:162,180,181; <i>ibid.</i> 1993b:58
Isa 14:4-23	MOSCA 1986:500, footnote 23; COLLINS 1993a:133, footnote 49 = <i>ibid.</i> 1993b:292, footnote 128 (citing MOSCA 1986:500,501); HAAG 1993a:181

Isa 37:23	MONTGOMERY 1927:290; JEFFERY 1956:456; GOLDINGAY 1988:164; COLLINS 1993b:299; cf. also EISSFELDT 1932:27
Eze 28:2-10	MOSCA 1986:500, footnote 23; COLLINS 1993a:133, footnote 49 = <i>ibid.</i> 1993b:292, footnote 128 (citing MOSCA 1986:500,501)
Eze 29:3	GUNKEL 1895:329; EISSFELDT 1932:27; LACOCQUE 1976:108, footnote 3 = <i>ibid.</i> 1979:141, footnote 93
Dan 11:36	DRIVER 1900:84; HÖLSCHER 1919:121; BAUMGARTNER 1926:20; CHARLES 1929:180; HEATON 1956:177; JEFFERY 1956:456; RHODES 1961:420; PORTEOUS 1962:87; LACOCQUE 1976:108 = <i>ibid.</i> 1979:141; GOLDINGAY 1988:164; COLLINS 1993b:299
Oba 12	MONTGOMERY 1927:290; CHARLES 1929:180; YOUNG 1953:148; HEATON 1956:177; JEFFERY 1956:456; GOLDINGAY 1988:164; COLLINS 1993b:299

2.2.12. Iconographic influence

The first part of the vision of Dan 7 received a mixed treatment in regard to the influence of ancient Near Eastern iconography. Thus on the one hand some elements of Dan 7 were not discussed at all, e.g., the sea and the four winds, while on the other hand references to the winged lion abound. Likewise the relevance that was attached to iconographic material for the understanding of Dan 7 varied considerably,¹³⁷ resulting in more detailed iconographic explanations which will be dealt with below, as well as a number of rather general statements.¹³⁸

2.2.12.1. Lion

The artistic background for the motif of the winged lion was, according to MONTGOMERY (1927:287), first proposed by J. G. HERDER (1744-1803). He traced the winged lion of Dan 7 back to wall sculptures at Persepolis.¹³⁹ While most discussions of the Danielic description of the winged lion followed the artistic explanation of HERDER, a specific Persian background was

¹³⁷ Cf. such contrasting treatments as COLPE's (1969:423) minimal approach which only involved a footnote to NOTH's (1957:267-271) treatment of the issue without any comment and JUNKER's (1932:35-43) lengthy discussions.

¹³⁸ They all refer to ancient Near Eastern *Mischwesen* as possible explanation for the descriptions of the Danielic beasts (NOTH 1957:267,270; EMERTON 1958:227; PORTER 1983:74,75; CASEY 1978:19,20; DAY 1985:157; CRENSHAW 1992:371). Other general statements to *Mischwesen* or dragons are more specific by mentioning the region of origin, i.e., Babylon (MEYER 1921:197; BALDWIN 1978:139), Persia (MEYER 1921:197; BAUMGARTNER 1926:22) or Syro-Palestine (COLLINS 1993b:296). Unique is JUNKER's (1932:35) treatment of the motif of a combination of animals to indicate various subdued enemies (cf. the reference to GRESSMANN 1927: no. 31; JASTROW 1912: no. 47). Among the general iconographic statements DRIVER's (1926:142) assertion that the contest between "the god of creation and diverse monsters" is a "frequent *motif* of Babylonian art" was only taken up by HEATON (1956:175). Unique is also KRAELING's statement that "the fangs and talons of the monster [i.e., the fourth beast of Dan 7] ... are also accentuated in pictorial representations of Tiamat dragons found on Babylonian seals" (1927:145 with footnote 57, citing JEREMIAS 1913:26,27, pls. 15-17).

¹³⁹ This might refer to the *Löwengreif* on a relief on the palace of Darius I (522-486) (cf. SARRE 1922: pl. 16).

adopted only by a few,¹⁴⁰ although Persian iconographic evidence was used for a more general comparison with the four beasts of Dan 7 at large.¹⁴¹ Again, according to MONTGOMERY (1927:287), it was F. HITZIG (1850:102) who first proposed in his commentary on Daniel an Assyrian–Babylonian iconographic background for the winged lion.¹⁴² As early as 1835 C. VON LENGERKE (1835:301) referred to monsters with wings in Babylonian art.

Following HITZIG'S line further Danielic research referred to the following backgrounds for the winged lion:

(1) *Babylonian* (BEHRMANN 1894:44; MARTI 1901:49; BENTZEN 1937:31,32=1952:59,60; HERZFELD 1947:832; STEINMANN 1950:105 = *ibid.* 1960:84,85; YOUNG 1954:35; HEATON 1956:176; KOCH 1961:9,11; PORTEOUS 1962:85; BICKERMANN 1967:102; LEUPOLD 1969:288; TOWNER 1984:93; ARCHER 1985:86; BAUER 1996:149, figs. 21,22);

¹⁴⁰ E.g. STEINMANN (1950:106 = *ibid.* 1960:85): "Sur les bas-reliefs du palais de Persépolis, on voyait le grand Roi vaincre le mal. Et pour ce faire, il éventrait un griffon cornu, à tête et à pattes antérieures de lion, à pattes postérieures et à ailes d'aigle et à queue de scorpion." BICKERMANN (1967:102,103) brought the posture of a lion standing on his hind legs in connection with a depiction on a seal of Darius. However BICKERMANN did not specify which Darius he had in mind nor did he give a reference, except the remark that this seal is to be found in the British Museum. Cf. also BAUMGARTNER (1926:22, footnote *) who referred to a *Löwengreif* on a relief from the palace of Darius I (522–486) at Persepolis. Recently COLLINS (1993b:296) mentioned in connection with the four beasts of Dan 7 a relief from the palace of Darius at Persepolis showing a royal hero–fight with "a lion, a lion monster, and a bull, respectively" (cf. ROOT 1979: pls. 16a,16b).

¹⁴¹ Examples of very general statements regarding a Persian background are: "Ihre [the Danielic four beasts] Gestalt entspricht den phantastischen Mischwesen, welche die babylonische wie die chetitische Mythologie geschaffen und die Kunst in unzähligen Variationen dargestellt hat, und als auch die persische Skulpturen die Dämonen bilden" (MEYER 1921:197; cf. also p. 195, footnote 1); "Wir kennen solche mischgestaltige Fabelwesen aus der babylonisch–assyrischen und hetitischen Mythologie, und wissen, dass noch die persische Kunst diese Typen zur Darstellung ihrer eigenen Dämonengestalten benützte" (BAUMGARTNER 1926:22); "Three animals appear among the Persepolis sculptures in the taçara of Darius, four in the Hall of a Hundred Columns of Artaxerxes I, and there, too, the fourth may result merely from the symmetry of the room with four doors that required four pictures. In all cases a hero – not a king – fights the monsters which are represented 'standing like a man on their hindlegs,' and with fore–claws spread out ... The first is a simple lion, the second a bull, the third a griffin with the body of a lion, hind–legs of an eagle, head of a bird of prey, but with bull's ears. The fourth is distinguished from the third only by the horns of a bull and a scorpion's tail ... The authors of the original book of Daniel hardly know Persepolis, but did know Babylon and Susa, where similar figures in enameled tiles must have adorned the walls, since Achaemenian art is wholly stereotyped" (HERZFELD 1947:831,832).

¹⁴² "Im Uebr. [igen] erinnere man sich der Verbindung des Löwen und Adlers im Cherub, der geflügelten Löwen mit Menschenkopf, die zu Nimrud aufgegraben worden, und der Ungethüme mit Flügeln auf babylon. Bildwerken" (HITZIG 1850:102). HITZIG (*ibid.*) underlined this statement by referring to MÜNTER 1827:98,139 (correctly it should be p. 138), pl. 1:11–13 which depict cylinder seals with winged human beings and to the discussions in the *Journal de Savants*, Nov. 1849, p. 676 and Jan. 1850, pp. 34,35.

(2) *Assyrian* (BAUMGARTNER 1926:22; PLÖGER 1965:108);¹⁴³

(3) *Babylonian-Assyrian* (GOETTSBERGER 1928:53; JUNKER 1932:38; STEINMANN 1950:105,106; PLÖGER 1965:108 DELCOR 1968:298 = *ibid.* 1971:145; COLLINS 1993b:296).

Another group preferred to mention only in general terms an *ancient Near Eastern* or a *Mesopotamian* artistic background (CHARLES 1929:176; JEFFERY 1956:453; NOTH 1957:267,268; RHODES 1961:417; BICKERMANN 1967:102,103; MAIER 1982:264; DAY 1985:155; COLLINS 1993b:297; BARTELMUS 1993:292; UEHLINGER 1995a:821).¹⁴⁴

Considering the high number of scholars pointing to an iconographic background of the first beast of Dan 7, one would expect a wealth of bibliographical references. A brief survey of the above-mentioned references is, however, a very sobering exercise. Only a very small number of statements are supported by a bibliographical reference.¹⁴⁵ The vast majority do not mention a single reference to the adduced iconographic material,¹⁴⁶ while a very small number of statements contain at least some hints as to where to look.¹⁴⁷

Scrutiny of those statements that have bibliographical references reveals that the Danielic identity of the winged lion was compared with (a) a *Löwengreif*,¹⁴⁸ (b) a winged *sphinx*,¹⁴⁹ or (c) a

¹⁴³ The exact opposite opinion was voiced by KOCH (1961:11): "Der Löwengreif in der Vision von den vier Tieren (Kapitel 7) ist gewiss von jeher auf Babylon und nicht auf Assyrien (wo das Motiv in der Kunst eine geringere Rolle spielt) gedeutet worden."

¹⁴⁴ Exceptions are the specific references of KRAELING (1933:228) to Elam and of BICKERMANN (1967:103) to Ur. BAUER (1996:147, 148, figs. 19,20) spoke also in general terms of *Mischwesen* in ancient Near Eastern art and underlined this by two Hittite winged lions with a second human head.

¹⁴⁵ HITZIG 1850:102; BEHRMANN 1894:44; BAUMGARTNER 1926:22; *ibid.* 1939:218; JUNKER 1932:38,39; DELCOR 1968:298; *ibid.* 1971:145; NOTH 1957:268; BAUER 1996:149,260.

¹⁴⁶ MARTI 1901:49; GOETTSBERGER 1928:53; CHARLES 1929:176; BEEK 1935:8; BENTZEN 1937:31,32-1952:59,60; HEATON 1956:176; JEFFERY 1956:453; NOTH 1957:267; RHODES 1961:417; KOCH 1961:9,11; PORTEOUS 1962:85; PLÖGER 1965:108; LEUPOLD 1969:288; COLLINS 1993b; BARTELMUS 1993:292.

¹⁴⁷ MONTGOMERY 1927:287; STEINMANN 1950:105 = *ibid.* 1960:85; BICKERMANN 1967:102,103; TOWNER 1984:93; ARCHER 1985:86 (unique is the reference to the Babylonian silver shekel of the satrap Mazaeus depicting a lion).

¹⁴⁸ BAUMGARTNER 1926:22; 1939:218 (cf. GRESSMANN 1909: no. 168 = *ibid.* 1927: no. 380 = JASTROW 1912: no. 120; *ibid.* nos. 100, 193, 195; SARRE 1922: pl. 16); JUNKER 1932:38 (cf. GRESSMANN 1909: no. 168 = *ibid.* 1927: no. 380 = JASTROW 1912: no. 120); cf. also STEINMANN 1960:86.

¹⁴⁹ HITZIG 1850:102 with footnote (cf. LAYARD 1854:421,424,184 with fig. 13,43 with fig. 3, cf. also SCHRADER 1894:1091; mentioned by HITZIG is furthermore R. ROCLETTE in *Journal des Savants* Nov. 1849, p. 676 and Jan. 1859, pp. 34,35); BEHRMANN 1894:44 (cf. depiction in SCHRADER 1894:1091); YOUNG 1953:143 (followed HITZIG); DELCOR 1968:145; *ibid.* 1971:145 (cf. PRITCHARD 1954: no. 646).

winged *bull sphinx*.¹⁵⁰ The following elements of the description of the winged lion in Dan 7 received further attention: (a) the wings,¹⁵¹ (b) the plucking off of the lion's wings,¹⁵² and (c) the rampant posture of the lion.¹⁵³

Finally, one can observe that many scholars who supported their statements with bibliographical references, most notably NOTH (1957:268) and COLLINS (1993b:218), derived their information from JUNKER'S (1932:38,39) work on the iconographic aspect of Dan 7. Exceptions are BAUMGARTNER (1926:22) and DELCOR (1971:145)¹⁵⁴ who display independent contributions.

2.2.12.2. Bear

The first significant iconographic treatment of the motif of the Danielic bear was made by JUNKER (1932:36,37,40). According to JUNKER the bear cannot be regarded as a mythological motif as it only rarely¹⁵⁵ appears in ancient Near Eastern iconography and is missing altogether in Babylonian and Assyrian representations. The two examples JUNKER cited are the depiction of a bear in a hunting scene on a Persian cylinder seal¹⁵⁶ and a bear on an old Sumerian plaque

¹⁵⁰ DELCOR 1968:145; *ibid.* 1971:145 (cf. PRITCHARD 1954: no. 647). Cf. however the criticism by STAUB (1978:354,355, footnote 10), since the adduced parallel has no feline element at all.

¹⁵¹ JUNKER (1932:38) discussed the meaning of wings in Assyrian–Babylonian art by stating: "Die Flügel sind in der assyrisch–babylonischen Kunst Attribute, die ein Wesen als überirdisch, als Geistwesen oder als Dämon kennzeichnen. Geflügelte Tiergestalten sind Darstellungen von Schutzgeistern [reference to GRESSMANN 1927: no. 378 – a winged *Mischwesen* having a body of a bull and a human head]; bekannt ist auch eine geflügelte Dämonengestalt [reference to *ibid.* no. 383 – storm demon Pazuzu]."

¹⁵² JUNKER 1932:38 (cf. WEBER 1920: nos. 110,302,310,336).

¹⁵³ MEYER 1921:195, footnote 1 (not specified reference to rampant winged animals on Babylonian and Persian sculptures); JUNKER 1932:38,39 (cf. WEBER 1920: nos. 15–17,18,20,22–26,44); NOTH 1957:268 (cf. WEBER 1920: nos. 15,17,64,101,117); COLLINS 1993b:297 (cf. WEBER 1920: nos. 17,64,101; PRITCHARD 1954: no. 192); BAUER 1996:150, fig. 23.

¹⁵⁴ Cf. however footnote 150.

¹⁵⁵ In regard to the reason for rarity of depictions of bears NOTH (1957:268) stated: "... der Bär [ist] im alten Orient nur sehr selten in der bildenden Kunst dargestellt worden. Begreiflicherweise; denn in den Flussoasen, die die Zentren der altorientalischen Kulturentfaltung waren, ist der Bär nicht zu Hause. Er kommt nur in den Gebirgen vor, und die wenigen Abbildungen von Bären, die bekannt sind, stammen denn auch aus dem iranischen Gebirge und dessen Nachbarschaft" (cf. a very similar statement PERROT/CHIPIEZ 1884:751; see also HARTMAN/DI LELLA 1978:212; BARTELMUS 1993:293).

¹⁵⁶ WEBER 1920: no. 511 = DELAPORTE 1910: no. 405.

of shell inlay – being possibly part of a lyre – excavated at Ur from a grave dated to the 25th century B.C.E.¹⁵⁷

Following JUNKER, BAUMGARTNER (1939:218) affirmed the non-mythological function of the bear in iconography and underlined the scarcity of its appearance therein. Nevertheless, his reference¹⁵⁸ to HILZHEIMER'S (1928:398,399) article in the *Reallexikon der Assyrologie*, mentioned three¹⁵⁹ additional depictions with bears: a bowl in bronze from Nineveh depicting two bears searching for food;¹⁶⁰ a Persian cylinder seal showing the hunting of a bear;¹⁶¹ and an Elamite Kudurru depicting a bear.¹⁶² Furthermore, he added to this a bear amulet from Tell Brak¹⁶³ and a similar motif to that found on the lyre of Ur from Tell Halaf.¹⁶⁴

Besides remarking that the bear seldom appears in ancient Near Eastern art and adding one more example to the known list of depictions of bears,¹⁶⁵ BENIZEN (1952:60 = *ibid.* 1937:32¹⁶⁶) criticised JUNKER'S statement that the bear does not function as a mythological animal. He referred to GADD'S (1929:35-37) discussion of the plaque of shell from the lyre of Ur which concluded that the function of the various animals on the plaque is most probably of an apotropaic nature.

¹⁵⁷ WOLLEY n.d.: pl. 7 = GADD 1929: pl. 8 = JEREMIAS 1929:440, fig. 241 = RUTTEN 1938:106, fig. 12 = PRITCHARD 1954: no. 192 = BAUER 1996:150, fig. 23.

¹⁵⁸ BAUMGARTNER 1939: 218,219, footnote 1.

¹⁵⁹ HILZHEIMER (1928:399) mentioned an additional reference for a bear, namely, *ILN*, no. 4637, vol. 172, 3 March 1928. However, the depictions on pp. 337-339 in this issue of the "Illustrated London News" reporting on WOOLLEY'S excavation of royal graves at Ur do not show any bear. The only connection to the bear could be the depiction of a bull head on the top right of page 337 which resembles the bull head of the lyre of Ur with its plaque of shell depicting a bear. But according to the description of the picture in the "Illustrated London News" the bull head is made of silver, while the bull head of the lyre of Ur is made of gold (PRITCHARD 1954:271, no. 193). Interestingly enough the comment on the bottom of page 337 of the "Illustrated London News" speaks of two bull heads, one in copper and one in gold. The top left picture shows a bull head in copper. Is the right one perhaps the one made of gold? An additional reference is according to Hilzheimer "ZDP VII, S. 19, Abb. 12". However, vol. 8 of the *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* does not have any depiction on p. 19 and the article does not relate to the topic.

¹⁶⁰ LAYARD 1853a: fig. 66 = PERROT/CHIPIEZ 1884:751, fig. 408.

¹⁶¹ DELAPORTE 1910: no. 404.

¹⁶² TOSCANNE 1911:227, fig. 464.

¹⁶³ *ILN* Nr. 5191 (15 October 1938): 701,18.

¹⁶⁴ HILZHEIMER cited: Ungnad, *Festschrift M. Oppenheim*, 1934, 134ff.

¹⁶⁵ BENIZEN (1937:32; *ibid.* 1952:60) referred to R. O'Callaghan, *Symbolae Hrozný III*, 356.

¹⁶⁶ The first edition has no bibliographical reference to depictions of bears.

Subsequent treatments of the topic only restated JUNKER'S and BAUMGARTNER'S findings (JEFFREY 1956:454; NOTH 1957:268; RHODES 1961:418; COLLINS 1993b: 297; BARTELMUS 1993:293 with footnote 15).

Apart from the occurrence of the bear, its raised posture mentioned in Dan 7 was linked to iconography. In 1835 VON LENGERKE took up a suggestion by MÜNTER (1827:112, pl. 3) who compared the raised posture of one side of the Danielic bear with Babylonian depictions.¹⁶⁷ He was followed by MONTGOMERY (1927:288). It was JUNKER, however, who refuted the adduced evidence.¹⁶⁸ A further attempt to bring the raised posture of the bear in Dan 7 in relation with iconography was undertaken by NOTH (1957:268) who compared it with a rampant bear ready to attack. NOTH'S explanation was taken up recently by COLLINS (1993b:298), with the difference that he mentioned only one of three references given by NOTH, namely, the one that does indeed depicts an attacking rampant bear.¹⁶⁹

2.2.12.3. Leopard

General statements about iconographic parallels to the winged four-headed leopard of Dan 7 point out that ancient Near Eastern art knows of various composite animal figures with wings and several heads (NOTH 1957:268,269; KRAELING 1933:228; DAY 1985:155; UEHLINGER 1995a:821).

¹⁶⁷ "Wir denken uns das Thier (*sic*) also als halbaufgerichtet, entweder stehend auf den Vorderfüßen, ruhend mit dem hinteren Leibe, in Trägheit, wie sie dem Bären eigen ist, den eben verschlungenen Frass verdauend, oder man vergleiche die Vorstellung in einem babylonischen Steinbilde, worüber Münter, *Relig. de[r]* Bab. S. 112 bemerkt: 'Unter dem Sterne Bels unterbricht die Reihe der Altäre ein mythisches Thier, das an die Gesichte Daniels erinnert. Es hat die Bildung eines Ziegenbocks, ist aber mit Schuppen gepanzert und hat zwei kleine Flügel. Die Hörner sind gross und gewunden und gleichen den Hörnern der Ovis στροφικέρας, einer Bocksgattung, die im Orient und in Ungarn einheimisch ist. Der Huf ist gespalten. Das Thier (*sic*) liegt knieend auf dem rechten Vorderfuss, ist aber im Begriff mit dem linken aufzustehen. Wir finden denselben Bock, gleichfalls vor einem Altare, und in derselben Stellung liegend, auf den Babylonischen Steinen in den Fundgruben des Orients ...'" (VON LENGERKE 1835:304,305).

¹⁶⁸ "Jedoch das von Montgomery herangezogene Motiv dürfte kaum in dem angegebenen Sinne zu deuten sein. Vgl. die Abbildungen bei Weber, Nr. 538 und Jastrow, *Bildermappe* 63 d, 64 und 126. Hier scheint es sich um symbolische Tiergestalten zu handeln, die vor dem Lebensbaum knieend huldigen. Eine Stellung, bei der zwei Beine auf derselben Seite halb emporgehoben sind, wäre auch zu unnatürlich und als 'Ruhestellung' ganz unmöglich für ein Tier" (JUNKER 1932:40).

¹⁶⁹ Cf. WEBER 1920: no. 511. The two other references by NOTH (1957:268, footnote 28) refer to a raised bear collecting probably some fruits from a tree and a walking bear on an Elamite Kudurru (cf. footnotes 160 and 162).

The first specific iconographic parallel to the winged four-headed leopard was proposed by BAUMGARTNER (1926:22) in a reference to a Hittite relief from Carchemish,¹⁷⁰ dated after 1000 B.C.E. However, he acknowledged that the animal of this representation had only two heads and that the identification with a leopard was not correct.¹⁷¹ Thirteen years later in his review of Danielic research, BAUMGARTNER (1939:218) was silent about his earlier proposal.

It was again JUNKER (1932:41,42) who presented the most significant treatment of the motif of the leopard. He mentioned, apart from literary references stemming from Egypt¹⁷² and Sumer,¹⁷³ the iconographic representations of the leopard. However, he conceded that these depictions of leopards do not correspond exactly to the winged four-headed leopard as described in Dan 7, since none of them has wings or multiple heads. JUNKER mentioned leopard statuettes from royal Egyptian tombs,¹⁷⁴ depictions of priests wearing leopard skins,¹⁷⁵ a Hittite procession of gods from the 15th-14th centuries B.C.E.,¹⁷⁶ and two cylinder seals.¹⁷⁷

Further treatments of the iconographic background of the leopard in Dan 7, such as BENTZEN'S (1937:33), JEFFERY'S (1956:454), NOTH'S (1957:268,269), and RHODES' (1961:419) are essentially all based on JUNKER'S work and corroborate that there are indeed depictions of leopards, but that they do not correspond to the Danielic version. The only additional example

¹⁷⁰ WEBER 1922: pl. 14.

¹⁷¹ WEBER (*ibid.* p. 18, no. 14) identified it as sphinx as did GRESSMANN (1927:113) who mentioned in the discussion of his no. 388, which he identified as Hittite sphinx, the example from Carchemish as parallel. PRITCHARD (1954: no. 644(0)) designated it as composite winged creature.

¹⁷² Thutmose III (1479-1426) is said to attack his enemies like a strong youthful panther that approaches resting cattle; Ramses III (1187-1156) is called a panther in battle; Amenophis II (1426-1400) is furious like a female panther, when he comes onto the battlefield. Apart from these royal uses, the metaphor of being furious like a panther is also found in common texts such as fairytales and legends of gods (GRAPOW 1924:73).

¹⁷³ The Sumerian king Gudea speaks of the "divine leopard, who fills with fear" and is said to have attached to a temple door a young lion and a young panther (JUNKER 1932:42). Furthermore, the panther is also known as one of the "evil seven" demons (MEISSNER 1925:200).

¹⁷⁴ Cf. WIEDEMANN 1920:243 with reference to DARSSEY 1902:160 no. 24621, 161 no. 24622 with plate 34 that depicts two cedar statuettes of panthers en passant from the tomb of Amenophis II (1426-1400); CARTER/NEWBERRY 1904:15 no. 46066 with plate 5 depicting a wooden statuette of a prowling panther from the tomb of Thutmose IV (1400-1390) and DAVIS 1912:103, no. 14, pl. 82 with a statuette of a wooden leopard from the tomb of Haremhab (1319-1292). Panthers are also depicted on rock tomb scenes at Tell el-Amarna where they appear among the people that bring tribute to Akhenaten (1353-1336) (DAVIES 1905a: pl. 38; *ibid.* 1905b: pl. 15) and on a processional scene of Thutmose III (1479-1426) at the temple of Deir el Bahari (NAVILLE 1906: pl. 125).

¹⁷⁵ WIEDEMANN 1920:369: fig. 72 and pl./fig. 26.

¹⁷⁶ GRESSMANN 1927: no. 338.

¹⁷⁷ WEBER 1920: nos. 237,238 (no. 238 = DE MORGAN 1905: pl. 20:1).

to JUNKER'S list of leopard representations was recently made by COLLINS (1993b:298, footnote 189), namely, a Sumerian cylinder seal from Early Dynastic III from the middle of the third millennium.¹⁷⁸

Apart from the discussion of leopards *per se*, some scholars also dealt with the attributes of the four heads and four wings. MONTGOMERY (1927:289) referred to the Babylonian winged lions as an example for the position of the wings. JUNKER (1932:42) mentioned the numerous depictions of four- or six-winged human figures¹⁷⁹ and two-headed figures.¹⁸⁰ The missing four-headed representations were explained by JUNKER as resulting from the artistic difficulty in representing more than two heads. BICKERMANN (1967:102) referred in a general way to winged beasts with several heads as common Babylonian imagery.

2.2.12.4. Fourth Beast

A brief remark by MONTGOMERY (1927:291,292) in which he referred to the numismatic representations of the Syrian kings as a possible explanation for the horns of the fourth beast,¹⁸¹ should become a constituent element in many subsequent discussions of iconographic parallels to the fourth beast of Dan 7. His second reference on this topic, namely, to the "monstrous *širusšu* beast" which "would have given a prototype from Bab.art" (ibid. 290; cf. however above p. 26) did not find general acceptance. Any parallel to the hybrid animals¹⁸² of Babylonian-Assyrian art was rejected by JUNKER (1932:43), and indeed was not adduced subsequently by any scholar. JUNKER, who made the most distinguished effort to enlighten the iconographic background of Dan 7, made no attempt to find any iconographic parallel to the fourth beast, because "in der Unbestimmtheit dieses Tieres soll die Phantasie Raum und Möglichkeit haben, alles Schreckliche hineinzulegen" (ibid.).

¹⁷⁸ PRITCHARD 1954: no. 678.

¹⁷⁹ GRESSMANN 1927: nos. 379,380,382,383; WEBER 1920: nos. 36,37,45-47,54.

¹⁸⁰ WEBER 1920: no. 316a; JASTROW 1912: no. 32; GRESSMANN 1927: no. 388.

¹⁸¹ "For the horns as symbol of the Seleucid kings s. Babelon, *Les rois de Syrie* (Paris National Library, *Cat. des monnaies grecques*), pp. xviii seq."

MONTGOMERY'S remark that the horns of the fourth beast of Dan 7 are a symbol of the Seleucid kings was more systematically treated by S. MORENZ. First MORENZ pointed out that the horn was a general symbol of power in the ancient Near East.¹⁸³ Contrary to expectations, MORENZ did not proceed to explain why such a general symbol became an exclusive code for the Seleucid kings.¹⁸⁴ Instead he focused on the question why the Seleucids, and in particular Antiochus IV Epiphanes (175-164 B.C.E.) whom he equated *a priori* with the fourth beast,¹⁸⁵ could be symbolised by horns. The central question of his article was: "Warum hat gerade das Tier der Seleukiden Hörner?" (1951:152). MORENZ answered this question by stating that:

dem Apokalyptiker und seinen Lesern eine unmittelbare Anschauung gegeben [war] ..., die zugleich in unüberbietbarer Stärke die Assoziation der verhassten Seleukiden auslösen musste. Diese Anschauung bieten seleukidische Münzen, die den König im Hörnerschmuck darstellen (ibid.).

As evidence MORENZ (ibid. 152,153) referred to two Seleucid coins showing Seleucus I Nicator (312-281 B.C.E.)¹⁸⁶ and his son Antiochus I Soter (280-261 B.C.E.)¹⁸⁷ wearing bull

¹⁸² As example JUNKER (1932:43, footnote 1) mentioned the *mutrussu* (sic) or *Schlangengreif* (cf. GRESSMANN 1927: nos. 370,371).

¹⁸³ Cf. also STEINMANN 1950:110 = ibid. 1960:87 and the representation on p. 88 of Sargon wearing a horned cap; NOTH 1957:270 with reference to GRESSMANN 1927: nos. 378,381; PORTER 1983:74,75 with reference to A. PARROT 1962:224, figs. 276,277 and OPPENHEIM 1962:224, fig. 29.

¹⁸⁴ Nevertheless MORENZ could not resist the temptation to elevate in the course of his essay the bull horn as distinctive mark of the Seleucid kings by designating it even as "seleukidisches Eigengut" (1951:153). STAUB (1978:376, footnote 82) rejected this thesis by referring to a coin of Ptolemy I Soter (367-283 B.C.E.) (ibid. 369, fig. 3) depicting Alexander the Great with ram horns positioned at the temple. However, STAUB might have misunderstood MORENZ's statements that "Hörnerschmuck" is "seleukidisches Eigengut" and that the Ptolemies had nothing similar to show. When MORENZ spoke in generic terms of the Seleucid horned headgear he probably had in mind only the bull horn ("... das Horn der Seleukiden ... ist ein Stierhorn" [1951:153]) which would automatically have excluded the Ptolemaic coin mentioned by STAUB. On the other hand, MORENZ (ibid.) brushed off too lightly a Macedonian coin of Demetrius Poliorketes (294-283 B.C.E.) (LANGE 1938:50 = STAUB 1978:372, fig. 6) as a singular counter-evidence against a distinctive Seleucid mark. A second coin of Demetrius with bull horns is depicted in WELLES 1986:449, top right. Lastly, one wonders why MORENZ pushed the case of the bull horn as a distinctive mark of the Seleucids when he finally also counted Macedonian coins of Lysimachus (285-281 B.C.E.) depicting in idealistic fashion Alexander the Great with ram horns (cf. LANGE 1938:45 = STAUB 1978:369, fig. 4; a similar one is found in WELLES 1986:449) among the Seleucid coins, based on the explanation that Alexander was perceived by the author of Dan 7 as the ancestor of the hated Seleucids (1951:153 with footnote 6). If the Macedonian representations of Alexander with ram horns evoked a connection to the fourth beast why should the coins of Ptolemy I Soter likewise depicting Alexander with ram horns not also have done so? If so, can a specific link between the Seleucids and the horns of the Danielic fourth beast be upheld?

¹⁸⁵ "Das vierte Tier muss also die Macht verkörpern, deren Taten Leben und Gegenwart des Apokalyptikers erschauern lassen. Man hat längst erkannt, dass hier das Seleukidenreich in der Person Antiochos' IV. und sein totalitärer Übergriff auf den jüdischen Freistaat konterfeit sei" (MORENZ 1951:151).

¹⁸⁶ Cf. LANGE 1938:46 = STAUB 1978:368, fig. 1.

¹⁸⁷ Cf. IMHOOF-BLUMER 1885: 73 with pl. III, no. 8 = STAUB 1978:372, fig. 5.

horns.¹⁸⁸ After tracing the horns on these coins back to the Mesopotamian horned crown,¹⁸⁹ MORENZ added coins minted by the Macedonian ruler Lysimachus (285-281 B.C.E.) which depict Alexander the Great with rams' horns because Alexander "ist ja in den Gedanken des Apokalyptikers der verwünschte Ahnherr des fluchwürdigen Hauses" (ibid. 153; cf. also above footnote 184). MORENZ (ibid. 153,154) concluded his article on a defensive note: Although horned portraits are known of only the first two Seleucid kings and none of Antiochus IV Epiphanes, the argument that the horned beast in Dan 7 triggered the association with Antiochus IV Epiphanes is still valid because old Seleucid coins remained in circulation and those with representations of Alexander had several mintages.

MORENZ'S position was taken up by JEFFERY who also added that "the human-headed centaurs pictured at Persepolis have twelve horns apiece ..." (1956:456), by NOTH (1957:270) who pointed out the Mesopotamian background of the horned crown,¹⁹⁰ and KOCH (1961:6). COLLINS followed NOTH and mentioning also the general ancient Near Eastern artistic background of the horned crown,¹⁹¹ also considered "a more specific reference to the Seleucid dynasty" (1993b:299). Recently BAUER (1996:152,154 with figs. 26-28) restated the connection between the Danielic horns and representations of Seleucid rulers.

Of particular interest in regard to MORENZ'S explanation of the horns of the fourth beast is an article by U. STAUB in which the author not only followed MORENZ'S basic postulate concerning the horns (1978:367-381) but developed his argument further by proposing a specific identification of the fourth beast based on iconographic evidence (ibid. 382-396). STAUB (ibid. 359-362) *a priori* identified the fourth beast with the Hellenistic empire and the eleventh horn with Antiochus IV Epiphanes (175-164 B.C.E.) but did not attempt to prove that the horn-

¹⁸⁸ The portrait on the coin of Seleucus I Nicator is most probably an idealistic representation of Alexander the Great and that on the coin of Antiochus I Nicator is a depiction of his father Seleucus I Nicator (MORENZ 1951:152,153; STAUB 1978:370 with footnote 65 and p. 374; COLLINS 1993b:299).

¹⁸⁹ Reference is made to GRESSMANN 1927: nos. 43,45,47,318,367,368. Cf. also LANGE'S (1938:47) reference to Old Babylonian and Assyrian gods depicted with horns and STAUB 1978:375.

¹⁹⁰ Reference is made to GRESSMANN 1927: nos. 378, 381.

motif is a unique identifier for the *Seleucid* kings (cf. above footnote 184 on p. 69). His interest was focused much more on the question as to why the horn-motif was selected by the author of the Book of Daniel to code *Hellenistic* kings. Thus STAUB stated: "Es soll hier kurz versucht werden, zu erklären, warum die hellenistischen Monarchen vom Verfasser von Daniel 7 durch Hörner veranschaulicht werden" (ibid. 366).

As far as it concerned MORENZ's argument, STAUB added an additional type of coin depicting Seleucus I Nicator (312-281 B.C.E.) with bull horns (1978:374,373, fig. 8) and a second type depicting Ptolemy I Soter (367-283 B.C.E.) positioned at the temple with ram horns (ibid. 371,376,369, fig. 3). Furthermore, STAUB considered coins depicting elephant tusks protruding from a cap of elephant skin worn by Seleucus I Nicator (ibid. 376,377, fig. 9) as possibly belonging to the same class of coins as those showing proper horns.¹⁹² In addition he pointed to coins of Seleucus I Nicator and Antiochus I Soter (280-261 B.C.E.) which show a horned horse, thereby also connecting the horn-motif to the Seleucids (ibid. 378,380, fig. 10). STAUB (ibid. 380,81) finally adduced Ptolemaic Lagidic coins depicting horns of plenty in order to underline that there was already in pre-Seleucid-dominated Palestine a general awareness of the horn-motif which provided an additional basis to code Hellenistic rulers with horns (ibid. 380,381,379, fig. 11).

In contrast to MORENZ who mentioned only two Seleucid coins, STAUB proposed a much larger and more heterogeneous list in terms of origin (Seleucid, Macedonian and Ptolemaic coins) and nature (bull horns, ram horns, elephant tusks, horned horses, and horns of plenty). This almost pan-Hellenistic usage of the horn-motif therefore prevented STAUB from arguing that the horn-motif is a unique Seleucid identifier (cf. above footnote 184 on p. 69).¹⁹³

¹⁹¹ Reference is made to PRITCHARD 1954: nos. 513-515, 525, 526, 646, 647 and GRESSMANN 1927: nos. 318, 378, 381.

¹⁹² Cf. also the idealistic portrait of Alexander minted by Ptolemy I Soter (STAUB 1978:369, fig. 3) with a similar cap.

¹⁹³ While rejecting the notion that the horn was "seleukidisches Eigengut" STAUB cautiously concluded that the horn represents "tatsächlich eine Art 'seleukidisches Hauszeichen'" (ibid. 378). So also recently BAUER 1996:154, comment to figures 26-28.

However, STAUB (*ibid.* 378) recognised two threats to his position. First he realised that his argument would be seriously undermined if the horn-motif was not attested during the time it is believed Dan 7 was authored. Despite STAUB'S valuable contribution, he could not point to substantial evidence in this regard because the horn-motif on portraits of Hellenistic kings is so far not attested after 280 B.C.E. STAUB (1978:380,81) tried to counteract this weakness by pointing to the Lagidic depictions of horns of plenty on coins from at least the beginning of the second century B.C.E. thus suggesting that the horn-motif as attribute of Hellenistic rulers was entrenched in Jewish society at the time Dan 7 is believed to be authored.¹⁹⁴

The second problem STAUB (*ibid.* 378) mentioned is the historical fact that Palestine was under Ptolemaic rule until 198 B.C.E., making it unlikely that Seleucid coins were already widely known at the time Dan 7 is believed to have been written. The mention of this problem by STAUB is significant in so far as it reveals that the objective of his article was not only to find a rationale as to why the ten horns of Dan 7 were used as code for the Hellenistic kings in general (*ibid.* 366,367), but that it aimed in essence very specifically at the Seleucid empire and here in particular to Antiochus IV Epiphanes (175-164 B.C.E.). In this regard it is indeed very unfortunate that not a single horned representation of Antiochus IV Epiphanes could be cited and that even horned representations of Hellenistic rulers in general are not attested to after 280 B.C.E. STAUB was forced to assume, as was MORENZ, that such coins were reminted and were in circulation as late as the middle of the second century B.C.E. In addition STAUB was aware that he had to establish that there was a widespread knowledge of Seleucid coins despite Ptolemaic rule over Palestine down to 198 B.C.E. The only argument put forward by STAUB (*ibid.* 378) to counteract this problem was the assumption that the basically unified Hellenistic economy would most probably have meant that Seleucid coins were not entirely unknown in

¹⁹⁴ STAUB was followed in this regard by BAUER (*ibid.* fig. 27).

Ptolemaic Palestine. On the basis of this evidence STAUB concluded in regard to the horn-motif:

Damit ist meiner Ansicht nach genügend wahrscheinlich gemacht, dass die Münzen der hellenistischen, vor allem der seleukidischen Herrscher den möglichen historischen Grund zu deren Chiffrierung unter dem Symbol des Horns abgaben. Auch wirkt eine solche ikonographische Erklärung von Daniel 7,7 f. nicht gekünstelt, wenn bedacht wird, dass die oben besprochenen Münzen mit ihrem Hörnermotiv als ein alltägliches Zahlungsmittel durch die Hände der jüdischen Untertanen hellenistischer Monarchen gingen (ibid. 381).

Based on this conviction STAUB (ibid. 382-396) developed the association of the Seleucids with the fourth beast of Dan 7 not only in regard to the horns but also to the beast as such by identifying it as a code for the Seleucid war elephants. STAUB referred in this regard to: (a) iconographic evidence from coins of Ptolemy I Soter (367-283 B.C.E.)¹⁹⁵ and Seleucus I Nicator (312-281 B.C.E.)¹⁹⁶ which depict the ruler wearing an elephant-skin cap, as well as coins of Antiochus III the Great (223-187 B.C.E.)¹⁹⁷ showing on the reverse an Indian elephant (ibid. 382-284); (b) contemporary knowledge of war elephants among the local inhabitants (ibid. 387); (c) literary references in 1 and 2 Maccabees (ibid. 387-389). The final identification of the Seleucid war elephant with the fourth beast of Dan 7 rested in essence¹⁹⁸ on the argument that, due to a misunderstanding,¹⁹⁹ the tusk-bearing elephant was counted among the horned animals. Thus STAUB stated:

Doch mit dem Hinweis auf die elfenbeineren Stosszähne, die dem Elefanten durchaus den Charakter eines Hornträgers zu verleihen vermochte ... nähern wir uns der Wahrscheinlichkeit, im vierten Tier, dessen hervorstechendes Attribut doch die Hörner bilden, einen Elefanten erkennen zu dürfen (ibid. 392).

¹⁹⁵ Cf. ibid. 369, fig. 3. For an elephant quadriga see JENKINS 1972: no. 563.

¹⁹⁶ Cf. STAUB 1978: 377, fig. 9. For a striding elephant see NEWELL 1937:21.

¹⁹⁷ Cf. STAUB 1978: 379, fig. 12 and for further references ibid. 384, footnote 102.

¹⁹⁸ Additional arguments, which according to STAUB (ibid. 391,392) are not conclusive, are the description of the fourth beast as "crushing" and "stamping" possibly referring to the crushing of food and the stamping of the elephant's feet. Furthermore the dual reading of שנין ("teeth") which might not only indicate two rows of teeth as it generally does, but two tusks.

¹⁹⁹ Cited were Eze 27:15 which describes elephant tusks as "teeth of horns" (קרנא שן) and literary indications that there was disagreement whether elephant tusks are to be considered as horns or not (ibid. 390,391).

STAUB (*ibid.*) underlined his argument by a renewed reference to the numismatic portraits²⁰⁰ which depict Alexander the Great wearing an elephant-skin cap with protruding elephant tusks mounted on the height of the forehead, and coins which show elephants wearing what STAUB identified as bull horns (*ibid.* 393, figs. 14 and 15), and concluded his argument by stating: "Auf alle Fälle lässt sich Daniel 7,7 ebenso gut auf einen Elefanten hin ausdeuten wie auf einen Drachen, dessen einziger Vorteil darin besteht, dass auch die widersprüchlichsten Attribute in ihm noch Platz finden" (*ibid.*).

In regard to the identification of the fourth beast with an elephant, STAUB's view was recently followed tentatively by GOLDINGAY (1988:152,163) and HAAG (1993a:162; *ibid.* 1993b:58) while BAUER (1996:151–153 with figs. 24,25) did not raise any objections.²⁰¹

²⁰⁰ Cf. *ibid.* 369, fig. 3 and 377, fig. 9; LANGE 1938:42; JENKINS 1972: no. 502.

²⁰¹ Critical remarks against an iconographic influence include the following:

- (1) While ancient Near Eastern iconography depicts various winged predators, the bear is not known as a mythological animal (CAQUOT 1955:8 [cf. BAUMGARTNER 1939:218]; DELCOR 1968:298 = *ibid.* 1971:145) and seldom depicted (STAUB 1978:354; PORTER 1983:35; TOWNER 1984:93; DAY 1985:155; LUCAS 1990:161);
- (2) The representations of leopards are scant (STAUB 1978:354; PORTER 1983:35; TOWNER 1984:93; DAY 1985:155; LUCAS 1990:161);
- (3) The winged lion is almost unknown in ancient Near Eastern iconography (KEEL 1978:110 footnote 331; STAUB 1978:354 with footnote 10; PORTER 1983:35,36; cf. also HAAG 1993b:57 = *ibid.* 1993a:161);
- (4) No convincing parallels exist for all four beasts (GOLDINGAY 1988:151), respectively the fourth (TOWNER 1984:93);
- (5) The following critical remarks were directed against MORENZ: the (bull) horn is not a distinctive mark for the Seleucids because: (a) depictions of horned Hellenistic rulers are not confined to the Seleucids (cf. footnotes 184 on p. 69); (b) "the fact that the kings of Media and Persia are also symbolized by a ram bearing two horns (Daniel 8:3, 20) indicates that horns are not a specific mark of the Seleucids for the writer" (DAY 1985:156) and therefore also not for the Greek empire at large;
- (6) The following critical remarks were directed against STAUB: (a) the horn is not a specific mark for the Greek empire and the post-Alexander kingdoms (cf. previous paragraph under [b]); (b) "Staub ... identifies the fourth beast as an elephant. The motif of trampling fits this identification, but there is nothing else in the description to support it" (COLLINS 1993b:299, footnote 194); (c) in regard to the nameless fourth beast GOLDINGAY (1988:163), criticising STAUB, stated: "The reason for its not being named is hardly to conceal the vision's message from the authorities ...: it would hardly have done that ... In not naming the animal, Dan 7 follows Hos 13:5–6, where the fourth animal is also unnamed ...".

2.3. The motifs of the judgement scene, the "Ancient of days", and the "son of man" (verses 9-14)

2.3.1. Babylonian influence

GUNKEL'S references to the second part of the vision of Dan 7 are remarkably scant. According to GUNKEL (1895:331) the expression "son of man" is the title of the "Gottes-Überwinder"²⁰² of the underlying myth of Dan 7 which, accordingly, would be Marduk.²⁰³ Furthermore, GUNKEL explained the stream of fire as a reflection of the underlying variation of the *Enuma Elish*.²⁰⁴

It was N. SCHMIDT (1900:27) – known for his angelic interpretation of the "son of man" – who for the first time mentioned Marduk by name as the prototype for Michael which he equated with the Danielic "son of man".

ZIMMERN a few years later followed GUNKEL and mentioned expressly the enthronement of the "son of man" as reference to Marduk (SCHRADER/ZIMMERN/WINCKLER 1903:390,391,523), and compared the blasphemous words spoken by the fourth beast with those of Tiamat against Marduk (ibid. 513; also J. JEREMIAS 1916:630 with footnote 3).²⁰⁵ While GRESSMANN (1929:368) followed ZIMMERN and defined the enthronement of the universal ruler as the common theme of Dan 7 and the *Enuma Elish*, he also added new parallels: (a) the Babylonian "tablets of destiny" relate to the Danielic books; (b) the Danielic judgement shows a

²⁰² Misunderstood by CASEY (1979:35) when he stated that according to GUNKEL "in the myth 'Son of man' was the title for the conqueror of God" (capitalisation of "god"); cf. Gunkel's wording in footnote 204.

²⁰³ Although GUNKEL did not identify the "son of man" with a specific figure of the *Enuma Elish* epic, it seems obvious that the young Babylonian god Marduk is referred to who overcame Tiamat and was awarded with eternal dominion (1895:371).

²⁰⁴ "Auch der im Zusammenhange des Daniel so rätselhafte 'Menschensohn, der auf den Wolken des Himmels kommt, wird zur Tradition gehören; denn es ist schwer zu sagen, wie der Verfasser von sich aus auf dies Bild gerade für Israel hätte verfallen können; zumal Israel ja in dem Gesichte schon unter dem Namen 'die Heiligen' erwähnt war. Im Mythos würde 'Menschensohn' der Titel des Gottes-Überwinders sein. Auch die an Mythologisches anklingende Beschreibung des Thrones Gottes, besonders des 'Feuerstromes', der von ihm ausgeht, wird ein Stück der Tradition sein" (ibid. 331).

²⁰⁵ WINCKLER (1905:297-299) proposed the equation of the "son of man" with Marduk on the basis of genealogy. Ea is called "man" (*'amēlu*) and his son Marduk is therefore "the son of the man", i.e., of Ea. There is however no specific reference to Dan 7 in WINCKLER'S discussion.

relationship to the *Enuma Elish* because "der Gedanke des Gerichts der Götter ... zweifellos [auch] babylonisch [ist]" (ibid.); (c) only the rebellious Kingu was killed by Marduk, while the other rebels were set free, a fact which could explain why the judgement of the beasts of Dan 7 is not uniform. Despite all these allusions to the *Enuma Elish*, the missing parallels for the "Ancient of days", the "son of man" and the eschatological outlook in Babylonian mythology were reasons that led GRESSMANN to doubt that the Babylonian explanation is indeed sound.

KRAELING (1933:228-230) basically followed GRESSMANN by pointing to the Babylonian New Year's festival as the background for the throne scene of Dan 7²⁰⁶ at which the *Enuma Elish* was recited, the fate of life was determined, and Marduk's sovereignty was transferred to the king of Babylon in an enthronement rite.

While HEATON gave biblical tradition in the second part of the vision ample room, the Danielic books provided the springboard for reference to the Babylonian "tablets of fate" and New Year's festival (1956:179,180) which he considered as possible background for the enthronement of the "son of man" (ibid. 183) whom he correlated implicitly with Marduk (ibid. 180,185).

Although after HEATON the *Enuma Elish* was abandoned in favour of the Ugaritic Baal cycle, BEASLEY-MURRAY (1983:46) recently still maintained that "the Akkadian Creation Epic in some respects has closer affinities to Daniel's vision" by referring to the convening of the assembly of the gods.

Soon after GUNKEL another Babylonian background for the "son of man" was proposed by F. HOMMEL. He pointed to the Babylonian Adapa,²⁰⁷ which is also designated as the "seed of mankind".²⁰⁸ In the Adapa myth he is:

²⁰⁶ The "Ancient of days" and the slaying of the dragon were traced back by KRAELING to Iranian origin.

²⁰⁷ The Adapa myth was already referred to by GUNKEL (1895:148, footnote 3), not in connection with Dan 7 but Gen 1 as prototype of the *Urmenschen*.

²⁰⁸ On the attempt to harmonise the expressions "seed of mankind" and "son of man" cf. W. KRISTENSEN, "De term 'Zoon des Menschen', toegelicht uit de anthropologie der ouden," *ThT* 45 (1911) 1-38; esp. p. 4 (cited by KEARNS 1982:16).

represented ... on the one side ... as *mortal* ... yet on the other side it equalized him with the god Marduk ... and in this way guaranteed his everlasting existence in heaven, and his future appearance among men; it is surely not too rash to assume that another portion of the Adapa legends gave direct expression to the expectations of such a reappearance (1899:344).

Although HOMMEL did not specifically discuss Dan 7, pointing rather to the Messianic aspect of the god-man Adapa, he implied the Danielic "son of man" as predecessor of the New Testament "son of man".

JEREMIAS stated that the designation of Adapa as "seed of mankind" corresponded to the biblical expression for the " 'anderen Adam' υιοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου" (1899:586, footnote 3) and was therefore important for the linguistic development of this expression. Furthermore JEREMIAS (1916:630 footnote 6 and p. 546) considered the clouds of heaven as a faded expression of a "kosmischen Wettererscheinung" in connection with an apotheosis.

Likewise short-lived was the proposal by H. L. JANSEN who, in his discussion of the "son of man" in 1 Enoch, also touched briefly on the Danielic "son of man". JANSEN traced the "son of man" back to the Babylonian god Ea-Oannes. The following features in the Book of Daniel reflect, according to JANSEN, his Babylonian heritage: (1) Ea-Oannes emerges from the sea as do the beasts in Daniel (1939:105,106);²⁰⁹ (2) the contrast between beasts and the man-likeness of the "son of man" results from the disintegration of the *Mischgestalt* of Ea-Oannes into these two Danielic entities (ibid. 106); (3) the term "son of man" can be explained on the basis of the dual manifestation of Ea-Oannes as god and as human being. Furthermore JANSEN mentioned Tammuz who was also addressed as "man" or "mankind". Since traits of Tammuz were transferred to most gods, the epithet "man(kind)" could also have been passed on to Ea-Oannes (ibid. 109); (4) Ea-Oannes is connected with the primordial time, therefore the principle of *Urzeit-Endzeit* can be adduced to explain the eschatological nature of the Danielic "son of man" (ibid. 110,111).

²⁰⁹ So already REITZENSTEIN 1904:109, footnote 4.

Last to mention is W. F. ALBRIGHT (1940:291,292) who connected the expression "son of man" with the Assyrian *Atrahasis*, whose epithet is according to the Assyrian recension from the 7th century B.C.E. "man" (*amêlu*). ALBRIGHT considered the possibility that *Adapa*, also known as "the very wise" (i.e., *Atrahasis*; cf. HOMMEL 1899:343) and "seed of mankind" (*zêr amêlûti*), was the Sumerian name of the *Atrahasis* figure. As HOMMEL had done, ALBRIGHT focused on the Messianic²¹⁰ "son of man", touching only briefly on Dan 7 as genealogical reference.²¹¹

2.3.2. Canaanite influence

The Canaanite background of the second part of the vision of Dan 7 was launched with a reference by MONTGOMERY (1933:111)²¹² in which he cited the Danielic "Ancient of days" as parallel to the Ugaritic phrase '*ab šnm*,²¹³ although usually EISSFELDT'S (1934:578 with footnote 3) statement in his Introduction to the Old Testament is mentioned in this regard, briefly

²¹⁰ "There are a number of points ... which make it very probable that Atrahasis, the recurrent Mesopotamian savior of mankind from catastrophe ... was actually fused in Jewish-Aramaic tradition with the figure of the Messiah ..." (Albright 1940:291,292).

²¹¹ Critical remarks against a Babylonian influence include the following (cf. also footnote 37 on p. 27):

- (1) Probably the harshest general criticism was voiced by KRAELING (1927:14) when he stated: "A number of efforts have been made to solve the Son of Man problem in this way, and all have failed miserably. In the early years of this century ... the individuality of Jewish and Israelitic thought was being sacrificed on the altar of Babylonian civilization ... These efforts could be taken seriously only at a time when the novelty of Oriental discovery destroyed the sense of distance and proportion";
- (2) *Enuma Elish*: The interpretation of the "son of man" against the background of the *Enuma Elish*, i.e., the identification with Marduk was considered with "great reservation" (MULENBURG 1960:207) and according to JUNKER (1932:58) was not well received. Among the criticised issues of the "son of man" were: (a) he is not a divine being (DELICOR 1968:306); (b) he is not slaying the fourth beast and is not involved in combat (KOCH 1980:231) nor has he an inactive role (DELICOR 1968:306,307); (c) he does not become king over the gods (KOCH 1980:231); (d) the designation "son of man" is not explained (DELICOR 1968:307);
- (3) *Adapa*: While GOLDINGAY (1988:151) was content with a general dismissal of this myth as parallel to the "son of man", more specified remarks point out that: (a) *Adapa* has no eschatological, protological (CAQUOT 1967:52; COLPE 1969:412), nor judicial or salvific function (ibid.); (b) the designation "seed of mankind" linguistically parallels אב בר but does not semantically contribute anything (ibid.);
- (4) *Ea-Oannes*: After MULENBURG'S (1960:207) doubt about the identification of the "son of man" with *Ea-Oannes*, COLPE expounded that although there is concurrence of some motifs the context of *Ea-Oannes* is a primordial cultural accomplishment which is no counterpart for an eschatological judgement (ibid.; CARAGOUNIS 1986:39, footnote 12). Recently KVANVIG (1988:525; cf. ibid. 28ff, 191ff) simply remarked that "the concept of *Ea-Oannes* as described by Jansen did not exist";
- (5) *Atrahasis*: A link to the "son of man" has not been demonstrated (MULENBURG 1960:207) because *Atrahasis* has no eschatological function and the Danielic "son of man" is not a saviour (CAQUOT 1967:52).

²¹² Although this seems the first published remark in this regard, the wording of MONTGOMERY'S statement ("the often cited 'Ancient of Days' of Dan.") suggests that in academic circles this parallel was already very well known. Cf. also KITTEL (1924:76,77) who already equated the "Ancient of days" with the Canaanite god El.

remarking that the "Ancient of days" has now a parallel in the "king, father of years" of the Ras Shamra-texts.²¹⁴

BENTZEN (1937:30,33 = *ibid.* 1952:48,61), referring to BAUER (1933:15), MONTGOMERY (1935:111), and JACK (1935:13) likewise mentioned the "Ancient of days" as parallel to the 'ab šnm of the Ras Shamra-texts, but added in his commentary on Daniel a second analogy, namely, the assembly of gods as found at Ugarit. In his book *Messias. Moses redivivus. Menschensohn* BENTZEN (1948:74 = *ibid.* 1955:75 = *ibid.* 1970:75) indirectly paralleled the "son of man" with the Canaanite god Baal as did BAUMGARTNER in 1939. However, most of BENTZEN'S interpretation of Dan 7 focused on the alleged Israelite enthronement festival as the background of this vision (cf. p. 120). Following BENTZEN'S commentary on the Book of Daniel of 1937, BAUMGARTNER (1939:221) established a further correspondence between the Canaanite god Baal and the "son of man" in Dan 7:14 by pointing out that both are said to be given eternal dominion.²¹⁵ BENTZEN'S and BAUMGARTNER'S position was reiterated by JEFFERY (1956:457,458) without a firm stance being taken on any position.²¹⁶

The early discussion on the Canaanite background of the "son of man" imagery was pushed forward significantly by EMERTON. Following BENTZEN in principle, EMERTON also considered the alleged Israelite enthronement festival as the most immediate background of Dan 7 (1958:230-234,240; cf. below on p. 121). As several scholars before him had done, EMERTON "noticed that the representation of God as the Ancient of days in Daniel. vii recalls the description of El as 'ab šnm" (1958:229; 234). Newly-added parallels included the remark that El is "as an aged deity with grey hair" (*ibid.* 229) similar to the "Ancient of days" with his white

²¹³ On the various interpretations of this phrase see footnote 223 on p. 82.

²¹⁴ This remark was expanded in the second edition of EISSFELDT'S Introduction to the Old Testament by paralleling the "Ancient of days" with the notion that El also was an aged god (1956a:649, footnote 1).

²¹⁵ Although BAUMGARTNER (1939:221) attributed this second parallel to BENTZEN (1937:33,34) the latter does not mention it.

²¹⁶ "Some have suggested that this picture [of the judgement scene] has drawn largely on Mesopotamian material, while others have thought of an Iranian source, and more recently Ugaritic material has raised the question of a Canaanite origin. It is not impossible that elements from all three sources have gone into the formation of

hair. He compared the "son of man" coming with the clouds of heaven with the Ugaritic Baal who "is frequently spoken of as flying on the clouds" (ibid. 232) and the slaying of Yam by Baal with the destruction of the fourth beast by the "son of man", although the biblical text does not explicitly state this (ibid.).²¹⁷ The last aspect relating to the Ugaritic background discussed by EMERTON (ibid. 239-241) involved the relationship between the "Ancient of days" and the "son of man". EMERTON indicated that two features parallel the Danielic vision and the Ugaritic text: First, two distinct divine figures are mentioned, and second, one of them is subordinate to the other. According to Ugaritic texts, El is superior to Baal. EMERTON proposed a similar hierarchical relationship in the early Israelite history of El (or El Elyon), and Yahweh,²¹⁸ whom he equated with the Canaanite god Baal. Summarising his article, EMERTON stated: "There are good grounds for believing that the enthronement of the Son of man by an aged deity goes back to Canaanite myth and ritual, and that behind the figure of the Son of man lies Yahweh, and ultimately Baal" (ibid. 242).

Independently of EMERTON, ROST in 1958 made a very brief remark in regard to the "Ancient of days", equating him with the Ugaritic El (1958:42) who abdicated in favour of a younger god, or at least designated his successor.²¹⁹

DELCOR (1968:302 = ibid. 1971:150), although not absolutely convinced that the title "Ancient of days" derives from the Ugaritic *'ab šnm*, held that the concept of the elderly God in Dan 7 corresponds to the Ugaritic descriptions of El. Furthermore, he added a new feature by

various details of the picture, but for the conception of a grand assize at which the nations are to be judged by God the writer seems to have drawn in the main from the O.T. material" (JEFFERY 1956:457).

²¹⁷ Emerton upheld this equation because kingship is conferred both on Baal as well as the "son of man" after the destruction of Yam, respectively the fourth beast (EMERTON 1958:232).

²¹⁸ EMERTON (ibid. 241) mentioned as single biblical text in favour of this view Deu 32:8,9: "When the most High divided to the nations their inheritance, when he separated the sons of Adam, he set the bounds of the people according to the number of the children of Israel. For the LORD'S portion is his people; Jacob is the lot of his inheritance" (KJV). EMERTON however read with the LXX and a Hebrew fragment from Qumran (so also RSV) the last word of v. 8 as "El" instead of "Israel", thus interpreting this passage so that Elyon allotted each god a nation, and in the case of Yahweh it would have been God's people.

²¹⁹ Similar to EMERTON (cf. footnote 217) ROST reasoned whether the cause for the conferral of kingship could not have been a reflection of the victory over the chaos dragon that is associated with the enthronement of Marduk or the requests by Anat as in the Ugaritic myth (1958:43).

pointing to the judicial function of the "Ancient of days" which is paralleled in the Ugaritic texts since the god Yam is also qualified as judge (*ḫt nhr* "Judge River"²²⁰) indicating his power as victor. In Dan 7 this view had been demythologised in so far as that it was now applied to the "Ancient of days" who judged the four empires which received their power from the sea.

A decade after EMERTON the background of the "son of man" again received close attention with COLPE'S (1969:403-481) article "ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου" in the *Theologischen Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*. After reviewing several proposals²²¹ COLPE concluded that only the Canaanite hypothesis can be labelled as "tragfähig" i.e., workable, displaying a rather critical and ambivalent assessment.

Thus, the heavily-cited Ugaritic term 'ab *šnm* as parallel to the "Ancient of days" received a critical assessment by COLPE which was recently also supported by KEARNS (1982:173,174, footnote 402) and COLLINS (1993a:127 = *ibid.* 1993b:290; cf. also below p. 91 with footnote 263, no. 1). COLPE pointed out that *šnm* cannot be understood only as the genitive plural of *šnt* ("year")²²² but also as a proper name of a district or of a son of El or otherwise (1969:420 with footnote 142).²²³ COLPE remarked that 'ab *šnm* has in any case no direct parallel in regard to the wording (*ibid.* 419,420). Likewise reserved is his evaluation of the parallel between El with a grey beard (*šbt dqn*), and the "Ancient of days" with hair like wool (*ibid.* 420; cf. also COPPENS 1968:500, footnote 21).

²²⁰ Cf. KAPELRUD 1952:102,103.

²²¹ I.e., Old Testament, Iranian, Babylonian, Egyptian, and Gnostic influences as well as rabbinical Adam speculations (COLPE 1969:408-418).

²²² On the two plural forms *šnm* and *šnt* see CROSS 1973:16, footnote 24.

²²³ A summary of the various explanations for the phrase 'ab *šnm* was given by KEARNS (1982:173, footnote 402): "Father of Years" (VIROLLEAUD 1931:198; BAUER 1933:82); "Father of Sunem" (GORDON 1940:50); "Father of the Exalted Ones" (POPE 1955:33; rejection of "Father of Mortals" as suggested by EISSFELDT); *šnm* = name of a Kassitic god (EISSFELDT 1945-49:29-42); "Father of Years" (ROST 1958:42); "Father of Years" (DAHOOD 1965:49); "Father of the (place) *Šunem*" (DELCOR 1968:301); "Father of the Luminaires" (OLDENBURG 1969:17); El, the father of the Kassitic god *šnm* (JIRKU 1970:278,279); "Father of Years" (CROSS 1973:16); El, the father of the Kassitic god *šnm* (GORDON 1976:261,262); *šnm* = name of the abode of El (AISTLEITNER 1955:5); *qrš mlk ab šnm* = "district of the king a[nd] the father: the *šnm*" (*ibid.* 1967: Stw. 2651). The following should be added to this list: "Father of the Exalted Ones" (SCHMIDT 1966:23, footnote 4; KEARNS 1982:112), and "Father of Years" (DAY 1985:161).

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Much more weight was given by COLPE to two other features of Baal, namely, his epithet, "Rider of the Clouds" (*rkb 'rpt*) and his alleged²²⁴ attempt to replace his rival El (1969:420, 422).

A central problem of the Canaanite background of Dan 7 according to COLPE (*ibid.* 420) is the fact that no unbroken tradition can be traced back from the "Ancient of days" to the Canaanite god El. Even such a crucial link between Jewish Apocalyptic and Canaanite mythology as the Israelite Yahweh, who absorbed aspects of the Canaanite god El, does not allow clear-cut equations such as El="Ancient of days" and Baal="son of man". This is the case because Yahweh incorporated not only characteristics of El (e.g., supreme god) but also features of Baal (e.g., "Rider of the Clouds"), therefore prohibiting exclusive designation of El as predecessor for the "Ancient of days" and Baal for the "son of man" (*ibid.* 420,421). Because predicates of two Canaanite gods were merged in Yahweh, COLPE (*ibid.* 421) was forced to assume that the tradition behind Dan 7 involved* a hypothetical phase of a new differentiation into the "Ancient of days" and the "son of man" that would account for two distinct beings in the Danielic account.²²⁵

After a very critical discussion COLPE concluded with caution:

Trotz solcher Einwände scheint die kanaanäische Hypothese aber dem wirklichen Sachverhalt bis auf weiteres am nächsten zu kommen. Die mythographische Ähnlichkeit zwischen dem Verhältnis des Alten der Tage zum Menschensohn einerseits u[nd] dem Verhältnis Els zu Baal andererseits, das sich dem weiteren Befund des Weiterlebens älteren Gutes in isr[aelitisch]-jüd[ischer] Überlieferung

²²⁴ Cf. however the criticism by DAY (1985:163 with footnotes 61,62 that include a short bibliography of scholars that maintain that Baal and El were in opposition to each other and a refutation of that position; cf. also *ibid.* 164), CARAGOUNIS (1986:41, footnote 17), and COLLINS (1993b:291, footnote 118) on the misinterpretation of the Ugaritic and Danielic texts by COLPE, which do not speak of the cessation of dominion and of rivalry (cf. also COLLINS 1993b:287, footnote 80; esp. KEARNS 1982:87,88, footnote 9, and pp. 112,113; FERCH 1980:83).

²²⁵ Even more difficult in its final analysis is another option mentioned by COLPE (1969:421). Instead of considering Yahweh with its adapted predicates of El and Baal as background of the "Ancient of days" and the "son of man", COLPE also mentioned the possibility that "the transfer of the predicates" ("Übertragung der Prädikate"), although not provable, could have taken place already in the Canaanite realm ("kanaanäischen Bereich") rather than later in Israelite thought. Thus the Yahwistic tradition would not be behind Dan 7 but we would have a revived and reinterpreted Canaanite tradition as immediate background. If COLPE has not been misunderstood then one would have not only an unprovable transfer of predicates of El and Baal in Canaanite thought but also a further differentiation into the "Ancient of days" and the "son of man" by the author of Dan 7. However, if one thinks of Canaanite influence on Dan 7 it would be much more logical to consider a direct link between El and the "Ancient of days" and between Baal and the "son of man", without any intermediary composite concept such as "El-Yahweh-Baal". This conclusion which excludes Yahweh in the traditio-historical development, was made by COLLINS (1977:99,100; cf. below on p. 89).

... einfügt, enthält zugleich einen Zshg [i.e., Zusammenhang] von Motiven, welcher den Motivparallelen, auf die sich die anderen Hypothesen stützen, fehlt. Das erlaubt noch am ehesten eine religions-geschichtliche Filiation (ibid. 420).²²⁶

Neither HAMMER (1976:77) nor the French scholar LACOCQUE added significantly new aspects to the Canaanite background hypothesis.²²⁷ Unique, however, was LACOCQUE'S argument with regard to the title "Ancient of days" which he equated with the perduration of God when he stated that "at Ugarit as here [in Dan 7], this perduration of God is linked to his enthronement as king and judge" (1976:108 with footnote 10 = ibid. 1979:143; footnote 100).

The most detailed traditio-historical and religious-historical study on the Canaanite background of Dan 7 was put forward by KEARNS. The starting point of KEARNS' (1982:27) tradition-history on the second part of the vision of Dan 7 is a brief footnote by COLPE (1969:418, footnote 118) remarking that possibly behind the *nomen proprium* "Baal" the proper name "Hadad" stood. Taking up this notion, KEARNS extended the proposed Canaanite tradition-history of Daniel back further by stressing that the proper name Baal should be regarded as the epithet of only the god Hadad (1982:58-71)²²⁸ who is already mentioned as subordinate god in the pantheon of Ebla from the 24th and 23rd century and whose earliest ethnic association can be traced back to the Amorites in Syria in the 19th century (ibid. 32,33). KEARNS argued that the Ugaritic Baal myth could not be the ultimate origin of

²²⁶ Cf. the criticism of COLPE'S ambivalent conclusion: "Paradoxically enough he shows in some detail the untenableness of his hypothesis, but at the end having no other hypothesis to fall back to, he espouses it half-heartedly as the one coming 'closest to the actual facts'" (CARAGOUNIS 1986:41, footnote 17); "Trotz gewisser Schwierigkeiten möchte Colpe die aufgezeigte Hypothese für tragfähig halten. Aber seine eigenen Einschränkungen lassen ziemlich deutlich werden, dass eine Ableitung auf den Vorstellungen über El und Baal problematisch ist" (MÜLLER 1972:33).

²²⁷ LACOCQUE'S specific references were to: (1) the grey hair of the "Ancient of days" and El (1976:108,109 = ibid. 1979:143; ibid. 129); (2) the "son of man" which recalls Baal as vanquisher of the dragon and of Yam and as the enthroned king (ibid.); (3) the epithet, "Ancient of days" originating from the Ugaritic "father of years" (ibid. 1976:108 = ibid. 1979:142); (4) the cloud imagery recalling Baal as the "Rider of the Clouds" (ibid. 1979:146, footnote 121). HAMMER (1976:77) only mentioned El as aged deity with grey hair and Baal killing the dragon Itu thereby establishing his kingship.

²²⁸ According to the tradition complex of Hadad, El was the king of the assembly of gods, while Hadad, subordinate to El, was the ruler over the assembly of gods. Thus, it is Hadad's position that accounts for the epithet "Lord (b'd)" (of the gods). By the 14th century Hadad's epithet was so dominant, that it practically superseded the name Hadad (ibid. 60-62).

Dan 7²²⁹ but has to be considered only as a 14th century epic version of a Hadad-related cultic-mythic tradition complex dating back to the beginning of the 19th century,²³⁰ whereby the main actor Hadad is called by his epithet Baal (ibid. 65).²³¹ In regard to the evidence for such an ancient tradition complex of Hadad, KEARNS stated:

Die Grundstruktur dieser kultisch-mythischen Hadadtradition ist vornehmlich durch eine sekundäre Entwicklung erkennbar. Spätestens am Anfang des 2. Jahrtausends entstand eine dichterische Fassung der Hadadtradition. Diese wurde unter Zugrundlegung der kultisch-mythischen Hadadtradition ausgebildet, ist aber keine getreue Wiedergabe derselben, sondern ist durch Gesetzmässigkeiten der dichterischen Erzählkunst gekennzeichnet. Eine unkontaminierte Version der dichterischen Hadadtradition ist nicht erhalten. Dagegen sind aber vier verschiedene Verwertungen vorhanden, aus denen man ihren Hauptinhalt erschliessen kann (ibid. 85,86).

These four utilisations of the poetic Hadad tradition are, according to KEARNS (ibid. 86–90):

- (1) The first part of the 14th century Ugaritic Baal epic, i.e., the battle between Hadad and Yam (CTA 1 and 2),²³²
- (2) the Babylonian *Enuma Elish* (between 1500–1100)²³³ replacing Hadad with Marduk;²³⁴
- (3) the Hurrian myth of Ullikummi from the 16th/15th century whereby Hadad is

²²⁹ Cf. ibid. 85, footnote 1: "Als C. Colpe ... die kanaanäische Hypothese aufstellte ... griff er, um das ursprüngliche Traditionsgefüge zu erfassen, auf das aus Ugarit stammende Baalepos zurück. Sein Resultat war mager ... Trotz der durch dieses Resultat aufgezwungenen Vorbehalte meinte Colpe, dass die kanaanäische Hypothese 'dem wirklichen Sachverhalt bis auf weiteres am nächsten' kommt. Dieses vorläufige Ergebnis muss vertieft werden. Es reicht aber nicht aus, lediglich Traditionselemente aus dem ugaritischen Baalepos unkritisch heranzuziehen, sondern man muss von einer sachgemässen Bestimmung des Inhalts des Traditionsgefüges um Hadad ausgehen."

²³⁰ Tracing back the Hadad-Yam battle to the beginning of the second millennium has repercussions on the similar Marduk-Tiamat tradition of the *Enuma Elish* epic. LAMBERT (1965:295,296) explained the theme of a conflict between a deity and the sea as of Amorite origin that was introduced as the Amorites settled in Babylonia (on the influence of the Amorites see already C. T. CLAY in 1919 as cited by SHEA 1977:40). Furthermore, "the *Epic of Creation* is not a norm of Babylonian or Sumerian cosmology. It is a sectarian and aberrant combination of mythological threads woven into an unparalleled compositum. In my opinion it is not earlier than 1100 B.C." (LAMBERT 1965:291). LAMBERT was followed by JACOBSEN (1968:107) in regard to the western origin of the deity-sea monster battle motif, however, he differed from LAMBERT in dating the *Enuma Elish* to 1400 B.C.E. (ibid. 1976:189,190; cf. TSUMURA 1989:48, footnote 18). TSUMURA (ibid. 49) and KEARNS (1982:88 with footnote 10; cf. also pp. 33,34) followed LAMBERT and JACOBSEN's position of a western origin of the general motif of the conflict of a storm-god with the sea. In the particular case of the conflict motif in the *Enuma Elish* in 1988 LAMBERT revised his earlier position in so far as that he now assumes northern Mesopotamian traditions as direct predecessors (TSUMURA 1989:48 with footnote 17) but maintained the date of about 1100 B.C.E., which is also favored by HUTTER (1996:45).

²³¹ KEARNS characterised this ancient cultic-mythic tradition complex of Hadad as having a fixed relationship between Hadad, El, Yam, and Anat, which included certain requisites as well as certain mythic events (1982:85). The mythic events are: (1) Yam revolts against the assembly of gods led by El; (2) Hadad fights Yam and destroys him; (3) Hadad is awarded with the rule over the assembly of gods. (ibid. 91). On the unclear role of Anat see ibid., footnote 25.

²³² Text: GINSBERG 1969:129–131 (CTA 1 and 2 = VI AB and III AB B, III AB C, III AB A).

²³³ TSUMURA 1989:48, footnote 18.

²³⁴ Text: SPEISER 1969a:60–72 and GRAYSON 1969a:501–503.

replaced by Teshub, the Hurrian storm-god;²³⁵ (4) the Egyptian *Story of Astarte* from the 14th century, replacing Hadad with Seth.²³⁶

However, the only reliable²³⁷ witnesses for the reconstruction of the details of the ancient cultic-mythic tradition complex of Hadad are, according to KEARNS: (1) allusions and citations of the Hadad tradition in the Ugaritic Baal epic; (2) allusions in some Amarna letters; (3) the *Phoenician History* by Philo of Byblos; (4) Old Testament passages relating to Yahweh; (5) Canaanite elements in the tradition of Seth of Avaris; and (6) the Greek myth of Typhon and Zeus (ibid. 92-96).

In regard to the relationship of the Hadad tradition to Dan 7 KEARNS concluded:

Die Apokalyptik, sofern sie die Hadadtradition betrifft, ist durch eine Eschatologisierung des um Hadad geformten kultisch-mythischen Traditionsgefüges gekennzeichnet. Der ontologische Horizont dieser Eschatologisierung war nicht die vorfindliche, geschichtliche Welt, sondern eine transzendente Sphäre, die als eschatologische Grösse noch aussteht. Das kultisch-mythische Traditionsgefüge wurde in einen transzendental-eschatologischen Äon verlegt und wurde damit zum apokalyptischen Traditionsgefüge. Der Anlass zur Eschatologisierung der Hadadtradition ist ungeklärt (ibid. 98,99).²³⁸

Apart from the origin of the Hadad tradition and its relationship to Dan 7, KEARNS argued for parallels between the Hadad tradition and the following Danielic expressions:

(1) "coming with the clouds of heaven" (ibid. 102-107);²³⁹ (2) "His dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away, and his kingdom one that shall not be destroyed"

²³⁵ Known from its Hittite translation, "The Song of Ullikummi", from the 14th century. Text: GOETZE 1969:121-125. Cf. also the reference to "The Song of Ullikummi" by BEASLEY-MURRAY 1983:46 and below footnote 245 on p. 87.

²³⁶ Text: WILSON 1969a:17,18. A more distant version of the Hadad tradition is according to KEARNS (1982:90 with footnote 23) the Greek Perseus-Andromeda saga.

²³⁷ Inconclusive according to KEARNS (ibid. 92 with footnotes 27,28) are iconographic evidence and stela inscriptions.

²³⁸ The proposed reformulation of the Hadad tradition into an eschatological, apocalyptic version was assessed by COLLINS (1993b:292 = ibid. 1993a:132) as "extremely hypothetical" because it is inferred from Jewish texts and is not attested in any pagan source.

²³⁹ KEARNS discussed especially the following biblical texts in connection with the frequently cited Ugaritic epithet of Baal "Rider of the Clouds": Psa 68:5; Deu 33:26 (cf. below footnote 242); Isa 19:1; Psa 104:3; 18:11//2 Sa 22:11; Psa 68:33.

(ibid. 107,108);²⁴⁰ (3) the "glory" or the radiant aura ("Schreckensglanz"; Aram. יקר; Akk. *melammu*) of the eternal king²⁴¹ (ibid. 108–111);²⁴² (4) the relationship between the "Ancient of days" and the "son of man" (ibid. 112–119);²⁴³ and (5) the phrase "son of man".²⁴⁴

²⁴⁰ KEARNS linked the Ugaritic formula *sqh.mlk 'lmk drkt.dt drdrk* (CTA 2 IV 10), "You shall receive your eternal kingdom, your dominion (endures from) generation (to) generation" with its two key words *mlk*/מלכו ("kingdom") and *drkt*/שלטן ("dominion") by way of Psa 145:13: "Thy kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and thy dominion endures throughout all generations" (מלכותך מלטה כל עלמים וממשלך בכל דור ודור) to Dan 3:33: "His kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and his dominion is from generation to generation" (מלכותה מלכות עלם ושלטנה עם דר ודר) (Dan 4:31: "His dominion is an everlasting dominion, and his kingdom endures from generation to generation" (שלטנה שלטן עלם ומלכותה עם דר ודר)), Dan 6:27: "His kingdom shall never be destroyed, and his dominion shall be to the end" (מלכותה די לא תחבל ושלטנה עד טומא), and Dan 7:14 "His dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away, and his kingdom one that shall not be destroyed" (שלטנה שלטן עלם די לא יערה ומלכותה די לא תחבל).

²⁴¹ "And to him was given dominion and *glory* and kingdom" (ולה יהיב שלטן ויקר ומלכו).

²⁴² KEARNS tentatively interpreted this term as a reflection of a not-directly-attested Hadad tradition which also appears in other passages of the Old Testament as the Hebrew term נאח ("majesty") in conjunction with עו ("power"): (1) Psa 93:1: "The Lord reigns; he is robed in majesty; the Lord is robed, he is girded with strength" (יהוה מלך נאח לבש לבש יהוה עו התאור); (2) Deu 33:26: "the one who rides through the heavens to your help, and in his majesty on the clouds" (רכב שמים בעוזך ובנאוהו שחקים) corrected by CROSS/FREEDMAN (1947:6,7) to the following original text without *matres lectionis*: רכב שמים בעו רכב בנאוהו שחקים: "the one who rides [through] the heavens with his power, the one who rides in [his] majesty on the clouds" (KEARNS 1982:103,104, footnote 58); (3) Psa 68:35: "Ascribe power to God, whose majesty is over Israel, and his power is in the skies" (תעו עו לאלהים על ישראל נאוהו ועו בשחקים). KEARNS noted that Deu 33:26 uses besides נאח/עו also the formulas "the one who rides through the heavens" (רכב שמים) and "the one who rides on the clouds" (רכב שחקים) and Psa 68:33,34 in conjunction with נאח/עו the phrase "the one who rides in the heavens, the ancient heavens" (רכב בשמי שמי קדם). Psa 93 is next to נאח/עו also associated with additional elements from the Hadad tradition (cf. below footnote 243).

²⁴³ The relationship between El and Hadad is described by KEARNS as follows: "In der Sache des Königtums sind El und Hadad auf einander bezogen. El ist König im statischen Sinn, dass er König war und König bleiben wird. Hadad unterscheidet sich von El, indem er seine Königsherrschaft erwirbt. Durch den Sieg über Jamm wird das Königsein Els nicht ausser Kraft gesetzt, sondern der Sieg Hadads endet in einem Nebeneinander von El und Hadad, beide mit königlicher Würde. El is *mlk* 'König'. Hadad *mlk* 'übt die Königsherrschaft aus'. El ist der Urgrund der Königsmacht, dagegen ist Hadad der bevollmächtigte Gebieter, der die Ausübung der Königsgewalt innehat. El ist der Oberkönig, Hadad sein Vasall" (ibid. 112,113). It is this relationship of two divine beings – El superior to Hadad, the latter after his victory over Yam installed as king and carrying out the kingly power in the assembly of gods – which KEARNS saw reflected in the Dan 7:13,14 where the "son of man" receives eternal kingship from the "Ancient of days". Three passages from the Psalms were cited by KEARNS that reflect the Hadad tradition in this respect and serve as links to the apocalyptic text: (1) Psa 82:1: "Yahweh stands in the assembly of God; in the midst of the gods he judges" (אלהים נצב בעדה אל בקרב אלהים ישפט) was understood by KEARNS as Elohistically edited, therefore he replaced Elohim with Yahweh. In a further step this meaning was explained by KEARNS as an interpretation of an underlying Hadad tradition that would have read: "Hadad stands in the assembly of El; in the midst of the gods he reigns"; (2) The next passage adduced was Psa 93:1–4 which exhibits according to KEARNS the following elements of the Hadad tradition: (a) Psa 93:1a: "The Lord is king/the Lord has become king"; (b) Psa 93:2: Yahweh's reign is everlasting (מעולם); (c) Psa 93:3: The rebellion of the sea; (d) Psa 93:4: Since Yahweh is described as being mightier than the sea the underlying conclusion is that his kingship is the result of his victory over the sea; (3) The last linking passage is Psa 29:10: "Yahweh sits on the flood and Yahweh sits as King forever" (יהוה למבול ישב וישב יהוה מלך לעולם) cf. KTU.101,1–2: *b'l jtb k tbt gr hd r [] k mdb* "The Lord sits, like a throne [is] the mountain, Hadad [] like a flood" [ibid. 117, footnote 128]) reflecting the victorious Hadad who sits on Yam and is installed as eternal king.

²⁴⁴ KEARNS' starting point for his tradition-historical elaboration of this issue is the shift from Canaanite to Aramaic which occurred when the Hadad tradition was handed down. While in Canaanite dialects the epithet "Baal" was understood as the appellative "Lord", the Aramaic consonantal equivalent בעל provided an additional divergent meaning, i.e., "husband". Thus, using the same consonantal word in Aramaic as in Canaanite would have become a source of misunderstanding. Therefore, KEARNS proposed a translation based on the *meaning* of the appellative

After KEARNS' detailed study, the remark by BEASLEY-MURRAY (1983:46,47), who was inclined to see the Ugaritic Baal cycle as only one significant background for Dan 7 while also considering similarly patterned myths,²⁴⁵ was considerably more modest. BEASLEY-MURRAY "postulated that the original figure [for the "son of man"] was the storm god, common to many Semitic religions, and that his place in the vision was due to his playing the traditional role of conqueror of the sea monster" (ibid. 55).

In his book on God's conflict with the dragon and the sea, DAY discussed Dan 7 under the heading "The eschatologization of the divine conflict". When one takes the main thrust of his book into account, his forceful argument for a Canaanite background of the second part of the vision of Dan 7 comes as no surprise. DAY basically followed EMERTON, repeating the long-known arguments without adding significant new aspects.²⁴⁶ In regard to one of the basic

"Lord" rather than the employment the same consonantal word in Aramaic with its semantic ambiguity. The Aramaic semantic equivalent to the Canaanite *בעל* was according to the KEARNS *ברוש* (ibid. 72,73). KEARNS (1978:16-88) argued that the origin of the Aramaic *ברוש* is the Ugaritic *brš* ("royal vassal") which developed into the Aramaic *ברוש* whereby the meaning shifted from "royal vassal" to "lord" and finally resulted by pseudo-etymology in *בר אשטא*. Cf. however the criticism of this hypothetical development by COLPE (1981: cols. 375-378), HUEHNERGARD (1987:47), KVANVIG (1988:492, footnote 58), and COLLINS (1993b:304, footnote 242). In fact KEARNS had to admit that "der historische Vollzug des Übergangs vom kanaanäischen zum aramäischen Epitheton ... nicht erfassbar [ist] ... Historisch sichtbar ist lediglich das Endresultat" (1982:73). As a single instance for such a result KEARNS (ibid. 75, footnote 306) cited a late rabbinical text, *pKil 31c47* that mentions the Aramaic epithet *ברוש דרור* "Lord of the field" which is also attested in its Canaanite form *בר בעל* from Ugarit (KTU 4.183,1; ibid., footnote 302). From this evidence KEARNS concluded: "In die Eschatologisierung des Traditionsgefüges um Hadad wurde auch das im kultischen Bereich verwurzelte Epitheton einbezogen. Es erscheint sowohl in reichsaramäischer pseudoetymologischer Umsetzung als *br'ns* [Dan 7:13] als auch in dem nur durch Zwischenglieder mehrerer Übersetzungen erhaltene *homo* [4 Ezr 13:5]" (ibid. 79). Cf. however the criticism by COLLINS (1993a:132 = ibid. 1993b:292; ibid. 291, footnote 116) due to the hypothetical character of this conclusion.

²⁴⁵ Referred to were the Babylonian *Enuma Elish* and the Hittite "The Song of Ullikummi" (BEASLEY-MURRAY 1983:46).

²⁴⁶ The arguments put forward were: (1) based on the presupposition that the description of the "Ancient of days" as having white hair indicates an old man (contra see JUNKER 1932:52, HAAG 1993a:164; ibid 1993b:58) DAY again resurrected the criticised and reluctantly cited parallel to the Ugaritic term *'ab šum* by basically following the line of argument put forward by CROSS (1973:16, footnote 24) without advancing new convincing arguments to silence the doubt about this parallel (see also above p. 81 with footnote 223 and below footnote 263, no. 1 on p. 91); (2) both El and the "Ancient of days" are judges (DAY 1985:161); (3) the "son of man" comes with the clouds of heaven and Baal is known as "Rider of the Clouds" (ibid. 161,162); (4) the kingship of the "son of man" follows the destruction of the sea monsters, as Baal is assured the kingship by defeating Yam (ibid. 162); (5) the relationship between the "Ancient of days" and the "son of man" is best reflected in the relationship between El and Baal (ibid. 162,163). In addition to these usually-cited parallels a further link was proposed by DAY (ibid. 167,177) by equating the "son of man" with the angel Michael and tracing this angelic figure back to the Canaanite god Baal. To support a Canaanite link to the angel Michael, DAY argued that according to Jewish Apocalyptic there existed seventy angelic princes (Targ. Pseudo-Jonathan on Deu 32:8; 1 En 89:59ff; 90:22ff), one for each nation. This view is according to DAY a reflection of the Ugaritic belief that the consort of El,

problems of the Canaanite background, i.e., its transmission history, DAY (1985:165,166) took up EMERTON'S conjecture²⁴⁷ that the alleged²⁴⁸ Israelite enthronement festival served as transmitter of the Canaanite mythological theme of the divine conflict with the dragon.²⁴⁹ From this position DAY argued that:

the gap in dating that has to be bridged is not therefore between the Ugaritic texts in ca. 1350 B.C. and the book of Daniel in 165 B.C., but the end of the kingdom in 586 B.C., when we know such syncretistic beliefs existed, and the writing of the book of Daniel in 165 B.C., i.e., *just* [my emphasis] over four centuries (ibid.).

No new arguments were brought forward by GOLDINGAY (1988:151),²⁵⁰ REID (1989:85-87),²⁵¹ and J. L. CRENSHAW (1992:371).²⁵²

The most sustained discussion of a Canaanite background for the second part of the vision of Dan 7 was made by COLLINS over a period of almost twenty years. After a brief reference to a Canaanite background of the "Ancient of days" and the "son of man" (COLLINS 1975:601), a more detailed discussion followed in 1977. According to COLLINS "the clustering of images which we find in Daniel 7:9-14 can only be understood directly against a background of Canaanite myth" (ibid. 1977:99). As his predecessors had done, COLLINS listed the commonly-

Asherah, had seventy sons (CTA 4 VI 46). DAY furthermore argued: "As for Michael, the chief of the guardian angels of the nations, he too should be derived from one of the sons of El, indeed he should be El's supreme son. This points in the direction of Baal, the chief and most active of the gods under El ... The angel Michael therefore has his ultimate origin in Baal ..." (1982:175,176).

²⁴⁷ "One question remains. If, in the early monarchy, Yahwe was subordinated to Elyon in the Jerusalem cultus, how was the tradition of two divine beings transmitted to the author of Daniel? Amid so much uncertainty and so many conjectures, no answer can be given which claims anything more than the possibility. It must suffice to show that the transmission of such a tradition was not impossible" (EMERTON 1958:241,242).

²⁴⁸ DAY (1985:165) stated that "it is commonly accepted by scholars that the theme of the divine conflict with the dragon, with which the kingship of Yahweh was associated, had its *Sitz im Leben* at this festival, even by those who prefer not to speak of it as an Enthronement Festival." Cf. this statement with the following by COLLINS (1993b:289,290): "Emerton supposed that the Canaanite traditions had been transmitted in Israel in connection with the festival of the enthronement of Yahweh, which 'was probably an adaptation of a pre-Davidic Jebusite rite.' This part of his thesis has not won support ...".

²⁴⁹ DAY (1985:166) also gave room for COLLINS' explanation that learned scribes transmitted Canaanite myths (cf. below p. 90).

²⁵⁰ Only one specific parallel was addressed, and this one with reluctance, namely, the alleged correspondence between the titles of El and the "Ancient of days". Taking up COLLINS' proposed explanation of how these Canaanite thoughts have been transmitted (cf. below p. 90), GOLDINGAY concluded: "In recapitulating this old ritual pattern, Dan 7 may then have its own links with these ancient myths, via learned circles in Judaism rather than because they lived on in the temple cult" (GOLDINGAY 1988:151).

²⁵¹ REID followed COLLINS in regard to the title of the "Ancient of days" (a position however abandoned in the meantime by COLLINS; cf. above p. 81 and below p. 91 with footnote 263, no. 1) and pointed out that the depiction of the "Ancient of days" as an aged figure and high god indicates similarity to El (cf. also his reference to Zeus below in footnote 366 on p. 132). In regard to the "son of man" he followed the position of EMERTON.

cited parallels²⁵³ without referring to COLPE'S criticism of the epithet "father of years" and the parallel to the white hair of the "Ancient of days" (cf. p. 81). But as COLPE had already pointed out, COLLINS also acknowledged that "the central problem of this imagery is the presentation of the 'one like a son of man' who comes 'with the clouds of heaven'" (ibid. 99,100), i.e., that in the Old Testament the superior Yahweh is associated with clouds, while in Dan 7 a subordinate divine being is associated with this same imagery. Although some attempts were made to prove a subordinate position of Yahweh to El Elyon,²⁵⁴ COLLINS dismissed them, stating: "The idea that there is another God superior to Yahweh is foreign to the OT" (ibid. 100). Thus "nowhere in the OT is Yahweh juxtaposed with another heavenly being in the way the 'one like a son of man' and the 'Ancient of Days' are juxtaposed here [in Dan 7]" (ibid.). From this follows that COLLINS, in contrast to COLPE, did not consider an intermediate Yahwistic background as viable but held that "the imagery of Yahweh riding on the clouds is itself derived from the storm-imagery of the theophanies of Baal" (ibid.)²⁵⁵

Thus, in contrast with the first part of the vision which COLLINS linked to Old Testament imagery (influenced by Canaanite mythology), the motifs of the "Ancient of days" and the "son of man" "can not be derived from the OT, but presupposes independent mythological traditions. These traditions are best represented by the Ugaritic texts from the second millennium B.C." (ibid. 101). A significant handicap of this position are the postulated "independent mythological traditions" that have to be assumed in order to close the gap between the Ugaritic texts and the author of Dan 7.²⁵⁶ Furthermore, COLLINS faced not only a problem in transmission history but also the recognition that "we have [also] no solid evidence

²⁵² Crenshaw compared the "Ancient of days" with the Ugaritic *'ab šmm*.

²⁵³ (1) Baal, the "Rider of the Clouds" and the "son of man" coming in the clouds of heaven; (2) the white-haired El and the "Ancient of days" with hair like cleanest wool; (3) El's title "father of years" recalls the "Ancient of days"; (4) El presides over the heavenly council as the "Ancient of days" presides over a divine council; (5) El is judge as is the "Ancient of days" (ibid. 1977:100,101); (6) the conferral of kingship of the "son of man" derives from Baal's enthronement (ibid. 105).

²⁵⁴ Cf. EISSFELDT 1956b:29,30; see also footnote 218 above on p. 80.

²⁵⁵ Cf. also end of footnote 225 on p. 82.

²⁵⁶ Cf. also KEARNS 1982:28, footnote 121.

as to how or in what form the traditions represented by the Ugaritic texts were available in the second century B.C." (ibid. 102).²⁵⁷ The following suggestions were made by COLLINS:

(1) although it was perceived as problematic, he argued that the enthronement scene might indicate the survival of a Canaanite-influenced royal cult in Jerusalem as folk tradition or in learned circles. The same has to be assumed for the "Ancient of days" and "son of man" imagery (ibid. 102); (2) the translation of the ancient *Phoenician History* by Philo of Byblos from about the end of the first century C.E. shows that "ancient Canaanite lore was accessible in the Roman period" (ibid.); (3) there is evidence for a general "interest in old traditions throughout the Hellenistic world" (ibid.).²⁵⁸

Although COLLINS acknowledged that it is still uncertain how the author of Dan 7 got hold of the Canaanite material he allegedly used, "there is not reason, however, to doubt that ancient traditions closely related to the Ugaritic myths were available in the second century B.C." (ibid. 104.).

In addition to pointing out parallel features between Dan 7 and Ugaritic texts, COLLINS (ibid. 105,106) also established a mythic pattern in Dan 7, focusing on the confrontation between the powers of chaos and the opposing heavenly beings, which can be tabulated as follows:²⁵⁹

²⁵⁷ The same point was of course also realised by COLPE (1969:240), which prompted him to propose a Yahwistic link between the Canaanite origin and the Jewish Apocalyptic, a proposal that is very difficult to maintain (cf. above p. 82 and footnote 225).

²⁵⁸ COLLINS (1977:102,103) mentioned the copying of Babylonian kingship myths and rituals, the copying of a Sumerian lament for Uruk, and Berossus' translation of the Babylonian cosmogony in the Hellenistic period. Furthermore, he referred to the Egyptian Potter's Oracle from the Hellenistic period which harks back to 1991 B.C.E.

²⁵⁹ A recent formulation of the pattern of relationship is the following: "What is important is the pattern of relationships: the opposition between the sea and the rider of the clouds, the presence of two god-like figures and the fact that one who comes with the clouds receives everlasting dominion" (ibid. 1993a:128 - ibid. 1993b:291). Cf. also MOSCA (1986:508) who presented the following similar pattern: "(1) Baal's battle with the Sea, which leads to the proclamation of the storm god's kingship; (2) Baal's kingship, which is, and must be, sanctioned by El; and (3) El's own kingship, which is not thereby undermined." Again another pattern has been

<i>Ugaritic text</i>	<i>Dan 7</i>
a) Revolt of the sea demanding the surrender of Baal and kingship over the gods	a) Revolt of the sea through beasts rising from it
b) Defeat of the sea by Baal	b) -
c) Manifestation of Baal's kingship	c) Final kingship of the "son of man"

Very different is the destruction of the enemy: In the Ugaritic text the sea is defeated in battle, in the Danielic text a divine judgement scene is held which is followed by the destruction of the beasts from the sea (ibid. 105).²⁶⁰

COLLINS' (1993a:125-128,131-135 = ibid. 1993b:286-294) recent article, particularly the commentary section on the religio-historical background of Dan 7, did not add significantly new aspects to the Canaanite background of the second part of the vision of Dan 7²⁶¹ with the exception of a reference to KEARNS' (1982:46-57) study that demonstrated "the continued vitality of the cult of Baal Hadad, the Baal of the Ugaritic texts, into the Christian era". There is a lack of cultic texts to "fill out the traditions associated with the cult in the later period" (ibid. 1993a:132 = ibid. 1993b:191,192)²⁶² thereby not solving the basic problem of the transmission of the Canaanite tradition to the Jewish apocalypticist of Dan 7. Noteworthy is also the support for COLPE'S reluctance to cite the epithet "father of years" as a true parallel for the "Ancient of days" (ibid. 1993a:127 = ibid. 1993b:290; cf. also p. 81 of this study).²⁶³

put forward by BEASLEY-MURRAY (1983:46): "Thus the pattern of *threat* from the sea monster, *assembly* of the gods, *deliverance* by the storm god, and his consequent exercise of *sovereignty* is clear."

²⁶⁰ It has to be noted that the Danielic account has more facets than COLLINS mentioned here. Thus, the sentence of the judicial assembly is not spelled out, it is solely the fourth beast that is slain and burned, while from the remaining beasts only their dominion is taken away and their lives prolonged for a limited time (cf. also COLLINS 1993b:303,304).

²⁶¹ He repeated that the "general analogy in context" is "the conflict for universal kingship" (1993a:126). Furthermore, the subordination of a divine being to the "Ancient of days" "has no precedent in the biblical tradition. It is quite intelligible, however, against the background of Canaanite mythology, where Baal appears in subordination to El." (ibid. 127). Descriptive parallels are: (1) Baal's epithet "Rider of the Clouds" and the coming of the "son of man" with clouds; (2) the portrayal of El as an aged god and the exceptional description of God in Dan 7 in this way; (3) the epithet of El as "judge" and the judicial role of the "Ancient of days"; (4) the divine council of El and the multitude mentioned with the throne scene in Daniel (ibid.)

²⁶² References to the cult of Hadad from the rise of the Aramaeans down to the Byzantine period include the name of Hadad in stelae inscriptions, treaties, temple dedication inscriptions, various literary notes, its usage as theophoric names of rulers, iconographic witnesses, place names, its association with specific cult sites (KEARNS 1982:40-57) but lack cultic texts.

²⁶³ Critical remarks against a Canaanite influence include the following (cf. also footnote 63 on p. 35):

(1) The "Ancient of days": (a) the Ugaritic expression 'ab šnm has been criticised as an "untenable parallel" to the "Ancient of days" (GESE 1983:380, footnote 16; cf. also COPPENS 1968:500; FERCH 1980:82; GOLDINGAY 1988:151; KVANVIG 1988:508) and in fact has even been abandoned by the most outstanding supporters of a

2.3.3. Iranian influence

According to J. M. SCHMIDT (1969:51) the thesis of Iranian influence on Dan 7 can be traced back to J. A. L. RICHTER's work "Das Christentum und die ältesten Religionen des Orients", published in 1819.²⁶⁴ But it would take another eighty years before scholarly interest focused

Canaanite background (COLPE 1969:419,420; KEARNS 1982:173,174, footnote 402; COLLINS 1993a:127 = *ibid.* 1993b:290[0]; cf. also above p. 81 and footnote 223 on p. 81); (b) El as "judge" is only mentioned once in the Ugaritic texts (CROSS 1973:21) whereby the translation of *il tyf* is disputed. The assembly of gods mentioned in the same passage depicts El with his consort and Hadad who is singing and playing on the lyre while the messengers of Yam demand Baal, thus a context that "hardly parallels to the judgement scene of the apocalypticist" (FERCH 1980:83);

- (2) The "son of man": (a) There is no specific allusion to Baal (KVANVIG 1988:508); (b) according to the Ugaritic myth "Baal not only triumphs over Yam and Mot but also dies at the hand ... of Mot. Baal's death finds absolutely *no parallel in a demise of the S[on of M[an]]*" (FERCH 1980:81); (c) Baal vanquished Yam but nothing similar is said about the "son of man" (KVANVIG 1988:508; COPPENS 1968:500, footnote 23; CASEY 1979:37; cf. also footnote 63, no. 7b on p. 35); (d) the use of clouds associated with Baal does not fit the "son of man" but rather Yahweh (COPPENS 1968:500, footnote 23); (e) the "son of man" is not a divine figure thereby introducing "a second deity into the monotheistic faith of Israel" (CASEY 1979:37), cf. however the response by DAY (1985:166,167): "M. Casey misunderstands Emerton ... [who] is alluding to the prehistory of Dan. 7";
- (3) The conferral of kingship to the "son of man": (a) GESE (1983:380, footnote 16) warned to correlate the Ugaritic enthronement of Baal with the "son of man" since this would tradition-historically be impossible against the background of the falling-away of the El-Baal confrontation in the Iron Age and its replacement by the "Zeuswerdung" of Baal, i.e., Baal Shamem; cf. ODEN 1977); (b) the ultimate conferral of kingship upon Baal after the outcry of Astarte "Yamm is indeed dead! Ba'al shall be king" (*ym.l mt b'lm ymlk*; Driver 1956:82, III*A, l. 32) is according to FERCH "by no means certain" (1980:83–85; cf. also KOCH 1980:234); (c) even if Baal should have received kingship, such a feature is not specifically Canaanite (KVANVIG 1988:508); (d) the enthronement of the "son of man" is similar to that of a "terrestrial king because the Son of Man takes over kingship after four previous terrestrial kings (v. 17), and because the kingship is political rather than cosmical (v. 14)" (*ibid.*); (e) it is "an impossible thought for a Jew" (*ibid.* 351, footnote 24) that Yahweh should confer *his* kingship, therefore it must be "the kingship given to the rulers on earth" that is conferred to the "son of man". "Accordingly the Ugaritic myth would communicate something entirely different from the vision, and the reason why the composer would interpret his reality in the light of this myth is hard to explain" (*ibid.*); (f) Baal has nothing to do with the rule over people, nations, and languages nor with an eschatological investiture (KOCH 1980:234); (g) the ascension to power by the "son of man" is not realised by conquest but given by Yahweh who himself accomplished it (COPPENS 1968:500, footnote 23);
- (4) The relationship of the "Ancient of days" and the "son of man": (a) a supreme god as old in relation to a younger god is a widespread phenomenon (KVANVIG 1988:508); (b) an alleged rivalry between the young Baal and the old El as background of Dan 7 was not only rejected by critics such as FERCH (1980:83) as a misconception but also dismissed by supporters of the Canaanite school (cf. footnote 224 on p. 82);

Against the background of the above-mentioned criticism FERCH concluded: "Even granting the proposed creative freedom claimed for the writer of Daniel 7, it is pointedly apparent that the author has changed the scenes of Canaan beyond recognition. One would not want to press for parallels of all details for no scholar affirms this. Yet, so many modifications have to be assumed that there would be no difference between proposing an extremely fertile creativity of the apocalypticist and a discontinuity between Ugarit and Daniel 7" (*ibid.* 86; cf. also KVANVIG 1988:508 in regard to a "strongly transformed" and "scarcely recognizable" background). COLLINS responded with an enlightening statement to this forceful attack that silenced with a single stroke almost all criticism when he stated: "The pattern of the relationship here is more important than the variation in detail" (1981:93; cf. also below p. 90 and footnote 259). Recently, CARAGOUNIS (1986:41, footnote 17) followed up this argument when he remarked: "All they [who assume a *religionsgeschichtlichen* background] are interested to show is patterns of thought common to the Ancient Near East. But when the matter is put like that, it becomes obvious that relevance to Daniel is lost."

²⁶⁴ SCHMIDT (1969:51, footnote 83) quoted RICHTER (p. 205) as follows: "Es [i.e., Daniel chapter 7] hebt besonders die Persische Idee hervor: dass vor dem Beginn des Lichtreiches das Böse erst noch herrschend sein werde, spricht dann von der hohen Gewalt, welche Gott dem Logos, (denn dieser ist unstreitig v. 13 unter des

with all its intensity on the possibility of an Iranian influence on Dan 7. While RICHTER perceived the whole seventh chapter of the Book of Daniel to be influenced by Persian ideas, the interest of the studies of the *religionsgeschichtlichen Schule* of the early twentieth century centred basically on the Danielic figure of the “son of man”. However, the focus of these studies was not in the first instance the interest in the Danielic “son of man” as such. The effort of the *religionsgeschichtlichen Schule* in the first decades of this century was directed towards establishing the origin of the Gnostic *Erlösermythus*.²⁶⁵ The central figure of this myth was the so-called *Urmensch*, or Primordial Man.²⁶⁶

Ground-breaking in the quest for the origin of the *Urmensch* was R. REITZENSTEIN'S study *Poimandres* in which he among other things attempted to isolate a Hellenistic myth with the god *ἄνθρωπος*, which was understood as a late development of the *Urmensch* (1904:81–110). Tracing this motif back, REITZENSTEIN ultimately considered a Persian origin for the concept of the *Urmensch* (ibid. 109). It was obvious that further genealogical studies of the *Urmensch* would consider the Danielic “son of man” as a Jewish variant of the Primordial Man, which shifted this concept from *Urzeit* to *Endzeit* (KEARNS 1982:18). The attempt to identify the *Urmensch* in Iranian traditions resulted in the following proposals:

W. BOUSSET argued in the first edition of his book *Die Religion des Judentums im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter* that the Danielic “son of man” is a result of the merging of the Jewish Messiah and a pre-existent heavenly being, i.e., the *Urmensch* (1903:253,254 = ibid. 1906:306,307 = BOUSSET/GRESSMANN 1926:267,268). In his quest for the origin of the concept of

Menschen Sohn zu verstehen, der Adam Kadmon der Kabbalisten) über alles Sichtbare verliehen habe, und zuletzt vom Weltgerichte und dem Beginne des Lichtreiches, womit nach Kap. XII. 2 zugleich die Auferstehung der Toten verbunden ist.”

²⁶⁵ The following presentation on the Iranian influence on Dan 7 can only take up the basic results without tracing their research history in detail, which is “confused” (KEARNS 1982:4), “obscure”, “intricate” (ibid. 5) and “one of the most curious and difficult chapters in the whole history of comparative religions study” (BORSCH 1967:75) that involves a risk aptly expressed by COLPE: “[Man kommt] leicht vom Hundertsten ins Tausendste und erliegt schliesslich der komplizierten Quellenlage” (1961:6,7). For a detailed overview and criticism of the research history see especially COLPE 1961. For more recent summaries see e.g. BORSCH 1967:55–88; 132–173; KEARNS 1982:3–29.

the *Urmensch* BOUSSET in the same publication briefly mentioned in the Iranian figure of *Gayomart* (1903:346-349 = *ibid.* 1906:405 = BOUSSET/GRESSMANN 1926:352). In a later work in the context of the origin of the *Urmensch* (BOUSSET 1907:160-223) a more detailed study of *Gayomart* was made by BOUSSET (*ibid.* 202-209) in which he remarked that *Gayomart* is derived from *Gaya maretan* ("mortal life") (*ibid.* 202), which is related to "a still more primitive conception called *Gaya*" (BORSCH 1967:76). According to the Pahlavi *Bundahishn* 24:1, *Gayomart* was created as the "first of the human species" (BOUSSET 1907:206). As a righteous man he suffered innocently and finally died. But at the end of time it is said in *Bundahishn* 30:7 that "first the bones of *Gayomart* are raised up" (*ibid.* 205).²⁶⁷ According to BOUSSET from this Persian background the concept of the *Urmensch* spread and was also adapted by Jewish apocalyptic:

Auch in der jüdisch-apokalyptischen Literatur ist der Urmensch ... eine bekannte Figure ... Aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach hat aber bereits Daniel die Gestalt des himmlischen Menschen gekannt und sie künstlich erst in seinem berühmten siebenten Kapitel als Symbol des israelitischen Volkes umgedeutet (*ibid.* 196).

BOUSSET was followed by KRAELING (1927:85-94,102,109,141-151,159,160,164) who argued that the *Gayomart* myth travelled via Babylon to Palestine combining in this process *Gayomart* with Marduk which became the prototype for the "son of man". Despite many problems, BAUMGARTNER (1939:222) tentatively considered *Gayomart* as the possible origin of the "son of man". A late supporter of *Gayomart* as ancestor of the Danielic "son of man" was G. WIDENGREN (1969:474).

A close *Gayomart*-related predecessor for the "son of man" was proposed by A. CHRISTENSEN²⁶⁸ who argued on the basis of *Bundahishn* 30:7,⁹²⁶⁹ that if the eschatological

²⁶⁶ "The Primordial Man is the cosmos itself, thought of in human form, the macrocosm conceived of in terms of microcosm" (MOWINCKEL 1956:423; cf. also COLPE 1969:416).

²⁶⁷ For summaries on *Gayomart* cf. KEARNS 1982:18,19; BORSCH 1967:76-78; COLPE 1961:140-170; MOWINCKEL 1955:420-431; KRAELING 1927:128-165; VON GALL 1926:409-419.

²⁶⁸ *Saoshyant* was also mentioned by BOUSSET (1903:477; *ibid.* 1907:203), CLEMEN (1909:120), MOWINCKEL (1955:423), and WIDENGREN (1969:475) although they did not make a specific case for *Saoshyant* but only mentioned him together with *Gayomart* to whom he is closely related.

"son of man" derived from *Gayomart*, he had to be understood as a prototype of the human genre who also embodied eschatological functions. When these eschatological functions were referred to, then *Gayomart* was called *Saoshyant*. In a further development after the Israelites had adopted *Gayomart*, his eschatological functions were detached and associated solely with the independent figure of *Saoshyant*, the counterpart to the Danielic "son of man" (1917:33,34). Another scholar who considered *Saoshyant* the eschatological counterpart of *Gayomart* as ancestor of the "son of man" was VON GALL (1926:409-430).²⁷⁰

A different forerunner for the "son of man" had been put forward by GRESSMANN in 1905. He suggested that the Indo-Iranian king of paradise *Yima (Yama)*²⁷¹ was (1905:290-292, 361-363)²⁷² the original figure for the "son of man". In 1906 BOUSSET incorporated *Yima* in his theory of the *Urmensch* and considered *Yima* as a possible predecessor²⁷³ of *Gayomart* by stating: "Man wird sich daran erinnern müssen, dass auch in der persischen Religion der Urmensch und zwar in der doppelten Gestalt des Gayomarth und des bereits indoiranischen Yima eine gewisse Rolle spielte" (1906:407 = BOUSSET-GRESSMANN 1926:355).²⁷⁴ Bousset was

²⁶⁹ "First, the bones of Gâyômarô are roused up, then those of Mâshya and Mâshyôî, then those of the rest of mankind; in the fifty-seven years of Sôshyans they prepare all the dead, and all men stand up; whoever is righteous and whoever is wicked, every human creature, they rouse up from the spot where its life departs" (30,7); "Of the light accompanying the sun, one half will be for Gâyômarô, and one half will give enlightenment among the rest of men, so that the soul and the body will know that this is my father, and this is my wife, and these are some other of my nearest relations" (30,9) (WEST 1880:123).

²⁷⁰ "Der 'Menschensohn', von dem die Evangelien und eine Anzahl noch näher zu bezeichnender Schriften reden, ist nichts anderes als der Urmensch. Diese Gestalt stammt aus dem parsischen eschatologischen Ideenkreis, wo er gelegentlich mit ... dem sieghaften *Saôsyant* ... gleichgesetzt wurde, ist mit den parsischen religiösen Ideen auch nach Palästina gekommen und hat dort auf die eschatologischen Vorstellungen bestimmter jüdischer Kreise gewirkt" (VON GALL 1926:409,410). Reference to Dan 7 is made by VON GALL on pp. 412,413.

²⁷¹ *Yima* appears in the Iranian Avesta, *Yama* in the Indian Rigveda. BORSCH characterised *Yima* as follows: "Yima is described as the First Man and the first king who once dwelt in an earthly paradise, where he ruled for one thousand years. He, like Yama, is the son of the sun-god *Vivahvant*, and as a royal king is said to shine forth like the sun. As the First Man he was often regarded as the progenitor of the human race. At some point he committed a sin ... and so lost his glory, forfeiting his immortality and that of all his seed. Yet it is said that he will re-emerge from a subterranean place at the end of time" (1967:79).

²⁷² For the relationship of these two passages see KEARNS 1982:19, footnote 19.

²⁷³ Cf. also BORSCH 1967:79 with footnote 2 and p. 81 in regard to *Yima* as possible predecessor of *Gayomart*.

²⁷⁴ Cf. also COLPE 1961:19.

followed by C. CLEMEN (1909:119). A genealogical relationship between *Yima* and the "son of man" was upheld as recently as 1953 by G. IBER.²⁷⁵

A *Saoshyant*-related background for the "son of man" was proposed by MEYER when he stated that the Danielic figure represents the amalgamation of the angel *Sraosha* with the saviour *Saoshyant* (1921:199).

Finally worthy of mention is R. OTTO who assumed that the "son of man"²⁷⁶ is a reflection of the Iranian *Fravashi* – primordial spiritual beings who protect the true righteous – by pondering: "Ist der Menschensohn nicht einfach die *fravashi* des exemplarisch und einzigartig Gerechten ...?" (1934:342). W. STAERK (1938:466–476) developed OTTO'S idea further and argued that it was the *Fravashi* of the eschatological *Saoshyant* that was transformed by Jewish eschatology into the angelic "son of man" (ibid. 473).

Half a century after BOUSSET, S. MOWINCKEL (1955:420–437) still defended the position that the origin of the "son of man" can be traced back to the widespread ancient Near Eastern concept of the Primordial Man, who is a pre-existent, cosmological and eschatological being that is ultimately rooted in Iranian or Indo-Iranian myths. Of course Judaism "was unaware that the Son of Man was really the Primordial Man" (ibid. 436) since this Iranian concept underwent an adaptation to conform to Jewish spiritual structures. Particularly worth mentioning in this regard are the identification of the *Urmensch* with the Messiah, his purely eschatological nature, and the lack of any "cosmogonic foundation" (ibid. 435). However, these features were not adapted in a uniform fashion throughout the various Jewish circles. Noteworthy in this regard is the Danielic "son of man", who was not associated with the Messiah but used as a symbol for the people of Israel (ibid. 433,434). Thus MOWINCKEL – the last significant supporter of the Iranian *Urmensch* movement – concluded this era not very convincingly by stating:

²⁷⁵ G. IBER, *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zum Begriff des Menschensohns im Neuen Testament* (Theological Dissertation, 2 vols.) Heidelberg, n.d. (1953) (cited by COLPE 1969:441, footnote 48; ibid. 1961:151).

²⁷⁶ OTTO discussed the *Fravashi* in connection with the "son of man" in 1 Enoch.

we certainly cannot point to any single one of the many variants of the Anthropos myth as the only source and the direct source of the idea of the Son of Man. Everything suggests that the Jews acquired their knowledge of these myths and conceptions from many quarters, in many varying forms, and at different periods (ibid. 431).²⁷⁷

Apart from these various proposals for an Iranian background of the Danielic "son of man", there were other attempts to establish a link to Iranian influence. First to mention in this regard is VÖLTER'S publication which in fact antedated the *Urmensch* movement. According to VÖLTER the Danielic "son of man" in his function as representative of the kingdom of God betrays Iranian dependence. A similar concept of a personified kingdom of god was known in Iranian beliefs in the form of a specific one of the *Amesha Spentas* that were close to *Ahura Mazda*, who acted as the personified *Khshathra vairiya*, the kingdom of god (1902:173,174). VÖLTER (1902:173) also identified the stream of fire of Dan 7 as a significantly Iranian feature.

Less specific was A. DREWS (1910:10) who stated in rather general terms but with conviction that the whole "son of man" passage betrays "unverkennbar" Persian influence.

MEYER perceived only the judgement scene in Dan 7 as originating from Iranian ideas. He emphatically stated that "der uralte Gott ... keiner anderer (ist) als Ahura-mazda" (1921:199) and saw in the stream of fire a reference to the Zoroastrian judgement. VON GALL (1926:267,268) followed MEYER'S Iranian interpretation.

As did many other scholars of the *religionsgeschichtlichen Schule* of the first three decades of this century, GRESSMANN traced the "son of man" motif in Dan 7 back to Iranian origins, particularly to *Mithras* (1929:343-365,365-373).²⁷⁸ It was the Iranian syncretistic *Volksreligion* of the Achaemenid period that accounted for the origin of the Danielic "son of man" motif. In Babylon Iranian *Volks Glaube* fused with Chaldean religion to form an Iranian-Babylonian syncretism which in turn also became available to the Jews (ibid. 351-353). Part of the Iranian-Babylonian syncretism was also the fusion of the sun-gods *Ahura Mazda* and *Shamash* with

²⁷⁷ Cf. similar statements by JEFFERY (1956:451) and BORSCH (1967:143) and the criticism of CARAGOUNIS (1986:36,37,38 and footnote 11) for such meaningless generalisations.

Mithras, which explains the latter's future role as sun god (ibid. 357,358). GRESSMANN concluded²⁷⁹ that the "Behauptung, dass der Menschensohn ursprünglich der Sonnengott sei, nicht als unmöglich gelten, und die Hypothese von dem iranisch-babylonischen Ursprung dieses Sonnengottes darf ernste Beachtung beanspruchen, mag er nun *Mithras*, *Ahura Mazda* oder sonstwie geheissen haben" (ibid. 358), whereby GRESSMANN favoured *Mithras*.²⁸⁰

Following MEYER and VON GALL, KRAELING also held that "the figure of the 'Ancient of Days' is clearly fashioned after the Persian *Ahura-mazda*" (1933:229) but added that the prototype of the "son of man" was the post-Babylonian *Marduk* "that was adjusted to Persian environment and in which *Ahura-mazda*, who has replaced *Marduk* as chief god, conferred upon the latter the sovereignty over *Babylonia*" (ibid. 230). The title "son of man" was explained along the lines of C. H. KRAELING, who held that it "goes back to the Iranian *Gayomart*, who was fused with the *Marduk* figure in *Babylonia* and became the primeval champion" (ibid.).

Last to be mentioned is E. SELLIN (1933:130) who considered it very likely that the "Ancient of days", the stream of fire, the opened books, and the beasts coming out of the sea were derived from non-Jewish oriental mythology, although he was not able to decide whether these motifs were of purely Zoroastrian origin or an amalgamation with Babylonian elements.²⁸¹

²⁷⁸ A number of elements of this view were already mentioned in GRESSMANN 1925:17–19 (cf. also below p. 101).

²⁷⁹ On the basis of: (1) an enthronement scene in a hymn by Claudianus, dated to around 400 C.E., which supposedly contained ancient Iranian themes (GRESSMANN 1929:353,354); (2) the equation of the Enochian righteous scribe with the "son of man" (ibid. 355,356; cf. also 350); and (3) the identification of the "son of man" in 4 Ezz 13 with the sun-god (ibid. 356,358).

²⁸⁰ "Stammt er (i.e., the 'son of man') aus der iranischen Religion und ist er ursprünglich mit *Mithras* identisch, so begreifen wir die weite Verbreitung der Vorstellung vom Urmenschen in der Zeit des Gnostizismus ... wir treffen ihn bei den Parthern und Meder, bei den Chaldäern, ... bei den heidnischen Phrygern und christlichen Nassenern ... Denn überall bewegen wir uns auf dem Boden der *Mithras*religion ..." (ibid. 1929:364).

²⁸¹ Critical remarks against an Iranian influence include the following (cf. also footnote 77 on p. 40):

Apart from more general remarks that (a) the evidence for an Iranian background is not compelling (LACOCQUE 1976:109 = ibid. 1979:143; GESE 1983:380; GOLDINGAY 1988:150,151); (b) the "Persian material itself is difficult to date and parallels are rarely specific to Persia" (ibid. 151); (c) there is no overall single Iranian background that could account for all aspects of Dan 7 (BAUMGARTNER 1939:220; COLLINS 1993b:283), the following more detailed objections have been made:

- (1) *Urmensch*: (a) almost all features of the *Urmensch* are lost in the "son of man" (OTTO 1934:335,336; JANSEN 1939:102); (b) the conferral of dominion has no specific parallel in the Primordial Man (BAUMGARTNER 1939:22); (c) the difference between the two is far greater than their similarity (MÜLLER 1972:32,32); (d) the Gnostic *Urmensch* has nothing to do with the Jewish apocalyptic "son of man" (COLPE 1969:417; DAY 1985:158); (e) "diverse conceptions have been too easily fused together into the supposed myth of the Primordial Man"; (COLLINS 1993b:283); (f) the Danielic "son of man" has no protological function (ibid.);

2.3.4. Indian influence

In his discussion on the concept of incarnation in Hinduism J. GRILL (1902:346-349) pointed out the repeated references to the descents of the god Vishnu and his later appointment as highest god at which he took the character of Nārāyaṇa, a concept from Brahamism. In his explanation of the meaning of Nārāyaṇa, he noted that its connotation is "der Menschenartige, Menschenähnliche", indicating in a footnote reference that the *Petersburger Sanskrit-Wörterbuch* already with reference to Dan 7:13 translated Nārāyaṇa as "Menschensohn". Nārāyaṇa as its Vedic name Purusha, served "zur Bezeichnung der Welt, des Universums, als des höchsten Wesens, des Absoluten, indem der Makrokosmos [sic] nach Analogie des Mikrokosmos [sic] angeschaut wurde" (ibid. 348).

One year after GRILL'S remarks O. PFLEIDERER also mentioned in a lecture on the early Christian perception of Christ in the light of religio-historical sources, a parallel between Indian

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- (2) *Gayomart*: (a) no eschatological role is assigned to *Gayomart* (STIER 1934:121; BAUMGARTNER 1939:222; COLPE 1969:411); (b) the "son of man" is the eschatological judge, *Gayomart* is the defeated in battle (JANSEN 1939:101,102); (c) if *Gayomart* embodied not only a protological but also an eschatological role, it would be unexplainable why on the one hand its Jewish protological counterpart, i.e., Adam, did not appear in the *Endzeit*, and on the other hand the Iranian eschatological figure, Saoshyant did not come into view in the *Urzeit* (COLPE 1969:411; cf. also DELCOR 1968:307,308); (d) even if *Gayomart* would have embodied an eschatological role, it would only relate to being the first of the resurrected, but would not involve the conferral of dominion (COLPE 1969:411); (e) the proposed Jewish counterpart to *Gayomart* is an artificial composite portrait based on Dan 7, 4 Ezr, and the *Similitudes of Enoch* which has no historical validity (COLLINS 1993b:283); (f) *Gayomart* is no real parallel to Dan 7 (ibid.)
 - (3) *Saoshyant*: (a) is not identical with *Gayomart* (CHRISTENSEN 1917:32-34; COLPE 1969:411; KOCH 1980:411); (b) he is a terrestrial saviour in contrast to the heavenly "son of man" (COLPE 1969:411); (c) and has no real parallel to Dan 7 (COLLINS 1993b:283);
 - (4) *Yima (Yama)* is contemporary with every generation and is not judge over all mankind (COLPE 1969:411);
 - (5) *Fravashi*: (a) Enoch and his "son of man" are not a unity as the Iranian concept of the man and his *Fravashi* (ibid.); (b) if the *Fravashi* are adduced they would only fit the "son of man" in Enoch not Dan 7 (BAUMGARTNER 1939:220; COLPE 1969:411); (c) parallels are only coincidental (JANSEN 1939:102); (d) the *Fravashi* do not have an eschatological-judicial role (COLPE 1969:411);
 - (6) The judgement: (a) There is a marked difference between the concept of the judgement in Jewish and Iranian thought. The former emphasises collective, national and political aspects while the latter is the dualistic struggle of the world powers whose outcome is determined individually on the basis of merit and guilt (JUNKER 1932:46); the heavenly judgement is not only attested in Iranian thought but also in the Old Testament, Babylonia, and Ras Shamra (BENTZEN 1937:33 - ibid. 1952:61);
 - (7) The opened books: (a) books mentioned in connection with judgement is not specifically Iranian but also found in the Old Testament (JUNKER 1932:47; BENTZEN 1937:33 - ibid. 1952:61) and Babylonian thought (ibid.); (b) Iranian books played no role in the final but only in the individual judgement (JUNKER 1932:47)
 - (8) The stream of fire: (a) fire is known in Old Testament theophanies (ibid. 1932:52; BENTZEN 1937:33 - ibid. 1952:61) and as capital punishment (ibid.); (b) in Iranian eschatology a person dies by fire, in Dan 7 only the corpse is burned (JUNKER 1932:54); (c) the Danielic stream of fire has no eschatological-judicial function as the Iranian counterpart (Kearns 1982:189, footnote 476).

religious concepts and the Danielic "son of man". He noted that the pre-incarnate heavenly being of Buddha was called "Mensch" (Purusha) or "grosser Mensch" (Mahapursha) (1903:24), but cautioned about a too-specific relationship because a historical dependency between the Buddhistic "Grossen Menschen" and the Danielic "son of man" cannot yet be proved.²⁸²

In his quest to unravel the myth of the *Urmensch*, of which the Danielic "son of man" is but one variant, BOUSSET (1907:209-215) went beyond an Iranian background and ultimately traced this motif-complex back to Indian origins. The corresponding figure to the *Urmensch* is in this instance not *Gayomart* but *Purusha*.²⁸³ What survived only in traces in Iranian mythology (cf. *ibid.* 205) is found according to BOUSSET in the Indian Rigveda in much clearer language, namely, that the world stems from the body of the killed *Urmensch* (*ibid.* 210).²⁸⁴

2.3.5. Astrological influence

Already in 1903 ZIMMERN (SCHRADER/ZIMMERN/WINCKLER 1903:392) pointed in a brief reference to the possibility that Marduk was associated with the Babylonian Zodiac of Taurus, which therefore could have provided the original background for the "son of man".²⁸⁵ JEREMIAS (1916:630) followed ZIMMERN but opted for Nebo instead of Marduk. He was also convinced that the ancients knew the cosmic-astrological meaning of the vision of the "Ancient of days",

²⁸² "Wieweit zwischen jener indischen Lehre von den Inkarnationen (Avataren) des 'Grossen Menschen' in den erleuchteten Lehrern oder Buddhas der verschiedenen Epochen un diesen jüdisch-christlichen Lehren vom himmlischen Menschen eine geschichtliche Abhängigkeit bestehe, ist zur Zeit noch nicht ausmachbar ... [so] müssen [wir] uns daher vorläufig darauf beschränken, nur die tatsächliche Parallele zwischen dem buddhistischen 'Grossen Menschen' und dem jüdisch-christlichen 'Menschensohn' zu konstatieren, ohne eine geschichtliche Abhängigkeit behaupten zu dürfen" (PFLEIDERER 1903:25,26).

²⁸³ *Purusha* was also mentioned by SCHMIDT (1926:346,347) in his article on the "son of man". However *Purusha* was not mentioned in connection with Dan 7 but was referred to in the discussion of the "son of man" in the New Testament.

²⁸⁴ Without referring to Dan 7 in particular A. DREWS (1910:53) also connected the Messiah with Indian traditions by pointing out that Krishna, the incarnation of Vishnu, was also persecuted after his birth. In regard to critical voices for an Indian background of Dan 7 there is no direct criticism mentioning Dan 7 since the discussion is usually connected to the wider issue of the *Urmensch* and a real connection could not be established. However in this regard, OTTO (1934:337,338; JANSEN 1939:102) pointed out that the Indian god *Purusha* out of which the world was created is not the same as the *Urmensch*.

since astrologers liked to depict the heavenly "Greis" (old man) with a scale in his right hand and the "Book of Destiny" in his left.

An interpretation of the "son of man" scene based on Babylonian astral mysticism and uranography was given by EISLER (1930:665-671), which provided him also with an explanation for almost every detail of the second part of the vision (cf. also p. 37 with footnote 67).²⁸⁶ In line with Targumic and Midrashic etymological references, EISLER also made a historical interpretation of Dan 7 based on the phrase "with the clouds of the heaven". EISLER pointed out that one Anani from the house of David (1 Chr 3:24) was believed to become the Messianic king to come with the clouds of heaven (ibid. 668,669). According to EISLER (ibid. 670,671) Jews in the Diaspora in Babylon were working towards a rebellion against Antiochus IV Epiphanes and tried to win the Davidic Anani²⁸⁷ with the help of the oracle of Dan 7 as the leader of their liberation movement.

Four years before GRESSMANN published his lengthy treatment of Dan 7 (cf. pp. 97,102) in 1929 he had already outlined the main line of thought for a Babylonian-Iranian background of Dan 7 in his book *Die hellenistische Gestirnsreligion*. However, in his earlier treatment, in accordance with the topic of his book, he repeatedly stressed the astrological background but

²⁸⁵ "Da nun Marduk bei den Babyloniern wol (*sic*) im Sternbild des Stiers lokalisiert (*sic*) war ..., so könnte sehr wol (*sic*) dieses Sternbild oder ein in unmittelbarer Nähe befindliches (Fuhrmann? Orion?) für den Ursprung des 'himmlischen Menschen' in Betracht kommen."

²⁸⁶ (1) The thrones were explained as "die silberglänzenden 'Prachtwagen' der Planeten, auf denen sie bei besonderen Gelegenheiten - wenn sie zugleich in ihrem Hypsōma, in ihrem ὄριον und in ihrem οὐκός stehen - zur Feier dieser Stunde Platz nehmen" (EISLER 1930:665); (2) the "Ancient of days" was interpreted as the Babylonian Zodiac "Greis", i.e., the Greek Perseus (ibid. 666); (3) the stream of fire was understood as the milky way passing by the Zodiac of Perseus (ibid.); (4) "die tausend mal Tausende 'Zehntausend mal Zehntausende', die dem 'Alten der Tage' dienen, sind unzählige Sternchen, die in der Milchstrasse noch einzeln unterscheidbar sind" (ibid.); (5) the open book was related to the Zodiac of the "Tablet of Destiny" or "Tablet of the Heaven", i.e., the writing tablet of Nebo (ibid. 666,667); (6) the death of the fourth beast was connected with the Zodiac "of the dead man" (ibid. 667), and (7) the "son of man" was traced back to the Zodiac "Anthropos" as it occurs in Teucer's list (ibid.).

²⁸⁷ Dated around 190 B.C.E. by EISLER (ibid. 669).

with no specific statements (GRESSMANN 1925:17–20).²⁸⁸ In his later treatment of Dan 7 the astrological background did not appear.

2.3.6. Greek influence

Greek influence on the second part of Dan 7 was even less favoured than its influence on the first part. To be mentioned is A. KALTHOFF (1904:76) who argued that the "son of man" can be explained only against the background of Platonic ideas. The "son of man" "ist der urbildliche, der Idealmensch, der aus der unsichtbaren oberen Welt in diese niedere Welt der Sichtbarkeit herabkommt, um in ihr eine ewige Herrschaft aufzurichten" (ibid.).²⁸⁹

2.3.7. Egyptian influence

While GRESSMANN proposed two different Iranian backgrounds for Dan 7 (cf. pp. 95,97), he also advanced an Egyptian explanation for the origin of Dan 7 (1929:403–409).²⁹⁰ GRESSMANN based much of his Egyptian interpretation on the Egyptian daily cycle of the sun (1929:404). The various phases of the sun, and in particular the Egyptian deities associated with them, were set in correlation with various elements of Dan 7.²⁹¹ Thus the sun setting, i.e., Atum, was set in parallelism with the "Ancient of days" (ibid.). The flying aspect of the "son of man"²⁹² was explained as pointing back to the Egyptian god Horus, who was associated with the flying sun disk (ibid. 407) and described as a "handsome youth" (ibid. 404). In addition he set the rising sun in contrast with the setting sun, i.e., Atum, by pointing to the "Ancient of days" who hands over his rule to the younger "son of man" (ibid. 404). The Danielic aquatic enemies GRESSMANN likewise set in relation to the Egyptian sun-cycle by pointing to the sun-god in his

²⁸⁸ An exception is the reference to the seven planetary gods who accompany the god of destiny which GRESSMANN (1925:20) compared to the judgement scene of Dan 7 with the "Ancient of days" and the multitude standing before him (cf. also JUNKER 1932:49, footnote 1).

²⁸⁹ Cf. also the references to Zeus below on p. 132 with footnote 366.

²⁹⁰ For an explanation of this contradictory position cf. KEARNS 1982:24, footnote 104.

²⁹¹ With this reference to the daily cycle of the sun GRESSMANN anticipated somehow MORGENSTERN'S (1961:71,72) theory of the cyclic appearance of the Tyranian sun-god (cf. below p. 103).

²⁹² GRESSMANN referred in the first instance to the "son of man" in 4 Esra but also implied the Danielic "son of man".

bark (ibid. 408). Elaborating further on the sun-god travelling in his bark in the netherworld GRESSMANN concluded: "Wenn diese Kombination richtig ist, so würde man den ägyptischen Sonnengott, das Vorbild des Menschensohnes, weder als Re²⁹³ noch als Horus, sondern als Osiris bezeichnen, den Herrscher der Toten" (ibid. 409). In following up this idea GRESSMANN pointed out that Egyptian *judgement scenes* are often associated with Osiris (ibid.). Finally, the Danielic books were reason enough for GRESSMANN to see also the figure of a scribe implied in the original background. GRESSMANN (ibid. 405) identified this scribe with the Egyptian god Thot, the deputy of Re and the judge of heaven, which particularly suited the Danielic judgement scene.²⁹⁴

2.3.8. Tyrian influence

A Tyrian background of the "son of man" motif was proposed by J. MORGENSTERN (1961:65-77). Based on an earlier study on the religion of Tyre (1960:138-97) MORGENSTERN noted that Tyre adopted a solar religion in the 10th century. According to MORGENSTERN the deified sun existed in two reciprocal phases. "The one phase was that of the sun of the

²⁹³ The function of Re was not clearly demarcated by GRESSMANN. The above statement is the only clear passage that compares the "son of man" with Re (so understood by COLPE 1969:412). Another passage that might indicate a similar equation states that the sun-god is called "Horus Behedti ... schöner Jüngling, der am Morgen geboren wird; er ist Re in der Mittagszeit, Atum, wenn er niedersteigt zum Untergangsborg" (GRESSMANN 1929:404). Since GRESSMANN compared the "Ancient of days" with Atum, the setting sun, and Horus, the rising sun, with the "son of man", Re the midday sun in its fullest strength would rather point to the *youthful* "son of man". But in the following passage GRESSMANN equated the abdicating Atum with Re only to conclude: "Die Gestalt des *Hochbetagten* geht zurück auf den *Greis*, den als Weltkönig aufgefassten Sonnengott der Ägypter, mag man ihn Re, Atum oder sonstwie heissen" (ibid. 405). Likewise he stated: "Ist der *Hochbetagte* mit Re oder dem Sonnengott identisch, so versteht man, dass er unter dem himmlischen Beamtenstaat einen Schreiber hat, Thot ..." (ibid.). In a last parallel GRESSMANN compared the "Ancient of days" with Re-Harachte and the "son of man" with Horus" (ibid. 407,408).

²⁹⁴ Critical remarks against an Egyptian influence include the following: According to BAUMGARTNER (1939:221) many aspects are noteworthy but not compelling. More critical was JANSEN (1939:104) who complained that the designation *Menschensohn* is more than incomprehensible since the young sun-god is only god, thereby making the term *Mensch* completely useless. COLPE (1969:412) stated that the Egyptian hypothesis comes close to the Canaanite one, nevertheless he noted some difficulties: (a) it is necessary to postulate some kind of unity between the "son of man" and the "Ancient of days" since the Egyptian model uses different degrees of age of one Egyptian god, i.e., the sun-god; (b) both Atum and Re abdicate; (c) the *tertium comparationis* "handsome youth" is only attested for Horus and is anyway not essential for the derivation of the "son of man"; (d) Egyptian syncretic identification of sun-god figures and the mutual transfer of their predicates are too varying to identify the "Ancient of days" and the "son of man"; (e) the descriptive Danielic statement "like a man" does not correlate with an animal-headed god. Following this verdict GOLDINGAY

autumnal and winter half of the year ... The other phase was that of the sun of the spring and summer half of the year ..." (1961:67). In mythological language the first phase at the autumnal equinox was associated with the notion of dying and the entrance to the netherworld. The solar god in this phase was called Baal Shamem. In the second phase at the advent of spring, i.e., the vernal equinox, the solar god appeared rejuvenated as Melcarth. The return of the solar deity was celebrated at the equinoctial New Year's Day in a dramatic ritual enactment by the king of Tyre in the role of the resurrected god. In this enactment the king not only played the role of the god Melcarth but also became a god in human form. In a reciprocal way "Melcarth, in turn, came to be regarded ... as having the appearance and the nature of a man, i.e., as being mortal" (ibid. 72). According to MORGENSTERN, this kind of solar religion was taken over by Solomon, except that "Yahweh was not transformed into a composite deity of two reciprocal forms or phases of being" (ibid. 71) and that "there is some positive evidence that the majority of the kings of Judah ... enacted the rôle of Yahweh as a solar deity in the ritual of the equinoctial New Year's Day festival" (ibid. 72). In regard to Dan 7 MORGENSTERN argued that the same Tyranian solar religion formed the background whereby the old solar god Baal Shamem, corresponding to the "Ancient of days", was replaced by the young god Melcarth, who also possessed the nature of a man, thereby corresponding to the Danielic "son of man".

In a publication that appeared five years later, MORGENSTERN abandoned his Tyrian proposal by stating: "At the time we had complete faith in this thesis and in the arguments and the scientific technique which supported it. Today, however, though only a relatively short time after the publication of that study we find ourselves compelled to reject completely our former interpretation" (1966:64).²⁹⁵

(1988:150) therefore dismissed an Egyptian background as not compelling and Collins (1993b:283) objected that it does not provide an overall explanation for the whole vision.

²⁹⁵ Any critical discussion of the Tyrian hypothesis is superfluous after its rejection by the author himself. What remains is to note some acrimonious qualifications such as: "arbitrary" (COLPE 1969:419, footnote 121), "no solid evidence" (COLLINS 1977:107 with footnote 120), "speculative" (KOCH 1980:234); "conjectural" (DAY 1985:160);

2.3.9. Syro-Palestinian influence

The imagery of the “Ancient of days” was attributed by KEARNS (ibid. 168,169) to an independent El tradition that was not connected to the Hadad tradition which he identified as the background for the imagery of the “son of man” (cf. pp. 83–86). KEARNS located this El tradition, some elements of which can be traced back to the 2nd millennium (ibid. 169, footnote 381), in southern Syria/Palestine. Since the Hellenistic period witnessed a revival of the El cult in Phoenicia, KEARNS assumed that the El tradition was transmitted via Phoenician religious belief to the author of Dan 7 who merged it with the apocalyptic version of the ancient Hadad tradition to form the “Ancient of days”/“son of man” imagery.

The following literary²⁹⁶ links between Dan 7 and the proposed El tradition were put forward by KEARNS: (1) the *epithet* “Ancient of days” (ibid. 169–174);²⁹⁷ (2) the “Ancient of days”

“flabby and whimsical” (CARAGOUNIS 1986:37, cf. also p. 40, footnote 16), and “hardly compelling” (GOLDINGAY 1988:150).

²⁹⁶ On the iconographic parallels see pp. 132,133.

²⁹⁷ The tradition history of this epithet can be outlined according to KEARNS as follows: The epithet “the Ancient” (*’lm*) has its oldest witness in the proto-Canaanite inscription from Sinai *’ld’lm* (“El, this (is) the Ancient”) dated to the end of the 16th or beginning of the 15th century. In Israelite tradition אֱלֹהִים was not understood anymore as name of an independent god but reinterpreted as appellative and אֱלֹהִים changed into a noun with adjectival function, resulting in “the eternal God” (Deu 33:27, Gen 21:33; Isa 40:28). As additional evidence for this epithet KEARNS adduced: (a) the Palestinian place name *br’lm* “(city of the) temple of the Ancient” found in the Shishak List from the 10th century; (b) the supposedly pre-Israelite god at Beersheba, אֱלֹהִים אֱלֹהִים, which is only mentioned in Hebrew tradition (Gen 21:33); (c) a disputed (cf. ibid. 171, footnote 395) Canaanite invocation formula from the Phoenician site Arslan Tash, dated to the 7th century which possibly designates El as *’lm*; (d) and late appearances in Punic colonies in North Africa. In order to explain the change from the epithet *’lm* to the Danielic אֱלֹהִים זָקֵן (“Ancient of days”) KEARNS employed the same methodology he used in his explanation of the origin of the phrase “son of man” (cf. above footnote 244 on p. 86), namely, the shift from Canaanite to Aramaic. Instead of arguing for a simple continuation of the lexem *’lm* in Aramaic, KEARNS pointed out that Aramaic provided a specific expression for a very old man (German: “Greis”), namely, the Syriac *’tyq ywmt’* (“ancient of days”; another Syriac phrase for an elderly person is *qsyf* [SMITH 1903:190]). To support this view, KEARNS adduced three references, i.e., the homilies of Aphraates, the Syriac translations for *πρεσβύτερος* in Wisdom of Solomon (2:10) and for *πρεσβύτερος* in Jesus ben Sirach (25:4; Syriac: 25:6; references to Wisdom of Solomon and Jesus ben Sirach were already made by DRIVER [1900:85]. CHARLES [1929:181] referred only to Wisdom of Solomon). No equivalent could be given from Palestine. KEARNS concluded: because the epithet “Ancient of days” is not attested in the cultic-mythic Hadad tradition (ibid. 173) the first occurrence in the framework of the Hadad tradition is in its apocalyptic version, i.e., in Dan 7:9. It has to be asked whether the epithet *’lm* should indeed be associated with the meaning of a physically old god since it would not harmonise very well with the meaning of an eternal god. In connection with an eternal god KEARNS’ references to *πρεσβύτερος* and *πρεσβύτερος* would include a shift in meaning, because the referred-to Aramaic passages speak about aged *men*. It was exactly such a shift of meaning which KEARNS avoided in his explanation of the origin of the phrase “son of man” (cf. above footnote 244 on p. 86). Secondly, the relevant apocryphal references do not associate a god with אֱלֹהִים זָקֵן which is also a shift of the semantic field (so also LACOCQUE 1976:108 = ibid. 1979:142). On the issue of the white hair not indicating a decrepit person see Lengerke 1835:325; Caspari 1925:175ff; Junker 1932:52; Jeffery 1956:457; Goldingay 1988:165; Haag 1993a:164; ibid 1993b:58).

enthroned (ibid. 174–178);²⁹⁸ (3) the stream of fire (ibid. 187–190);²⁹⁹ and (4) the royal servants surrounding the "Ancient of days" (ibid. 190–194).³⁰⁰

2.3.10. Vision of the Netherworld

Comparing the "Death–Dream of Enkidu" and the "Vision of the Netherworld" with Dan 7,³⁰¹

KVANVIG (1988:455) noted the following parallels in the *structure of content* that relate to the second³⁰² part of the Danielic vision:

²⁹⁸ KEARNS was not able to cite a direct description of the enthroned El in the assembly of gods from the cultic El tradition but had to resort to the poetic Hadad tradition used in the Ugaritic Baal epic (the throne of El is mentioned in connection with the battle of Hadad and Mot [CTA 5 VI 12]). Furthermore, KEARNS cited the following Old Testament passages that were interpreted as adaptations and transformations of the El tradition: the visions of Micaiah ben Imlah (1 Ki 22:19), Isaiah (Isa 6:1), and Ezekiel (Eze 1:26). In addition to these biblical passages KEARNS also mentioned 1 En 14:18–23. Due to the renewed emphasis of the El tradition in the Hellenistic period the feature of the enthroned god was also used in the formation of the apocalyptic version of the Hadad tradition in Dan 7:9.

²⁹⁹ The specification of El's abode in the Ugaritic formula *mbk.nhrm.qrb.apq.thmtm* ("at the source of the rivers, amid the headwater of the two oceans"; CTA 2 III 4; 3 V 14–15; 4 IV 21–22; 6 I 33–34. Cf. also the same formula in the legend of Aqhat: CTA 17 VI 47,48) was attributed by KEARNS to the cultic El tradition which in turn was adapted in Dan 7:10 where streams of fire come forth from the "Ancient of days". KEARNS failed to provide substantial evidence for the qualification of the streams as fire. Since KEARNS could not derive the fire from the El tradition he referred to a depiction of El on a stela from Ugarit, dated to the 13th century which depicts a sun-disk above the enthroned El (PRITCHARD 1969a: no. 493). Based on this observation he interpreted, following GRELOT (1978:80,81) and HERZFELD (1947:832; cf. also ZEVI 1968:393), *לִלְיָ* in Dan 7:9 not as "wheel" but as a sun-disk transformed into an aureole or several aureoles. Since KEARNS acknowledged that there are no tradition-historical indications that fire was associated with El, he assumed that the sun-disk surrounding El had to be understood as fiery and that the original relationship between the fire and the aureole was transferred in a second step to the throne. Following this line KEARNS proposed an additional transfer to the stream by stating: "Wenn das Traditionselement des Feuers durch den Nimbus in die Eltradition eingegangen wäre, wäre von daher eine sekundäre Übertragung des Feuers auf den Strom denkbar" (1982:189,190).

³⁰⁰ The origin of this motif is according to KEARNS the divine council of the cultic El tradition which became part of the ancient cultic-mythic Hadad tradition when the latter was formed. Through the poetic version of the Hadad tradition this imagery was transmitted to the Ugaritic Baal epic (several formulations are used in cultic texts: (1) "the totality of the gods": (a) *phr ilm*; CTA 29 II 7; KTU 1.118,28; 1.148,9; (b) *phr bn il*; CTA 30,1–3; 32 I 2,3,9–9^a,16,17,25,26,33,34; (c) *phr bn ilm*; CTA 4 III 14; (2) "the circle of El": *dr il*; CTA 34,7; 35,16; App. II 17,18; (3) "the circle of the gods": *dr bn il*; CTA 30,1–3; 32 I 2,3,9–9^a,16,17,25,26,33,34; (4) "the totality of the assembly": *phr m'd*; CTA 2; (5) "the circle of El and the totality of the lord": *dr il w phr b'*; CTA 34,7; 35,16; App. II 17,18). Additional references by KEARNS include: (a) the Karatepe inscription from the 8th century mentioning also "the total circle of the gods" (*kl dr ben 'lm*; cf. DONNER/RÖLLIG 1968:5,6, no. 26 III 18,19); (b) an incantation text from Arslan Tash from the 7th century speaking of "all gods and the great circle of all holy ones" (*kl bn 'lm wrb dr kl qdšm*; ibid. 6,7, no. 27, 10–12); (c) a text from Byblos mentioning "the totality of the holy gods of Byblos" (*mphrt 'l gbl qdšm*), and several Old Testament passages (Psa 82:1; Job 15:8; Jer 23:18; Psa 29:1; 89:7; Deu 32:8 [emended from *בני אלהים בני ישראל*; KEARNS 1982:192, footnote 494; cf. also above footnote 218 on p. 80]; Job 1:6; 2:1; Psa 82:6; 97:7; 89:6,8; Job 5:1; Deu 33:2,3; Psa 148:2; 1 Ki 22:19; Isa 6:2). The passage in Dan 7:10 has two specific aspects: firstly, the gods are reduced to non-divine beings (cf. also Psa 148:2 which mentions non-divine subordinate beings), secondly the specific formulation "a thousand thousands served him, and ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him" cannot be derived from the Old Testament (cf. 1 En 14:22 for a similar formulation: *μύρια μύριαδες ἐστράκασιν ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ*) which prompted KEARNS to attribute it to the El tradition.

³⁰¹ For an introduction to KVANVIG's proposal see p. 44.

³⁰² For the parallels relating to the first part of the vision see pp. 46–47.

Sequences	Features		
	D ³⁰³	K	E
1. God on the throne	God on the throne	God on the throne	God on the throne
	Description of the god	Description of the god	-
	Surroundings: Fire, attendants	Surroundings: Fire, attendants	-
2. Judgement	The supreme god as judge	The supreme god as judge	The supreme god as judge
	Read from a protocol		Read from a protocol
	Accusation: Rebellion	Accusation: Rebellion	Accusation: Rebellion
	Accused: rebel king	(Accused: rebel king)	-
	Judgement: Annihilation in fire	(Judgement: Annihilation)	-
3. The ideal ruler	Designation: Man	(Designation: Man)	-
	Style reflects enthronement	Style reflects enthronement	-
	Universal and everlasting kingdom	Universal and everlasting kingdom	-
	Style indicating future	Style indicating future	-

The parallels for *words and phrases* were listed as follows (ibid. 456):

	D	K	E
1.	"Thrones were set in place"	-	-
2.	"An Ancient took his seat" (v. 9)	"The warrior Nergal was seated on a royal throne" (l. 51)	"(resided) the queen of the nether world, Ereshkigal" (l. 50)
3.	"His throne flames of fire and its wheels burning fire; a river of fire streamed out and went out from before him" (v. 9)	"(From) his arms lightning was flashing" (l. 52)	-
4.	"Thousands upon thousands served him and myriads upon myriads were standing before him" (vs. 9,10)	"The Anunnaki, the great gods, were kneeling at his right and at his left side ... The underworld was filled with fear and it lay prostrate before the son of princes" (ls. 52B-53A)	-
5.	"The court sat" (v. 10)	-	-
6.	"... books were opened" (v. 10)		"Belet-Šeri, the scribe of the netherworld, kneeling before her (Ereshkigal), holding a tablet, she reads out before her" (ls. 51,52)
7.	"The beast was killed and its body destroyed, it was given to the burning fire" (v. 11)	"Suddenly, the fearsome sheen of his terrible kingship shall annihilate you completely" (l. 67B)	-
8.	"... one like man" (v. 13)	"One man" (<i>ištēn eflu</i>) (l. 50)	-
9.	"Dominion and glory and kingdom were given to him" (v. 14)	"... the exalted shepherd: whom my father ..., the king of the gods gives full responsibility" (l. 62)	-
10.	"... all peoples, nations and tongues shall serve him" (v. 14)	"... whom (the <i>ištēn eflu</i>) from east to west he (the god) allows to look over the lands in their totality ..., and the (<i>ištēn eflu</i>) rules over everything" (l. 63)	-
11.	"His dominion is an everlasting dominion which shall not pass away, his kingdom such as shall never be impaired" (v. 14)	"... in all eternity" (l. 64)	-

³⁰³ D = Dan 7; K = "Vision of the Netherworld"; E = "Death-Dream of Enkidu".

KVANVIG assessed the parallels between the "Vision of the Netherworld"³⁰⁴ and the description of the enthroned "Ancient of days" as corresponding in the basic imagery, but admitted that the correspondences in phraseology are not as close as in the first part of the Danielic vision and conceded that "other sources can have influence [on] Dan 7 in this sequence just as much or even more than the Akkadian vision" (1988:457). The only similarity in the description of the judgement is that "in both texts the judgement comes over the supremely wise rebel king" (ibid. 458). In regard to the correspondence with the "son of man" KVANVIG observed analogies in style rather than direct phraseology, i.e., "both texts describe how the supreme god transfers universal kingship to a ruler" (ibid.). But he added that

if it could be made clear that the Akkadian *ištēn eṣlu* which is used about the king within the Akkadian vision corresponds to Aramaic *bar 'ānāš* which is used about the ruler in Dan 7 within the vision, this would be a fairly decisive argument for a relationship between the texts (ibid.)

KVANVIG (ibid. 416-419) thus analysed the expression *ištēn eṣlu* "one man" in several similarly patterned dream accounts³⁰⁵ and proposed a threefold semantic value which he also established for *בַּר אֱנוֹשׁ* in Dan 7:13 (ibid. 496-502):

	<i>Vision of the Netherworld: ištēn eṣlu</i>	<i>Dan 7: בַּר אֱנוֹשׁ</i>
Gattungs-pattern	The unique man in a dream experience who mediates between the gods and men	A transcendent figure, appearing in a vision as manlike, who acts as a messenger from God to man
Structural pattern	One man or human being in contrast to the underworld-gods, the monsters	Used to contrast with the preceding beasts
Descriptive pattern	The ideal king designated as "the exalted shepherd"	A royal designation for the shepherd ³⁰⁶ of the nations

KVANVIG concluded:

There can be no other conclusion that the phrases *bar 'ānāš* and *ištēn eṣlu* do not only carry the same meaning generally, but that within Dan 7 and the Vision of the Nether World they function according to exactly the same semantic patterns. No

³⁰⁴ No assessment of the parallels between the second part of the Danielic vision and the "Death-Dream of Enkidu" was made by KVANVIG, only an overall judgement for the complete "Death-dream of Enkidu"; cf. above footnote 95 on p. 47.

³⁰⁵ First dream of Gilgamesh (GRAYSON 1969b:504, tab. V, B 1-9); second dream of Gilgamesh (SPEISER 1969b:82,83, tab. V, col. i, 21-21, iii, 37-43); first dream of the Righteous Sufferer (BIGGS 1969:598, tab. 3, 8-12); second dream of the Righteous Sufferer (ibid. 598,599, tab. 3, 21-44), a dream of Nabonidus (OPPENHEIM 1969:309,310, col. vi); and the Death-Dream of Enkidu (SPEISER 1969b:87, tab. 7, col. iv, 11-54) (KVANVIG 1988:415).

³⁰⁶ KVANVIG (ibid. 499,500) followed PORTER 1983 (cf. above p. 43).

other texts are known where this specific combination of semantic patterns occurs (ibid. 502).

Finally, mention must be made of KVANVIG'S explanation for the missing motif of the cloud in the "Vision of the Netherworld". He explained the separated Danielic motifs of the four winds (v. 2) and the cloud (v. 13) as originally having been a single unit similar to Eze 1 that were associated with "the supreme god surrounded by his attendants, and the coming of a divine figure in a theophany" (ibid. 513). In Mesopotamian mythology the thunder-cloud and the four winds were personified and embodied by the Anzu-bird, the same bird to which the *ištēn eflu* "one man" is likened in the "Vision of the Netherworld". This corresponds to the Danielic "son of man" whose "entrance is heralded by the four winds of heaven and he comes with the clouds of heaven" (ibid. 514).³⁰⁷

2.3.11. Old Testament influence

In comparison to the first part of the Danielic vision there is a clear difference in the use of the Old Testament³⁰⁸ as instrument to explain the tradition-history of the second part. First of all, the discussion of this section is dominated by a single issue, i.e., the "son of man". Second, it

³⁰⁷ The following critical remarks against an influence from the "Vision of the Netherworld" have been put forward (cf. also footnote 96 on p. 47):

- (1) The description of Nergal in the Akkadian text does not correspond to the "Ancient of days" with the exception of the lightning flashes (LUCAS 1990:170);
- (2) In VAT 10057 the visionary is judged and spared, in Dan 7 the beasts are judged and lose their dominion or in the case of the fourth beast the verdict is destruction (ibid.; COLLINS 1993b:285 = ibid. 1993a:130; DAY 1985:159); the accused which is not explicitly mentioned in the "Vision of the Netherworld" "does not display any similar defiance" as its Danielic counterpart (ibid.);
- (3) The recipient of dominion "over all" is not clear or probably a ruler who is already dead (LUCAS 1990:170,171; COLLINS 1993b:285 = ibid. 1993a:130; cf. also DAY 1985:159,160). The phrase "forever" refers to "the celebration of the New Year Festival as Aššur will continue for ever" (LUCAS 1990:170) and "in no case is the Assyrian king given everlasting dominion" (COLLINS 1993b:285 = ibid. 1993a:130; ibid. 1993b:291 = ibid. 1993a:131);
- (4) "... the parallels between the Akkadian and Aramaic phrases [regarding the "son of man"] seem at best forced, and at worst non-existent" (LUCAS 1990:171; cf. also COLLINS 1993b:285,286 = ibid. 1993a:131); the ideal ruler designated as man "is the most dubious of all the analogies" (ibid. 1993b:85 = ibid. 1993a:130)
- (5) The assembly of gods is a common feature that is associated with ancient Near Eastern gods and therefore not a particularly significant parallel (ibid.);
- (6) A significant difference is however the location of the scene in the netherworld (ibid.);
- (7) The name and the white hair of the "Ancient of days" cannot be derived from Nergal (DAY 1985:159).

³⁰⁸ In regard to apocryphal parallels the most cited book is *1 Enoch*. There is disagreement (cf. GOLDINGAY 1988:150 for a short bibliography on the differing positions) if there is any direct influence on Dan 7, because it "cannot be decisively proved" (COLLINS 1993b:300). Therefore, "we must be content to say that these texts are closely

is significant that although extensive research has been done on this subject, many discussions about the "son of man" that refer to the Old Testament are not concerned with the tradition-history but rather with the interpretation or identification of the "son of man". Third, it is noteworthy that in the second part there is no extensive use of the Old Testament by supporters of a mythological background to underline the transmission and reflection of mythological concepts into biblical tradition.³⁰⁹ Lastly, the Book of Ezekiel, particularly chapter 1, has to be added in the second part of the vision to those proposals that argue for an overall Old Testament background of Dan 7 (cf. pp. 52-55).

The procedure followed to outline suggested Old Testament influences on the second part of the vision will comprise a brief discussion of various traditio-historical explanations of the "son of man", which is followed by a summary on the role of the alleged Israelite enthronement festival in the formation of Dan 7 and by proposals that hold that the Old Testament is the main contributor for the whole second part of Dan 7. A tabulation of the most cited Old Testament parallels for the second part of the vision will round off this section.

*2.3.11.1. Traditio-historical explanations of the "son of man"*³¹⁰

2.3.11.1.1. Messiah

The Messianic interpretation of the "son of man" which is already attested in Hellenistic Judaism (1 En 46:1; 48:3,10; 52:4; 4 Ezr 13:26) and rabbinism (cf. STRACK/BILLERBECK 1922:486) goes beyond the simple identification of the "son of man" with the Messiah. Although

related" (ibid.). The most cited passages from 1 Enoch are 1:9; 10:6; 14:18-22; 18:11; 21:7-10; 40:1; 46:1; 47:3; 71:8; 71:10-14; 90:20; 90:24-27 (cf. also footnote 97 on p. 47).

³⁰⁹ A significant exception is the alleged Israelite enthronement festival.

³¹⁰ The following proposals for Old Testament influence on the "son of man" only include those that provided a traditio-historical explanation. Simple identifications which abound are not mentioned in the following review. A good but rare example that distinguished between tradition history and interpretation is BEASLEY-MURRAY'S article on this issue (1983:55,56). The following review depends to a considerable extent on KEARNS 1982:7-13. It is the only review that makes a distinction between origin and interpretation of the "son of man". For other valuable bibliographies and summaries on the origin and interpretation of the "son of man" see e.g. SCHMIDT 1969:227-233; KVANVIG 1988:347,348; CARAGOUNIS 1986:41-43; KOCH 1980:228-230; CASEY 1978:30-39.

there is not always a traditio-historical argumentation discernible it is implied that this interpretation is rooted in long-cherished Messianic expectations.

To start with, SELLIN'S emphatic support of a Messianic derivation for the "son of man" is of particular interest since it coincides with the introduction of the mythological background of the "son of man" at the beginning of this century. SELLIN engaged with this new traditio-historical interpretation and denied its validity.³¹¹ The "son of man" imagery is, according to SELLIN, not based on a foreign ideology newly introduced into Palestine but is "vielmehr ... einfach die uralte jüdische Heilandserwartung in den Tagen des Makkabäeraufstandes neu geboren, zunächst indes aller diesseitigen Züge entkleidet³¹² und in das Gebiet der transzendentalen Welt verlegt" (1909:75; cf. also 1933:129).³¹³

While SELLIN rejected any mythological influence, BENTZEN embraced this very perspective in his Messianic³¹⁴ explanation of the origin of the "son of man". Presupposing MOWINCKEL'S (1922:44-145; 230-244; 268-276) postulated Israelite enthronement festival, BENTZEN centred his Messianic explanation on the king's role at the Israelite new year festival as he saw it reflected in Psa 2. The king in the role of the *Urmensch*³¹⁵ and adopted son of God (BENTZEN 1948:12-14), re-enacted as God's representative in a historical re-interpretation (ibid. 7) the primordial battle against the chaos in which he finally overcame the enemy under severe

³¹¹ After raising the question from where the imagery of the "son of man" is derived, SELLIN stated: "Aus einem babylonischen, etwa dem Urmenschen feiernden Mythos, der vor nicht langer Zeit den Juden bekannt geworden, wie denn ja babylonisch-persische Elemente tatsächlich damals im Judentum neuerlich Eingang gefunden haben? So vermutet man jetzt wohl. Aber liegt nicht viel näher, in dieser Epoche neuerwachender Exklusivität hier ein Zurückgreifen auf uraltes jüdisches eschatologisches Gut anzunehmen ...? (1909:72).

³¹² Cf. already LINGERKE 1835:337: "So wird dem Messias also unleugbar eine *höhere, übermenschliche Natur beigelegt* [my emphasis], was auch daraus erhellet, dass er auf den Wolken des Himmels einherfährt, was sonst nur von Gott ausgesagt wird ..."

³¹³ Similar views which explain the Danielic "son of man" as the latest stage of a long development of Messianic thought have also been put forward by e.g. WELCH 1922:128-130; YOUNG 1953:155; ibid. 1954:46,47; OESTERLEY 1941:152.

³¹⁴ A Messianic connection is already hinted at in BENTZEN 1937:34: "In Da 7 ist 'Menschensohn' jedenfalls keine Bezeichnung des Messias, sondern Symbol für das auserwählte Volk. Da aber nach antiker Auffassung zwischen Individuum and Kollektivum kein scharfer Unterschied besteht ... und im besonderen König und Volk zusammengehören ... so kann und wird im 'Menschensohn' von c. 7 der Messias mitgedacht sein ...".

³¹⁵ Gen 1:26-28 was understood by BENTZEN as a blessing on the occasion of the enthronement of the first royal couple of the world (1948:12); on the relationship between the *Urmensch* and the Messiah see ibid. 37-

suffering (ibid. 19) to bring about creation, i.e., salvation (ibid. 34). With his victory the king thus became the bearer of Yahweh's *Heil* which was given at creation and was secured by the yearly cultic-dramatic re-enactment. Although the king was actually the guarantor of the present *Heil*, an eschatological aspect developed due to the historical crises the Jewish people underwent, thereby pushing the fulfilment of true salvation into the future (ibid. 36). However, since the Psalms experience what eschatology hopes for, BENTZEN did not find a real distinction between the cultic saviour and the eschatological saviour, i.e., the Messiah, because "beide sind Heilsbringer. Der Grund dazu, dass man 'Messias' nur von dem 'eschatologischen' Heiland sagen will, kann deshalb nur sein, dass man die Begriffe klar halten will" (ibid. 35). Using this understanding as a basis, BENTZEN explained Dan 7 as an eschatological version of Psa 2 (ibid. 72–74), so that he concluded: "Der Messiaskönig von Psalm 2 ist 'Vor-Bild', Typus, des eschatologischen Messias, des Menschensohns im Spätjudentum" (ibid. 75).

A different approach was put forward by A. FEUILLET. Wisdom literature³¹⁶ played according to FEUILLET an important role in the postexilic misery of Palestine. In order to bring to realisation the traditional Messianic aspirations, divine Wisdom – being hypostatized and attributed with eternal existence – took over the characteristics of the Messiah (ibid. 323), while at the same time retaining the universal and supernatural character (ibid. 326). This Messianic understanding of Wisdom, together with the manifestation of the divine presence as encountered in Eze 1 (cf. p. 118), was transformed by the author of Dan 7 into the figure of the "son of man" (ibid. 327).

42. BENTZEN'S reference to the *Urmensch* combined with royal ideology was also supported by BORSCH 1967:89–96.

³¹⁶ FEUILLET referred to Pro 1–9 (1953:322–325), Ecclesiasticus (ibid. 327–332), Wisdom of Solomon (ibid. 332–337), and Bar 3:9–4:4 (ibid. 337–339). Cf. already SELLIN (1909:74) who referred to the pre-existence of wisdom and to Pro 9 in relationship to the "son of man" in Dan 7.

Supporting a dependence of the concept of "son of man" on a traditional Messianic perspective, E. DHANIS (1964:48-57) acknowledged several differences³¹⁷ between the traditional Messiah and the "son of man", but argued that these variations were in fact foreshadowed in Israelite tradition, therefore pointing to an inner-Jewish development of the "son of man" as Messiah.

According to W. WIFALL the roots of the "son of man" should be traced to royal pre-exilic traditions of the Davidic monarchy in Jerusalem (1974:103). The so-called "David Story" of Samuel-Kings was used according to WIFALL by the Yahwist in combination with royal mythology to create the primeval history of Genesis. Thus David was on the one hand the "Man" in the heavenly, royal sense of "son of God" as in ancient Near Eastern royal myths. On the other hand, the "David Story" portrayed David as truly human and not divine.³¹⁸ However, with the fall of the monarchy, royal hopes and concepts disintegrated. It was only in the Maccabean period that a revival of old prophetic and royal hopes occurred, this time with an eschatological outlook, so that finally a true form of "Messianism" emerged (ibid. 105,106). In this sense the "son of man" in Dan 7 is "an early example of the 'reintegration' of the royal mythology which had 'disintegrated' with the fall of the Davidic dynasty [*sic*] in 587 B.C." (ibid. 106).

A renewed attempt to harmonise the traditional Messianic expectations with Dan 7 was made by H. GESE. According to GESE (1983:379-382) Dan 7 is based on the traditional Davidic-Messianic concept (Psa 84:8,9; 80:17; 110:1; 2) but exhibits also a significant transformation and correction of the Davidic-Messianic tradition by freeing it from its nationalistic-historical limitations to embrace "ein transzendent verstandenes Gottesvikariat der Offenbarungsvermittlung" (ibid. 380,381). The traditional Davidic representative as *vicarius*

³¹⁷ (1) The divinity of the "son of man"; (2) the pre-existence of the "son of man"; (3) the universality of the eschatological world of Dan 7; (4) the eschatological judgement conducted by the "son of man" (KEARNS 1982:7,8, footnote 14).

Dei was therefore replaced by a new *representative of the people of Israel*. C. C. CARAGOUNIS (1986:78–81) upheld a similar position when he pointed out that in Dan 7 a new Messianic concept was introduced, i.e., a "transformation of the messianic expectation from the strictly earthly and national Davidic messiah into a supernatural, universalistic and transcendental Messiah" (1986:79, footnote 167).

2.3.11.1.2. *Angelic being*

While there are a considerable number of angelic identifications of the "son of man" – starting with SCHMIDT'S (1900:26,27) inner–Danielic identification of the "son of man" with the guardian angel Michael – not all of them are concerned with a traditio–historical derivation and are therefore not mentioned in the following review.

The first scholar whose argumentation harked back to older Jewish concepts is GRILL (1902:53–56) who held that the Danielic remark that the "son of man" is said to come with the clouds of heaven is a clear indicator that an angelic being was in view. Since the "son of man" is not named, GRILL recognised a reflection of the likewise anonymous and anthropomorphic Jahwistic and Elohistic מלאך יהוה, i.e., the angel of the Lord tradition, which underwent hypostatisation.

F. STIER (1934:123) argued that the "son of man" can be traced back to the Jewish concept³¹⁹ of the pre–existent heavenly vizier, being both god–sent saviour and judge, who received eternal dominion after the triumph over his enemies.³²⁰ This original concept of the

³¹⁸ In addition, the "fall of mankind" in Genesis can according to WIFALL be traced back to the royal mythological "fall of kingship" from heaven to mankind as well as to the moral fall of David's personal history (1974:103,104).

³¹⁹ Cf. Mal 3:1; 1 En 85–90; Testament of Moses 10:2.

³²⁰ "Auch im (ke) bar 'enaš sehen wir eine in apokalyptischen Kreisen aufgekommene und dort beliebt gewordene Bezeichnung des himmlischen Wesirs, dessen Gestalt im Wesen und Wirken des MS ["son of man"] mehr oder weniger deutlich hindurchscheint" (STIER 1934:129)

heavenly vizier was altered during its history.³²¹ The two most important passages which allow one to trace its development are Dan 7:13 (ibid. 96-105) and 1 En 46-48³²² (ibid. 105-123).

H. KRUSE (1959:193-198) held that the "son of man" is the leader (*sar sārīm*) of the angelic beings who stands in opposition to the evil celestial spirits who control the destiny of the heathen nations and are symbolised by the beasts of Dan 7. Although the "son of man" indicates the arrival of the Messianic kingdom, he is not called Messiah, a term which is reserved for the Davidic ideal. With regard to the origin of this symbol, KRUSE (ibid. 209) did not find an Old Testament antecedent, although he cautiously acknowledged a certain relationship to the angel of Yahweh whose influence is also discernible on the Danielic מִשְׁכָּל - Michael, "one of the chief princes" (Dan 10:13) (ibid. 210).³²³

An angelic³²⁴ interpretation of the "son of man" with a late inner-Jewish tradition history was proposed by J. COPPENS. As an indicator for an angelic interpretation of the Messiah he cited the LXX translation of the Isaianic (9:5) phrase *יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ* "wonderful counsellor" as *μεγάλης βουλῆς ἄγγελος* "messenger/angel of great counsel" (1961:16).³²⁵

U. B. MÜLLER (1972:26-29) pointed out that the description of the "son of man" as one being like a man is used in similar fashion elsewhere in the Book of Daniel (i.e., Dan 10:18; 8:15; 9:21; 10:5; cf. ibid. 32) to designate angelic beings. A further indicator for an angelic background for the "son of man" was seen in his presentation before the "Ancient of days", which recalls the coming of the sons of God into God's presence.³²⁶ One problem remained: the comprehensive transfer of power upon the "son of man", which generally is not reported with angelic beings in the Old Testament. For this reason MÜLLER argued that behind the "son of

³²¹ According to STIER (ibid.) Michael, the "son of man", Metatron, and En 71 are all different developments of the genuine Israelite-Jewish figure of the heavenly vizier.

³²² Secondary passages are 1 En 62; 69:26-29; 70 and 71 (ibid. 107,114).

³²³ For a summary in French of KRUSE's position see COPPENS 1961:22, footnote 47 (cf. also KEARNS 1982:11).

³²⁴ A Messianic background of this same passage for the formation of the "son of man" was rejected by FEUILLET (1953:174) and DELCOR (1968:308).

³²⁵ Cf. also COPPENS 1955:38; ibid. 1963:109-111; ibid. 1964:77, footnote 22; ibid. 1968:501,502; ibid. 1969:124, citing Deu 32:8 as indicator for the angelic intervention in the rule of God's people.

man" there is a special kind of angelic concept – that of the guardian angel ("Völkerarchonten"), i.e., the special angelic representative of a nation, in this case of Israel, a concept that is according to MÜLLER already present in Deu 32:8,9 and in Dan 10:20,21.³²⁷ Since the "son of man" is functioning as representative of Israel, the transfer of power becomes clear, because with the rule of the "son of man" there is "immer schon die Herrschaft Israels über alle Völker mitgedacht" (ibid. 28).

Finally, based on the equation of the "saints of the Most High" with angels, and in conjunction with a Canaanite background of the enthronement scene along the lines of EMERTON, B. LINDARS (1975:55) argued that "the vision foretells the coming climax of the celestial struggle between good and evil" and that "the Son of Man figure could be regarded as the leader of the angels ..." similar to the passages of Zec 14:3–5 and 1 En 1:9.

2.3.11.1.3. The people of Israel

The common denominator for this traditio-historical explanation of the "son of man" is the reference to Psa 8 and/or Psa 80. According to E. HERTLEIN (1911:62,63,174–176) the author of Dan 7 was indebted to the Old Testament in the selection of the imagery of the beasts as well as the "son of man". HERTLEIN referred to Psa 80:17 in which Israel is compared with a man of the right hand of God, a son of man, and to Psa 8:7–10 in which man is presented as representative of God on earth. A similar position was taken by MONTGOMERY (1927:319) C. H. DODD (1952:117),³²⁸ J. BOWMAN (1947–48:283,284),³²⁹ J. A. BEWER (1955:25),³³⁰ HEATON (1956:184),³³¹ PORTEOUS (1962:91),³³² D. S. RUSSELL (1964:340,341), M. D. HOOKER

³²⁶ Referred to were Job 1:6ff; 2:1; 1 Ki 22:19.

³²⁷ On the "Völkerarchonten" cf. MEYER 1938:39–41; K. G. KUHN 1959:514,515,698–700.

³²⁸ The main emphasis was on Psa 80 as "a clear analogy" to the Danielic "son of man". Cf. also LONGENECKER (1969:153) who referred in connection with the "son of man" as a self-designation of Jesus to Dan 7, Psa 8 and 80.

³²⁹ BOWMAN did not argue for a direct link between Psa 8/80 and Dan 7, only one via Eze 1.

³³⁰ Only a reference to Psa 80:17 without any further comment was made.

³³¹ HEATON followed DODD but put the main emphasis on Psa 8 which he linked to the creation account. Common to both Dan 7 and Psa 8 is according to HEATON their Babylonian mythological background.

³³² Only a reference to DODD without further discussion.

(1967:19), T. F. GLASSON (1976:83),³³³ HARTMAN/DI LELLA (1978:98-100),³³⁴ FERCH (1979:88), PORTER (1983:114),³³⁵ and MOSCA (1986:501, footnote 31).³³⁶

Unique is the view advanced by M. BLACK. First, BLACK argued that the "son of man" mentioned in Psa 80:17 was a poetic synonym for Israel or for the king as her representative (1975:92-94). Second, BLACK treated Dan 7 form-critically as being in line with Isa 6 and Eze 1, both being a theophanic³³⁷ throne-vision (ibid. 96,97 = ibid. 1976:60,61). Third, he followed FEUILLET in his interpretation of the Danielic "son of man", namely, that the "son of man" is a kind of visible manifestation of the invisible God and thus belongs to the category of the divine glory (ibid. 1975:97,98 = ibid. 1976:61,62). BLACK concluded that the two-fold meaning of the "son of man", i.e., as symbol for Israel as well as of God's glory, indicates that the Danielic "son of man" was the deification or apotheosis of Israel or, in other words, the merging of these two "son of man" concepts into a single one (ibid. 1975:99 = ibid. 1976:62).

2.3.11.1.4. *The glory of Yahweh*

After a discussion of the vision of Eze 1, O. PROCKSCH made a brief reference to the "son of man" in Dan 7 based on his foregoing explanations. There he had argued that Ezekiel did not see the *Urgestalt* of the glory of God, but only the $\epsilon\lambda\kappa\omega\nu\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$ mirrored by the עֵן ³³⁸ mentioned in Eze 1:4 (1920:142). Since the mirrored glory of Yahweh is described as $\text{דְמוּת כְּמֵרָאָה אָדָם}$ ("a likeness as the appearance of a man"), PROCKSCH proposed that the Danielic "son of man" derived from this very passage in Eze 1. However, because the "son of

³³³ GLASSON already mentioned this view in his book *The Second Advent: the Origin of the NT Doctrine* (1945) at the end of chapter 3.

³³⁴ Added was Job 25:4-6 and 15:14-16 to further support the idea that the "son of man" derived from the faithful people of Israel.

³³⁵ The main reference was only Psa 80.

³³⁶ In a footnote MOSCA (1986:501, footnote 31) referred to Psa 8:4 as origin for the term "son of man" which he explained in more detail at the end of his essay. Two parallels between the son of man in Dan 7 and Psa 8 were made by MOSCA: In Psalm 8 the "son of man" receives dominion over the wild beasts (v. 7), in Dan 7 he receives dominion "that extends of the three surviving 'great beasts'"; secondly, "the positioning of the 'one like a son of man' among 'the clouds of heaven' echoes the status of the 'son of man' in Ps 8:5: 'little less than divine'" (1986:517). Cf. also below p. 122.

³³⁷ Cf. also BEASLEY-MURRAY 1983:48,49.

man" in Daniel is distinct from the "Ancient of days" he has to be regarded as the hypostatized εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ or glory of Yahweh which is freed from its mirror frame (ibid. 148,149). PROCKSCH had as followers a considerable number of scholars such as W. EICHRODT (1935:11, footnote 5; ibid. 1961:15, footnote 80), CH. ROWLAND (1982:97, footnote 47), DAY (1985:158), and CARAGOUNIS (1986:76-78).

In contrast to the previous group, FEUILLET – although basically following PROCKSCH by underlining with additional comparative arguments that Dan 7 is dependent on Eze 1 (1953:182-185) and that the Danielic "son of man" is a manifestation of the divine glory (ibid. 187-189)³³⁹ – also felt that this explanation cannot account for a specific Danielic aspect, namely, the messianic-eschatological outlook. According to FEUILLET it was the postexilic wisdom literature that provided this specific element of the Danielic "son of man" (cf. above p. 112).

J. MUILENBURG followed up FEUILLET'S argument but added that the failure "to take sufficient account of the book of Job, detracts from the force of the argument" (MUILENBURG 1960:208). He further stated that "apocalyptic wisdom includes speculation concerning the primordial and cosmological, the mythological and astronomical, and the wonders of the eschatological finale" (ibid. 209) and concluded his article by asking if the "son of man" should not be regarded as "an apocalypticized and mythologized wisdom?" (ibid.)

A unique identification of the glory of Yahweh was put forward by H. R. BALZ (1967:82) who pointed out that Ezekiel saw in Eze 8-11 the same vision as in chapter 1 with the significant difference that a fire-like gleaming being³⁴⁰ is joined to the glory of Yahweh, whom BALZ identified as Yahweh's Mandatar, i.e., his priestly representative. In regard to the vision of

³³⁸ Understood as "mirror" by PROCKSCH (1920:142 with footnote 1).

³³⁹ "... ici l'auteur [i.e., of Dan 7] se rappelle la vision où, sous forme humaine, la gloire divine s'était manifestée dans une nuée au fils de Buzi, on est amené à formuler les conclusions suivantes. Le personnage mystérieux du Fils de l'homme de Daniel est une sorte de manifestation visible de Dieu invisible" (ibid. 187) and "Le Fils de l'homme de Daniel appartient nettement à la catégorie du divin et est comme une sorte d'incarnation de la gloire divine, au même titre que la silhouette humaine contemplée par Ézéchiél (1,26)" (FEUILLET 1953:188,189).

Dan 7, BALZ argued that its author used Ezekiel's visionary glory of Yahweh and its priestly representative and created out of them two heavenly beings of glory, namely, the "Ancient of days" and the "son of man" (ibid. 94).

2.3.11.1.5. Adam

The roots of the "son of man" are according to P. VOLZ (1934:189,190) the Jewish³⁴¹ concept of the *Urmensch* or *Uradam* whom God created to fight against the demonic monsters in order to redeem the cosmos from these chaotic forces and to free the heavenly beings from the annoyance they exerted. Because the glory of this ideal man was lost, there arose the necessity for an eschatological Adam to restore the lost to the original state. This eschatological saviour was according to VOLZ the Danielic "son of man".³⁴²

In a brief remark STEINMANN (1950:113 - ibid. 1960:91) referred to the "son of man" as being the image of God as was Adam, without elucidating further.

A. M. FARRER argued that the seer of Dan 7 read into Gen 1:26 "that the creation and enthronement of Adam is by implication the subjection of the beasts, the removal of their dominion" (1951:260) and built around such an understanding the "son of man" scene of Dan 7. Therefore, "as Adam makes his appearance after the decree and in consequence of it, so does the Son of Man in Daniel." The relationship between the singular "son of man" and his

³⁴⁰ Eze 8:2; cf. also 9:1-11; 10:2,6,7; 40:1ff; 43:1ff,6; 44:1,4; 46:19; 47:1,8ff.

³⁴¹ It is true as KEARNS (1982:12, footnote 12) pointed out that VOLZ in the first edition of his book (VOLZ 1903:215) did not trace the *Urmensch* concept back to Jewish traditions and that in the second edition the *Urmensch* concept is not treated as an exclusive Jewish heritage. Nevertheless it seems to be obvious that VOLZ believed in his second edition that the Jewish tradition of the *Urmensch* is exclusively responsible for the "son of man" imagery by giving extra-biblical *Urmensch* concepts only a slight possibility of influence on the Jewish concept and only a marginal role in his discussion. Thus, it seems that VOLZ regarded the Jewish *Urmensch* tradition not necessarily as the original concept, but so strongly independent that he could label it as a "jüdische Idee" (1934:190).

³⁴² "Daniel erinnert sich an jenen Menschen, von dem die Sage erzählt, und er sieht ihn im Gesicht; der Retter der Urzeit wird zum Retter der Endzeit ... Der Verfasser der Bilderreden ... kombiniert den eschatologischen Retter und den Urmenschen, die ewige Präexistenz und den endgültigen Zweck desselben. So ist es erklärlich, dass die Vorstellung von der Präexistenz des eschatologischen Helden fast ganz an dem Titel Menschensohn hängt. Als transzendentes Wesen verbindet der "Mensch" die beiden notwendigen Momente seines Berufes: er muss Mensch sein, damit er den Menschen helfe, er muss transzendent sein, damit er Heiland werden kann" (VOLZ 1934:190).

pluralised kingship by the saints of the Most High (Dan 7:18) FARRER compared with the statement: "Let us make *man* in our image ... and let *them* have dominion."

According to STIER (1962:23,24) two different concepts of Adam existed. A pessimistic view of Adam was held by the Yahwist by depicting man as sinful, while an optimistic outlook is found in P (= Gen 1:27) and Psa 8 which associate "man" with original glory, the presence and image of God. A similar positive perception of man is found in Daniel, Enoch and 4 Ezra.³⁴³ From this positive perception of the ideal man priestly circles developed in association with existing Messianic expectations the "son of man" concept as it is also reflected in Dan 7. STIER was followed by F. DEXINGER (1969:59-67).

2.3.11.2. Structural traditio-historical explanations of Dan 7:9-14

2.3.11.2.1. The Israelite enthronement festival

In the first edition of his Daniel commentary BENTZEN brought not only the "son of man" as such in relationship to the alleged Israelite enthronement festival (cf. p. 111) but also the judgement of the world empires (1937:61 = *ibid.* 1952:33). This was done without any biblical references, however. A decade later, BENTZEN devoted more space to this issue when he argued that the pattern of Psa 2,³⁴⁴ which he interpreted as reflection of the alleged Israelite enthronement festival, was the blueprint³⁴⁵ for the whole vision of Dan 7 (1948:72,73 = *ibid.* 1955:74,75 = *ibid.* 1970:74,75), although the emphasis lies on the second part.

³⁴³ A similar outlook has been proposed by CULLMANN in Philo's writings and the Pseudo-Clementine writings (cf. also DEXINGER 1969:63,64).

³⁴⁴ "Das Schema des Psalmes sieht so aus: Zuerst wird der Aufruhr der als 'Könige der Erde' historifizierten Chaosmächte geschildert. Dann folgt die überlegene Aktion des ruhigen, erhabenen Gottes, und im Anschluss daran das Orakel des Königs mit Proklamation seiner Herrschaftsrechte und -ansprüche, und sein Ultimatum an die Vermessenen" (BENTZEN 1948:16).

³⁴⁵ "Wie im Psalm folgt auf die Schilderung des polternden Auftretens der als Fabeltiere geschilderten Menschenreiche ein Bild der erhabenen Ruhe: 'Der Hochbetagte' hält Gericht über die Tiere. Als Höhepunkt des Gerichts erscheint 'der Menschensohn', die Verkörperung des Reiches Gottes, des heiligen Volkes: Der König wird eingesetzt, der die Herrschaft Gottes garantiert und dadurch das Heil bringt. Dass 'der Menschensohn' hier als mit dem Reiche Gottes identisch beschrieben wird, kann uns nicht wundern, wenn wir uns erinnern, dass auch der Messias König des alten Kultes mit seinem Volk identisch war. Ihm wird, wie im Psalm, die Weltherrschaft gegeben, damit er in Ewigkeit Herrscher sei. Die 'Tiere' werden vernichtet. Das im Psalm als Warnung angedeutete Urteil wird vollstreckt" (*ibid.* 73).

HEATON likewise traced the enthronement of the "son of man" back to the alleged Israelite enthronement festival and the Psalms that are associated with this festival. He stated that:

whether or not such an annual festival was ever held in Israel, there is abundant evidence in the Psalms to demonstrate the central importance of the reigning monarch in Hebrew thought and the close association between this conviction and the thought of God as Creator and King (cf. Pss. 2,20,21,72,89,101,110,132) (1956:183).

EMERTON followed BENTZEN in associating "the beasts rising from the sea, the salvation of Israel, and the act of receiving kingship" with "the complex of ideas of the enthronement festival" (1958:230,231) since "it offers the best explanation of the scene as an organically related whole" (ibid. 233) and therefore interpreted Dan 7 as "an eschatological form of the situation at that festival" (ibid. 231). EMERTON even went further into the details of the tradition-history of the Israelite enthronement festival and postulated that it was "an adaptation of a pre-Davidic Jebusite rite" (1958:240) in which the chief Jebusite deity El Elyon corresponded to the Canaanite El and Yahweh to Baal.

Further supporters of the Israelite enthronement festival as background of Dan 7 include PORTEOUS (1962:79,80), HAMMER (1976:75), LACOCQUE (1976:110,11 - ibid. 1979:145,146), and DAY (1985:185).³⁴⁶

2.3.11.2.2. Psalm 89

According to MOSCA Psa 89 shares a common pattern with the Ugaritic Baal myth and Dan 7, thereby serving as a link between the two. He observed the following movement in Psa 89 that corresponds to the Ugaritic Baal myth: (1) revolt and defeat of Yam (vs. 9,10); (2) the storm god moves to Zaphon (v. 12); (3) Baal's enthronement (v. 14); and (4) the proclamation of his kingship (v. 18) (1986:509,510). MOSCA furthermore indicated a number of motifs that are

³⁴⁶ Not entirely clear is the position of COLPE (1969:418) who seemed not to outrightly reject the idea that an Israelite enthronement festival is part of the background of Dan 7. On the other hand he did also not make a clear affirmative statement in favour of it.

shared³⁴⁷ by Psa 89 and Dan 7.³⁴⁸ In a next step he argued that the link between the Danielic "son of man" and the Canaanite god Baal is found in Psa 89 in David, who is "invited to play" Baal in v. 25, a passage with mythological overtones of "sea" and "river": "I will set his hand on the sea and his right hand on the rivers." To support this role of David in Psa 89 MOSCA (ibid. 512,513) put forward additional parallels³⁴⁹ between Baal and David in Psa 89.³⁵⁰ Comparing Dan 7 with Psa 89 Mosca noted the following similarities: (1) references to David and the "son of man" are both given in the context of a vision (Psa 89:19/Dan 7:13); (2) as David is essentially passive and receives dominion from Yahweh,³⁵¹ so is the Danielic "son of man" (Dan 7:14); (3) both passages mention the cloud, namely, the "enduring witness in the clouds" and the "clouds of heavens" (Psa 89:37/Dan 7:13).

In a final section MOSCA argued that Psa 8:2 reflects the *Chaoskampf* which links it with Psa 89 and provides with the "son of man" in v. 4, which is also conceived in royal terms, the source of the Danielic expression "son of man". As an additional parallel to Dan 7 MOSCA referred to Psa 8:3: "When I look at your heavens", i.e., the same that Daniel was doing in his vision.³⁵²

³⁴⁷ A clear difference is however observed in the ideological bases: "For Yhwh in the hymn is no storm god who must integrate himself into a complex universe. His authority is absolute, and he rules the heavens (vv. 6-9), the sea (vv. 10,11), and the earth (vv. 12-13) without rival. He has absorbed into himself the victory (vv.10-11) and might (v. 14) of Canaanite Baal, as well as the creative power (vv. 12-13) and authoritative role in the divine council (vv. 6-8) usually associated with Canaanite El. In Psalm 89 there is only one divine King" (MOSCA 1986:511).

³⁴⁸ (1) The raging sea/the stirred sea (Psa 89:9/Dan 7:2); (2) out of the sea come Rahab and other enemies/four beasts (Psa 89:10/Dan 7:3); (3) Israel's horn is exalted/the fourth beast's horn exalts itself (Psa 89:17/Dan 7:8); (4) the throne (Psa 89:14a/Dan 7:9,10); (5) the divine council (Psa 89:5-7,14b/Dan 7:10); (6) Rahab is cursed like a corpse/the fourth beast is killed and its corpse burnt (Psa 89:10/Dan 7:11); (7) other enemies are scattered/the other beasts remain dominionless (Psa 89:10/Dan 7:12) (ibid. 510).

³⁴⁹ Discontinuity is visible in the underlying ideology: David is not divine (vv. 19-27); David is not king, מלך, but only "my servant" (vv. 3,20); David does not win dominion but is only awarded with it, while Yahweh is credited for the victory (v. 26b) (ibid. 513,514).

³⁵⁰ (1) David is adopted by God, who becomes "my father" (v. 26) and David "the first-born son" (v. 27) / Baal refers to El as "my father" and is called "El's son" (CTA 3.E.2; 43,47-48); (2) David's title "most high" (v. 27) corresponds to Baal's epithet "most high" (ʾy; CTA 16.3.6,8); (3) David's dominion is eternal (vv. 28,29,36,37) as is Baal's (CTA 2.4.10); (4) "I will establish your offspring forever (Psa 89:4) / "El the king who established him" (CTA 3.E.44-4.4.48; cf. a similar parallel for Psa 89:23 "No foe shall rise up": in CTA 3.D.49-50 "No foe has risen up against Baal"; DAHOOD 1968:317).

³⁵¹ Cf. footnote 349.

³⁵² Cf. also p. 117 with footnote 336.

2.3.11.2.3. Zion-David/four-empire/enemy-of-God traditions

HAAG'S semantic analysis of his traditio-historical study on the second part of the vision of Dan 7 moved along the commonly-cited Old Testament passages for this section (1993a:164-167) which do not necessitate repetition. More important is the theological synthesis presented by HAAG, which distinguished three biblical traditions that were employed by the author of Dan 7.

The basis of the vision in Dan 7 involved the combination of two traditions: (1) God is an absolute sovereign ruler over creation despite the threats of the powers of chaos; (2) God installs a representative to rule eternally over his redeemed creation. The Old Testament antecedent of this view is the Zion-David-tradition which is especially notable in Psa 89. The Zion-tradition in Psa 89 is reflected in Yahweh who thrones (vv. 5,7) as creator of heaven and earth (v. 11) and victor over the powers of chaos (vv. 9,10) unchallenged in the council of the holy ones. The David-tradition involves the instalment of a human representative whose throne lasts forever (vv. 19,25,27,36,37). An eschatological adaptation of the Zion-David-tradition occurred in exilic-postexilic times that finally led to its use in Dan 7 (ibid. 176-179).

The basic Zion-David-tradition was supplemented by the four-empire-tradition which acknowledges that God transfers limited dominion to foreign nations to execute his judgements against Israel and Judah on the way to the realisation of his eternal dominion.³⁵³ Additional impetus to use this tradition in Dan 7 was the fact that the divinely-appointed enemies were also described as the rebellious sea,³⁵⁴ which is closely linked to the Zion-tradition³⁵⁵ (ibid. 179,180).

A final enlargement of the four-empire tradition was made with the inclusion of the enemy-of-God-tradition, which concentrates on the characterisation of the four empires as ultimate powers of chaos in the light of a typical representative, i.e., the fourth beast. This beast reveals

³⁵³ Isa 5:26-29; 10:5,6; Jer 1:15; 4:6; 6:1,22; 25:9; 27; Isa 8:7,8; 28:15.

³⁵⁴ Isa 8:7,8; 28:15.

its antigodly stance in its rebellion against God's intended eternal rule. At the same time its removal also heralds the consummation of Yahweh's eternal kingship (ibid. 180–182).³⁵⁶

2.3.11.2.4. Ezekiel

In contrast to HAAG'S traditio-historical explanation of Dan 7, the following proposal has a narrower base by referring only to sections of one specific biblical book, that of the prophet Ezekiel.

BOWMAN (1947–48:285) drew attention to the fact that certain features of Dan 7 recall Eze 1. He mentioned the fiery wheeled throne coming in the clouds (Eze 1:4) and the four beasts (Eze 1:5).

Considerably more comprehensive were the parallels advanced by FEUILLET (1953:182–185) who argued that Dan 7 is largely dependent on the *book* of Ezekiel.

<i>Parallel</i>	<i>Ezekiel</i>	<i>Daniel</i>
Visions of God / night vision	1:1	7:2,13
Divinity associated with clouds	1:4	7:13
Animals represent hostile nations	17:3; 19:1–9; 29:3–5; 32:2–6; 38:4	7:1–8
Winged animals	1:6–11	7; 4,6
Throne engulfed in fire	1:15–28	7:9,10
מראה ("appearance")	1:13,14; 8:2,4,15,28; 10:7; 26:2; 27:2; 40:3; 41:21; 42:11; 43:3	8:15; 10:16
Figure in white linen	9:2,3,11; 10:2,6,7	10:5; 12:6
Messianic kingdom symbolised as mountain	17:22,23	2:35
"King of kings"	26:7	2:37
Daniel interprets "mysteries"	28:3	4:9
Ram and he-goat	34:17; 39:18	8
Nebuchadnezzar and the tree	17:3f	4:5–25
Ezechiel and Daniel fall to the ground	1:29; 3:23; 11:13; 43:3; 44:3	8:17f; 10:9–11
Prophet transported by the Spirit	8:3	8:2
Son of man	throughout the book	8:17
Time of the end	21:30–34; 35:5	11:35–40; 12:4,8,17
Palestine the glorious land	20:6,15	8:9; 11:16,41
A vision for many days	12:27	8:26
To shine like brightness	8:2	12:3

In a manner similar to that of FEUILLET, BALZ (1967:85,86) pointed out the basic similarity of motifs in Eze 1 and Dan 7. He listed the following parallels:

³⁵⁵ Psa 46:3,4; 74:13,14; 89:10; 93:3,4.

Parallel	Ezekiel	Daniel
Storm and clouds	1:4	7:2
Four animals come out of the cloud / sea	1:5	7:3
Four heavenly beings / animals are human-like	1:5,8,10	7:4,8
Throne with wheels	1:26; 1:15-21	7:9
The glory of God takes place on the throne	1:26-28	7:9
Setting: Babylon	1:1	7:1

While RUSSELL (1964:341) considered an influence from Eze 1 on the "son of man" in Dan 7 as a possibility, H. SAHLIN (1969:47,48) proposed a much closer relationship between Eze 1 and Dan 7, listing the following parallels: (1) both thrones are associated with fire; (2) four beings in Eze 1 are symbols of the four winds while four beasts are designated in Dan 7 as the four winds of heaven; (3) the four winds stir up the great sea in Dan 7, which is the heavenly ocean or the firmament similar to that in Eze 1:22,23.

BLACK (1975:97 = ibid. 1976:60,61) and ROWLAND (1982:97, footnote 47) followed BOWMAN and FEUILLET, while KVANVIG argued that the parallels between Eze 1 and Hen 14 are closer than between Eze 1 and Dan 7, but nevertheless mentioned a number of structural parallels for Eze 1 and Dan 7 (1984:115-117):

Structure of content	Dan 7	Eze 1
Action of Nature	Winds of the heavens (v. 2)	Stormy wind (v. 4)
	Clouds of the heavens (v. 13)	Great cloud (v. 4)
<i>Mischwesen</i> ³⁵⁷	Four animals (v. 3)	Four living beings (v. 5)
	Four wings (v. 6)	Four wings (v. 6)
	Four heads (v. 6)	Four heads (v. 6)
Throne scene ³⁵⁸	God on the throne (vv. 9,10)	God on the throne (v. 26)
	Wheels (v. 9)	Wheels (vv. 15,16)
	Fire (v. 10)	Fire (v. 27)

Last to be mentioned in this group is D. J. HALPERIN who basically echoed FEUILLET in mentioning that the author of Dan 7 may have used Eze 1.³⁵⁹ Differences³⁶⁰ were explained by HALPERIN as stemming from the interpretation of Ezekiel made by the author of Dan 7.³⁶¹

³⁵⁶ Isa 10; 14; Eze 38; 39; Zec 12-14; Jdt 1-3.

³⁵⁷ In addition to the parallels in the table above the description of both sets of *Mischwesen* mention traits of the lion, the eagle and man, but they also differ since in Daniel the description is done in a consecutive order, in Ezekiel as a single unit (KVANVIG 1984:114).

³⁵⁸ Differences in the throne scenes are: (a) In Ezekiel God is already seated, in Daniel he sits down himself; (b) in Ezekiel only God is mentioned, in Daniel a multitude; (c) in Ezekiel the throne scene introduces a commission, in Daniel the throne scene is part of a judgement scene. (ibid. 114,115).

- ³⁵⁹ Specific parallels that are mentioned by HALPERIN are: the fiery throne; (2) the wheels; (3) "the one like a human being"; (4) the winds; (5) the number of four animals; (6) the animals' appearance is a prelude of that of the divine throne and they are finally in subjection to it; (7) both set of animals are inimical forces, in Ezekiel they are "subjected against their will to the figure on the throne" which also explains that three of Daniel's beasts are not destroyed, but are "subjected together to the throne and its occupant" (1988:77).
- ³⁶⁰ The following differences are mentioned by HALPERIN (*ibid.*): (1) the value of the animals is different (Ezekiel: they are God's servants and throne bearers; Daniel: they are enemies of God); (2) progress in Ezekiel is spatial in Daniel it is temporal; (3) the descriptions of the animals; (4) the sea is not mentioned in Ezekiel, which is of mythological origin.
- ³⁶¹ While specific criticism of Old Testament influence on the first part of the vision is almost non-existent, it is considerable for the second part due to primarily one issue, namely, that of the origin of the "son of man". Since many discussions are elaborate explanations a detailed summary of criticism would amount to another complete study. In this light the following remarks serve only as broad outline. In addition it has to be remarked that all those objections that were mentioned in discussion about the identity and interpretation of the "son of man" are not included. Thus only those that were made against the above traditio-historical explanations are given below.
- (1) *Basic criticism* of inner-biblical derivations of the "son of man" pointed out that: (a) Jewish tradition furnishes no adequate explanation of the origin of the "son of man", of the dual role as symbol and personality, and of its connection with the Messianic hope (KRAELING 1927:141,142); (b) an Old Testament genealogy for the "son of man" cannot be established (COLPE 1969:409); (c) an extra-biblical origin is suggested because the *divine* attributes of the *man*-like figure in Dan 7 could only have been transferred to the "son of man" when he was considered to have been a heavenly being and not a worldly Messiah (*ibid.* 409); (d) Dan 7 speaks of two distinct divine beings, whereby the divinity of the "son of man" is established by the association with the Old Testament motif of Yahweh coming "with the clouds of heaven". Since the "son of man" is subordinate to the "Ancient of days" Dan 7 exhibits "the idea that there is another God superior to Yahweh [which] is foreign to the OT" (COLLINS 1977:100); (e) no inner-Israelite derivation completely satisfies (KOCH 1980:230);
 - (2) *Messiah*: "The decisive objection against the messianic interpretation is that nowhere in the book do we find either support for or interest in the Davidic monarchy" (COLLINS 1993b:309). The counter-argument against such an objection is provided by the positions of GESE and CARAGOUNIS who postulated a transformed Messianic concept in Dan 7 (cf. above p. 113);
 - (3) *Angelic being*: Against a connection with Michael, as proposed by SCHMIDT (1900), it has been objected that the name of this well-known celestial being is not mentioned (KRAELING 1927:33; CAQUOT 1967:59) and that his fighting role is not visible in Dan 7 (*ibid.*); SITER's suggestion has been criticised on the basis that the "son of man" in Dan 7 is presented as completely inactive which speaks against the role SITER assigned to him. The same criticism was directed towards KRUSE (*ibid.* 59,60);
 - (4) *The people of Israel*: COLPE (1969:410) rejected that Psa 80 served as ancestor for the "son of man" because v. 16 which identifies the son with Israel is a doublet to v. 18b and has to be deleted. Against BLACK's proposal of an apotheosis of Israel GOLDINGAY (1988:171) remarked that "it is a long step, however, from a belief in a renewed, celestial Israel such as the interpretative vision may envisage, to the deification of Israel";
 - (5) *The glory of Yahweh*: (a) BAUMGARTNER objected to PROCKSCH's explanation because "die völlige Verselbständigung, die bei dem dort nur gelegentlich und unbetonten Ausdruck (*d'mūt k'mar'ē 'ādām* Ez 1 26) so viel ferner liegt als bei Gottes Geist, Wort oder Weisheit" (1939:217); in regard to FEUILLET's traditio-historical explanation COPPENS (1955:34-36) pointed out that there are also significant differences between wisdom literature and Messianic thought, which are: Proverbs is missing an eschatological and collective-nationalistic outlook, while Ecclesiasticus and Wisdom of Solomon, although having a distinct eschatological perspective, practically eliminate the Messianic function by binding Wisdom so close to God that no distinction remains which would serve as prototype for the "son of man". EMERTON evaluated FEUILLET's theory as improbable and not very convincing, since "the analogy of the personified figure of wisdom would lead us to expect the Son of man still to be called the glory of God" (1958:232, footnote 1); according to DELCOR (1968:310,311) the "son of man" does not belong to the divine sphere and is not pre-existent, which rules out a link to Eze 1; COLLINS noted that FEUILLET's "view is compatible with the OG text but scarcely with the MT, where the human figure is clearly distinct and subordinate (1993b:310, footnote 286)"; (b) COLPE (1969:414) reacted against MULENBURG by arguing that when Jewish wisdom speculation and the "son of man" concept occur together it is wisdom that reveals the "son of man" or he himself possesses wisdom, which completely rules out that the "son of man" is a doublet of wisdom; (c) BALZ was opposed by MÜLLER (1972:53) by indicating that: (1) Eze 1 does not explain how God becomes the "Ancient of days" since only a reference of man-likeness can be adduced from Eze 1 but not any of an aged God; (2) the figure of the angel scribe of Eze 8-11 is too far removed from the "son of man"; (3) the hypostatisation as a splintering-off of divine functions is not foreshadowed in the angelic figure of Eze 8-11; (4) the designation of the angelic figure of Eze 8-11 as Mandatar, i.e., as priestly representative, is not accurate, since he is only

2.3.11.3. The most cited Old Testament parallels to Dan 7:9-14

Although the major issue of the second part of the vision of Dan 7 is the enigmatic "son of man", there are also numerous other elements that were compared with Old Testament passages. Thus the discussion on the "son of man" issue should not lead the reader to assume that there are not many other links to the Old Testament. The following tabulation lists about 70 most-cited Old Testament³⁶² passages for the second part of the vision of Dan 7³⁶³ that refer to elements other than the "son of man".

-
- an angel; (5) the "son of man" as a splintering-off of a divine function is questionable since his relationship with the people and not with God is emphasised; KVANVIG (1984:115,119) added the following remarks: (6) there is no similarity between the figures of Dan 7:13 and Eze 1:26 except their man-likeness; (7) the similarity cannot be interpreted as identity or as a splintering-off from a main figure;
- (6) *Adam*: Adam was originally purely protologic and not a salvific (COLPE 1969:413) or an eschatological figure (CAQUOT 1967:59); FARRER's link to Gen 1:26 was rejected by HOOKER (1967:24, footnote 1). If there is any analogy it could only be in v. 28 where an expressive command of dominion and authority is given. However, the chronology of events in Gen 1 and Dan 7 is different because in the vision the beasts are subjugated before the "son of man" appears;
- (7) *Israelite enthronement festival*: (a) While BAUMGARTNER (1939:220) criticised that the alleged enthronement festival does not account for the "Ancient of days", the stream of fire, nor the "son of man", the general objection is that this festival is a reconstruction, purely hypothetical and any survival of a festival or ideology into post-exilic time is pure speculation (MOSCA 1986:499; CASEY 1979:36; DELCOR 1968:309; RHODES 1961:428; COPPENS 1955:33; FEUILLET 1953:179; (b) BENTZEN's suggestion that Psa 2 speaks about the Primordial king and that מֶלֶךְ in v. 5 refers back to the enthronement of the king in primordial time, instead of to the coming Messiah was rejected by FEUILLET (1953:179,180); likewise critical was CASEY who questioned that Dan 7 depends on Psa 2 by pointing out that Dan 7 has "no proper equivalent to the Anointed One in the psalm" (1979:36), since the "son of man" is a symbol of the saints and is not enthroned; BENTZEN's combination of the *Urmensch* and royal ideology was objected to by EMERTON pointing out that a "genuine myth of a Primal Man among Semitic peoples is not sufficiently strong for it to be made the basis of royal ideology" (1958:231). Furthermore, he added that the "son of man" is associated with attributes of Yahweh not of a Davidic king (ibid. 231,232). EMERTON was followed in his criticism by COLPE (1969:419, footnote 121) and DAY (1985:158); (c) lastly, EMERTON's reference to the Jebusites and their role in the adaptation of the enthronement festival was qualified as a theory dependent "upon assumptions ... quite precarious (MULLENBURG 1960:207), as being "based on analogy and conjecture" (RHODES 1961:428), as "unprovable (COLPE 1969:412, footnote 152) as "Jebusite conjectures [that] cannot be determinative for the views of a second-century conservative" (CASEY 1979:37), and as "extremely dubious manner of hypothesizing, whereof no palpable evidence is forthcoming ... It is characteristic that a passage of twelve lines ... contains no less than seven 'probables' and 'likelies'" (CARAGOUNIS 1986:39, footnote 14);
- (8) *Ezekiel*: "The attempt of David Halperin ... to derive the beasts from the four מַיִם of Ezekiel's vision is unconvincing, despite other points of rapprochement with Ezekiel in Daniel 7" (COLLINS 1993b:295, footnote 15).

³⁶² For apocryphal parallels see footnote 308 on p. 109.

³⁶³ Although the presented bibliographic references were established as carefully as possible I do not claim to not have overlooked some parallels. Nevertheless it is hoped that the result represents a helpful overview of Old Testament parallels to Dan 7:9-14. In addition to the explanatory remarks in footnote 136 on p. 55 that sometimes an overlap occurs, because the same biblical parallel was discussed by scholars under different headings, e.g., there is often no clear-cut distinction made between Dan 7:9a and 7:10b when referring to Old Testament parallels. Therefore all references that were cited for a heavenly council/court were placed in one category.

The heavenly council/court (Dan 7:9a,10b)	
Deu 33:2	DRIVER 1912:86; MONTGOMERY 1927:298; CHARLES 1929:184; YOUNG 1953:152; HEATON 1956:178; JEFFERY 1956:458; RHODES 1961:422; PORTEOUS 1962:89; ZEVIT 1968:393; LEUPOLD 1969:304; DELCOR 1971:151; HAMMER 1976:77; LACOCQUE 1976:109 - <i>ibid.</i> 1979:143; HARTMAN/DI LELLA 1978:218; KEARNS 1982:192, footnote 500; TOWNER 1984:99; MOSCA 1986:501, footnote 28; GOLDINGAY 1988:149,166
1 Ki 22:19	DRIVER 1912:86; MONTGOMERY 1927:296; JUNKER 1932:53; BENTZEN 1937:33 - <i>ibid.</i> 1952:61; YOUNG 1953:150; HEATON 1956:178; JEFFERY 1956:457,458; RHODES 1961:421,422; PORTEOUS 1962:87; PLÖGER 1965:110; ZEVIT 1968:393; DELCOR 1971:151; HAMMER 1976:77; LACOCQUE 1976:108,107 - <i>ibid.</i> 1979:142,143; HARTMAN/DI LELLA 1978:217; CASEY 1979:23; KEARNS 1982:175, footnote 408 and 193, footnote 504; TOWNER 1984:97; MOSCA 1986:500, footnote 24; GOLDINGAY 1988:149,164,166; COLLINS 1993b:303; HAAG 1993a:165; BAUER 1996:156
Job 1:6	JUNKER 1932:53; HEATON 1956:178; RHODES 1961:421; PORTEOUS 1962:87; PLÖGER 1965:110; ZEVIT 1968:393; HAMMER 1976:77; LACOCQUE 1976:108 - <i>ibid.</i> 1979:142; CASEY 1979:23; KEARNS 1982:192, footnote 495; MOSCA 1986:500, footnote 24; HAAG 1993a:165 - <i>ibid.</i> 1993b:58
Job 2:1	RHODES 1961:421; PLÖGER 1965:110; KEARNS 1982:192, footnote 495; MOSCA 1986:501, footnote 24; HAAG 1993a:165 - <i>ibid.</i> 1993b:58
Job 15:8	CHARLES 1929:184; RHODES 1961:421; KEARNS 1982:192, footnote 491
Psa 9:4	DRIVER 1912:86; ZEVIT 1968:393; LACOCQUE 1976:108 - <i>ibid.</i> 1979:142
Psa 29:1	RHODES 1961:421; KEARNS 1982:117,118, footnote 126 and 192, footnote 493; HAAG 1993a:165 - <i>ibid.</i> 1993b:58
Psa 50	JEFFERY 1956:457; ZEVIT 1968:392; LACOCQUE 1976:108 - <i>ibid.</i> 1979:142; GOLDINGAY 1988:149,164
Psa 68:17	MONTGOMERY 1927:298; YOUNG 1953:152; JEFFERY 1956:458; PORTEOUS 1962:89; ZEVIT 1968:393; HAMMER 1976:77; LACOCQUE 1976:109 - <i>ibid.</i> 1979:143; TOWNER 1984:99; MOSCA 1986:501, footnote 28; KVANVIG 1988:510; GOLDINGAY 1988:166; COLLINS 1993b:302
Psa 82:1	MONTGOMERY 1927:296; YOUNG 1953:150; RHODES 1961:421; PORTEOUS 1962:88; PLÖGER 1965:110; ZEVIT 1968:393; HARTMAN/DI LELLA 1978:217; CASEY 1979:23 LACOCQUE 1976:108 - <i>ibid.</i> 1979:142; KEARNS 1982:114, footnote 113 and 192, footnotes 490, 496; GOLDINGAY 1988:164; COLLINS 1993b:303; HAAG 1993a:165
Psa 89:6,7	MARTI 1901:52; JEFFERY 1956:458; KEARNS 1982:192, footnotes 498,499; COLLINS 1993b:303; HAAG 1993a:165; BAUER 1996:156
Psa 93:13	LACOCQUE 1976:108 - <i>ibid.</i> 1979:142; GOLDINGAY 1988:164; COLLINS 1993b:303
Psa 122:5	MONTGOMERY 1927:296; CHARLES 1929:181; YOUNG 1953:151; JEFFERY 1956:457; RHODES 1961:421; DELCOR 1971:150; MOSCA 1986:501, footnote 24; GOLDINGAY 1988:165; COLLINS 1993b:301
Isa 6:1,2,8	YOUNG 1953:150; ZEVIT 1968:393; HAMMER 1976:77; LACOCQUE 1976:108 - <i>ibid.</i> 1979:142; <i>ibid.</i> 1976:109 - <i>ibid.</i> 1979:143; GOLDINGAY 1988:149,164; COLLINS 1993b:300; KEARNS 1982:176, footnote 412; <i>ibid.</i> 193, footnote 505; MOSCA 1986:501, footnote 24; HAAG 1993a:165; BAUER 1996:152
Zec 14:5	DRIVER 1912:86; DELCOR 1971:151; CASEY 1979:23; GOLDINGAY 1988:164
The "Ancient of days" (Dan 7:9)	
Job 36:26	JUNKER 1932:51; JEFFERY 1956:457; GOLDINGAY 1988:165; HAAG 1993a:164 - <i>ibid.</i> 1993b:58
Psa 55:19	MARTI 1901:52; MONTGOMERY 1927:297; HEATON 1956:179; LACOCQUE 1976:108 - <i>ibid.</i> 1979:142
Psa 90:2	HEATON 1956:179; JEFFERY 1956:457; HARTMAN/DI LELLA 1978:218; GOLDINGAY 1988:165
Psa 102:24-27	JUNKER 1932:51; CASPARI 1925:185; JEFFERY 1956:457; PLÖGER 1965:111; GOLDINGAY 1988:165; HAAG 1993a:164 - <i>ibid.</i> 1993b:58
Isa 6:1	JEFFERY 1956:457; RHODES 1961:421; HAAG 1993a:164
Isa 41:4	JUNKER 1932:52; JEFFERY 1956:457; GOLDINGAY 1988:165; HAAG 1993b:58 - <i>ibid.</i> 1993a:164
Isa 44:6	MARTI 1901:52; HEATON 1956:179; LACOCQUE 1976:108 - <i>ibid.</i> 1979:142
Eze 1:26	DRIVER 1912:85; CHARLES 1929:181; YOUNG 1953:151; JEFFERY 1956:457; RHODES 1961:421

The white raiment/hair like wool (Dan 7:9)	
Psa 51:7	DRIVER 1912:85; YOUNG 1953:151; JEFFERY 1956:458; RHODES 1961:422; LACOCQUE 1976:108 - ibid. 1979:142; BALDWIN 1978:141; GOLDINGAY 1988:165
Isa 1:18	MARTI 1901:52; DRIVER 1912:85; JUNKER 1932:52; YOUNG 1953:151; JEFFERY 1956:458; RHODES 1961:422; ZEVIT 1968:392; DELCOR 1971:150; LACOCQUE 1976:108 - ibid. 1979:143; TOWNER 1984:98; MOSCA 1986:501, footnote 26; GOLDINGAY 1988:165; HAAG 1993a:164 - ibid. 1993b:58
God enthroned and/or manifested in fire (Dan 7:9c,10a)	
Gen 15:17	DRIVER 1912:85; JEFFERY 1956:458; RHODES 1961:422
Exo 3:2	DRIVER 1912:85; CASPARI 1925:188; MONTGOMERY 1927:298; JUNKER 1932:52; FEUILLET 1953:183; YOUNG 1953:151; JEFFERY 1956:458; COPPENS 1961:9, footnote 14; RHODES 1961:422; ZEVIT 1968:392; LEUPOLD 1969:302; HAMMER 1976:77; BALDWIN 1978:141; HARTMAN/DI LELLA 1978:218; COLLINS 1993b:302; BAUER 1996:156
Exo 19:18	JUNKER 1932:52; STEINMANN 1950:112 - ibid. 1960:89; FEUILLET 1953:183; YOUNG 1953:151; GOLDINGAY 1988:165; COLLINS 1993b:302; BAUER 1996:156
Exo 20:18	JUNKER 1932:52; STEINMANN 1950:112 - ibid. 1960:89; FEUILLET 1953:183; YOUNG 1953:151; GOLDINGAY 1988:165
Num 16:35	DRIVER 1912:85; JEFFERY 1956:458; RHODES 1961:422
Deu 4:24	DRIVER 1912:85; MONTGOMERY 1927:298; BENTZEN 1937:33 - ibid. 1952:61; FEUILLET 1953:183; YOUNG 1953:151; JEFFERY 1956:458; COPPENS 1961:9, footnote 14; RHODES 1961:422; LEUPOLD 1969:302; LACOCQUE 1976:109 - ibid. 1979:143; HARTMAN/DI LELLA 1978:218; GOLDINGAY 1988:165
Deu 9:3	BENTZEN 1937:33 - ibid. 1952:61; FEUILLET 1953:183; YOUNG 1953:151; JEFFERY 1956:458; LACOCQUE 1976:109 - ibid. 1979:143
Deu 33:2	CASPARI 1925:188; MONTGOMERY 1927:298; COPPENS 1961:9, footnote 14; HARTMAN/DI LELLA 1978:218; COLLINS 1993b:302; HAAG 1993a:164 - ibid. 1993b:58
Psa 18:9-14	YOUNG 1953:151; DELCOR 1971:151; GOLDINGAY 1988:165
Psa 50:3	MARTI 1901:52; DRIVER 1912:85; MONTGOMERY 1927:298; JUNKER 1932:53; BENTZEN 1937:33 - ibid. 1952:61; FEUILLET 1953:183; YOUNG 1953:151; HEATON 1956:179; JEFFERY 1956:458; COPPENS 1961:9, footnote 14; PORTEOUS 1962:89; PLÖGER 1965:111; DELCOR 1971:151; ZEVIT 1968:392; LACOCQUE 1976:109 - ibid. 1979:143; BALDWIN 1978:141; v 1978:218; GESE 1983:380, footnote 16; GOLDINGAY 1988:166; COLLINS 1993b:302; HAAG 1993a:164,165 - ibid. 1993b:58
Psa 97:2-4	MARTI 1901:52; DRIVER 1912:85; MONTGOMERY 1927:298; BENTZEN 1952:61; FEUILLET 1953:183; HEATON 1956:179; JEFFERY 1956:458; COPPENS 1961:9, footnote 14; PORTEOUS 1962:89; DELCOR 1971:151; LACOCQUE 1976:109 - ibid. 1979:143; BALDWIN 1978:141; GESE 1983:380, footnote 16; GOLDINGAY 1988:166; COLLINS 1993b:302
Isa 6:1	CASPARI 1925:188; STEINMANN 1950:112 - ibid. 1960:89; RHODES 1961:422; BALZ 1967:85; ZEVIT 1968:392; HAMMER 1976:77
Eze 1:4	DRIVER 1912:85; STEINMANN 1950:112 - ibid. 1960:89; YOUNG 1953:151; HEATON 1956:178; DELCOR 1971:151; LACOCQUE 1976:109 - ibid. 1979:143; GOLDINGAY 1988:164,165; COLLINS 1993b:302
Eze 1:13	DRIVER 1912:85; JUNKER 1932:53; STEINMANN 1950:112 - ibid. 1960:89; YOUNG 1953:151; HEATON 1956:178; EMERTON 1958:253; GESE 1983:380, footnote 16; ARCHER 1985:89; GOLDINGAY 1988:165; COLLINS 1993b:302; HAAG 1993a:165 - ibid. 1993b:58
Eze 1:26	STEINMANN 1950:112 - ibid. 1960:89; ZEVIT 1968:392; HAMMER 1976:77; BALDWIN 1978:141; KEARNS 1982:176, footnote 415; GESE 1983:380, footnote 16; BLACK 1985:151
Eze 1:27	DRIVER 1912:85; STEINMANN 1950:112 - ibid. 1960:89; YOUNG 1953:151; BLACK 1985:151; HALPERIN 1988:76; GOLDINGAY 1988:165; COLLINS 1993b:302
Eze 10:1,2,7	DRIVER 1912:85; JUNKER 1932:53; STEINMANN 1950:112 - ibid. 1960:89; HEATON 1956:178; EMERTON 1958:253; ZEVIT 1968:392; HAMMER 1976:77; LACOCQUE 1976:109 - ibid. 1979:143; BLACK 1985:151; GOLDINGAY 1988:165
The wheels (Dan 7:9)	
Eze 1:15-28	MARTI 1901:52; DRIVER 1912:86; CASPARI 1925:186; MONTGOMERY 1927:298; CHARLES 1929:183; STIER 1934:101; YOUNG 1953:151; BEWER 1955:25; JEFFERY 1956:458; PORTEOUS 1962:88; PLÖGER 1965:111; DELCOR 1971:151; LACOCQUE 1976:109 - ibid. 1979:143; COLLINS 1977:100; HARTMAN/DI LELLA 1978:218; CASEY 1979:23; BEASLEY-MURRAY 1983:48; GESE 1983:380, footnote 16; TOWNER 1984:98; DAY 1985:157; BLACK 1985:151; MOSCA 1986:501, footnote 27; HALPERIN 1988:76; KYANVIG 1988:509; COLLINS 1993b:302

Eze 10:2	CHARLES 1929:183; JEFFERY 1956:458; PORTEOUS 1962:88; BLACK 1985:151; MOSCA 1986:501, footnote 27; COLLINS 1993b:302
God and/or the council/court in judgement (Dan 7:10)	
Psa 93:13	JEFFERY 1956:458; GOLDINGAY 1988:164; COLLINS 1993b:303
Jer 23:18	MARTI 1901:52; CHARLES 1929:184; JEFFERY 1956:458; RHODES 1961:421; KEARNS 1982:192, footnote 492; HAAG 1993a:165
Jer 23:22	CHARLES 1929:184; RHODES 1961:421; HAAG 1993a:165
The books (Dan 7:10)	
Exo 32:32,33	CHARLES 1929:184; JUNKER 1932:47; HEATON 1956:179; PORTEOUS 1962:89; ZEVIT 1968:393; LEUPOLD 1969:305; LACOCQUE 1976:109 - ibid. 1979:143; BALDWIN 1978:141; TOWNER 1984:100; HAAG 1993a:165 - ibid. 1993b:59; BAUER 1996:156
Est 6:1	DRIVER 1912:87; JEFFERY 1956:459; ROST 1974:74; GOLDINGAY 1988:166
Psa 56:8	DRIVER 1912:87; MONTGOMERY 1927:299; CHARLES 1929:184; HEATON 1956:179; JEFFERY 1956:457; JEFFERY 1956:459; RHODES 1961:422; LACOCQUE 1976:109 - ibid. 1979:143; BALDWIN 1978:141; TOWNER 1984:100; COLLINS 1993b:303; BAUER 1996:156
Psa 69:28	CHARLES 1929:184; JUNKER 1932:47; HEATON 1956:179; LEUPOLD 1969:305; HAMMER 1976:77; LACOCQUE 1976:109 - ibid. 1979:143; CASEY 1979:23; TOWNER 1984:100; HAAG 1993a:165 - ibid. 1993b:59
Psa 139:16	JUNKER 1932:47; LEUPOLD 1969:305; TOWNER 1984:100; HAAG 1993a:165 - ibid. 1993b:59
Isa 4:3	MARTI 1901:52; CHARLES 1929:184; CASEY 1979:23; HAAG 1993a:165 - ibid. 1993b:59
Isa 65:6	DRIVER 1912:87; MONTGOMERY 1927:299; CHARLES 1929:185; HEATON 1956:179; YOUNG 1953:153; JEFFERY 1956:457,459; PORTEOUS 1962:89; PLÖGER 1965:111; ZEVIT 1968:393; HAMMER 1976:77; LACOCQUE 1976:109 - ibid. 1979:144; HARTMAN/DI LELLA 1978:218; MOSCA 1986:501, footnote 29; COLLINS 1993b:303; HAAG 1993a:166 - ibid. 1993b:59; BAUER 1996:156
Jer 17:1	MONTGOMERY 1927:299; YOUNG 1953:152; JEFFERY 1956:457
Dan 10:21	ZEVIT 1968:393; TOWNER 1984:100; GOLDINGAY 1988:166
Dan 12:1	TOWNER 1984:100; GOLDINGAY 1988:166; HAAG 1993a:165 - ibid. 1993b:59
Mal 3:16	DRIVER 1912:87; MONTGOMERY 1927:299; CHARLES 1929:184; JUNKER 1932:47; YOUNG 1953:152; HEATON 1956:179; JEFFERY 1956:457; JEFFERY 1956:459; RHODES 1961:422; PORTEOUS 1962:89; ZEVIT 1968:393; LEUPOLD 1969:305; DELCOR 1971:152; HAMMER 1976:77; LACOCQUE 1976:109 - ibid. 1979:143; BALDWIN 1978:141; HARTMAN/DI LELLA 1978:218; CASEY 1979:23; TOWNER 1984:100; MOSCA 1986:501, footnote 29; COLLINS 1993b:303; HAAG 1993a:165 - ibid. 1993b:59; BAUER 1996:156
Burned with fire/judgement executed (Dan 7:11)	
Psa 74:13,14	LACOCQUE 1976:110 - ibid. 1979:144; KEARNS 1982:158,159, footnote 341 and 161, footnotes 346,347; PORTER 1983:115
Psa 89:9-11	LACOCQUE 1976:110 - ibid. 1979:144; KEARNS 1982:162, footnote 350; PORTER 1983:114
Jos 7:25	BENTZEN 1937:33 - ibid. 1952:61; JEFFERY 1956:459; LACOCQUE 1976:109 - ibid. 1979:143; MOSCA 1986:501, footnote 30; GOLDINGAY 1988:166
Isa 27:1	LACOCQUE 1976:110 - ibid. 1979:144; KEARNS 1982:161, footnotes 346,348 and 162, footnote 350; PORTER 1983:114
Isa 30:33	MONTGOMERY 1927:301; JUNKER 1932:55; JEFFERY 1956:459; LACOCQUE 1976:110 - ibid. 1979:144; GOLDINGAY 1988:166
Isa 51:9,10	LACOCQUE 1976:110 - ibid. 1979:144; KEARNS 1982:161, footnotes 347,350 and 163, footnote 352 and 164, footnote 361; PORTER 1983:114
Eze 39:6	JUNKER 1932:55; JEFFERY 1956:459; LACOCQUE 1976:110 - ibid. 1979:144
The clouds of heaven (Dan 7:13)	
Exo 19:16	STIER 1934:101; DELCOR 1968:303 - ibid. 1971:154; LEUPOLD 1969:308; MOSCA 1986:501, footnote 32
Deu 33:26	COLLINS 1977:100; KEARNS 1982:103, footnote 58; 105, footnote 67; 106, footnote 74; MOSCA 1986:501, footnote 32
1 Ki 8:10,11	FEUILLET 1953:188; RHODES 1961:423; DELCOR 1968:303 - ibid. 1971:154; LEUPOLD 1969:308; LACOCQUE 1976:111 - ibid. 1979:146
Psa 18:9-12	STIER 1934:101; YOUNG 1953:154; ibid. 1954:45; JEFFERY 1956:460; RHODES 1961:423; LEUPOLD 1969:308; KEARNS 1982:104, footnote 62; ibid. 131, footnote 189; ARCHER 1985:90; GOLDINGAY 1988:167

Psa 97:2–4	STIER 1934:101; FEUILLET 1953:188; YOUNG 1953:154; <i>ibid.</i> 1954:45; RHODES 1961:423; LEUPOLD 1969:308; LACOCQUE 1976:111 – <i>ibid.</i> 1979:146; ARCHER 1985:90
Psa 104:3	MONTGOMERY 1927:303; CHARLES 1929:186; STIER 1934:101; YOUNG 1953:154; <i>ibid.</i> 1954:44; HEATON 1956:183; JEFFERY 1956:460; RHODES 1961:423; LEUPOLD 1969:308; COLLINS 1977:100; KEARNS 1982:104, footnote 61; <i>ibid.</i> 130, footnote 187; ARCHER 1985:90; MOSCA 1986:501, footnote 32
Isa 19:1	MONTGOMERY 1927:303; CHARLES 1929:186; YOUNG 1953:154; <i>ibid.</i> 1954:45; HEATON 1956:183; JEFFERY 1956:460; RHODES 1961:423; LEUPOLD 1969:308; KEARNS 1982:104, footnote 60; ARCHER 1985:90; GOLDINGAY 1988:167; BAUER 1996:159
Eze 1:4	FEUILLET 1953:188; BALZ 1967:85; LACOCQUE 1976:111 – <i>ibid.</i> 1979:146; KVANVIG 1988:512; BAUER 1996:159
Nah 1:3	STIER 1934:102; FEUILLET 1953:188; LEUPOLD 1969:308; LACOCQUE 1976:111 – <i>ibid.</i> 1979:146; ARCHER 1985:90
Peoples, nations, languages / everlasting dominion and kingdom (Dan 7:14)	
Dan 2:37,38	JEFFERY 1956:461; PORTER 1983:111; COLLINS 1993b:311; BAUER 1996:159
Dan 2:44	DRIVER 1912:89; MONTGOMERY 1927:304; HEATON 1956:182; JEFFERY 1956:462; PLÖGER 1965:112; LEBRAM 1984:89; COLLINS 1993b:311; BAUER 1996:159
Dan 3:4	DRIVER 1912:89; MONTGOMERY 1927:304; JEFFERY 1956:462; BALDWIN 1978:143; COLLINS 1993b:311; BAUER 1996:159
Dan 3:33	CHARLES 1929:187; YOUNG 1953:156; PLÖGER 1965:112; LACOCQUE 1976:111 – <i>ibid.</i> 1979:147; KEARNS 1982:108, footnote 80; COLLINS 1993b:311
Dan 4:3	DRIVER 1912:89; CHARLES 1929:187; HEATON 1956:182; JEFFERY 1956:462; PLÖGER 1965:112; LACOCQUE 1976:111 – <i>ibid.</i> 1979:147; KEARNS 1982:108, footnote 80; COLLINS 1993b:311
Dan 4:31	YOUNG 1953:156; PLÖGER 1965:112; KEARNS 1982:108, footnote 80
Dan 5:18,19	DRIVER 1912:88; MONTGOMERY 1927:304; JEFFERY 1956:461,462; PLÖGER 1965:112; PORTER 1983:111; COLLINS 1993b:311; BAUER 1996:159
Dan 6:26,27	CHARLES 1929:187; HEATON 1956:182; JEFFERY 1956:462; PLÖGER 1965:112; LACOCQUE 1976:111 – <i>ibid.</i> 1979:147; KEARNS 1982:108, footnote 80; COLLINS 1993b:311; BAUER 1996:159

2.3.12. Iconographic influence

Among the multitudinous pages written on the second part of the vision of Dan 7 iconographic references are reduced to a few lines lost in an intense debate on the identity and relationship of the “Ancient of days” and the “son of man”. As in the section of the iconographic influence on the first part of the vision of Dan 7, references are discussed under subject matter.

2.3.12.1. The outward appearance of the “Ancient of days”

MEYER (1921:199), followed by VAN GALL (1926:268), alluded to an iconographic parallel of the “Ancient of days” in the Achaemenid reliefs of Ahura-mazda (without giving references) by stating that the colourful Danielic description would even be of help in reconstructing the original colours of these reliefs.³⁶⁴

³⁶⁴ MEYER was severely questioned by JUNKER: “Eine Bezeichnung Ahuramazdas als Greis, die dem danielischen אֲנִי־הַיּוֹם als Vorbild gedient hätte, ist literarisch nicht bezeugt. Ob die achämenidischen Felsreliefs ihn wirklich

BAUMGARTNER (1926:22) proposed a possible Babylonian iconographic parallel by referring to the moon-god Sin, often depicted with a long beard.³⁶⁵ While not speaking directly of an iconographic influence, MONTGOMERY (1927:297) compared the "Ancient of days" with depictions of "Zeus in Hellenic art."³⁶⁶

Based on his proposed Egyptian background (cf. p. 102) for the "Ancient of days", GRESSMANN (1929:404) adduced by referring to H. PRINZ (1915:34,35) Egyptian depictions of the sun-god as old man in the 12th hour of the sun-cycle.³⁶⁷

In discussing the human-like appearance of the "son of man", COLPE (1969:421) noted that El as well as Baal were depicted in human-like fashion. In regard to El reference was made to Ugaritic reliefs depicting El with a bearded face and with horns protruding from under his cap.³⁶⁸

Of all scholars KEARNS in his religio-historical study on the pre-history of the christological title "son of man" made the most iconographic references to the second part of the vision, although not all were directly linked to the imagery of Dan 7. As proponent of a Canaanite background, KEARNS (1982:179,184) adduced the same Ugaritic depiction of El as did COLPE.³⁶⁹ In regard to the outward appearance of the "Ancient of days" he pointed to the long Syrian robe and the hair worn in a lock down El's back. Similar depictions from later times referred to by

als Greis darstellen wollen, wie Ed. Meyer meint, scheint mehr als zweifelhaft. Ahura Mazda ist nämlich dort dargestellt, wie er in der geflügelten Sonnenscheibe über dem Könige schwebt, und zwar ist er als Kriegsgott dargestellt, wie die Achämenideninschriften deutlich beweisen, die alle Siege des Königs der Hilfe Ahura Mazdas zuschreiben. Es ist nun aber im höchsten Grade unwahrscheinlich, dass man einen Kriegsgott als hochbetagten Greis habe darstellen wollen. Diese Darstellung ist zudem gar kein original-persisches Motiv, sondern geht zweifellos auf assyrische Vorbilder zurück, die Assur in gleicher Weise darstellen" (1932:50). References given by JUNKER in support for his criticism were: SARRE/HERZFELD 1910:15 fig. 5,57 fig. 18 [tombs of Artaxerxes II and III at Persepolis]; HERZFELD 1920: pl. X; GRESSMANN 1927: nos. 154,311,333.

³⁶⁵ GRESSMANN 1909: no. 95.

³⁶⁶ Cf. also LEBRAM 1984:86: "Die Vorstellung könnte von Ez. 1 herkommen, erinnert aber auch an den Wagen des griechischen Zeus, der den Götterfeind Typhon besiegt" and HARTMAN/DI LELLA (1978:218; followed by REID 1989:85) who compared the "Ancient of days" with the bearded Zeus.

³⁶⁷ "Aus einer Reihe ägyptischer Darstellungen kennen wir nun den Sonnengott als Hochbetagten, gebückt am Stabe schreitend, entweder *der Greis* oder *der Strahlende* genannt. Sowohl das Alter wie die Lichtnatur passen ausgezeichnet zu der Gestalt Daniels. Die Übereinstimmung geht aber noch weiter; denn derselbe Gott der letzten Stunden des Tages wird auch im Königsornat abgebildet."

³⁶⁸ COLPE 1969:421, footnote 150. Cf. SCHAEFFER 1937:128, pl. 17.

³⁶⁹ PRITCHARD 1969a: no. 493.

KEARNS were a depiction of the Punic equivalent³⁷⁰ of El, i.e., Baalhammon³⁷¹ and of sitting bronze figurines from Ugarit, Cyprus, and Nablus.³⁷²

2.3.12.2. The "Ancient of days" enthroned

BAUMGARTNER (1926:22) not only compared the outward appearance of the Babylonian moon-god Sin with the "Ancient of days", but also his posture of sitting on a throne.³⁷³ The same comparison was made by KEARNS (1982:179,180) with the depiction of El from Ugarit.³⁷⁴ KEARNS acknowledged that this is not a unique feature of El, but nevertheless important in regard to his position in the council of gods.

2.3.12.3. The throne of the "Ancient of days"

A short reference to the throne as being a chariot ("Thronwagen") as commonly seen on depictions of gods was made by GOETTSBERGER (1928:55).

Three remarks, based partly on iconographic evidence, were made by KEARNS in regard to the throne. First, the second mention of the throne of the "Ancient of days" in Dan 7:9 in the singular, in contrast to the first mention in the same verse which is plural,³⁷⁵ was according to KEARNS (1982:185) directly influenced by iconographic depictions showing only a single throne. Second, נגלגל was interpreted by KEARNS (ibid. 186,187) as nimbus³⁷⁶ of the "Ancient of days".³⁷⁷ KEARNS acknowledged that there are no traditio-historical indications that the alleged aureole consisted of burning fire. But based on the sun disk surrounding El as seen on the Ugaritic stela of El³⁷⁸ and an iconographic reference to "a disc decorated with tongues of

³⁷⁰ Cf. CROSS 1973:24-28.

³⁷¹ CINTAS 1947: fig. 47,48.

³⁷² WELTEN 1977:101.

³⁷³ GRESSMANN 1909: no. 95.

³⁷⁴ PRITCHARD 1969a: no. 493.

³⁷⁵ The plural is explained by KEARNS (1982:178) as *pluralis maiestatis* and as reflection of the traditio-historical position of El in the council of gods (ibid. 185).

³⁷⁶ Cf. above footnote 299 on 106.

³⁷⁷ The suffix is explained as referring to the "Ancient of days" not to his throne (ibid. footnote 454).

³⁷⁸ PRITCHARD 1969a: no. 493.

flames"³⁷⁹ he assumed that a fiery sun disk surrounding El would be the most plausible explanation for נִלְנֵל in Dan 7:9. Third, KEARNS argued that the call (*ql*) of Hadad was transformed into a fiery weapon. This transformation was facilitated by the iconography of Hadad as storm-god whose requisite, the flash of lightning,³⁸⁰ was depicted as a weapon in the form of a forked flash of lightning or a spear of lightning with tongues of fire³⁸¹ (ibid. 142,143).

2.3.12.4. The audience of the enthroned "Ancient of days"

An iconographic parallel for the audience of the "Ancient of days" was suggested by HERZFELD (1947:832) when he pointed to sculptures at Persepolis which show "on the pair of doors in the front and the back wall of the Hall of Hundred Columns ... the picture of a royal audience [that] unfolds itself with numberless guards and 'ministrants' - more than 160 are represented - and with the king, Artaxerxes I, on the throne" (cf. SCHMIDT 1953: pls. 96,97).

JEFFERY (1956:457) saw in the assessors depicted in the Egyptian Book of the Dead as sitting above the seated judge when the fate of the soul is determined, a description similar to that of the thrones that were placed in Dan 7:9.

2.3.12.5. The outward appearance of the "son of man"

The outward appearance of the "son of man" as being human-like was referred to by COLPE (1969:421 with footnote 150) in pointing to Ugaritic statuettes and a relief of Baal, depicting him as a young, energetic man.³⁸²

2.3.12.6. The "son of man" coming with clouds

The first iconographic reference to the flying "son of man" was made by EMERTON. He pointed to "the imagery of a storm-god flying over the waves ... illustrated from the obverse type of certain Tyrian coins, which show a god riding a hippocamp across the sea" (1958:236).³⁸³

³⁷⁹ Ibid. no. 536.

³⁸⁰ KEARNS (1982:143) pointed out that Hadad holds a *'š brq* ("tree of lightning") (KTU 1.101,4). Ambiguous is *'š* ("tree") in regard to the flash of lightning. It could indicate the nature of the tree being a shaft with splaying branches like tongues of fire or it could be the wooden material of the weapon.

³⁸¹ Iconographic reference was made to VANEL 1965:164-166.

KEARNS (1982:102) pointed out that the epithet of Hadad "Rider of the Clouds" (*rkb 'rpt*), from which KEARNS derived the imagery of the "son of man" coming in the clouds, has its iconographic basis in depictions showing the storm-god being pulled in a chariot³⁸⁴ by a *Mischwesen*.³⁸⁵

2.3.12.7. The investiture of the "son of man"

A single iconographic reference was made to "the way, how the Son of man is led to the presence ... of the king on the throne" by HERZFELD (1947:833) by referring to the same scene "as represented in the entrance door of the Hall of a Hundred Columns" at Persepolis.

³⁸² DUSSAUD 1949:66, fig. 29; 68, fig. 34; 69, fig. 35; 75, fig. 43.

³⁸³ HILL 1910:230, no. 19, pl. 29,6 (fourth century B.C.E.). EMERTON also referred to the so-called Yahu coin (c. 400 B.C.E.) which shows on the reverse a divine figure, seated on a winged wheel (HILL 1914:181, no. 29, pl. 19,29).

³⁸⁴ *rkb* designates the driving in a harnessed battle chariot (KEARNS 1982:102, footnote 52).

³⁸⁵ For iconographic references see VANEL 1965:18,91,92,120,121,130-132.

2.4. Conclusion

From the foregoing review of roughly 100 years of research on the influences and traditions underlying the vision of Dan 7, several basic issues emerge that are relevant for this specific iconographic study. Although there is no consensus on the exact nature of the sources that left their impression on Dan 7, two influences can be identified as being generally accepted in some or other way.

First to be mentioned is the tradition that was closest to the author of Dan 7, namely, the biblical tradition. It is noteworthy that there exists no significant argument against such an influence on the first part of the vision. In fact, even those who propose mythological influence on this vision explain most of the details of the first part of the vision in the light of the biblical tradition. In the second part the overall picture is distorted when the focus is placed only on the "son of man" question. This controversial issue aside, there are numerous links to biblical tradition which should not be overlooked. Put into the right perspective, the influence of biblical tradition on even the second part of the vision can hardly be said to be insignificant.

It is likewise acknowledged by the supporters of a biblical background that to some degree traditional imagery³⁸⁶ is discernible in the vision. In mention of traditional imagery there is no question that the influence from the Levant deserves prime attention. Thus, although an overall Canaanite background could not find general support, it would not be correct to deny that traditional imagery played a role in the conceptual development of the imagery that is employed in Dan 7. While many critics of the Canaanite background legitimately make the objection that traditional imagery should not be directly linked to Canaanite mythology when biblical tradition operated with similar imagery, it also acknowledges thereby that the biblical tradition

³⁸⁶ The term "mythological imagery" is not used because it is not an inaccurate description of the phenomenon under discussion. It does not differentiate between its original meaning and setting and its adaptation into a different context. For the employed expression "traditional imagery" cf. the end of footnote 125 on p. 52.

underlying Dan 7 itself made use of traditional imagery to express its message in the conceptual world of its time.

What follows from this assessment is that understanding the imagery of Dan 7 should take into account the traditional Israelite heritage as well as the traditional concepts that influenced biblical tradition. Linked to this general evaluation of the origin of the imagery of Dan 7 are the locale and the time period associated with it. In regard to the territory to be considered for the following iconographic study, Syro-Palestine deserves prime observance since it is linked to the biblical tradition as well as to the non-Israelite conceptual world that is discernible in Israelite thought. Although it might be remarked that the Book of Daniel has a Babylonian setting, which would speak against a Syro-Palestinian background, the acknowledged dependence of Dan 7 on biblical tradition and other influences from the same region suggests that the original locale of the imagery that Dan 7 draws upon is associated with the Levant rather than with Babylonia. Furthermore, the general tendency of research over the last 100 years indicates that the suggested origin of the Danielic imagery has to be sought not so much in the more distant regions but rather closer to the Israelites' own territory. Thus it would be unwise to search elsewhere first instead of beginning in Syro-Palestine. This approach does not, however, exclude another partial geographical influence which could indeed be pursued as a counter-balancing check in a secondary step.

If the two-fold influence on the original imagery that underlies Dan 7 is accepted as outlined above, the time period that is associated with it would be roughly from the Late Bronze Age to the beginning of the post-exilic period. Since iconographic imagery was not subject to frequent change but often remained stable over a long period, earlier antecedents for specific motifs should also be permitted to be taken into consideration.

What has been pointed out in the introduction of the research history in regard to the contribution of iconography over the past 100 years should be restated as the final remark of this conclusion. The comparison solely of completely identical textual and iconographic

equivalents cannot be fruitful, as the more-than-modest results over the last century have testified. If ancient Near Eastern representations are understood as comprising not merely graphic symbols but also bearers of concepts, the direction to take in the iconographic part of this study will not limit itself to identical elements of text and image but will try to compare the underlying concepts in the two different media, i.e., the biblical text and its representation in ancient Near Eastern art.

3. Iconographic motifs relating to the vision of Dan 7

The heart of this study is the iconographic investigation of five selected motifs, namely, those of the great sea, the lion, the wings, the horns, and the enthroned. More than 10'000 objects from Palestine/Israel mainly dating from 1760–333 (Middle Bronze Age II B – Persian period) form the basis of the following investigation. The iconographic study of a motif will be done in two phases. The first phase will be surveys of motifs in which, similar to a lexical study, a comprehensive presentation of the various meanings and contexts of a certain motif will briefly be discussed. In the second phase possibly-relevant motifs for the study of Dan 7 will be selected and incorporated into a catalogue where they will be investigated in detail (for the rationale of this approach cf. pp. 11–15). In the following pages some technical remarks are made concerning procedure and structure.

The survey of motifs

In this section the various meanings and contexts of a selected motif will be studied. This will be done by arranging the various images according to several sub-topics. Within one sub-topic representative motifs are briefly discussed. The footnotes will provide parallel references to identical or similar depictions. This means that although no detailed iconographic information is provided in the survey as such, the footnotes contain the references to a corpus of over 10'000 objects which were surveyed. Therefore the literature in the footnotes will be an important starting-point for additional in-depth studies. It is important to note in regard to the text as well as the footnotes that qualifying statements refer *only* to representations from Palestine/Israel as defined in the section on methodology. Parallels in the footnotes *do not* include identical or similar objects from other regions or those located in private or public

collections whose exact provenance is not known.³⁸⁷ Thus the information in the text and footnotes is only that of objects from legal excavations from Palestine/Israel or of objects whose provenance can otherwise be established to be in Palestine/Israel. In the main, two different formats for parallels are found in the footnotes: when objects are referred to which will not be discussed in the catalogue the usual bibliographic reference is given; if a parallel appears in the catalogue then the catalogue number and the page will be mentioned.

Repetition of figures in the text

Finally a remark on the repetition of figures in the text is necessary. As it will be observed, an attempt was made to provide an easily readable text. In connection with studies of images this means that the image is next to the text so that the reader does not need a separate figure volume. An appendix with figures, which would necessitate flipping back and forth in the text several hundred times, would be impractical and untenable. The same rationale is behind the repetition of figures which appear several times in the text. As will be seen, many pictures contain "by coincidence" several of the five main motifs which were selected. Sometimes two different expressions of the same motif which are discussed under different headings appear on the same image. Thus, in order to reduce the need for reference back and forth, several pictures are depicted more than once. It will be noted that even a series of pictures appears again in another section of the iconographic study. For example, when the lion is attacking a horned animal, the image(s) will appear once in the section discussing the lion and once in the section on horns. It would be awkward to go back and forth almost two hundred pages to find the corresponding picture(s). Furthermore, the discussion of an image in different sections of the survey is made from a different perspective. In short, having only a single depiction of every image would create a terrible frustration when reading the text. A final point that should be made is that this text is not designed just to be read from beginning to end. The large number

³⁸⁷ Thus remarks in catalogues such as "purchased in Jerusalem" is not enough to consider it as an object from Palestine/Israel, although some objects depending on particular features might be considered, e.g. when a motif

of references and the information which it contains will make it a helpful reference work so arranged that the desired material can be found where it is expected. Thus when one is interested in lions one expects to find all the relevant images in the section on lions and not at the other end of the work. Coverage of several motifs which sometimes overlap considerably necessitates the repetition of information in order to maintain clarity, readability, a clear structure and easy accessibility.

The catalogue

In this section the possible relevant motifs for the study of Dan 7 are catalogued and discussed in greater detail. Each of the five main motifs will be discussed on the basis of several related motifs. The objects which depict these motifs are arranged according to the following structure: (1) catalogued objects; (2) iconographic analysis; (3) geographical and chronological distribution. Each catalogue section of the five main motifs is preceded by introductory remarks on the selection criteria for the catalogue and concluded with a summary on the findings in the foregoing iconographic analyses.

Catalogued objects

The structure of the information of the catalogued objects follows that of KEEL 1997. The basic structure is self-explanatory. Only some remarks on the object, date, and literature entries are in order. The basic structure of the *object* entry – if all information is available – is as follows: object type; state of preservation; style; material; colour; measurements. Coins deviate from this pattern. In their case the following structure is given: object type; material; denomination; weight; axis.³⁸⁸ If the information of a category was not available it is omitted without comment. The same is true of measurements where the lack of information is indicated by a blank. The *date* refers to the manufacture of the object and not to the date of the archaeological context from which it comes. The date was determined by one or more of the

is known to exist only in Palestine/Israel. A special case are also name seals (cf. footnote 4 on p. 9).

following four ways: (1) by the adoption from a publication on the specific object; (2) on the basis of the archaeological context; (3) by information provided in the corpus file at the BIF; (4) on the basis of iconographic, stylistic and object-specific information (e.g. material). The *literature* references provided on the object do not claim to be exhaustive. The reference in italics indicates the source of the image that accompanies a catalogue entry. On the optional entries "catalogue cross-reference(s)" and "text figure cross-reference(s)" cf. p. 16.

Iconographic analysis

In this section an iconographic analysis is provided in a format which is appropriate for the aim of this study. The bold printed numbers refer to the catalogue numbers. No specific structural pattern was adopted in order to press the discussion into an artificial form. Thus there are topical as well as chronologically-patterned analyses. The analysis is in general restricted to the corpus of catalogued objects. That means *qualifications made in these analyses refer only to the iconographic repertoire of Palestine/Israel* and might not necessarily be true for another region with a different repertoire of similar images. Thus when the weather god is characterised on the basis of the imagery from Palestine/Israel, then this is not a general statement which can be applied as such to another region, e.g., Syria. Only a specific study of that region can provide the necessary information. The analyses are not fully-fledged discussions of the development of a certain motif in the light of the wider ancient Near Eastern iconographic repertoire. They only point out the most important iconographic aspects of the catalogued objects. This does not mean that remarks to the particular origin of a motif are not made when this is appropriate for better understanding. Although in a few cases the material and style are discussed, in general these aspects are not discussed systematically.

³⁸⁸ The axis measurement indicates "by the hours clockwise or by arrows the position of the dial. It determines how the obverse die was placed on the reverse die for striking" (MILDENBERG 1998:263).

Geographical and chronological distribution

Chronological aspects are mentioned only as far as they are important for a particular issue. The graph provided after the analysis will give a general overview of the chronological distribution. In a similar manner the geographical distribution of objects within Palestine/Israel is not discussed. For specific iconographic studies the geographical information was summarised on a map after the analysis. If there is only one object in a catalogue section a map and graph were not provided. The figure in brackets after the site name indicates the number of objects from that site.

Repetition of catalogue objects

Usually a catalogue lists a particular object only once. Not so this study. Much of what was said in this regard on the repetition of text figures (cf. p. 140) applies here. The particular nature of this iconographic study which deals with five motifs often linked with each other makes it necessary for the sake of good readability, clear structure, and easy access to repeat certain information.³⁸⁹ This study aims to keep all relevant information together so that the reader is not forced to go back and forth countless times over hundreds of pages or follow a similar procedure with a separate volume. Thus each motif is a self-contained unit. The systematic approach suggests that it is better to repeat information. Although the catalogue entries on the lion and the horned animal are duplicated to some extent, it will be noted that there is one difference in these similar catalogue sections. Refraining from duplication of lion depictions in the section on the horned animal would have resulted in one catalogue entry in the section of horned animals (no. 312 on p. 398) and the remaining 38 depictions would have had to be looked up at the very beginning of the iconographic study. In some cases one image is relevant for the theme of the lion, the horns, and the wings. It needs no explanation that only one catalogue entry which has to be accessed in another section is more than confusing.

³⁸⁹ For a similar approach cf. SASS 1993.

Moreover for being able to follow the analysis the reader would have been forced to look up catalogue numbers at the other end of the study, while others would have been located before the analysis. In short: without duplication due to the specific nature of the study confusion and frustration would have resulted. With the practical implications taken into account the repetition is far less problematic than a single entry which is disassociated from the section where it is discussed. With the present structure all information on a particular topic is located at the correct place and can immediately be accessed. It is hoped that the repetition of some information will therefore be appreciated as help for the reader of this work.

3.1. *The great sea*

In looking at the research history of the last one hundred years it is significant that there was not a single attempt proposing an iconographic background for the motif of the sea in Dan 7:2 (cf. p. 61). There is a simple reason for this lack of reference to ancient Near Eastern imagery: on the basis of a purely *descriptive* or "literal" iconographic comparison there exists no iconographic motif that correlates with Dan 7:2. While the lion is a frequent iconographic motif – and was therefore readily referred to in iconographic comparisons with Dan 7 – a simple sea, stirred up by the four winds, is unknown. This conspicuous discrepancy between two motifs naturally leads to the methodological question of whether a purely "literal" iconographic comparison is adequate at all. Such a reservation is furthermore strengthened when it is considered that the sea in Dan 7 is generally accepted to be a reference to a *concept* and not to a literal entity. Limiting iconographic comparisons to "literal" equivalents might be misleading; it might also be misjudging the nature of iconographic material.

In looking at the motif of the sea from a conceptual rather than a "literal" perspective, there are indeed iconographic motifs that reflect this theme. Without expanding at this stage too much on the implication for the relationship between image and text, this approach implies that we cannot speak of iconographic sources as being the direct *compositional background* of the motif of the sea in Dan 7:2. But iconographic material nevertheless can enlighten the *conceptual background* that is indirectly associated with the motif of the sea in Dan 7. In regard to the concept that is associated with the sea in ancient Near Eastern thought, scholars agree that the sea in Dan 7 represents life-threatening forces – a topic which was very popular in ancient Near Eastern thought. It found numerous expressions in the ancient world, especially in chaos myths and their particular use in the Old Testament. With this conceptual approach to the sea in Dan 7:2 the task will now be to investigate what iconographic material from Palestine/Israel

testifies about the existence and nature of the ancient Near Eastern concept of the sea as a life-threatening force.

The starting point of this survey is given by the findings of the research history. It is maintained that either directly or via the Old Testament the theme of the weather god struggling with the sea, especially known to us by the cuneiform texts from Ugarit, is related to the concept of the sea in Dan 7. And indeed a brief glance at the iconographic imagery of life-threatening forces in the context of the sea reveals that the weather god in one form or another is a constant variable. It is therefore obvious to focus in this section on this particular type of motif. However, there are at least two reasons that should caution against a too-narrow approach and call for a wider investigation. First, without being aware of the wider semantic domain of a word – or in the case of this study, of an image – the nuances of a particular meaning are easily overlooked and in the worst case the meaning might be misunderstood. Therefore not only will a seemingly-appropriate motif be chosen and discussed in the following sections, but the whole range of motifs associated with the weather god will be presented. Second, only against the whole imagery relating to the weather god can a sound judgement about the significance of iconographic links to Dan 7 be made, be it topically or chronologically. Discussing just one aspect of the weather god without being aware of the others might give an unbalanced perspective on the true relevance of the motif under discussion. The following survey will place the weather god as fighting a life-threatening force into the wider iconographic tradition related to this deity.

In addition to a general survey of motifs involving the weather god one should not be distracted from the question as to whether there are also other significant motifs that likewise deal with the overcoming of life-threatening forces associated with the sea. It will therefore be necessary to supplement the general picture created by motifs relating to the weather god with other appropriate material. Thus the focus will be directed not only on the weather god and his

activities but also on the theme of the chaos sea as such in order to maintain a comprehensive view.

3.1.1. Survey of motifs involving the weather god and the overcoming of life-threatening forces, particularly those associated with the sea

3.1.1.1. The weather god in the context of fertility

As early as the Middle Bronze Age II B (1760–1540/1450) the weather god appears in a constellation – having been entitled as “the rendezvous of the weather god with the goddess” (KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:42) – which associates him with fertility and sexuality. On a



Fig. 1

cylinder seal from Megiddo (Fig. 1 = fig. 6 on p. 149, 331 on p. 363, 362 on p. 371, 379 on p. 375)³⁹⁰ the weather god is depicted on the right side in a menacing pose, brandishing a club in his left raised hand and holding in his right an axe and a bull on a leash (cf. also p. 149). Three *bukephalia* (cf. also p. 361) in a vertical row between the worshipping prince to the right and the naked goddess – who is flanked by an attendant to the left – indicate the relationship of the goddess to the weather god. The aspect of fertility and sexuality is indicated by the gesture of the goddess who ostentatiously unveils her pudenda. The Egyptian sign of life behind the goddess and in the hand of the left worshipper underlines the aspect of fertility.³⁹¹

While on the previous depiction the goddess displayed her sexual attributes and the weather god was not involved in any activity, an MB II B (1760–1540/1450) scarab from Tell el-Far'ah (South) suggests the opposite (Fig. 2).



Fig. 2

Comparative material (cf. KEEL 1995a:221, figs. 483–485) suggests that the woman who bends down and turns her head backwards to the male figure, who is holding an

³⁹⁰ Although this particular cylinder seal stems from an unstratified context it is dated to MB II B (KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:42).

object which in other representations is clearly a twig, is an allusion to a *coitus a tergo*. The woman's posture has therefore been interpreted as invitation to the weather god to inseminate the soil (ibid.).

A number of scarabs from the MB II B (1760–1540/1450) also depict the weather god with less emphasis on his sexuality but nevertheless underline his association with fertility. A good example is a piece from tomb 2033 at Tell el-^cAjjul (Fig. 3), which depicts the “menacing” weather god in a much more peaceful version reminiscent of the slogan of the 60's: “make love not war”. Compared to the posture in fig. 1 he does not wield a dangerous weapon in his raised hand. Furthermore in his outstretched hand he holds a twig and not an axe. In addition he is flanked by a *nfr* and an ^c*nh*-sign – hieroglyphs that are associated with regeneration and life (FRANSEN 1992:61,62; DERCHAIN 1975:268,269; HORNUNG/STAEHELIN 1976:168; MÜLLER-WINKLER 1987:384–392; WILKINSON 1992:176,177; KEEL 1995a:169 § 449,172 § 459). The aspect of fertility is in particular expressed by the twig – a typical Palestinian symbol of fertility, especially in connection with the naked goddess (HORNUNG/STAEHELIN 1976:138,164; SCHROER 1989:96–113,129; KEEL 1995a: §§ 64,95,433, 574).³⁹²



Fig. 3

A similar message might have been conveyed by a representation on a scarab, excavated at Tell el-Far'ah (South) and manufactured in cheap frit (ibid. 150 § 398) (Fig. 4 - fig. 385 on p. 377). The horned weather god is flanked by two long vertical incisions. Most likely they should indicate a vegetable object



Fig. 4

³⁹¹ A cylinder seal from Hazor indicates that the aspect of fertility is also explicitly associated with the weather god. It depicts in an almost identical composition not a bull on a leash in front of the weather god but a cow suckling a calf behind him (cf. fig. 344 on p. 366).

³⁹² Parallels: MACALISTER 1912: III pl. 206:44; SALLER 1964:191, fig. 64:1. Cf. also the plant-holding figure on a clay mould from Tel Qarnayim (WEIPPERT 1988:304, fig. 3.52.2). The weather god in Hittite garb also appears in the context of vegetation on a cylinder seal from Gezer (cf. fig. 380 on p. 376).

thereby associating the weather god with fertility (EGGLER 1992:163,361 footnote 511; CORNELIUS 1994:183).³⁹³

Also in the context of vegetation appears a youthful four-winged figure on a bone carving from Hazor (800-750) who is holding with his hands two branches protruding from two flanking trees (Fig. 5 - fig. 13



Fig. 5

on p. 151, 137 on p. 280). The winged figure was identified with the Canaanite weather god Baal (KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:220).³⁹⁴

3.1.1.2. The weather god and the bull

The attribute animal of the weather god was already encountered on the MB II B (1760-1540/1450) cylinder seal from Megiddo where it is crouching in front of the menacing god and is held by a leash by the latter (Fig. 6 - fig. 1 on p. 147, 331 on p. 363, 362 on p. 371, 379 on p. 375).³⁹⁵



Fig. 6

Considerably less iconographic context is provided by a broken basalt figure from 14th century Hazor which was identified as the weather god³⁹⁶ because of its association with a bull pedestal (CORNELIUS 1994:226, no. BS1) (Fig. 7 - fig. 330 on p. 363).³⁹⁷



Fig. 7

³⁹³ Cf. a close parallel from Gezer whose depiction of the figure is however also very crude (GIVEON 1985:132,133, no. 76) and from Tell el-Far'ah (South) (PETRIE 1930: pl. 39:435) which UEHLINGER (KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:223) tentatively connected with Baal.

³⁹⁴ Cf. also a name seal found in Mesopotamia which depicts a four-winged figure, who holds a snake in both hands, bearing the name "Baal Nathan" (Fn. fig. 1). A similar depiction is also found on a name seal belonging to a certain 'z' that was found in the vicinity of Dan (Fn. fig. 2).



Fn. fig. 1 Fn. fig. 2

³⁹⁵ Parallel: fig. 18 on p. 153.

³⁹⁶ Recently DE MOOR (1997:127) suggested that the figure should be identified with El. But the weapon points rather into the direction of the weather god.

³⁹⁷ There is also a single representation from Acco that shows the weather god standing on a horse as pedestal (cf. fig. 133 on p. 278).

It has also been argued that the bull on its own can symbolise the weather god (WEIPPERT 1988:301). Typical of this kind of representation are bronze casts of a standing bull, as e.g. a 13th century figurine from Hazor (Fig. 8).³⁹⁸ Unfortunately these bronze figurines are without iconographic context which makes their function "difficult to determine" (NEGBI 1989:357),³⁹⁹ except that the archaeological context places them in a cultic context (cf. KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:134; KEEL 1992a:171).



Fig. 8

The posture of the bull in these bronze figurines is rather passive in contrast to the compositions where a bull is attacking a lion as on a 12th century ivory carving from Lachish (Fig. 9 = fig. 61 on p. 199, 332 on p. 363).⁴⁰⁰ The motif of a bull fighting a lion has been interpreted as the

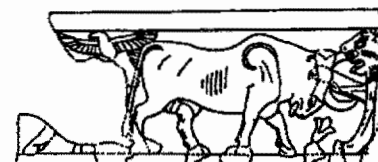


Fig. 9

confrontation of two powers of the divine realm, namely, the attacking bull as symbol for the weather god Baal conquering his rival Mot, the god of arid lands, represented by a lion (ibid. 1990a:190-194; ibid. 1990b:301,302; ibid. 1992a:175-178; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:164).

3.1.1.3. The weather god with celestial connotations

The weather god is by nature associated with the celestial sphere. Several motifs express this affinity. The bull figurine that was referred to above in fig. 7 served as pedestal for a statue of the weather god of which only the feet were still attached to the bull's back. The detached broken body (Fig. 10), found at the entrance of the



Fig. 10

Late Bronze temple H at Hazor, shows at chest height the Anatolian symbol for the sun, which associates the weather god with the celestial realm (ibid. 57).⁴⁰¹

³⁹⁸ Parallels: figs. 316,317 on p. 360.

³⁹⁹ NEGBI (1989:356) as well as KEEL (1992a:171) tentatively considered the Hazor-bull more of an aggressive type than one related to fertility.

⁴⁰⁰ Parallels: cat. nos. 10 and 11 on p. 164 which depict a bull attacking a lion, and cat. nos. 3-7 on pp. 162,163 where the anthropomorphic weather god is struggling with a lion.

⁴⁰¹ For another representation of the bull with the sun disk cf. fig. 357 on p. 369.

A scarab from the Iron Age I (1250/1150–1000) Tell Keisan depicts a bull attacking a lion (Fig. 11 = fig. 333 on p. 363, 354 on p. 369). Above the bull's



Fig. 11

back a crescent is attached to the border line. The disk inside the half-circled crescent is probably the moon (cf. also figs. 1 on p. 147 and 24 on p. 155). Both crescent and disk stand in Anatolian and North Syrian glyptic for the heaven (ibid. 162,164; cf. also below p. 369).

While the previous depiction made the identification of the bull as symbol for the weather god plausible due to the interaction with the lion, the base design of a 10th century conoid from Lachish is less conclusive (Fig. 12 =



Fig. 12

fig. 355 on p. 369). It could of course be understood in the same light as the scarab from Tell Keisan. But on the other hand the Syrian moon god was also associated with fertility (KEEL 1994c:162,164) and the cow (THEUER 1997:253–255). Thus the bovine animal could as well be interpreted as underlining this aspect of the moon god.⁴⁰²

A different way of expressing the weather god's connection to the heavenly sphere without using celestial bodies is by representing him



Fig. 13

with wings as on the already-mentioned bone carving from Hazor (Fig. 13 = fig. 5 on p. 149, 137 on p. 280).⁴⁰³

⁴⁰² Parallels: fig. 348 on p. 266 and KEEL 1997:58,59, no. 109.

⁴⁰³ The wings of the weather god are polyvalent (see also the whole section on wings on pp. 195–200). They can also indicate protection or the furious attack of a bird of prey (cf. pp. 195–200). In a context of fertility it is more likely that wings express his connection with the sky and the clouds. Additional representations of the four-winged weather god are cat. no. 96 on p. 229; MACALISTER 1912: II 343, fig. 463 = III pl. 214:32; ibid. III pl. 208:29; KEEL 1977a:202, fig. 152; PETRIE 1930: pl. 48:566 (with KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:222, footnote 141); LAMON/SHIPTON 1939: pl. 67:27 (with KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:222, footnote 141). For the two-winged version see fig. 138 on p. 280 and GALLING 1941: pl. 7:97; BIRAN/GOPHNA 1970: pl. 38:F; LAMON/SHIPTON 1939: pl. 67:1; CROWFOOT/CROWFOOT 1938 pl. 4:1a,3a. A scarab from Lachish depicts a kneeling figure wearing two feathers on its head with outspread wings from which two lotus flowers emerge. In front of the figure is a twig and debased *ʿnh*-sign, behind an *wd3t*-eye (TUFNELL 1953: pl. 43:32).

3.1.1.4. The weather god as protector

Egyptian influence betrays fig. 14 – a scarab from tomb 542 at Tell el-Far'ah (South), dated to 1300–1000, – on which the weather god, identifiable by his horned cap and the long lock or tassel, is depicted with wings and flanked by two uraei that face outward. The particular manifestation of the weather god



Fig. 14 in this motif has been identified as the hybrid Canaanite–Egyptian god Baal–Seth (KEEL 1990b:304,305; CORNELIUS 1994:185–189, nos. BM23a–BM40, pp. 192–194). The wings as well as the uraei (cf. KEEL 1995a:191 § 523) suggest a protective force of this amulet (cf. also pp. 275–278).⁴⁰⁴

Also in the form of Baal–Seth the weather god appears on a unique frit cylinder seal from Bethel dated to about 1300 (Fig. 15 – fig. 382 on p. 376). Holding a spear and wielding a *hps*-sword in his raised hand he jointly protects with Anat⁴⁰⁵ the name of Astarte written in hieroglyphs.



Fig. 15

3.1.1.5. The weather god (?) enthroned

Enthroned representations of the weather god are rare if existing at all. It has been suggested that the seated bronze figure from the Late Bronze Age (1540/1450–1250/1150) temple at Megiddo might be a representation of Baal after his enthronement (Fig. 16 – fig. 480 on p. 463).⁴⁰⁶ Arguments brought forward for such an identification are the supposedly youthful face (although there are grooves for a moustache and a beard; cf. NEGBI 1976: no. 1453) and the object in the left hand of the enthroned which was interpreted by KEEL (KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:66,132) as flower, i.e., a symbol of fertility (cf. figs. 2–5 on pp. 147,149) which is also associated with the weather god.



Fig. 16

⁴⁰⁴ Parallels: MAZAR 1967: pls. 4,5; PETRIE 1930: pls. 22:186, 31:308.

⁴⁰⁵ For the identification of the goddess cf. WEIPPERT 1998:307,308; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:98 with footnote 49; CORNELIUS 1994:174 footnote 4.

3.1.1.6. The weather god and the pharaoh

A unique combination of a god in the presence of the pharaoh is found on a broken scarab from Tell el-Far'ah (South) (Fig. 17 = fig. 384 on p. 377) which is dated by CORNELIUS (1994:183, no. BM21) to the 13th century. A bearded god to the left is wearing a high headdress with a streamer and horns. Notably is the posture, which is rather peaceful – the arms passively hanging down. Opposite to him the pharaoh is depicted in a very symmetrical fashion (arms also hanging down, the headdress – the Egyptian red crown – also having a streamer). Although CORNELIUS (ibid. 184) left open the identification of the god with Baal or Reshef, he classified him among the Baal representations, which is indeed more likely.⁴⁰⁷



Fig. 17

3.1.1.7. The weather god in adoration scenes

Likewise not very frequent are adoration scenes which show the weather god as the main figure. Typical for this type of representation is a cylinder seal from Tell el-'Ajjul dating to the MB II B (1760–1540/1450) (Fig. 18). In the middle the weather god, holding a small bull on a leash and a sprouting stick (?), receives tribute from the horned *Wulstsaummantelträger* ("toga"-wearer) (SCHROER 1985) to the left of the scene as well as from a second deity behind him. The weather god's regenerative role is foregrounded judging from the vegetable elements in his hand, on his shoulder, and before the bull. This also harmonises with the *ḥnḥ*-signs behind the *Wulstsaummantelträger* who is elevated to the divine sphere as denoted by his horned headgear.⁴⁰⁸



Fig. 18

⁴⁰⁶ Parallel: NEGBI 1976:50, fig. 60, no. 1454.

⁴⁰⁷ Comparing the glyptic of CORNELIUS' collected Reshef and Baal representations, there are only two scarabs that depict Reshef with similarly arranged horns (one above the other) (1994: pl. 30:RM21, RM26) while there are close to 40 representations that depict the headdress of Baal (=Seth) in such a way.

⁴⁰⁸ Parallels: figs. 380, 381 on p. 376; PARKER 1949: no. 113.

3.1.1.8. The weather god in combat against and as victor over life-threatening forces

In comparison with most of the motifs discussed thus far, there is a much wider spectrum of representations of the weather god in active combat or posing as victor. First to be mentioned is the weather god wielding a spear over his head as it is scratched on a graffito from Lachish dating to the 14th/13th centuries (Fig. 19). The opponent of his attack

is not depicted – most probably the serpent in its role as symbol for cosmic disorder and as life-threatening power (cf. pp. 30–35). This is suggested by a scarab from Tell el-Far'ah (South) dated to about

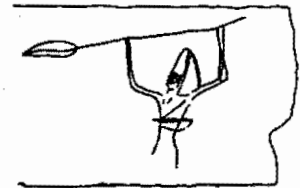


Fig. 19

1500–1150 which shows a horned serpent⁴⁰⁹ as the victim of the assault of the weather god (KEEL 1992a:209–215; CORNELIUS 1994:212–224) in the Egyptian-Canaanite hybrid form of the winged Baal-Seth (cf. pp. 275–278) (Fig. 20 - fig. 131 on p. 276, 491 on p. 487, 510 on p. 503, 521 on p. 521, 531 on p. 532).⁴¹⁰



Fig. 20

The serpent is the most frequently encountered enemy of the weather god. The onslaught of the weather god is aided not only by a spear; the serpent's violent destruction can also be performed by a sword as on a scarab from Lachish (1000–800). In a typical Egyptian smiting pose the weather god holds in



Fig. 21

one hand the horned serpent which is to perish in the next moment (Fig. 21 - fig. 389 on p. 378, 492 on p. 487).⁴¹¹

But the weaponry of the weather god is even more versatile. Assyrian tradition (GERLACH 1992:67,70,72–74) follows a cylinder seal from Gezer (9th–7th centuries) (Fig. 22 - fig. 494 on p. 488) which transforms the mighty fighter of the life-threatening forces into an



Fig. 22

archer (cf. KEEL 1992a:218) who aims his bow against the rearing serpent.⁴¹²

⁴⁰⁹ On the snake as symbol for the chaos cf. HORNING 1956; TE VELDE 1977:99–108; on the weather god and the horned serpent cf. UEHLINGER 1995c:70–75.

⁴¹⁰ Parallels: cat. nos. 2 on p. 162 and 21 on p. 170.

The weather god not only fights his enemy from the safe distance of an archer but seems to have no fear of engaging in close combat. A detail on a terracotta stand from Taanach (10th century) shows the weather god (ibid. 220–222) fighting the serpent by grabbing it with his bare hands by the neck (Fig. 23 = fig. 493 on p. 488).



Fig. 23

The second enemy of the weather god is the lion. The contest between the victorious bull and the lion was referred to above (cf. p. 150) and interpreted as the mythological fight between Baal and Mot. A cylinder seal from Acco (14th century) shows the same theme



Fig. 24

where the weather god in a menacing pose is holding a lion upside down by its tail (Fig. 24 = fig. 60 on p. 199, 390 on p. 378, 527 on p. 529).⁴¹³ The theme of the weather god struggling with a lion surfaced again in the 6th century along the lines of Assyrian royal iconographic traditions (compare figs. 65,66 on p. 200 with fig. 73 on p. 202 = cat. nos. 3,4 on p. 163) as well as in the Persian period when Herakles appeared in the same pose as the Late Bronze weather god (cf. fig. 63 on p. 200).⁴¹⁴

It can be assumed that the motif on a seal-amulet from Megiddo, dated to the 11th century, showing Baal-Seth standing on a lion, is basically the same theme where the conquered lion now serves as a pedestal (Fig. 25 = fig. 62 on p. 200). Most likely the lion does not simply function as a pedestal for the god but its subordinate position also indicates the god's victorious power over it.⁴¹⁵



Fig. 25

⁴¹¹ Unstratified cylinder seals probably stemming from Palestine are: TUNCA 1979: pl. 6:55,56; KEEL 1992a:252, fig. 240.

⁴¹² There exists no other stratified parallel, however a number of cylinder seals which come from Palestine/Israel are to mention: TESSIER 1984:157, no. 175,176; BIF nos. VR 1995.30, VR 1996.4. On the motif cf. KEEL 1992a:218–220.

⁴¹³ Parallel: cat. no. 2 on p. 162.

⁴¹⁴ Parallels: cat. nos. 5–8 on p. 163,163.

⁴¹⁵ Parallels: cat. nos. 13 on p. 165. Not from a stratified context but bought in Jaffa is conoid dated to 1300 with the same motif (CORNELIUS 1994:200,201, no. BM56). On a conoid from Tell el-Far'ah (South) a figure standing on a lion is combined with a bird, ostrich, and scorpion (cf. fig. 414 on p. 444). Two figures on one lion are depicted on

Almost identical is the depiction on a scarab from Tell el-Far'ah (South) (1130–945) of the winged Baal-Seth standing on a lion, but which adds a second figure standing on a horned animal (Fig. 26 = fig. 132 on p. 278, 376 on p. 374, 532 on p. 532). The latter has been identified as the Canaanite god Reshef (CORNELIUS 1994:23–133).⁴¹⁶



Fig. 26

But the weather god is not only depicted as contending with “real” opponents. Two representations from the Late Bronze Age (1540/1450–1250/1150) show the weather god fighting winged beings such as on a cylinder seal from Tell el-‘Ajjul where the



Fig. 27

weather god as “master of animals” (cf. pp. 204,358) repulses a winged demon (Fig. 27 = fig. 80 on p. 204, 223 on p. 302, 311 on p. 358, 397 on p. 380).⁴¹⁷

3.1.1.9. Seth in combat with the mythological life-threatening forces of the sea

It has been mentioned that the chaos-contending weather god also appears in the hybrid Canaanite–Egyptian form of Baal-Seth (cf. fig. 20 on p. 154). Thus the concept of combating life-threatening chaotic forces associated with the sea⁴¹⁸ was not



Fig. 28

restricted in Palestine to the Canaanite weather god Baal. It would seem necessary to widen the horizon on figures that are also involved in combating life-threatening forces associated with the chaos sea. Related to Baal's fight against the serpent and the lion is a cylinder seal from Tell es-Şafi (Fig. 28 = fig. 495 on p. 490, 506 on p. 500), which depicts the Egyptian god Seth twice. Once he is fighting as slayer of a *horned* (“Apophis-like”) serpent (TE VELDE 1977:99–108) and

a conoid from Beth-Shean (JAMES 1966: fig. 100:13). For a single figure standing on three lions see a seal from Jerusalem (GRIMME 1913: col. 156).

⁴¹⁶ Parallels: cat. nos. 15,16,18,19 on p. 165.

⁴¹⁷ The second representation is depicted as cat. no. 26 on p. 174.

⁴¹⁸ There are of course additional concepts not associated with the sea that convey the idea of a struggle with life-threatening forces. For example the overcoming of horned animals and the mastering of animals (e.g. figs. 301,302 on p. 356 and pp. 357,358) or the subduing of dangerous composite beings (e.g. fig. 237 on p. 308).

another time attacking a lion, two roles that are also attributed to Baal (figs. 22 and 25 on p. 171).

3.1.1.10. The crocodile as symbol for mythological life-threatening forces of the sea overcome by the lion and the Horus-type hero

Apart from Egyptian mythology of the Apophis-snake as life-threatening force of the sea, a very different motif takes up this theme in glyptic art in Palestine/Israel. On an MB II B (1760–1540/1450) seal-amulet from Gezer a lion is depicted striding on a crocodile. It is obvious that the position of striding on the crocodile is meant to convey the domination

of the dangerous force represented by the reptile (Fig. 29 = fig. 57 on p. 197, 497 on p. 492, 523 on p. 524).⁴¹⁹ But it is likewise apparent that the



Fig. 29

lion-over-crocodile motif depicts a rather unrealistic attack. Thus it seems that this motif does not indicate simply the domination of a dangerous animal but the control of the dangerous mythological forces⁴²⁰ associated with the chaos sea.⁴²¹

A 26th dynasty (664–525) scarab from Shiqmona might support the royal interpretation of the lion attacking the crocodile (Fig. 30 = fig. 498 on p. 493). It depicts a figure wearing the atef-crown as spearing a crocodile. Isis is standing



Fig. 30

⁴¹⁹ However not every representation of a lion over a crocodile should be interpreted as the representation of a specific theme. Thus, on a late 12th century scarab from Megiddo (Fn. fig. 3) the lion and crocodile seem rather to be part of a combination of various apotropaic elements. The same is probably also the case when the crocodile is placed above or behind the lion (PETRIE/ELLIS 1937: pl. 6:12; PETRIE 1928: pl. 17:4; *ibid.* 1934: pl. 5:96; MACALISTER 1912: III pl. 208:36; KEEL 1997:710,711, no. 56; DE VAUX 1951: pl. 26b:8).



Fn. fig. 3

⁴²⁰ The crocodile had an ambivalent nature in Egyptian perception (HORNUNG/STAEHELIN 1976:122–126; SCHROER 1989:117–121; KEEL 1989b:268–275; *ibid.* 1995a:193–195 §§ 532–535, 197 § 541). It was worshipped (KAKOSY 1980) but was also considered as an enemy of the gods and symbolised the powers of chaos (BRUNNER-TRAUT 1980:795–797; KEEL 1978:143,144, esp. footnote 402). However the crocodile as representation of the *Urflut* does not necessarily always indicate a negative force. For example a Late Bronze Age



Fn. fig. 4

scarab from Beth-Shean depicts the cow head of the Egyptian goddess Mehet-weret – the personification “der gebärmächtigen Urflut” (*ibid.* 1995a:194 § 534) flanked by two seated lions above a crocodile (Fn. fig. 4). Thus, although the crocodile symbolises the *Urwasser* it is not the chaotic aspect that is conveyed but the womb that brings forth life (for an Asiatic perspective on the sea bringing forth life cf. VAN DIJK 1973:505,506).

⁴²¹ Parallels: cat. nos. 31–33,29–36 on pp. 177–178.

in front of the reptile, thereby indicating that this is not simply a royal crocodile hunt. Therefore KEEL (1989b:271) suggested that the figure attacking the crocodile has to be identified with Horus or more likely with his earthly representative – the king.⁴²²

Further mythological associations are possibly indicated when on a scarab from Azekah (13th–8th centuries) two sun disks are added (Fig. 31). The crocodile is known to be the enemy of the sun god; says the



Fig. 31

speaker at the entrance of the hereafter: "Weiche zurück, du Unhold der Sümpfe [= crocodile], damit das Sonnenlicht hervorgehe" (BRUNNER-TRAUT 1980:796). In the teachings of Merikare it is said of the sun god: "Er hat den Gierigen [= crocodile] des Wassers vertrieben" (KEEL 1989b:268). Thus the lion in this motif can but does not necessarily indicate the overcoming of the forces of chaos. In the context of the rising sun the lion is more likely to be identified with the lions of the horizon (ASSMANN 1980:4,5) or even more accurately as symbol of the earth and agent of the daily rebirth of the sun (RÖSSLER-KÖHLER 1980:1081,1082; KEEL 1997:744, no. 26; cf. also the depiction in footnote 420 on p. 157) by which the forces of the chaotic *Urflut* are pushed back.

Also related to Egyptian chaos sea mythology is a very popular motif in Palestine that should not go unmentioned. On a lion scaraboid from Beth-Shean dated to about 1130–945 a schematic cult figure holds a crocodile upside down by its tail (Fig. 32), a representation that stands in the tradition of Horus' overcoming a crocodile (ibid. 1978:144–147; ibid. 1995a:194, figs. 345–347; note also p. 217 § 591) which itself is most likely dependent on the chaos-fighting weather god (ibid. 1989b:276). Much more popular was the "master of crocodiles" motif as indicated by a piece (Fig. 33 = fig. 496 on p. 492, 522 on



Fig. 32



Fig. 33

⁴²² No parallels are known from a stratified context. Other crocodile hunting scenes on seal amulets are: PETRIE 1925: pl. 14:959; KEEL 1995a:194, fig. 346; an unpublished scarab from the British Museum (BM EA 53024); an unpublished scarab from Berlin Charlottenburg (no. 1390/73); an unpublished scarab from the Louvre (Tiroir XI, E 2053).

p. 524) of the late Ramesside mass-production (ibid. 1995a:36 § 67⁴²³) from Acco. Both depictions convey the control of the malevolent forces associated with the crocodile.

⁴²³ Dated by KEEL in 1995 to about 1250–945 but in the first volume of the *Corpus der Stempelsiegel-Amulette* lowered to 1130–945 (cf. ibid. 1997:570, no. 115). Now even the beginning of the 11th century is taken into consideration as upper limit (personal communication by O. KEEL).

3.1.2. Catalogue and analysis of possible relevant motifs

The survey of motifs which involves the weather god and other figures in the struggle with life-threatening forces leads to the following general observations based on the number of occurrences. The weather god⁴²⁴ appears in three facets: most prominently he is a fighting and domineering god or, in the terminology of CORNELIUS (1994:263), "the monster slayer". He is depicted in contest with the serpent, the lion, and *Mischwesen* and is standing as victor on the lion. This finding is in agreement with recent studies that designate Baal in the first instance as a warrior god (ibid. 1996:163). Related to this aspect are also representations which bring across his protective role in a non-violent manner. Second, the weather god is characterised as having a relationship with the celestial realm. Primarily this aspect is conveyed by the youthful two- or four-winged weather god, secondarily by his association with the sun and moon. It should be observed that the identification of most winged figures mentioned above is hampered by the lack of attributes or an unquestionable iconographic context. Only a few have a floral element indicating that the winged figure is related to the vegetation.⁴²⁵ This brings us to the third main aspect, namely, the weather god's association with fertility. This relationship is indicated primarily by his either holding a twig, flower, or tree or being flanked by vegetable objects. In addition the weather god's appearance in the presence of the naked goddess likewise establishes this connection. Following these three main groups is the representation of the weather god as a bull. When the bull appears without an iconographic context, the identification of the particular role is difficult or almost impossible to ascertain. If a context is provided it is again the aggressive aspect of the weather god's bull which dominates by

⁴²⁴ The depiction of Seth is classified in this group. For the rationale see the analysis on p. 166.

⁴²⁵ On the other side this lack of attributes can also be *the* argument to claim that the two- and four-winged god is a distinct form of the weather god which should not be equated with the warrior and fertility-related type. In order to indicate that this type of weather god has nothing to do with the monster slayer and fertility-related type he *needs* to appear without the weaponry and smiting pose as well as attributes and a context that make him a fertility god in the first place. What remains is an attributeless winged god indicating thereby his new

depicting it as charging and overcoming a lion or functioning as pedestal for the spear-holding, i.e., monster-slaying weather god. Only secondarily does the bull appear in fertility-related contexts and adoration scenes. The latter scenes are the last group of significant representations in which the anthropomorphic weather god appears. Finally, in comparing the weather god as a slaying being associated with the chaos sea (i.e., the serpent) with the Horus-type hero subduing crocodiles, the latter appears almost twice as frequently thereby indicating that at least by number this motif needs further investigation in regard to its relevance for the present study.

In the light of the provided iconographic imagery it is obvious that most motifs can be excluded as possible candidates to shed light on the motif of the sea in Dan 7. The stirred-up sea in Dan 7 has nothing to do with fertility or the celestial realm, but is definitively related to the life-threatening forces which the weather god in his different manifestations, and also the crocodile-overcoming hero have to master. These motifs will be catalogued and discussed below.

relationship to the celestial realm. Only a more detailed study of the two- and four-winged gods can shed more light on the various aspects involved, a task which goes beyond the goal of this study.

3.1.2.1. The weather god (and Seth) and the lion

3.1.2.1.1. Catalogue

- 1 OBJECT: Cylinder seal with gold caps; haematite; 19 x 7,5 mm.

DESCRIPTION: A striding figure in a short kilt wields with his raised right hand a weapon in a menacing gesture. The photograph of the seal shows that the figure wears a headgear with a horn. A rectangular object protrudes backwards from the figure which was identified by BECK as the free-hanging end of the belt but might be in fact a dagger (cf. KEEL 1984a:193, fig. 291). With his left hand he holds the hind legs of a lion.⁴²⁶ A rosette is placed between the legs. Facing towards him is a figure in a long dress raising one hand and in the other a weapon (?) that crosses a similar object held by the figure to the right.⁴²⁷ Two short parallel strokes are behind its head (part of a headgear?). The centre figure is separated by two *bukephalia* from another figure in a long garment holding – apart from the weapon (?) mentioned above – another weapon at belt height. Above the two bull heads is a circle, underneath a horizontal stroke (not represented on the drawing) – obviously the full moon and crescent (cf. fig. 1 on p. 147 for both, *bukephalia* and the disk and crescent).

DATE: Late 14th century (based on the pottery in the tombs).

PROVENANCE: Acco; tomb B 3; inv. no. 497; next to the lower part of a skull.

LITERATURE: BECK 1977:66–68, pl. 21:3 (photograph); KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:88, fig. 88b (drawing). Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 116 on p. 241, 370 on p. 424. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 24 on p. 155, 60 on p. 199, 390 on p. 378, 391 on p. 378, 527 on p. 529.



- 2 OBJECT: Cylinder seal; steatite; white; 25 x 5 mm.

DESCRIPTION: On the right side of the scene Seth in a menacing pose is surrounded by three lions one of which he holds by the tail. In front of Seth's head is written '3 phty "great of might". To the left of the scene Seth is depicted once more wearing a headgear derived from the Egyptian double crown, this time attacking a horned serpent – which he seems to hold with one hand – with a spear. Five twigs are inserted into the whole scene. The twig to the left behind Seth is damaged and the upper part merges with the end of the spear.

DATE: 13th century.

PROVENANCE: Tell es-Şafi; Roman burial cave.

LITERATURE: GIVEON 1978a: fig. 49; KEEL 1990b:311, fig. 82; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:89, fig. 89. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 117 on p. 241, 379 on p. 429. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 28 on p. 156, 495 on p. 490, 506 on p. 500.



- 3 OBJECT: Scarab; hollowed-out engraving; greenstone facies (KEEL 1995a:143,144 §§ 369–372; BAYNES-COPE/BIMSON 1987:106,107); 17 x 13 x 10 mm.

DESCRIPTION: A striding bearded figure wearing a high headgear with a streamer, and a short kilt attacks with a sword a rampant roaring lion. Above is a sun disk, below a nb.

DATE: 600–539 (or 539–333).






PROVENANCE: Acco; surface find.

LITERATURE: GIVEON/KERTESZ 1986:38,39, no. 145; KEEL 1997:574,575, no. 122. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 118 on p. 242. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 65 on p. 200.



⁴²⁶ With KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:88 against BECK who identified it as horned animal. Head and tail rather suggest a lion.

⁴²⁷ It is unfortunate in this regard that the two flanking figures are not shown together on the drawing. They both clearly hold objects which cross each other. The drawing of a single cross-like object is inaccurate because it is not executed as a single object but as two which clearly cross each other.

- 4 **OBJECT:** Vertically rectangular cuboid incense-burner with plinth, broken; graffito with hatching; stone; 59 (w) x 61 (h) mm.
DESCRIPTION: A geometric design encloses a scene which shows a standing figure with a long lock and wearing a short kilt, stabbing with a sword an oversized rampant lion. Behind and on the body⁴²⁸ of the lion is an eight-pointed star.
DATE: 600–450.
PROVENANCE: Gezer; find context unknown.
LITERATURE: MACALISTER 1912: II 442: fig. 524:2b; STERN 1982:188, fig. 307:14; O'DWYER SHEA 1983:101, Gezer no. 6; ZWICKEL 1990:100, Gezer 3; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:441, fig. 372. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 119 on p. 242. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 66 on p. 200.
- 
- 5 **OBJECT:** Scarab; hollowed-out engraving with hatching and drilling; greenstone facies; 13,7 x 11 x 7,2 mm.
DESCRIPTION: A bearded figure wearing only a lion skin the paws of which are hanging down is striding to the left holding in a menacing gesture a weapon in his raised hand and in the other the tail of a lion held upside down. Behind the figure is a running dog. Barred strand rope border.
DATE: 539–332.
PROVENANCE: ^cAtlit; south-east cemetery; tomb 20, tomb location b-4.
LITERATURE: JOHNS 1933: pl. 14:496; *ibid.* 1975:134; CULICAN 1969: pl. 1:4; BISI 1980:32, footnote 60; STERN 1982:200, fig. 325; KLINGBEIL 1992a:187, no. 35; *ibid.* 1992b:98, no. 11; STERN 1994a:142, fig. 8; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:437, fig. 367a; KEEL 1997:758,759, no. 4. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 120 on p. 242. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 63 on p. 200.
- 
- 6 **OBJECT:** Scarab; hollowed-out engraving with hatching and drilling; greenstone facies; 14 x 11,1 x 8,4 mm.
DESCRIPTION: As no. 5, except that the paws of the lion skin are not depicted and the tail of the dog is not straight.
DATE: 539–332.
PROVENANCE: ^cAtlit; south-east cemetery; tomb 23; tomb location c-4.
LITERATURE: JOHNS 1933: pl. 14:705; BISI 1980:32, footnote 60; KLINGBEIL 1992a:207, no. 42; *ibid.* 1992b: 98, no. 17; STERN 1994a:142, fig. 9; KEEL 1997:764,765, no. 15. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 121 on p. 242.
- 
- 7 **OBJECT:** Scarab; border chipped; hollowed-out engraving, drilling; greenstone facies; 14 x 10 x 7 mm.
DESCRIPTION: As no. 5, except that a Maat feather replaces the dog. Three drilling holes: one behind the figure, one between the legs, and on his left thigh.
DATE: 539–332.
PROVENANCE: ^cAtlit; south-east cemetery; tomb 23; tomb location b-1.
LITERATURE: JOHNS 1933: pl. 14:687; BISI 1980: pl. 5:5; KLINGBEIL 1992a:204, no. 41; *ibid.* 1992b:98, no. 16; STERN 1994a:142, fig. 11; KEEL 1997:764,765, no. 16. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 122 on p. 242.
- 
- 8 **OBJECT:** Bulla with string preserved at top and bottom of horizontal image; finger ring seal impression; clay; reddish brown; image: 16 x 11 mm; bulla: 19 x 13,5 mm.
DESCRIPTION: A frontal nude figure taking a step. The strokes on the head might be tufts of fur, namely, the pelt of the Nemean lion that Herakles wears on his head.
DATE: Middle of 4th century.
PROVENANCE: Wadi ed-Daliyeh; Cave of the Papyri.
LITERATURE: LEITH 1990:171–176, no. W471, pl. 16:WD47 = *ibid.* 1997: pl. 12:WD 47. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 123 on p. 243, 193 on p. 260. Text figure cross-
- 

⁴²⁸ On the leonine hair whorl see KANTOR 1947, VOLLGRAFF-ROES 1953, particularly p. 45, fig. 6, and WILKINSON 1989.

reference(s): fig. 82 on p. 204.

- 9 OBJECT: Cylindrical box; burnt; relief; ivory.

DESCRIPTION: A bull lowering its head to attack a standing lion. Behind the bull and above the lion a bird, behind the lion a second bovine animal that seems to be attacked by another lion.



DATE: 1200–1150.

PROVENANCE: Lachish; south-east corner of the shrine in structure III of the Fosse Temple.

LITERATURE: TUFNELL 1940: pl. 18A; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:135, fig. 143a. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 125 on p. 243, 358 on p. 419. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 9 on p. 150, 61 on p. 199, 332 on p. 363.

- 10 OBJECT: Scarab; border chipped and partly broken off; hollowed-out engraving; steatite; 18 x 13,5 x 8,5 mm.

DESCRIPTION: A bull, facing to the right, is attacking a lion that is about to land on its back. Above the bull's back is a crescent that is touching the border line. Inside the half-circled crescent is a disk.



DATE: 12th–10th centuries.⁴²⁹

PROVENANCE: Tell Keisan, stratum 8, locus 637.

LITERATURE: KEEL 1990a:190, no. 9; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:163, fig. 169a. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 126 on p. 243, 359 on p. 420. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 11 on p. 151, 333 on p. 363, 354 on p. 369.

- 11 OBJECT: Ox head scaraboid; schematic hollowed-out engraving and drilling; haematite; 20,2 x 16,7 x 10,6 mm.

DESCRIPTION: A bull is attacking a lion. Above the bull is a scorpion.

DATE: 1150–900.

PROVENANCE: Tell el-Far'ah (South); tomb 220.

LITERATURE: PETRIE 1930: pl. 35:389; KEEL 1990:190, fig. 9; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:163, fig. 169b; KEEL 1995a:75, fig. 115 (no depiction of base). Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 127 on p. 243, 360 on p. 420.



- 12 OBJECT: Conoid; composite material; badly damaged; c. 15 x 13 mm.

DESCRIPTION: A winged figure is standing on a lion. Both face to the right.

DATE: Late 13th–12th centuries.

PROVENANCE: Megiddo; destruction layer of stratum IVA; 11th century.

LITERATURE: SCHUMACHER 1908:86,89, fig. 124 top line, 2nd from right; CORNELIUS 1994:198, no. BM 48; pl. 49:BM48; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:131, fig. 134a. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 128 on p. 244, 200 on p. 312. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 25 on p. 155, 62 on p. 200.

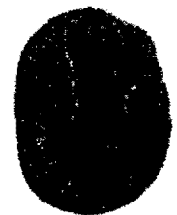


- 13 OBJECT: Scarab; hollowed-out and linear engraving; steatite; light yellow; 15 x 11 x 7,1 mm.

DESCRIPTION: A winged, bearded figure facing to the left, wearing a headgear with two horns and a long streamer, is standing on a lion.⁴³⁰ Between the legs of the weather god is a tassel hanging down from the dress. Below the left wing is a uraeus.

DATE: C. 1100.

PROVENANCE: Jericho; tomb 11, stratum B.



⁴²⁹ KEEL 1990a:190, no. 9 dated it to Iron Age I A (1250/1150–1100), KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:164, no. 169b assigned it to the Iron Age IIA (1000–900).

⁴³⁰ Following CORNELIUS 1994:199 with footnote 1 contra my earlier identification (EGGLER 1992:161,161,188,190, 378,379).

LITERATURE: GARSTANG 1933:36,37, fig. 11, pl. 11; ROWE 1936:173, pl. 18:722; LEIBOVITCH 1942:440,441, fig. 91; FULCO 1976:7; WEIPPERT/WEIPPERT 1976:133, fig. 80; EGGLER 1992:161,162,188,190,378,378, fig. 92; SHUVAL 1990:135, no. 25; KEEL 1990b:297; CORNELIUS 1994:198, no. BM49, pl. 49:BM49. *Photograph from Corpus File*. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 129 on p. 244, 201 on p. 312. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 387 on p. 377.

- 14 OBJECT: Oval seal impression (2x) on a conical storage jar stopper; schematic hollowed-out engraving; clay; 45* x 32 x mm.

DESCRIPTION: A figure wearing a conical headgear and a short kilt is holding a weapon or a sceptre in his outstretched hand. The figure is standing on a lion.

DATE: 1200-1000.

PROVENANCE: Tell el-Far'ah (South); northern area, wine cellar, stratum X.

LITERATURE: STARKEY/HARDING 1932: pl. 61:5,6; SHUVAL 1990:140 no. 37; CORNELIUS 1994:204 no. BM65, pl. 50:BM65. *Drawing from Corpus File*. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 130 on p. 244. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 505 on p. 500.



- 15 OBJECT: Scarab; top right and lower part is broken off; schematic hollowed-out engraving; steatite; light yellow; 14 x 10,4 x 6,8 mm.

DESCRIPTION: Two figures are standing on an animal. The left winged figure is standing on a lion, the right figure is standing on a crouching horned animal.

DATE: 1130-945.

PROVENANCE: Lachish; surface find.

LITERATURE: ROWE 1936:138, pl. 15:575; KEEL 1980a:267, fig. 76; KEEL 1990a:196-197, fig. 29; SHUVAL 1990:144, no. 47; DĄBROWSKI 1991:22-23, fig. 29; CORNELIUS 1994:201,202 no. BM58, pl. 49:BM58. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 131 on p. 244, 202 on p. 312.



- 16 OBJECT: Scarab; border chipped; schematic hollowed-out engraving; steatite; white; 17,3 x 12,6 x 7,7 mm.

DESCRIPTION: As no. 15, except that the left figure's arms are not wings.

DATE: 1130-945.

PROVENANCE: Ashdod; surface find.

LITERATURE: KEEL 1997:680,681, no. 54. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 132 on p. 244.



- 17 OBJECT: Scarab; schematic hollowed-out engraving; steatite; 15,5 x 12,4 x 8,4 mm.

DESCRIPTION: As no. 15, except that the figure on the horned animal is wearing a long garment and the animal is standing.

DATE: 1130-945.

PROVENANCE: Tell el-Far'ah (South); tomb 224.

LITERATURE: PETRIE 1930:14, pl. 43:534; SHUVAL 1990:144, no. 46; DĄBROWSKI 1992:38-39, fig. 2h; CORNELIUS 1994:202, no. BM59, pl. 49:BM59. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 133 on p. 245, 203 on p. 313. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 26 on p. 156, 132 on p. 278, 376 on p. 374, 532 on p. 532.



- 18 OBJECT: Scarab; heavily damaged on the border; schematic hollowed-out engraving; steatite; grey with white glaze; 17,2 x 11,1 x 12,2 mm.

DESCRIPTION: As no. 15, except that the horned animal is probably standing.

DATE: 1130-945.

PROVENANCE: Tell el-Far'ah (South); F. UL 376.

LITERATURE: Unpublished. *Photograph from Corpus File no. 919*. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 134 on p. 245, 204 on p. 313.



19 OBJECT: Seal impression; broken along the middle with missing part at the bottom; hollowed-out engraving; clay; 12 x 8 mm.

DESCRIPTION: As no. 15. The figure standing on the lion wears a conical headgear with a streamer. The horizontally outspread arms are probably wings.

DATE: 1050–1000.

PROVENANCE: Tell Keisan; level 9a, locus 635; inv. no 6.377. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 135 on p. 245, 205 on p. 313.

LITERATURE: KEEL 1990a:246–247, no. 31, pl. X; SHUVAL 1990:145, no. 48; CORNELIUS 1994:201, no. BM57, pl. 49:BM57.



3.1.2.1.2. Analysis

Several iconographic strands of the weather god and the lion can be identified which are linked to each other by particular features and topical developments. The earliest pieces from the Late Bronze Age (1540/1450–1250/1150) (1,2) define elements that serve as a hallmark in the later more numerous productions of this motif. The first to be mentioned is the Egyptian-derived smiting pose of the weather god and the grabbing of the lion by its hind legs with an outstretched and angled arm, thereby bringing the lion in to an upside-down posture (1). It is in this identical pose that the weather god reappears about 800 years later during the Persian period (539–333) (5–7). This particular posture also links 2 to this group, although the acting figure is now the Egyptian god Seth and not the Canaanite weather god. It is noteworthy that Seth retained his typical Egyptian appearance but that his opponents are the same as those of the Canaanite weather god. He does not only subdue the lion in a similar manner as the weather god did but he also attacks the *horned* serpent. Thus Seth is not struggling with the Egyptian Apophis-snake – his natural opponent (KEEL 1992a:210–212; TE VELDE 1977:99–108) – but with the Asiatic *horned* version (KEEL 1992a:215). The spear might be part of his Egyptian heritage (KEEL 1992a:248, figs. 229–230c), but it is also known in Asiatic tradition (*ibid.* 250, fig. 232). Already in the Late Bronze Age (1540/1450–1250/1150) there is evidence that the merging of the Asiatic weather god with the Egyptian god Seth was taking place, a process which would be fully implemented in the Early Iron Age (1200–900).

In one instance the lion and the weather god also appear in the Late Bronze Age in a "master of animals"-like composition (cf. cat. no. 27 on p. 174) which betrays typical Asiatic influence (cf. footnote 433 on p. 174).

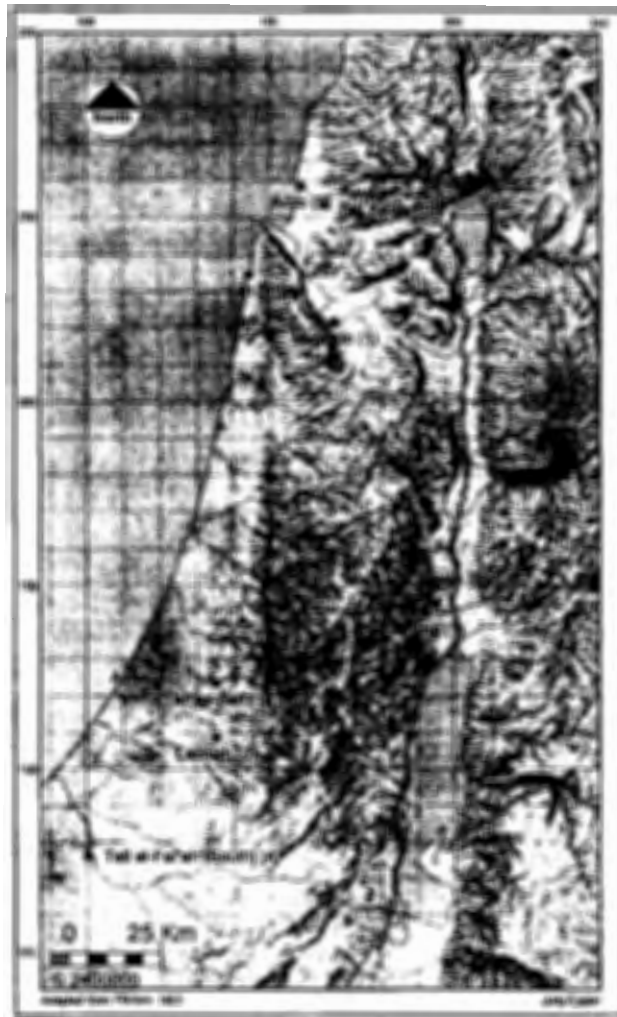
Another motif of Asiatic tradition is the charging bull taking on a lion (9-11). Thus, instead of an anthropomorphic representation of the weather god, a theriomorphic representation is preferred in this Early Iron Age (1250/1150-900) tradition. While the warrior-like nature of the weather god, indicated by the Egyptian-derived smiting pose, is absent in this strand, the aggressiveness is retained. It is interesting to note that all three examples of this type have a fertility-related object in the field, namely, a bird (9) (cf. also fig. 35 on p. 191, fig. 272 on p. 348, fig. 277 on p. 349, fig. 342 on p. 365, p. 379, fig. 414 on p. 444, fig. 428 on p. 449), the crescent (10) (cf. also pp. 358,369), and a scorpion (11) (cf. also p. 367) thereby accentuating the regenerative force of the weather god.

During the Early Iron Age a three-fold change can be observed in two other strands of the motif. First, the lion is no longer the opponent but is transformed into a pedestal (12-19). It seems that the attacking lion of the Late Bronze Age has been overcome and now serves the weather god, thus making the relationship between the two very static and taking from it the aggressiveness. Second, the metamorphosis of Baal and Seth into one being is completed (12,13,15-19) by combining the Egyptian and Asiatic chaos warrior into one hybrid being, Baal-Seth. Third, Baal-Seth standing on the lion is depicted together with Reshef (15-19) which indicates that the struggle against life-threatening forces is broadened further (cf. p. 375). Although the number of pieces is not great, it seems that the solitary Baal-Seth standing on the lion (12-14) is restricted only to the Iron Age I (1250/1150-1000) while the combination with Reshef (15-19) continued into the 10th century (cf. also CORNELIUS 1994:122; KEEL 1995a:210).

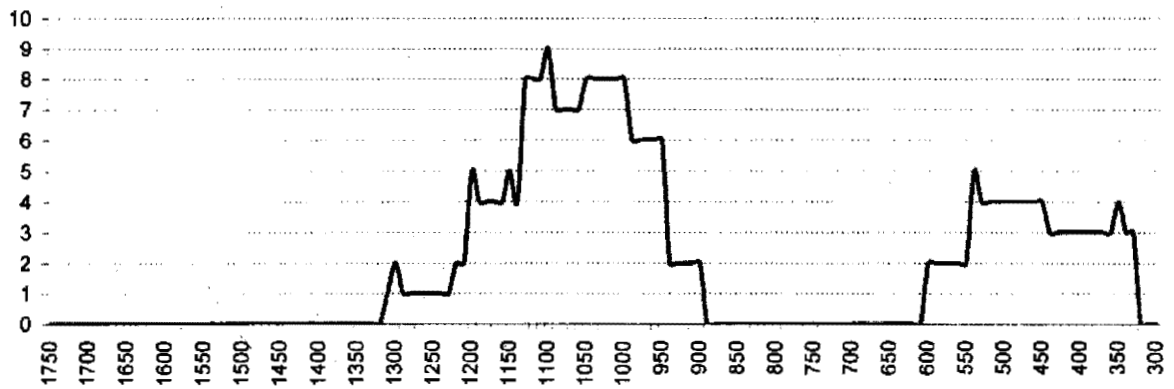
The motif received new impetus during the Neo-Babylonian period of the 6th century when the weather god, along the lines of Neo-Assyrian (cf. fig. 73 on p. 202) and ultimately ancient

Mesopotamian tradition, became a hero, stabbing a rampant lion with a sword in close combat (3,4), a motif that fitted well into the Persian royal hero iconography (cf. figs. 74,75 on p. 203 and 189 on p. 294). During the Persian period (539-333) the centuries-old Late Bronze tradition (1540/1450-1250/1150) of the weather god smiting a lion experienced a revival on the Carmel coast (5-7). In addition the Persian royal hero as "master of lions" (cf. fig. 83 on p. 204) probably served as model for the Herakles-turned-weather-god (8) thereby continuing the Persian-adapted Assyrian motif of the king subduing a lion (cf. figs. 73-75 on p. 203).

3.1.2.1.3. Geographical and chronological distribution







Map 1: The weather god (and Seth) and the lion



Graph 1: The weather god (and Seth) and the lion

3.1.2.2. The weather god and the serpent

3.1.2.2.1. Catalogue

- 20 **OBJECT:** Graffito; limestone; 780 x 320 x 180 mm.
DESCRIPTION: A figure whose body below the waist is not depicted, wearing a conical headgear with a streamer, a bow (?) around the waist and a band reaching from the shoulder to the belt, holds with raised hands over his head a spear with an oversized blade. Below are modern Hebrew letters (for a drawing cf. fig. 19 on p. 154).
DATE: 14th–13th centuries.
PROVENANCE: Lachish; area P, level VI, locus 3161 (side entrance of the main hall in the Late Bronze temple).
LITERATURE: USSISHKIN 1978:18, pl. 7:1; GIVEON 1978a:10,12, fig. 10; CLAMER 1980:161; MÜLLER-KARPE 1980: pl. 120:F2; KEEL/KÜCHLER 1982:915,916, fig. 613; KEEL 1985:17; WEIPPERT 1988:312, pl. 9:2; KEEL b:321, fig. 96; CORNELIUS 1994:162–163, no. BR18; pl. 43:BR18 (for a drawing cf. the text figure); KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:87, fig. 86. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 19 on p. 154.
- 
- 21 **OBJECT:** Statue; broken off from pedestal; basalt; 265 mm (h).
DESCRIPTION: The body of a figure is shown without head, right arm, and legs. On the chest is hanging an ornament consisting of a chariot yoke with a four-pointed star. In its left hand the figure holds a partly-broken weapon, probably a spear, pointing slightly downward.
DATE: 1400–1300.
PROVENANCE: Hazor; lower city in front of the orthostat temple, stratum IB, locus 2119.
LITERATURE: YADIN 1961: pl. 324; BARNETT 1964:73, fig. 9; PRITCHARD 1969a:352,379, no. 835a–b; YADIN 1972:95, pl. 20a; KEEL 1985:12; SCHROER 1987a:92 footnote 120; WEIPPERT 1988:300; UEHLINGER 1991:880–881; CORNELIUS 1994:226–227, no. BS1a, pl. 52:BS1a; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:59, fig. 44. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 7 on p. 149, 10 on p. 150, 330 on p. 363.
- 
- 22 **OBJECT:** Scarab; border chipped, top of base broken off; hollowed-out engraving with hatching; steatite; white with traces of green glaze; 22,7 x 15,6 x 9,5 mm.
DESCRIPTION: A striding figure with spread wings wears an Egyptian white crown. The headgear is manufactured of reed indicated by fine vertical lines (CORNELIUS 1994:214, no. BM76), with a uraeus in front and a streamer at the back reaching to the knees and ending there in a flower. The short kilt has three tassels. The figure is piercing a horned serpent with a spear.
DATE: 1500–1150.
PROVENANCE: Tell el-Far'ah (South); tomb 902.
LITERATURE: COOK 1925:116 footnote 3; PETRIE 1930:7, pls. 12:171, 37:902; GALLING 1937:26; LEIBOVITCH 1953:107, fig. 11; CASSIRER 1959:6–7; GALLING 1977:11a; MATOUK 1977:268; WELTEN 1977:111; MÜLLER-KARPE 1982: pl. 113:9; SCHULMAN 1979:69; KEEL 1986:3,5, figs. 1,2; *ibid.* 1990b:310,311, fig. 85; CORNELIUS 1990:29,40, fig. 10; UEHLINGER 1990a:217–218, fig. 4; DĄBROWSKI 1992:36–38, fig. 2a; CORNELIUS 1994:214, no. BM76; pl. 50:BM76; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:87, fig. 87b. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 199 on p. 312, 378 on p. 429. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 20 on p. 154, 131 on p. 276, 491 on p. 487, 510 on p. 503, 521 on p. 521, 531 on p. 532.
- 
- 23 **OBJECT:** Scarab; schematic hollowed-out engraving; steatite; 13,7 x 9 x 6 mm.
DESCRIPTION: A figure in a menacing pose, wearing a knee-length kilt, is brandishing a *hps*-sword above its head. The headgear has two horns and a long streamer. With the outstretched hand the figure holds a serpent with oversized horns by its neck. Behind the figure is a sun disk. There is a twisted rope border.
DATE: 1000–800.
PROVENANCE: Lachish; tomb 120 (LB chamber with burials from 10th–9th centuries, that was used until 600, but the "scarabs were presumably associated with burials of the tenth to ninth centuries" [TUFNELL 1953:194]).
- 

LITERATURE: MURRAY 1953:368, pls. 43,43A:22; KEEL 1990b:314,317, fig. 91; CORNELIUS 1994:214,215, no. BM77; pl. 50:77; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:87, fig. 87a. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 373 on p. 425, 380 on p. 429. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 21 on p. 154, 389 on p. 378, 492 on p. 487.

- 24 OBJECT: Cylinder seal; probably frit; 25 (h) mm.

DESCRIPTION: An archer in a long dress and with a roundish headgear is aiming at a horned serpent. Between them is a degenerated object.⁴³¹

DATE: 900–600.

PROVENANCE: Gezer; find context unknown (first published among the Hellenistic finds).

LITERATURE: MACALISTER 1912: III pl. 214:19; NOUGAYROL 1939: pl. 4:125 (EG. 50); REICH/BRANDL 1985:46, fig. 6:1; KEEL 1992a:218, fig. 249; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:333, fig. 284b. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 22 on p. 154, 494 on p. 488.



- 25 OBJECT: Terracotta appliqué on a cult-stand; break at knee height of the figure.

DESCRIPTION: A striding figure in a knee-length garment holds with both hands a serpent with an open mouth and covered in a herringbone pattern.

DATE: 1000–900.

PROVENANCE: Taanach.

LITERATURE: SELLIN 1904:75, fig. 102; LODS 1934:142, fig. 2; KEEL 1992a:258, fig. 257; BECK 1995:352–362, fig. 1; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:177, fig. 182c. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 23 on p. 155, 493 on p. 488.



3.1.2.2.2. Analysis

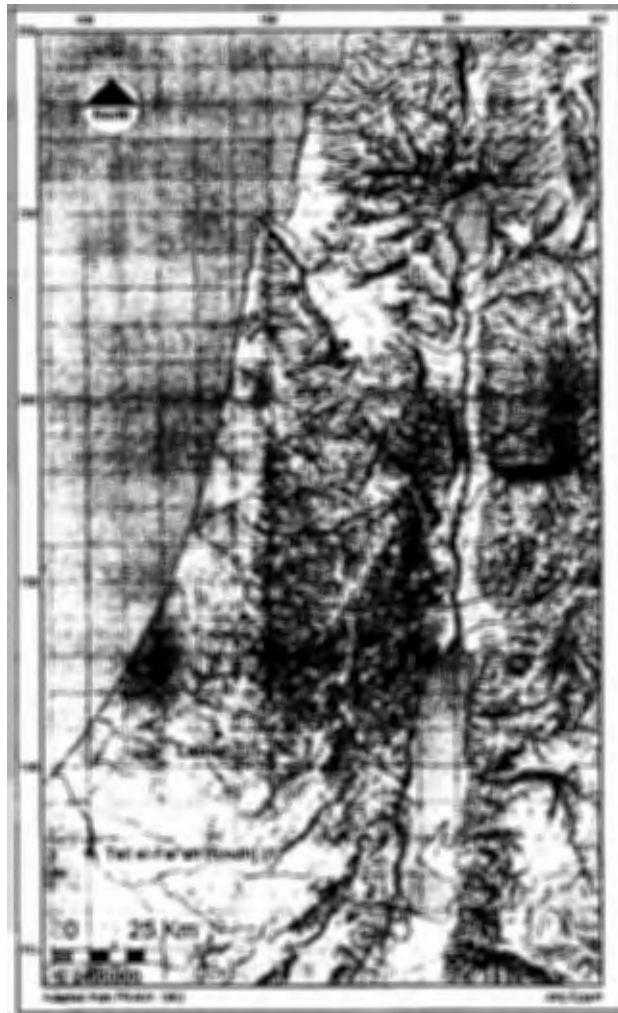
Diversity, or a non-existing uniform tradition, is the main *iconographic* feature of the serpent-slaying weather god. This aspect is evidenced by the weaponry and posture. Three times the weapon is a spear (20–22), once it is the *hps*-sword (23), a bow (24), and bare hands (25). Variations of postures can also be observed in the spear-holding weather god. The weapon is carried overhead (22), at hip height (23), and once almost vertically thrust down (24). What unifies this group is certainly the enemy, i.e., the serpent which is not depicted on two occasions (20,21). It is always an erect serpent and with the exception of the cult-stand appliqué from Taanach (25) always horned, a typically Asiatic feature (cf. p. 166). Related to the royal Egyptian iconographic background is the posture of the smiting weather god (23) (KEEL 1992a:215). Connected with the iconography of Egyptian gods is the spear thrusting

⁴³¹ Of 56 parallels of this motif – which are attested in Mesopotamia, Luristan, Iran, Armenia, Rhodes, Sardinia, and Greece – eight (Tell Abou Danné: TEFNIN 1980: pl. 22:2; Aleppo?: HAMMADE 1987:117, fig. 226; Assur: MOORTGAT 1940: pl. 82:689,692,694; Tepe Giyan: MARCUS 1988:229 [=MMA 56.81.27]; Hasanlu: *ibid.* 297, pl.19:60; Les Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Bruxelles: inv. no. O.3687 = HERBORDT 1992: pl. 5:13) clearly identify this

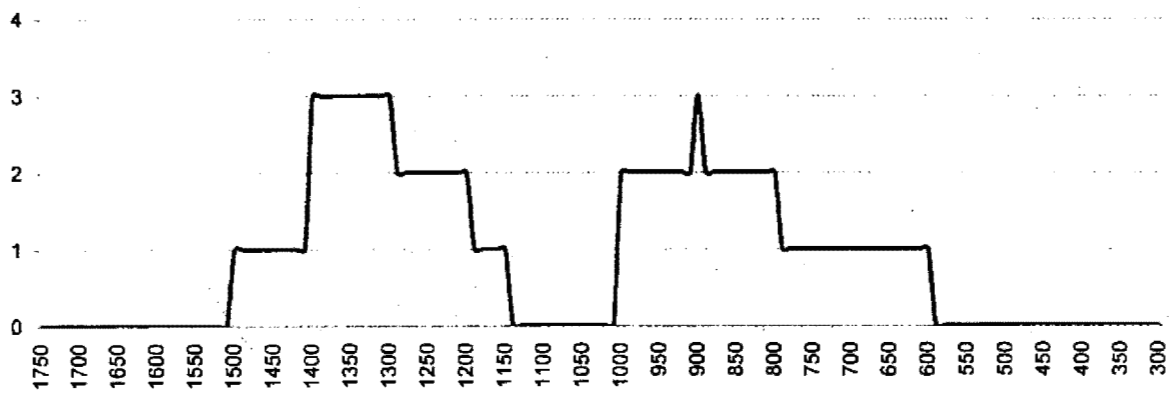
(22) (cf. p. 166) weather god. When the weather god (ibid. 218) appears as bowman (24) the motif follows the tradition of Neo-Assyrian hunting scenes (GERLACH 1992:67,70,72-74). Also of Asiatic origin is the posture of the weather god as *Schlangenwürger* subduing the serpent with the bare hand (25) (KEEL 1992a:220-222). The motif of the serpent-slaying weather god is emblematic, conveying to a greater degree the heroic nature of the victor than telling a full story. Only in the Neo-Assyrian period is a more detailed tale told with the addition to the scene of a vegetable object thereby indicating what the struggle is all about (24). The diversity is also carried over to the *media* used to depict the motif. Only twice is it found on a scarab. The remaining representations are either a statue, a cylinder seal, a graffito, or an appliqué on a cult-stand. The lack of a common iconographic type seems to have hampered the widespread production of the motif. Although its *chronology* ranges from 1500 to 600, emphasising the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age (1540/1450-900), the few extant pieces in Palestine do not testify to a very deep-rooted preference for this motif. Thus, of the 56 mass-produced Neo-Assyrian depictions of the bowman shooting the horned serpent - known from Sardinia and Greece to Mesopotamia, Iran and Armenia - only a single piece was discovered in Palestine (24).

object as a tree. Thus it is the vegetation (cf. in this connection also KEEL 1984a:39 fig. 42) that is attacked by the serpent and defended by the bowman.

3.1.2.2.3. Geographical and chronological distribution



Map 2: The weather god and the serpent



Graph 2: The weather god and the serpent

3.1.2.3. The weather god and Mischwesen

3.1.2.3.1. Catalogue

26 OBJECT: Cylinder seal; "glass"; 22,5 (h) mm.

DESCRIPTION: A striding bearded figure, wearing a round cap with a streamer and a long dress, is raising both of his arms towards a griffin. Between them is a bovine animal.

DATE: 1391–1353.

PROVENANCE: Beth-Shean; level of Amenophis III, room 1068.

LITERATURE: ROWE 1940: pl. 38A:14; CORNELIUS 1994:220, no. BM87; pl. 51:BM87; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:88, fig. 90b. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 214 on p.

318. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 185 on p. 293, 340 on p. 365, 507 on p. 502, 530 on p. 532.



27 OBJECT: Cylinder seal; deep engraving, drilling; haematite; black; 18 x 8 mm.

DESCRIPTION: A standing figure to the left dressed in a short decorated kilt with a long hairlock is holding with his right hand a roaring lion and in his left hand a galloping horned animal. On the right side of the scene is a winged demon with a tail and a beak⁴³² and wearing a horned headgear. He is about to grab a human figure which is sitting on the ground raising its hand in a gesture of prayer. Behind the demon is a human head.

DATE: 1500–1100.

PROVENANCE: Tell el-‘Ajjul; E 829” above sea level.

LITERATURE: PETRIE 1934: pl. 12:1; ROWE 1936: pl. 27:S. 60; NOUGAYROL 1939: pl. 9:XCI (TA. 18); PARKER 1949: pl. 2:13; PORADA 1948:183; DIGARD 1975: no. 1456; KEEL 1984a:336, fig. 485; CORNELIUS 1994:190, no. BM42, pl. 48:BM42; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:88: fig. 90a. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 179 on p. 258, 254 on p. 330, 351 on p. 412, 381 on p. 430. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 27 on p. 156, 80 on p. 204, 223 on p. 302, 311 on p. 358, 397 on p. 380.



3.1.2.3.2. Analysis

The common denominator of these two representations of the weather god is not the display of aggression and raw power but the all-embracing and supreme domination and control over life-threatening forces. The weather god is not in need of a weapon to repulse the enemy. He needs only to stretch out his hand (26) or display his lordship by holding symbols of dangerous forces in his hand (27) to be effective. The Asiatic garb of the weather god and the opponents⁴³³ betray that both representations are of Syro-Mesopotamian origin. These two

⁴³² Clearly visible on the photograph (CORNELIUS 1994: pl. 48:BM42).

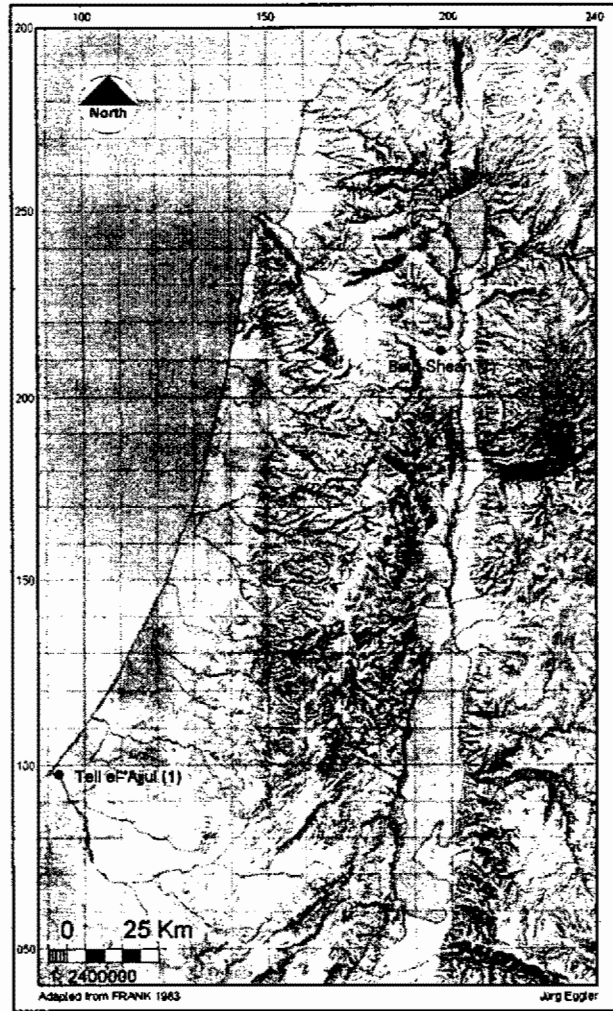
⁴³³ Cat. no. 26: The aggressive griffin in contest with a hero also appears on a 9th and 8th century Neo-Assyrian cylinder seal (cf. figs. 184 on p. 292 and 237 on p. 308) and is again depicted in Persian royal iconography (cf. figs. 189,190 on p. 294). See also the proto-Achaemenid/late Babylonian cylinder seal from Lachish (fig. 215 on p. 299). On a 9th/8th century Neo-Assyrian cylinder seal from Gezer a griffin-demon subdues a griffin (fig. 225 on p. 303). For other malevolent griffins see also pp. 317–319. Although the bovine animal is also known in Egyptian iconographic tradition (cf. figs. 328 on p. 362 and 336,337 on p. 364. Note also that once the *ki*-sign

cylinder seals are important as they tell a more detailed story. What is under threat are the life-sustaining possessions of mankind, represented by the attacked bull (26) and human life itself (27). The enemies, a griffin and a winged demon, do not indicate their intention to pin-point a specific enemy. The attacking griffin is a very general symbol of a malevolent power. Likewise the demon does not show any specific attributes which would necessitate making an identification. It is simply the personalisation of the evil forces of life.

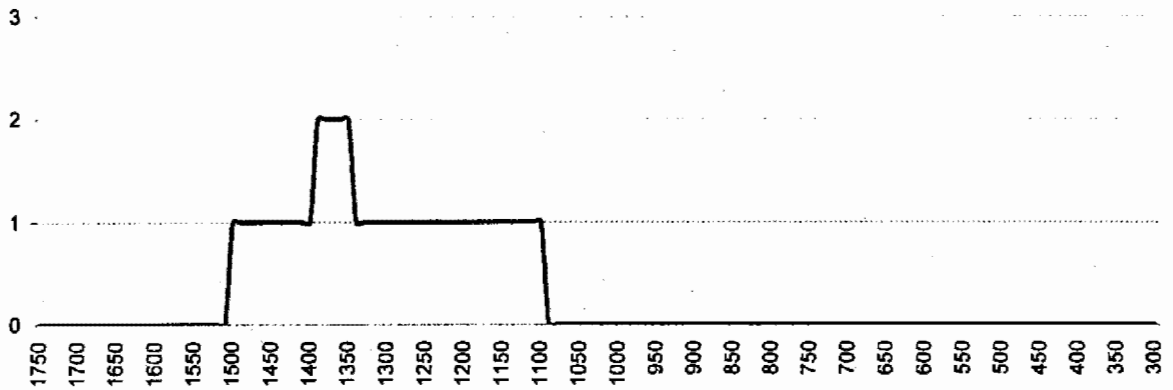
[phonetic: "bull"; KEEL 1995a:171 § 456] is combined with a bull on a seal from Tell Gerisa; ORY 1944:57, pl. 13:5) the Syrian bovine animal is more appropriate for the scene. For the attacked bovine animals see p. 365 and as symbol for fertility pp. 366-369.

Cat. no. 27: Winged demons and heroes involved in the struggle for cosmic order are typical Asiatic concepts (cf. p. 330). The lion (cf. pp. 201,203) and horned animal (cf. pp. 352,357) as subdued life-threatening force are known in Egyptian as well as Asiatic thought. It is notable that the motif of the "master of horned animal and lion" appears again with an Asiatic god, namely, Reshef (fig. 312 on p. 358).

3.1.2.3.3. Geographical and chronological distribution








Map 3: The weather god and Mischwesen



Graph 3: The weather god and Mischwesen

3.1.2.4. The crocodile overcome by the lion/pharaoh/rising sun

3.1.2.4.1. Catalogue

- 28 **OBJECT:** Scarab; part of the scarab broken off; coarse linear engraving with hatching and cross-hatching; diorite; 24 x 18 x mm.
DESCRIPTION: As no. 31 but the forepaw is demonstratively put on the crocodile and it adds a uraeus in front of the lion.
DATE: 1750-1550.
PROVENANCE: Gezer; find context unknown (3rd Semitic period).
LITERATURE: MACALISTER 1912: III pl. 202a:9; KEEL 1994a:34; *ibid.* 1995a:198 § 541; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:27:6. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 107 on p. 237. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 29 on p. 157, 57 on p. 197, 497 on p. 492, 523 on p. 524.
- 
- 29 **OBJECT:** Scarab; hollowed-out engraving with cross-hatching; steatite; white-yellowish; 17 x 12,7 x 8 mm.
DESCRIPTION: As no. 28, but the lion is striding and roaring.
DATE: 1750-1550.
PROVENANCE: Jericho; tomb 3.
LITERATURE: ROWE 1936, no. 319; KEEL 1994a:34; *ibid.* 1995a:198 § 541. *Photograph from Corpus File.* Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 108 on p. 237.
- 
- 30 **OBJECT:** Scarab; hollowed-out engraving; steatite; white-yellow; 21,9 x 17 x 9,6 mm.
DESCRIPTION: To the right is a vertically-placed crocodile. A seated roaring lion places its lifted paw on the crocodile. Behind it is a uraeus. In front of the lion is a *st* or *wh* and *nfr*. There is a twisted rope border.
DATE: 1750-1550.
PROVENANCE: Megiddo; area K 14(c).
LITERATURE: ROWE 1936: pl. 2:71. *Photograph from Corpus File.* Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 109 on p. 237.
- 
- 31 **OBJECT:** Scarab; border heavily chipped; hollowed-out engraving with hatching and cross-hatching; steatite; 18,4 x 12 x mm.
DESCRIPTION: A striding lion over a crocodile.
DATE: 1575-1522.
PROVENANCE: Tell el-'Ajjul; find context unknown.
LITERATURE: PETRIE 1934: pl. 11:453; WILLIAMS 1970: fig. 13j; TUFNELL 1984:133, pls. 39:2590,40:2627; KEEL 1994a:34; *ibid.* 1995a:198 § 541; *ibid.* 1997:444,445, no. 1003. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 110 on p. 237.
- 
- 32 **OBJECT:** Scarab; hollowed-out engraving with cross-hatching; 21 x 14 x mm.
DESCRIPTION: As no. 31, but with an additional uraeus in front; the tail of the lion merges into a uraeus.
DATE: 1575-1522.
PROVENANCE: Tell el-'Ajjul; field F, tomb 1216 (between FK and FL).
LITERATURE: PETRIE 1934: pl. 7:259; WILLIAMS 1970: fig. 13i; TUFNELL 1984:133,139 pls. 39:2597,40:2635; KEEL 1994a:34; *ibid.* 1995a:198 § 541; *ibid.* 1997:382,383, no. 819. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 111 on p. 237.
- 

- 33 OBJECT: Scarab; hollowed-out engraving with hatching.

DESCRIPTION: As no. 31.

DATE: 1575-1522.

PROVENANCE: Tel Esur; tomb, 3rd phase.

LITERATURE: GOPHNA/SUSSMANN 1969:10, fig. 10:12; *ibid.* 1995a:198 § 541; KEEL 1994a:34. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 112 on p. 238.



- 34 OBJECT: Scarab; border slightly chipped; hollowed-out engraving with hatching; steatite; white-grey; 16 x 12,4 x 7,4 mm.

DESCRIPTION: As no. 31, except that the lion has in its paw a spearhead-shaped object.

DATE: 1292-1190.

PROVENANCE: Beth-Shean; stratum VI, south end of the city, locus 1072.

LITERATURE: ROWE 1936:141, pl. 15:587; *ibid.* 1940:83, pl. 36:21. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 113 on p. 238.



- 35 OBJECT: Scarab; schematic hollowed-out and linear engraving; steatite; grey-beige-yellowish; 10,9 x 7,7 x 6,5 mm.

DESCRIPTION: As nos. 28/34, but the uraeus/spearhead-shaped object is replaced by the reed-sign (M17).

DATE: 1130-945.

PROVENANCE: Megiddo; stratum IV, square Q21, 182,30 m above sea level, 4,20 m below the tell surface.

LITERATURE: SCHUMACHER 1908:86 fig. 124; KEEL 1994a:33,34, pl. 9:16. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 114 on p. 238.



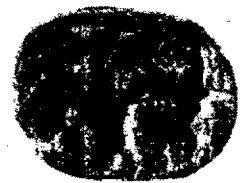
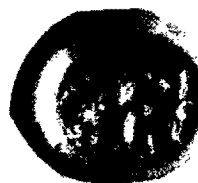
- 36 OBJECT: Scarab; border chipped, part of base damaged; schematic hollowed-out engraving; steatite; remains of blue-green glaze; 11,2 x 8,5 x 5,6 mm.

DESCRIPTION: A striding lion before which is a vertically placed crocodile. Above the lion is a *nbw*-shaped object which as a result of damage cannot be properly identified.

DATE: 12th-10th centuries.

PROVENANCE: Megiddo; stratum IV, square Q21, 182,30 m above sea level, 4,20 m below the tell surface.

LITERATURE: SCHUMACHER 1908:86 fig. 124, right row, second left (?). *Photographs from Corpus File no. 34* (impression mirrored). Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 115 on p. 238.



- 37 OBJECT: Scarab; hollowed-out engraving with hatching; steatite; brownish with remains of green glaze; 15 x 11 x 7 mm.

DESCRIPTION: A recumbent lion is shown above a crocodile. In front and behind the lion's head is a sun disk.

DATE: 1292-716.

PROVENANCE: Azekah; find context unknown.

LITERATURE: BLISS 1899a:186, pl. 7:4; BLISS/MACALISTER 1902:153, pl. 83:13; ROWE 1936: no. 896; KEEL 1997:744,745, no. 26. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 31 on p. 158.



- 38 OBJECT: Scarab; linear and hollowed-out engraving; glass; blue-grey; 13,9 x 10 x 7 mm.

DESCRIPTION: A figure wearing a short kilt and the atef-crown is spearing a crocodile. In front of it stands a female in a long dress and a high headgear. Behind the spearing figure is a vertical object which appears to be damaged in the middle section.

DATE: 664-525.

PROVENANCE: Shiqmona.

LITERATURE: KEEL 1989b:271,272, fig. 95; *ibid.* 1995a:194, fig. 347. *Photograph from Corpus File*. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 30 on p. 157, 498 on p. 493.



3.1.2.4.2. Analysis

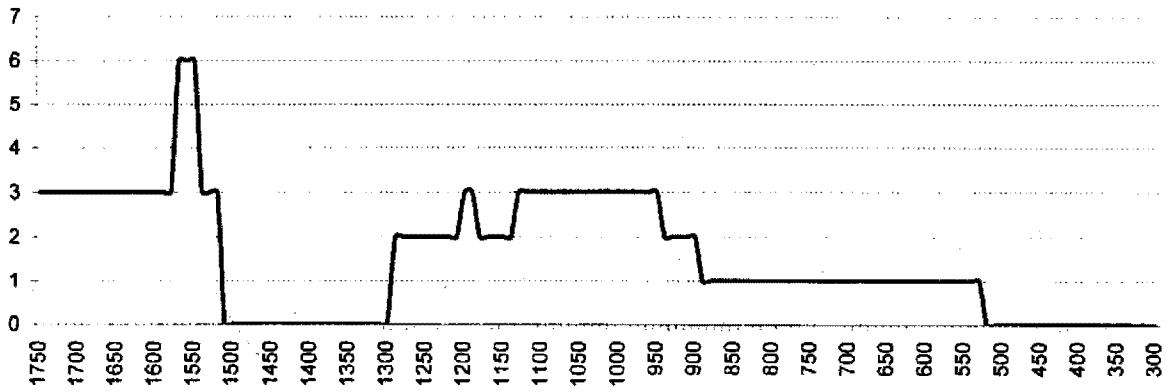
The motif of "the lion above the crocodile" does not show great variation during the MB II B (1760–1540/1450) period. The lion and crocodile are depicted alone (31,33) or more often together with a uraeus (28–30,32). Only once have other signs been added to the design (30). From the 19th dynasty (1292–1190) onwards two changes can be observed: first, the apotropaic uraeus does not appear anymore; second, the new elements that replace it vary (spearhead-shaped object [34], reed-sign [35], *nbw*-hieroglyph [36]), indicating the lack of a stable tradition as we move into the Iron Age.

If the interpretation of the lion as backdrop to royal power is correct (cf. p. 197) then we can also observe a new emphasis with 37. Not only does it expand the chronology to the end of the 8th century but it also depicts the rising sun as overcoming the dangerous sea. At the same time the lion's aggressive stance is changed to a recumbent posture (the seated posture is already used on the MB II B piece 30, but there the forepaw is lifted in an aggressive fashion) in accordance with his new role as symbol of the earth and agent of regeneration. The singular crocodile hunt of 38 is significant in so far as it indicates on the one hand that the mythological overcoming of the crocodile is attested down to the 6th century, and on the other confirms that the power which subdues the crocodile also had a royal connotation.

3.1.2.4.3. Geographical and chronological distribution



Map 4: The overcoming of the mythological crocodile



Graph 4: The overcoming of the mythological crocodile






3.1.2.5. The Horus-type hero as "master of crocodiles"

3.1.2.5.1. Catalogue

- 39 OBJECT: Scarab; slightly worn; schematic hollowed-out engraving; steatite; 14,5 x 11,5 x 8 mm.
DESCRIPTION: A standing figure in a long garment holds two crocodiles by their tails. Short strokes indicate the scales.
DATE: 1130-945.
PROVENANCE: Acco; surface find.
LITERATURE: GIVEON/KERTESZ 1986:36-37, no. 138; KEEL 1990c:341-342, fig. 14; KEEL 1997:570,571, no. 115. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 33 on p. 158, 496 on p. 492, 522 on p. 524.
- 40 OBJECT: Scarab; border heavily chipped, third of base is broken off; schematic hollowed-out engraving; steatite; 15 x 10,7 x 6,4 mm.
DESCRIPTION: As no. 39, but without scales.
DATE: 1130-945.
PROVENANCE: Acco; area K, square H14, locus 33, free area between buildings 203 and 455, stratum II (3rd-2nd centuries, Hellenistic ceramics).
LITERATURE: KEEL 1997:614-615, no. 242.
- 41 OBJECT: Scarab; schematic hollowed-out engraving; steatite; 22,1 x 13,8 x 9,4 mm.
DESCRIPTION: Figure in a dress is holding two very debased crocodiles by their tails. Scales seem to be indicated.
DATE: 950-900.
PROVENANCE: Gezer; tomb 96.
LITERATURE: MACALISTER 1912: III pl. 90:25.
- 42 OBJECT: Scarab; schematic hollowed-out engraving; steatite; 13,6 x 9,7 x 8 mm.
DESCRIPTION: As no. 39, except that the figure wears a short dress.
DATE: 1130-945.
PROVENANCE: Şur Bahir.
LITERATURE: Unpublished. *Drawing from Corpus File.*
- 43 OBJECT: Scarab; lower right part is broken off; schematic hollowed-out engraving; steatite; whitish yellow; 14 x 10,2 x 7,4 mm.
DESCRIPTION: As no. 39, except that the figure wears a short kilt and the crocodiles are depicted without scales.
DATE: C. 1190-800.
PROVENANCE: Beth-Shemesh; north-west cemetery, tomb 1.
LITERATURE: MACKENZIE 1912-1913:61, pl. 29:A.1; ROWE 1936:200, pl. 21:850; KEEL 1978:145,147,148, fig. 85a; ibid. 1990c:341, fig. 13; ibid. 1993b:120,121, fig. 85a.
- 44 OBJECT: Scarab; chipped border; schematic hollowed-out engraving; steatite; 17 x 12 x 8 mm.
DESCRIPTION: As no. 39, except that the figure wears a short kilt.
DATE: 1130-945.
PROVENANCE: Tell el-'Ajjul; find context unknown.
LITERATURE: PETRIE 1932: pl. 6, bottom left, 6th row, 1st from right; KEEL 1978:145,147,148, fig. 85b; ibid. 1990c:341-342, fig. 11; ibid. 1993a:120,121, fig. 85b; KEEL/UEHLINGER



1995:132,133, fig. 140a; *KEEL* 1997:170,171, no. 200.

- 45 **OBJECT:** Scarab; border partly broken off; schematic hollowed-out engraving; steatite; 14,5 x 11,2 x 6,1 mm.
DESCRIPTION: As no. 39, except that no garment is visible.
DATE: 1130-945.
PROVENANCE: Tell el-'Ajjul; find context unknown.
LITERATURE: PETRIE 1934: pl. 11:445, 10:5 fifth row, 8th from left; HORNUNG/STAEHELIN 1976: no. 900; KEEL 1978:148, footnote 408; *ibid.* 1990c:341,342, fig. 12; *ibid.* 1997:442,443, no. 996.
- 
- 46 **OBJECT:** Scarab; chipped left border; schematic hollowed-out engraving; 16 x 12 x 7 mm.
DESCRIPTION: As no. 39, except that the figure wears a short kilt.
DATE: 1130-945.
PROVENANCE: Taanach; surface find.
LITERATURE: Unpublished. *Photograph from Corpus File.*
- 
- 47 **OBJECT:** Lion scaraboid; border partly chipped; schematic hollowed-out engraving; steatite; light brown; 16 x 11 x 11 mm.
DESCRIPTION: Striding human figure holds a crocodile upside down. There is a horizontal stroke below the left arm.
DATE: 1130-945 or later.
PROVENANCE: Beth-Shean; northern cemetery, square A 1/2, tomb 10.
LITERATURE: ROWE 1936: no. S. 54; OREN 1973:125, no. 6; KEEL 1978:145, fig. 84c. *Photograph from Corpus File.* Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 32 on p. 158.
- 
- 48 **OBJECT:** Conoid; schematic hollowed-out engraving; limestone; red; 11,8 (d) x 10,3 (h) mm.
DESCRIPTION: As no. 39, except that no garment is visible.
DATE: 1200-900.
PROVENANCE: Bet Jibrin/Mareshah; surface find.
LITERATURE: Unpublished. *Photograph from Corpus File.*
- 
- 49 **OBJECT:** Lion scaraboid; top right and part of the left side of base broken off; schematic hollowed-out engraving; steatite; yellowish with remains of glazing; 22 x 11 x 12 mm.
DESCRIPTION: Two paratactic scenes: at the bottom are two lions and above them a figure holding two crocodiles by their tails.
DATE: 850-800.
PROVENANCE: Achzib; tomb 979, second tomb's stage, Western half of tomb, at the level of -1.17.
LITERATURE: *KEEL* 1997:60,61, no. 115.
- 

3.1.2.5.2. Analysis

The motif of the "master of crocodiles" (39-48) is very stereotyped as this is typical for many Ramesside mass-products. Only 49 differs in that it adds two lions in a fashion which does not significantly expand the meaning of the motif. The lion also appears in the context of control over dangerous forces (cf. p. 157) where it has royal undertones (cf. p. 197). Particularly

close representations are those which depict the lion as overcoming the crocodile (cf. figs. 29,30 on p. 157). Most probably the lion serves here due to its paratactic depiction as apotropaion (cf. footnote 419 on p. 157). This is strengthened by its reduplication which should enhance its force. The hero does not have any particular attribute which would compellingly demand identification with Horus by the owner of the amulet. It seems rather that the focus of the amulet is the overcoming of the life-threatening forces associated with the crocodile, not necessarily the agent through which it is achieved. 49 also suggests this where the lions diminish the central role of the hero. It is worthy of note that the motif of the "master of animals" indicates another case in which a typical Egyptian concept (crocodile) is merged with an Asiatic tradition ("master of animals"). The Asiatic influence is not restricted to the iconographic composition but also relates to the theme of overcoming the chaos. Although KEEL (1989b:275) referred in the following statement to Hyksos scarabs, a position now not held anymore, in a certain sense this statement is still true,⁴³⁴ when he stated:

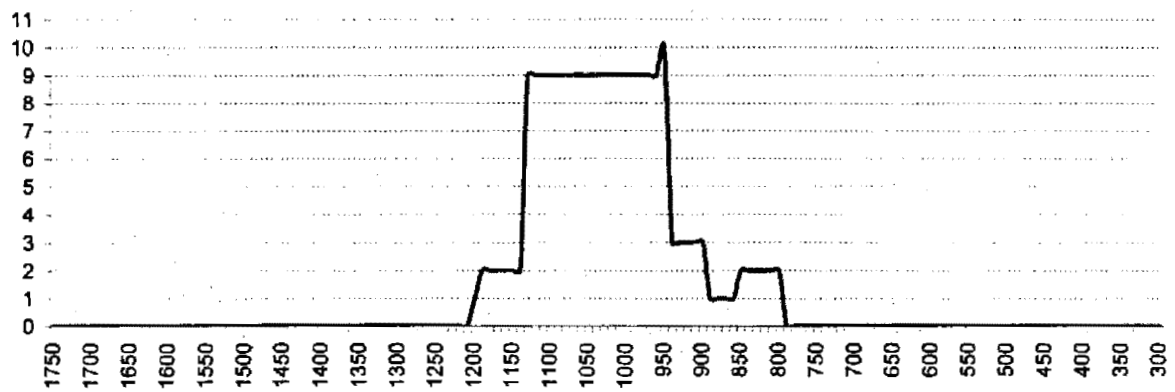
Leviatan erscheint in der hebräischen Bibel wie der ugaritische *ltn* als Repräsentant der Chaosmacht des Meeres (Psalm 74,13f; Psalm 104,29) und wird wie auf den altsyrischen Siegeln einmal als gleitende und gewundene Schlange (Jesaia 27,1), ein andermal aber als Krokodil vorgestellt (vgl. Ijob 40,25 ...). Ähnlich könnte das Krokodil auf den Skarabäen ... eine ägyptisierende Gestalt des *ltn* oder einer ähnlichen Chaosmacht sein.

⁴³⁴ KEEL noted that the Hyksos scarabs prepared a later development of the motif, namely the popular motif of the "master of crocodiles" of the outgoing Late Bronze Age and Iron Age I (1995a:194 § 533).

3.1.2.5.3. Geographical and chronological distribution



Map 5: The Horus-type hero as "master of crocodiles"



Graph 5: The Horus-type hero as "master of crocodiles"

3.1.3. Iconographic summary of the catalogue

Having started out with the hypothesis that the struggle of the weather god with the sea is in some way related to the stirred-up sea in Dan 7, archaeologists indeed unearthed in Palestine/Israel iconographic motifs which reflect the combat between these two opponents. The relevant imagery is the serpent-slaying weather god (20–25). However, the comprehensive approach to the imagery relating to the weather god also revealed that his contest with the serpent represents only a particular facet in his struggle with life-threatening forces in general, not to mention his many other roles as encountered in the survey above. Thus when the weather god is opposing life-threatening forces he is not in the first place attacking the sea-related serpent but the lion (1–19). In addition the weather god is also engaged with an entirely different class of life-threatening forces, namely, winged *Mischwesen* (26,27).

From this very general observation it follows that looking at the weather god in the first instance as someone struggling with the sea is too one-sided. Rather he was considered to be the able opponent of a number of different enemies. This implies that the motif of the sea should not be overrated. This assessment based on the diversity of motifs also finds support in the subordinate role of the serpent-slaying weather god to the lion-slaying weather god in terms of the number of depictions.

In widening the iconographic scenario of figures struggling with life-threatening forces associated with the sea, it becomes apparent that during the same period (c. 1400–800)⁴³⁵ when the serpent-slaying weather god was in vogue, the crocodile-subduing hero was by far the

⁴³⁵ Excluded is the Neo-Assyrian depiction of the bowman fighting the horned serpent (24) which is dated between 900–600. On the one hand it is important to note that the concept of the dangerous serpent as symbol for the chaos sea was still known in the 7th century in Palestine/Israel. On the other hand the single find in Palestine of an immensely popular motif in the whole of the ancient Near East and Mediterranean region (cf. footnote 431 on p. 171) speaks rather for a subordinate role of this particular motif. Certainly it does not testify of a widespread popularity. In addition it is worthy of note that the cylinder seal from Gezer represents an Assyrian and not a

more popular (39–49). This dominance is increased when the mythological overthrow of the crocodile by the lion (34–36) is added to the count.

Considering now only the motif of the serpent–slaying weather god, one cannot speak of a uniform tradition. The co–existence of Egyptian and Asiatic chaos sea traditions observed above is also reflected in the merging of Egyptian and Asiatic iconographic features and divinities in the representation of the serpent–slaying weather god. There is no attempt to adhere to only one type of tradition but the typical Egyptian Apophis–snake–attack–posture by spear (2,22,21?,[20]), the royal “smiting pose” (2,23) as well as the Sethian wings (22) or even Seth (23) with the Asiatic horned serpent (2,22,23) and/or the Asiatic–featured weather god with a horned headgear and streamer (20,22,23) are freely mixed. The combination of Egypto–Syro–Canaanite features finally resulted in the hybrid warrior Baal–Seth (12,13,15–19,22) which proved to be a very popular figure. The purely Asiatic type of the *Schlangenwürger* (25) is only singularly attested.

A similar tendency is observable with the “master of crocodiles” motif (39–49) which combines an Asiatic posture and theme with an Egyptian chaos symbol and is not interested in a clearly identifiable hero by the addition of specific attributes. A loss of stability in iconographic tradition is also visible in the “lion above the crocodile” motif as it moves from the MB II B (1760–1540/1450) (28–33) to the end of the Late Bronze/Early Iron Age (1300–900) (34–36) period.

The combination of Egyptian and Asiatic traditions in the motif of the serpent–slaying weather god has been interpreted as an indication that the serpent is “so auf dem Weg ein Zeichen für jede die bewohnbare Welt gefährdende Macht, für *das Böse schlechthin* zu werden” (KEEL 1992a:215) (*my emphasis*). A related observation can be made regarding the cylinder seal from Tell eš–Şafi (2). Again we see the merging of Egyptian and Syro–Canaanite traditions

Syro–Palestinian tradition (cf. KEEL 1992a:212–220) and therefore should not be taken as indicator for a strong

when the Egyptian god Seth is depicted overcoming the natural enemies of the weather god, the horned serpent and lion. Therefore it has been concluded: "Durch die Doppelung (Kampf gegen die gehörnte Schlange *und* den Löwen) gilt Ba'al-Seth's Kampf auch hier nicht mehr nur *einer* bestimmten (Natur-)Gewalt, es ist ein umfassender Kampf gegen alles Lebensfeindliche" (KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:88). The lack of a uniform composition and the tendency to combine features of different traditions indicate that these motifs do not attempt to tell a specific "story" but are much more concerned with bringing across the all-embracing malice and malevolence of life-threatening powers and their unquestioned defeat by the weather god. This is also underlined by the combination of Baal-Seth with Reshef (15-19). Together they form a team that is able to overcome any threat whatever it might be. The focus is not on a singular hero, but on the combined force which guarantees the indisputable defeat of any opponent. This is also underlined by the submissive lion and horned animal that serve as pedestal and provide a hidden "master of animals" composition.⁴³⁶ Possibly the tendency to generalise and broaden the theme also aided the continuation of the lion-slaying weather god while the serpent-slaying motif linked to a more specific theme fell out of use. Although the Late Bronze/Early Iron Age motif of the anthropomorphic and theriomorphic weather god subduing the lion has obvious links to the mythological victory of Baal over Mot, it also contains the seed for a more flexible and general usage. Thus when the weather god is stabbing the rampant lion (3,4) it is hardly the mythological story of Baal and Mot that is serving as background but rather the heroic royal victory of the king (cf. fig. 73 on p. 202). And when the Late Bronze Age motif of the weather god smiting a lion (1,2) was taken up again in the Persian period (5-7), it probably had less of the mythological undertones associated with the theriomorphic version (9-11). It was rather an adaptation of an age old motif - also

local tradition but rather be understood as a temporary foreign influence.

⁴³⁶ Note that Baal (27) as well as Reshef (fig. 312 on p. 358) are depicted as having control over the lion *and* the horned animal.

betraying links to royal imagery by the smiting pose – to the Persian theme of the king subduing a lion (cf. figs. 74,75 on p. 203) which reaches back to royal Assyrian iconography (cf. fig. 73 on p. 202). In a similar light appears the Herakles-turned weather god when he appears as “master of lions” (cf. 8 with fig. 83 on p. 204).

Thus one can speak of the transformation of the weather god struggling with the cosmic chaos forces as one moves from the Late Bronze Age down to the Persian period. What started out with the combat against the serpent and the lion with very specific mythological undertones and at the same time contending with another sea-related chaos imagery – that of the subduing of the crocodile – changed into a more general theme dominated by the lion as opponent of the weather god, and orientated itself more on images of royal power than on mythological stories.

3.2. The lion

The motif of the winged lion in Dan 7 is generally considered by scholars to be the most promising candidate in proposing a dependency on iconographic sources (cf. pp. 61–64). However, against this popular position, it needs to be noted that the adduced parallels are all *Mischwesen* which do not have a lion's head – such as the *Löwengreif*, the winged sphinx, or the bull sphinx (the latter does not even have a lion's body) – while Dan 7:4 speaks only of a lion with wings. Furthermore it has been pointed out that a simple lion with wings is a rarity in the iconographic repertoire of the ancient Near East (cf. footnote 201/3 on p. 74).

In Palestine/Israel to my knowledge the only example is a 4th-century coin from Samaria (Fig. 34).⁴³⁷ Thus it seems that under close scrutiny a “literal” comparison with iconographic material is not entirely convincing.



Fig. 34

The underlying problem involved in “literal” comparisons is very often the unjustified claim of a rigid dependency of the text on images, as if the author had a collection of seals, amulets, statuettes, and handy copies of wall paintings or reliefs as *Vorlage* for the text he was writing. When a relationship between text and image exists, the nature of such a relationship is very seldom a one-to-one dependency.

In regard to the winged lion of Dan 7 it is significant to note that even in Old Testament textual studies such a close dependency between text and image, as it is sometimes attempted and even demanded, is not proposed. Thus there is no attempt by exegetes to find in the Old Testament a winged lion that served as pattern for Dan 7:4. Interestingly enough the two main features of the animal in Dan 7:4, namely, that it is a lion and has wings, are separated in exegetical discussions by pointing out some passages that speak of the lion and others that speak of an eagle or its wings. This approach is certainly legitimate if it assumed that the author

⁴³⁷ The lion puts its paw over a stylised Bes head. Behind it the abbreviated name of Samaria is inscribed: ס(מרי)ן (*s(mry)n*). According to a personal communication of CH. UEHLINGER the supposed winged lion on this coin could

was not necessarily interested in portraying a particular *Mischwesen* in the first place but wanted to link the entity that is represented by the animal in Dan 7:4 with two concepts, namely, the values which are associated with the lion first of all and then with wings.

Instead of a slavish search for the elusive motif of a simple lion with wings, the two aspects of the imagery of the winged lion will be separated in this study by discussing first the motif of the lion and later that of the wings. Apart from the study of these two elements, the concept of winged animals as such will provide an additional criterion for judgement on the significance of iconographic material for the winged lion in Dan 7.

As is well known the lion is a frequently occurring motif in art in general. Making a sound statement about the meaning of feline representations demands working through all motifs involving a lion in a certain region and period instead of just choosing some seemingly-appropriate depictions that serve the purpose. It is not claimed that each and every motif and subtype has been covered in this chapter, but it can be stated confidently that the survey of motifs presented gives a representative picture of the occurrence of lions in the iconographic testimonies of Palestine/Israel from the Middle Bronze Age II B (1760–1540/1450) down to the Persian period (539–333). The presentation of the iconographic landscape by way of a textual summary could do this, but this approach would lack the visual impression created by being confronted by the (icono)graphic reality, especially because there has been no such overview of the imagery of the lion in Palestine/Israel in existence thus far. Therefore the whole range of motifs and meanings associated with the lion will be presented visually even if they have no direct bearing on Dan 7. Only by awareness of the complete imagery can the value of those representations that seem to have a relationship with Dan 7 be assessed in regard to their relevance.

also be related to the singular rampant lions from the Persian period (cf. cat. nos. 196–198 on p. 264).

3.2.1. Survey of motifs involving the lion

3.2.1.1. The lion in the sphere of the goddess

The goddess previously encountered in connection with the weather god (cf. fig. 1 on p. 147) also appears together with the lion. The base of an MB II B (1760–1540/1450) scarab from Tell el-‘Ajjul depicts a striding lion on a *nb* sign turning its head towards the goddess kneeling on its back. Opposite of the goddess is a vulture.⁴³⁸ The remaining empty spaces are filled out with twigs (Fig. 35).



On a contemporary cylinder seal from the same site the goddess is not anthropomorphically depicted but symbolised by a palm tree protected by two winged heroes (Fig. 36 = fig. 222 on



Fig. 36

p. 302).⁴³⁹ The lion in this representation, seated but also looking backwards, indicates the sphere of the goddess.

The combination of palm tree and lion is depicted on a terracotta cult-stand from Megiddo found in stratum VII B (1350–1150) (Fig. 37). In this instance two lions each flank a palm tree next to the facade of a shrine the centre of which is formed by another palm tree.⁴⁴⁰



Fig. 37

A Mitannian cylinder seal (DESSENE 1957:69, no. 178) found at Megiddo and dated to the Late Bronze Age (1540/1450–1250/1150) indicates the close relationship between the goddess and the tree (Fig. 38 = fig. 151 on



Fig. 38

⁴³⁸ For the lion with only a vulture, both indicating the sphere of the goddess, cf. STARKEY/HARDING 1932: pl. 43:37; GIVEON 1985:118,119, no. 24; DE VAUX 1957:569, pl. 13b:5. For references on the bird in the context of fertility see also p. 167. On the vulture and the goddess cf. SCHROER 1995.

⁴³⁹ Parallel: PARKER 1949:108 = GUY 1938: pl. 131:15.

⁴⁴⁰ BECK (1994:373) interpreted the two lions as guardian lions. The lions in this particular instance probably have a double meaning: functioning as guardians but also indicating the sphere of the goddess which is the centre of worship.

p. 284, 264 on p. 346). Of note are the crouching bovine animal and lion which flank the goddess, thereby making her a "mistress of animals".

A scaraboid dated to about 900 from Tell el-Far'ah (South) (Fig. 39) seems to be like a close-up photograph of the section just described on the cylinder seal in fig. 38. The only difference is that the goddess is replaced by a tree and the lion and bovine animal are standing and facing the tree.



Fig. 39

The sphere of the goddess symbolised by a tree and associated with a lion continued to be used in the Iron Age II B period and appears among the famous paintings from Kuntillet 'Ajrud, located south of Kadesh-Barnea and dated to about 800-750. On a large storage jar (pithos A) a scene depicts a tree flanked by two ibexes, a motif that is typical of the goddess (cf. fig. 38). The lion below the tree (Fig. 40 = fig. 271 on p. 347) indicates the sphere of the goddess.

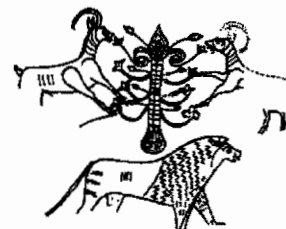


Fig. 40

Interesting is the position of the lion on the pithos painting from Kuntillet 'Ajrud. If the lion is not simply in front of the tree it would seem that the lion serves as a pedestal on which the goddess, represented by the tree, is placed. Such a use of the lion was found on a bronze pendant from Acco, dated to c. 1300 (Fig. 41). The goddess is depicted as *Qudshu* type⁴⁴¹ in an Egyptianised fashion with a Hathor-like hairdo, holding plants and standing on a lion.



Fig. 41

That this motif survived into the Iron Age is evidenced by the clay impression of a seal that was found at Tell en-Naşbeh and is dated to 1100-700. A lion walking on stylised mountains⁴⁴² serves as a pedestal for the goddess⁴⁴³ (KEEL 1992a:148,150 fig. 91) (Fig. 42).



Fig. 42

⁴⁴¹ On the problem of identifying female goddesses, in particular of Qedeset with Asherah cf. the criticism by WIGGINS 1991:391. The Qudshu material will be studied in a forthcoming book by I. CORNELIUS.

⁴⁴² For this particular feature see METZGER 1983.



Fig. 43

Also functioning as a pedestal for the goddess is the lion on an Iron Age fragment of a Palestinian terracotta incense burner located at the University of Minnesota (Fig. 43).⁴⁴³

The goddess has already been referred to as “mistress of animals” (cf. fig. 38 on p. 191). Her association with the lion is evident in an iconographic composition in which the goddess is functioning as “mistress of lions” (cf. also fig. 79 and footnote 478 on p. 203). The base register of a terracotta cult-stand⁴⁴⁵ from Taanach, dated to Iron Age II A (1000–900), depicts her with both arms raised,

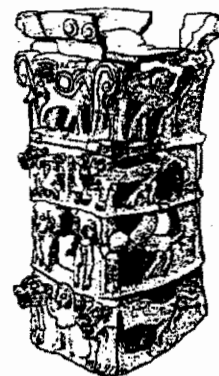


Fig. 44

holding a lion with each hand (Fig. 44 = fig. 78 on p. 203, 158 on p. 285). The same composition appears on the third register, the only difference being that a tree flanked by two ibexes as in fig. 40 now represents the goddess.⁴⁴⁶ Both the “mistress of lions” composition and the lion serving as pedestal graphically express the aggressive aspect of the naked goddess, namely, her control over and the ability to provide life (cf. also CORNELIUS 1989:61–63).

3.2.1.2. *The lion attacking humans, horned animals, and crocodiles, as well as serving as a symbol for royal and divine power*

A frequent motif with many variations is a composition that depicts an attacking lion demonstrating its power over various types of prey. Already in the MB II B (1760–1540/1450) we find the lion depicted as it attacks humans.⁴⁴⁷ In the particular case of fig. 45, a scarab from Lachish, its victims are two humans.



Fig. 45

⁴⁴³ I. CORNELIUS considers also the possibility that the figure might be a representation of the weather god (personal communication).

⁴⁴⁴ A second fragment is also located at the University of Minnesota (COULSON 1986:28, fig. 5:F-2). BECK (1995:104, fig. 3.71 = UEHLINGER 1997:131, fig. 52) reconstructed a female figure from Ḥorvat Qitmit (end of 7th/beginning of 6th centuries) as standing on a lion. Cf. also the crouching lion from Tell Beit Mirsim in figs. 86,87 on p. 205.

⁴⁴⁵ On the lion as feature of cult-stands see also fig. 159 on p. 286. Worthy of mention is a fragment of a lion face from Tell Qasile also likely belonging to a cult-stand (MAZAR 1980:103, fig. 35).

⁴⁴⁶ For further discussions on the goddess with the lion cf. WINTER 1983: 110–114 and figs. 36,37,40–42; KEEL 1984b:39–45 and figs. 13–31; *ibid.* 1992b:148–150 and figs. 87–90; SCHROER 1987a:38,39.

⁴⁴⁷ Parallels: cat. nos. 51–68 on pp. 219–222.

Very similar to the previous motif is **fig. 46** from Gezer also dating to the MB II B, which represents the lion in almost the same posture, except that the lion is facing to the left – unusual in Egyptian art (KEEL 1995a:155) – and



Fig. 46

that the prey is not a human but an ibex⁴⁴⁸ which turns its head back towards the attacker as on **fig. 45**.⁴⁴⁹

An MB II B scarab from Jericho seems to blend the two previous motifs into one (**Fig. 47**). The human lying on its back on the ground and the ibex trying to escape the attacking lion hardly represent a realistic hunting scene.



Fig. 47

An interesting link which sheds light on the meaning of these motifs comes from a scarab found at Tell el-°Ajjul and is dated to about 1650–1575 (**Fig. 48**). Once again a fleeing ibex is attacked by a lion. However, the human figure is not lying on the ground but is standing on a *nb*-sign and raising its arm in adoration a quarter of a turn toward the main scene.



Fig. 48

Fig. 49, a scarab from Jericho, is noteworthy because it indicates that the lion is the object of adoration. Again a human figure wearing a short kilt and standing on a *nb*-sign is paying tribute to a lion by raising its right arm. A look at these closely-related motifs suggests that the lion is none other than a



Fig. 49

metaphor for the king and indicates his victorious power (CORNELIUS 1989:58,59; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:24–26; KEEL 1995a:196–198 §§ 538–540) over enemies and life-threatening forces (cf. pp. 352,354).

⁴⁴⁸ Rare is the composition which depicts a lion and a horned animal in peaceful co-existence as in a tête-bêche arrangement: YADIN 1961: pl. 360:10; LAMON/SHIPTON 1939: pls. 69/70:37; an unpublished cylinder seal from Taanach (find context: area D, SW 6–6, locus 186, basket 338).

⁴⁴⁹ Parallels: Cat. nos. 69–93 on pp. 225–229.

The association of the lion with the victorious king is also more explicitly expressed. An ivory fragment from Megiddo, dated to the end of the Late Bronze Age (1540/1450–1250/1150), depicts a lion accompanying into battle the pharaoh who is riding in a horse-drawn chariot (Fig. 50 = fig. 67 on p. 201).



Fig. 50

Another representation on a 12th century ivory from Megiddo (LOUD 1939: pl. 4:2b) depicts the victorious king as he parades defeated Shasu nomads in front of his chariot. To the left of this scene the subsequent celebration of the victory is depicted. The king – sitting on a cherubim throne – is drinking from a bowl while another servant is filling a second bowl from a large jar, above which a lion rhyton⁴⁵⁰ is placed on a shelf,

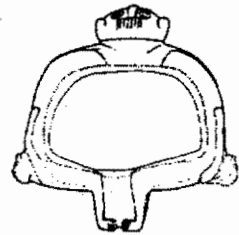
thus associating the animal with the victorious king (Fig. 51 = fig. 465 on p. 458).



The lion also appears on other theriomorphic vessels Fig. 51

which have nothing to do with royal power but are associated with the cult.

An example is a chalk libation tray with three attached lion heads from Tell Beit Mirsim (Fig. 52) thus indicating the polyvalent meaning and function of the lion. The lack of an iconographic context makes it difficult to assess



its function. A hint might be the crouching lion (cf. fig. 86 on p. 205),⁴⁵¹ Fig. 52

found close by, that served as part of a base most probably for a statuette of a goddess (cf. also figs. 41–43 on p. 193).⁴⁵²

The difficulty in ascertaining the specific function of an isolated object such as a lion rhyton is demonstrated by an example that was excavated at Tell Qasile (Fig. 53). Recently YADIN (1985:269–273) argued that the lion on this



Fig. 53

Philistine rhyton is a symbol of the Canaanite god Reshef and therefore indicates that he was

⁴⁵⁰ The rhyton originates from the Aegean world and was probably taken over in the Late Bronze Age by Canaanite artistic tradition and continued in the Iron Age I (MAZAR 1980:102).

⁴⁵¹ Found in the Late Bronze Age stratum C the lion was dated to the Late Bronze Age (1550–1250) (HOLLADAY 1987:293,294, endnote 125) but also to the 8th century (AMIRAN 1975:36).

venerated in their territory.⁴⁵³ Comparing this suggested interpretation with the context in which the lion rhyton of fig. 51 appears it would indicate the polyvalence not only of the lion but of even the specific object on which the lion appears.

This section began with the emphasis on the lion as symbol for royal power but, as the topic developed, the focus moved towards the religious aspect. Of particular interest is the Asiatic influence which associates the lion with deities as indicated on a cylinder seal from



Fig. 54

Azekah, dated to the 18th dynasty (1539–1292) (Fig. 54). The focus of this seal is on the scimitar-holding striding god who subdues a rampant horned animal,⁴⁵⁴ which symbolises the chaotic and life-threatening forces (cf. pp. 352–358). The vanquished animal above the rampant one also indicates the malevolent character of the horned animal. Looking at the awesome power displayed by the deity on this seal over the negative forces in life, one is not surprised that the figure to the right raises his arms in devotion. When taking this whole scene into consideration, it seems obvious that the lion which attacks another horned animal above the protective winged sphinxes has to be closely associated with the god who aggressively controls cosmic order.⁴⁵⁵

That the popularity of the motif of the lion attacking a horned animal was unbroken in the first millennium is indicated by a three-registered stamp seal from Megiddo dated to the 8th century, where it appears in the lowest register (Fig. 55 = fig. 293 on p. 353).⁴⁵⁶ In this case the lion most likely stands for the



Fig. 55

aggressive aspect of the fertility goddess in order to indicate that she also has forceful qualities to guarantee life (cf. pp. 191–193). The connection with the fertility-related realm is suggested

⁴⁵² Parallel: WEIPPERT 1988: pl. 21:2.

⁴⁵³ Four other Iron Age I rhyta were found at Megiddo, Tell es-Şafi, Tell Gerisa, and Tell Zeror (MAZAR 1980:102).

⁴⁵⁴ On a 13th century cylinder seal from Beth-Shean a rampant lion attacks a rampant horned animal (cf. cat. no. 101 on p. 230).

⁴⁵⁵ For a cylinder seal with an adoration scene with the motif of the lion attacking a horned animal see cat. no. 99 on p. 230.

by the other symbols of regeneration on this seal, such as the vulture (cf. fig. 35 on p. 191 with footnote 438), the hare (cf. HORNUNG/STAEHELIN 1976:114,115), and the sacred tree protected by flanking griffins.

It is highly unlikely that thirty 4th century Samarian coins allude to the Egyptian concept of the pharaonic lion attacking a horned animal (cf. fig. 46 on p. 194). When on the reverse of these Samarian obols with the inscription שַׁמְרִיָן (*Smryn*) a lion is attacking a stag (Fig. 56 = fig. 296 on p. 353), another



Fig. 56

theme is most likely expressed. The stag is especially related to the theme of fertility or thirst for life (cf. pp. 345,346 with footnote 688) and therefore this motif might suggest the desire to take hold of life in a lion-like way: forcefully and triumphantly (cf. also below p. 198).⁴⁵⁷

Returning to the lion in Egyptian thought, one cannot but recall that the attacking lion also appears in an entirely different context – namely, as striding⁴⁵⁸ on a crocodile as on the MB II B (1760–1540/1450) scarab from



Fig. 57

Gezer (Fig. 57 = fig. 29 on p. 157, 497 on p. 492, 523 on p. 524). It has been pointed out that the crocodile stands for the dangerous forces of the *Urflut* (cf. p. 157). If the lion is interpreted in the line of the above-discussed motifs as king (cf. also fig. 30 on p. 157), it would indicate not only that he has control over earthly powers but that his domination encompasses also the dangerous forces of the mythological realm (cf. also pp. 352,354).⁴⁵⁹

⁴⁵⁶ Parallels: cat. nos. 95–98,103–105 on pp. 229–231.

⁴⁵⁷ For the remaining parallels see MESHORER/QEDAR 1991:72, nos. SH38–65, 48, no. 18. Once a ram is depicted instead of a stag (ibid. 48, no. 20).

⁴⁵⁸ For recumbent and seated lions, which are not to be considered as aggressive lions that overcome the crocodile, see fig. 31 on p. 158 and the figures in footnotes 419,420 on p. 157.

⁴⁵⁹ Parallels: cat. nos. 110–112,108–115 on pp. 237,238.

3.2.1.3. The lion attacking a bull

Another opponent of the lion is depicted on an ivory carving dated to the 9th century (Fig. 58 = fig. 338 on p. 365)⁴⁶⁰ from Samaria, executed in high relief and pierced work. Here the lion attacks a bull,



Fig. 58

a motif that can be traced back to the Uruk V-III period (c. 3300-2900) (cf. KEEL 1992a:26-27,51, fig. 11). The lion in this composition represents those forces that control "Fruchtbarkeit, Leben, Fülle, Wohlstand" (ibid. 26), i.e., values with which the bull is usually associated.⁴⁶¹

A cylinder seal of Mitannian Elaborate style from Acco (Fig. 59 = fig. 144 on p. 281, 170 on p. 289), dated to the 14th century (COLLON 1987:65, no. 264), shows two lions standing on their hind legs with their forepaws on the bull's back. In the middle of the

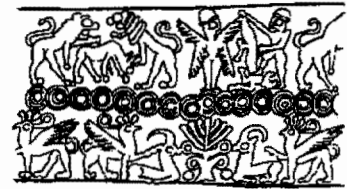


Fig. 59

scene is the four-winged naked goddess facing a nude hero overpowering a bull. Although the lions in this and similar compositions are usually described as attacking the bull, they could

⁴⁶⁰ On the two groups of ivories from Samaria (1. plaques carved in high relief with the background pierced or in open work [*à jour*]; 9th century; 2. plaques carved in low relief with insets, similar to *cloisonné* work in precious metals; 8th century) and their dating cf. CROWFOOT/CROWFOOT 1938:9-11 and AVIGAD 1993:1305,1306. For a refined division and the affinity to the various ivory schools see WINTER 1976, 1981. For the various techniques of carving cf. BARNETT 1982:11-14.

⁴⁶¹ Further parallels of lions attacking bovine animals are: PARKER 1949: nos. 86,143; TUFNELL 1940: pl. 18A; KEEL 1997:12,13, no. 19; PETRIE 1928: pl. 20:4; MESHORER/QEDAR 1991:55, no. 60, 59, no. 84 (?); an unpublished scarab and conoid from Beth-Shean (Corpus File nos. 193,197) and possibly also on the damaged bottom side of an unpublished conoid from Samaria (cf. cat. no. 258 on p. 331). Rare is the composition where a bovine animal and a lion appear in a non-aggressive co-existence (cf. an unpublished conoid from Beth-Shean; = Corpus File no. 118. It is also possible that not a bovine animal but a dog is intended).

very well serve to indicate the sphere of the goddess, namely, her dominion over the life-giving forces.⁴⁶²

3.2.1.4. The lion attacked/overcome by the weather god/bull

In contrast with the two previous sections which depicted the lion as victor, the next two subheadings present the lion as loser, showing that the same animal can stand for opposite concepts, depending on the context. The lion motifs belonging to this paragraph were already partly encountered in connection with the weather god.



Fig. 60

Three main motifs were distinguished: (1) the lion attacked by

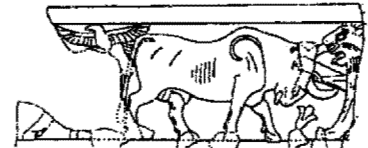


Fig. 61

the weather god (and by Seth) (Fig. 60 = fig. 24 on p. 155, 390 on p. 378, 527 on p. 529),⁴⁶³ (2) the lion attacked by a bull representing the weather god (Fig. 61 = fig. 9 on p. 150, 332 on

⁴⁶² A parallel of another Mitannian cylinder seal of the Elaborate Style in the Pierpont Morgan Library Collection (Fn. fig. 5) shows a bull in the same posture (only facing to the left), seemingly peacefully grazing, flanked by two seated lions, whereby the left one raises one forepaw. On the back of the bull the goddess sits on a throne holding a bird and flanked by two horned quadruped. Behind the goddess just above the right lion is a tree with a bird. It seems that the bull, flanked by the lions, serves like a pedestal for the goddess' throne. On the seal from Acco the lower register places directly underneath the goddess likewise a symbol of fertility – a tree which is flanked by two ibexes. If there is any relationship between these two compositions in regard to the lions and the bull it remains to be discussed whether these lions indeed primarily want to indicate an attack on the bull or if they should more closely be related to the naked goddess and her sphere. A section on an Old Syrian cylinder seal from the Louvre (AO 10.885) seems to point in the same direction. Again a bull is represented in a rather peaceful posture and functioning as pedestal. Interestingly enough the two lions parallel the two figures that pay tribute to the half-naked goddess (Fn. fig. 6), a fact that seems to indicate that the focus of the lions is not primarily on the bull but on the goddess. A Late Bronze cylinder seal from Ras-Shamra, dated to the 15th or early 14th century, (Fn. fig. 7) also illustrates this aspect very well. C. F.-A. SCHAEFFER-FORRER furthermore notes that the paw of the right lion on the goddess' knees resembles "la manière d'un chien fidèle" (1983:20). Cf. also p. 285 on the protecting force of the lifted paw. Noteworthy is also a cylinder seal from Beth-Shean that has a similar basic constellation. In this case there are two rampant lions and a head of a horned animal between them. Next to this scene is a figure worshipping a tree (PARKER 1949: no. 68).

⁴⁶³ Parallel: cat. no. 117 on p. 241.



Fn. fig. 5



Fn. fig. 6



Fn. fig. 7

p. 363);⁴⁶⁴ (3) the weather god victoriously standing on the vanquished lion (Fig. 62 = fig. 25 on p. 155).⁴⁶⁵

A late adaptation⁴⁶⁶ of the weather god's brandishing pose with a weapon and holding a lion as in fig. 60, is the representation of Herakles in the Persian period illustrated by a scarab from 'Atlit (Fig. 63). The posture of the lion and that of the weapon-wielding god are almost identical to that of the contestants in fig. 60.⁴⁶⁷

However, the motif of Herakles fighting a lion can be traced back not only to Asiatic iconography but also to the Greek Archaic period (6th/early 5th centuries) (LEITH 1990:164, *ibid.* 1997:93). This strand of the motif which fell into disuse in the late 5th century but survived in miniature art is represented on an impression of an oval metal finger ring from Wadi ed-Daliyeh (Fig. 64). The impression which is dated to the fourth century depicts Herakles wrestling the Nemean lion whose skin he wears in fig. 63 (*ibid.* 1990:163–170).

Clearly an Asiatic background is shown in the iconography on a scarab from Acco dated to the 6th–4th centuries (Fig. 65). It shows the weather god stabbing a rampant lion with a sword. The theme has its roots in Assyrian royal iconography (cf. fig. 73 on p. 202) and was later adapted by the Persians (cf. figs. 74,75 on p. 203). The same theme is depicted on an incense-burner from Gezer (Fig. 66).



Fig. 62



Fig. 63



Fig. 64



Fig. 65



Fig. 66

⁴⁶⁴ Parallels: cat. nos. 126,127 on p. 243.

⁴⁶⁵ Parallels: cat. nos. 129–132,134,135 on pp. 244,245.

⁴⁶⁶ Several authors have suggested an oriental background of Herakles, respectively indicated that the Phoenician god Melqart (on his iconography cf. Culican 1960–61) can to some extent be considered as a link between Baal and Herakles (Levy 1934:47; Moscati 1966:82,83; Culican 1969:88; Bonnet 1988:431,432; cf. also below footnote 538 on p. 246).

⁴⁶⁷ Parallels: cat. nos. 121–123 on pp. 242,243.

3.2.1.5. The lion attacked by the king

The varied and even “contradictory” meanings of the metaphor of the lion cannot be demonstrated more clearly than in connection with royal iconography. On the one hand we find the lion accompanying the king as symbol of his mighty power as he goes into battle (Fig. 67 = fig. 50 on p. 195), while on the other hand we find the lion as enemy of the king who is being attacked.



Fig. 67

On a scarab from Lachish, stratum VI (c. 1200–1150) (Fig. 68 = fig. 500 on p. 496), the pharaoh is depicted as a Bowman aiming at a lion⁴⁶⁸ hiding among plants (grass, bush? cf. LOUD 1939: pl. 17:110).⁴⁶⁹ The motif of the pharaoh as a Bowman hunting animals is generally interpreted as a symbol of pharaonic domination (KEEL 1977b), and the lion in particular as metaphor for the Egyptian king’s domination over his enemies. A similar composition in which the lion is shown in combat with an ibex (cf. fig. 291 on p. 352) can therefore be considered as conveying the concept of domination over hostile people from the hill countries – the habitat of the ibex (KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:92; cf. also below pp. 352,354).



Fig. 68

The interpretation of the pharaonic domination over foreign nations is more explicit on a related composition from Tell el-Farfah (South). The scarab dated to the 19th–21st dynasties (1292–945) shows a Bowman (very crudely executed) aiming not only at a lion, but also at a horned animal and a human (Fig. 69 = fig. 512 on p. 504).⁴⁷⁰ Here the hunt (lion, horned animal) and the battle (human) are combined to express “die Vernichtung von Feinden nicht nur als solche, sondern als Voraussetzung und als Ausdruck der umfassenden Herrschaft des Pharao” (KEEL 1977b:153).



Fig. 69

⁴⁶⁸ Cf. a very similar motif which shows a quadruped with a lion’s tail but ears that are too long, probably meaning a dog: KEEL 1997:598,599, no. 191; PETRIE 1930: pl. 33:353; LAMON/SHIPTON 1939: pl. 67:3; an unpublished seal from Tell Rekesh (Corpus File no. 9).

⁴⁶⁹ Parallel: cat. no. 137 on p. 249.

A related motif in **fig. 70** from Acco shows in front of the bowman a seated lion and a crouching ibex. Above the lion is a triangular-shaped object that can be identified by comparative material as a lotus flower (cf. NEWBERRY 1906: pl. 42:35).⁴⁷¹



Fig. 70

The lion motif is doubled⁴⁷² on a steatite scarab from Taanach, dated to 1130–1000. The bowman on this example is facing to the left (**Fig. 71**).⁴⁷³



Fig. 71

The last to be mentioned is a variant with two lions and a kneeling bowman. The bowman on **fig. 72** – a scarab of the Late Ramesside mass-production (1130–945) from Lachish whose archaeological context was dated between 810–710 – is very crudely executed. The bow is too thick and the body of the bowman disproportionately short. Of his one arm and another weapon only two short strokes remain at the back, and his bent legs – represented as a curved line⁴⁷⁴ – are incorrectly connected to the bottom end of the bow.



Fig. 72

The theme of the king fighting a lion is not restricted to only an Egyptian origin. With the expansion of its power into the Levant at the end of the 8th century, Assyria left her iconographic mark. A royal Assyrian seal (SACHS 1953; MILLARD 1965) found at Samaria depicting the king in heroic close combat with a rampant lion manifests this influence (**Fig. 73**).



Fig. 73

The same motif was taken over by the Persians. Although attributed to the Persian period, a scarab from Ashkelon with the same theme does not depict the typical Persian hero (**Fig. 74**) as do a large number of coins minted by the



Fig. 74

⁴⁷⁰ Parallels: cat. nos. 138,139,141–145 on pp. 249,250.

⁴⁷¹ Parallels: cat. nos. 147–150 on pp. 250,251. Cf. also NOUGAYROL 1939: pl. 9:TA.24 as a possible parallel on a cylinder seal.

⁴⁷² Cf. also cat. no. 49 on p. 182 where two lions appear together with the “master of crocodiles”.

⁴⁷³ Parallels: cat. nos. 151–156 on pp. 251,252.

⁴⁷⁴ Cf. MATOUK 1977:385, fig. 645,646, 399, fig. 1511, and the unpublished piece M.3250 of the Matouk collection at the BIF which clearly shows that the bowman is kneeling.

Sidonians. Fourteen of these coins were found in Palestine, all of them without known provenance (LAMBERT 1932:6,7, nos. 21-34). An additional coin was recovered in the Cave of the Papyri at Wadi ed-Daliyeh, while three others have been attributed to the Samarian mint.⁴⁷⁵ One of these



Fig. 75

Samarian coins, a silver-plated drachm (Fig. 75), clearly shows the typical regalia of the Persian king.

A notable variant of this motif was also struck at Samaria. The unique feature is the *outstretched paws to the sides* (Fig. 76).⁴⁷⁶



Fig. 76

Also inspired by Neo-Assyrian motifs (GERLACH 1992:85-87) are representations which depict the Persian king as horserider spearing a lion as the one on an ovoid seal from Jaffa (Fig. 77).⁴⁷⁷ Once he even appears as rider of a dromedary (cf. cat. no. 163 on p. 253).



Fig. 77

3.2.1.6. Mistress/master of lions

The motif of the "master of lions" was already encountered in the variation of the "mistress of lions" on the 10th century terracotta stand from Taanach,

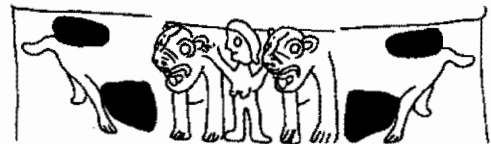


Fig. 78

where the naked goddess is the central element in the lowest registers and holds two lions by their ears (Fig. 78 = fig. 44 on p. 193, 158 on p. 285).

The gender of the figure that is holding two animals, possibly lions, on a cylinder seal from stratum IX (end of 10th century) at Hazor (Fig. 79) cannot be determined with absolute certainty.



Fig. 79

⁴⁷⁵ Cat. nos. 165,166,168 on pp. 254,254.

⁴⁷⁶ Parallels: cat. nos. 170-174 on p. 255.

⁴⁷⁷ Parallels: cat. nos. 160,161 on p. 253.

However its nudity and its being flanked by a tree and possibly by another lion of which only its tail remains, suggests that the goddess is implied.⁴⁷⁸

Although the late Bronze Age cylinder seal from Tell el-^cAjjul (Fig. 80 = fig. 27 on p. 156, 223 on p. 302, 311 on p. 358, 397 on p. 380) does not depict a typical “master of animals” composition, a



Fig. 80

closer look reveals that this very idea is involved when Baal repulses the winged demon. In order to indicate his superiority over the demon, the weather god is presented as having control over the animals by holding a horned animal as well as a lion.⁴⁷⁹ This particular seal is important in so far as it contextualises the concept of the “master of animals” into a narrative.

In the 6th/5th centuries, Bes, the guardian of the mother, childbirth, and the child as such, appears on a Phoenician⁴⁸⁰ seal-amulet from Ashkelon as standing on a *nb*-sign in the pose of “master of lions” by holding two lions by their hind legs (Fig. 81).⁴⁸¹



Fig. 81

It has been suggested that the iconography of Bes “in his parallel role to that of Baal entered into the Greek iconography of the skin-clad Herakles” (CULICAN 1969:96; cf. also LEITH 1990:171–176). On a bulla of an impression of a metal finger ring from Wadi ed-Daliyeh dated to the mid-4th century, the naked Herakles appears indeed as “master of lions” (Fig. 82).⁴⁸²



Fig. 82



Fig. 83

The motif of the “master of lions” was also used in the Persian period for royal iconography. Several bullae of cylinder seal impressions from the Wadi ed-Daliyeh (Fig. 83 = fig. 528 on

⁴⁷⁸ Parallels: cat. nos. 177,178 on p. 258.

⁴⁷⁹ Parallels: cat. nos. 180,181 on p. 259.

⁴⁸⁰ For a discussion on the Phoenician background of this motif see WILSON 1975:88.

⁴⁸¹ Parallel: cat. no. 195 on p. 261.

⁴⁸² For a seal from the end of the 4th century from Dor with a winged hero in Greek garb mastering two lions cf. STERN 1995:476, fig. 10.1:3, 477 photo 10.3.

p. 530) and coins (Fig. 84) minted in Samaria depict the Persian royal hero with the five-pointed Persian κίδαρις and clad in the kandys as "master of lions".⁴⁸³



Fig. 84

3.2.1.7. The guardian, statue base, and demon lion

The last two sections are devoted to lions that appear without iconographic context.⁴⁸⁴ It is obvious that their interpretation is therefore rather difficult. However, the archaeological context of some of these lone lions does allow an interpretation. This is particularly the case with lions like the crouching lion almost 2m long from the Late Bronze temple H at Hazor which served in the function of a guardian⁴⁸⁵ of the temple (Fig. 85).



Fig. 85

A different purpose was served by the crouching limestone lion found at Tell Beit Mirsim in stratum C and dated to the Late Bronze Age (1540/1450–1250/1150) (HOLLADAY 1987:293,294, endnote 125) as well as



Fig. 86

to the 8th century (AMIRAN 1975:36) (Fig. 86). The lion is not only considerably smaller than the Hazor guardian lion with measurements of



Fig. 87

53,5 (l) x 18,5 (w) x 24,1 (h) cm, but functioned, as the reconstruction shows (Fig. 87), as the left lion of a double-lion base for a statue of a deity (cf. also figs. 41–43 on p. 193).

While the guardian lion from Hazor protected the entrance of the temple against an incoming threat, two crudely-scratched demon lions (Fig. 88) from tomb 1 at Tel Eton dated to the 9th century face towards the tomb.



Fig. 88

They do not protect the tomb against assault from outside but make sure that the spirit of the

⁴⁸³ Parallels: cat. nos. 182,184,185,187–192 on pp. 259,260. STERN (1994:140) identified the animals on a "master of animals" scene with the Persian king on a conoid from Samaria as lions (Fn. fig. 8) but they are probably horned animals. At least the long neck of the left and the head of the right animal does not suggest lions. Likewise the absence of the typical lion tail. Thirdly, the animals are not inverted as in typical "master of animals" depictions involving the Persian king.



Fn. fig. 8

⁴⁸⁴ Lions in an iconographic context that were interpreted (BECK 1994:373) as guardian lions are seen on the cult-stand from Megiddo (cf. fig. 37 on p. 191).

dead will not leave the tomb, thereby protecting the living from the dead (WEIPPERT 1988:489; HUTTER 1996:68–71).

Although the lion in **fig. 89**, carved in the round in ivory, served likewise as a protective power, it was not located at a building's entrance. Two holes indicate that this particular lion found at Samaria (9th century) was attached to another object, possibly a throne or a bed.

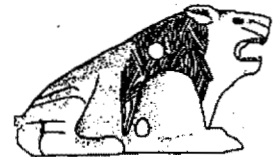


Fig. 89

The function of two rampant lions on a cylinder seal from Beth-Shean dated to about 1500–1200 is enigmatic. The central striding figure wearing a conical headdress and a short kilt brandishes a weapon in his raised hand and holds a shield with the other. It was thereby identified by CORNELIUS (1994:93,94, no. RM4) as Reshef (**Fig. 90**). The lions which are “exceptional”⁴⁸⁶ (ibid. 102) in



Fig. 90

combination with Reshef are probably not attacked by the latter as a different interpretation of the scene suggests (**Fig. 91**; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:86⁴⁸⁷). The key to the interpretation is



Fig. 91

probably the identification of the object on which the lions put their forepaws and the cross-like object above it.⁴⁸⁸ The distribution of the various elements in the scene suggests that Reshef and the object resembling a table with crossed legs, as well as the object in front of the lions' heads, are the two centres of the composition. The lions are at the same time flanking Reshef and probably thereby protecting⁴⁸⁹ him while also focusing on the objects in between them.⁴⁹⁰

⁴⁸⁵ Cf. also footnote 489.

⁴⁸⁶ Cf. also a seal impression with a lion and the name *ṣp* from Hazor unfortunately of which no depiction is available (KEEL 1997:632, no. 286).

⁴⁸⁷ KEEL also remarked that the relationship between the brandishing figure and the lions is not clear (KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:86).

⁴⁸⁸ ROWE (1940:85) designated the object on which the lions put the forepaws as chair, PARKER (1949:32, no. 142) called it “some object represented by a cross between two horizontal lines”, while CORNELIUS (1994:94) did not mention it at all in his description nor did KEEL (KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:86,87). The cross-like object between the lions' heads was only mentioned by PARKER who called it a St. Andrew's Cross or dagger.

⁴⁸⁹ Cf. also the connection between Reshef and the lion which YADIN (1985:273) considers as Reshef's “symbolic animal” (contra CORNELIUS 1994:26, footnote 2). YADIN (ibid. 267,268) also assigned to the Reshef lion the role of a guardian and referred in this regard to the lion orthostat from Hazor.

⁴⁹⁰ Cf. also the rampant lions in **fig. 59** on p. 198 and in footnote 462.

3.2.1.8. The lion as element in Amun cryptography

The lion on a truncated pyramid seal from the Iron Age I (1250/1150–1000) has quite a different function. On the base of the seal stemming from Tel Gerisa and depicted in fig. 92 the lion was used to write cryptographically the name of the Egyptian god Amun (*jmn*):⁴⁹¹



Fig. 92

Reed-sign = *j*⁴⁹²
 Lion = *m3j* = *m*
nb-sign = *nb* = *n*

Above these three signs the sun disk⁴⁹³ (*jtn* = *j*) and the *mn*-sign⁴⁹⁴ form a second time the word *jmn*.



Fig. 93

A second lion (*m3j*) is visible on one side of the same seal (Fig. 93). Together with the *nb*-sign and the *mn*-sign the lion is most likely to be understood as part of the name of Amun although the *j* is missing (KEEL 1990c:348,350).

Two further elements which are combined with the lion and can be read cryptographically as part of the name Amun are the red crown (*nt* = *n*) and the uraeus (*frt* = *j*). If this approach is accepted, the design on the base of



Fig. 94

the lion scaraboid from Arad (1150–900) (Fig. 94) would be read as follows: lion = *m3j* = *m* / red crown = *nt* = *n* which would result in the combination of *mn*, and the *j* would have to be added to this partial cryptographic writing of Amun. The problem is that both letters are derived at by acrophony (cf. *ibid.* 1994a:38,39) and that the *j* has still to be supplied.

⁴⁹¹ For a brief introduction into cryptography and its problems cf. HORNUNG/STAEHELIN 1976:173–180; KEEL 1990c:347–351,405–407; *ibid.* 1994a:47–40; *ibid.* 1995a:177–180 §§ 472–481; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:124–128.

⁴⁹² Cryptograms that involve a reed-sign and a lion are: ZORI 1977: pl. 31:2; KEEL 1994a: pls. 7:7,8:10; LOUD 1948: pl. 152:197; GIVEON 1986:104,105; fig. 28; ROWE 1936: no. 814; KEEL 1997:26,27, no. 15, 56,57, no. 104; GIVEON/KERTESZ 1986:42,43, no. 168; STARKEY/HARDING 1932: pl. 57:400; two unpublished scarabs from Bet Sahur (Corpus File nos. 5,7). A number of cryptograms with the reed-sign add a twig above or below the lion which is sometimes reduced to a stroke: JAMES 1966:340, fig. 113:6; TUFNELL 1953: pl. 45:130; KUNATH 1985:22–24; STARKEY/HARDING 1932: pl. 52:171; ROWE 1936: no. 852; GIVEON 1988:68,69, no. 73; PETRIE 1930: pl. 29:283 (might also be a uraeus).

⁴⁹³ Cryptograms that involve a sun disk and a lion are: OREN/YEKUTIELI/NAHSHONI/FEINSTEIN 1991:12; GIVEON/KERTESZ 1986:24,25, no. 80; KEEL 1997:706,707, no. 47; STARKEY/HARDING 1932: pl. 57:400.

⁴⁹⁴ Cryptograms that involve a *mn*-sign and a lion (thus both the lion and the *mn* can be read as *m*) are: KEEL 1994a: pls. 7:8,9:19,11:27; ROWE 1936: no. 814.

On a more sound footing is the cryptographic reading of the design on a scarab from Megiddo, dated to 1130–945 (Fig. 95). Although all three letters are arrived at by acrophony, the whole *jmn* can be read (uraeus = *ḫrt* = *j* / lion = *m3j* = *m* / base line read as *nb* = *n*).⁴⁹⁵



Fig. 95

3.2.1.9. The lion in animal scenes

Two scenes under this heading show the lion among a number of other animals. The first is depicted on the same pithos from Kuntillet



Fig. 96

‘Ajrud as fig. 40 on p. 192. Among the lined-up

independent motifs UEHLINGER (KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:242) suggested that the boar in the middle of fig. 96 and the raised lion to the right might be understood as part of an animal contest scene.

Another string of animals is lined up in a processional scene on the so-called “Orpheus Jug” from Megiddo VIA, dated to the first half of the 11th century (Fig. 97). A figure with a lyre is surrounded



Fig. 97

by a “fairytale-like world of animals” (ibid. 140). It consists of a lion with a dog on its back above which is a crab, followed by a gazelle with a fish above its horns. Behind the lyre player are a fish and a scorpion, and at the end of the scene is a horse with a swan on its back, above which is another fish. In front of the lion another fish and a lotus flower have been placed.

⁴⁹⁵ Parallel: PETRIE 1930: pl. 29:283 (might also be a debased reed-sign).

3.2.1.10. The lone lion

The lone lion on seal-amulets can be traced back to the Early Bronze Age I (3300–3000). At Tel Yarmut in the Shephelah it appears very crudely executed on a stone seal. The raised tail parallel to the back is typical of lion representations, giving thereby the main clue for the identification. Three



unidentified objects are added to the animal representation (two dots and an additional stroke at the back of the animal below the dot) (Fig. 98). Such additional elements produce at first sight a bewildering number of combinations. A rough classification according to motifs has been made in the following sections which should help to provide some kind of overview.

These motifs have been divided further into three main groups based on the posture of the lion, namely, striding, sitting, or lying.⁴⁹⁶ Not included are those depictions in which the lion can be read as part of the name of Amun (cf. p. 207).



The singular⁴⁹⁷ striding lion without any additional elements is attested as early as the MB II B (1760–1540/1450) as a bulla from Shechem indicates (Fig. 99). The motif is known down to the Persian period as for example on a scarab from Ashkelon which shows the roaring lion ready to jump at its prey (Fig. 100).⁴⁹⁸



Fig. 100

⁴⁹⁶ Among 46 MB II B scarabs the distribution among the three poses are as follows: striding – 22 (48%); sitting – 20 (43%); lying – 4 (9%) (KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:24).

⁴⁹⁷ For two striding lions cf. PETRIE 1928: pl. 19:48; for three rows of two lions each cf. an unpublished scarab from Tel Zippor, Corpus File no. 3.

⁴⁹⁸ Parallels (excluding the Judean seal impression from the Persian period; cf. footnote 524 on p. 214): GUY 1938: pl. 137:12; unpublished scarab from Tell el-Hesi, Corpus File no. 19; unpublished scarab from Taanach, Corpus File no. 8 (without depiction!); PETRIE 1932: pl. 8:139; ORY 1944: pl. 13:7; SEGER/LANCE 1988: pls. 13:14,30:5; MACALISTER 1912: III pls. 121:16,200:2,209:85; PETRIE 1930: pl. 29:257; unpublished conoid from Tell Gerisa, Corpus File no. 35, PETRIE 1928: pl. 20:20 (leopard? and an unidentified object at the top); an unpublished scarab from Gezer, Corpus File no. 675; KEEL 1997:630,631, no. 277; ROWE 1936: no. SO. 35 (open mouth) FRITZ/VIHMEYER 1996:97,98, fig. 8; TUFNELL 1953: pl. 44:97,98; LAMON/SHIPTON 1939: pl. 72:11 (open mouth); YADIN 1960: pls. 89:5, 102:23; 162:5; LEITH 1997: pl. 23:9,10; MESHORER/QEDAR 1991:48, no. 22.

A simple addition is made on Iron Age I/II A (1250/1150–900) depictions when a base line is added as on a scarab from Megiddo (1130–945) (Fig. 101).⁴⁹⁹



Fig. 101

A more frequent and predominately MB II B (1760–1540/1450) feature is the addition of a uraeus which strengthened the apotropaic force of the seal-amulet as on a scarab from Tell Abu Hawam, dated to 1600–1522 (Fig. 102).⁵⁰⁰



Fig. 102

Occurring about one third more frequently is the addition of a vegetable element, usually a twig or lotus flower (Fig. 103).⁵⁰¹ On pieces from the Late Ramesside mass-production the lion is sometimes doubled and a twig placed in front.⁵⁰² A few pieces also have the combination of a uraeus and a vegetable element.⁵⁰³



Fig. 103

Quite frequent is the addition of a *hps*-sword-like object in front of the lion which occurs predominately at the end of the Late Bronze Age through to the Early Iron Age as on a scarab from Tel Ḥarashim (Fig. 104).⁵⁰⁴

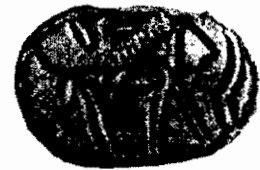


Fig. 104

⁴⁹⁹ Parallels: STARKEY/HARDING 1932: pl. 73:46; GIVEON 1988:66,67, no. 68; PRITCHARD 1963:154, fig. 70:5 (LB II?).

⁵⁰⁰ Parallels (not including those whose lion's tail ends in a uraeus): MACKAY/MURRAY 1952: pl. 10:107; MACALISTER 1912: III 31:27; TUFNELL 1958: pl. 35:216; unpublished scarab from Lachish; Corpus File no. 720; KIRKBRIDE 1965: fig. 296:17; PETRIE 1932: pl. 7:101; STARKEY/HARDING 1932: pl. 57:384,401; SELLIN/WATZINGER 1913:156, pl. 42:d1; LAMON/SHIPTON 1939: pls. 67:52, 69:59.

⁵⁰¹ Parallels: PETRIE 1934: pl. 7:256; MACKAY/MURRAY 1952: pl. 10:108; PETRIE 1932: pl. 8:154; *ibid.* 1931: pl. 14:132; GIVEON/KERTESZ 1986:30,31, no. 102; TUFNELL 1958: pl. 35:217,221; MACALISTER 1912: III pl. 207:49; STARKEY/HARDING 1932: pl. 53:235; unpublished round plaque from Mefalsim, Corpus File no. 2; JAMES 1966: fig. 113:6; ROWE 1936: pl. 36:5; unpublished scarab from Deir el-Balah, Corpus File no. 79; McCOWN 1947: pl. 55:74; KEEL 1997:34,35, no. 41; MACALISTER 1912: III pl. 209:14; KEEL 1997:590,591, no. 172; LAMON/SHIPTON 1939: pl. 67:11.

⁵⁰² An unpublished scarab from Tel Rekesh, Corpus File no. 10; an unpublished scarab from Beth-Shean, Corpus File no. 189; ZORI 1962: pl. 17:3 (?).

⁵⁰³ Parallels: PETRIE 1934: pl. 11:466; KEEL 1997:750,751, no. 8; PETRIE 1934: pl. 5:56; GIVEON/KERTESZ 1986:16,17, no. 32.

⁵⁰⁴ Parallels: STARKEY/HARDING 1932: pl. 50:50; an unpublished scarab from Tell Gerisa, Corpus File no. 31; GRANT 1934: fig. 3:7 (debased ?); STARKEY/HARDING 1932: pls. 53:235,55:315,57:385; two unpublished scarabs from Lachish, Corpus File nos. 721, 698 (debased? mirrored?).

Already at the beginning of the second millennium the striding lion is combined with the sun disk as on a scarab (Fig. 105) from Megiddo stratum XIII (19th century), a combination which continued to be used down to the Iron Age II.⁵⁰⁵



Fig. 105

Lastly there is a group with various hieroglyphs and other signs of which the *nh* and *nb*-sign are the most frequent. An example of this group is a 13th dynasty (1759–1630) scarab from Kabri (Fig. 106).⁵⁰⁶



Fig. 106

The seated lion – a posture probably deriving from the guardian lion and very well expressed by a Late Bronze Age (1540/1450–1250/1150) tête-bêche combination from Gezer (Fig. 107) – is very rare, particularly without any additional



Fig. 107

element. An example is an 8th century rectangular plaque from Acco (Fig. 108).⁵⁰⁷



Fig. 108

More frequent is the merging of the lion's tail into a uraeus, thereby making it almost a separate element as on a scarab from Jericho (Fig. 109). This type is limited to the MB II B (1760–1540/1450) period.⁵⁰⁸



Fig. 109

In another type the uraeus is detached slightly from the tail, as on an unpublished scarab from Emeq Hefer (Fig. 110).⁵⁰⁹ Others place a uraeus



Fig. 110

⁵⁰⁵ Parallels: PETRIE 1934: pl. 7:256; MACALISTER 1912: III pl. 204b:5; an unpublished scarab from Beth-Shean, Corpus File no. 172; STARKEY/HARDING 1932: pl. 43:12; ROWE 1936: no. 47; TUFNELL 1958: pl. 39:378; *ibid.* 1953: pl. 45:135,129; GIVEON 1985:130,131, no. 65; KEEL 1997:762,763, no. 11.

⁵⁰⁶ Parallels: TUFNELL 1953: pl. 44:103; PETRIE 1930: pl. 29:242; an unpublished (?) scarab from Megiddo; Corpus File no. 77; STARKEY/HARDING 1932: pl. 53:211; ROTHENBERG 1974: fig. 54:9; WEINSTEIN 1993: fig. 168:3; PRITCHARD 1963: fig. 70:6; KEEL 1997:674,675, no. 33; PETRIE 1930: pl. 7:53; STARKEY/HARDING 1932: pl. 43:23; KIRKBRIDE 1965: fig. 290:21; an unpublished scarab from Lachish, Corpus File no. 668; LOUD 1948: pl. 152:201; ROWE 1936: no. 510; MACALISTER 1912: III pl. 205a:16; KARON 1985:16; TOOMBS/WRIGHT 1969: fig. 18:7; PETRIE/ELLIS 1937: pl. 6:11; BLISS/MACALISTER 1902: pl. 83:8; PETRIE 1933: pl. 3:18; *ibid.* 1934: pl. 11:446; GIVEON 1988: no. 58; PETRIE 1931: pl. 14:103; MACKAY/MURRAY 1952: pl. 10:110; PETRIE 1928: pl. 19:38; TUFNELL 1958: pl. 35:217; an unpublished scarab from 'Ain Samija.

⁵⁰⁷ Parallels: MESHORER/QEDAR 1991:52, no. 42, 55, no. 62.

⁵⁰⁸ Parallels: PETRIE 1933: pl. 3:13; *ibid.* 1934: pl. 5:83,89; MACKAY/MURRAY 1952: pl. 10:111; KEEL 1997:750,751, no. 11; KIRKBRIDE 1965: fig. 296:16; PETRIE 1930: pl. 10:69; *ibid.* 1931: pl. 14:115.

in front of the lion, thus not connecting it at all with the lion, as on an MB II B scarab from Tell el-^cAjjul (Fig. 111), or place the uraeus in front of the uraeus-tailed lion.⁵¹⁰



Fig. 111



Fig. 112

The combination with a twig was found on only three MB II B scarabs, one from Tell el-^cAjjul (Fig. 112), one from Lachish and another one from Gezer.⁵¹¹



Fig. 113

Finally there is a group with various different elements among which the *nb*-sign is the most frequently used, often functioning as filling, but also as basis upon which the seated lion is placed (Fig. 113).⁵¹²

The lone⁵¹³ recumbent lion without any additional element is predominately⁵¹⁴ attested during the Iron Age II B-C (900-539) on glyptic as for example a frit scarab from Gezer which ROWE (1936: no. 893) dated to the 26th dynasty (664-525) (Fig. 114).⁵¹⁵



Fig. 114

Rare is the recumbent lion whose tail merges into a uraeus, a version seen on only two MB II B (1760-1540/1450) pieces, both from Tell el-^cAjjul, one of which is also combined with a twig (Fig. 115).⁵¹⁶



Fig. 115

The recumbent lion is also found on seals that are divided into registers or similar divisions as for example an Iron Age II scaraboid from Tell en-Naşbeh⁵¹⁷ (Fig. 116).⁵¹⁸



Fig. 116

⁵⁰⁹ Parallels: GIVEON 1985:116,117, no. 20; BRANDL 1990:41, fig. 1; KIRKBRIDE 1965: fig. 302:9; KEMPINSKI 1988: fig. 13:3; an unpublished scarab from Tel Dan, Corpus File no. 3.

⁵¹⁰ Parallels: PETRIE 1933: pl. 3:1,44; *ibid.* 1934: pl. 7:247; MACKAY/MURRAY 1952: pl. 10:111; TUFNELL 1958: pl. 30:42; MACALISTER 1912: III pl. 209:94 (debased? or lizard?).

⁵¹¹ TUFNELL 1958: pl. 32:71; GIVEON 1985:116,117, no. 20.

⁵¹² MACALISTER 1912: III pl. 208:45; TUFNELL 1958: pls. 30:43; 32:71; STARKEY/HARDING 1932: pl. 52:114 (double baseline, two lines above); MACKAY/MURRAY 1952: pl. 10:109; KEEL 1997:526,527, no. 2 (falcon); *ibid.* 522,523, no. 1239 (human figure above).

⁵¹³ For two recumbent lions cf. ROWE 1936: no. 733; an unpublished scarab from Rishon, Corpus File no. 40.

⁵¹⁴ Exceptions are Tell el-^cAjjul: PETRIE 1931: pl. 14:87 (1539-1458; KEEL 1997:130,131, no. 81); Lachish: TUFNELL 1958: pl. 35:218 (1759-1292).

⁵¹⁵ Parallels: MACALISTER 1912: III pl. 203b:10; *ibid.* II fig. 437:10; KEEL 1997:62,63, no. 121; KEEL 1997:590,591, no. 170; PETRIE 1928: pl. 17:46 (?).

⁵¹⁶ The second one is PETRIE 1931: pl. 14:169.

⁵¹⁷ Cf. also a very similarly cut striding lion from the same site (McCOWN 1947: pl. 55:74).

⁵¹⁸ Parallels: PETRIE 1928: pl. 17:30; *ibid.* 1934: pl. 9:272.



Fig. 117

Last to be mentioned are various signs combined with the recumbent lion of which the sun disk (Fig. 117, Tell el-^cAjjul) and the ^cnh-sign are the most frequent.⁵¹⁹

In connection with crouching lions on scarabs the lion-scaraboid (cf. fig. 118, from Kefar Ruppin close to Beth-Shean) should not be left



Fig. 118

out. The lion on the back of a scaraboid is already attested in Palestine in the 16th century, namely at Tell el-^cAjjul (PETRIE 1934: pl. 11:415). The lion-scaraboid occurs mainly from 1400-1300 and 1200-900. In the Iron Age I/II A the base decor is very often the cryptographic writing of the name Amun (cf. pp. 207,208) involving the lion (KEEL 1995:71,72 §§ 159-161). The lion probably also had an apotropaic function and royal connotations (HORNUNG/STAEHELIN 1976:126).⁵²⁰

Before moving to the first millennium, a unique relief on a basalt orthostat (92 x 72 x 23 cm) discovered on Nov. 20, 1928, at Beth-Shean should be mentioned (Fig. 119). Its iconography, theme and date have raised considerable controversy. It is dated around the 14th century (cf. THOMPSON 1970:110-112) as well as to the 8th century (GALLING



Fig. 119

1967:131). According to THOMPSON:

"[the] suggestion that both animals [in the upper panel] are lions, has plausibility if for no other reason than the equal size of the two animals. The similarity in the formation of limbs, the powerfully built bodies, and the indications for ribs, are additional factors suggesting they are both lions (1970:78).

Assuming that both panels depict identical animals, the animal depicted in the lower panel in frontal view and biting the rump of a striding lion is most likely a lioness (GALLING 1967:128; CORNELIUS 1994:26, footnote 2) and not a dog as has often been argued for (THOMPSON

⁵¹⁹ Parallels: GIVEON/KERTESZ 1986:42,43, no. 167 (sun disk); STARKEY/HARDING 1932: pl. 57:400 (sun disk); BLISS/MACALISTER 1902: pl. 83:14 (^cnh); SELLIN 1904:5, fig. 1(^cnh); ELGAVISH 1994:32, fig. 6:6 (nb); CROWFOOT/CROWFOOT/KENYON 1957:86 no. 9 (no depiction).

⁵²⁰ Parallels: GIVEON 1988: nos. 28,58; TUFNELL 1953: pl. 34:25; KEEL 1994a: pls. 7:7; 8:12; 11:26; STARKEY/HARDING 1932: pl. 52:171; LAMON/SHIPTON 1939: pls. 69:59,71:59; KEEL 1997:60,61, no. 115, 626,627 no. 271; ROWE 1936: no. S.54; STERN 1992:54, fig. 62; AVIGAD/SASS 1997:122, no. 243.

1970:78–116).⁵²¹ Based on such an identification, the theme has been interpreted as *post-coitus* love-play of a lion and lioness rather than the mythological warding off by a guardian dog of the god of pestilence, Nergal, represented by the lion on the stela.

Solitary lions are also well known from administrative/private name seals. The most famous among them is the seal of *šm' 'bd yrb'm*, "Shema' servant of Jeroboam," an administrator of Jeroboam II (784–748),⁵²² that was



Fig. 120

found at Megiddo (Fig. 120) which depicts a striding, roaring lion.⁵²³ As mentioned above the lack of an iconographic context makes its interpretation almost impossible. In regard to the meaning of the lion of the Shema'-seal, B. SASS recently stated: "It is not at all clear whether these solitary lions represent just their own natural, or apotropaic might as guardian lions, or whether they stand for the king or a deity" (1993:222).

A very close parallel in regard to posture is a terracotta lion, dated to the 8th or 7th century, that apparently was found in the vicinity of Hebron in Judah (Fig. 121).

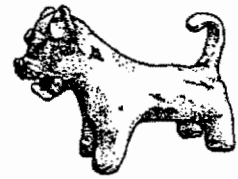


Fig. 121

A graffito on a limestone step of the stairways to palace C at Lachish (8th century) is another medium in which the roaring lion is represented, albeit very crudely (Fig. 122).



Fig. 122

Nearly 60 impressions on jar handles from Judah⁵²⁴ which are dated to the 6th/5th centuries depict a lion often characterised by its-raised curled tail and its wide open mouth as one from

⁵²¹ Without entering into iconographic details a methodological argument is in order. Methodologically one usually interprets the unclear on the basis of the more certain. In this regard it is notable that even THOMPSON, a proponent of the lion/dog interpretation, advanced convincing arguments that the upper panel depicts two lions (see the statement above). Indeed if only the upper panel would be known, it would hardly be interpreted as dog and lion. The uncertainty which is raised is based on the animal in frontal view in the lower panel. It is strange that THOMPSON used this iconographically most-problematic element as the crucial argument for the identification of the right animal in the upper panel as a dog (1970:78). Based on his convincing arguments put forward for the upper register it follows that both animals in the lower register should also be identified as lions.

⁵²² On the date cf. AVIGAD/SASS 1997:49, no. 2.

⁵²³ Most parallels are Aramaic, Hebrew ones are GALLING 1977:301:11,12; AVIGAD/SASS 1997:82, no. 100, 163, no. 391.

⁵²⁴ Shechem: 1; Tell en-Nasbeh: 5; Gibeon 1; Mozah 1; Jerusalem: 6; Ramat Rahel: 36; Jericho: 1; En-Gedi: 1 (STERN 1971:10).

Ramat Rahel (Fig. 123⁵²⁵). A solarised version with a sun disk (KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:44) on its head appears seven times at Ramat Rahel (STERN 1971:10).



Fig. 123

An entirely new posture of the solitary lion in this survey is introduced by two seal impressions from Ramat Rahel of which one is shown in fig. 124 and one from Gibeon.⁵²⁶ While the striding roaring lion has its roots in Syria, the upright lion with the forepaws *outstretched to the sides* can be traced back to Neo-Babylonian iconography (BÖRKER-KLÄHN 1982: no. 268). This particular Neo-Babylonian type is related to the rampant lion struggling in close contact with the king as on Neo-Assyrian royal seals (fig. 73 on p. 202) and Neo-Babylonian stelae



Fig. 124

(BÖRKER-KLÄHN 1982: no. 259). Both motifs ultimately hark back to "age-old Mesopotamian tradition" (ROOT 1979:304; cf. also footnote 620 on p. 293). Achaemenid iconography took over the motif of the rampant lion with *forepaws outstretched to the sides* from Neo-Babylonian tradition and used it in hunting scenes with the Persian king as archer (STERN 1971:11, figs. 9 = *ibid.* 1982:212, fig. 353) or as attacker with a spear riding a dromedary (cf. footnote 547 on p. 253). The close-contact struggle with the rampant lion with forepaws outstretched to the sides is also known (cf. fig. 76 on p. 203).

An absolute contrast is the lion on a bulla (Fig. 125) which was designated by LEITH as "one of the most charming of the Wadi ed-Daliyeh impressions" (*ibid.* 346), although rather undignified and "behaving in a Greek manner" (LEITH 1990:347).



Fig. 125

⁵²⁵ Among the four types of lions distinguished by STERN (1971:9, figs. 1-4) no. 3 corresponds to fig. 123 in regard to two features: it is a roaring lion and one of its forepaws is lifted. The lifted forepaw, a very crudely executed feature on the seal impression from the Persian period, is already known from two seals also with a roaring lion from Beth-Shemesh (ROWE 1936: no. SO. 35) and Megiddo (LAMON/SHIPTON 1939: pl. 72:11). The first comes from tomb 1 and is dated to about 1150-800, the second was found in level II, dated to 650-600. Thus some of the Persian period seal impressions continued a particular tradition that was already known in Palestine for several centuries.

⁵²⁶ For the two other impressions cf. cat. nos. 197,198 on p. 264.

It depicts a shaggy-maned lion in the process of scratching himself behind the ear with his right rear paw – a right-handed lion, perhaps? The comical tension in the contrast between the symbolic nobility of the king of beasts and his homely, doglike activity animates this tiny composition (*ibid.*).

From the same site and period is an impression from a seal of a striding lion turning its head frontally to the beholder. LEITH (*ibid.* 353–359; *ibid.* 1997:176) saw in Hellenistic art the closest parallels (**Fig. 126**).



Fig. 126

Finally, there is another depiction of an upright standing lion on an oval piece (**Fig. 127**). This surface find from Tel Ridan, which is dated to MB II B (1760–1540/1450), not only comes from a completely different time period, but is connected to a totally different region and conceptual background. The object



Fig. 127

which the lion is holding in its paw is a knife and that, together with the posture, helps to identify this lion as a subordinate god assisting the Egyptian sun god as he appears on so-called *Zaubermesser* (Magical Ivories, *Apotropaia*) to protect the child against the powers of darkness (ALTENMÜLLER 1965:136,145–148; KEEL 1993b:211; *ibid.* 1995a:217 § 592).

3.2.2. Catalogue and analysis of possible relevant motifs

The survey on the lion could not consider every subtype and detail.⁵²⁷ Nevertheless, in taking a bird's eye view of the lion in the iconographic testimonies from Palestine/Israel, there seem to be rather clearly defined roles which the lion plays despite the seeming omnipresence of the motif, which will help to pinpoint the possible relevant motifs for the vision of Dan 7.

Without considering details at this point, the semantic domain of the Danielic lion evolves around the theme of dominion exerted by a king(dom) (Dan 7:17). However, the lion does not represent ultimate power. Its dominion is taken away (Dan 7:12) thereby indicating the presence of a superior power which is in control of the lion. Thus the lion is on the one hand a symbol for a domineering political entity which exerts power, and on the other hand it represents a malevolent force which has to be overcome.

From this rough classification of the function of the Danielic lion it is obvious that a number of the motifs studied above are totally unrelated to Dan 7. This is the case with the guardian, statue base, and demon lions. The Danielic lion does not protect anything nor is it related to the pedestal of a deity. Likewise the lion in Dan 7 has nothing to do with Amun cryptography nor do the few animal scenes, which include a lion, show any correspondence with the animals of the Danielic vision. When the lion appears in the sphere of the goddess the general context is often that of fertility, which again is not related to Dan 7. The same argument excludes images depicting the lion as attacking a bull or a stag on Samarian coins – a theme which combines the desire to obtain fullness of life and prosperity with the victorious power of a lion.

Apart from these there is a considerable number of motifs which link the lion with pharaonic domination over political and mythological enemies, namely, when the predator attacks humans, horned animals, and crocodiles. As pointed out, the Danielic lion is not only depicted

⁵²⁷ Like many other motifs such as the griffin, the sphinx, and the horned animal which are almost omnipresent in ancient Near Eastern iconography, the lion has never been studied in a comprehensive way in order to present a

as a domineering but also an ultimately vanquished malevolent power. It will also be necessary to consider as relevant those images which present the lion as a dangerous force which has to be attacked, overcome, and controlled by another power. This will include depictions in which the lion is overcome by deities and kings and is subjugated by the mistress/master of animals.

Finally a remark with regard to the representations listed under the heading "the lone lion". The lack of a sufficient context often hampers the pinpointing of the specific function of these lions. In some cases additional elements like twigs hint at a possible relationship, e.g. to fertility, or the combination with a uraeus may underline the apotropaic might exerted by the lion, which is such a general statement, however, that it cannot serve as primary candidate for this study. Although the present study will help to associate certain solitary lions with a specific function or at least exclude certain other functions, it still seems a sounder approach to limit the present study to such lion depictions as occur within an iconographic context. One exception is the representation of the solitary roaring rampant lion which is included in the catalogue. There is a twofold rationale for the selection of this motif. First, the iconographic background relates it clearly to royal iconography. Second, the rampant posture is significant considering Dan 7:4b which states that the lion "was lifted up from the ground and made to stand upon two feet like a man."

typological, chronological, and geographical index which would allow the handy use of these repeatedly-occurring motifs in a similar way as ceramics in archaeology.

3.2.2.1. The attacking lion

3.2.2.1.1. The lion attacking a human

3.2.2.1.1.1. Catalogue

- 50 OBJECT: Scarab; border slightly chipped; hollowed-out and linear engraving with hatching; steatite; 24 x 17,2 x 10,7 mm.
 DESCRIPTION: A lion appears above a fallen human. With the forepaw the lion attacks a second human who is trying to flee and turns his head back towards the lion.
 DATE: 1750–1550.
 PROVENANCE: Lachish; cave 404.
 LITERATURE: TUFNELL 1958: pl. 36:215; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:27, fig. 5a. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 32 on p. 158.



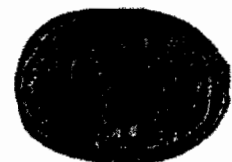
- 51 OBJECT: Scarab; linear engraving with hatching; steatite?; 20 x 15 x 9 mm.
 DESCRIPTION: A striding lion is shown over a prone human figure. The lion is flanked by the Egyptian red crown and a *w3s*-sign. Above and below the lion's head is a disk.
 DATE: 1750–1550.
 PROVENANCE: Jericho; tomb B 47.
 LITERATURE: KIRKBRIDE 1965:653, fig. 303:16; KEEL 1995a:197, fig. 359. Photograph from Corpus File.



- 52 OBJECT: Scarab; hollowed-out and linear engraving with hatching and cross-hatching; steatite; whitish grey; 37 x 26 x 14 mm.
 DESCRIPTION: In the middle a rectangle formed by three double lines contains: three inverted *nfr*-signs, two horizontal strokes (*3wy*, "Upper and Lower Egypt"), a horizontal *nfr*-sign, and two falcons facing outward. Flanking the rectangle to the right are the following signs from top to bottom: *r*, *n*, *hpr*, *n*. Those to its left are: *r*, *3wy*, *n*, *n*, *r*, *n*. Above the rectangle is a vulture with outspread wings, below it a lion striding over a human figure. In front of the lion is a debased uraeus. A rope pattern forms the border.
 DATE: 1650–1550.
 PROVENANCE: Tell Beit Mirsim; south-east quarter, square 33, room of stratum D, south of room 1 of stratum F.
 LITERATURE: ROWE 1936: pl. 2:66; ALBRIGHT 1938: pl. 29:7. Photograph from Corpus File.



- 53 OBJECT: Scarab; hollowed-out and linear engraving with hatching; steatite; yellow; 15 x 10,9 x 6 mm.
 DESCRIPTION: A seated lion with open mouth attacks a fleeing human who is looking backwards. The lion's tail forms a uraeus.
 DATE: 1640–1540.
 PROVENANCE: Lachish; cemetery 500, tomb 55.
 LITERATURE: PETRIE 1930: pl. 7:54; WILLIAMS 1970:41,42, fig. 23:2; TUFNELL 1984: nos. 2610,2817. Photograph from Corpus File.



- 54 OBJECT: Scarab; border chipped; hollowed-out engraving with hatching and cross-hatching; steatite; on the back of the scarab stripe of greenish glaze; 23,5 x 16 x 10 mm.

DESCRIPTION: A striding lion over female figure in a long dress whose face is turned away from the lion, one arm raised in defence.⁵²⁸ Between the lion's hind legs is a twig.

DATE: 1630-1550.

PROVENANCE: Shiloh; area H, locus 1012.

LITERATURE: FINKELSTEIN 1985:129,142,143,149-153; BRANDL 1993a:211,212, fig. 8.9; KEEL 1995a:197:360.



- 55 OBJECT: Scarab; border slightly chipped; hollowed-out engraving with hatching and cross-hatching; steatite; light yellow; 21,8 x 15,4 x 9,1 mm.

DESCRIPTION: A striding lion over a fallen human. In front of the lion is a uraeus.

DATE: 1630-1522.

PROVENANCE: Tell el-'Ajjul; find context unknown.

LITERATURE: PETRIE 1931: pl. 14:164; ROWE 1936: no. 315; WILLIAMS 1970: fig. 12r;

TUFNELL 1984: pls. 40:2640, 43:2751; KEEL 1997:158,159, no. 158.



- 56 OBJECT: Scarab; border slightly chipped on the right side; deep, hollowed-out schematic engraving with hatching; steatite; 17 x 13,3 x 7,7 mm.

DESCRIPTION: A seated lion with wide-open mouth attacks a human. Below it is a striding hippopotamus. Behind the lion is a *nfr*-sign, above it a disk.

DATE: 1450-945.

PROVENANCE: Megiddo; stratum VIII, 5020, K-11.

LITERATURE: LOUD 1948: pl. 152:161. *Photograph from Corpus File.*



- 57 OBJECT: Scarab; border slightly chipped on lower right; hollowed-out engraving, partly with hatching; steatite; light yellow; 14 x 10,5 x 6,4 mm.

DESCRIPTION: A striding roaring lion over a (bound?) human figure. In front of the lion is a falcon with Egyptian double crown, over it a scorpion.

DATE: 1400-1200.

PROVENANCE: Lachish; houses 100 (contemporary with temple structures II and III).

LITERATURE: ROWE 1936: no. 589; TUFNELL 1940: pl. 33B:58. *Photograph from Corpus File.*



- 58 OBJECT: Scarab; hollowed-out engraving with hatching; steatite; 21 x 15 x 9 mm.

DESCRIPTION: A seated lion with wide-open mouth attacks a human. A second rampant lion is behind it, in front of which is a *nb*- and *nfr*-sign with a stroke below it. Behind the lions might be another two *nb*-signs.



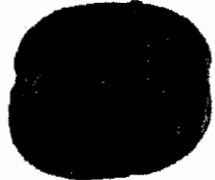



DATE: 1292-1075.

PROVENANCE: Tell el-Far'ah (South); tomb 934.

LITERATURE: STARKEY/HARDING 1932: pl. 52:169; GIVEON 1985:32,33, no. 33.



⁵²⁸ KEEL (1995a:196 § 539) also considered an erotic interpretation as in Asiatic tradition where the lion can stand for the lover. But note that the face of the woman is turned away from the lion and the hand is probably raised in defence rather than in embrace. Conversely the twig might fit the erotic interpretation as symbol of fertility. Cf. however cat. no. 60 on p. 221 which depicts the lion in the most aggressive way in this particular composition and also has a twig. Thus the twig could also stand for the habitat of the lion (cf. also fig. 68 on p. 201).

- 59 **OBJECT:** Scarab; hollowed-out engraving with hatching; steatite; 14 x 11 x 6 mm.
DESCRIPTION: A seated lion with wide-open mouth attacks a fleeing human. Above the lion are a disk and a scarab, behind it three small disks (one might be the tail, cf. next object) and a cartouche with the prenomen of Thutmose III (*mn-hpr-r*). Below the lion is a Maat-feather.
DATE: 1292-1075.
PROVENANCE: Tell el-Far'ah (South); tomb 934.
LITERATURE: STARKEY/HARDING 1932: pl. 52:112; GIBEON 1985:26,27, no. 12. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 503 on p. 496, 516 on p. 507.
- 
- 60 **OBJECT:** Scarab; border at top and right chipped; broad linear engraving; steatite; 19,7 x 14,6 x 9,8 mm.
DESCRIPTION: A lion attacks a human figure wearing a conical headgear and lying on the ground. In front of the lion is a stroke, behind it is a twig.
DATE: 1250-1140.
PROVENANCE: Megiddo; stratum VII A, square Q9, S = 1812.
LITERATURE: LOUD 1948: pl. 152:200; KEEL 1994:42. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 502 on p. 496.
- 
- 61 **OBJECT:** Scaraboid; border at bottom chipped; hollowed-out and linear engraving with hatching; bone; 16,4 x 14 x 5 mm.
DESCRIPTION: A striding lion over a human who raises one arm in defence.
DATE: 9th/8th centuries.
PROVENANCE: Megiddo; stratum V, locus 294.
LITERATURE: LAMON/SHIPTON 1939: pl. 67:40. *Photograph from Corpus File.*
- 
- 62 **OBJECT:** Scarab; hollowed-out schematic engraving; steatite; 12,7 x 9,4 x 6,6 mm.
DESCRIPTION: A striding lion over human figure wearing a short kilt with arms folded over the body. In front of the lion is a bent object (feather?).
DATE: 1130-945.
PROVENANCE: Megiddo; stratum IV, square Q21, 182,30 m above sea level, 4,20 m below the tell surface.
LITERATURE: KEEL 1994a:41-43, pl. 10:21.
- 
- 63 **OBJECT:** Scarab; schematic hollowed-out engraving; 11 x 7,5 x 5,5 mm.
DESCRIPTION: A striding lion over a debased human figure. A stroke is in front of the lion.
DATE: 1130-945.
PROVENANCE: Megiddo; find context unknown (object is no. 2512 of the Archaeological Museum at Istanbul).
LITERATURE: Unpublished. *Photograph from Corpus File.*
- 
- 64 **OBJECT:** Scarab; hollowed-out schematic engraving; steatite; beige; 15 x 10,45 x 7,4 mm.
DESCRIPTION: A striding lion over a human. In front of the lion is a bent object (feather) and a disk.
DATE: 1130-945.
PROVENANCE: Tel Rekhesh; surface find.
LITERATURE: KEEL 1994a:42 with footnote 21, 51, fig. 8. *Photograph from Corpus File.*
- 

- 65 **OBJECT:** Rectangular plaque with domed upper side; border slightly chipped; schematic hollowed-out engraving; steatite; 12 x 9 x 6 mm.
DESCRIPTION: A striding lion over a prone human figure wearing a knee-length kilt. A vertical stroke in front of the lion (debased uraeus? feather?).
DATE: 1130-945.
PROVENANCE: Acco; surface find.
LITERATURE: GIVEON/KERTESZ 1986:38,39, no. 144; KEEL 1990c:344-346, fig. 22; KEEL 1997:572,573, no. 121.
- 66 **OBJECT:** Clay impression of rectangular plaque; part is missing, the remaining piece is broken along the middle; schematic hollowed-out engraving; 6* x 8,5 mm.
DESCRIPTION: A striding lion over a fallen human.
DATE: 1150-1000.
PROVENANCE: Tell Keisan; level 9a, locus 635.
LITERATURE: KEEL 1990b:246, no. 30.
- 67 **OBJECT:** Scarab; schematic hollowed-out engraving; steatite; white glaze; 15,5 x 11 x 7,5 mm.
DESCRIPTION: A striding lion over a fallen human. In front of the lion is a disk.
DATE: 1050-1000.
PROVENANCE: Beersheba; stratum VII, area A 1, locus 1683, basket 15114/50.
LITERATURE: GIVEON 1984:120,121, fig. 38:2; KEEL 1990c:346, fig. 21. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 499 on p. 494, 524 on p. 527.
- 68 **OBJECT:** Scaraboid; border chipped, top right of base broken; linear and hollowed-out engraving with hatching; bone; 16 x 14 x 4,8 mm.
DESCRIPTION: A roaring striding lion over a fallen human raising one arm in defence.
DATE: 800-750.
PROVENANCE: Lachish; cave 1002.
LITERATURE: TUFNELL 1953: pl. 44:64. *Photograph from Corpus File.*



3.2.2.1.1.2. Analysis

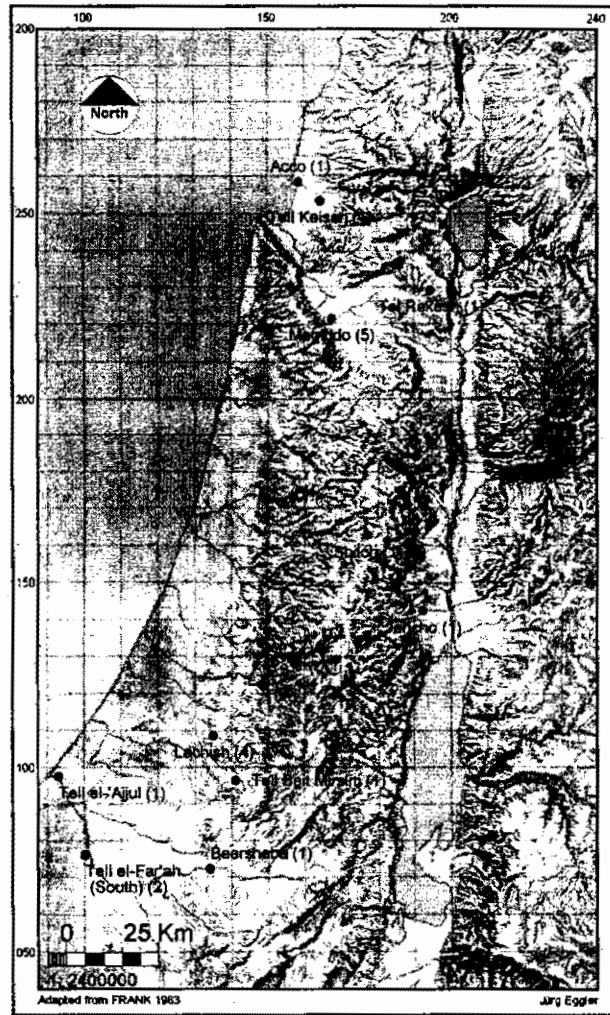
The motif of the lion attacking a human displays a great variation during the MB II B (1760-1540/1450) period and no standardised type can be identified. Every single piece of that period is different from every other. The striding lion is attacking two humans (50), it is combined with the Egyptian red crown and a *w3s*-sign (51) or even an *omnium gatherum* of lucky charm hieroglyphs and a vulture (52). The human is demonstratively fleeing from a roaring seated lion (53), a female is the victim (?) of the lion (54), or the motif is supplemented by a uraeus (55).

The same trend can be observed during the Late Bronze Age (1540/1450–1250/1150).⁵²⁹ Now the motif is combined with a hippopotamus (56), a scorpion and a falcon (57), or with a scarab and a cartouche (59). Also new is the depiction of two lions attacking a single human (58) or the running lion over a human (60). Despite this diversity there is one common feature, namely, the expression of aggressiveness. All Late Bronze Age depictions show the lion with a wide-open mouth (56–59) except 60 which brings the notion of aggressiveness across by depicting the lion not as simply sitting or striding but as running over the fallen human.

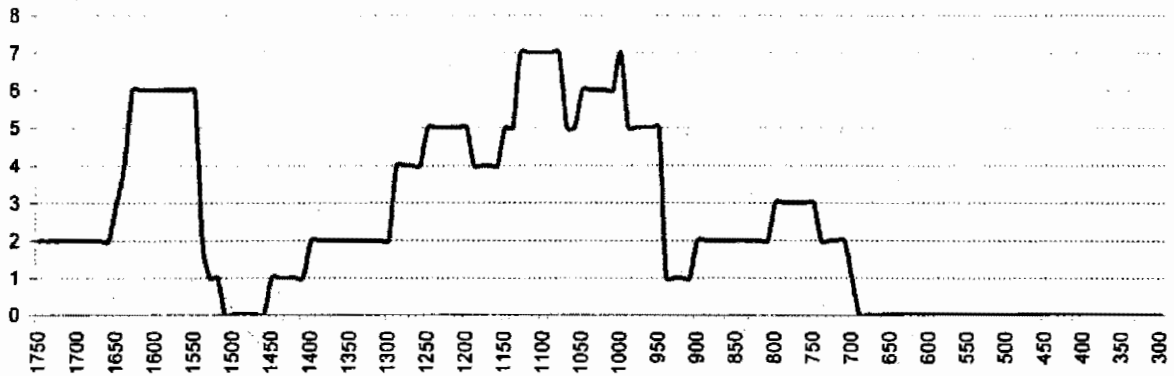
During the Iron Age I/II B (1250/1150–700) the motif shows a more or less standardised typology. All examples show the lion as striding over a fallen human (61–68). Three subtypes can be distinguished: type 1 is the more realistic and lively depiction indicated by the raising of the arm in defence by the fallen human. One piece belongs to the Iron Age I (66), the other two bone seals date to the Iron Age II B (61,68). On the scaraboid from cave 1002 at Lachish (68) not only does the human raise one arm but also both the lion and the human have hatchings as 61. The other two groups are Ramesside mass-products dated to 1130–945 (KEEL 1995a:36 § 67; cf. also below footnote 423 on p. 159) which are emblematic and show no dynamic of expression of the rather violent act that is depicted. The dominant type is characterised by the feather which is in front of the lion (62–65). The second Ramesside mass-product type is represented only by 67. It exchanges the feather for a disk. A combination of type 2 and 3 is 64 as it combines both disk and feather.

⁵²⁹ Always the upper date of the dating is taken.

3.2.2.1.1.3. Geographical and chronological distribution




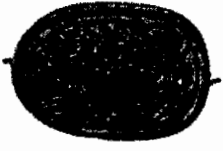



Map 6: The lion attacking a human




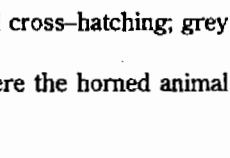










Graph 6: The lion attacking a human

3.2.2.1.2. The lion attacking a horned animal (and a human)

3.2.2.1.2.1. Catalogue

- 69 **OBJECT:** Scarab; base partly broken off; linear engraving with hatching and cross-hatching; steatite; 21 x 15 x 9 mm.
DESCRIPTION: A lion is attacking a crouching horned animal, which turns its head backwards. The lion's tail ends in a uraeus. Before the lion's head and below its tail is a filling.
DATE: 1750–1550.
PROVENANCE: Gezer; find context unknown.
LITERATURE: GIVEON 1985:118,119, no. 23. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 290 on p. 394. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 46 on p. 194.
- 
- 70 **OBJECT:** Scarab; part of bronze attachment in perforation; linear engraving with hatching; steatite; ochre on the surface; 22,8 x 15,8 x 9,4 mm.
DESCRIPTION: A lion stands on the back of a crouching horned animal which turns its head back towards the attacker. A twig is between the legs of the horned animal and lion (?). An ' is below and a circle above the horned animal's head.
DATE: 1750–1550.
PROVENANCE: Tell el-Far'ah (South); tomb 1021.
LITERATURE: STARKEY/HARDING 1932: pl. 43:14; TUFNELL 1984: pls. 36:2429,40:2616. Photograph from *Corpus File*. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 291 on p. 394.
- 
- 71 **OBJECT:** Scarab; part of the border and base broken off; hollowed-out partly linear engraving with hatching and cross-hatching; steatite; 20,5 x 14,7 x 8,5 mm.
DESCRIPTION: A lion is attacking a fleeing horned animal.
DATE: 1750–1400.
PROVENANCE: Tel Harashim; surface find.
LITERATURE: KARON 1985: no. 2. Drawing from *Corpus File*. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 292 on p. 394.
- 
- 72 **OBJECT:** Scarab; base partly broken at the perforation on the right side; hollowed-out engraving with hatching and cross-hatching; steatite; 18 x 12 x mm.
DESCRIPTION: A seated lion with forepaws on the back of a horned animal that is turning its head towards the attacker. Below the lion's head are three horizontal lines, to the right of them is a uraeus. Above and behind the lion's back: *ntr nfr* ("good, perfect god").
DATE: 1759–1292.
PROVENANCE: Lachish; pit 542.
LITERATURE: TUFNELL 1953: pls. 39/40:345. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 293 on p. 394.
- 
- 73 **OBJECT:** Scarab; border slightly chipped, part of the elytra broken off along the perforation; hollowed-out engraving with hatching and cross-hatching; steatite; 17,8 x 13,2 x 8,4 mm.
DESCRIPTION: A lion is attacking a crouching horned animal from behind. The horned animal turns its head back towards the attacker.
DATE: 1650–1522.
PROVENANCE: Tell Abu Zureq; area C, disturbed tomb, below locus 517.
LITERATURE: GIVEON 1988:20,21, no. 1; KEEL 1997:16,17, no. 1. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 294 on p. 394.
- 

- 74 **OBJECT:** Scarab; broken into two pieces along the middle. Parts of the base missing; hollowed-out engraving with hatching; steatite (?); 27,7 x 20,5 x 13 mm.
DESCRIPTION: A lion attacking a horned animal, which turns its head backwards. In front of the horned animal is a debased uraeus.
DATE: 1640-1540.
PROVENANCE: Tell el-Far'ah (South); cemetery 500, tomb 563.
LITERATURE: PETRIE 1930: *pl. 12:125*; TUFNELL 1984: pls. 36:2492,40:2618. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 295 on p. 395.
- 
- 75 **OBJECT:** Scarab; top left part of base broken off; hollowed-out engraving with cross-hatching; steatite; white-yellow; 21,3 x 16 x 10,5 mm.
DESCRIPTION: An attacking lion with its forepaws on a standing horned animal which is turning its head backwards. Above the lion's head two lines form an arch and touch the border. Before the horned animal an 's'-sign.
DATE: 1630-1522.
PROVENANCE: Tell el-'Ajjul; field E, (locus?) EKI or room EK/EJ, 785", stratum II.
LITERATURE: PETRIE 1934: *pl. 5:108*; WILLIAMS 1970: *fig. 18k*; ROWE 1936: *no. 320*; TUFNELL 1984: pls. 36:2513, 40:2642; KEEL 1997:330,331, *no. 668*. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 296 on p. 395.
- 
- 76 **OBJECT:** Scarab; hollowed-out engraving with hatching; steatite; 18 x 13 x 8,9 mm.
DESCRIPTION: A lion is attacking a fleeing, galloping horned animal from behind. Between the two animals and below the horned animal is a twig. Above the lion's back is a double-lined half-circle and before its head a single-lined triangle whereof the border forms the bases. Below the horned animal's head is a horizontal stroke angled at the end and touching the border with the other end.
DATE: 1400-1300.
PROVENANCE: Hazor; 1B (XIV), locus 8144.
LITERATURE: YADIN 1960: pls. 137:16,187:17. *Drawing from Corpus File*. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 299 on p. 395. Text figure cross-reference(s): *fig. 501* on p. 496.
- 
- 77 **OBJECT:** Scarab; fish on the scarab's back; hollowed-out engraving with hatching and cross-hatching; grey steatite; white glaze; 25,8 x 17,4 x 10,5 mm.
DESCRIPTION: A lion is attacking a fleeing, galloping horned animal from behind where the horned animal turns its head towards the attacker. Above and below is a twig.
DATE: 1400-1300.
PROVENANCE: Tell Jemmeh; surface find.
LITERATURE: Unpublished. No depiction is available. Information from Corpus File.
- 
- 78 **OBJECT:** Scarab; border chipped, worn; hollowed-out engraving; faience; 28,2 x 19,3 x 11,8 mm.
DESCRIPTION: A lion on the back of a crouching horned animal turning its head backwards.
DATE: 1400-1200.
PROVENANCE: Tell el-'Ajjul; field C (at B/D?), (room?) CA V, stratum III (1700-1600).
LITERATURE: PETRIE 1931: *pl. 13:76*; WILLIAMS 1970: *fig. 18j*; TUFNELL 1984: *pl. 36:2515*; KEEL 1997:128,129, *no. 70*. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 301 on p. 396.
- 
- 79 **OBJECT:** Scarab; border slightly chipped, part of the base on the left side broken off; schematic hollowed-out engraving; steatite; whitish-beige; 13,5 x 9,1 x 6,3 mm.
DESCRIPTION: A horned animal with head turned back and towards a striding lion, which is behind/above it. The "fifth leg" might be a newborn animal (cf. also nos. 80-82).
DATE: 1130-945.
PROVENANCE: Taanach; SW 5-1/2, locus 85, basket 171.
LITERATURE: Unpublished. *Drawing from Corpus File*. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 302 on p. 396.
- 

- 80 **OBJECT:** Scarab; base on the right side damaged; hollowed-out schematic engraving; steatite; 18 x 13 x 8 mm.
DESCRIPTION: A standing horned animal turning its head backwards. Behind and above it is a lion. Between them a twig. Behind the horned animal and merging with the forepaw of the lion is an upside-down "V"-shaped object which KEEL (1997:604, no. 213) suggests to be the legs of a newborn animal (cf. also nos. 79,81,82).
DATE: 1130-945.
PROVENANCE: Acco; surface find.
LITERATURE: GIVEON/KERTESZ 1986:30,31, no. 101; KEEL 1997:604,605, no. 213. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 303 on p. 396.
- 
- 81 **OBJECT:** Scarab; border slightly chipped; hollowed-out schematic partly linear engraving; steatite; white; 12,7 x 10 x 6 mm.
DESCRIPTION: A standing horned animal turning its head backwards. Behind and above it is a lion. A flat disk or *nb*-sign is between the heads of the two animals. Behind the horned animal is an object which might be a newborn animal (cf. also nos. 79,80,82).
DATE: 1130-945.
PROVENANCE: Beth-Shemesh; find text unknown.
LITERATURE: ROWE 1936: no. 889. *Photograph from Corpus File*. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 304 on p. 396.
- 
- 82 **OBJECT:** Scarab; schematic hollowed-out engraving; steatite; whitish-yellowish glaze; 13,9 x 10,3 x 6,5 mm.
DESCRIPTION: A horned animal with its head turned back towards a striding lion which is above it. Above the horned animal is a disk, behind it an object which might be a newborn animal (cf. also nos. 79-82).
DATE: 1130-945.
PROVENANCE: Megiddo; stratum IV, square Q21, 182,30 m above sea level, 4,20 m below the tell surface.
LITERATURE: SCHUMACHER 1908:86 fig. 124; KEEL 1994a:35,36, pl. 9:17; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:137, fig. 145a. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 305 on p. 396.
- 
- 83 **OBJECT:** Scarab; schematic hollowed-out engraving; steatite; 14 x 10,3 x 5,2 mm.
DESCRIPTION: A striding lion behind a horned animal. A disk is above the lion's back.
DATE: 1130-945.
PROVENANCE: Bet Sahur; find context unknown.
LITERATURE: Unpublished. *Drawing from Corpus File*. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 306 on p. 397.
- 
- 84 **OBJECT:** Rectangular plaque, back slightly domed, sides notched; hollowed-out schematic engraving; steatite; white glaze; 15,8 x 11 x 6,5 mm.
DESCRIPTION: Along the long side of the base a striding lion, along the short side a horned animal. Over the back of the lion is a twig (?).
DATE: 1130-945.
PROVENANCE: Tell el-Far'ah (South); FN 374.
LITERATURE: STARKEY/HARDING 1932: pl. 61:top right, 3rd row. *Photograph from Corpus File*. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 307 on p. 397.
- 
- 85 **OBJECT:** Scarab; base broken at the perforation on the right side; schematic hollowed-out engraving; bone; yellow; 10 x 7 x 5 mm.
DESCRIPTION: A lion attacks a horned animal from behind.
DATE: 1130-1100.
PROVENANCE: Tel Masos; stratum II, locus 1114.
LITERATURE: GIVEON/KEMPINSKI 1983: pls. 109:2,107:3; KEEL 1990c:345, fig. 19; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:137, fig. 145b. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 308 on p. 397. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 292 on p. 352, 525 on p. 527.
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- 86 **OBJECT:** Conoid, type IV (KEEL 1997:102 § 253); base partly chipped; hollowed-out engraving with hatching; dark stone; 31 x 32 x 33 mm.
DESCRIPTION: A lion attacks a horned quadruped from behind. The horned animal turns its head back towards the attacker. Barred strand rope border.
DATE: 1100-900.
PROVENANCE: Bethel; debris.
LITERATURE: KELSO 1968: pl. 44:5. *Photograph of impression from Corpus File*. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 313 on p. 398.
- 87 **OBJECT:** Scaraboid; worn; hollowed-out and linear engraving, scratched, drilling holes; limestone; red; 15,7 x 13 x 9 mm.
DESCRIPTION: A standing horned animal. Behind and above it is a quadruped with its tail pointing upwards. In front of its head is an "x"-like shaped object.
DATE: 1150-800.
PROVENANCE: Tell el-'Ajjul; find context unknown.
LITERATURE: PETRIE 1931: pl. 4:171; KEEL 1997:160,161, no. 165. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 314 on p. 398.
- 88 **OBJECT:** Scaraboid; border partly chipped; hollowed-out and linear engraving; limestone; black; 29,6 x 16 x 8 mm.
DESCRIPTION: A standing horned animal. Above it is a lion whose tail is pointing upwards over its back. Notched border rope.
DATE: 1050-800.
PROVENANCE: Acco; surface find.
LITERATURE: GIVEON/KERTESZ 1986:42,43, no. 163; KEEL 1997:578,579, no. 135. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 315 on p. 398.
- 89 **OBJECT:** Conoid; hollowed-out engraving; carnelian; 17 x 12 x 24,8 mm.
DESCRIPTION: A striding lion with open mouth is above a crouching horned animal turning its head backwards, having a reptile-like shaped body.
DATE: 1000-586 or later.
PROVENANCE: Lachish; cave 504 (dated to 2000 but reused until 400 C.E.).
LITERATURE: TUFNELL 1953: pls. 44A/45:141. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 316 on p. 398.
- 90 **OBJECT:** Seal impression on a *lmk* jar; hollowed-out engraving; clay.
DESCRIPTION: A lion is attacking a crouching horned animal from behind which turns its head back towards the attacker.
DATE: 700-539.
PROVENANCE: Ramat Rahel; stratum IVB, locus 457, level 5.15.
LITERATURE: AHARONI 1964: pl. 40:7; SASS 1993:223, fig. 111. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 322 on p. 399.
- 91 **OBJECT:** Scaraboid; part of the base broken or mould not completely filled at manufacture; hollowed-out engraving; glass; whitish; 13,8 x 10,65 x 6,5 mm.
DESCRIPTION: A lion attacking a fleeing stag.
DATE: 650-500.
PROVENANCE: Ashkelon; grid 57, square 68, layer 296, filling of a pit, phase 5B.
LITERATURE: KEEL 1997:714,715, no. 67. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 323 on p. 400.



- 92 **OBJECT:** Scaraboid; half of upper side broken off; hollowed-out engraving; glass; colourless; 17 x 12,7 x 8,3 mm.
DESCRIPTION: A lion attacking a fleeing horned animal from behind.
DATE: 539–333.
PROVENANCE: Acco; surface find.
LITERATURE: *KEEL 1997:634,635, no. 294.* Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 324 on p. 400.



- 93 **OBJECT:** Seal impression; hollowed-out engraving; clay; 38 x 24 mm.
DESCRIPTION: A lioness?, leopard? with an open mouth attacking a horned animal.
DATE: 539–333 or later.
PROVENANCE: Gezer; Hellenistic level (3rd/2nd centuries).
LITERATURE: *MACALISTER 1912: pl. 200:33.* Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 325 on p. 400.



- 94 **OBJECT:** Scarab; border slightly chipped; linear and hollowed-out engraving with hatching; white stone; 27,3 x 20,2 x 11,1 mm.
DESCRIPTION: Three registers: top: a vulture and a running hare; middle: two griffins flanking a palm tree; bottom: a lion attacking a horned animal with turned-back head. Above the lion is a crescent, below a uraeus.
DATE: 800–700.
PROVENANCE: Megiddo; stratum 6, room R.
LITERATURE: *SCHUMACHER 1908:142, fig. 212a; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:267, fig. 231a.* Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 317 on p. 398. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 55 on p. 196, 293 on p. 353.



- 95 **OBJECT:** Scaraboid; border slightly chipped; hollowed-out engraving with hatching; limestone; red-brown; 25 x 19 x 10 mm.
DESCRIPTION: Four registers: top: a winged solar disk with two uraei; second: two kneeling figures adoring a four-winged scarab below which is a papyrus stalk; third: a running lion in pursuit of a horned animal; bottom: *lš ʾ* "Belonging to Saul"
DATE: 800–700.
PROVENANCE: Unknown (purchased in Jerusalem).
LITERATURE: *AVIGAD 1954a: pl. 21:B1.* Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 318 on p. 399.



- 96 **OBJECT:** Scaraboid; hollowed out engraving; limestone; yellow; 28 (l) mm.
DESCRIPTION: Three registers of figures separated by double lines and a fourth with the inscription *lṁnhn* "belonging to Menahem" and a debased *ʿnh*-sign to the left. An empty bottom register. Top register: a crouching horned animal flanked by two falcons; second register: a four-winged figure flanked by two worshippers in adoration. There is an unclear sign behind the winged figure (*str?*); third register: a roaring striding lion having one forepaw lifted behind a horned animal in front of which is a falcon.
DATE: 9th/8th centuries.
PROVENANCE: Unknown (purchased in Aleppo).⁵³⁰
LITERATURE: *DRIVER 1955:183; GUBEL 1991:918, fig. 3d; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:221, fig. 211b.* Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 319 on p. 399.



⁵³⁰ Although at present it cannot be determined whether this seal comes from a Phoenician, Aramaic or Israelite workshop nothing would speak against an Israelite origin (cf. *KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:222,292, footnote 266*).

- 97 **OBJECT:** Scaraboid; worn; limestone; light brown-brick red; 25 x 18 x 10.
DESCRIPTION: Three registers of figures. Top register: a crouching griffin wearing the Egyptian double crown in front of a sceptre with a disk and inverted crescent (GUBEL 1991:917, fig. 2a,b); second register: a four-winged scarab flanked by two figures with a long dress and hands raised in adoration; third register: a roaring striding lion behind two horned animals; bottom register: inscription: *lmqn*.
DATE: End of 9th/8th centuries.
PROVENANCE: Unknown (cf. footnote 530).
LITERATURE: LEMAIRE 1986:307-309, fig. 2b; GUBEL 1991:918, fig. 3e. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 320 on p. 399. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 526 on p. 528.



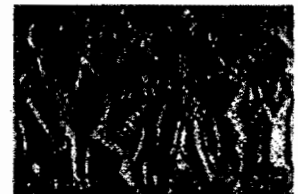
- 98 **OBJECT:** Scaraboid; schist, 20 x 14 x 9 mm.
DESCRIPTION: Three registers of figures. At the bottom a fourth register with the inscription *šdqy* "belonging to Šdiqi". Top register: a winged sphinx. Behind it is an unclear object. In front is possibly a uraeus; second register: a four-winged scarab flanked by two adoring figures; third register: a lion behind a horned animal.
DATE: 9th/8th centuries.
PROVENANCE: Unknown (cf. footnote 530).
LITERATURE: ZUCKERMAN 1987:25-27, pl. 10, fig. 11b; LEMAIRE 1993:23, fig. 5. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 321 on p. 399.



- 99 **OBJECT:** Cylinder seal; slightly damaged; haematite.
DESCRIPTION: To the left an attendant in a long dress leading a worshipper to a seated deity. Between them is above an 'nh-sign and below a twig. The worshipper in a long dress lifts one hand in devotion and holds in the other a lamb as offering. The bearded god wearing a round headgear similar to that of the worshipper is seated on a panelled stool and holds in his right hand a sceptre. Between the worshipper and god is a disk with crescent. Behind the god there are two scenes divided by a guilloche. In the upper register are two antithetically-arranged seated winged sphinxes. In the lower a seated lion is attacking an ibex which turns its head back towards the attacker.
DATE: 1750-1600.
PROVENANCE: Lachish; from the sieving at the Fosse Temple (c. 1550-1250).
LITERATURE: TUFNELL 1940:74, pl. 33A/B:52; PARKER 1949:38, no. 174, pl. 25:147. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 326 on p. 400. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 294 on p. 353.





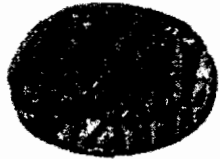


- 100 **OBJECT:** Cylinder seal; paste; white, with creamy surface.
DESCRIPTION: To the right is a figure in a long dress and a round headgear raises its hand in devotion towards a striding figure with open, long dress and the same headgear. In his right hand the figure holds a scimitar in order to attack the rampant horned animal in front of it. Above is a prostrate horned animal already overcome. Behind the central figure are two antithetically-arranged seated winged sphinxes. Above them a lion attacks another horned animal.
DATE: 1539-1292.
PROVENANCE: Tel Azekah; find context unknown.
LITERATURE: BLISS/MACALISTER 1902:153, pl. 83:2; NOUGAYROL 1939: pl. 12:T.Z.2; PARKER 1949:21, no. 86, pl. 14:86. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 278 on p. 388, 327 on p. 400. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 54 on p. 196.



- 101 **OBJECT:** Cylinder seal; faience; traces of brown glaze.
DESCRIPTION: A rampant lion attacks a rampant horned animal turning its head back towards the attacker. Above is a line of recumbent horned animals.
DATE: 13th century.
PROVENANCE: Beth-Shean; level VII.
LITERATURE: PARKER 1949:19, no. 67, pl. 10:67. Catalogue cross-



reference(s): no. 328 on p. 401.

- 102 **OBJECT:** Scarab; brown-red strip along the back, border chipped; linear engraving with hatching; steatite; grey-white glaze; 29 x 21 x 12 mm.
DESCRIPTION: A galloping horned animal with its head turned back is fleeing from an attacking lion. 90° turned to this scene a male figure with a short kilt and conical headgear (?) is standing on a *nb*-sign. The right arm is raised in a blessing/adoring fashion. In front of the horned animal is part of a uraeus.
DATE: 1650-1575.
PROVENANCE: Tell el-'Ajjul; field A, trail section AT, 765", stratum II.
LITERATURE: PETRIE 1933: pl. 3:35; WILLIAMS 1970:23,24.; TUFNELL 1984: pls. 36:2516,40:2651; 43:2754; GIVEON 1985:84,85, no. 71; SCHROER 1985:84, fig. 50; KEEL 1997:240,241, no. 405. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 297 on p. 395. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 48 on p. 194.
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- 103 **OBJECT:** Scarab; schematic hollowed-out engraving; steatite; white-grey; 12 x 9,4 x 6 mm.
DESCRIPTION: Two striding lions behind a horned animal.
DATE: 1130-945.
PROVENANCE: Beth-Shemesh; north-west cemetery, tomb 1.
LITERATURE: MACKENZIE 1912-13: pl. 29A; ROWE 1936, no. 851. *Photograph from Corpus File.* Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 309 on p. 397.
- 
- 104 **OBJECT:** Scarab; schematic hollowed-out engraving; steatite; yellowish-brownish; 14,4 x 11,2 x 7 mm.
DESCRIPTION: As no. 103.
DATE: 1130-945.
PROVENANCE: Megiddo; stratum IV, square Q21, 182,30 m above sea level, 4,20 m below the tell surface.
LITERATURE: SCHUMACHER 1908:86 fig. 124; KEEL 1994a:43,44, pl. 10:22. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 310 on p. 397.
- 
- 105 **OBJECT:** Scarab; coarse hollowed-out and linear engraving; steatite; brownish; 16,4 x 11,7 x 7 mm.
DESCRIPTION: As no. 103, but the horned animal is very debased.⁵³¹
DATE: 1130-945.
PROVENANCE: Megiddo; stratum IV, square Q21, 182,30 m above sea level, 4,20 m below the tell surface.
LITERATURE: : SCHUMACHER 1908:86 fig. 124; KEEL 1994a:30,31, pl. 8:11. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 311 on p. 397.
- 
- 106 **OBJECT:** Scarab; border chipped; linear engraving with hatching and cross-hatching; steatite; light yellow; 26,7 x 19,8 x 11,7 mm.
DESCRIPTION: A lion is attacking an ibex whose head is turned back towards the attacker. Below it is a human figure, above it a filler element or a *nb*-sign.
DATE: 1750-1550.
PROVENANCE: Jericho; tomb 30.
LITERATURE: ROWE 1936: pl. 2:69; GARSTANG 1933: pl. 1; KEEL 1984b:165, fig. 76; KEEL/UHLINGER 1995:27, fig. 5b. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 298 on p. 395. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 47 on p. 194.
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⁵³¹ Another similar type with two lions attacking a solitary animal comes from Tell Rekeshe. The debased animal is probably an ostrich (cf. fig. 415 on p. 445).

3.2.2.1.2.2. Analysis

The common features of the MB II B (1760–1540/1450) motif of the lion attacking a horned animal are: first, the lion is jumping from behind onto the back of the horned animal (69,71–75) with the exception of 70 where the lion is completely above the attacked animal. Second, the head of the horned animal is with the exception of 71 always turned back towards the attacking lion (69,70,72–75). Diversity is indicated by the posture of the horned animal and the additional elements added to the main motif. The posture of the horned animal can be striding (72,74,75), crouching (70,73), falling (69), and fleeing (71). Supplementary elements are: a uraeus (69,72,74), twigs (70), the hieroglyphs *ntr nfr* (72) and *ꜥ* (75), and undefined objects (69,70,72). No additional element is on 71,73. Exceptional is 102, which depicts the main motif along the typical lines outlined above, but adds a figure in a blessing or adoring manner. The only cylinder seal in the catalogue belonging to this period (99) differs in that both animals are seated. Otherwise the lion attacks the animal from behind in typical fashion.

Two of three Late Bronze Age (1540/1450–1250/1150) scarabs (76–78) are almost identical as well as unique: Both represent a fleeing horned animal (76,77), once the head is turned back to the attacker (77), the other time it is not (76). Both have a twig above and below. The third piece shows the lion on top of the horned animal (78) similar to the MB II B scarab 70. The Late Bronze Age cylinder seal 100 is unique as the lion attacks the horned animal head-on. Interesting is the comparison with the second LB cylinder seal 101. Here a rampant lion, which is also singular in this section of the catalogue, attacks a rampant horned animal which is subdued in 100 by a deity.

The Ramesside mass-products (1130–945; KEEL 1995a:36 § 67; cf. also below footnote 423 on p. 159) of these motifs can be divided into five groups. The largest group is comprised of 79–82. Their particular feature is the object behind the horned animal which was tentatively

interpreted by KEEL (1997:604, no. 213) as a newborn animal. If this interpretation were found to be correct, it would shed new light on the meaning of this particular type. The horned animal in this composition is generally connected with the negative and dangerous values of the horned animal, i.e., the desert and hill country as life-threatening regions and by extension the people that inhabit them. Thus the attacking lion can be interpreted as the victorious power of the pharaoh which is exerted over it (cf. pp. 194,352,354). The newborn animal brings in the fertility-related aspect of the horned animal (cf. pp. 346–352; *ibid.* 1992a:27) and could be seen along the lines of the lion attacking a bovine animal (fig. 58 on p. 198 = fig. 338 on p. 365 and fig. 339 on p. 365). In this case the horned animal would stand for prosperity, life, and fertility and the attacking animal would indicate the power which is necessary to take control of it. Thus the lion no longer stands for the domination over life-threatening forces but the ability to obtain the life-giving forces. An additional specific feature of this first group is that the horned animal turns its head backwards (79–82), a detail that is not observable in the remaining pieces (83–85). The second important feature of the Ramesside mass-products of this motif is the added disk (81–83); it appears twice in the above-discussed group. The function of the twig which is typical for the third type is unclear. Once it appears in the first type (80) which would make the twig a fertility-related object, the other time it is the sole added object (84) which could also indicate the vegetation in which the horned animal is hiding (cf. 76). 85 represents the fourth type among the Ramesside mass-products with a solitary attacking lion. It depicts only the attacking lion and the horned animal without any additional elements. The last and fifth group among the mass-products is 103–105. All three of them depict two lions attacking a horned animal.

Finally, common to all Ramesside mass-products of the motif of the lion attacking a horned animal is that the latter is always depicted in a striding posture.

The seventeen objects discussed so far were all scarabs with the exception of the rectangular plaque 84. The unifying feature of the next group dated from the 12th–6th

centuries, is that the object is not a scarab but either a scaraboid (87,88) or a conoid (86,89) on which the motif under discussion appears. It is notable that the two scaraboids show a base design very similar to each other. For the first time the motif is not arranged along the long but the small side.

While the next group of anepigraphic seals (90–92), which encompasses the period from 700–333, depicts postures which are reminiscent of MB II B (1760–1540/1450) representations (compare 90 with 69 and 91,92 with 76), the particular common feature of all of three is the “S”-shaped tail of the lion (cf. also fig. 339 on p. 365).

The seal impression from Gezer (93) with a horned animal falling as it is attacked has its only parallel in an MB II B scarab (69) differing from the latter in that the horned animal does not turn its head backwards.

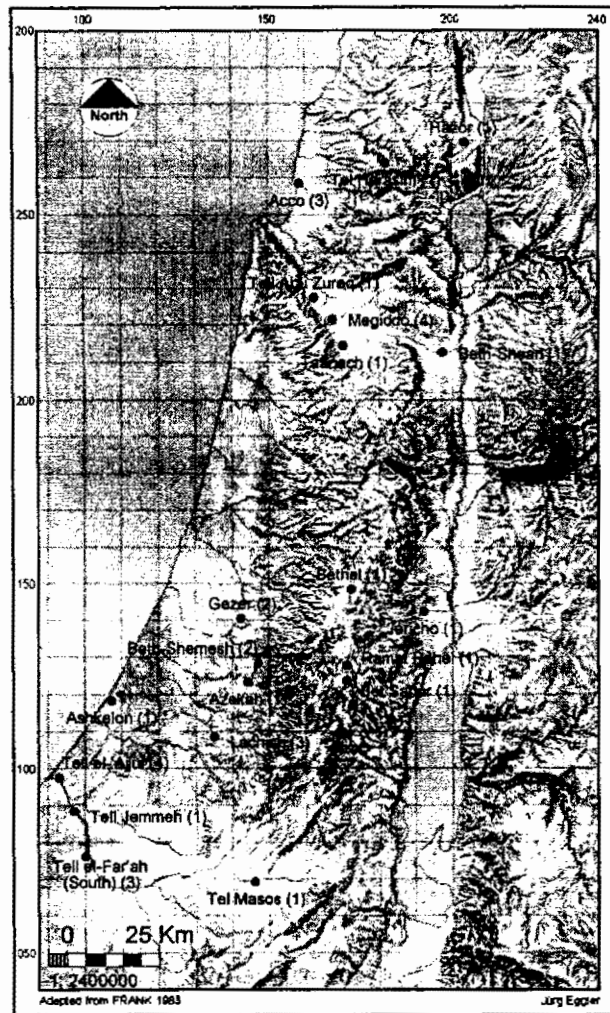
The last group to be discussed is that of registered seals from the 9th/8th centuries (94–98). Common to them is that all have three registers of figures and the lowest depicts a lion and horned animals. There is also a marked difference. Only the anepigraphic seal 94 really depicts an attack on a horned animal. The representation of 94 is reminiscent of MB II B (1760–1540/1450) features, namely, the turned-back head of the attacked animal in combination with a uraeus. It is notable that the fertility-related type 1 of Ramesside mass-product type also has horned animals whose heads are turned back. The general composition of the whole seal does not suggest any relationship between the lion and the pharaoh but rather the fertility goddess (cf. comment to fig. 55 on p. 196). The role of the lion on the epigraphic seals (95–98) is difficult to ascertain. This group differs from all representations discussed so far in that the lion and horned animal are lined up on one level¹⁵³² in a fashion that does not convey a real attack. Only in the case of 95 does there seem to be an indication that the lion is hunting a fleeing horned animal while 96,97 look more like animal processions than violent

scenes of feline ferocity. The latter can hardly be said of 98. Without an attempt to interpret the composition of the whole design, it seems that the superiority of the lion should be underlined by its association with a horned animal. It also appears that this particular composition clearly wants to disassociate itself from the Egyptian version or the associated concept of the lion with that motif.

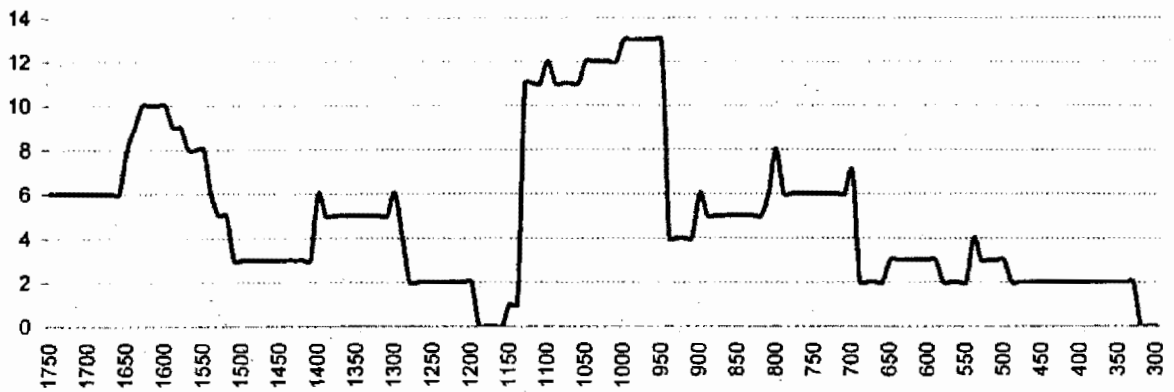
The singular motif of 106 follows typical MB II B (1760–1540/1450) traditions when it depicts the horned animal as turning its head back and adds a filler element (69,70 on p. 225). The representation of the fallen human below the horned animal is unique and at the same time provides an important clue for the interpretation of the motif of the lion attacking a horned animal. It indicates that we do not have a representation of an ordinary hunt for prey but a display of the might of the royal lion over his enemies.

⁵³² Only 83 and 84 depict the lion as being not above but behind the horned animal although the intention of attack is clear, at least in the case of 83 while 84 is a little paratactically arranged.

3.2.2.1.2.3. Geographical and chronological distribution





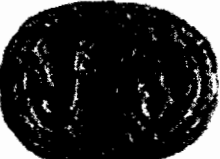


Map 7: The lion attacking a horned animal (and a human)



Graph 7: The lion attacking a horned animal (and a human)

3.2.2.1.3. The lion overcoming the crocodile

3.2.2.1.3.1. Catalogue

- 107 **OBJECT:** Scarab; part of the scarab broken off; coarse linear with hatching and cross-hatching; diorite; 24 x 18 x mm.
DESCRIPTION: As no. 110, but the forepaw is demonstratively put on the crocodile and it adds a uraeus in front of the lion.
DATE: 1750–1550.
PROVENANCE: Gezer; find context unknown (3rd Semitic period).
LITERATURE: MACALISTER 1912: III pl. 202a:9; KEEL 1994a:34; *ibid.* 1995a:198 § 541; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:27:6. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 28 on p. 177. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 29 on p. 157, 57 on p. 197, 497 on p. 492, 523 on p. 524.
- 
- 108 **OBJECT:** Scarab; hollowed-out engraving with cross-hatching; steatite; white-yellowish; 17 x 12,7 x 8 mm.
DESCRIPTION: As no. 111, but the lion is roaring.
DATE: 1750–1550.
PROVENANCE: Jericho; tomb 3.
LITERATURE: ROWE 1936, no. 319; KEEL 1994a:34; *ibid.* 1995a:198 § 541. *Photograph from Corpus File.* Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 29 on p. 177.
- 
- 109 **OBJECT:** Scarab; hollowed-out engraving; steatite; white-yellow, 21,9 x 17 x 9,6 mm.
DESCRIPTION: To the right is a vertically-placed crocodile. A seated roaring lion puts its lifted paw on the crocodile. Behind it is a uraeus. In front of the lion is a *st* or *wsh* and *nfr*. Twisted rope border.
DATE: 1750–1550.
PROVENANCE: Megiddo; area K 14(c).
LITERATURE: ROWE 1936: pl. 2:71. *Photograph from Corpus File.* Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 30 on p. 177.
- 
- 110 **OBJECT:** Scarab; border heavily chipped; hollowed-out engraving with hatching and cross-hatching; steatite; 18,4 x 12 x mm.
DESCRIPTION: A striding lion over a crocodile.
DATE: 1575–1522.
PROVENANCE: Tell el-‘Ajjul; find context unknown.
LITERATURE: PETRIE 1934: pl. 11:453; WILLIAMS 1970: fig. 13j; TUFNELL 1984:133, pls. 39:2590,40:2627; KEEL 1994a:34; *ibid.* 1995a:198 § 541; *ibid.* 1997:444,445, no. 1003. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 31 on p. 177.
- 
- 111 **OBJECT:** Scarab; hollowed-out engraving with cross-hatching; 21 x 14 x mm.
DESCRIPTION: As no. 110, but an additional uraeus in front and the tail of the lion merges into a uraeus.
DATE: 1575–1522.
PROVENANCE: Tell el-‘Ajjul; field F, tomb 1216 (between FK and FL).
LITERATURE: PETRIE 1934: pl. 7:259; WILLIAMS 1970: fig. 13l; TUFNELL 1984:133,139 pls. 39:2597,40:2635; KEEL 1994a:34; *ibid.* 1995a:198 § 541; *ibid.* 1997:382,383, no. 819. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 32 on p. 177.
- 

- 112 OBJECT: Scarab; hollowed-out engraving with hatching.

DESCRIPTION: As no. 110.

DATE: 1575-1522.

PROVENANCE: Tel Esur; tomb, 3rd phase.

LITERATURE: GOPHNA/SUSSMANN 1969:10, fig. 10:12; *ibid.* 1995a:198 § 541; KEEL 1994a:34. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 33 on p. 178.



- 113 OBJECT: Scarab; border slightly chipped; hollowed-out engraving with hatching; steatite; white-grey; 16 x 12,4 x 7,4 mm.

DESCRIPTION: A striding lion over a crocodile. The lion has in its paw a spearhead-shaped object.

DATE: 1292-1190.

PROVENANCE: Beth-Shean; stratum VI, south end of the city, locus 1072.

LITERATURE: ROWE 1936:141, pl. 15:587; *ibid.* 1940:83, pl. 36:21. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 34 on p. 178.



- 114 OBJECT: Scarab; schematic hollowed-out and linear engraving; steatite; grey-beige-yellowish; 10,9 x 7,7 x 6,5 mm.

DESCRIPTION: A striding lion above a crocodile. In front of the lion is a debased reed-sign (M17).

DATE: 1130-945.

PROVENANCE: Megiddo; stratum IV, square Q21, 182,30 m above sea level, 4,20 m below the tell surface.

LITERATURE: SCHUMACHER 1908:86 fig. 124; KEEL 33,34, pl. 9:16. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 35 on p. 178.



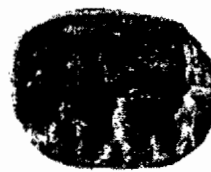
- 115 OBJECT: Scarab; border chipped, part of base damaged; schematic hollowed-out engraving; steatite; remains of blue-green glaze; 11,2 x 8,5 x 5,6 mm.

DESCRIPTION: A striding lion in front of which is a vertically placed crocodile. Above the lion is a *nbw*-shaped object which due to damage cannot be properly identified.

DATE: 12th-10th centuries.

PROVENANCE: Megiddo; stratum IV, square Q21, 182,30 m above sea level, 4,20 m below the tell surface.

LITERATURE: SCHUMACHER 1908:86 fig. 124, right row, second left (?). *Photographs from Corpus File* (impression mirrored). Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 36 on p. 178.



3.2.2.1.3.2. Analysis

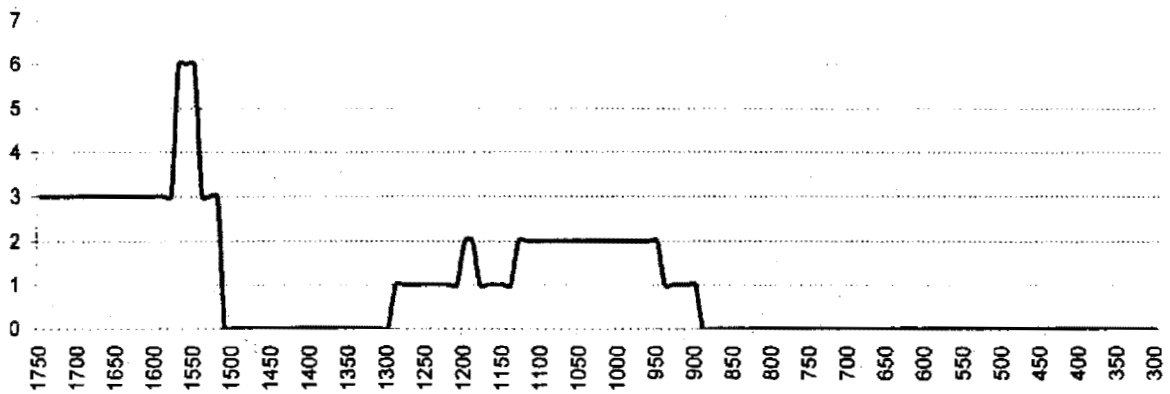
As discussed on p. 179 the motif of "the lion above the crocodile" does not show a great variation during the MB II B (1760-1540/1450) period. The lion and crocodile are depicted alone (110,112) or more often together with an apotropaic element, namely, a uraeus (107-109,111). Only once are hieroglyphs such as a *ss* or *wsh* and *nfr* added to the design (109). From the 19th dynasty (1292-1190) onwards two changes can be observed: first, the apotropaic uraeus no longer appears; second, the new elements that replace it vary (spearhead-shaped object [113], reed-sign [114], *nbw*-hieroglyph [115]). While there are attempts in the

MB II B (1760–1540/1450) period to indicate the aggressiveness of the lion by depicting it as putting one forepaw demonstratively on the crocodile (107,109) or as roaring (108,109), the representations from 13th–11th centuries (113–115) are highly emblematic, hardly conveying the violent subjugation of the crocodile.

3.2.2.1.3.3. Geographical and chronological distribution



Map 8: The lion overcoming the crocodile



Graph 8: The lion overcoming the crocodile

3.2.2.2. *The attacked and vanquished lion*3.2.2.2.1. *The lion attacked and overcome by gods*

3.2.2.2.1.1. Catalogue

116 OBJECT: Cylinder seal with gold caps; haematite; 19 x 7,5 mm.

DESCRIPTION: A striding figure in a short kilt wields in his raised right hand a weapon in a menacing pose. The photograph of the seal shows that the figure wears a headgear with a horn. A rectangular object protrudes backwards from the figure which was identified by BECK as the free-hanging end of the belt but might be in fact a dagger (cf. KEEL 1984a:193, fig. 291). With his left hand he holds the hind legs of a lion.⁵³³ A rosette is placed between the legs. Facing him is a figure in a long dress raising one hand and holding in the other a weapon (?) that crosses a similar object held by the figure to the right.⁵³⁴ Two short parallel strokes are behind its head (part of a headgear?). The centre figure is separated by two bull heads from another figure with long garment holding – apart from the weapon (?) mentioned above – at belt-height another weapon. Above the two bull heads is a circle, underneath a horizontal stroke (not represented on the drawing) – obviously the full moon and crescent (cf. fig 1 on p. 147 for both, the bull-heads and the disk and crescent).

DATE: Late 14th century (based on the pottery in the tombs).

PROVENANCE: Acco; tomb B 3; inv. no. 497; next to the lower part of a skull.

LITERATURE: BECK 1977:66–68, pl. 21:3 (photograph); KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:88, fig. 88b

(drawing). Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 1 on p. 162, 370 on p. 424. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 24 on p. 155, 60 on p. 199, 390 on p. 378, 391 on p. 378, 527 on p. 529.



117 OBJECT: Cylinder seal; steatite; white; 25 x 5 mm.

DESCRIPTION: On the right side of the scene Seth in a menacing pose is surrounded by three lions, one of which he holds by the tail. In front of Seth's head is written '3 *ply* "great of might". To the left of the scene Seth is wearing once more a headgear derived from the Egyptian double crown, this time attacking a horned serpent – which he seems to hold with one hand – with a spear. Five twigs are inserted into the whole scene. The twig behind Seth to the left is damaged and the upper part merges with the end of the spear.

DATE: 13th century.






PROVENANCE: Tell eš-Šafi; Roman burial cave.

LITERATURE: GIVEON 1978a: fig. 49; KEEL 1990b:311, fig. 82; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:89, fig. 89. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 2 on p. 162, 379 on p. 429. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 28 on p. 156, 495 on p. 490, 506 on p. 500.



⁵³³ With KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:88 against BECK who identified it as horned animal. However, head and tail rather suggest a lion.

⁵³⁴ It is unfortunate in this regard that the two flanking figures are not shown together on the drawing. They both clearly hold objects which cross each other. The drawing of a single cross-like object is inaccurate because it is not executed as a single object but as two that clearly cross each other.

- 118** OBJECT: Scarab; hollowed-out engraving; greenstone facies; 17 x 13 x 10 mm.
 DESCRIPTION: A striding bearded figure wearing a high headgear with a streamer and a short kilt attacks with a sword a rampant roaring lion. Above is a sun disk, below a *nb*.
 DATE: 600-539 (or 539-333).
 PROVENANCE: Acco; surface find.
 LITERATURE: GIVEON/KERTESZ 1986:38,39, no. 145; KEEL 1997:574,575, no. 122. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 3 on p. 162. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 65 on p. 200.
- 
- 119** OBJECT: Vertically rectangular cuboid incense-burner with plinth, broken; graffito with hatching; stone; 59 (w) x 61 (h) mm.
 DESCRIPTION: A geometric design encloses a scene which shows a standing figure with a long lock wearing a short kilt who is stabbing with a sword a rampant oversized lion. Behind and on the body⁵³⁵ of the lion is an eight-pointed star.
 DATE: 600-450.
 PROVENANCE: Gezer; find context unknown.
 LITERATURE: MACALISTER 1912: II 442: fig. 524:2b; STERN 1982:188, fig. 307:14; O'DWYER SHEA 1983:101, Gezer no. 6; ZWICKEL 1990:100, Gezer 3; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:441, fig. 372. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 4 on p. 163. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 66 on p. 200.
- 
- 120** OBJECT: Scarab; hollowed-out engraving with hatching and drilling; greenstone facies; 13,7 x 11 x 7,2 mm.
 DESCRIPTION: A bearded figure wearing only a lionskin of which the paws are hanging down is striding to the left holding in a menacing pose a weapon in his raised hand and with the other an upside-down lion by its tail. Behind the figure is a running dog. Barred strand rope border.
 DATE: 539-333.
 PROVENANCE: Atlit; south-east cemetery; tomb 20, tomb location b-4.
 LITERATURE: JOHNS 1933: pl. 14:496; *ibid.* 1975:134; CULICAN 1969: pl. 1:4; BISI 1980:32, footnote 60; STERN 1982:200, fig. 325; KLINGBEIL 1992a:187, no. 35; *ibid.* 1992b:98, no. 11; STERN 1994a:142, fig. 8; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:437, fig. 367a; KEEL 1997:758,759, no. 4. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 5 on p. 163. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 63 on p. 200.
- 
- 121** OBJECT: Scarab; hollowed-out engraving with hatching and drilling; greenstone facies; 14 x 11,1 x 8,4 mm.
 DESCRIPTION: As no. 120, except that the paws of the lion-skin are not depicted and the tail of the dog is not straight.
 DATE: 539-333.
 PROVENANCE: Atlit; south-east cemetery; tomb 23; tomb location c-4.
 LITERATURE: JOHNS 1933: pl. 14:705; BISI 1980:32, footnote 60; KLINGBEIL 1992a:207, no. 42; *ibid.* 1992b: 98, no. 17; STERN 1994a:142, fig. 9; KEEL 1997:764,765, no. 15. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 6 on p. 163.
- 
- 122** OBJECT: Scarab; border chipped; hollowed-out engraving, drilling; greenstone facies; 14 x 10 x 7 mm.
 DESCRIPTION: As no. 120, except that a Maat feather replaces the dog. Three drilling holes: one behind the figure, one between the legs, one on his left thigh.
 DATE: 539-333.
 PROVENANCE: Atlit; south-east cemetery; tomb 23; tomb location b-1.
 LITERATURE: JOHNS 1933: pl. 14:687; BISI 1980: pl. 5:5; KLINGBEIL 1992a:204, no. 41; *ibid.* 1992b:98, no. 16; STERN 1994a:142, fig. 11; KEEL 1997:764,765, no. 16. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 7 on p. 163.
- 

⁵³⁵ On the leonine hair whorl see KANTOR 1947 and VOLLGRAFF-ROES 1953, particularly p. 45, fig. 6; WILKINSON 1989.

- 123 OBJECT: Bulla with string preserved at top and bottom of horizontal image; finger ring seal impression; clay; reddish brown; image: 16 x 11 mm; bulla: 19 x 13,5 mm.

DESCRIPTION: A frontal nude figure taking a step. The strokes on the head might be tufts of fur, namely, the pelt of the Nemean lion that Herakles wears on his head.

DATE: Middle of 4th century.

PROVENANCE: Wadi ed-Daliyeh; Cave of the Papyri.

LITERATURE: LEITH 1990:171-176, no. W471, pl. 16:WD47 = *ibid.* 1997: pl. 12:WD 47.

Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 8 on p. 163, 193 on p. 260. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 82 on p. 204.



- 124 OBJECT: Bulla with string minimally preserved at top and bottom of horizontal image, papyrus fragment on the back; finger ring seal impression; clay; reddish brown; image: 16 x 7.5 mm; bulla: 20 x 17 mm.

DESCRIPTION: The nude, beardless Herakles is wrestling with the Nemean lion.

DATE: Middle of 4th century.

PROVENANCE: Wadi ed-Daliyeh.

LITERATURE: CROSS 1974a:28, pl. 62:h; LEITH 1990:163-170, no. WD42, pl. 15:WD42 = *ibid.*

1997: pl. 6:WD 42. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 64 on p. 200.



- 125 OBJECT: Cylindrical box; burnt; relief; ivory.

DESCRIPTION: A bull lowering its head to attack a standing lion. Behind the bull and above the lion is a bird, and behind the lion a second bovine animal that seems to be attacked by another lion.

DATE: 1400-1200.

PROVENANCE: Lachish; South-east corner of the shrine in structure III of the Fosse Temple.

LITERATURE: TUFNELL 1940: pl. 18A; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:135, fig. 143a. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 9 on p. 164, 358 on p. 419. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 9 on p. 150, 61 on p. 199, 332 on p. 363.



- 126 OBJECT: Scarab; border chipped and partly broken off; hollowed-out engraving; steatite; 18 x 13,5 x 8,5 mm.

DESCRIPTION: A bull facing to the right is attacking a lion that is about to fall on its back. Above the bull's back is a crescent touching the border line. Inside the half-circled crescent is a disk.

DATE: 12th-10th centuries.⁵³⁶

PROVENANCE: Tell Keisan, stratum 8, locus 637.

LITERATURE: KEEL 1990a:190, no. 9; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:163: fig. 169a. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 10 on p. 164, 359 on p. 420. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 11 on p. 151, 333 on p. 363, 354 on p. 369.



- 127 OBJECT: Ox head scaraboid; schematic hollowed-out engraving and drilling; haematite; 20,2 x 16,7 x 10,6 mm.

DESCRIPTION: A bull is attacking a lion. Above the bull is a scorpion.




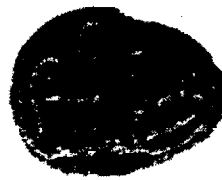

DATE: 1150-900.

PROVENANCE: Tell el-Far'ah (South); tomb 220.

LITERATURE: PETRIE 1930: pl. 35:389; KEEL 1990:190, fig. 9; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:163, fig. 169b; KEEL 1995a:75, fig. 115 (no depiction of base). Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 11 on p. 164, 360 on p. 420.



⁵³⁶ KEEL 1990a:190, no. 9 dates it to Iron Age IA, KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:164, no. 169b assigns it to Iron Age IIA.

- 128 **OBJECT:** Conoid; composite material; badly damaged; c. 15 x 13 mm.
DESCRIPTION: A winged figure standing on a lion. Both face to the right.
DATE: Late 13th–12th centuries.
PROVENANCE: Megiddo; destruction layer of stratum IVA; 11th century.
LITERATURE: SCHUMACHER 1908:86,89, fig. 124 top line, 2nd from right; CORNELIUS 1994:198, no. BM 48; pl. 49:BM48; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:131, fig. 134a. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 12 on p. 164, 200 on p. 312. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 25 on p. 155, 62 on p. 200.
- 
- 129 **OBJECT:** Scarab; hollowed-out and linear engraving; steatite; light yellow; 15 x 11 x 7,1 mm.
DESCRIPTION: A winged, bearded figure, facing to the left, wearing a headgear with two horns and a long streamer, is standing on a lion.⁵³⁷ Between the legs of the weather god is a tassel hanging down from the dress. Below the left wing is a uraeus.
DATE: C. 1100.
PROVENANCE: Jericho; tomb 11, stratum B.
LITERATURE: GARSTANG 1933:36,37, fig. 11, pl. 11; ROWE 1936:173, pl. 18:722; LEIBOVITCH 1942:440,441, fig. 91; FULCO 1976:7; WEIPPERT/WEIPPERT 1976:133, fig. 80; EGGLEER 1992:161,162,188,190,378,378, fig. 92; SHUVAL 1990:135, no. 25; KEEL 1990b:297; CORNELIUS 1994:198, no. BM49, pl. 49:BM49; *photograph from Corpus File*. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 13 on p. 164, 201 on p. 312. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 387 on p. 377.
- 
- 130 **OBJECT:** Oval seal impression (2x); schematic hollowed-out engraving; clay; 45* x 32 x mm.
DESCRIPTION: A figure wearing a conical headgear and a short kilt is holding a weapon in his outstretched hand. The figure stands on a lion.
DATE: 1200–1000.
PROVENANCE: Tell el-Far'ah (South); northern area, wine cellar, stratum Y.
LITERATURE: STARKEY/HARDING 1932: pl. 61:5,6; SHUVAL 1990:140 no. 37; CORNELIUS 1994:204 no. BM65, pl. 50:BM65. *Drawing from Corpus File*. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 14 on p. 165. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 505 on p. 500.
- 
- 131 **OBJECT:** Scarab; top right and lower part is broken off; schematic hollowed-out engraving; steatite; light yellow; 14 x 10,4 x 6,8 mm.
DESCRIPTION: Two figures are standing on animals. The left winged figure is standing on a lion, the right figure on a crouching horned animal.
DATE: 1300–1100.
PROVENANCE: Lachish; surface find.
LITERATURE: ROWE 1936:138, pl. 15:575; KEEL 1980a:267, fig. 76; KEEL 1990a:196–197, fig. 29; SHUVAL 1990:144, no. 47; DĄBROWSKI 1991:22–23, fig. 29; CORNELIUS 1994:201,202 no. BM58, pl. 49:BM58. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 15 on p. 165, 202 on p. 312.
- 
- 132 **OBJECT:** Scarab; border chipped; schematic hollowed-out engraving; steatite; white; 17,3 x 12,6 x 7,7 mm.
DESCRIPTION: As no. 131, except that the left figure's arms are not wings.
DATE: 1130–945.
PROVENANCE: Ashdod; surface find.
LITERATURE: KEEL 1997:680,681, no. 54. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 16 on p. 165.
- 

⁵³⁷ Following CORNELIUS 1994:199 with footnote 1 contra my earlier identification (EGGLEER 1992:161,161,188,190, 378,379).

- 133** OBJECT: Scarab; schematic hollowed-out engraving; steatite; 15,5 x 12,4 x 8,4 mm.
 DESCRIPTION: As no. 131, except that the figure on the horned animal wears a long garment and the animal is standing.
 DATE: 1150-900.
 PROVENANCE: Tell el-Far'ah (South); tomb 224.
 LITERATURE: PETRIE 1930:14, pl. 43:534; SHUVAL 1990:144, no. 46; DĄBROWSKI 1992:38-39, fig. 2h; CORNELIUS 1994:202, no. BM59, pl. 49:BM59. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 17 on p. 165, 203 on p. 313. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 26 on p. 156, 132 on p. 278, 376 on p. 374, 532 on p. 532.



- 134** OBJECT: Scarab; heavily damaged on the border; schematic hollowed-out engraving; steatite; grey with white glaze; 17,2 x 11,1 x 12,2 mm.
 DESCRIPTION: As no. 131, except that the horned animal is probably standing.
 DATE: 1130-945.
 PROVENANCE: Tell el-Far'ah (South); F. UL 376.
 LITERATURE: Unpublished. *Photograph from Corpus File no. 919*. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 18 on p. 165, 204 on p. 313.



- 135** OBJECT: Seal impression; broken along the middle with missing part at the bottom; hollowed-out engraving; clay; 12 x 8 mm.
 DESCRIPTION: As no. 131. The figure standing on the lion wears a conical headgear with a streamer. The horizontally outspread arms are probably wings.
 DATE: 1050-1000.
 PROVENANCE: Tell Keisan; level 9a, locus 635; inv. no. 6.377.
 LITERATURE: KEEL 1990a:246-247, no. 31, pl. X; SHUVAL 1990:145, no. 48; CORNELIUS 1994:201, no. BM57, pl. 49:BM57. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 19 on p. 166, 205 on p. 313.



3.2.2.1.2. Analysis

The first thing to note is that excluding the "mistress/master of lions" composition, the subjugation of the lion by a deity is restricted to weather-god-related figures. For this reason Herakles as "master of lions" (123) has been added to this section to present a complete range of motifs of weather-god-related figures overcoming the lion, although 123 will also be discussed in the analysis of the "mistress/master of lions" section below.

The vanquished lion in this section is related to three main traditions. First, royal iconography; second, mythological imagery; third, iconography of divinities. The dependency on royal iconography can be subdivided into Egyptian and Asiatic influences. The relationship to Egyptian royal iconography is indicated by the smiting pose (SCHOSKE 1982; HALL 1986; KEEL 1977b:141, footnote 4, 143, figs. 7,10; *ibid.* 1990b:268, figs. 46,47) of the lion slayer. It first appears during the Late Bronze Age (1540/1450-1250/1150) and interestingly enough only on

cylinder seals (116,117). During the Persian period (539–333) the motif was again taken up at the Carmel coast (120–122). The Asiatic royal influence in the subjugation of the lion is indicated by the weather god who is stabbing a rampant lion (118,119), a posture which goes back to royal Assyrian iconography (cf. fig. 73 on p. 202) and was taken over by the Persian court (figs. 74,75 on p. 203; see also fig. 189 on p. 294), but ultimately derived from “age-old Mesopotamian tradition” (ROOT 1979:304; cf. KEEL 1992a:1–59). Royal imagery is also involved when Herakles (123) appears as “master of lions” in the Persian period when he imitates the Persian king as “master of lions” (cf. fig. 83 on p. 204). Speaking of Herakles struggling with the lion, 124 should be mentioned. The hand-to-paw combat with the Nemean lion indicates an entirely different background, namely, that of Greek Heraklian mythology (cf. LEITH 1990:163, footnote 1) which itself might have been influenced by Mesopotamian traditions.⁵³⁸ A detail on 124 indicates a more direct Asiatic or more precisely Persian influence, this being the clawing at the thigh of Herakles (cf. fig. 218 on p. 300 and *ibid.* 164) by the lion with its right hind paw.

The mythological background of the overthrow of the lion by the weather god – reflected in the Ugaritic texts of the defeat of Mot, the god of arid lands and the desert, by Baal (cf. p. 150) – is most clearly indicated by 125–128. Here the weather god appears in theriomorphic form, viz., as a bull attacking a lion. When the weather god appears in smiting pose (116,120–122) the undertone suggests rather the idea of royal victory (see above). At the same time it should be noted that among the representations of the king attacking a lion (cf. cat. nos. 136–165 on pp. 249–254) the smiting pose is missing. That the weather god smiting a lion conveyed not only pharaonic domination is indicated by 117 where Seth⁵³⁹ in typical Egyptian royal fashion (HALL 1986, fig. 2 = KEEL 1977b:143, fig. 7) is defeating a lion but at the same time also spearing

⁵³⁸ So suggested by J. BOARDMAN in his public lecture on “Images and media in the Greek world” on 27 Nov 1997 at the international symposium on “Images as mass media and sources for the cultural and religious history of the Eastern Mediterranean and the Near East (1st millennium B.C.E.)” held in Fribourg, Switzerland, on November 25–29, 1997. Cf. also above footnote 466 on p. 200.

⁵³⁹ On his relationship to the weather god see pp. 166,167.

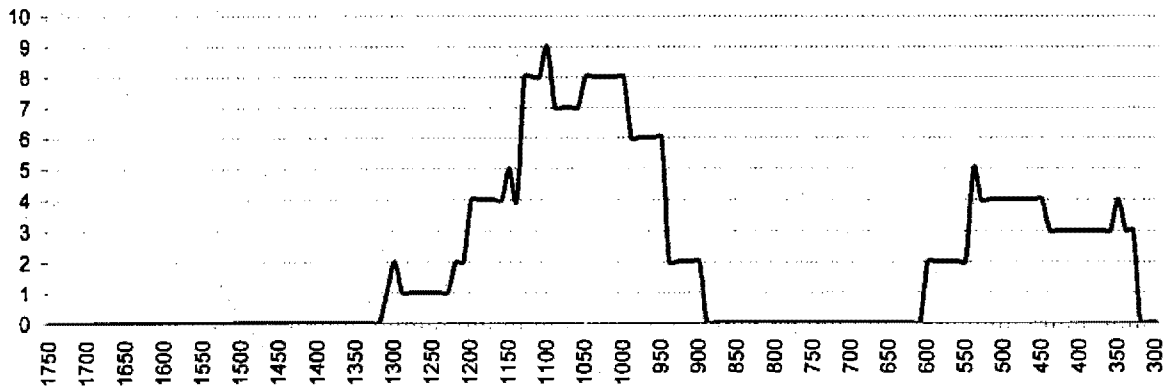
the Asiatic horned serpent (cf. p. 166), thereby connecting the theme to the mythological realm. The mythological aspect is most likely not present in the Persian period (120–122). After the 9th century the motif of the serpent-slaying weather god vanished almost entirely from the iconographic repertoire (cf. p. 185 with footnote 435). On the other hand the Persian king is frequently depicted as subduing the lion (figs. 74,75 on p. 203 and fig. 83 on p. 204), thus bringing the royal background to the forefront.

The third tradition to which the overcome lion relates involves a particular feature of the iconography of deities, namely, the animal pedestal (BOEHMER 1957–71:469). The weather god is not the only deity standing on a lion in depictions from Palestine/Israel (128–135) (cf. figs. 35 on p. 191, 41–43 on p. 193, 86,87 on p. 205). The uniqueness of the iconographic material of the weather god is that it graphically displays the actual combat with and subjugation of the lion. It seems therefore not too far fetched that the lion as pedestal is seen as more than a simple base to indicate the divine status of a figure but is considered related to the motif of the subdued lion. The relegation of the lion to a pedestal – which demonstrates the divine status of the weather god – is in accordance with the Ugaritic text in which Mot appears as enemy of Baal in his quest for supremacy and special divine status among the gods. A second aspect might also underline the aspect of subjugation of the lion as it serves as pedestal. When the weather god standing on a lion is represented together with Reshef standing on a horned animal (131–135) they hint at depictions where the weather god and Reshef appear alone as “master of the lion and the horned animal” (cf. figs. 311,312 on p. 358). In the combination with Reshef on the horned animal, the weather god on the lion also alludes to his control over the fauna, implying the subjugation of the lion. Last to note is that the weather god standing on a lion appears generally as winged Baal-Seth (128,129,131,133–135) and not as simple wingless Baal (130,132).

3.2.2.2.1.3. Geographical and chronological distribution



Map 9: The lion attacked and overcome by gods



Graph 9: The lion attacked and overcome by gods

3.2.2.2.2. The lion attacked by the king/royal hero

3.2.2.2.2.1. Catalogue

- 136 OBJECT: Scarab; border slightly chipped; hollowed-out engraving; steatite; 18,3 x 14,4 x 8,2 mm.

DESCRIPTION: The pharaoh wearing the blue crown with a uraeus is aiming an arrow at a seated lion hiding between twigs. Behind the king is a *nfr*, another one together with a sun disk above the lion's head.

DATE: 1292-1150.

PROVENANCE: Lachish; stratum VI; area S, locus 3617, basket 40006/80.

LITERATURE: USSISHKIN 1978:45, fig. 11, pl. 16:2; GIVEON 1978b:12, fig. 11; *ibid.* 1988:82,83, no. 94; KEEL 1990b:268, fig. 44; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:93, fig. 101a. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 68 on p. 201, 500 on p. 496.



- 137 OBJECT: Scarab; border chipped; schematic hollowed-out engraving; steatite; 12,5 x 9 x 6 mm.

DESCRIPTION: A schematic figure is aiming with an arrow at a seated lion. Above is a crescent, before the lion is a disk.

DATE: 1130-945.

PROVENANCE: Acco; surface find.

LITERATURE: GIVEON/KERTESZ 1986:28,29, no. 94; KEEL 1997:562,563, no. 88.



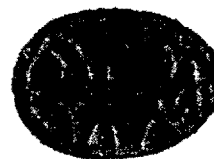
- 138 OBJECT: Scarab; border chipped; schematic hollowed-out engraving; steatite; white with yellowish glaze; 17 x 14 x 9 mm.

DESCRIPTION: A bowman is aiming at a lion, a horned animal (above), and (debased) human figure (right).

DATE: 1130-1000.

PROVENANCE: Beth-Shean; south end of city, lower level of stratum V; square P7, locus 1708.

LITERATURE: JAMES 1966:332, fig. 109,8; SHUVAL 1990:130, no. 13. *Photograph from Corpus File.* Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 270 on p. 386.



- 139 OBJECT: Scarab; border chipped; schematic hollowed-out engraving with cross-hatching; steatite; 17,5 x 12,5 x 8,5 mm.

DESCRIPTION: As no. 138.

DATE: 1130-945.

PROVENANCE: Acco; surface find.

LITERATURE: GIVEON/KERTESZ 1986:28,29, no. 93; SHUVAL 1990:131, no. 15; KEEL 1997:560,561, no. 87. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 271 on p. 387.



- 140 OBJECT: Scarab; schematic hollowed-out engraving; 14,7 x 11,4 x mm.

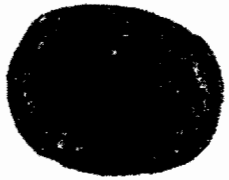
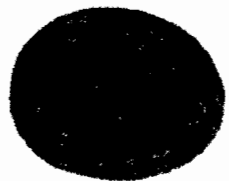





DESCRIPTION: As no. 138.

DATE: 1130-945.

PROVENANCE: Tell el-Far'ah (South); cemetery 100, tomb 133.

LITERATURE: PETRIE 1930: pl. 29:272; SHUVAL 1990:130, no. 14. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 272 on p. 387. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 69 on p. 201, 512 on p. 504.



- 141 OBJECT: Scarab; schematic hollowed-out engraving; steatite; 17 x 13,3 x 9,7 mm.
DESCRIPTION: As no. 138.
DATE: 1130-945.
PROVENANCE: Tell el-Far'ah (South); tomb 506.
LITERATURE: PETRIE 1930: pl. 31:324; SHUVAL 1990:129, no. 11. *Photograph from Corpus File*. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 273 on p. 387. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 299 on p. 354.
- 
- 142 OBJECT: Scarab; border chipped; schematic hollowed-out engraving; steatite; white-yellowish; 17 x 13,3 x 9,7 mm.
DESCRIPTION: As no. 138.
DATE: 1130-945.
PROVENANCE: Tell el-Far'ah (South); surface find from cemetery 500.
LITERATURE: PETRIE 1930: pl. 43:537; ROWE 1936: no. 813; SHUVAL 1990:131, no. 16. *Photograph from Corpus File*. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 274 on p. 387.
- 
- 143 OBJECT: Scarab; schematic hollowed-out engraving; steatite; 16,6 x 13 x 7,7 mm.
DESCRIPTION: As no. 138.
DATE: 1130-945.
PROVENANCE: Gezer; find context unknown.
LITERATURE: Unpublished. *Drawing from Corpus File*. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 275 on p. 387.
- 
- 144 OBJECT: Scarab; base partly broken off at the top; schematic hollowed-out engraving; steatite; grey-white glaze; 17 x 13 x 8 mm.
DESCRIPTION: As no. 138.
DATE: 1130-945.
PROVENANCE: Tell Jemmeh; find context unknown.
LITERATURE: PETRIE 1928: pls. 17:44,19:47; SHUVAL 1990:129, no. 12. *Photograph from Corpus File*. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 276 on p. 387.
- 
- 145 OBJECT: Scarab; hollowed-out and linear engraving; steatite; 14,5 x 11,2 x 7 mm.
DESCRIPTION: A bowman is aiming at a lion. Below the lion is a human.
DATE: 1130-945.
PROVENANCE: Acco; surface find.
LITERATURE: KEEL 1997:612,613, no. 233.
- 
- 146 OBJECT: Scarab; border slightly chipped; schematic hollowed-out engraving; steatite; 15,5 x 8,5 x 6,5 mm.
DESCRIPTION: A bowman aiming at a seated lion which attacks a crouching, horned animal. Above is a debased lotus flower.
DATE: 1130-945.
PROVENANCE: Acco, surface find.
LITERATURE: GIVEON/KERTESZ 1986:26,27 no. 90; KEEL 1990:340,341, fig. 10; *ibid.* 1997:560,561, no. 85. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 329 on p. 404. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 70 on p. 202.
- 
- 147 OBJECT: Scarab; schematic hollowed-out engraving; steatite; 18,7 x 14,2 x mm.
DESCRIPTION: As no. 146.
DATE: 1130-945.
PROVENANCE: Tell Jemmeh; EM 188.
LITERATURE: PETRIE 1928: pl. 19:46. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 330 on p. 404.
- 

- 148 OBJECT: Scarab; schematic hollowed-out engraving; 13,5 x 10,5 x mm.

DESCRIPTION: As no. 146.

DATE: 1130-945.

PROVENANCE: Tell Abu Salima; find context unknown.

LITERATURE: PETRIE/ELLIS 1937: pl. 6:57. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 331 on p. 404. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 297 on p. 354.



- 149 OBJECT: Scarab; border slightly chipped, base has a hole behind the figure; hollowed-out and linear engraving; limestone; 19,5 x 14,4 x 9 mm.

DESCRIPTION: A lion attacks a horned animal. Behind the lion a figure wearing a dagger (?) is holding an object in his outstretched left arm. The right arm is raised in a menacing pose. In front of the figure are two triangles that touch each other at the apex. Below the figure is a small animal and below the lion a circle.

DATE: 1200-1000.

PROVENANCE: Tell el-Far'ah (South); find context unknown.

LITERATURE: STARKEY/HARDING 1932: pl. 61:above left, 4th row. Photograph from Corpus File. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 332 on p. 404.



- 150 OBJECT: Scarab; border chipped, part of scarab broken off; schematic hollowed-out engraving; 12,7 x 9,7 x 8 mm.

DESCRIPTION: A bowman aims at a lion,⁵⁴⁰ which in turn attacks a horned animal.⁵⁴¹

DATE: 1130-945.

PROVENANCE: Tell el-Far'ah (South); surface find from tomb 200.

LITERATURE: PETRIE 1930: pl. 43:529. Photograph from Corpus File. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 333 on p. 404.



- 151 OBJECT: Scarab; hollowed-out and linear engraving; steatite; grey with remains of white glaze; 19,5 x 14,75 x 8,8 mm.

DESCRIPTION: The pharaoh wearing the blue crown is aiming with a bow at two lions - one striding, the other one above, seated, with open mouth. A human figure is raising its hand in adoration,⁵⁴² a disk is in front of it. A second one is behind the seated lion.

DATE: 1250-1075.

PROVENANCE: Ashkelon; phase 4, grid 50, square 59, layer 45, Hellenistic filling.

LITERATURE: KEEL 1995b:126,139, fig. 20; KEEL 1997:698,699, no. 25.



- 152 OBJECT: Scarab; schematic hollowed-out engraving; 12,8 x 10,3 x mm.

DESCRIPTION: A bowman aims at two striding lions.

DATE: 1130-945.

PROVENANCE: Tell Abu Salima; south-west graves.

LITERATURE: PETRIE/ELLIS 1937: pl. 6:77.



⁵⁴⁰ The right ear of the animal was cut too big, otherwise the body and head are typically feline.

⁵⁴¹ The head is not visible but by analogy it must be a horned animal. The body is typical of that. Furthermore, with one exception two lions are never attacked from behind and if two lions are depicted they are always placed exactly in line.

⁵⁴² In contrast to the previous examples this human figure is not an enemy of the pharaoh. Cf. also the adoring figure beside the pharaoh when he displays his domination in the motif of "smiting the enemy" (PETRIE 1930: pl. 31:319; GIVEON/KEMPINSKI 1983:102-105).

- 153** OBJECT: Scarab; base partly chipped; schematic hollowed-out engraving; steatite; 14,5 x 12 x 8 mm.
DESCRIPTION: As no. 152.
DATE: 1130-945.
PROVENANCE: Acco; surface find.
LITERATURE: GIVEON/KERTESZ 1986:28,29, no. 95; *KEEL* 1997:562,563, no. 89.
- 154** OBJECT: Scarab; border chipped; schematic hollowed-out engraving; steatite; grey with haematite inclusions; 13,5 x 10 x 6,6 mm.
DESCRIPTION: As no. 152, but the bowman can hardly be identified.
DATE: 1130-945.
PROVENANCE: Acco; surface find.
LITERATURE: GIVEON/KERTESZ 1986:38,39, no. 150; *KEEL* 1997:574,575, no. 126.
- 155** OBJECT: Scarab; part of base broken off; schematic hollowed-out engraving; steatite; grey with white glaze; 13,5 x 10 x 6,9 mm.
DESCRIPTION: As no. 152.
DATE: 1130-945.
PROVENANCE: Aphek; surface find.
LITERATURE: *KEEL* 1997:92,93, no. 41.
- 156** OBJECT: Scarab; schematic hollowed-out and linear engraving; steatite?; 12 x 10 x mm.
DESCRIPTION: As no. 152.
DATE: 1130-945.
PROVENANCE: Tell el-'Ajjul; cemetery IV, find context unknown.
LITERATURE: PETRIE 1932: pl. 8:142; *KEEL* 1997:218,219, no. 345.
- 157** OBJECT: Scarab; schematic hollowed-out engraving; steatite; 13,8 x 10 x mm.
DESCRIPTION: As no. 152, but the bowman is kneeling.⁵⁴³
DATE: 1130-710.
PROVENANCE: Lachish; cave 1002.
LITERATURE: TUFNELL 1953: pls. 43/43A:49. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 72 on p. 202.
- 158** OBJECT: Scarab; schematic hollowed-out engraving; steatite; whitish-beige; 12,1 x 9,8 x 7,1 mm.
DESCRIPTION: As no. 152.
DATE: 1130-1000.
PROVENANCE: Taanach; field B, square SW 2-8; locus 27, basket 90.
LITERATURE: GIVEON/KERTESZ 1986:28,29, no. 91; SHUVAL 1990:340,341, fig. 10; *KEEL* 1997:560,561, no. 85. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 71 on p. 202.
- 159** OBJECT: Bulla; modelled hollowed-out engraving; clay; 35 (d) x 15 (h) mm.
DESCRIPTION: The bearded king, wearing a knee-length kilt and conical headgear, is holding a rampant lion by the mane and stabbing it with a dagger. Guilloche border.
DATE: End of 8th century.
PROVENANCE: Samaria; G.T.4 on plan 10, debris close beside the Israelite wall.



⁵⁴³ Cf. footnote 474 on p. 202.

LITERATURE: REISNER 1924: pl. 56a (photograph); STERN 1994a:145, fig. 12; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:325, fig. 278b (drawing; not identical to the original). Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 73 on p. 202.

- 160 OBJECT: Scaraboid; damaged at bottom right; modelled hollowed-out engraving; dark glass⁵⁴⁴ with thick white iridescence; 17 x 14 x 9 mm.
DESCRIPTION: A horse with a rider spearing a rampant lion from the back.
DATE: Late 6th/5th centuries.⁵⁴⁵
PROVENANCE: Samaria; Bc 180, above south wall of tower.
LITERATURE: CROWFOOT/CROWFOOT/KENYON 1957:86, pl. 15:15. *Photograph from Corpus File.*
- 161 OBJECT: Scaraboid; border chipped; modelled hollowed-out engraving; glass⁵⁴⁶; blue; 16 x 12 x 9 mm.
DESCRIPTION: As no. 160.
DATE: Late 6th/5th centuries.
PROVENANCE: Tell es-Şafi; unknown find context.
LITERATURE: BLISS 1899b:331,332, pl. 6:10. *Photograph from Corpus File.*
- 162 OBJECT: Ovoid seal; hollowed-out engraving; hard stone; yellow; 22 x 17 x mm.
DESCRIPTION: As no. 160, but the horseman is about to overtake the fleeing lion. Inscription below the horse: *tyln*.
DATE: 5th century.
PROVENANCE: Jaffa; find context unknown.
LITERATURE: DALMAN 1903:31, fig. 32; GALLING 1941:160,194, no. 145, pl. 12:145. *Drawing from DALMAN, photograph from GALLING.*
- 163 OBJECT: Scarab; hollowed-out engraving; carnelian; 17 x 12,3 x mm.
DESCRIPTION: A rider on a dromedary is spearing a lion.⁵⁴⁷
DATE: End of 6th/5th centuries.
PROVENANCE: Tell Jemmeh; find context unknown.
LITERATURE: PETRIE 1928: pl. 17:12.



⁵⁴⁴ The material suggests a Syro-Phoenician workshop (BUCHANAN/MOOREY 1988:75).

⁵⁴⁵ The motif can be traced back to 8th/7th century Assyrian (cf. two seal impressions from Kuyunjik in LAYARD 1953b:155) and Neo-Elamite (COLLON 1987:88, fig. 411,412) traditions and was later taken over by the Persians (WARD 1910:331,332, figs. 1075-1079,1080; DELAPORTE 1920: pl. 107:36,37,39a; FURTWÄGLER 1964: pl. 11:1-5,8,9 BUCHANAN/MOOREY 1988: pl. 17:516).

⁵⁴⁶ Cf. footnote 544.

⁵⁴⁷ A very similar scene is seen on a Persian cylinder seal depicting the Persian king wearing the *kidaris* as he is riding a dromedary and spearing a rampant lion (Fn. fig. 9).



Fn. fig. 9

- 164 **OBJECT:** Scarab; hollowed-out engraving and drilling with hatching and cross-hatching; green-stone facies; 17,7 x 13,2 x 10,7 mm.
DESCRIPTION: As no. 159 except that the lion has its paws on the hero's shoulders and the weapon which is thrust into the lion's body is not visible.
DATE: End of 6th-4th century.
PROVENANCE: Ashkelon; grid 50, square 48, layer 266. Early Persian filling, phase 8.
LITERATURE: *KEEL 1997:712,713, no. 59*. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 74 on p. 202.
- 165 **OBJECT:** Coin; silver; 1/16 of a shekel; 0.5 g.
DESCRIPTION: The Persian king is grabbing a rampant lion with the left hand. In his right hand he holds a scimitar. Faintly visible are the (Phoenician) letters 'ayin and bet between the king and lion.
DATE: Middle of the 4th century.
PROVENANCE: Wadi ed-Daliyeh; Cave of the Papyri.
LITERATURE: *CROSS 1974b:59, pl. 81:6* (photograph entirely black!); *GIVEON 1994:145, fig. 18*.
- 166 **OBJECT:** Coin; obol; 0.68 g; axis: 06.
DESCRIPTION: The Persian king wearing kidaris and kandys and holding a dagger in his right hand is struggling with a rampant lion with one forepaw outstretched towards the king, the other hanging down the side. Inscription: Phoenician letter \aleph .
DATE: 4th century.
PROVENANCE: Samaria.
LITERATURE: *MESHORER/QEDAR 1991:53, no. 49*. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 529 on p. 530.
- 167 **OBJECT:** Coin; silver-plated drachm; 2.72 g; axis: 03.
DESCRIPTION: The Persian king wearing kidaris and kandys and holding a dagger in his right hand is struggling with a rampant lion raising both forepaws towards the king. Inscription: \aleph (possible abbreviation of the name of Sanballat's son Delayah [MESHORER/QEDAR 1991:17]).
DATE: 4th century.
PROVENANCE: Samaria.
LITERATURE: *MESHORER/QEDAR 1991:53, no. 50*. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 75 on p. 203.
- 168 **OBJECT:** Coin; obol; 0.68 g.
DESCRIPTION: The Persian king wearing kidaris and kandys and holding a dagger in his right hand is struggling with a rampant lion raising both forepaws towards the king. Inscription: \aleph (possible abbreviation of the name of Sanballat's son Delayah [MESHORER/QEDAR 1991:17]).
DATE: 4th century.
PROVENANCE: Samaria.
LITERATURE: *MESHORER/QEDAR 1991:53, no. 51*.
- 169 **OBJECT:** Coin; obol; 0.63 g; axis: 09.
DESCRIPTION: The Persian king wearing kidaris and kandys and holding a dagger in his right hand is struggling with a rampant lion with its forepaws stretched out to the sides. Inscription: \aleph (abbreviation of the name of the Persian satrap Mazday/Mazaesus/Mazaaios; cf. *MILDENBERG 1998:43-52*).
DATE: 4th century.
PROVENANCE: Samaria.
LITERATURE: *MESHORER/QEDAR 1991:47, no. 16*. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 76 on p. 203.



170 OBJECT: Coin; obol; 0.70 g.

DESCRIPTION: The Persian king wearing kidaris and kandys and holding a dagger in his right hand is struggling with a rampant lion with its forepaws stretched out to the sides. A bird between the contestants.

DATE: 4th century.

PROVENANCE: Samaria.

LITERATURE: MESHORER/QEDAR 1991:52, no. 44.



171 OBJECT: Coin: obol; 0.41 g.

DESCRIPTION: The Persian king wearing kidaris and kandys and holding a dagger in his right hand is struggling with a rampant lion with its forepaws stretched out to the sides. Inscription: 𐤓𐤕: 𐤓(𐤓)𐤕 (s/mry/n).

DATE: 4th century.

PROVENANCE: Samaria.

LITERATURE: MESHORER/QEDAR 1991:53, no. 45.



172 OBJECT: Coin; obol; 0.88g; axis 07.

DESCRIPTION: The Persian king wearing kidaris and kandys and holding a dagger in his right hand is struggling with a rampant lion with its forepaws stretched out to the sides. Inscription: 𐤓𐤕 (abbreviation of the name of the Persian satrap Mazday/Mzaeus/Mazaaios; cf. MILDENBERG 1998:43-52).

DATE: 4th century.

PROVENANCE: Samaria.

LITERATURE: MESHORER/QEDAR 1991:53, no. 48; MILDENBERG 1998: pl. 18:16.



The following coins are the same objects as no. 172 and have the same description, date, and provenance:

173: no data; MESHORER/QEDAR 1991:53, no. 48; 174: 0.65 g; *ibid.*

3.2.2.2.2. Analysis

The motif of the king overcoming a lion is attested in Palestine/Israel by Egyptian, Neo-Assyrian, and Persian iconographic evidence and revolves around the theme of royal "Triumph über alles ... Feindliche" (KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:92), "Legitimation der Herrschaft" (GERLACH 1992:88), and the power over "any and all hostile forces" (ROOT 1979:307).

The greatest variation of the motif is seen in Egyptian tradition. The theme first appears during the transition from the Late Bronze to the Iron Age (1300-1150) on 136 where the pharaoh is aiming his bow and arrow head-on at a seated lion. This particular motif appears only once more (137), namely, in the Iron Age I/II A period (1250/1150-900), where the lion is now attacked from behind. What differentiates the Egyptian from the Asiatic tradition as it is attested in Palestine/Israel is not only that it is solely the pharaoh who uses the bow, but with

the exception of 136,137 that the pharaoh is attacking not only the lion but a whole array of enemies. He exerts his power over either a lion, a horned animal, and a human (138-144), a lion and horned animal (146-150), or two lions (151-158). Only once is the combination of enemies that of a lion and a human (145). By having the whole range of enemies in masterly control, the pharaoh wants to enhance his image of being in charge of "any and all hostile forces". This concept is also part of Persian royal combat iconography; however, in the latter's case, it is conveyed by the king's overthrow of real (160-165) as well as mythical beasts.⁵⁴⁸ Possibly the same effect could be achieved in the doubling of the lion to be attacked (151-158) and the defeat of a lion which in turn attacks a horned animal (146-150). In the latter case the ferocity of the lion is vividly portrayed yet shown to be no match for the pharaoh.

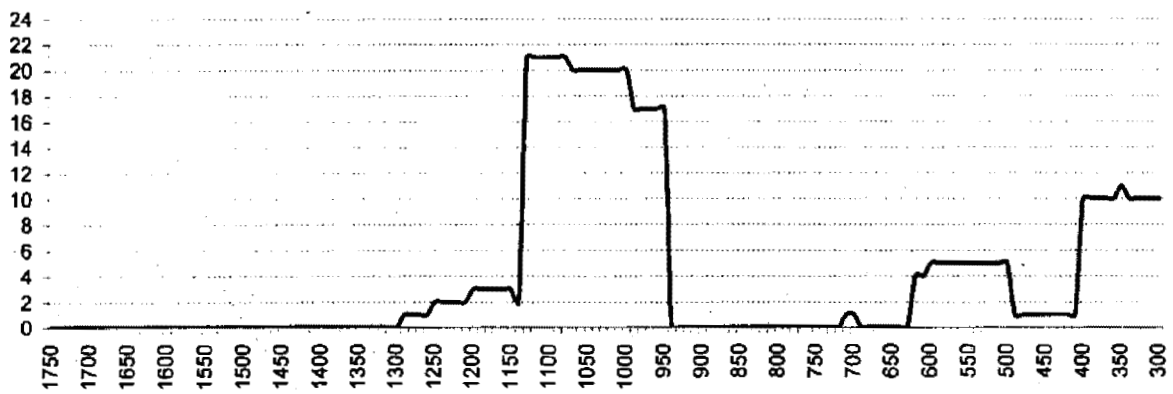
Only one seal attests the presence of the Neo-Assyrian tradition – the famous royal Assyrian seal from Samaria (159). Assyrian iconographic influence also indirectly found its way later to Palestine/Israel, namely in the Persian period. Not only does the struggle of the hero with the rampant lion of 164 stand in Assyrian iconographic tradition but especially the Samarian coins and the one piece from Wadi ed-Daliyeh where the royal Persian hero is struggling with the lion (165-174). Typical of the Persian period is the attack of the lion by a rider with a spear, generally on a horse (160-162) but also on a dromedary (163).

⁵⁴⁸ Fig. 189 on p. 294 and fig. 218 on p. 300 (lion monsters/griffins); fig. 190 on p. 294 (griffin); fig. 208 on p. 298 (winged bull); fig. 216 on p. 300 and fig. 217 on p. 300 (royal sphinxes); fig. 231 on p. 306 (demon).

3.2.2.2.3. Geographical and chronological distribution



Map 10: The lion attacked by the king/royal hero

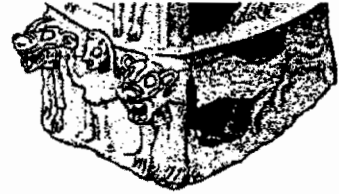


Graph 10: The lion attacked by the king/royal hero

3.2.2.2.3. Mistress/master of lions

3.2.2.2.3.1. Catalogue

- 175 **OBJECT:** Terracotta cult-stand; lowest register.
DESCRIPTION: A frontally-represented naked female with long hair, her feet pointing sideways, raises her hands and holds the ears of two flanking lions.
DATE: 1000-900.
PROVENANCE: Taanach; SW 2-8, silt deposit in cistern shaft.
LITERATURE: LAPP 1969:42-44, fig. 29; GALLING 1977:191, fig. 45:3; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:179, fig. 184; BECK 1995:355-373, figs. 8-10. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 44 on p. 193, 78 on p. 203, 158 on p. 285.



- 176 **OBJECT:** Cylinder seal; worn; haematite; 28,5 x 11,2 mm.
DESCRIPTION: A naked striding figure holds two animals, probably lions, by their tails. In front of the figure is a curved incision. The whole scene is flanked by a tree to the right and a figure or rampant animal with a lion's tail to the left.
DATE: 10th/9th centuries.
PROVENANCE: Hazor; stratum IX, area A, locus 113c (seal found together with intrusive pottery of a later layer).
LITERATURE: YADIN 1960:4, pls. 76:11, 162:1. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 79 on p. 203.



- 177 **OBJECT:** Rectangular plaque with handle; limestone; brown.
DESCRIPTION: A figure with raised arms flanked by two lions, the right one inverted. Two marks are above the lions.
DATE: 10th century.
PROVENANCE: Tell el-Hamma; find context unknown.
LITERATURE: Unpublished. Drawing from Corpus File.



- 178 **OBJECT:** Scaraboid or very worn scarab; linear and hollowed-out engraving with hatching, drill hole; haematite; 14 x 10 x 7 mm.
DESCRIPTION: A (female?) figure in a short dress is holding two animals upside down. Since the lion is general depicted upside down and horned animals rampant in "master of animals" compositions, most likely the former is intended in this case.
DATE: 1050-900.
PROVENANCE: Acco; surface find.
LITERATURE: GIVEON/KERTESZ 1986:36,37, no. 139; KEEL 1997:570,571, no. 116.



- 179 **OBJECT:** Cylinder seal; deep engraving, drilling; haematite; black; 18 x 8 mm.
DESCRIPTION: A standing figure to the left, dressed in a short decorated kilt, with a long hairlock is holding with his right hand a roaring lion and his left a galloping horned animal. On the right side of the scene is a winged demon with a tail and a beak⁵⁴⁹ as well as wearing a horned headgear. He is about to grab a human figure which is sitting on the ground, raising its hand in a gesture of prayer. Behind the demon is a human head.
DATE: 1500-1100.
PROVENANCE: Tell el-'Ajjul; E 829" above sea level.



⁵⁴⁹ Clearly visible on the photograph (CORNELIUS 1994: pl. 48:BM42).

LITERATURE: PETRIE 1934: pl. 12:1; ROWE 1936: pl. 27:S. 60; NOUGAYROL 1939: pl. 9:XC1 (TA 18); PARKER 1949: pl. 2:13; PORADA 1948:183; DIGARD 1975: no. 1456; KEEL 1984a:336, fig. 485; CORNELIUS 1994:190, no. BM42, pl. 48:BM42; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:88: fig. 90a. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 27 on p. 174, 254 on p. 330, 351 on p. 412, 381 on p. 430. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 27 on p. 156, 80 on p. 204, 223 on p. 302, 311 on p. 358, 397 on p. 380.

- 180** **OBJECT:** Scaraboid; hollowed-out and linear engraving; amethyst; 19 x 14 x mm.
DESCRIPTION: A figure striding on a guilloche pattern wearing the Egyptian white crown and a short kilt is holding in his lifted left hand a horned animal which turns its head back to face the figure. In his right hand is the Egyptian sign of life. Between the legs is an inverted flower. Behind the figure is an inverted lion and a papyrus stalk. In front is a rampant horned animal, its head turned away from the central figure. To the very right is another flower.



DATE: 1500-1200.

PROVENANCE: Gaza; find context unknown.

LITERATURE: REITLER 1961:88-92, pl. 7A; MESNIL DU BUISSON 1967:349, fig. 3; CONRAD 1971:171,172; GALLING 1977:108; SCHULMAN 1979:83, footnote 50; GIVEON 1980:145,149: pl. 20:1; CORNELIUS 1994:121,122, no. RM40, pl. 31: RM40. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 352 on p. 412, 374 on p. 425.

- 181** **OBJECT:** Scaraboid; worn; hollowed-out and linear engraving; frit; dark brown; 17,4 x 14,4 x 7 mm.

DESCRIPTION: A figure is holding with one arm a flanking horned animal. A lion is flanking the figure on the other side. The photograph of the Corpus File suggests that he is also holding the lion, although that very spot is very worn.



DATE: 1150-800.

PROVENANCE: Beth-Shemesh; north-west cemetery, tomb 1.

LITERATURE: MACKENZIE 1912-13:61, pl. 29:B1; ROWE 1936:225, pl. 25:SO. 19. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 353 on p. 412.

- 182** **OBJECT:** Ovoid seal; modelled hollowed-out and linear engraving; onyx; light brown with dark brown bands; 24 x 18 x 11 mm.

DESCRIPTION: The Persian king standing on a couchant animal is holding two flanking rampant, kicking roaring lions by the throat. Above the scene is a winged sun disk and at the very top three Hebrew letters: *pmn* ("He who belongs to Min").



DATE: 5th century.

PROVENANCE: Find context unknown.

LITERATURE: AVIGAD 1954a:237,238, pl. 21:B3.

- 183** **OBJECT:** Bulla with string preserved at top and bottom of horizontal image, papyrus imprint and fragments on back; cylinder seal impression; clay; reddish brown; image: 12 x 14 mm; bulla: 17 x 22 mm.

DESCRIPTION: The Persian king wearing the kidaris and typical royal garments is holding two lions upside down by their tails.



DATE: Middle of 4th century.

PROVENANCE: Wadi ed-Daliyeh; Cave of the Papyri.

LITERATURE: CROSS 1974a:28, pl. 62:f; LEITH 1990:422-429, no. WD17, pl. 41:WD17 - *ibid.* 1997: pl. 17:WD 17 (note that the drawing in STERN 1994a:139, fig. 5 is wrong!). Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 83 on p. 204, 528 on p. 530.

- 184** OBJECT: Bulla with string preserved at top and bottom of horizontal image, papyrus imprint; cylinder seal impression (?); clay; reddish brown; image: 17 x 15 mm; bulla: 22 x 18 mm.
 DESCRIPTION: As no. 183.
 DATE: Middle of 4th century.
 PROVENANCE: Wadi ed-Daliyeh; Cave of the Papyri.
 LITERATURE: CROSS 1974a:28, pl. 62:g; LEITH 1990:422-429, no. WD51, pl. 41:WD51 = ibid. 1997: pl. 17:WD 51.



- 185** OBJECT: Bulla with string preserved at top and bottom of horizontal image, papyrus imprint; cylinder seal impression; clay; reddish brown; image: 16 x 18 mm; bulla: 18 x 18 mm.
 DESCRIPTION: As no. 183.
 DATE: Middle of 4th century.
 PROVENANCE: Wadi ed-Daliyeh; Cave of the Papyri.
 LITERATURE: LEITH 1990:422-429, no. WD36, pl. 41:WD3C (should be WD36) = ibid. 1997: pl. 17:WD 36.



- 186** OBJECT: Coin; obol; 0.52 g.
 DESCRIPTION: As no. 183.
 DATE: 4th century.
 PROVENANCE: Samaria.
 LITERATURE: MESHORER/QEDAR 1991:55, no. 59.



The following coins are the same objects as no. 186 and have the same description, date, provenance, and bibliographic reference:

187: 0.64 g; 188: 0.32 g; 189: 0.22 g; 190: 0.31 g; 191: 0.36 g.

- 192** OBJECT: Coin; obol; 0.61 g; axis: o3.
 DESCRIPTION: The Persian king seizing two rampant lions by their forelocks.
 DATE: 4th century.
 PROVENANCE: Samaria.
 LITERATURE: MESHORER/QEDAR 1991:55, no. 60



- 193** OBJECT: Bulla with string preserved at top and bottom of horizontal image; finger ring seal impression; clay; reddish brown; image: 16 x 11 mm; bulla: 19 x 13.5 mm.
 DESCRIPTION: A frontal nude figure taking a step. The strokes on the head might be tufts of fur, namely, the pelt of the Nemean lion that Herakles wears on his head.
 DATE: Middle of 4th century.
 PROVENANCE: Wadi ed-Daliyeh; Cave of the Papyri.
 LITERATURE: LEITH 1990:171-176, no. W471, pl. 16:WD47 = ibid. 1997: pl. 12:WD 47. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 8 on p. 163, 123 on p. 243. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 82 on p. 204.



- 194** OBJECT: Scarab; part of the base broken off; modelled hollowed-out engraving with cross-hatching; glass; transparent with many bubbles; 21 x 15 x 10 mm.
 DESCRIPTION: *En face*-represented Bes holding two inverted lions by their tails is standing on a *nb*-sign. Above is a winged sun disk.
 DATE: 6th-5th centuries.
 PROVENANCE: Ashkelon; surface find.
 LITERATURE: RAHMANI 1976: pl. 31:3, KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:435, fig. 366b; KEEL 1997:690,691, no. 8. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 81 on p. 204.



195 OBJECT: Scarab; hollowed-out engraving with drilling, hatching, and cross-hatching; greenstone facies; 18 x 13,3 x 9 mm.

DESCRIPTION: *En face*-represented Bes holding two rampant lions by their necks is standing on a *nb*-sign. Above Bes' head is an inverted triangle flanked on each side by a dot and an eight-pointed star.

DATE: End of 6th-4th centuries.

PROVENANCE: 'Aflit; south-east cemetery, tomb 24, tomb location c-1.

LITERATURE: JOHNS 1933: pl. 14:935; HACHMANN/KUSCHKE 1966:84, fig. 30:2; CULICAN 1969:

pl. 1:8; STERN 1982:200, fig. 326; KLINGBEIL 1992a:212, no. 44; *ibid.* 1992b: 98, nos. 19; STERN 1994a:142, fig. 10; KEEL 1997:764,765, no. 15.



3.2.2.2.3.2. Analysis

The lion as subjugated animal in a "master of animals" composition appears first in the Late Bronze Age (1540/1450-1250/1150). The two cylinder seals 179,180 do not depict a symmetrical "master of lions" constellation but combine the lion with a horned animal. Notable in comparison with the Early Iron Age is the rather clear identification of the master, once as weather god (179) and once as Reshef (180). Thus the indistinct figure of 181 dating to 1150-800 might well be one of these two gods.

Looking at the symmetrical "mistress/master of lions" compositions, one sees that there are two main periods of emphasis similar to the motif of the king subduing the lion, namely, in the Early Iron Age (1250/1150-900) (175-178) and the Persian period (539-333) (182-195). While the overcoming of the lion by the king in the Early Iron Age is attested already in the middle of the 12th century, the motif under discussion in this section appears only in the 10th century. In two respects the "mistress of lions" on the cult-stand of 175 is unique. First of all it is a distinct figure that controls the lion - namely, a goddess. The gender of all other "mistresses/masters" from the same period cannot be identified clearly (176-178). However, 176 has a flanking tree which might suggest a link to the naked goddess (cf. the vegetable elements in the context of the goddess and lion on fig. 35-41 on pp. 191,192). The tendency to indistinctness is also reflected in 181 which is attributed to approximately the same period where the "master" controls a lion and a horned animal. The second unique feature is the posture of the lions which appear as standing and are depicted *en face*. The most typical posture

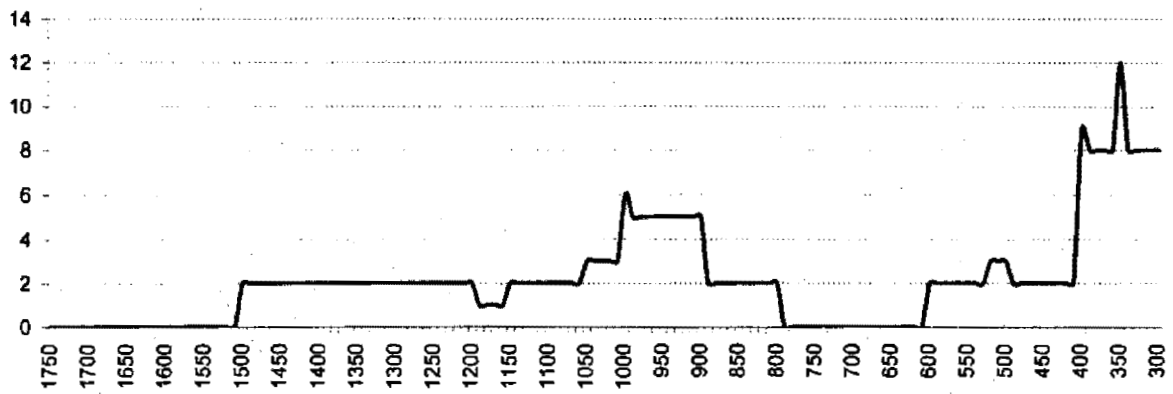
is upside down where the lions are depicted from the side (176, 177 – one lion, 178,183–191,193,194).

One particular use of the “master of lions” motif in the Persian period highlights the general realm to which this motif is attributed. Only in the Persian period is the motif also utilised in the royal context when the Persian king appears as “master” (182–192). Otherwise it is restricted to the divine context with deities such as the weather god (179), Herakles (193), Reshef (180), the naked goddess (175), and Bes (194,195). While the use in a royal context is not typical for the motif as such, 182–192 fit well into heroic royal Persian iconography (cf. p. 256 with footnote 548).

3.2.2.2.3.3. Geographical and chronological distribution






Map 11: Mistress/master of lions



Graph 11: Mistress/master of lions

3.2.2.3. The solitary roaring rampant lion

3.2.2.3.1. Catalogue

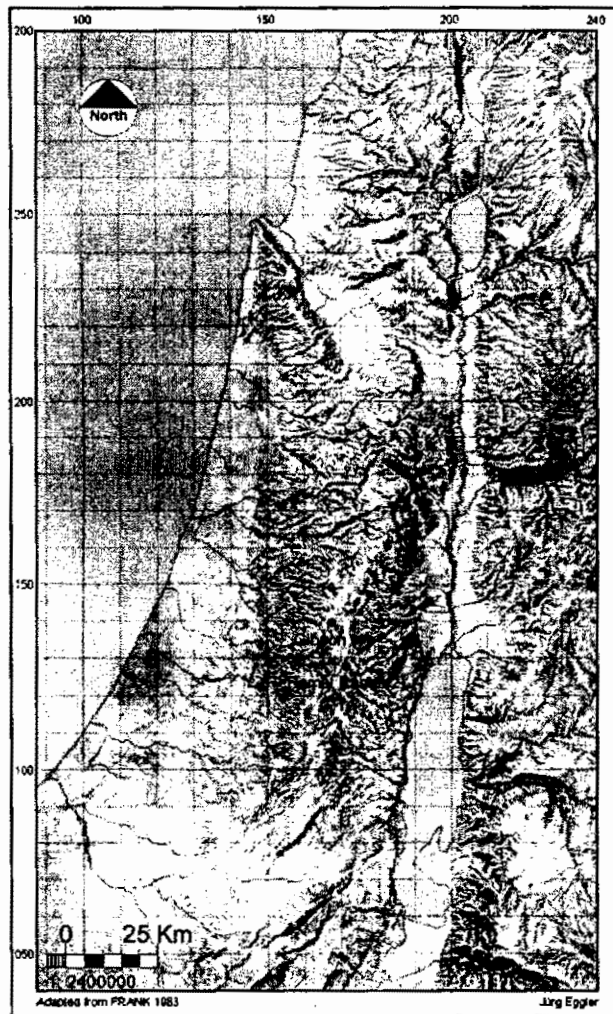
- 196 **OBJECT:** Stamp seal impression on jar handle; schematic hollowed-out engraving; yellowish clay.
DESCRIPTION: A roaring lion with curled tail standing upright on its hind legs and stretching out the forepaws to the sides. In front of it a schematically-rendered fire-altar (STERN 1971:12).
DATE: End of 6th/5th centuries.
PROVENANCE: Ramat Raḥel; stratum IV B, south-western corner of the ancient citadel.
LITERATURE: AHARONI 1964:45,46, pl. 21:5; STERN 1971:10-14, fig. 7; *ibid.* 1982:211, fig. 349:2; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:447, no. 381b. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 124 on p. 215.
- 
- 197 **OBJECT:** Stamp seal impression on jar handle with central ridge; schematic hollowed-out engraving; yellowish clay.
DESCRIPTION: A roaring lion with curled tail standing upright on its hind legs and stretching out the forepaws to the sides. In front of it a schematically square rendered fire-altar. The head of the lion is also rather square in execution.
DATE: End of 6th/5th centuries.
PROVENANCE: Ramat Raḥel; stratum IV B, in the vicinity of the north-western defence-wall.
LITERATURE: AHARONI 1964:45,46, pl. 21:4; STERN 1971:10-14, fig. 6; *ibid.* 1982:211, fig. 349:1; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:447, no. 381a.
- 
- 198 **OBJECT:** Rectangular stamp seal impression on double-ridge jar handle; schematic hollowed-out engraving; buff clay with light grey core; 30 x 25 x mm.
DESCRIPTION: An upright lion with curled tail standing on its hind legs stretching out the forepaws whereby one is lowered the other one lifted. Behind it is a fire-altar. The head is not clearly visible.
DATE: End of 6th/5th centuries.
PROVENANCE: Gibeon; 10.70-11.80 m below the rim of the pool.
LITERATURE: PRITCHARD 1961: fig. 46:556; STERN 1971:10-14, fig. 5; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:447, no. 381c.
- 

3.2.2.3.2. Analysis

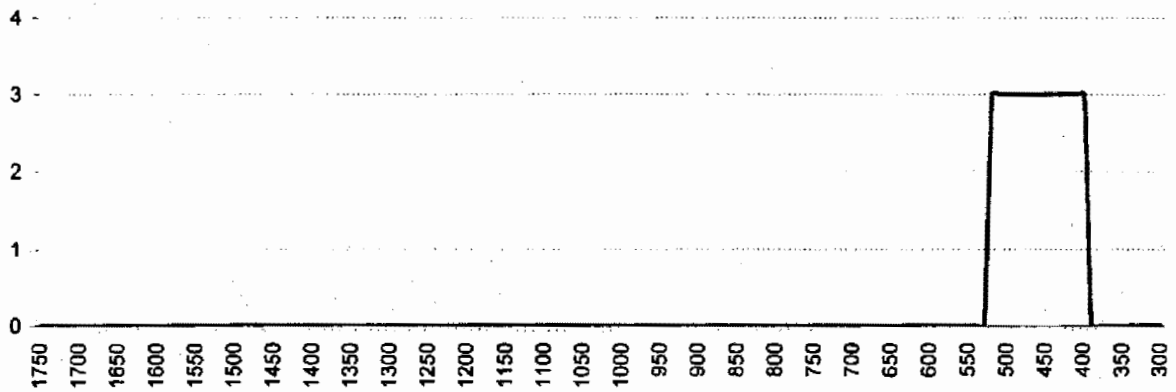
The roaring rampant solitary lion appears only three times during the Persian period in Palestine. It is a unique motif of an aggressive lion because it appears without opponent – the only other element in the field being a fire-altar. The rampant posture is typical of the lion which is subdued by the Persian royal hero (160,161,163-174 on pp. 252-255) and reaches back to Neo-Babylonian (BÖRKER-KLÄHN 1982: no. 259) and Neo-Assyrian iconography (159 on p. 252). The forepaws stretched out to both sides are attested in Neo-Babylonian (*ibid.* no. 268) and Persian iconography (169-174, footnote 547 on p. 253 and STERN 1971:11, figs. 9 =

ibid. 1982:212, fig. 353). The lion obviously conveys aggression as UEHLINGER (KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:448) correctly stated and most likely had an apotropaic function.

3.2.2.3.3. Geographical and chronological distribution



Map 12: The solitary roaring rampant lion



Graph 12: The solitary roaring rampant lion

3.2.3. Iconographic summary of the catalogue

The role of the lion in the iconographic material of this study is about 45,5% (66) as attacker and 54,5% (79) as being attacked. The attacking lion has three opponents, namely, the human, the horned animal, or the crocodile. Three times the lion appears alone in an aggressive rampant posture.

Three phases in the history of the motif of the lion attacking a human can be distinguished. During the first phase, corresponding to the MB II B (1760–1540/1450) period, the motif displays great variation, every piece having a different base design (50–55). During the second phase, that of the Late Bronze Age (1540/1450–1250/1150), this trend is continued. One feature is now common to all designs of this period, namely, a particularly aggressive representation of the lion by depicting him with a wide-open mouth or as running over the fallen human (56–60). The last phase of this motif spans the period from 1250/1150–750 which is characterised by a standardisation into three subtypes. The first type is characterised by realism when the fallen human raises one arm in defence (61,66,68), the second and third types are static and emblematic representatives of the Ramesside mass-production which add either a feather (62–65) or a sun disk (67) to the lion-over-human motif. Once both supplementary objects are also combined (64).

The most frequent prey of the lion is the horned animal. The motif spans from the MB II B (1760–1540/1450) to the 4th century whereby the MB II B and Early Iron Age (1250/1150–900) are the main periods of this motif. Considerably more stability is observable in the MB II B period when the lion generally attacks from behind (69,71–75) and the horned animal turns its head back (69,70,72–75), with only the posture of the latter and the additional elements varying.

The notable feature of the Late Bronze Age (1540/1450–1250/1150) scarabs is the double occurrence of the combination of a fleeing horned animal with a twig (76,77). From three

cylinder seals in the catalogue, two belong to the Late Bronze Age. On cylinder seal 100 the lion attacks the horned animal head-on and on the second it appears in a rampant posture (101) as in Mesopotamian contest scenes. Both kinds of attack are unique in the catalogue.

The second peak of the motif occurs in the 12th–9th centuries. As is typical of many Ramesside mass-products, the compositions are not vivid depictions of violent scenes, the horned animal always being in a striding posture with the lion usually behind and above it. Additional elements are the sun disk (79–82), a twig (80,84) or a second lion (103–105). It is important to note that only in this period is a significantly new influence discernible. The largest group in this period depicts behind the horned animal an upside-down “V”-shaped object which sometimes has an additional stroke in the middle (79–82). If this element is a schematic depiction of a newborn animal, then the lion no longer stands for the domination over life-threatening forces but the ability to obtain and impart life.

Ramesside mass-products of this motif are followed by a type which has its beginning already around the 11th century and leads down to the 6th century (86–89). It is clearly different in style, the animals being more modelled, less schematic, and often arranged vertically one above the other rather than being placed on a horizontal field. Furthermore the scarab as medium to diffuse the motif almost disappears and is replaced by scaraboids and conoids.

The four epigraphic seals from the 9th/8th centuries (95–98) display for the second time a significantly different feature, namely, that the lion and horned animal(s) are not depicted in close contest but rather in a kind of procession lined up in a row on one level. In regard to the distribution of the animals, this type is unique and clearly different from the other approximately thirty pieces discussed in this section.

The last group which takes us from the 7th down to the 4th century has as common feature not only a very modelled style but also the “S”-shaped tail of the lion (90–92).

The crocodile is clearly the animal least frequently attacked by the lion. Its occurrence is limited to the MB II B (1760–1540/1450) period (107–112) and the 19th through to the 21st dynasty (1292–945) (113–115). It is a motif with little variation particularly in the MB II B period, showing only during its second resurgence different additional elements, but at the same time depicting very schematically and non-violently what is actually an aggressive act.

The lion is depicted slightly more frequently as the victim of attack than as attacker, likewise the iconography is more diversified. The lion is subdued by gods and kings in actual combat or depicted as overcome by the divine mistress/masters or royal masters of animals.

When the lion is depicted as overcome by a divine being, excluding the motif of “mistress/master of lions”, only deities related in one or another way to the weather god subdue the lion. Worthy of mention are Baal, Seth having taken over Baal’s functions, Baal-Seth, or Herakles (116–124). The background of the motif is not restricted to that of the divine sphere as when the lion serves as pedestal for Baal/Baal-Seth (128–135) or when it alludes to mythological themes. It also draws on royal iconography when the deity is depicted in the typical smiting pose of the pharaoh (116,117,120–122) or in the garb of the Assyrian king stabbing a rampant lion (118,119). The mythological influence is most dominant when the weather god is depicted in theriomorphic form as a bull attacking a lion (125–127), the symbol of the Canaanite god Mot. It is also combined with royal iconography when Seth is depicted twice on the same seal, once as smiting a lion in typical Egyptian fashion and the second time as spearing a horned serpent, the Asiatic mythological symbol for chaos (117).

When the lion is subdued by a king it is usually by the pharaoh or a figure reminiscent of him (136–158), the Assyrian (159) or Persian (160–163,165–174) king. Only once is it an anonymous hero (164). There are marked differences between the Egyptian and Asiatic traditions in the iconography of royal triumph. It is only the pharaoh who appears as archer and with two exceptions does not attack only a lion but a whole range of enemies, namely, lions,

horned animals, and humans. While direct Assyrian influence is restricted to a single royal seal, indirectly this tradition continued to influence Palestine/Israel when this motif was taken over by the Persians and appeared on numerous coins. Typical of the Persian period is the attack of the lion by the king on horse or dromedary.

The motif "mistress/master of lions" can iconographically be divided into two groups. Predominantly we find the symmetrical type (175-178, 182-195) depicting two lions being subjugated, a motif occurring in the Early Iron Age (1250/1150-900) and the Persian period (539-333). Already in the Late Bronze Age (1540/1450-1250/1150) we find the lion also in combination with a horned animal overcome by Baal and Reshef (179, 180). The symmetrical type once clearly depicts the naked goddess as "mistress". However, typical of the Early Iron Age is the very indistinct representation of the "mistress/master" making it difficult to assess the gender and therefore the identification of the deity involved (176-178). In the Persian period the circle of deities playing that role is widened to Herakles (193) and Bes (194, 195). Divinities are usually depicted as overcoming the lions in this composition. Unique is the breaking of royal iconography into an iconographic tradition that was restricted to divine beings when the Persian king is depicted as "master of lions" (182-192).

A pure show of naked aggression is also the unique depiction of a rampant and roaring lion on impressions on jar handles from the Persian period (196-198). Not that the rampant lion is a new motif, it is typical of Persian royal iconography and stems from Assyrian predecessors, but singular is the sole representation of the lion in this aggressive pose without opponent accompanied only by the schematic depiction of a fire-altar.

In summary, one can state that the lion has an ambivalent nature. On the one hand it can convey the pharaoh's domination over his enemies when the lion attacks humans (50-68) and horned animals (68-86, 102-105), and his power over the mythological chaos forces when the lion shows its domination of the crocodile (107-115). This range of motifs occurs from the Middle Bronze Age II B (1760-1540/1450) down to the end of the Iron Age II A (1000-900).

While the fallen human and the crocodile fell out of use in the first millennium, the lion attacking a horned animal continued down to the 4th century. There is a marked change in style from the Ramesside mass-products (79–85) as well as the medium on which it is depicted – scaraboids and conoids are now the favoured material (86–89) and no longer the scarab. During the 9th and 8th centuries the new arrangement of the lion and horned animal(s) in a procession-like fashion (95–98) might be an indicator that the lion was considered in the first millennium less as symbol of the pharaoh than as a general symbol of power.

The notion of power is also inherent when the lion does not depict a positive but a negative force. Whoever can control a lion is in control of everyone and everything. In this way the lion is a symbol of life-threatening forces which are ultimately destined to be overcome by a higher power. These malevolent forces can be political enemies but also mythological entities. The subjugator can be the pharaoh or the Assyrian or Persian king as mentioned above. It is significant that while the *attacking lion* generally does not represent a mythological force or a deity (exceptions are 94,99,100,101 = 6%), the *subdued lion* appears in 38% of instances as being overcome by a deity. Although it is true that the iconography of the divine subjugated lion is partly linked to royal iconography, it also has its very distinct mythological and divine mode of expression. This is the case when the weather god is depicted as a bull overthrowing the lion, or the lion serves as an animal pedestal or the almost-exclusive divine motif of the “mistress/master of lions” which was usurped only in the Persian period by royal iconography.

Taking into account that the attacking lion almost never represents a mythological power or a deity, one can hardly think it likely that the aggressive, power-displaying solitary lion as for example the famous roaring lion on the seal of “Shema^c servant of Jeroboam” (cf. fig. 120 on p. 214), was associated with a divine power. It also remains to be considered whether the solitary roaring rampant lion of the Persian period functioned solely as apotropaion or if it had royal connotations possibly in line with the lion standing on its hind legs and attacking a horned animal (cf. 91,92 on p. 229). Thus the motif would not be an abbreviation of the hunt of the

lion by the king but would express the superior power of the king who is always victor over the lion. Since this type of lion is closely connected with royal imagery the *Interpretatio judaica* would more likely be that of the Lion of Judah (Gen 49:9; Eze 19:2-9) than of Yahweh "roaring from Zion" (Amo 1:2, 3:8; Jer 25:30; Joe 4:16; cf. KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:448).

3.3. The wings

In the introductory remarks to the consideration of the motif of the lion, it was pointed out that it makes little sense to track down the simple winged lion since neither the Old Testament nor iconographic tradition make significant mention of it. It was therefore suggested that the lion and the wings be considered on the basis of a working hypothesis as attributes of the force symbolised by the first animal in the vision of Dan 7. In line with this approach the following section will define what wings signify and in which contexts they appear. It will be noted that the wings of the lion in Dan 7 are specified as eagles' wings while those of the leopard are simply designated as birds' wings. Such an easy distinction of wing types cannot be made in glyptic where wings are often very abstractly rendered, consisting sometimes of only a stroke. It would be futile to consider wing-types as selection criterion. Certainly the wings of birds of prey like the falcon or eagle are dominant in connection with composite beings as they are studied below. Some of them might also be connected with the vulture. In addition one has to ask why the lion and the leopard have specified wing-types. The specification of eagles' wings might be understood in the light that befitting the status of the lion only wings of a similarly supreme bird are proper for a winged lion. But since a clear identification of wing type is often not possible in miniature art, the following study will take an all-inclusive approach and discuss the wing as such. While I suggested for the sake of a better understanding the consideration of the lion and the wings as quasi-independent attributes, the splitting up of the winged lion into two entities should not be pushed to the extreme. While we cannot speak in ancient Near Eastern iconography of a significant tradition that equips the natural lion with wings, the existence of winged composite beings is well attested. And it might well be that the general function of winged composite beings in the context of life-threatening forces and the struggle for cosmic control are reflected in the composite winged lion of Dan 7. Thus the following section will pursue a twofold strategy, namely, to look at the meaning of the wing as such and at

the same time to study its role with composite beings in the particular context that is relevant to Dan 7.

The survey of motifs involving wings has been limited to a certain degree, thus the following overview will not cover every object and being that has wings. Since the winged lion of Dan 7 is a composite being, proper birds or insects such as the falcon, vulture, eagle and the scarab beetle were excluded. Likewise non-animated winged objects such as the winged sun disk were not considered. In the following survey composite theriomorphic and anthropomorphic winged beings are covered.

3.3.1. Survey of motifs involving wings

3.3.1.1. Winged gods/goddesses

On a side of an earlier-discussed truncated pyramid seal from Tell Gerisa (cf. figs. 92,93 on p. 207), dated to the Iron Age I (1250/1150–1000), a figure raises one arm which is transformed into a wing. Above its head is a sun disk, below its outstretched wing



Fig. 128

a very debased uraeus (Fig. 128). Comparative material indicates that this figure is the Egyptian god Seth⁵⁵⁰ (KEEL 1990a:234,235 with figs. 54,55; cf.

also CORNELIUS 1994:181,182; EGGLEER 1992:163,164).⁵⁵¹

Symmetrically doubled are the wings, the uraeus, and the sun disk on a Ramesside mass-produced (1130–945; KEEL 1995a:36 § 67; cf. also below footnote 423 on p. 159) scarab from Tell el-Far'ah (South) (Fig. 129).



Fig. 129



Fig. 130

Almost identical is fig. 130 (= fig. 386 on p. 377) that is cut into the base of a pyramid seal from Tell Qasile, stratum X (late 11th century), which is dated to about 1150 (CORNELIUS 1994:187, no. BM31).⁵⁵² However, some Asiatic features

are added, namely, a horned helmet and a long streamer hanging down from it as well as a beard, transforming Seth into Baal⁵⁵³–Seth (TE VELDE 1977:124 with fig. 15 on p. 125; *ibid.* 1984:910; DĄBROWSKI 1992:35). The two outward-facing uraei are a symbol of protection *par excellence* (KEEL 1995a:191 § 523, cf. also below p. 295). The wings which are often a symbol of protection underline the protective force of this motif.⁵⁵⁴

⁵⁵⁰ The typical long, truncated square ears of the Seth animal are not depicted but are clearly visible on an oval plaque from Tell Keisan also dated to the Iron Age I (KEEL 1990a:233, no. 22 = KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:131, fig. 135).

⁵⁵¹ Parallel: an unpublished plaque from Tell Gerisa (Corpus File no. 32).

⁵⁵² Parallels: PETRIE 1930; pl. 21:308; KEEL 1997:626,627, no. 268.

⁵⁵³ The Canaanite weather god was brought to Egypt in the 17th century (on the various ways foreign gods could have entered Egypt cf. CORNELIUS 1994:2, footnote 4) and was regarded as an Asiatic manifestation of the Egyptian god Seth (BONNET 1952:77; cf. also TE VELDE 1977:102,103), although an outright identification was avoided (*ibid.* 120–129). In a Pyramid Text Seth has a similar title to Baal when he is called “Lord of the Storm” (FAULKNER 1969:60, utterance 248; § 261).

⁵⁵⁴ Important in this regard to note is that Seth was also god over foreign nations. Stated H. BONNET: “Einmal wird S.[eth] als Gott der Wüste zum Herrn der Barbaren, die in ihr wohnen, und weiter, da für die Äg.[ypter] der

The hybrid winged Egyptian–Canaanite god Baal–Seth is also frequently depicted in a more active posture, as on an earlier–discussed scarab from a tomb at Tell el–Far‘ah (South) (Fig. 131 = fig. 20 on p. 154, 491 on p. 487, 510 on p. 503, 521 on p. 521, 531 on p. 532) where he fights a serpent. The violent nature of Baal–Seth as serpent–slayer (TE VELDE 1977:99–108; KEEL 1990c:411,412; *ibid.* 1990b: 309–320) stands in vivid contrast to his rather peaceful role as protector encountered above. But it does not necessarily exclude it because “the protective aspect in regard to foreign elements [cf. footnote 554] is of course closely linked to a fighting character, which is necessary to provide protection” (EGGLER 1992:163, footnote 302). The ambivalent nature of Seth also involves the wings which have been traced back to the griffin.⁵⁵⁵ Since the wings of a griffin very often have



Fig. 131

Begriff der Wüste mit dem des Auslands schlechthin zusammenfällt, zum Herrn aller Fremdvölker ... So nutzt er im A.[lten] R.[eich] seine Macht über die Wüstenstämme, um sie dem König zu Füßen zu legen” (1952:704; cf. also TE VELDE 1977:109–151). Thus an amulet with Baal–Seth with spread out wings and erected cobras could be considered a protective force against foreign elements (EGGLER 1992:163).

⁵⁵⁵ No detailed study has been made that presents the complex *chronological development* of the winged Seth. Having said this, there are enough evidences that link Seth to the griffin and provide therefore an explanation for his wings. Ground–breaking in this regard are the studies by LEIBOVITCH (1943,1944b,1946). When Baal–Seth is depicted with wings as in fig. 131 or Seth with wings as illustrated by the well–known bronze figure of the Michaelidis collection (Fn. fig. 10) then this reflects an idea that is already found in the Pyramid texts of the Old Kingdom from the first half of the 3rd millennium. Thus we read there that “the Eye of Horus is placed on the wing of his brother Seth” (FAULKNER 1969:256, utterance 615, § 1742a). The winged Seth does not only appear in anthropomorphic form as in fig. 131 or in fn. fig. 10 but also as winged Seth–animal. LEIBOVITCH (1944b:236,237) followed ROWE (1940:64, pl. 19:13) who described the griffin on a basalt throne (MEITZGER 1985:257–259) from Beth–Shean dated to the beginning of the 14th century as “Seth–like animal” (cf. *ibid.*; E20). Apart from the body shape the most indicative feature is the upright tail (Fn. fig. 11; other examples are found on a faience plaque from Tell Yehudiyeh, on a cylinder seal from Beth–Shean, and on the lid of a box; LEIBOVITCH 1944b:236, figs. 5, 6b, 240, fig. 12). Another aspect that indicates the closeness of the Seth–animal with the griffin is the hieroglyphic determinative for the griffin (*ḥh*), namely, the winged jackal (*ḥh*). The jackal (*ḥh*; E17) usually reserved for Anubis, was used in its winged form as determinative for the *ḥh* griffin (*ḥh*); cf. e.g. fn. fig. 12 from the temple of Ramses III at Medinet Habu; cf. quotation from NELSON 1932: pls. 81/82) and, except for the tail which is hanging down and not pointing up, closely resembles the Seth–animal (*ḥh* / *ḥh*). Based on hunting scenes



Fn. fig. 10



Fn. fig. 11



Fn. fig. 12

a protective function (cf. below p. 290) LEBOVITCH could remark "that as 'dieu sauveur' Seth is a griffin" (1944a:101, quoted in TE VELDE 1977:21). On the other hand, Seth's association with the griffin was seen in the image of an avenger that pursues his enemies like a falcon "at furious

from tombs at Beni Hasan dated to the Middle Kingdom (2081-1759) on which the Seth animal is each time associated with a griffin (cf. *fn. fig. 13*; an almost identical representation of a griffin like the one from Beni Hasan was found in a tomb at El-Bersheh where it is called *stt*; GRIFFITH/NEWBERRY 1895: II pl. 16, tomb 5; LEBOVITCH 1943:186,187 with *fig. 5* and p. 199 with *figs. 18,19*; TE VELDE 1977:18, *fig. 5*. Furthermore it is notable that the Seth-animal also appears together with the griffin on Magical Ivories or *Zaubermesser* dated to around 1850; ALTENMÜLLER 1965:118, *fig. 11*) LEBOVITCH (1944b:237,237) concluded (followed by TE VELDE 1977:15) that the Seth-animal was the prototype of the Egyptian griffin. There is further textual evidence that links Seth with a griffin. The inscription of year 5 on the temple of Ramses III (1187-1157) at Medinet Habu (NELSON 1930: pl. 28, 45 sq.) says that Ramses III is "like Seth, the beloved of Re; his battle cry is heard like (that of) a griffin [*ḥḥ*]" (EDGERTON/WILSON 1936:29). Similar wording is found on the east wall of the first court (NELSON 1932: pls. 81/82, sqq. 19,20) where it reads on the inscription of year 11: "His voice is roaring and bellowing like (that of) a griffin [*ḥḥ*]." These texts which describe the king as Seth/griffin in the battle are underlined by depictions of griffins pulling the charging chariot of the god Shed as he attacks (cf. *fn. fig. 14*; cf. also LEBOVITCH 1943:196,197 with *figs. 15-17* for additional similar depictions. Note also the chariot-pulling griffin of the weather god in Mesopotamia [BÖRKER-KLÄHN 1971:633]). Therefore the horses of the chariot of Thutmose III (1479-1426) can become Seth as stated on Papyrus Turin no. 1940+1941: "All that I did became Mont, their horses became Sētekh" (BOTTI 1955:66). The Egyptian god Month who aided the king in battle was also depicted as griffin (cf. BORGHOUTS 1982:203, footnote 33 for references). In this function he was carried as headress of horses (cf. *fn. fig. 15*; CAPART 1934:230; TE VELDE 1977:20). That it was not only Month that assisted the horses of the king is also indicated when it says on the relief text (NELSON 1930: pl. 16, sq. 12) of Ramses III mounting his chariot to set out on the Lybian campaign: "Montu and Set are his magical protection on his right hand and his left hand" (EDGERTON/WILSON 1936:8; further references are pls. 80:10; 92:5; 101:15). The relationship between the falcon headed Month and Seth might also be referred to on a text from Medinet Habu describing a hunting scene of Ramses III driving his chariot (NELSON 1932: pl. 116, 1 sqq): "The King, beautiful in the inclosure like unto Seth, high of arms, heroic, crushing wild cattle, entering among like a falcon spying small birds, (so that they are) beaten into heaps in their places like the mowing down of grain" (EDGERTON/WILSON 1936:114). The connection between Seth and horses is possibly underlined by a remark of P. MONTET who pointed out that "l'image de Soutekh, maître des chevaux, est gravée sur les oeillères [blinkers of the horses]" (1946:228,341, endnote 25; TE VELDE 1977:20; although the engraved image of Seth could not be identified on WRESZINSKI 1988: II pl. 18 which MONTET referred to). Lastly it is interesting to note that not only Seth is attacking a serpent, but that already in the Middle Kingdom (2081-1759) the griffin was represented as walking on a serpent (LEBOVITCH 1943:185, *fig. 3*, no. 9; *ibid.* 1944b:231), a tradition that survived into the 4th century as the *Metternichstele* testifies (*ibid.* 190, *fig. 8*). Taking all references together there seem enough indicators to argue that indeed the winged Seth was related in various ways to the griffin, in particular as the animal that crushed the enemies as the king attacked them (cf. the textual references in the next footnote. In general on the fighting griffin cf. also FLAGGE 1975: 44-67).



Fn. fig. 13



Fn. fig. 14



Fn. fig. 15

speed or crushing them underfoot" (ibid.).⁵⁵⁶ In the case of the violent serpent-slaying Baal-Seth, it is certainly this aspect that stands in the foreground when he is depicted with wings.

The winged Baal-Seth standing on a lion has already been encountered twice. He is either represented standing alone on a lion (cf. fig. 25 on p. 155)⁵⁵⁷ or together with Reshef also standing on an animal (Fig. 132).



Fig. 132

Since the lion does not simply function as a pedestal but also expresses the victory and thereby the power over the lion (cf. pp. 199,200), the wings may very well indicate the more aggressive aspect of Baal-Seth.⁵⁵⁸

The winged figure with an Egyptian double crown standing on a horse (Fig. 133 = fig. 388 on p. 377), cut into the base of a scarab from Acco, has likewise been identified as Baal-Seth (KEEL 1990a:308; CORNELIUS 1994:209,210;



Fig. 133

KEEL 1997:572, no. 119). Since Seth appears in connection with battle horses and is related to winged griffins which pull chariots (cf. footnote 555; cf. also CAPART 1934:230,231),

⁵⁵⁶ The *ḥh* griffin suggests speed based on his name, which means: "[flying] fast *par excellence*" (LEIBOVITCH 1944b:235; ibid. 1943:193-196; FLAGGE 1975:19), an aspect which seems to be implied in the poem of Pentaur where it is said about the king: "His majesty is behind them [the enemies] like *ḥh*" (ibid. 193). In the inscription of year 5 in col. 60 the text reads almost like a description of fig. 131 when it says about Ramses III: "The great and victorious lord is the King of the Two Lands ... for he is like a lion, heavy of roar on the mountain tops ... a griffon [*ḥh*], wide of stride, possessor of wings, ... seizing upon his assailant ... a raging one, stretching out the right arm, entering into the fray and slaying hundred-thousands ... for he regards the thick of the throng as grasshoppers, beaten, worn down, and pulverized like flour" (ibid. 32,33; emphasis added). There are some very graphic representations of the speed of a griffin. On a box from the tomb of Ramses III (1187-1156) a griffin is depicted as running in high speed over the Syrian mountains (Fn. fig. 16). At Crete in the palace of Minos at Knossos a dagger was found that bears the image of a galloping, almost flying, griffin, excellently illustrating the speed associated with a griffin (Fn. fig. 17). From the end of the First Temple period around the end of the 7th/ beginning of the 6th century is a signet ring from tomb 25 at Ketef Hinnom outside Jerusalem which depicts another galloping griffin (Fn. fig. 18). For additional similar representations see LEIBOVITCH 1944b:242, figs. 14,a,b,d; below fig. 400 on p. 381 (Samaria); LEITH 1997: pl. 23:1 (Wadi ed-Daliyeh). The speed of falcons is finally also alluded to when in an inscription at Medinet Habu (NELSON 1930: pl. 27, 22 sqq) about the first campaign of Ramses III into Lybia it is said of the king: "there exists a youth like a griffin [*ḥh*], a shrewd commander like Thoth ... his horses are like falcons when they sight small birds ... the chariot warriors are as mighty as Reshephs" (EDGERTON/WILSON 1936:23,24). While this line of argumentation considers the wings as being connected to the speed (cf. also LEIBOVITCH 1944b:240,243) of a bird of prey as it attacks, ROWE suggested another (additional?) background when he posed the question: "Did he [the griffin] (on account of his wings) - also like Seth - represent the fierce winds?" (1933:98).



Fn. fig. 16



Fn. fig. 17



Fn. fig. 18

⁵⁵⁷ Parallel: cat. no. 201 on p. 312.

⁵⁵⁸ Parallels: cat. nos. 201,204,205 on pp. 312,313.

this motif suggests that its owner trusted in the subjugating and therefore protective power of a deity that was aided by the strength of a griffin symbolised by the wings. The additional *wd3t*-eye expresses the protective nature of the motif (MÜLLER-WINKLER 1987:93).

A unique representation of the winged Baal-Seth is depicted on **fig. 134**. It shows the winged hybrid god and a hippopotamus above and a falcon with flagellum under his left wing. Since Seth has been associated with the hippopotamus (cf. CORNELIUS 1994:191 footnote 2 for references), their appearance together is not surprising. Although it is correct that both the hippopotamus and falcon are symbols of regeneration (ibid. footnote 3; HORNING/STAEHELIN 1976:126), Baal-Seth is connected rather with the realm of combat and the associated protection. Furthermore, Seth was worshipped as hippopotamus, because "auch das N.[ilpferd] verband, dem Seth gleich, mit Respekt erzwingender Kraft Gewalttätigkeit und Schrecken erregende Bosheit" (BONNET 1952:529).⁵⁵⁹ It is therefore likely that Baal-Seth's function on this scarab from Tell el-Far'ah (South) should be sought in this area of meaning.



Fig. 134

Rather different is the next motif with a winged deity. On an ivory carving from Megiddo, belonging to Iron Age I (1250/1150-1000), that depicts in the lower register a bull attacking a lion, the Egyptian god Bes



Fig. 135

- protector of the mother and child - is wearing a pleated kilt and is depicted twice with four wings⁵⁶⁰ on the next higher register (**Fig. 135**). Since the New Kingdom (1539-1075), Bes is depicted with wings which aptly express both his solar and his protective nature (ALTENMÜLLER 1975:721).

⁵⁵⁹ On the hippopotamus as symbol for the chaos cf. also KEEL 1977b:167 with pl. 13:C.

⁵⁶⁰ WILSON argued that both the pleated kilt and the wings indicate an Eastern influence "since winged beings are in general characteristic of the East rather than of Egypt, and a winged 'Bes' is very unusual in Egypt and more common later in the East" (1975:85,86), although the earliest representations of a winged Bes come from Egypt.

Very similar is the posture of the four-winged Bes in the top register on a scarab from Achzib which is cut in Phoenician style and dated to 900–700 (Fig. 136).



In connection with the weather god and his role in the realm of fertility, we encountered above on a bone carving from Hazor (Str. VI, 800–750) a four-winged figure holding branches of a tree (Fig. 137). The wings were interpreted as reference to Baal's uranic nature and the



Fig. 137

reduplication to four wings magnify this aspect (KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:220; cf. also above footnote 394 on p. 149).⁵⁶¹

With only two wings appears another youthful figure with a flower in each hand – a typical attribute of the weather god – on an ivory carving in low relief on a solid plaque from Samaria dated to the 8th century (Fig. 138). The pose of the wings indicates the additional protective force that is associated with this representation (cf. KEEL 1984a:170–172, and esp. figs. 261,262).⁵⁶²



Fig. 138

During the Persian period (539–333) a four-winged figure appears on coins from Samaria. This time the figure smells at a flower which it is holding in one hand while the other grabs a ring with three projections. It differs from the above in that it is bearded and has a bird's tail instead of legs. Furthermore it wears attributes of the Persian king, namely, the kidaris and the kandys. Behind the figure the abbreviated name of Samaria is inscribed: ש[מרי]ן (Fig. 139).⁵⁶³



Fig. 139

⁵⁶¹ Parallels: GUBEL 1991:918, fig. 3d = cat. no. 96 on p. 229; MACALISTER 1912: II 343: fig. 463 = III pl. 214:32; *ibid.* III pl. 208:29; KEEL 1977a:202, fig. 52; PETRIE 1930: pl. 48:566 (with KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:222, footnote 141); LAMON/SHIPTON 1939: pl. 67:27 (with KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:222, footnote 141).

⁵⁶² Parallels: GALLING 1941: pl. 7,97; BIRAN/GOPHNA 1970: pl. 38:F; LAMON/SHIPTON 1939: pl. 67:1; CROWFOOT/CROWFOOT 1938 pl. 4:1a,3a. A scarab from Lachish depicts a kneeling figure wearing two feathers on its head with outspread wings from which two lotus flowers emerge. In front of the figure is a twig and debased 'nh'-sign, behind an *wdr*-eye (TUFNELL 1953: pl. 43:32).

⁵⁶³ Parallels: MESHORER/QEDAR (1991:47, no. 14, 48, no. 21) list nine additional coins.

Falcon-headed is a two-winged figure on a Hebrew⁵⁶⁴ seal of unknown provenance (Fig. 140) dated to the 8th century. It is brandishing a weapon in its raised hand, thereby reminiscent of the menacing Baal. In the other hand it is holding an 'nh-sign. It also exists as a four-winged version on a scaraboid from Tell el-Far'ah (South), dated to about 900-700 (Fig. 141).⁵⁶⁵



Fig. 140

The following depiction certainly has no connection to Dan 7 but for the sake of completeness the Greek god Eros is mentioned here as he is depicted on a 4th century bulla from Wadi ed-Daliyeh (Fig. 142). In his case the wings indicate that he "belongs in the air" (LEITH 1990:213).



Fig. 142

Last to be mentioned in connection with winged gods is a conoid from Beth-Shemesh that was found in a rock-cut chamber tomb (no. 9) which is dated to the 8th century. It depicts a deity wearing a kilt and the Egyptian blue crown with an attached uraeus. Below his outspread winged arms⁵⁶⁶ are two irregular half-circles with zigzag lines, possibly another pair of wings (Fig. 143). ROWE identified the figure as a form of the solar god (1936:266, no. S. 111), a stand that was recently followed tentatively by UEHLINGER (KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:157 footnote 93).



Fig. 143



Fig. 143

A winged goddess is depicted on the already-mentioned Mitannian cylinder seal from Acco dated to the 14th century.⁵⁶⁷ The upper register shows the naked goddess equipped with four wings (Fig. 144 = fig. 59 on p. 198, 170



Fig. 144

⁵⁶⁴ Classified by HERR (1978: Ar52) as Aramaic and by SASS (1993:235, footnote 97) as Hebrew.

⁵⁶⁵ On the relationship between the weather god and the falcon-headed figure cf. KEEL 1989b:263,264,276.

⁵⁶⁶ Cf. a very similar depiction of this particular detail on a stamp seal from Tell Jemmeh (PETRIE 1928: pl. 20:17). A very schematic rendering of wings and arms together is also seen on a pendant from Beth-Shean (ROWE 1940: pl. 34:57).

⁵⁶⁷ For a Middle Assyrian cylinder seal in Berlin from the 14th century also depicting a four-winged naked goddess cf. WINTER 1983: fig. 171.

on p. 289) the purpose of which, according to WINTER, is “die Macht im ‘himmlischen Bereich’ (Luftraum), der durch die Flügel symbolisiert wurde, zu potenzieren” (1983:187).

Rather surprising is the reappearance of the naked goddess on a Hebrew name⁵⁶⁸ seal from the end of the 8th/beginning of the 7th centuries after her insignificant role during the 9th and 8th centuries (KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:385). The scaraboid seal belonging to a certain ...*lg'l bn š'l* “Ga'al son of Shu'al” frontally portrays the naked goddess with four wings in typical Assyrian fashion (WINTER 1983: figs. 172–181) (Fig. 145 = fig. 365 on p. 371).



Fig. 145

On a singular Hebrew name seal (Fig. 146 = fig. 238 on p. 308) the Assyrian four-winged goddess appears again as hovering above a Phoenician-styled palmette tree, thereby indicating her association with the celestial realm. To the left a four-winged deity of which only two wings are



Fig. 146

visible (AVIGAD/SASS 1997:103) is standing on an *aladlammû* – a human-headed bull (GREEN 1994:255).

An Asiatic winged goddess is depicted on a complex base design on a human-faced scaraboid from Acco, dated to about 1400–1292 (Fig. 147).



Fig. 147

In the middle of the scene is the Egyptian god Ptah. Behind him is a figure with a quiver with arrows strapped to him, thereby identified as the god Reshef (CORNELIUS 1994:107, no. RM18). In front of Ptah is a winged goddess in a long dress, probably Astarte, also known as “Daughter of Ptah”. Between them is an altar. The quadruped to the left is interpreted by KEEL (1997:530, no. 3) as a ram and together with the sun disk is to be identified as Amun-Re. The vulture above it is a typical attribute animal of Asiatic goddesses (cf. fig. 35 on p. 191).

⁵⁶⁸ The name is probably a secondary addition as indicated by the distribution of the letters in the vacant spaces.

A scene that is associated with the Osiris cycle is represented on a framed ivory plaque from Samaria executed in low relief which is dated to the 8th century (Fig. 148). Isis and Nephthys are flanking

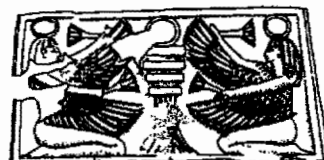


Fig. 148

the *ded*-column, a symbol of Osiris, and spread out wings in the same posture as on a fragment from Nimrud where the infant Horus is protected (BARNETT 1975: pl. 32:S 47 a). Although the posture is more of a protective force, an uranic element cannot be excluded

because wings of Egyptian goddesses are also associated with the goddess Nut who rules the sky (CROWFOOT/CROWFOOT 1938:18; KEEL 1984a:22,172).⁵⁶⁹



Fig. 149

Finally, a scarab belonging to the Persian period found at Tel Megadim again shows Isis with wings. This time she is suckling Horus (Fig. 149).

3.3.1.2. Winged sphinxes

The first winged *Mischwesen* to be considered is the winged⁵⁷⁰ human-headed lion or sphinx,⁵⁷¹ generally correlated nowadays with the *cherubim* of the Old Testament.⁵⁷²

Although winged sphinxes are not unknown in the MB II B (1760–1540/1450) period on seal-amulets,⁵⁷³ they play a subordinate role in this early period. Increased importance is attributed to them in the Late Bronze and later in the Iron Age (ibid. 1995a:199 § 548).

⁵⁶⁹ For another possible depiction of Isis and Nephthys, one of them winged, see a haematite cylinder seal from unknown Palestinian provenance dated by ROWE (1936:250) to the 19th/18th dynasties (1539–1190) in PARKER 1949:39, no. 179, pl. 25:179; ROWE 1936:250 no. S. 58, pl. 27:S. 58.

⁵⁷⁰ The feature of the wings is a particular Syrian enrichment of the Egyptian sphinx (DESSENE 1957:177).

⁵⁷¹ In general on sphinxes see HASSAN 1953; DESSENE 1957; DEMISCH 1977; COCHE-ZIVIE 1984; KEEL 1995a:198–200 §§ 544–550.

⁵⁷² For a brief research history on the identification of the cherubim of the Old Testament see METZGER 1985:312–314. For an iconographic explanation of their identification with winged sphinxes see KEEL 1977:15–29 and METZGER 1985:309–351.

⁵⁷³ Cf. e.g. two scarabs dated to MB II B with winged sphinxes on their base of which one is located in the British Museum (Fn. fig. 19 = BM EA 40038) and the other in the Department of Egyptology at the University College in London (Fn. fig. 20).



Fn. fig. 19



Fn. fig. 20

A green glazed faience Mitannian (DESSENE 1957:67, no. 144) cylinder seal found at Gezer (Fig. 150) and attributed by MACALISTER to his 2nd Semitic period, roughly corresponding to 1800–1400, and dated by MALLOWAN (1947:137) to the 14th century depicts to the right of the sacred tree a winged sphinx.



Fig. 150

Although not directly flanking a tree, a winged sphinx appears also on another Mitannian cylinder seal from Megiddo that has already been mentioned (Fig. 151 = fig. 38 on p. 191, 264 on p. 346). The context of this scene is



Fig. 151

dominated by the naked goddess or, more specifically, the tree that represents her.⁵⁷⁴

The theme of a tree flanked by a winged sphinx is also found on objects other than glyptic. On a badly deteriorated solid plaque of ivory from Samaria, dated to the 8th century, a bearded winged sphinx wearing the Egyptian double crown and a patterned kilt is facing towards a palmette tree (reconstructed in fig. 152).⁵⁷⁵



Fig. 152

The winged sphinx flanking a tree is repeatedly depicted in the Persian period, for example on a bulla from Atlit dated to the 6th/5th centuries (Fig. 153) as



Fig. 153

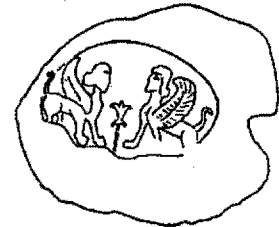


Fig. 154

well as on one from 4th century Wadi ed-Daliyeh where two winged sphinxes antithetically flank a central vegetable object (Fig. 154).⁵⁷⁶

⁵⁷⁴ A standing winged sphinx and two vertically arranged lying stags (cf. the crouching stag in fig. 151) whose bodies merge into a single one is depicted on a steatite cylinder seal from Beth-Shean, found also in an LB context (PARKER 1949:20, no. 75, pl. 11:75). From the same place and level is another cylinder seal which depicts a winged sphinx and a seated horned animal (vertically arranged) between two figures of which one stands next to a tree (ibid. 22, no. 90, pl. 14:90).

⁵⁷⁵ Parallel: CROWFOOT/CROWFOOT 1938: pl. 5:1.

⁵⁷⁶ Parallel: GALLING 1941:197, no. 169. A striding winged sphinx with the Persian *kidaris* in front of a twig is found in GRANT/WRIGHT 1938: pl. 48:25.

The function of the winged sphinx flanking a tree is generally interpreted as that of a guardian. Such a function has also been applied to compositions in which two sphinxes face each other and lift one paw⁵⁷⁷ in a protective gesture (KEEL 1977a:18,29; GUBEL 1993:108; cf. also above footnote 462 on p. 199 and footnote 598 on p. 289).

An example for such a motif is an Old Syrian haematite cylinder seal from Hazor found in the temple area H and dated to the 18th century (Fig. 155 = fig. 458 on p. 456).⁵⁷⁸



Fig. 155

Another adoration scene on a Syrian cylinder seal of unknown Palestinian provenance shows two sphinxes in antithetical position, this time rampant over a scroll design (Fig. 156). Above them are two lions facing each other.



Fig. 156

To the other end of the chronological spectrum belong three bullae with antithetically arranged winged sphinxes from the Persian period (539–333) found at Wadi ed-Daliyeh, of which one is represented by fig. 157. Unique to this representation is that although the sphinxes have royal Persian heads, they wear the Egyptian double crown.⁵⁷⁹



Fig. 157

Although in an entirely different context, the two winged sphinxes in the second register of the already-mentioned 10th century cult-stand from Taanach (Fig. 158 = fig. 44 on p. 193, 78 on p. 203), which flank an opening, were also interpreted as

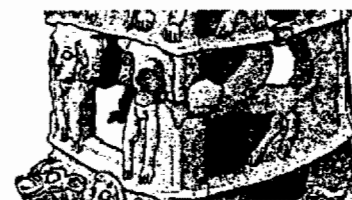


Fig. 158

guardians (HESTRIN 1987a:71; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:178), namely, of the entrance to the shrine⁵⁸⁰ (according to UEHLINGER to the sacred sphere).

⁵⁷⁷ The lifted paw transformed into a hand is also depicted on a rectangular plaque from Gezer dated to 1300–1000 (MACALISTER 1912: III pl. 207:49). On an ivory plaque from Megiddo a winged sphinx, standing on the back of an ibex, puts its lifted forepaw on the horns of the animal (LOUD 1939: pl. 5:4,5).

⁵⁷⁸ From another adoration scene with two antithetically-arranged winged sphinxes cf. fig. 54 on p. 196. For antithetically-arranged winged sphinxes in an offering scene cf. fig. 294 on p. 353.

⁵⁷⁹ For the other two pieces cf. LEITH 1990: pls. 43:WD41, 45:WD48 = *ibid.* 1997: pl. 20:WD 41, 21:WD 48.



Fig. 159

The alternate arrangement of lion-sphinx-lion on the cult-stand from Taanach excavated by P. W. LAPP (fig. 158 above and fig. 44 on p. 193) is even more dominant on the earlier-excavated second cult-stand from Taanach by E. SELLIN with the sequence: sphinx-lion-sphinx-lion-sphinx

(Fig. 159).⁵⁸¹ BECK (1994:356-358) traced the combination of

lion-sphinx - which also appears on a Hittite ivory plaque from Megiddo where both creatures are merged into a single being (Fig. 160) - as well as the pyramidal arrangement to the Anatolian world.



Fig. 160

Egyptianised female⁵⁸² winged sphinxes and lions decorate the well-known ivory box (13,5 x 12 x 7 cm) from Megiddo (Fig. 161) dated to about 1250-1150 (BARNETT 1982:26). The combination of lion and winged sphinx is also seen on an unpublished scarab from Tel Ḥamid, both symbols for the pharaoh

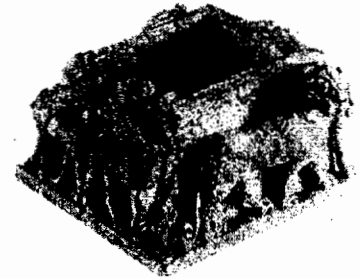


Fig. 161

under whose protection the seal owner considered himself (Fig. 162).⁵⁸³

Therefore the winged sphinx appears together with the cartouche.⁵⁸⁴



Fig. 162

The basic connotation of the winged sphinx so far centred on the theme of protection or guardianship whereby the object of protection was usually depicted. On private name seals the winged sphinx also appears but usually without the object to be protected as on a seal from the vicinity of Lachish, belonging to a certain woman with the name of *hnh* "Ḥanna" (Fig. 163). In the



Fig. 163

⁵⁸⁰ On cult-stands as shrines *en miniature* cf. UEHLINGER 1997:106.

⁵⁸¹ Lions alone are also featured on cult-stands from Beth-Shean (BECK 1994:360 with footnote 25), Tell Qasile (MAZAR 1980: pl. 32 and p. 103, fig. 35), and Megiddo (cf. fig. 37 on p. 191).

⁵⁸² Cf. the depiction of the restored object in LOUD 1938: pl. 2:1c.

⁵⁸³ The combination of winged sphinx and lion is also seen on a rectangular plaque from Gezer dated to about 1400-1300 (KEEL 1994d:249, fig. 47) and on another from Gezer (MACALISTER 1912: III 207:49). On both pieces each being decorates one side of the object. Both appear together (with an additional horned animal) on one side of a square plaque from Tell el-ʿAjjul (KEEL 1997:414,415, no. 913).

⁵⁸⁴ Parallels: KEEL 1997:552,553, no. 65; *ibid.* 716,717, no. 74 (debased cartouche?); PETRIE 1930: pl. 43:519 (debased cartouche?).

context of the established connotation of the winged sphinx, the protective force must be ascribed to such solitary winged sphinxes.⁵⁸⁵

The additional 'nh-sign in front of the sphinx is a combination that already appears on an MB II A-B (1950–1540/1450) scarab from Gezer, in this instance with a recumbent sphinx (Fig. 164).⁵⁸⁶



Fig. 164

The third pose of the winged sphinx is illustrated by a conical stamp seal from Dor which depicts the sphinx in Persian manner similar to fig. 157 on p. 285 (Fig. 165).⁵⁸⁷ Only twice does a galloping winged sphinx appear, the one from Wadi ed-Daliyeh (4th century) again in typical Persian garb (Fig. 166).⁵⁸⁸



Fig. 165



Fig. 166

Last to be mentioned is a terracotta winged sphinx (18 x 16 cm) from Horvat Qitmit (7th/beginning of 6th centuries) (Fig. 167). As impressive as the figurine is, even BECK (1995:154) in her excellent publication of the finds from this site, could not indicate its specific function due to the lack of further context.



Fig. 167

A different function is involved in representations of winged sphinxes when they are part of a sphinx throne. On this type of throne (METZGER 1985:259–283), introduced in the 2nd half of the 2nd millennium in Syro-Palestine, winged sphinxes function as *Thronträger* and, due to

⁵⁸⁵ Parallel: AVIGAD/SASS 1997:157, no. 369. Other singular striding winged sphinxes are found on: a cylinder seal from Beth-Shean, dated to the Late Bronze Age (1540/1450–1250/1150) (PARKER 1949:20, no. 77, pl. 12:77), a conical stamp seal from Tel Michal executed in Neo-Babylonian style, dated to 7th–5th centuries (BARAK/AMORAI-STARK 1989:333–335, fig. 28:1,2, pl. 73:2, KLINGBEIL 1992a:170); a rectangular seal from Gezer (KEEL 1994d:249, fig. 47) dated to 1400–1300; a round plaque from Shiqmona (ELGAVISH 1994:70, fig. 47); a scarab from Dor from the Persian period (STERN 1992:96, fig. 128). References for the striding winged sphinx with other objects are: an unpublished scarab from Lachish (+ h'-sign) (Corpus File no. 739); KEEL 1990a:208, no. 13 (+ star); ibid. 229, no. 19 (+ celestial bodies); ibid. 1997:716,717, no. 74 (+ debased cartouche?); ibid. 68,69, no. 140 (+ 'nh-sign and nb-sign). For singular striding sphinxes on ivory cf. CROWFOOT/CROWFOOT 1938: pl. 7:6,7.

⁵⁸⁶ Additional singular lying winged sphinxes are: an unpublished scaraboid from Megiddo (Corpus File no. 603); LAMON/SHIPTON 1939: pl. 69:35 (+ horned animal); PETRIE 1930: pl. 43:519 (+ debased cartouche?); MACALISTER 1912: III pl. 207:49; KEEL 1997:720,721, no. 85; TUFNELL 1958: pl. 36:222.

⁵⁸⁷ Parallels: LEITH 1997: pl. 15:WD31; KEEL 1997:552,553, no. 65, 588,589, no. 163, 604,605, no. 211 (+ feather), 768,769, no. 26 (+ palm tree).

⁵⁸⁸ The other piece is an unpublished seal from Megiddo (Corpus File no. 603).

their close connection⁵⁸⁹ with the throne, express the values of ruling and judicial power. The idea of domineering power is emphasised by the representational combination of the lion (strength) with the wings of an eagle or vulture (speed; cf. 2 Sam 1:23), both of which are directed by the highest mental faculty – the human mind, or in the words of LAYARD: “They could find no better type of intellect and knowledge than the head of the man; of strength, than the body of the lion; of rapidity of motion, than the wings of the bird” (1849a: I 70; cf. also KEEL 1977a:33–35; GREEN 1994:246; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:191).⁵⁹⁰ Thus on the one hand wings can exert a protective force while on the other they may also represent those attributes of power that are associated with a bird of prey.

Only three specimens of sphinx thrones from the 2nd millennium survived, two of them from Palestine/Israel proper.⁵⁹¹ However, among them is an excellent visual representation for the meaning of winged sphinxes when they function as *Thronträger*. On an ivory handle from Megiddo, dated to the 12th century, a ruler is seated on a throne that is furnished with dominating winged sphinxes and receives a victory procession after a successful battle to demonstrate his power (Fig. 168 = fig. 465 on p. 458).



Fig. 168

⁵⁸⁹ METZGER noted that, “das Proprium dieses Thrones ... darin [besteht], dass zwei vollplastische Mischwesen in den structurellen Aufbau des Thrones einbezogen sind und zum integrierenden Bestandteil des Möbels werden ...” (1985:262).

⁵⁹⁰ METZGER (ibid. 270,271) maintained that the throne sphinx functioned rather as attribute animal of a god and had also an apotropaic and protective force.

⁵⁹¹ For the sake of completeness the sphinx throne of Ahiiram of Byblos is depicted in fn. fig. 21. It is found on the relief on the principal side of the Ahiiram sarcophagus. Usually the sarcophagus is dated to the 13th century, but palaeographical and archaeological arguments have been advanced for a 10th century date, or at least a date later than the LB period (ibid. 259 footnote 1; cf. also KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:191).



Fn. fig. 21

Also from Megiddo is a second contemporary example, a miniature throne model (26 x 17 mm) carved in the round from ivory with winged sphinxes on both sides (Fig. 169). Apart from these two sphinx thrones, we have no extant examples of sphinx thrones in Palestine/Israel.⁵⁹²



Fig. 169

3.3.1.3. Winged griffins

The griffin,⁵⁹³ a *Mischwesen* combining features of a feline and a bird of prey/vulture, often fulfils the same functions as the sphinx.⁵⁹⁴ On the lower register of the previously mentioned Late Bronze Age (1540/1450–1250/1150) cylinder seal from Acco (Fig. 170 = fig. 59 on p. 198, 144 on p. 281), two griffins flank two ibexes⁵⁹⁵



Fig. 170

which in turn flank the sacred tree.⁵⁹⁶ In a manner similar to that of the sphinxes in fig. 155 on p. 285 they lift the forepaws⁵⁹⁷ in a protective gesture.⁵⁹⁸

⁵⁹² UEHLINGER (ibid. 190) considered Early Iron Age terracotta fragments from Megiddo as possible parts of sphinx thrones (MAY 1935: pl. 25 M 5400; pl. 28 M 5403). However, what he referred to are only heads of figurines (one of them with a typical Hathor hairdress) that served as foot for a vessel, stand, or as UEHLINGER suggested, for a throne. Sphinx thrones remained popular in the first millennium especially in Syro-Phoenicia (GUBEL 1987:37–74; METZGER 1985:274–279).

⁵⁹³ On the griffin in general see BÖRKER-KLÄHN 1971:633–639; FLAGGE 1975; EGGBRECHT 1977.

⁵⁹⁴ Cf. for example a scarab from Acco on which both the winged sphinx as well as the griffin appear together (KEEL 1997:606,607, no. 217).

⁵⁹⁵ Although BECK (1977:64) identified them as antelopes the horned quadruped are more likely ibexes (cf. KEEL 1990b:263–265).

⁵⁹⁶ Parallels: PARKER 1949: no. 107; TUFNELL 1958: pl. 45:145 (according to the photograph from the Corpus File it is more likely a griffin than a sphinx. The head is very similar to fig. 183 on p. 292); LAMON/SHIPTON 1939: pls. 66:12,67:45; LEITH 1997: pl. 16:GR–B. For a winged griffin advancing towards a stylized tree see PARKER 1949: no. 173. Only one griffin protects a palm tree on a cylinder seal from Beth-Shean (fig. 229 on p. 305); cf. for another possible griffin next to a tree MACALISTER 1912: III pl. 214:15; LAMON/SHIPTON pl. 66:1). A griffin is also involved in a scene where two figures worship a tree (PARKER 1949: no. 90) Cf. also the griffin with a twig in fig. 183 on p. 292. A winged uraeus is flanked by griffins on McCOWN 1947: pl. 54:12. Also of protective nature are the griffins next to cross-hatched panels, probably doors of a shrine (PARKER 1949: no. 96).

⁵⁹⁷ For a singular griffin raising its paw cf. a cylinder seal from Tell Abu Hawam, stemming from the last building phase of level V which is 13th/12th century (PARKER 1949:23, no. 96, pl. 15:96 = NOUGAYROL 1939:47, pl. 1:LXXXVIII).

⁵⁹⁸ BECK described them as “griffins which seem to attack the antelopes” (1977:64). Although it is correct that the lifted forepaw indicates an attack (cf. LEIBOVITCH 1943:189, fig. 7, and the meaning of the name of the *tsis*-griffin “celui que déchire, que met en pièces” [ibid. 188]), an attack can likewise be a saving act (ibid. 1944b:101) and be represented by a lifted forepaw, similar to the uraeus which is a dangerous reptile, but functions as apotropaion. The protective force of the griffin is also clearly indicated by representations on so-called *Zaubermesser* (Magic Ivories, *Apotropaia*) (LEGGE 1905: pls. 1,3–5,7–12,14,15; LEIBOVITCH 1943:185, fig. 3, nos. 2–9; ALTENMÜLLER 1965:114, figs. 1,3,6, 117, fig. 9, 118,119, figs. 11–13, 121, fig. 16, 122, fig. 21, 125, fig. 29; LAGARCE/LAGARCE 1990:191–196, pls. 42,44–47,49) whose function was of a protective nature (ALTENMÜLLER 1965:136,178; HELCK 1985–86:1355. For the griffin as guardian cf. also FLAGGE 1975:34–43). Similarly the sphinx

An interesting parallel for this feature is a representation on a scarab from Megiddo (Fig. 171) dated to the end of the 8th century which features a reclining griffin wearing the Egyptian double crown. The forepaw is transformed into a human arm and is raised in a manner denoting protection and blessing (cf. also fig. 155 on p. 285).⁵⁹⁹



Fig. 171

Most likely in the capacity as "Verkörperung des Mächtigen" (EGGEBRECHT 1977:895) and "shepherd of everything living on earth" (TE VELDE 1977:21; cf. LEIBOVITCH 1944b:244) the griffin appears on private name seals from the Iron Age II B (925–700). Either as striding (Fig. 172 from Megiddo, 8th



Fig. 172

century, belonging to a certain *šp*),⁶⁰⁰ sitting (Fig. 173 from Samaria with the name *pt š*),⁶⁰¹ or lying down (Fig. 174 from Tell el-Far'ah [South] bearing the inscribed name *hym*).⁶⁰²



Fig. 173



Fig. 174

The solitary winged griffin⁶⁰³ appears not only on private name seals from the first millennium but was already in circulation as

with the lifted paw originally derived from the motif of the smiting pharaoh but in the process of the Syrian adaptation of this motif the artists "overlooked the connotation of victory, forgot the victim, and turned the out-stretched paw into a gesture of playfulness" (CANBY 1975; DESSENE 1957:29,30,62).

⁵⁹⁹ The protective aspect of a lying griffin is also in view when it appears in the top register of a three-registered scaraboid from Hazor, dated to the 8th century. The main scene in the middle register shows two figures worshipping Bes (YADIN 1961: pls. 187:22,360:4,5).

⁶⁰⁰ Parallels: AVIGAD/SASS 1997: nos. 44,116,135,160,168,182,190,325,345,370; SASS/MILLER 1997:2.

⁶⁰¹ Parallels: GALLING 1941:174, no. 8, pl. 12:8; BEN-DOR 1946: pl. 25:c.

⁶⁰² Parallels: AVIGAD/SASS 1997: nos. 143,193.

⁶⁰³ Parallels: *Striding*: KEEL 1997:60,61, no. 118 (+ sun disk and crescent), 268,269, no. 491 (+ *nfr*, 2 x *z*), 592,593, no. 173 (+ uraeus), 770,771, no. 34 (+ *nb*, '*nh*', *ntr/qnbt*, *z*); SCHUMACHER 1908: 138,139, fig. 208d (+ uraeus); an unpublished scarab from Jericho (Corpus File no. 681) with a papyrus plant, and the following signs: *hm*, *nfr*, '*nh*' and a disk; LAMON/SHIPTON 1939: pl. 67:54 (+ winged disk and winged scarab); ROWE 1936: no. S. 103 (+ winged sun disk flanked by two uraei); KEEL 1990d:248, figs. 43,45; ORY 1944: pl. 13:7; ROWE 1940: pl. 39:6; TUFNELL 1958: pl. 39:349 (the head seems to be feline); an unpublished scarab from Sur Bahir (+ winged uraeus) (Corpus File no. 1). *Seated*: KEEL 1997:210,211, no. 323 (+ two scorpions), 568,569, no. 107 (+ *nfr*), 668,669, no. 17 (+ *nb* and uraeus); ROWE 1936: pl. 15:5 (+ cartouche); LOUD 1939: pl. 52:228b. *Crouching*: KEEL 1997:248,249, no. 434; 568,569, no. 108 (+ sun disk and '*nh*'); KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:293, fig. 259b (+ uraeus, winged sun disk and cartouche); KELSO 1968: pl. 119c (+ human); an unpublished scarab from Sa'ar (Corpus file no. 1); LERTH 1997: pl. 23:2; TUFNELL 1953: pl. 45:136 (?).

early as the 17th century as an often-mentioned MB II B (1760–1540/1450) scarab from Tell Beit Mirsim indicates.⁶⁰⁴ Three little hills and a tree characterise it as an animal of the desert (Fig. 175).



Fig. 176 – an amulet with a striding griffin wearing a sun disk that was found at Tell el-Far'ah (South) and is dated to the 8th century – recalls in regard to the posture of the wings griffins from Mycenae (LEIBOVITCH



Fig. 176

1944b:249,250, fig. 23), as does one on an ivory plaque from Megiddo (Fig. 177).⁶⁰⁵



Fig. 177

Likewise singular is the representation of a griffin in the form of the Seth-animal on a basalt throne from Beth-Shean (Fig. 178 = footnote fig. 11 on p. 276).⁶⁰⁶ In contrast to the winged sphinxes that function as *Thronträger*, the griffin on the throne from Beth-Shean is not a structural element but a decorative one (METZGER 1985:259) which according to METZGER (ibid. 271) has a protective force.



Fig. 178

The talismanic nature of the griffin is underlined by a base design on a scarab from Tel Dan (Fig. 179) which is virtually an *omnium gatherum* of lucky charms.⁶⁰⁷ The top and bottom registers line up several *Glückszeichen* in the fashion of the *anra*-sign pattern. Surrounded by these signs is a uraeus, which is flanked by two griffins and two falcons.



Fig. 179

Figs. 173 and 176 place an additional element above the griffin's head – a sun disk. On a Phoenician 8th century scaraboid from Samaria (Fig. 180) there is



Fig. 180

not only a sun disk above the falcon-headed sphinx, but the griffin is in fact framed by two

⁶⁰⁴ For similar types cf. BIRAN/ILAN/GREENBERG 1996:190,192, fig. 4:45, 312, fig. 4:98, 239, no. 4; KENYON 1965:621, fig. 292,17; an unpublished scarab from 'Ain Samija.

⁶⁰⁵ An almost identical scarab as fig. 176 is found in the Michaelidis collection, except that the sun disk is missing (LEIBOVITCH 1946:396, fig. 24:1).

winged sun disks. In this manner the griffin displays here its nature as bird-like being by associating it with the sphere of the sun god (cf. HORNUNG/STAEHELIN 1976:143 with footnote 587).⁶⁰⁸

That the protective force of the griffin was associated with the solar realm is also underlined by a badly damaged seal from Samaria, dated before 720. The reclining griffin and the erected uraeus that is facing outward in defensive posture express the protective element. The winged scarab pushing a little sun disk in front of it and holding another with its hind legs (Fig. 181) indicates the solar aspect.⁶⁰⁹



Fig. 181

Celestial bodies are the centre of focus on a 7th century (KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:338) conoid from Gezer which depicts a figure worshipping the winged sun disk and the crescent. Part of the scene is a griffin (Fig. 182).



Fig. 182

With the new Assyrian influence in Palestine the moon became more dominant. Thus the griffin is no longer under the influence of the sun disk but the moon, as on a seal from Samaria (Fig. 183).⁶¹⁰



Fig. 183

Of an entirely different order is the function of the griffin on a Neo-Assyrian cylinder seal that was found 13 meters below the surface in a stratigraphically updateable context in the shaft of the Megiddo water system. H. G. MAY (LAMON 1935: pl. 8:6) described the scene as a representation of a "cosmogonic story of the conflict between order and disorder" (WARD 1910:197) in which a god fights the chaos in the form of a griffin (Fig. 184 = fig. 508 on p. 502, 533 on p. 534).⁶¹¹



Fig. 184

⁶⁰⁶ Also from Beth-Shean is a cylinder seal that shows the winged Seth-animal with a Maat-feather as tail as griffin (ibid. 1944b:236: fig. 6b).

⁶⁰⁷ Parallel: LAMON/SHIPTON 1939: pl. 67:43. For griffins with various signs cf. also footnote 603.

⁶⁰⁸ Parallels involving the sun disk: ROWE 1936: no. S. 103; KEEL 1997:568,569, no. 108; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:293, fig. 259b.

⁶⁰⁹ Parallel: LAMON/SHIPTON 1939: pl. 67:54.

A similar constellation is depicted on a cylinder seal from Beth-Shean that is attributed to the time of Amenophis III (1390–1353). A griffin⁶¹² attacks a bull but is repulsed by a figure wearing a round cap with a long streamer (Fig. 185 = fig. 340 on p. 365, 507 on p. 502, 530 on p. 532) who has been identified as Baal (CORNELIUS 1994:220, no. BM87).⁶¹³



Fig. 185

Also under attack is the griffin on a unique 8th century Hebrew name seal belonging to *yqmyhw* "Yeqamyahu". It depicts an Egyptianised human figure in a short kilt spearing a griffin as known from Phoenician ivories (GUBEL 1993:107) (Fig. 186).



Fig. 186

An attacking function must be assigned to the two galloping⁶¹⁴ griffins⁶¹⁵ on fig. 187 (= fig. 304 on p. 356), a cylinder seal from Tell el-ʿAjjul. On the run are an ibex, a lioness/leopard that turns its head towards an attacking griffin, and a smaller animal⁶¹⁶ just below the top borderline. The composition seems reminiscent of hunting scenes where the pharaoh is hunting antelopes, gazelles, and a lioness with bow and arrow from a chariot pulled by a winged griffin (LEIBOVITCH 1943:196,197, figs. 15–17). However, the motif of running griffins in pursuit of animals is first attested in the seal impressions from Nuzi (1450–1400) (PORADA 1947:43, pl. 29:592,593) and appears again on Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian cylinder seals (TEISSIER 1984: nos. 274,276–280; PORADA 1948: nos. 741–746).⁶¹⁷



Fig. 187

⁶¹⁰ A scarab from Achzib indicates that this motif was already known in the 9th century (KEEL 1997:60,61, no. 118).

⁶¹¹ For a clay impression with a winged griffin attacking a human cf. cat. no. 217 on p. 318.

⁶¹² Cf. for a similar type of griffin see footnote 556 on p. 278.

⁶¹³ Parallel: cat. no. 215 on p. 318.

⁶¹⁴ An Asian and Aegean feature. Cf. the figures in footnote 556 on p. 278 and NOUGAYROL 1939: no. XXXVI. Note also the references for three singular galloping winged griffins from Jerusalem, Samaria, and Wadi ed-Daliyeh.

⁶¹⁵ PETRIE (1933:4) followed by NOUGAYROL (1939:17) designated them as "winged horses" which was corrected by LEIBOVITCH (1944b:235) who identified them as griffins.

⁶¹⁶ Designated by PETRIE and NOUGAYROL as a dog.

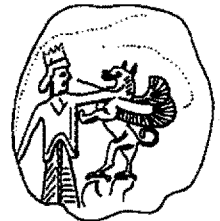
⁶¹⁷ Parallels: cat. nos. 207,208 on p. 317.

The winged griffin attacking a horned animal appears on an MB II B and Late Bronze Age scarab.⁶¹⁸ The motif is to be seen again during the Persian period on a bulla from Wadi ed-Daliyeh and on three coins from 4th century Samaria of which one is depicted in **fig. 188**.⁶¹⁹



Fig. 188

A post-exilic motif that follows the same tradition⁶²⁰ as fig. 73 on p. 202 is represented on a bulla from Samaria (**Fig. 189** = fig. 401 on p. 381, 509 on p. 502, 534 on p. 534). Similar to apotropaic (ROOT 1979:307) reliefs on the southern doorway in the west wall of the palace of Darius at Persepolis **Fig. 189**



(SCHMIDT 1953: pl. 145), this clay impression depicts the Persian king as royal hero (ROOT 1979:303–308; PORADA 1961:68) fighting a horned lion, or more precisely a griffin, i.e., with wings and claws of a bird of prey, often called in these scenes “lion monster”.⁶²¹

While the afore-mentioned griffin had a lion head, a clay impression from Shechem once attached to a papyrus document as the reverse indicates shows the Persian king as a bowman fighting a griffin. This time the head of the griffin is that of a bird, at least so

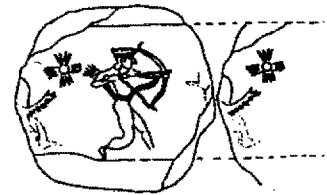


Fig. 190

suggested in the reconstruction of the image (**Fig. 190**).

Not entirely clear is the function of the winged griffin on a series of animal processions (cf. KEEL 1994d:228–230) from the 14th century (**Fig. 191**).⁶²² The combination of a bovine animal, a human figure, and a scorpion appears on cylinder seals from



Fig. 191

Mesopotamia of the Early Dynastic II/III period (c. 28th–24th centuries) in the context of

⁶¹⁸ Cat. nos. 207,208 on p. 317.

⁶¹⁹ Cat. nos. 209,211,212 on p. 317.

⁶²⁰ On the Assyrian and Babylonian background of this motif cf. ROOT 1979:304–306, PALEY 1986:215–217 and in regard to its Achaemenid adaptation PORADA 1961:68.

⁶²¹ Parallels: 220,221 on p. 319

⁶²² Parallels involving a griffin: PARKER 1949:34, no. 153, pl. 23:153; KELM/MAZAR 1982:12,16, fig. 15. For a similar shaped winged griffin as in fig. 191 see also the griffin together with an ibex and bull with an apotropaic

fertility (cf. *ibid.* 1980b:96,97, figs. 59 [=MATTHEWS 1996:287, pl. 36, fig. 476 ER],62). On Old Syrian cylinder seals from the first quarter of the 2nd millennium winged creatures represent in similar contexts the sphere of death (KEEL 1980:101, figs. 66,67, 103, figs. 70,71).⁶²³ Among the thirty cylinder seals of the same type from Ras Shamra, published by AMIET (1992:41–49), the griffin is twice attacking a horned animal (*ibid.* 47, no. 79, 48, no. 80). Thus it is possible that these two opposing realms of life and death are indicated on such animal processions by a griffin.

3.3.1.4. *Winged uraei*

The winged uraeus was a very popular motif on seal-amulets as can be seen by the numerous variations listed below. The dangerous poison-spitting (KEEL 1994b:99–104) cobra or uraeus (ʿrt “the Risen One”; zool. *Naja nigricollis*,⁶²⁴ MURRAY 1948; KEEL 1977a:73, footnote 107) was believed to be a powerful, protective apotropaion (HORNUNG/STAEHELIN 1976:134; MARTIN 1985–86:865; JOHNSON 1990:5–11). Its safeguarding function was enhanced by the addition of protective wings⁶²⁵ (HORNUNG/STAEHELIN 1976:134; MARTIN 1985–86:866). KEEL (1977a:83–103) listed in a detailed study several types of motifs with winged uraei in Palestine/Israel.

First to be mentioned is the solitary uraeus directing its wings forward, one wing pointing upwards, the other downwards as on a scarab from Beth-Shemesh (1292–1150) (Fig. 192).⁶²⁶ An identical depiction is seen on a side of the truncated pyramid seal from Tell Gerisa, dated to the Iron Age I (1250/1150–1000), which was discussed earlier (Fig. 193 = figs. 92,93 on p. 207 and fig. 128



Fig. 192



Fig. 193

(cf. SCHROER 1983) hand (?) on a cylinder seal from a Late Bronze II B tomb at Meggido (PARKER 1949:36, pl. 24:163).

⁶²³ Cf. also a cylinder seal from Tell el-ʿAjjul (PARKER 1949: no. 14).

⁶²⁴ For a zoological description of the various cobras cf. JOHNSON 1990:12–18.

⁶²⁵ The winged uraeus could also represent the sky by its wings (HORNUNG 1977:1217).

⁶²⁶ Parallels: TUFNELL 1958: pl. 37:286,312; STARKEY/HARDING 1932: pl. 73:17; TUFNELL 1953: pl. 45:134; LAMON/SHIPTON 1939: pl. 69:52.

on p. 275). Carved into an ivory fragment from Samaria (9th/8th centuries) is the motif in fig. 194. The wings in this position are a typical sign of protection (KEEL 1984a:170–172) which magnifies the safe-guarding nature of the uraeus itself.



Fig. 194

Very appropriately the winged uraeus on a name seal from Lachish belonging to a certain *šptyhw* 'yhw protects the Egyptian sign for life which is drawn as two horizontal lines (Fig. 195).⁶²⁷ In a rare posture is the winged uraeus depicted on a seal that is a surface find from the vicinity of Samaria (c. 750) belonging to an Israelite priest from Dor (*kryw khn d'r* "Belonging to Zekharjau priest of Dor") (Fig. 196).⁶²⁸



Fig. 195

The protecting uraeus is sometimes combined with *Mischwesen*. On a scarab from Tell el-Far'ah (South) the uraeus is hovering above a sphinx with a ram's head wearing the *atef*-crown which represents the god Amun (Fig. 196).



Fig. 196

(HORNUNG/STAEHELIN 1976:92; COCHE-ZIVIE 1984:1139) (Fig. 197). The identification of the ram sphinx with Amun is furthermore underlined by the combination of the three elements— uraeus, sphinx, and Maat— which reads cryptographically⁶²⁹ the name of Amun.⁶³⁰



Fig. 197

The winged uraeus protects the "plain" sphinx representing the pharaoh as fig. 198 graphically displays where it wears the double crown of Upper and Lower Egypt and a royal beard.⁶³¹



Fig. 198

⁶²⁷ No parallel exists for this specific pose of the two-winged uraeus with an 'nh-sign on a name seal. The 'nh-sign is depicted with a protecting uraeus on a scarab from Tell el-'Ajjul (PETRIE 1932: pl. 7:60).

⁶²⁸ Parallels: AVIGAD/SASS 1997: no. 46; WOLFF 1994:501, fig. 22 (without name, only pose of uraeus).

⁶²⁹ Uraeus = j'rt = j + Maat = m'ʔ = m + sphinx = n (from nb, "lord"; KEEL 1995a:244 § 649) = jmn.

⁶³⁰ Parallels: KEEL 1997:520,521, no. 1226, 694,695, no. 16, 720,721, no. 82; TUFNELL 1958: pl. 39:343; an unpublished scarab from Megiddo (Corpus File no. 61) and another one from Lachish (Corpus File no. 696). Without sun disk: GIVEON/KERTESZ 1986:44,45, no. 174; KEEL 1997:664,665, no. 8.

⁶³¹ Parallels: TUFNELL 1958: pl. 37:301; KEEL 1997:682,683:57; LOUD 1948: pl. 152:152, 151:147, 152:175; EDELSTEIN/MILEVSKI/AURANT 1991: fig. 75, photograph 126; TUFNELL 1958: pl. 39:368; STARKEY/HARDING 1932: pls. 50:52–55, 52:141; KEEL 1997:674,675, no. 34; LOUD 1948: pl. 69:69; GIVEON 1985:126,127, no. 48; an unpublished scarab from Lachish (Corpus File no. 667); KEEL 1997:54,55, no. 97, 558,559, no. 79.

Not only the sphinx could represent the Egyptian king but also the falcon (ALTENMÜLLER 1977:95; HORNING/STAEHELIN 1976:96,135,143). A steatite scarab from Megiddo from stratum IV (930–733) in a bronze looped setting shows on the base a winged uraeus protecting a falcon which in turn is worshipped by a human figure (Fig. 199).⁶³²



Fig. 199

Two protecting winged uraei can flank an object. To be mentioned in this regard are the scarab beetle (ibid. 13–17; KEEL 1995a:21,22 § 41) that is flanked in this manner on a Late Bronze scarab from Megiddo (Fig. 200), a “+”-sign on a scarab from Tell el-‘Ajjul (1630–1575) (Fig. 201), the seated Maat (Fig. 202) or the falcon-headed sun god (Fig. 203), both seen on scarabs from Achzib dated to the 22nd–25th dynasties (944–656).



Fig. 200

Unclear are the flanked objects on scaraboid from Beth-Shean (JAMES 1966:348, fig. 117:3) and without clear object are two antithetically-arranged winged uraei on a name seal from Megiddo. The additional winged sphinx magnifies the protective nature of the object (Fig. 204).



Fig. 201



Fig. 202

The strong protective nature was not only expressed by two winged uraei. There are a significant number of name seals dated to the



Fig. 203

8th/7th centuries that bring across the same idea by means of a four-winged uraeus as seen on a jasper seal belonging to a certain Judean man with the name *yhmlyhw (bn) m’syhw* (Yahmolyahu [son of] Ma’aseyahu) (Fig. 205).⁶³³



Fig. 204



Fig. 205

⁶³² The cartouche as royal symbol is also protected by winged uraei (LAMON/SHIPTON 1939: pl. 69:50; KEEL 1997:594,595, no. 181.

⁶³³ Parallels: AVIGAD/SASS 1997: nos. 11,82,104,127,206,284,381,689.

3.3.1.5. Single winged bulls

Depictions of single winged bulls are not very frequently found in Palestine/Israel before the Persian period. An early example is a serpentine cylinder seal from Beth-Shemesh,⁶³⁴ engraved in linear style with a motif that is found on 12th century Middle Assyrian seals



Fig. 206

(cf. MOORTGAT 1944:35, fig. 32). It shows a bull with the crescent and the Pleiades above its wings turning its head towards a stylised tree with a winged sun disk above it (Fig. 206).⁶³⁵

Also combined with a symbol of fertility, namely, a scorpion (KEEL 1985:26), a winged bull appears on a conical stamp seal from Achzib which is dated to the 9th/8th centuries (cf. also footnote 634) (Fig. 207).



Fig. 207

Dating to the Persian period is a scaraboid from Tell Keisan (Fig. 208) that represents a variation of the composition of fig. 189 on p. 294 which depicts the Persian king as a royal hero fighting a winged lion (cf. also fig. 73 on p. 202 for an Assyrian counterpart of the same motif, however in this case the lion has no wings). In the case of fig. 208 the Persian king is subduing a winged bull as he is represented



Fig. 208

on a cylinder seal impression from Persepolis (SCHMIDT 1957: pl. 4:7; KEEL 1990a:232, footnote 301).⁶³⁶ The same motif together with the inscription שמרין (*smryn*) was struck on the reverse of 4th century coins from Samaria of which twenty coins were recently published (Fig. 209).⁶³⁷



Fig. 209

⁶³⁴ Found in the fill of a rubble pit that is dated from the 9th/8th centuries to about 300 (WRIGHT 1962:6).

⁶³⁵ A not-clearly-identifiable winged quadruped appears on a type V conoid (KEEL 1995a:103 § 254) from Gezer which might be a winged bovine animal (MACALISTER 1912: III pl. 214:28).

Finally, also from the Persian period is the depiction of a winged bull in flying gallop on a bulla from Wadi ed-Daliyeh (Fig. 210).⁶³⁸ A similar image is struck on the obverse of a contemporary hemiobol from Samaria (Fig. 211).



Fig. 210



Fig. 211

3.3.1.6. Master of winged animals/Mischwesen

Winged bulls flanking a central figure appear on a cylinder seal from the Assyrian level of Dor. The Neo-Assyrian motif (cf. e.g. COLLON 1987:78, fig. 348, 150 fig. 656; FRANKFORT 1939: pl. 35k; WARD 1910:206,207), shows a (royal) hero holding two winged bulls in the "master of animals" constellation (Fig. 212).



Fig. 212

From the Persian period at Dor but based on Neo-Assyrian iconography is the hero who also appears as "master of winged bulls" on a glass stamp (Fig. 213).⁶³⁹ A fragment of a greenstone facies (KEEL 1995a:143,144 §§ 369–372; BAYNES-COPE/BIMSON 1987:106,107) seal from Samaria in Phoenician style depicts what is probably the same scene (Fig. 214).



Fig. 213



Fig. 214

Proto-Achaemenid (c. 540–520) with Elamite influence is a cylinder seal from Lachish, recalling in general Neo-Babylonian and early Achaemenid seals (HOLLAND 1982:558) (Fig. 215). The hero is not depicted in the typical "master of animals" pose since he is already holding an object in his hand. He is flanked by a griffin and a winged bull.



Fig. 215

⁶³⁶ Parallel: cat. no. 224 on p. 323.

⁶³⁷ Parallels. cat. nos. 226–244 on p. 323.

⁶³⁸ Another bulla from the Persian period formerly in the collection of Reuben and Edith Hecht, now in the Israel Museum, Jerusalem, depicts a galloping winged bull (ibid. pl. 23:5). The winged bull also appears on the obverse of a Samarian silver hemiobol (ibid. 195).

⁶³⁹ The same motif also appears on another stamp seal from Dor (STERN 1992:96, fig. 128, first from top) and on coins from the same site (ibid. 1994:135).

A variation of the hero struggling with two *Mischwesen* is represented by a scaraboid from Gezer (Fig. 216). Below a winged sun disk the Persian royal hero holds as "master" with his hand two winged "royal sphinxes" (BOARDMAN 1970a:34).



Fig. 216

The seated winged sphinxes on a bulla from Wadi ed-Daliyeh (Fig. 217), dated to the Persian period, are not seen to be protective nor are they expressing royal ruling power but are "another item of exotic hero fodder" (LEITH 1990:438). The impression from a metal finger ring which was found four times at Wadi ed-Daliyeh (CROSS 1974: pl. 63:k-n) shows the Persian hero threatening two standing winged sphinxes with Persian king heads (on this "contradiction" cf. LEITH 1990:437-439).⁶⁴⁰



Fig. 217

Another version of the same theme is found on a cylinder seal from 5th century Tell el-Ḥer in the Sinai desert which again depicts the Persian royal hero as "master of lion monsters" or "master of griffins" (Fig. 218).



Fig. 218

An unusual representation is found on a scaraboid from an old rubbish dump (BLISS 1899a:197 with *ibid.* 1899b:327,332; STERN 1993b:1523) at Tell eš-Šafi belonging to the Persian⁶⁴¹ period (Fig. 219). Not only is the posture of a seated ibex with its head turned backwards in this particular constellation singular as far as I can see, but the winged ibex in the "master of animals" motif is also rare⁶⁴² when compared with the motif with wingless ibexes. The latter is attested on cylinder seals in Mesopotamia from the Old Babylonian to the Persian period (*ibid.* 1978:91,93, figs. 15-



Fig. 219

⁶⁴⁰ Four additional impressions of the same ring were found at the same site (LEITH 1997:220-224, pl. 19:WD 24, WD 11B).

⁶⁴¹ The winged sun disk is typical of the 5th/4th century Phoenician workmanship, although its antecedents reach back to 8th century Phoenicia (5th/4th centuries, PARAYRE 1990: pl. 3:43,46, 6:81,81; 8th century: *ibid.* pl.3:42).

18; LEGRAIN 1925: pl. 41:909,910; for Palestinian evidence, see pp. 357–358). In regard to the meaning of the motif of the “master of ibexes” HORNUNG/STAEHELIN pointed out that the secondary or “negative aspect” of the ibex is emphasised, i.e., the ibex which stands for the life-threatening forces that are associated with the desert, and is overcome by the hero. Therefore, “dürfte eine Vernichtung des Bösen und eine apotropäische Bedeutung der Handlung anzusetzen sein” (1976:140). Since the ibex represents a malevolent power, the wings most probably enforce this aspect in a manner similar to figs. 189 on p. 294 and 223 on p. 323 where life-threatening winged animals (both compositions are also known with wingless animals, cf. SCHMIDT 1953: pls. 114,146) are subdued by the king. This has also been suggested for the winged ibex on a Neo-Babylonian cylinder seal (cf. footnote 642) when KEEL commented: “Die Flügel und das menschliche Gesicht verwandeln den Steinbock in einen Steinbockdämon” (1978:90; cf. also STAUBLI 1991:177,262).

3.3.1.7. Winged horses

The winged horse is likewise a rather rare *Mischwesen* in Mesopotamia in contrast to the Greek world where representations of Pegasus are well attested (LOCHIN 1994:214–230). Earliest Asiatic representations go back to 9th century Assyrian reliefs (LAYARD 1849b: pls. 44:1, 50:6) and 9th/8th century Assyrian cylinder seals (MOORTGAT pl. 76:640). An example from

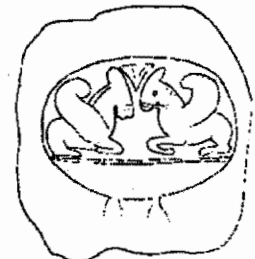


Fig. 220

the Persian period is fig. 220, a bulla from Wadi ed-Daliyeh whose winged horses betray according to LEITH (1990:473) “eastern” influence, and an impression of a winged horse protome (ibid. pl. 50:WD31 = ibid. 1997: pl. 13:WD 37).⁶⁴³

⁶⁴² Cf. also a Neo-Babylonian cylinder seal (Fn. fig. 22) from the Louvre that depicts a winged hero as he attacks a winged ibex (KEEL 1978:89, fig. 14). See also the comment in footnote 645.



Fn. fig. 22

⁶⁴³ LEITH (1990:485, footnote 3) did not rule out that another clay impression (ibid. pl 51:WD38 = above fig. 210 on p. 299) might also depict a winged horse, although she finally settled for a winged bull, but also considers that it

3.3.1.8. Winged canide

Singular seems to be a winged canide in a posture very similar to that of winged sphinxes and griffins. The forepaws merge into a uraeus. It stems from Tell el-^cAjjul and is dated to 1479–1292 (Fig. 221).



Fig. 221

3.3.1.9. Winged anthropomorphic figures (genii, heros, demons)⁶⁴⁴

On an MB II B (1760–1540/1450) cylinder seal that was mentioned previously (fig. 59 on p. 198 = fig. 144 on p. 281 = fig. 170 on p. 289) two griffins protect the sacred tree. The same protective posture is exerted by two genii on a cylinder seal from Tell el-^cAjjul dated to the same period (Fig. 222 = fig. 36 on p. 191).



Fig. 222

In contrast to the protective nature of the winged beings on the previous cylinder seal, another cylinder seal from the same place but dated to about 1500–1100 (Fig. 223) depicts a human figure that has been identified as a demon (KEEL 1984a:336; CORNELIUS



Fig. 223

1994:191,194) with wings, horns, a beak, and a tail. He is about to overwhelm a human being that is helplessly lying on the ground, but is repulsed by the figure – identified as Baal by CORNELIUS (ibid.) – holding a lion by the tail and carrying a horned animal on his left hand.



Fig. 224

A cylinder seal from Gezer cut in Neo-Assyrian linear style depicts a winged hero holding a scimitar in one hand and seizing with the other a rampant ibex (Fig. 224 = fig. 302 on p. 356,

could be a griffin or another kind of winged dragon. The winged animal on a conical seal from Gezer might also be a winged horse (MACALISTER 1912: II 295, fig. 437:11). Unclear is the identification of two merged rampant winged animals in ibid. III pl. 200:14. The horizontal strokes along the long neck could indicate a mane which might point to winged horses.

⁶⁴⁴ On the terminology see WIGGERMANN 1994 and GREEN 1994.

514 on p. 505, 537 on p. 538). The winged hero represents the force that controls the chaotic powers which endanger the peaceful order of life (KEEL 1978:90).⁶⁴⁵

From the same site, found in tomb 153, is another Neo-Assyrian 9th/8th century cylinder seal with a winged crested (?) griffin-demon subduing an animal which according to NOUGAYROL (1939:45,



Fig. 225

no. LXXXII) could be a (crested) griffin, although its wings are not visible (Fig. 225). A very similar scene is found on a Middle Assyrian (12th–10th) cylinder seal in the Pierpont Morgan Library (= figure in footnote 662 on p. 330). It depicts a short kilted crested griffin-demon grasping a rampant crested griffin. Between them is a calf couchant. On the Gezer seal the struggle between the two contestants is already over, the enemy subdued and the animals which have been saved possibly are presented as an offering by one of the figures flanking the central scene.

⁶⁴⁵ The development of this motif sheds light on its meaning. The starting points for the motif are Neo-Assyrian compositions from Assur (MOORTGAT 1940: pl. 76:643,644 = Fn. fig. 23) and Khorsabad (LOUD/ALTMAN 1938: pl. 57:87) which are very naturalistic. The hero *im Knielauf* without wings but having a quiver over his shoulder seizes the horned quadruped, whose body is facing towards the attacker, turns its head backwards. The next stage is represented by the cylinder seal from Gezer the difference being that the hero is now standing upright and more importantly the quiver has changed into wings, thus indicating that this is not a naturalistic hunting scene. The third stage is represented by a Neo-Assyrian cylinder seal that was purchased by WOOLLEY at Aleppo (Fn. fig. 24). Two changes occur on this level: (1) the horned quadruped's back is now facing *towards* the hero as well as its turned head; (2) the hero is stepping on the quadruped's hind leg; (3) both of the hero's wings are now attached to the hero's back. The final stage is the Neo-Babylonian version (cf. footnote 642). It is identical to the Aleppo cylinder seal, except that the astral symbols have disappeared and that not only the hero is winged but also the quadruped, thus indicating a further shift from the early naturalistic type to the mythologically rendered version which is even more emphasised by the anthropoid face of the winged quadruped. The accompanying prayer on the seal fits the composition well when it says: "Marduk, great lord, who gives life. Let me behold your radiant light." (KEEL 1978:90). Thus what seemed to be a naturalist hunting scene in its early stage is unravelled as a mythologic contest between the forces of life and death.



Fn. fig. 23



Fn. fig. 24

Also of Neo-Assyrian style is a type V conoid (KEEL 1995a:103 § 254) from Gaza which depicts a winged figure and a horned animal (Fig. 226).



Fig. 226

However, in this case the scenario is completely different. The winged figure is not fighting the horned animal but bringing it as sacrifice.⁶⁴⁶ In his hand he holds a plant with three branches. A twig is in front of the figure and behind it there is a "y" (ibid. 104 § 256).

While the three previous depictions considered the horned animal as either representing a life-threatening force or as sacrifice, the composite winged ibex-man on a 7th century Hebrew seal of *bqst bt 'bdyrh* "Baqqashat daughter of 'Ebedyerah" (Fig. 227) was classified by ORNAN (1993:58) as belonging to the



Fig. 227

apkallū, the seven mythological "sages" who protected against evil spirits (WIGGERMANN 1994:222,224,225).

A very worn cylinder seal (Fig. 228) made of lapis lazuli from Megiddo levels VIII-V (1450-1000) on the basis of material and style dated by LOUD (1948: comment to pl. 161:17) to level VIII (1450-1350), represents *en face* a winged figure in a kilt and with a

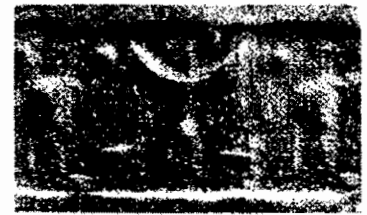


Fig. 228

lion's head depicted in profile facing to the left. Below the wings faintly visible linear cut arms seem to hold the horns of two flanking quadrupeds. Above the animal to the right of the winged figure is a small seated figure. Next to it is a second standing figure in a long dress holding an object in its left hand. Although the poor quality of the seal makes identification difficult, in some respects the winged figure recalls two Akkadian cylinder seals dated to the 23rd/22nd

⁶⁴⁶ For another depiction of an ibex as sacrifice cf. KEEL 1997:536,537, no. 19. For goats being sacrificed to demons cf. also footnote 741 on p. 356.

centuries (BOEHMER'S *Akkadisch II/III*), as well as the so-called Etana scene (WARD 1910:142-148; UNGER 1925:348,349; MEIER 1938:481,482).⁶⁴⁷

An anthropomorphic winged figure is depicted as "master/mistress of ibexes" (on the problem of the gender cf. KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:357) on a cylinder seal from Beth-Shean (Fig. 229 = fig. 300 on p. 355, 467 on p. 459, 546 on p. 545). It is



Fig. 229

attributed to level IV (end of 8th century, MAZAR 1993:222) which is dated to the 13th century by MATTHEWS (1990:110,112, no. 520), by PARKER (1949:28, no. 122) to 1200-800 and to the end of the 8th/beginning of the 7th century by UEHLINGER (KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:356-360).

Termed as a "strange seal" by PARKER (1949:42, no. 191) is a piece that comes from Gezer and was attributed by MACALISTER to his Hellenistic period (Fig. 230). In the middle is a doubled bird-



Fig. 230

headed winged figure⁶⁴⁸ wearing a long garment and holding in one hand a spear and in the

⁶⁴⁷ The first cylinder seal (Fn. fig. 25) is VA 611 from the Vorderasiatischen Museum in Berlin. Together with a cylinder seal from Ur (Fn. fig. 26) it shares with fig. 228, apart from the similar winged figure, linear cut arms (only the right arm is faintly visible in fig. 228, however PORADA [1949:36, no. 166] speaks of "arms") that grab flanking objects. In addition the winged figure in fig. 228 lifts its right leg as if to step on something, an action that is also dominant on the two Akkadian cylinder seals. The winged figure on the latter differs from the Megiddo one by not having a lion's head and by flanked subdued humans and not horned quadrupeds. There are also points of contact with the Etana scene. In fact GREEN (1986:169) classified VA 611 (= fn. fig. 25) as "Etana"-type based on the types of wings. This could be done with fig. 228 as well. Secondly the group that is witnessing the ascension of Etana (Fn. fig. 27) is dominated by shepherds with their flock and dogs "flanking" the soaring eagle. If there is any remote connection of fig. 228 with the Etana scene the flanking horned animals might be a reflection of the pastoral scene. However, it has to be kept in mind that based on a single example as fig. 228 the mentioned "points of contact" remain hypothetical.



Fn. fig. 25



Fn. fig. 26



Fn. fig. 27

other a scimitar. It is flanked by two horned quadrupeds. The centre scene is enclosed by two figures, one nude, the other wearing a garment, both raising one hand in adoration. The naked figure holds a scimitar in his hand.

Finally the royal Persian hero needs again to be mentioned. He is not only fighting lions⁶⁴⁹ (cf. fig. 75 on p. 203), "lion monsters" (griffins) (cf. figs. 189,190 on p. 294, fig. 218 on p. 300), sphinxes (cf. figs. 216,217 on p. 300), winged bulls (213 on p. 299) but also winged kicking⁶⁵⁰ demons as seen on an unstratified seal from Samaria (Fig. 231).



3.3.1.10. Winged theriomorphic figures (monsters, dragons)

The heading of this section is descriptive of a group of beings that are classified among *Mischwesen* to which the previous section can be added. In Mesopotamia from which the tradition of most of the following depictions derive, monsters/dragons were ambivalent. Due to the unpredictable nature of monsters/dragons they could be destructive when they challenged the established order, or protective when they acted as apotropaic guardians in behalf of the god to which they were assigned (WIGGERMANN 1994:222,226-228,231). The wings most probably indicate in the first instance that they are supernatural beings (ibid. 239-241).

A cylinder seal of light yellow paste (frit?) from Gezer (Fig. 232), dated to the 9th-7th centuries, shows two antithetically arranged human-headed winged birds with lion paws – a motif that was found at Assur, Nimrud, Tell Halaf, Aleppo (?), and Rhodes (REICH/BRANDL 1985:47, no. 3).



Fig. 232

⁶⁴⁸ For a similar bird-headed figure however without wings see CORNELIUS 1994: pl. 44:BM1. Among NOUGAYROL'S (1939:57, no. 118) cited parallels DELAPORTE 1910: pl. 31:459 is the closest but not convincing (for a similar head as in the latter reference cf. MATTHEWS 1990: nos. 597,601).

⁶⁴⁹ For a seal from the end of the 4th century from Dor with a winged hero in Greek garb mastering two lions cf. STERN 1995:476, fig. 10.1:3, 477 photo 10.3.

⁶⁵⁰ A feature that is typical for lions, and "lion monsters" struggling with the royal Persian hero (STERN 1994:139, figs. 2,3; cf. also above fig. 218 on p. 300). For a rectangular bronze stamp from Dor (end of the 4th century) with a hero in Greek garb mastering two kicking lions cf. STERN 1995:476, fig. 10.1:3, 477 photo 10.3.

A very stylised version of the same type (Fig. 233), probably also manufactured of frit, has been found at Lachish in tomb 106 which is dated to about 670–580 B.C.E. (with 4th century C.E. intrusions; TUFNELL 1953:179,187,366,373) and is also reported from Tell Judeideh (PARKER 1949:6, no. 4).⁶⁵¹

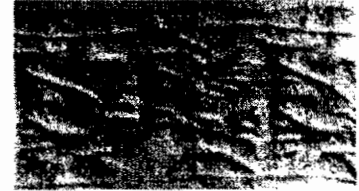


Fig. 233

A Neo-Babylonian cylinder seal made of lapis lazuli from Tell Jemmeh (Fig. 234) depicts on the left side the goat-fish⁶⁵² *suhurmāšu* (WIGGERMANN 1992:184), the attribute animal of Ea, on a stand together with the ram staff of the god of the fresh water ocean, wisdom, and arts



Fig. 234

(GREEN 1994:257; SEIDL 1989:178–181). The goat-fish, known as apotropaic figure (GREEN 1986:25), is separated by a lozenge and crescent from a scorpion-tailed bird man⁶⁵³ (TOSCANNE 1917; UNGER 1927:201; SEIDL 1989:169,170; GREEN 1994:255, § 3.15), a figure that has not yet been identified by name (WIGGERMANN 1992:144; *ibid.* 1994:243, no. 15).

Related to the Mesopotamian scorpion-tailed bird man is the being on a Hebrew seal belonging to a certain Himelek which introduces Phoenician features by wearing a horned sun disk and holding a flower in one hand



Fig. 235

(Fig. 235).

⁶⁵¹ Similar types were located at Carchemish (HOGARTH 1920:80, fig. 91), Tell Halaf (MOORTGAT 1940: pl. 84:718–719), Khorsabad (LOUD/ALTMAN 1938: pl. 58:94), Nimrud (PARKER 1955:104, no. ND.1686, pl. 15:4), Assur (MOORTGAT 1940: pl. 84:714–717), and Kish (BUCHANAN 1966:113, no. 623, pl. 41:623). Rendered to a geometrical design it is also found at Assur (MOORTGAT 1940: pl. 84:721).

⁶⁵² Mentioning the sea-related goat-fish in context of winged creatures, Near Eastern sea *Mischwesen* probably also inspired the Greek mythical winged sea-horse, the hippocamp, of which an example was found on a bulla from 4th century Wadi ed-Daliyeh (LEITH 1990:383–389, pl. 37:WD35) and a contemporary coin from Samaria (MESHORER/QEDAR 1991:58, no. 76).

⁶⁵³ The terminology for this *Mischwesen* is not uniform due to the fact that there exist two similar types of human-headed scorpion-tailed figure with the basic difference that one has only a human head (*geflügelter Menschenskorpion* [SEIDL 1989:169,170], *scorpion-tailed bird man* [WIGGERMANN 1994:243, no. 15; GREEN 1994:255, § 3.15]) while the other one's upper body is also human (Fn. fig. 28). The latter, identified as *girtab* ("scorpion") *tullû* ("man") is often found in connection with the sun god (*Skorpionmensch* [SEIDL 1989:170,171; *scorpion-man* [WIGGERMANN 1994:242, no. 4b; GREEN 1983:92,93; *ibid.* 1985; *ibid.* 1994:250, § 3.4]. UNGER (1927:201,202, § 20a-c) does not differentiate between the two in terminology but calls both *Skorpionmensch*.



Fn. fig. 28

On a clay sealing from Wadi ed-Daliyeh the scorpion-tailed bird man⁶⁵⁴ appears in Persian garb with the head of the loyal Persian hero (Fig. 236).



Fig. 236

The same being also appears once on the reverse of a 4th century coin from Samaria (MESHORER/QEDAR 1991:56, no. 63).

A cylinder from unknown provenance dated to the 9th-7th centuries (PARKER 1949:38, no. 172; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:331)

depicts the warrior god and monster slayer Ninurta fighting with a bow the Anzu-dragon (Fig. 237 = fig. 398 on p. 381, 538 on p. 539).



Fig. 237

The Anzu-dragon attested as lion-headed eagle on cylinder seals in the Uruk period (4th millennium) (GREEN 1994:254, § 3.14) was originally associated with his father Enlil, the god of the space between heaven and earth, and had apotropaic functions. From the time of Gudea (22nd century) onwards Anzu is listed among the adversaries of Ninurta (WIGGERMANN 1994:226,227; *ibid.* 1992:159-163) and was represented by a lion-griffin from the Akkadian period onwards (GREEN 1994:258, § 3.25).⁶⁵⁵

On an earlier-mentioned (cf. fig. 146 on p. 282) Hebrew name seal a winged human-headed bull appears as a pedestal for a winged deity (Fig. 238). The human-headed bull is known in Mesopotamian art since the Early Dynastic III (2600-2334) and had a prominent role as gateway guardian in the Neo-Assyrian period. The *aladlammû* as the Assyrians called this *Mischwesen* was subsequently taken over in the iconographic repertoire of the Neo-Babylonian period and Achaemenid times (*ibid.* 255, § 3.17).



Fig. 238

Finally, a winged boar protome from 4th century Wadi ed-Daliyeh (Fig. 239) is to be mentioned. This Greek mythological figure was



Fig. 239

⁶⁵⁴ Incorrectly designated by LERTH (1990:465) as scorpion men. Cf. previous footnote on terminology.

⁶⁵⁵ For more detailed iconography including bibliographic references cf. SEIDL 1989:181-187.

regarded as a destructive animal and like many composite beings in this section functioned as apotropaion (LEITH 1990:373). The winged boar protome is well attested on archaic Greek (late 6th/early 5th centuries) coins of Asia Minor, in particular also on the Phoenician green jasper scarabs, and enjoyed popularity as well in the Persian culture (ibid. 372–382).

3.3.2. Catalogue and analysis of possible relevant motifs

These introductory remarks to the catalogue can of course not analyse the complete survey because every section of the overview contains information which goes far beyond the scope of this study. Instead of attempting at this point to make a systematic analysis which would encompass not only iconographic motifs but also questions of style, chronology, geographical distribution, lines of influence, material, *Sitz im Leben*, etc., only a few general remarks will be made which will lead to the selection of possible relevant motifs.

Probably the most dominant aspect which wings bring across is that of protection. Thus deities such as Seth or Isis and Nephthys are depicted in a protective pose. Almost all depictions of sphinxes are connected in one or another way with the notion of protection, a function which is also shared by griffins. Winged uraei are associated solely with this aspect, but winged bulls, winged horses and winged genii are also depicted as guardians. Wings also indicate the association with the celestial realm of divine beings such as Baal, Bes, and the naked goddess. Along the same line wings often underline the divine, semi-divine or demonic nature of various beings. However, wings can also convey the aggressiveness and power of a bird of prey as it furiously attacks and destroys, an aspect associated especially with the griffin and which makes it also a symbol for the sphere of death. Less aggression but more supreme domination is associated with the winged sphinx when it serves as *Thronträger*. Life-threatening forces or such as threaten the harmony of the cosmic order are often represented as winged beings such as demons, monster-lions, bulls, griffins, and horned animals. Likewise

apotropaic monsters are often winged, such as human-headed winged birds with lion paws, the scorpion-tailed bird man, or the *aladlammû*.

In order to make a reasonable selection of motifs which are possibly related to the winged lion of Dan 7, it is best to work first on the basis of excluding motifs which are clearly not related to the vision. This is certainly the case with all representations which are associated with the notion of protection and of guardianship. Likewise the winged predator of Dan 7 does not indicate the celestial sphere. It represents rather the world below in contrast to the world above with the "Ancient of days" and the "son of man." This considerably reduces the number of possible motifs. The winged sphinxes which serve as *Thronträger* are associated with the kingship and domination, aspects which are certainly part of that for which the winged lion stands. Considering that the role of winged sphinxes is so subordinate in the world of winged beings and limited to a very specific function, which again is far removed from Dan 7, it is excluded from the catalogue.

In comparing the remaining objects with the winged lion of Dan 7, we should now also consider corresponding aspects. On a general note one can state that the winged lion in the context of the whole vision is a negative force. Its origin is the sea which brings forth powers and dominions, standing in contrast to the eternal kingdom to come from above. It is therefore ultimately destined to vanish. In this regard it is important to note that negative, demonic, and life-threatening iconographic themes are often associated with winged beings. On the other hand it has to be kept in mind that in ancient Near Eastern thought demons and monsters often had a positive or, more precisely, an apotropaic function. However, the winged predators of Dan 7 do not play such a role. This excludes such beings as human-headed winged birds with lion paws, the scorpion-tailed bird man, the *aladlammû*, or the winged boar protome from the list of motifs to be studied further. Much closer to the semantic domain of the Danielic lion are those depictions which expressively represent the struggle with life-threatening forces and those which attempt to usurp cosmic control and are related to the power of chaos. At this point

it might be in order to remind the reader that this study does not in the first instance try to find "literal" iconographic parallels but seeks to present the conceptual world and in the case of this section that of wings. The catalogue will not list only theriomorphic beings involved in the struggle with life-threatening forces and the control of the cosmic order but also anthropomorphic ones. Also included are representations of masters of winged animals and related motifs because they symbolise the overcoming of malevolent and "anti-divine" powers. One of the winged beings which belongs to this group is the griffin. While it has been pointed out that the griffin, in a manner similar to that of the sphinx, often plays a protective role, it can also take on an aggressive, destructive, life-threatening and cosmic order-disrupting role which makes this particular type of griffin a candidate for further study. The aggressive griffin is also the link to the only deity selected for the following catalogue. Generally gods and goddesses are winged either because they are associated with the celestial realm, provide protection, or should be recognised as divine beings. In the case of Baal-Seth there are good arguments to primarily consider his wings, which are that of a griffin, as symbol of his crushing force and only secondarily as indicator that he provides protection.

3.3.2.1. The winged Baal-Seth

3.3.2.1.1. Catalogue

199 OBJECT: Scarab; border chipped, top of base broken off; hollowed-out engraving with hatching; steatite; white with traces of green glaze; 22,7 x 15,6 x 9,5 mm.

DESCRIPTION: A striding figure with spread wings wearing an Egyptian white crown. The headgear is manufactured of reed indicated by fine vertical lines (CORNELIUS 1994:214, no. BM76), with a uraeus in front and a streamer at the back reaching to the knee and ending there in a flower. The short kilt has three tassels. The figure is piercing a horned serpent with a spear.

DATE: 1500-1150.

PROVENANCE: Tell el-Far'ah (South); tomb 902.

LITERATURE: COOK 1925:116 footnote 3; PETRIE 1930:7, pls. 12:171, 37:902; GALLING 1937:26; LEIBOVITCH 1953:107, fig. 11; CASSIRER 1959:6-7; GALLING 1977:11a; MATOUK 1977:268; WELTEN 1977:111; MÜLLER-KARPE 1982: pl. 113:9; SCHULMAN 1979:69; KEEL 1986:3,5, figs. 1+2; *ibid.* 1990b:310-311, fig. 85; CORNELIUS 1990:29,40, fig. 10; UEHLINGER 1990a:217-218, fig. 4; DĄBROWSKI 1992:36-38, fig. 2a; CORNELIUS 1994:214, no. BM76; pl. 50:BM76; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:87, fig. 87b. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 22 on p. 170, 378 on p. 429. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 20 on p. 154, 131 on p. 276, 491 on p. 487, 510 on p. 503, 521 on p. 521, 531 on p. 532.



200 OBJECT: Conoid; composite material; badly damaged; c. 15 x 13 mm.

DESCRIPTION: A winged figure standing on a lion. Both face to the right.

DATE: Late 13th-12th centuries.

PROVENANCE: Megiddo; destruction layer of stratum IVA; 11th century.

LITERATURE: SCHUMACHER 1908:86,89, fig. 124 top line, 2nd from right; CORNELIUS 1994:198, no. BM 48; pl. 49:BM48; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:131, fig. 134a. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 12 on p. 164, 128 on p. 244. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 25 on p. 155, 62 on p. 200.



201 OBJECT: Scarab; hollowed-out and linear engraving; steatite; light yellow; 15 x 11 x 7,1 mm.

DESCRIPTION: A winged, bearded figure, facing to the left, wearing a headgear with two horns and a long streamer, is standing on a lion.⁶⁵⁶ Between the legs of the weather god is a tassel hanging down from the dress. Below the left wing is a uraeus.

DATE: C. 1100.

PROVENANCE: Jericho; tomb 11, stratum B.

LITERATURE: GARSTANG 1933:36,37, fig. 11, pl. 11; ROWE 1936:173, pl. 18:722; LEIBOVITCH 1942:440,441, fig. 91; FULCO 1976:7; WEIPPERT/WEIPPERT 1976:133, fig. 80; EGGLER 1992:161,162,188,190,378,378, fig. 92; SHUVAL 1990:135, no. 25; KEEL 1990b:297; CORNELIUS 1994:198, no. BM49, pl. 49:BM49. *Photograph from Corpus File.* Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 13 on p. 164, 129 on p. 244. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 387 on p. 377.



202 OBJECT: Scarab; top right and lower part is broken off; schematic hollowed-out engraving; steatite; light yellow; 14 x 10,4 x 6,8 mm.

DESCRIPTION: Two figures are standing on an animal. The left winged figure is standing on a lion, the right figure is standing on a crouching horned animal.

DATE: 1130-945.

PROVENANCE: Lachish; surface find.

LITERATURE: ROWE 1936:138, pl. 15:575; KEEL 1980a:267, fig. 76; KEEL 1990a:196-197,



⁶⁵⁶ Following CORNELIUS 1994:199 with footnote 1 contra my earlier identification (EGGLER 1992:161,161,188,190, 378,379).

fig. 29; SHUVAL 1990:144, no. 47; DĄBROWSKI 1991:22–23, fig. 29; CORNELIUS 1994:201,202 no. BM58, pl. 49:BM58. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 15 on p. 165, 131 on p. 244.

- 203** OBJECT: Scarab; schematic hollowed-out engraving; steatite; 15,5 x 12,4 x 8,4 mm.
DESCRIPTION: As no. 202, except that the figure on the horned animal wears a long garment and the animal is standing.
DATE: 1130–945.

PROVENANCE: Tell el-Far'ah (South); tomb 224.

LITERATURE: PETRIE 1930:14, pl. 43:534; SHUVAL1990:144, no. 46; DĄBROWSKI 1992:38–39, fig. 2h; CORNELIUS 1994:202, no. BM59, pl. 49:BM59. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 17 on p. 165, 133 on p. 245. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 26 on p. 156, 132 on p. 278, 376 on p. 374, 532 on p. 532.



- 204** OBJECT: Scarab; heavily damaged on the border; schematic hollowed-out engraving; steatite; grey with white glaze; 17,2 x 11,1 x 12,2 mm.
DESCRIPTION: As no. 202, except that the horned animal is probably standing.
DATE: 1130–945.

PROVENANCE: Tell el-Far'ah (South); F. UL 376.

LITERATURE: Unpublished. Photograph from Corpus File no. 919. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 18 on p. 165, 134 on p. 245.



- 205** OBJECT: Seal impression; broken along the middle with missing part at the bottom; hollowed-out engraving; clay; 12 x 8 mm.

DESCRIPTION: As no. 202. The figure standing on the lion wears a conical headgear with a streamer. The horizontally outspread arms are probably wings.

DATE: 1050–1000.

PROVENANCE: Tell Keisan; level 9a, locus 635; inv. no. 6.377.

LITERATURE: KEEL 1990a:246–247, no. 31, pl. X; SHUVAL 1990:145, no. 48; CORNELIUS 1994:201, no. BM57, pl. 49:BM57. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 19 on p. 166, 135 on p. 245.



- 206** OBJECT: Scarab; border chipped, base partly broken off; linear and hollowed-out engraving with cross-hatching; steatite; grey-brown with white glaze; 14 x 10 x 7 mm.

DESCRIPTION: A winged figure wearing the Egyptian double crown is standing on a horse.

Two lines possibly indicate the reins. Behind the figure is an *wđjt*-eye.

DATE: Probably 728–525 (KEEL 1997:572, no. 119), but a date between 1650–1300 is also considered (cf. *ibid.* and CORNELIUS 1994:210, no. BM69 with footnote 1).

PROVENANCE: Acco; surface find.

LITERATURE: GIVEON/KERTESZ 1986:38,39, no. 142; SHUVAL 1990:136, no. 26; KEEL 1990b:307, fig. 81; CORNELIUS 1994:210, no. BM69, pl. 50:BM69; KEEL 1997:572,573, no. 119. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 133 on p. 278, 388 on p. 377.



3.3.2.1.2. Analysis

The winged Baal-Seth appears in four different motifs. The earliest and only depiction from the Late Bronze Age (1540/1450–1250/1150) depicts Baal-Seth as aggressive warrior who spears the chaotic horned serpent (199). The violent act depicted in vivid fashion underlines the Sethian association with the aggressive griffin whose wings he wears (cf. footnote 555 on

p. 276) and which is compared to a bird of prey that attacks its victim with furious speed and crushing force (cf. p. 277).

The next group is chronologically located in the outgoing Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age I (1250–1100) and comprises 200,201. The serpent is no longer the animal associated with Baal–Seth but rather the lion on which he stands. At first sight Baal–Seth seems now to be in a rather static and non-violent pose similar to fig. 130 on p. 275 where he is flanked by two protecting uraei, a pose which is possibly alluded to in 201 where the uraeus also appears. There is also a marked difference to fig. 130, namely, Baal–Seth is now standing on a lion and not just on a base line. The lion should not be regarded simply as an indifferent animal pedestal (cf. p. 247) but seen in the light of the mythological background where Baal overcomes Mot who is also symbolised by a lion (cf. p. 150). Thus the wings should be regarded not only as protecting elements but also as reminiscent of Baal–Seth's Late Bronze Age role as crushing force like that of a bird of prey.

This aspect is underlined by the third and largest group of winged Baal–Seth representations (202–205) which are typical Ramesside mass-products dated to 1130–945 (cf. footnote 423 on p. 159). The combination with Reshef standing on a horned animal creates a kind of “master of animals” constellation (cf. p. 247), which conveys power and control over all malevolent forces. The wings indicate once again not simply the aspect of passive protection which is of course not excluded, but also that of active control by virtue of the subduing might of Baal and Reshef over the evil forces symbolised by the lion and the horned animal.

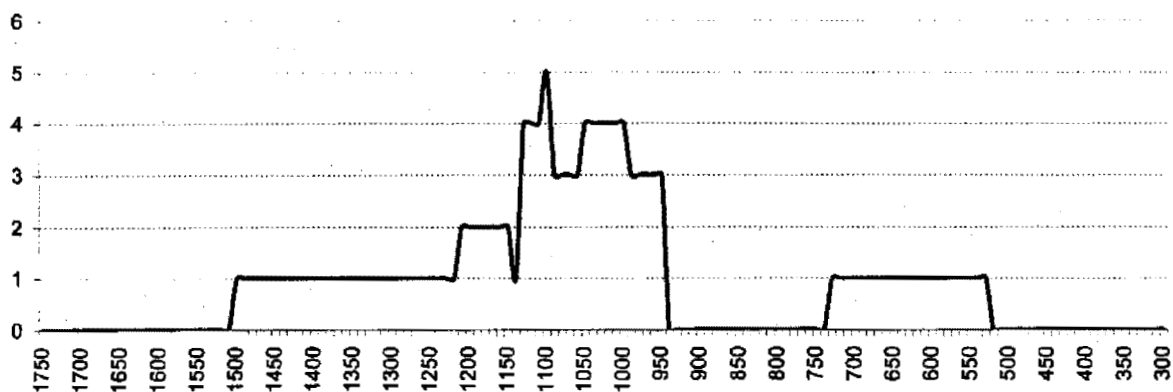
206 represents the last type of the winged Baal–Seth. Again the hybrid Canaanite–Egyptian god stands on an animal pedestal. As was the case with the lion, the horse as pedestal conveys its own message, namely, it associates Baal–Seth with the semantic domain of military action, since Seth appears in connection with battle horses and griffins pulling chariots (cf. p. 278). The aggressive aspect of the wings is in the foreground but it is again also coupled with a sign of protection, namely, the *wd³t*-eye.

What is common to the last three types is the desire not only to indicate that wings are protective but also to provide a rationale for this specific function. This is achieved by depicting Baal-Seth in a context of strength and domination with the alluded potential of aggression needed to secure protection.

3.3.2.1.3. Geographical and chronological distribution







Map 13: The winged Baal-Seth



Graph 13: The winged Baal-Seth


3.3.2.2. The aggressive griffin

3.3.2.2.1. Catalogue

- 207 **OBJECT:** Scarab; 2/5 is broken off; hollowed-out and linear engraving with hatching and cross-hatching; steatite; grey with white glaze; 21,1* x 19,2 x 9,8 mm.
DESCRIPTION: A fleeing horned animal is attacked by two quadrupeds of which only the head and forepaws are visible. The lower one has a typical griffin-like head. The top one might be a feline or canide. An unclear wing-shaped object is on the back of the horned animal.
DATE: 1750-1550.
PROVENANCE: Giv'at Sharett; building L.2.
LITERATURE: Unpublished. *Photograph from Corpus File no. 5.* Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 334 on p. 407.
- 
- 208 **OBJECT:** Scarab; boarder slightly chipped; hollowed-out engraving; amethyst; 23,3 x 17,6 x 12,1 mm.
DESCRIPTION: A rampant griffin with outstretched wings is above a crouching horned animal. In front is an unidentified object.
DATE: 1300-1150.
PROVENANCE: Tel Gerisa; area C, locus 310.
LITERATURE: *GIVEON 1988:70,71, no. 76.* Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 335 on p. 407. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 303 on p. 356.
- 
- 209 **OBJECT:** Bulla.
DESCRIPTION: A winged griffin attacks a stag from behind.
DATE: 4th century.
PROVENANCE: Wadi ed-Daliyeh; Cave of the Papyri.
LITERATURE: *MESHORER/QEDAR 1991:36; LEITH 1997: pl. 23:3.*
- 
- 210 **OBJECT:** Coin; obol; 0.74 g.
DESCRIPTION: A winged griffin attacks a stag from behind.
DATE: 4th century.
PROVENANCE: Samaria.
LITERATURE: *MESHORER/QEDAR 1991:55, no. 61, pl. 21:66.* Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 188 on p. 294.
- 

The following coins are the same objects as no. 210 and have the same description, date, and provenance:

211: 0.62 g; *ibid.* 55, no. 61; 212: 0.66 g; *ibid.*

- 213 **OBJECT:** Cylinder seal; green glass; 32 x 40 mm.
DESCRIPTION: Two rows of running animals. Top: a galloping griffin behind an animal that was designated by *PETRIE (1933:4)* and *NOUGAYROL (1939:17)* as a dog. Bottom row: a running ibex, lion/lioness with head turned back towards an attacking griffin. On the lower border line three twigs.
DATE: Iron Age I/II (c. 1200-600)
PROVENANCE: Tell el-'Ajjul; tomb 361.
LITERATURE: *PETRIE 1933: pl. 4:127; NOUGAYROL 1939:17,18, pl. 8:XXXVI; LEIBOVITCH 1944b:235, fig. 4.* Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 340 on p. 407. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 187 on p. 293, 304 on p. 356.
- 

- 214 OBJECT: Cylinder seal; "glass"; 22,5 (h) mm.

DESCRIPTION: A striding bearded figure wearing a round cap with a streamer and a long dress is raising both of his arms towards a griffin. Between them is a bovine animal.

DATE: 1391-1353.

PROVENANCE: Beth-Shean; level of Amenophis III, room 1068.

LITERATURE: ROWE 1940: pl. 38A:14; CORNELIUS 1994:220, no. BM87; pl. 51:BM87; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:88, fig. 90b. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 26 on p. 174. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 185 on p. 293, 340 on p. 365, 507 on p. 502, 530 on p. 532.



- 215 OBJECT: Scarab; part of the base broken off; hollowed-out engraving; amethyst; 19 x 12 x 9 mm.

DESCRIPTION: A griffin⁶⁵⁷ over a supine bovine. An unidentified object is in the damaged section.

DATE: 1400-1200.

PROVENANCE: Beth-Shean; stratum VII, locus 1068.

LITERATURE: ROWE 1940:83, pl. 36:20.



- 216 OBJECT: Cylinder seal; Neo-Assyrian linear style; olivine; 29 x 12 mm.

DESCRIPTION: A griffin is fighting with a hero who is stepping on a second griffin and has in one hand an unclear weapon (according to LAMON 1935: pl. 8:6 a "bolus of fat, pitch and hair"), in the other hand a stick-like object. Above it is an eight-pointed star and next to it the Pleiades. Between the two opponents a rhomb. Below between the griffins is a twig.

DATE: 8th century.

PROVENANCE: Megiddo; square P-5, locus 925.

LITERATURE: LAMON 1935: pl. 8:6; LAMON/SHIPTON 1939: pl. 66:11; ORNAN 1990:176, fig. 28; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:329, fig. 282c. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 184 on p. 292, 508 on p. 502, 533 on p. 534.



- 217 OBJECT: Seal impression; modelled hollowed-out engraving; clay; light brown to black; 11 x 9 x mm.

DESCRIPTION: Four impressions of a griffin attacking a fallen man (the left bottom impression is not considered).

DATE: J. M. ILFFE dated the naked youth to the 4th/3rd centuries (ROWE 1936:266, no. S. 112). Since the motif of an attacking griffin over a human is singular in Palestine/Israel as far as I can see it is difficult to date. It is reminiscent of the motif of the lion attacking a human (cf. p. 193) which terminates in the 10th century (cf. pp. 222-223). It might well be that the two motifs stem from seals of different periods, the older being an heirloom.

PROVENANCE: Samaria; surface find in area Q. g.

LITERATURE: ROWE 1936:266, no. S. 122; pl. 29:S. 122; CROWFOOT/ CROWFOOT/KENYON 1957: pl. 15:46.



- 218 OBJECT: Scaraboid; hollowed-out and linear engraving; limestone; red-brown; 17 x 14 x 9 mm.

DESCRIPTION: A figure with an Egyptian hairdo and wearing a short kilt is spearing a griffin. Both are standing on a ground line. Single-line border. Inscription reading: *lyqmyhw* "Belonging to Yeqamyahu".

DATE: 8th century.

PROVENANCE: Bought in Jerusalem.

LITERATURE: SASS 1993:227, no. 122; GUBEL 1993:107: fig. 12; AVIGAD/SASS 1997:110,111, no. 198. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 186 on p. 293.



⁶⁵⁷ The head is not clear, but the talons are clearly visible.

- 219 OBJECT: Seal impression; impression of string and papyrus on the back; court style (BOARDMAN 1970b:305–309); clay; pale brown; 14 (h) x 24 (w) mm.

DESCRIPTION: A figure wearing the Persian crown (kidaris) and the long-sleeved Persian robe (kandys) is holding with the extended left arm a winged lion by its throat. The rampant *Mischwesen* has talons and is standing on an unidentifiable object. Its forepaws are on the hero's chest and shoulder.

DATE: End of 6th/5th century.

PROVENANCE: Samaria; field Qf.

LITERATURE: CROWFOOT/CROWFOOT/KENYON 1957:88, pl. 15:42; KEEL/UEHLINGER

1995:433, fig. 360a. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 385 on p. 430. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 189 on p. 294, 401 on p. 381, 509 on p. 502, 534 on p. 534.



- 220 OBJECT: Bulla; string preserved, papyrus imprint; court style; clay; deep reddish brown; image size: 19 x 17 mm, bulla size: 19 x 17 mm.

DESCRIPTION: As no. 219, but the hero wears a beard and is holding in his lowered right hand a short sword (*akinakes*). The lion has a horn.

DATE: 4th century.

PROVENANCE: Wadi ed-Daliyeh; Cave of the Papyri.

LITERATURE: CROSS 1974a:28, pl. 62:c; LEITH 1990:398–410, pl. 39:WD 4 = *ibid.* 1997: pl. 18:WD 4. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 386 on p. 431.



- 221 OBJECT: Cylinder seal impression on a fragment of a tablet; court style; clay lightly baked; 20 (l) mm

DESCRIPTION: As no. 219, but with rope-pattern border line.

DATE: End of 6th/5th century.

PROVENANCE: Samaria; S8–S14 sub.

LITERATURE: REISNER 1924: I 378: no. IV:4, II pl. 57:h2. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 336 on p. 407, 387 on p. 431.



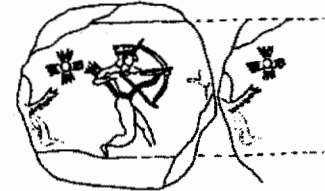
- 222 OBJECT: Seal impression; court style; clay; 25 (d) mm.

DESCRIPTION: A bowman wearing the Persian crown with a quiver on his back is aiming at a griffin. Behind him is a sun disk with bundled rays issuing in four directions.

DATE: End of 6th/5th century.

PROVENANCE: Shechem; field II, outside the ruined house.

LITERATURE: TOOMBS 1957:101, fig. 11; WRIGHT 1965:168, fig. 94; JAROS 1976:57, fig. 156; STERN 1982:197, fig. 317, cover; ORNAN 1990:176, fig. 31. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 190 on p. 294.



3.3.2.2.2. Analysis

The common feature of the earliest representations of an aggressive griffin from the Middle Bronze Age II B and Late Bronze Age (1760–1250/1150) is the victim, namely, the horned animal (207,208) which is also found on cylinder seal 213 among the animals fleeing from the galloping griffins. It is not clear whether the griffin on the two scarabs (207,208) is simply a symbol of power functioning as apotropaion or if the motif also has a royal connotation. At

least 208 is chronologically close to the Medinet Habu inscription of Ramses III (1198–1166)

which says about the pharaoh:

The great and victorious lord is the King of the Two Lands; the dread of him and the terror of him have cast down the Nine Bows, for he is like a lion, heavy of roar on the mountain tops – one fears from afar because of the awe of him; a griffon, wide of stride, possessor of wings, who sees iters of millions as a (mere) stride (EDGERTON/WILSON 1936:32).⁶⁵⁸

A second group, limited to the Late Bronze Age II (1400–1250/1150), depicts the bull as being attacked by the griffin (214,215). Significant is the context of 214 indicating that the griffin is in this case a malevolent force which threatens prosperity and life. The latter is symbolised by the bull (cf. p. 198) which is secured by Baal on the left of the scene.

After a considerable gap in time, the aggressive griffin appears again in the 8th century with a new opponent, namely, a human figure. In the pre-Achaemenid period the griffin appears twice as a malevolent being in a struggle with a human figure. Once it represents the power of chaos in combat with a divine hero in the celestial sphere (216), the other time it is the victim of a spear-wielding figure on a name seal (217). The third example (218) is virtually a copy of the typical Egyptian motif of the lion over a fallen human, representing the pharaoh's might over his enemies (cf. pp. 193,219–223), except that the lion is replaced by a griffin.

During the Persian period (539–333) the proper griffin (222) or Persian monster-lion-griffin (219–221) is on the one hand a threatening force which is overcome by the king, either in close combat (219–221) or from the distance as archer (222). On the other hand a millennium-old theme reappears when the griffin again attacks a horned animal (209–211).

In regard to the number of aggressive griffins in a positive role (207–213,218) and those of malevolent character (214–217,219–222), there is a balanced distribution. The percentages differ when we consider the iconographic background of the aggressive griffin. At

⁶⁵⁸ Cf. also footnotes 555 and 556 on pp. 276 and 278 as well as EDGERTON/WILSON 1936:29 (27,46), 78 (80,20).

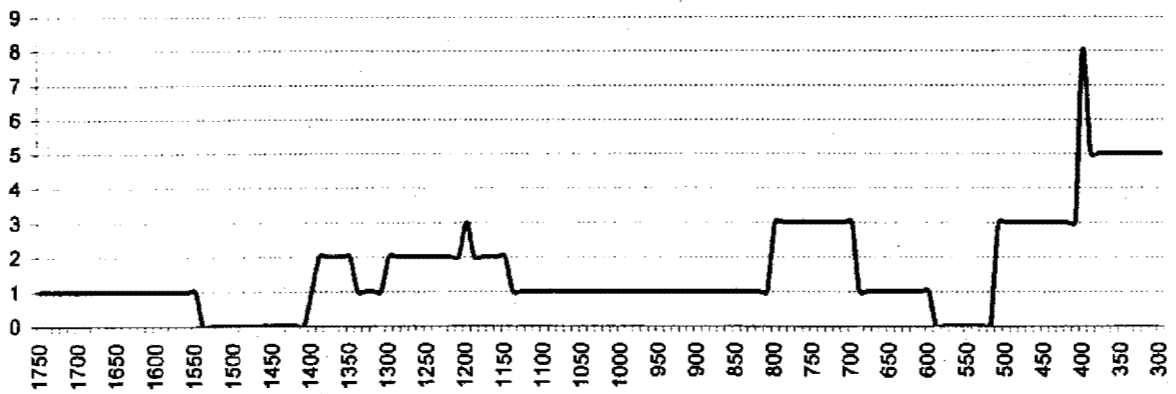
more than 80%, the Asiatic influence (208–216,219–222) is predominant when compared with an Egyptian or Egyptian-related (207,217,218) background.⁶⁵⁹

⁶⁵⁹ This classification is only a rough exercise which would have to be refined against a larger corpus. 207 is a typical MB II B styled Egyptian scarab. Asiatic influence on this Hyksos scarab cannot be excluded. Although 208 is also a scarab the rampant posture is usually associated with Asiatic griffins in this corpus (214–216,219–221). Difficult to judge are the 4th century pieces 209–212. MESHORER/QEDAR (1991:36) pointed out that the motif on the Samarian coins (210–212) is unusual and they referred only to the Wadi ed-Daliyeh bulla (209) as immediate analogy. An Egyptian influence is not very likely. Whether this motif is more related to Levantine or Mesopotamian traditions would have to be determined by a specific investigation which goes beyond the scope of this study. 213 and 214 are cylinder seals and also have themes that are Asiatic when Baal appears as hero or running griffins are pursuing fleeing animals (cf. p. 293). 215 follows the motif of 214 and 216 is a typical Neo-Assyrian representation. 217 is reminiscent of royal Egyptian iconography and the lad and 218 appears in Egyptian style. The remaining pieces are also of eastern origin (219–222).

3.3.2.2.3. Geographical and chronological distribution






Map 14: The aggressive griffin



Graph 14: The aggressive griffin

3.3.2.3. Winged bulls

3.3.2.3.1. Catalogue

- 223** OBJECT: Scaraboid; lower part of base broken off; court style; greenstone facies (KEEL 1995a:143,144 §§ 369–372; BAYNES–COPE/BIMSON 1987:106,107); 24,1 x 19,5 x 9,2 mm.
DESCRIPTION: A striding figure with a royal beard wearing the Persian crown (kidaris) and holding in one hand a short sword (*akinakes*) is holding with his extended other arm a rampant winged bull by its horn. The bull is turning its head back to the hero. Above is a crescent.
DATE: End of 6th/5th centuries.
PROVENANCE: Tell Keisan; surface find.
LITERATURE: KEEL 1990a:231, no. 21, pl. 8:21; KLINGBEIL 1992:133; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:433, fig. 360b. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 208 on p. 298.
- 
- 224** OBJECT: Bulla; string preserved, papyrus fragment attached to back, papyrus fibres on back and image surface, papyrus imprint; court style; clay; dark reddish brown; image size: 15 x 18* mm, bulla size: 19 x 20 mm.
DESCRIPTION: As no. 223, but the royal hero is wearing the kandys instead of a kilt and the winged bull's body is facing the hero.
DATE: 4th century.
PROVENANCE: Wadi ed-Daliyeh; Cave of the Papyri.
LITERATURE: LEITH 1990:411–415, pl. 39:WD8 = *ibid.* 1997:218,219, pl. 18:WD 8.
- 
- 225** OBJECT: Coin; obol; 0.76 g; axis: 06.
DESCRIPTION: The Persian king with kidaris and kandys fighting a rampant winged bull which is turning its head backwards and kicking with one leg. With one hand the king holds a horn of the winged bull, with the other a dagger. Inscription: שַׁמְרִין (*smryn*).
DATE: 4th century.
PROVENANCE: Samaria.
LITERATURE: MESHORER/QEDAR 1991:45, 71, no. SH2, no. 3, pls. 1:3, 15:2. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 209 on p. 298.
- 

The following coins are the same objects as no. 225 and have the same description, date, and provenance:

226: 0.77 g; axis: 06; *ibid.* 71, no. SH3, pl. 15:3; 227: 0.83 g; axis: 06; *ibid.* 71, no. SH4, pl. 15:4; 228: 0.75 g; axis: 06; *ibid.* 71, no. SH5, pl. 15:5; 229: 0.73 g; axis: 03; *ibid.* 71, no. SH6, pl. 15:6; 230: 0.54 g; axis: 11; *ibid.* 71, no. SH7, pl. 15:7; 231: 0.62 g; axis: 00; *ibid.* 71, no. SH8, pl. 15:8; 232: 0.76 g; axis: 07; *ibid.* 71, no. SH 9, pl. 16:9; 233: 0.64 g; axis: 00; *ibid.* 71, no. SH10, pl. 16:10; 234: 0.70 g; axis: 06; *ibid.* 71, no. SH11, pl. 16:11; 235: 0.67 g; axis: 06; *ibid.* 71, no. SH12, pl. 16:12; 236: 0.78 g; axis: 00; *ibid.* 71, no. SH13, pl. 11:13; 237: 0.69 g; axis: 10; *ibid.* 71, no. SH14, pl. 16:14; 238: 0.63 g; axis: 06; *ibid.* 71, no. SH15, pl. 16:15; 239: 0.65 g; axis: 00; *ibid.* 71, no. SH16, pl. 16:16; 240: 0.84 g; axis: 04; *ibid.* 71, no. SH17, pl. 17:16; 241: 0.67 g; axis: 06; *ibid.* 71, no. SH18, pl. 17:18; 242: 0.59 g; axis: 01; *ibid.* 71, no. SH19, pl. 17:19; 243: 0.66 g; axis: 00; *ibid.* 71, no. SH20, pl. 17:20; 244: 0.68 g; axis: 02; *ibid.* 71, no. SH21, pl. 17:21.

3.3.2.3.2. Analysis

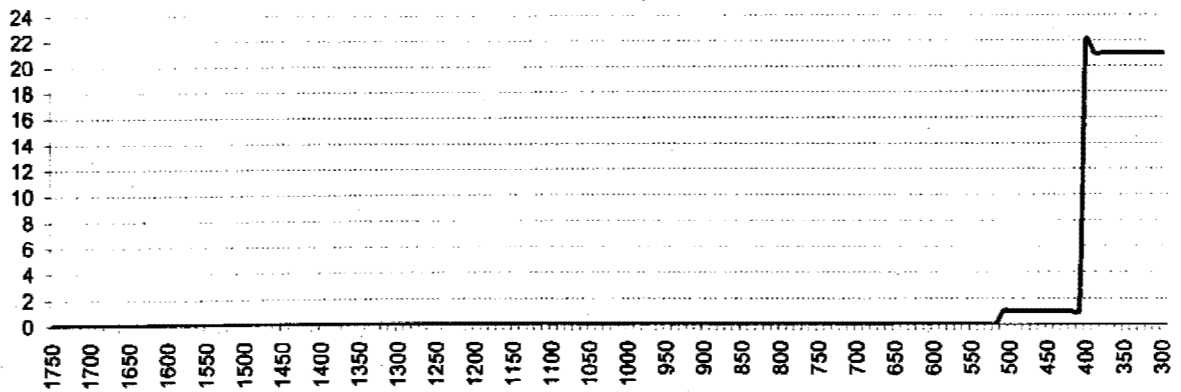
The single winged bull appears twice on a stamp seal (223,224) and twenty times on Samarian coins (225–244). The winged bull is always the opponent of the Persian royal hero and represents a negative force. It continues the trend typical of threatening winged animals in

eastern iconographic traditions which in this case reach back to Neo-Assyrian imagery as will be seen in the next section.

3.3.2.3.3. Geographical and chronological distribution








Map 15: Winged bulls



Graph 15: Winged bulls

3.3.2.4. Master of winged animals

3.3.2.4.1. Catalogue

- 245 **OBJECT:** Cylinder seal; granite; red; 26 x 13 mm.
DESCRIPTION: A striding bearded man in Assyrian dress is holding two flanking winged bulls by one of their forelegs. Two fire altars flank the hero and two fish are below the winged bulls. A tree forms a border.
DATE: 7th century.
PROVENANCE: Tel Dor; area B1,⁶⁶⁰ locus 2815.
LITERATURE: STERN 1987:69; COLLON 1987:84, fig. 392; ORNAN 1990:175, fig. 23; STERN 1992:68, fig. 86; *ibid.* 1994:139, fig. 1; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:329, fig. 283. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 212 on p. 299.
- 
- 246 **OBJECT:** Stamp seal; glass.
DESCRIPTION: A striding bearded figure wearing a long dress and a round cap is holding two rampant winged bulls which turn their heads backwards to the hero.
DATE: 7th–5th centuries.
PROVENANCE: Tel Dor; eastern units of area B1.
LITERATURE: STERN/GILBOA/SHARON 1992:38. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 213 on p. 299.
- 
- 247 **OBJECT:** Stamp seal; worn; faience.
DESCRIPTION: As no. 246.
DATE: 7th–5th centuries.
PROVENANCE: Tel Dor.
LITERATURE: STERN 1992:96, fig. 128.
- 
- 248 **OBJECT:** Stamp seal; hollowed-out engraving with hatching and cross-hatching; greenstone facies (cf. no. 223); 13 x 11 x 9 mm.
DESCRIPTION: As no. 246, except that the winged animals face the hero.
DATE: End of 6th/5th centuries
PROVENANCE: Samaria; area Zd.
LITERATURE: CROWFOOT/CROWFOOT/KENYON 1957: 87, pl. 15:22. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 214 on p. 299.
- 
- 249 **OBJECT:** Cylinder seal; late Babylonian/proto-Achaemenid style; light grey stone (calcite?) with flecks of white; 23 x 10 mm.
DESCRIPTION: A standing bearded figure with round cap and long dress is holding in his right hand a weapon. He is flanked by two rampant animals. Behind him is a winged lion, probably a griffin, in front is a bull.
DATE: 540–520.
PROVENANCE: Lachish; square M.xcii.
LITERATURE: HOLLAND 1982:557, fig. 226:7. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 215 on p. 299.
- 

⁶⁶⁰ STERN (1994:135,137, footnote 3) assigned it to area B1, COLLON (1987:85, no. 392) to area B2.

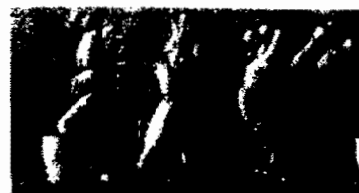
- 250 OBJECT: Cylinder seal; lower part partly damaged; court style; carnelian; 24 x 9 mm.

DESCRIPTION: The Persian hero wearing the kidaris (royal crown) and kandys (royal dress) is holding two flanking winged lions with talons.

DATE: 5th century.

PROVENANCE: Tell el-Her.

LITERATURE: OREN 1977:76; STERN 1982:196, fig. 316; COLLON 1987:91, fig. 423; OREN 1993:1394; STERN 1994a:139, fig. 2; LEITH 1997:211. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 218 on p. 300.



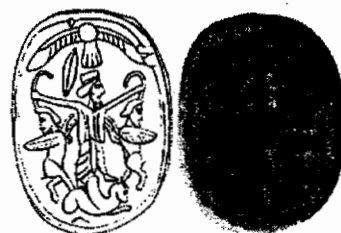
- 251 OBJECT: Scaraboid; hollowed-out and linear engraving with hatching; agate; 19,3 x 14,3 x 6,6 mm.

DESCRIPTION: The royal Persian hero wearing the kandys is standing on a winged animal, probably a winged sphinx. With extended arms he holds the oversized large horns of two rampant Persian royal sphinxes which turn their heads outward. They seem to have put their forepaws on the hero's shoulders. Above is a winged sun disk.

DATE: 5th/4th centuries.

PROVENANCE: Gezer; find context unknown.

LITERATURE: MACALISTER 1912: I 292, fig. 153; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:433, fig. 361a. Drawn by Ines Haselbach, BIF. Photograph from Corpus File. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 216 on p. 300.



- 252 OBJECT: Bulla (impression probably by a metal finger ring); string preserved; clay; image size: 8 x 15 mm.

DESCRIPTION: A bearded figure with short hair or a flat cap and wearing a short tunic is flanked by two seated Persian royal winged sphinxes. One arm of the hero is raised, the other lowered.

DATE: 4th century.

PROVENANCE: Wadi ed-Daliyeh; Cave of the Papyri.

LITERATURE: CROSS 1974: pl. 63:j; LEITH 1990: pl. 42:3A = *ibid.* 1997:220-224, pl. 19:WD 3A. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 217 on p. 300.



- 253 OBJECT: Scaraboid; part of border and base damaged; hollowed-out engraving; opaque white stone; 16 x 13 x 7 mm.

DESCRIPTION: A striding figure in a long garment is holding the horns of two flanking seated winged horned animals which turn their heads backwards to the hero. Above is a winged sun disk.

DATE: 5th/4th centuries.

PROVENANCE: Tell es-Şafi; old rubbish dump.

LITERATURE: BLISS 1899: pl. 6:9; BLISS/MACALISTER 1902: pl. 83:5s; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:433, fig. 361c. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 219 on p. 300.



3.3.2.4.2. Analysis

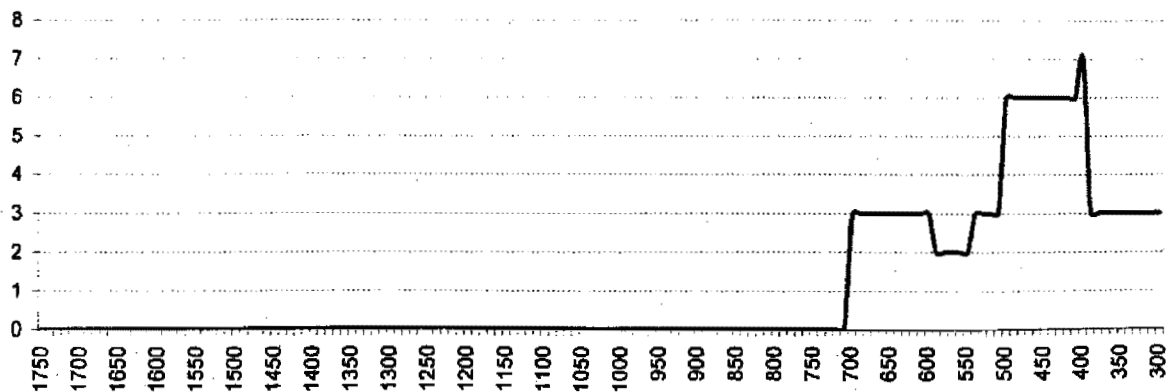
The previous section listed twenty-two references of a contest between the Persian king and a rampant winged bull. That this royal imagery derived from Neo-Assyrian iconography is evidenced by three "master of winged bulls" representations from that period stemming from Assyrian and Persian levels at Tel Dor (245-247). It is probable that the broken Phoenician stamp seal 248 from Samaria depicts the same motif. The interlocking piece between the

Assyrian and Persian period is the Late Babylonian/proto-Achaemenid cylinder seal **249**, which also depicts a rampant bull, this time without wings, and a lion-monster-griffin which is a typical opponent of the Persian royal hero as is underlined by **250**. In typical royal regalia the Persian king controls two lion-monster-griffins (cf. also cat. nos. 219-221 on pp. 319,319). **251** and **252** are variations of the same theme, namely, the sheer omnipotence of the Persian king who subdues a whole range of threatening beasts, in this case royal Persian sphinxes where **252** differs from the typical master-of-animals posture. **251** displays Phoenician influence as the winged sun disk indicates, the same is also visible on **253**. Although the master is in this case not specified as a Persian royal hero, the imagery of the winged horned animals is most probably influenced by eastern tradition. At least the wings are typical for threatening animals of Asiatic origin as has been seen in this section and above (cf. pp. 320,323). Also notable in this section is that apart from Assyrian and Persian tradition, Phoenician influence is discernible in this particular motif class.

3.3.2.4.3. Geographical and chronological distribution



Map 16: Master of winged animals



Graph 16: Master of winged animals

3.3.2.5. Winged demons, heroes, and dragons involved in the struggle with life-threatening forces and the control of the cosmic order

3.3.2.5.1. Catalogue

- 254 OBJECT: Cylinder seal; deep engraving, drilling; haematite; black; 18 x 8 mm.

DESCRIPTION: A standing figure to the left dressed in a short decorated kilt and with a long hairlock is holding with his right hand a roaring lion and in his left hand a galloping horned animal. On the right side of the scene is a winged demon having a tail and a beak⁶⁶¹ as well as wearing a horned headgear. He is about to grab a human figure which is sitting on the ground, raising its hand in a gesture of prayer. Behind the demon is a human head.

DATE: 1500–1100.

PROVENANCE: Tell el-‘Ajjul; E 829” above sea level.

LITERATURE: PETRIE 1934: pl. 12:1; ROWE 1936: pl. 27:S. 60; NOUGAYROL 1939: pl. 9:XC1 (TA. 18); PARKER 1949: pl. 2:13; PORADA 1948:183; DIGARD 1975: no. 1456; KEEL 1984a:336, fig. 485; CORNELIUS 1994:190, no. BM42, pl. 48:BM42; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:88: fig. 90a. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 27 on p. 174, 179 on p. 258, 351 on p. 412, 381 on p. 430. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 27 on p. 156, 80 on p. 204, 223 on p. 302, 311 on p. 358, 397 on p. 380.



- 255 OBJECT: Cylinder seal; probably stone; 32 (h) mm.

DESCRIPTION: A rampant horned animal is seized by a winged figure in a long dress, holding a scimitar. Below the horned animal is a rhomb, above it is a crescent, and behind an eight-pointed star above a stylised tree.

DATE: 9th/8th centuries.

PROVENANCE: Gezer; find context unknown.

LITERATURE: MACALISTER 1912: II 346, no. 33; *ibid.* III pl. 214:22; NOUGAYROL 1939: pl. 4:LXII; REICH/BRANDL 1985:46,47, fig. 6:2; ORNAN 1990:175, fig. 21;

KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:329, fig. 282a. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 285 on p. 389. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 224 on p. 302, 302 on p. 356, 514 on p. 505, 537 on p. 538.



- 256 OBJECT: Cylinder seal; blue.

DESCRIPTION: A kneeling crested demon-griffin wearing a long dress which exposes one leg is holding a crested griffin upside down by its hind legs. In front are a horned animal and another seated animal. The scene is flanked by two figures with long dresses raising one arm in devotion.

DATE: 9th/8th centuries.⁶⁶²

PROVENANCE: Gezer; tomb 153.

LITERATURE: MACALISTER 1904:336, fig. 5; *ibid.* 1912: I 359, fig. 186a, II 346,

no. 21; NOUGAYROL 1939:45, no. LXXXII, pl. 4:EG.28. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 225 on p. 303.



⁶⁶¹ Clearly visible on the photograph (CORNELIUS 1994: pl. 48:BM42).

⁶⁶² The date is difficult to determine just from the drawing. Although the scene is similar to a Middle Assyrian cylinder seal from the 12th–10th centuries (Fn. fig. 29), the griffin-demon of that period wears a short kilt, while the Gezer seal depicts it in a long dress as on 9th/8th century depictions (MOORTGAT 1940: pls. 71:600,72:606,607).



Fn. fig. 29

257 OBJECT: Cylinder seal; rough drill-hole cutting; crystal.

DESCRIPTION: A striding bowman in a long dress is aiming at a horned winged monster which turns its head backwards towards the attacker. In front of the monster is a star and a rhomb.

DATE: 9th century.

PROVENANCE: Unknown.

LITERATURE: PARKER 1949:38, no. 172, pl.25:172; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:333, fig. 284a. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 382 on p. 430. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 237 on p. 308, 398 on p. 381, 538 on p. 539.



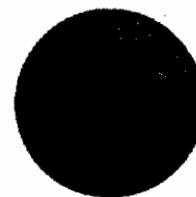
258 OBJECT: Ovoid; bottom section partly destroyed; stone; whitish but not transparent; 16,2 (d; bottom)/18 (d; top) x 15,1 (h) mm.

DESCRIPTION: A winged, tailed demon kicks with one leg the Persian king who is grabbing him by the throat.

DATE: End of 6th/5th centuries.

PROVENANCE: Samaria, surface find.

LITERATURE: Unpublished. Photograph from Corpus File no. 80. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 231 on p. 306.



3.3.2.5.2. Analysis

Two depictions in this section indicate a close link to the personal life of the owner of the seal, while two other representations play in the divine realm, thus mirroring the reality of life-threatening forces on the personal level as well as in the divine sphere. A third is connected with royal heroic iconography.

254 and 256 depict human beings in the design. On the former, Baal rescues a human from an attacking winged demon. In this case the winged being is malevolent. Benevolent is the winged demon on 256 where it subdues a griffin. That this scene is not transpiring on a celestial plane is indicated by the human figures adoring the victorious demon-griffin and the animals to the left of the slain griffin. In the light of the Middle Assyrian cylinder seal in footnote 662, the animals are possibly the reason why the demon-griffin had to intervene, because they had been attacked by the slain griffin. Thus 254 as well as 256 revolve around the theme of protecting life, be it personal life or the life-sustaining forces in the wider sphere.

255 and 256 are clearly of a different character. There is no rescue or adoration scene as expression of gratitude for the delivery from a life-threatening force but a simple struggle between a hero and a demonic force. Not only the Anzu-dragon (cf. p. 308) but also the horned

animal (cf. footnote 645 on p. 303) are symbols of chaos which threaten cosmic order and demand the intervention of a higher authority. Astral elements indicate the sphere where this battle takes place. Again the malevolent as well as the benevolent powers are equipped with wings. It therefore suggests that the wings indicate on the one hand the divine and celestial nature of the hero and serve on the other hand as characterisation of the demonic nature of the evil opponent.

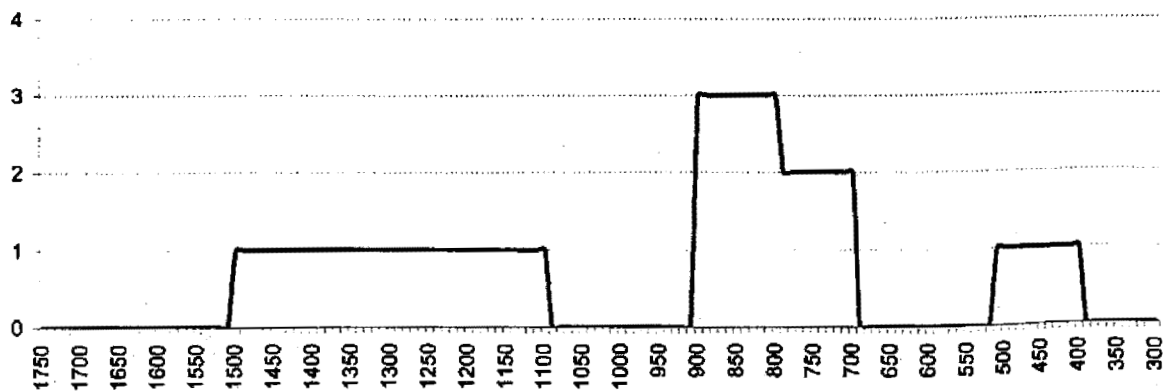
258 is again a variant of the theme which depicts the Persian king as struggling with various enemies. In this case the Persian king displays his superiority over demons which is reminiscent of 254 where Baal is repulsing a winged demon.

Finally it should be noted that all five depictions are of eastern origin, underlining again the trend observed above that winged beings involved in the violent struggle with life-threatening forces and the sustaining of cosmic order are of Asiatic origin. Except for 254 all objects of this section belong to the Neo-Assyrian or Persian period.

3.3.2.5.3. Geographical and chronological distribution



Map 17: Winged demons, heros, and dragons involved in the struggle with life-threatening forces and the control of the cosmic order



Graph 17: Winged demons, heros, and dragons involved in the struggle with life-threatening forces and the control of the cosmic order

3.3.3. Iconographic summary of the catalogue

This concluding section will take two avenues in summarising the results on the motifs of the wing based on the depictions listed in the catalogue. First, the function of the wing in the light of its iconographic context will be considered; second, the conceptual world associated with the winged beings will be sketched. Lastly the origin of the imagery will be assessed.

When we focus on the wings and their immediate functions, we are able to record that they can be associated with the fierce attack of a bird of prey as is reflected in the aggressive griffin when it attacks animals or humans (207-215,217). When the winged Baal-Seth in a violent attack spears the horned serpent (199), it is also relevant to interpret the wings in this light. An undertone of this aspect is most likely present when the winged Baal-Seth is presented as standing on the vanquished lion (200-205) or the horse (206) in order to indicate his prowess and protective abilities. The wings are also used to indicate that the struggle with the malevolent power takes place on a plane higher than the earthly one. This is indicated when the iconographic context presents a celestial sphere (216,255,257) or when the Persian king is struggling, once with a real lion (fig. 75 on p. 203) and once with the winged monster-lion-griffin (219-222, cf. also 249,250), thereby conveying the king's domination of the earthly sphere as well as the demonic. The same function is inherent to 223-248 where the opponent is the winged bull and 251,252 where it is the royal sphinx. When an undefined hero struggles with winged horned animals, the wings underline that this contest takes place in a higher sphere, namely, that about the control of the cosmic order (253). This point is brought across very well by the combat between Ninurta and the Anzu-dragon (257). The indication of the celestial sphere by wings often goes hand-in-hand with the classifying of the winged being as a divine (255) or semi-divine (256) figure. Of course the wings can stress the evil and dangerous character of the opponent (218) or bring across the demonic nature of the malignant force (254,258).

The conceptual worlds in which the various winged beings appear include the royal or heroic demonstration of superior might over supernatural forces (219–252,258). It can also be a simple display of power and strength to underline the ability to provide comprehensive protection (200–206,217). Dominant is the theme of battling the chaos forces to render secure the threatened cosmic order (199,207,208,213?,216,253,255,257). A number of times winged beings attack life or the life-sustaining forces (214,215?,254,255). Once the winged being seems simply to indicate the subjugation of a malevolent force (218).

It is interesting to note what kind of iconographic influences are reflected in the imagery of the catalogued winged beings. 82% are Asiatic motifs such as Syro-Canaanite, Assyrian, Late Babylonian/proto-Achaemenid, and Persian. 78% of the Asiatic motifs comprise the period from the 8th–4th century. The majority of the remaining 22% Asiatic motifs stem from the 12th–9th centuries. Egyptian influence is discernable in 14% of designs although in most cases it is coupled with a Syro-Canaanite component. Phoenician influence, often linked with Persian traditions, indicate 4% of designs.

3.4. The horns

The iconographic background of the fourth beast with respect to its horns enjoyed considerable interest especially in recent scholarship (cf. pp. 68–74). Most of these approaches started from an *a priori* historical identification of the fourth beast and its horns and then attempted to find in this historical framework corresponding imagery. Thus these iconographic studies did not try to pinpoint the power behind the fourth beast on the basis of their findings, they only tried to confirm and broaden the *a-priori*-made identification of the fourth beast and its horns. Methodologically this is a very narrow approach with some clearly stated parameters which leave little room for consideration of the wider picture and the rich background of the horn-motif (cf. e.g. SÜRING 1980).

In contrast with these studies, the present study seeks to follow a more comprehensive approach with as few restricting parameters as necessary. It does not try to work on the basis of an *a priori* historical identification; rather, it wants the iconographic evidence to tell its own story before making connections to the biblical text. Of course even this study needs to make limitations. The guiding criteria grow out of the research history of the last hundred years. One of these is that it is generally acknowledged that the imagery of the vision of Dan 7 is very old. The most popular position to date takes as the starting point the mythological texts from Ugarit while others consider Old Testament tradition the closest link to the vision of Dan 7. Greek influence on the other hand occupies only a marginal role in scholarship (cf. pp. 28,29,102). It would therefore be a blatant disregard of a hundred years scholarship to limit the study of the horns to the Greek period. While iconographic studies concede that the horn-motif goes back to ancient times and is widespread in the ancient Near East, no attempt has been made to incorporate this rich history in recent studies. This neglect should be compensated for by this study, at least to some degree. Based on the research history which general seeks the antecedents of the vision of Dan 7 in the Levant and Palestine/Israel in particular, this study of

horns will be limited to latter region. The chronological period that will be covered ranges from the 18th down to the 4th century but also traces briefly the earlier history.

In line with the other sections of this iconographic study the theme of the horns of the fourth beast will not be approached in a slavishly "literal" iconographic manner. Such a methodology would in any case not be possible because the vision does not attempt to make a zoological identification of the fourth beast. Again the theme of the horn as such will be studied. This will be done along the lines of the canon of ancient Near Eastern iconography which in general did not depict horns singly and in isolation but connected to a being or object. Thus what will be studied in the following section are horned beings of a theriomorphic and anthropomorphic nature in order to derive a semantic field of the horn which is as comprehensive as possible. Since קרן ("horn") can connote bovine as well as non-bovine horns (ram: Gen 22:13; Jos 6:5; Eze 34:21; Dan 8:3-9,20,21; bull: Deu 33:17; Psa 69:31; wild ox: Deu 33:17; Psa 22:21, 92:10; cf. also SÜRING 1980:38-116; KEDAR-KOPFSTEIN 1993) both types of horns have been included but are dealt with separately. Deities are frequently referred to when discussing the horns of the fourth beast. It is worthy of note that the influence of the horned beast is not limited to the political sphere alone (Dan 7:23) but that the 11th horn of the fourth beast is also characterised as a power (Dan 7:21,25a,b) which usurps even divine prerogatives (Dan 7:25c). For this reason it is imperative to take a look at horned deities and such associated with horned animals. Lastly, the fourth beast is depicted as a monstrous being which necessitates the investigation of horned dragons, monsters, and demons in order to arrive at a comprehensive picture of the meaning of the horn based on iconographic material.

One last remark must be made in regard to terminology: the term "horned animal" is used throughout the following study for "non-bovine horned animals". Thus, although the term "horned animal" technically includes bovine animals it is for ease of reference used only for "non-bovine horned animals".

3.4.1. Survey of motifs involving horns

3.4.1.1. None-bovine horns/horned animals (*Cervidae*, *Antilopinae*, *Caprinae*)

3.4.1.1.1. Horns and solitary horned animals

The horn as religious and cultic symbol can be traced back in Palestine to the Chalcolithic period,⁶⁶³ in particular to the Ghassulian phase (4th millennium) (ELLIOTT 1977:6-9). The most interesting finds in this regard are ritual copper objects from the end of the 4th millennium found in the so-called Cave of the Treasure at Naḥal Mishmar, which is located a few kilometres north of Masada. First to be noted is a macehead with two ibex protomes that are joined into one body (Fig. 240).



Fig. 240

As such this representation of ibexes, although a ritual object, is not yet particularly enlightening in regard to the importance of the horns, except that the emphasis is placed on the forepart of the animal, i.e., its head and horns. Other objects from Naḥal Mishmar indicate that the horn was indeed the feature of primary importance, not the body of the animal. This aspect is very well conveyed by the standard depicted in fig. 241 which supports five heads with grooved and twisted horns. Thus the object is not only reduced to its cultic functional feature, but in this case even multiplied to enhance its impact.



Fig. 241

But the abstraction from the protome of ibexes to heads of horned animals does not end here. Figs. 242, 243, also a ritual copper object, show a kind of "gateway" which is surmounted by plain ibex horns. A similar representation of



Fig. 242



Fig. 243

horns is also found on an ossuary from Bene-Berak, close to Azor (ELLIOTT 1977:8, fig. 4:1).

⁶⁶³ For an ibex and several detached horns, some of the modelled as miniature objects, from a shrine at pre-pottery Neolithic Beidha in Jordan cf. KIRKBRIDE 1966:26,27, fig. 2.

Thus, the most impressive part of an ibex was obviously the horn as is also clearly indicated by a wand from Nahal Mishmar which has an ibex head attached; however, the head is reduced to almost nothing and the horns are excessively enlarged (Fig. 244).⁶⁶⁴



Fig. 244

A particularly interesting impression in regard to the horns is the (probably) wooden square stamp seal that was found at Tell el-Far'ah (North), dated to the beginning of the 3rd millennium (BEN-TOR 1978:92, no. S 3). The body of the animal is secondary. What really mattered were obviously the huge horns (Fig. 245).⁶⁶⁵



Fig. 245

ELLIOTT interpreted the horns in the light of other fertility objects from the same period (e.g., figurines of naked goddesses, phalli) as the "regenerative properties" (1977:7) of the deity they represent. Similarly KEEL stated: "Sie repräsentieren Kraft und Potenz und sind wohl als Symbole der Virilität zu deuten" (KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:21). In the case of fig. 241 with its multiply heads, ELLIOTT also considered a protective aspect since the fourfold positioning of the ibex horns might "connote their power of watching over the four corners of the world" (1977:9). Indeed, the horned animal's function is not restricted solely to the realm of fertility but can also be connected with the concept of might and power. This perspective came into view again during the MB II B (1760-1540/1450) period (cf. p. 343) and at the beginning of the first millennium (cf. p. 359).

The ibex as religious symbol was not restricted in the 4th millennium to cultic objects. It was also favoured as a kind of talisman by the everyday person, an idea suggested by a dotted impression on sherds from Ghassul (Fig. 246) which shows a horned animal without any fertility enhancing



Fig. 246

⁶⁶⁴ Only a ram's head is depicted on a conoid from Tell Jemmeh (PETRIE 1928: pl. 20:5) and on an unpublished scaraboid from Samaria (Corpus File no. 77).

⁶⁶⁵ For a similar depiction from Gezer with normal-sized horns dated to the end of EB I/beginning of EB II cf. MACALISTER 1912: III pl. 214,27; BEN-TOR 1978: fig. 9:58. For Asiatic parallels cf. KEEL-LEU 1989:28, no. 35.

object.⁶⁶⁶ After the solitary ibex motif almost disappeared on stamp-seal amulets for two millennia,⁶⁶⁷ it experienced a significant revival in the Iron Age.⁶⁶⁸

Also belonging to the Iron Age is a tiny crouching bronze ibex (Fig. 247) from Megiddo that was found at level VI (1150–1100) protected by a few sherds. Notable is that the figurine was wrapped with other precious belongings in a woman's cloth bag (YADIN 1975:23).



Fig. 247

The popularity of the solitary horned animal in the Iron Age is also underlined with the appearance of ibex scaraboids between 1200–700 (KEEL 1995a:67 § 147). To the end of this period belongs fig. 248 from Tell el-Far'ah (South).⁶⁶⁹



Fig. 248

⁶⁶⁶ Additional early representations of horned quadrupeds are drawings of two horned animals (FITZGERALD 1931: pl. 35) on Early Bronze Age (3rd millennium) pottery from a sounding-trench at Beth-Shean, an oval stamp seal from the same location (ibid. pl. 28:2), seal impressions from Jericho (EB II, 3000–2700; BEN-TOR 1985:11, fig. 21,22; HOLLAND 1982:558, fig. 226:6) as well as a wooden seal from city I (EB III, 2700–2200; BEN-TOR 1978:44, no. IIA-6) at Tell el-Hesi depicting two horned quadrupeds with two circles (NOUGAYROL 1939: pl. 11:XXIII-BEN-TOR 1978: fig. 6:40).

⁶⁶⁷ Late Bronze Age examples are: a rectangular plaque from Tell el-Ajjul (PETRIE 1932: pl. 7:15) dated to the 14th century and another one from Acco (GIVEON/KERTESZ 1986:40,41, no. 154), an 18th dynasty (1539–1292) scarab from Tell Jemmeh (PETRIE 1928: pl. 19:21; crouching), as well as a human face scaraboid from Tell Abu Hawam (1400–1150) (KEEL 1997:8,9, no. 15), and a seal impression on a jar handle from Hazor (YADIN 1960: pl. 127:31) dated to 1400–1200. On cylinder seals the solitary horned animal is however well attested in the Middle Bronze age and in particular in the Late Bronze Age (PARKER 1949: nos. 40,42,44,53,54,71,73,76,85,89,98,110,127, NOUGAYROL 1939: pl. 3:EG.18; MAZAR 1978:9, fig. 9; YADIN 1961: pl. 321:2,7; LOUD 1948:161:13; WRIGHT 1965: fig. 54; an unpublished cylinder seal from Taanach, find context: SW 5–2, locus 118, basket 232).

⁶⁶⁸ Among the Iron Age examples the first group listed below is very close to fig. 250 on p. 341 as the horns are very long and parallel to the animal's back though not as many MB II B ibexes that have curved and comparatively much smaller horns (this feature was also noticed by UEHLINGER [KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:306] and KEEL [1997:666, no. 66]. Might it be that this indicates the renewed emphasis of an autochthone tradition? See in this regard also the remark by WARD [1997:677] that the ibex is another possible motif of local production). An additional feature of this type is that the legs are often arranged as two upside-down "V's", while other Iron Age types arrange them as four parallel strokes. The parallels for this first group are the following: DOTAN 1971: figs. 44:19, 89:5 (both pieces have a non-fertility related Egyptian element below the ibex, i.e., the first a cartouche, the second a nb-sign; cf. also below p. 359); TUFNELL 1953: pl. 44:89,114; PETRIE 1930: pl. 43:515; GRANT 1934: fig. 3:8; ROWE 1936: no. SO. 20; REISNER 1924: II pl. 56:e1; MACALISTER 1912: II 295, fig. 437:12; McCOWN 1947:150, fig. 34:4; KEEL 1997:58,59: no. 11; an unpublished scaraboid from Beth-Shean (Corpus File no. 121); an unpublished scarab from Taanach (Corpus File no. 15, crouching). The remaining examples of lone horned animals show different or mixed styles: MACALISTER 1912 III pls. 200:8,25, 214:30; TUFNELL 1953: pls. 44:147, 45:133,146,147,148 (?),149; SELLIN/WATZINGER 1913: 157 no. 42 e; LAMON/SHIPTON 1939: pl. 69:34; LOUD 1948: pls. 151:115 (Ramesside mass-product), 153:234, 163:17; JAMES 1966: fig. 107:3; STERN 1978:21, fig. 11; McCOWN 1947: pl. 55:64; KEEL 1997:580,581, no. 140; ZORI 1962:159, fig. 2 (Corpus File: Kefar Ruppin no. 8); PETRIE 1928: pls. 17:47 (with two additional objects), 20:18; an unpublished scarab from Lachish (Corpus File no. 748); an unpublished scaraboid from Shamir (Corpus File no. 3); KEEL 1997:664,665, no. 6, 696,697, no. 21. In addition the following name seal depict a lone horned animal: AUFRECHT/SHURY 1997:65–68, fig. 7; AVIGAD/SASS 1997: nos. 196,227,353 (all striding),78 (leaping),95 (+ rosette or star; crouching),180,279 (rampant); SASS 1993:223, fig. 117 (rampant, doubled).

Picking up the lead again in the Early Bronze Age, we note that the religious significance of horned animals referred to had its roots in the experience of the everyday struggle for subsistence which occupied the largest part of daily activities (cf. also STAUBLI 1991:142–235). The central role which the horned animal played in this regard is expressed by EB I (3300–3000) representations of pastoral scenes from Tel Kitan in the Jordan Valley



Fig. 249

(Fig. 249) and from 'En Besor in the northern Negev (KEEL 1995c:95, fig. 5).⁶⁷⁰

It is therefore no surprise that as early as the end of the 4th millennium the horned animal appears together with a twig as a gable stamp seal which indicates that it was imported from Syria (ibid. 91,92) and found at Tel Kishion at the Tabor dry river, 2.5 km south of Mt. Tabor (Fig. 250).



Fig. 250

The twig, indicating fertility (cf. p. 148), is clearly executed in front and above a striding ibex on an MB II B (1760–1540/1450)⁶⁷¹ scarab from Gaza (Fig. 251), dated to 1650–1522. This motif enjoyed great popularity down



Fig. 251

to the end of the 8th century with exception of the Late Bronze Age.⁶⁷²

⁶⁶⁹ Parallels: McCOWN 1947: pl. 54:34; TUFNELL 1953: pl. 45:133.

⁶⁷⁰ Pastoral scenes are very rare. A parallel on a faience scaraboid from Megiddo (LAMON/SHIPTON 1939: pl. 69:70) depicts the shepherd behind the horned animal with a weapon to protect it (for this feature cf. KEEL 1995c:95,96, figs. 5,6).

⁶⁷¹ For striding ibexes from the MB II A (2000–1750) at Byblos cf. KEEL 1995a, figs. 8,327.

⁶⁷² Parallels: striding animals with a vegetable object are: *MB II B (1760–1540/1450)*: TUFNELL 1984: pl. 36:2478,2479,2486 (twig between the legs),2488,2489,2498; KEEL 1997:544,545, no. 41; SELLIN/WATZINGER 1913:156, pl. 42:d; OREN 1973: fig. 51:3 GRANT 1934:43, fig. 3:14 (although it could also be an MB II B imitation from 1300–1150 according to a note in the BIF file); DE VAUX/STEVE 1949:131, pl. 46:2 (+ — hieroglyph [D36]; HORN 1966: fig. 1:51 (+ — hieroglyph); maybe a second one (without the hieroglyph) could be added from the same place, although the stratigraphic context is from MB II–Iron Age I (ibid. 1973: fig. 1:60); two unpublished scarabs from Beth–Shean (Corpus File nos. 163,180). Lastly to mention is a scarab from Tell el–Far'ah (South) (PETRIE 1931: pl. 22:232 = fn. fig. 30). The twig above the animal's back appears in the same fashion also on an already–mentioned scarab from Jericho (TUFNELL 1984: pl. 36:2479). There are a number of pieces that render the twig very abstract by reducing the hatching to just two lines or one line in the middle or even leave it out completely. The following relate to the MB II B period: ibid. 1984: pl. 36:2483,2484 (both two lines); ibid. 1965: fig. 292:21; ROWE 1936: no. 312 (both no lines); PETRIE 1931: pl. 13:19 (no line); ibid. 1934: pls. 5:52, 9:344, 12:127 (all one line). For the transitional *MB II B–LB II A* period (13th–18th dynasties = 1759–1292) a striding animal of the type of fig. 250 is reported from Lachish: TUFNELL 1958: pl. 35:224. *LB II B–IA II A* (1292–900): TUFNELL 1953: pl. 43:50. *LB IIB–IA*: KEEL 1997:728,729, no. 109. *IA I* (1200–1000): CHAMBON 1984: pl. 80:5; LAMON/SHIPTON 1939: pl. 69:90; LOUD 1948: pl. 163:25; TUFNELL 1953: pl. 44:96; ROWE 1940: pl. 39:14 (however the twig could also be a scorpion; cf. footnote 707 and compare with LOUD 1948: pl. 163:20). *IA I/II* (the total range covered by the



Fn. fig. 30

Likewise related to the realm of fertility are cultic zoomorphic vessels such as an MB II B (1760–1540/1450)⁶⁷³ jug from Megiddo with an ibex-shaped spout (Fig. 252). But its lack of an iconographic context calls for only a general statement in regard to the function of the ibex on such objects.

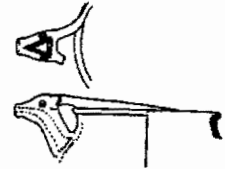


Fig. 252

However, as soon as the relation to other objects can be established the functional statement can be refined. Even if it is just the addition of a uraeus as in the case of fig. 253 – an MB II B (1760–1540/1450) scarab from Tell



Fig. 253

el-^cAjjul – where it is merged with the tail of the animal. Since the uraeus had an apotropaic function (cf. p. 295) it indicates in this motif the protection of the life-giving forces represented by the horned animal.⁶⁷⁴ In the same way as desert animals which are able to survive under harsh conditions, horned quadrupeds not only evoked the “image” of overcoming death, thereby functioning as symbol for the afterlife and regeneration (HORNUNG/STAEHELIN 1976:138,164), but also implied the necessity of a protective force to guarantee that the once-experienced blessings would be present in the future as well.

following group is from 1200–700): MACKENZIE 1912–1913: pl. 29:A1,B2; GIVEON/KERTESZ 1986:42,43, no. 162; ROWE 1936: no. SO.21, SO. 31, SO. 34; KARON 1985: no. 19; TUFNELL 1953: pls. 43:52,53, 44:88,90,92, 45:142; ROWE 1940: pl. 36:4; PETRIE 1934: pl. 9:348; STARKEY/HARDING 1932: pl. 73:35; an unpublished ivory rectangular plaque from Dothan (Corpus File no. 2); SCHUMACHER 1908:139, fig. 208c; an unpublished (?) conoid from Megiddo (Corpus File no. 36) as well as an unpublished ovoid from Bethel (Corpus File no. 22). *10th century*: LOUD 1948: pl. 163:20; LAMON/SHIPTON 1939: pl. 67:4. *10th/9th centuries*: KEEL 1990a: 217,218, no. 15. *10th–8th centuries*: *ibid.* 1997:32,33, no. 32, 638,639, no. 4. *9th century*: KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:169 = CAHILL/LIPTON/TARLER 1987:282. *8th/7th centuries*: LAMON/SHIPTON 1939: pl. 71:72; *8th–6th*: KEEL 1997:590,591, no. 172; ROWE 1936: no. S. 105. An unpublished scarab from Giv^cat Sharett (Corpus File no. 8) has in addition to the twig a *swt* (M23) and an ‘*nh*’-sign over the back of the animal. An unpublished seal from Sur Bahir (Corpus File no. 12) depicts a leaping horned animal. Crouching ibexes with a twig(s) are the following: *MB II B (1760–1540/1450)*: GIVEON 1985a: 116,117, no. 21; KEEL 1997:86,87, no. 22, 130,131, no. 80, 244,245, no. 417, 264,265, no. 477, 282,283, no. 525; TUFNELL 1958: pl. 30:44 (running?); an unpublished seal from Nahal Tabor (Corpus File no. 5). *LB (1540/1450–1250/1150)*: GIVEON 1985a:126,127, no. 48; KEEL 1997:150,151, no. 135, 208,209, no. 314, 242,243, no. 414, 244,245, no. 417, 264,265, no. 477, 398,399, no. 861; TUFNELL 1958: pl. 36:225; ROWE pl. 16:637). *IA I*: KEEL 1997:8,9, no. 10; SCHUMACHER 1908: pl. 48c (cf. KEEL 1997:8, comment to no. 10). From an unknown stratigraphic context is an unpublished scarab from Megiddo (Corpus File no. 618).

⁶⁷³ On the date see BRANDL 1993b:224.

⁶⁷⁴ Parallels: *MB II B*: TUFNELL 1984: pl. 36:2480,2481,2485,2502,2507,2508,2495; KEEL 1997:80,81, no. 6, 158,159, no. 160, 524,525, no. 1242, 751,752, no. 9; TUFNELL 1958: pl. 30:44; GIVEON 1985a:116,117, no. 22; PETRIE 1930: pls.

It is quite understandable that the combination of an ibex with the hieroglyph (D36) was rather popular (Fig. 254). The sign might be a simplified form of D40 ("strong") and D43 ("protect") (KEEL 1995a:169 § 448),



Fig. 254

or alternatively interpreted as a flower bud which would bring it closer to the twig motif. In the case of fig. 254 three vertical lines are added.⁶⁷⁵

Also related to the fertility aspect is the ibex that has an added ϵ - n - r - ϵ sequence (ibid. 175 § 469) whereby the n is replaced with a twig (Fig. 255). Sometimes an additional twig is added to the motif.⁶⁷⁶



Fig. 255

Most probably vegetable elements are intended above the animal's back and below its head on a motif (Fig. 256) that appears on three scaraboids from tomb 1002 (c. 810-700) at Lachish.⁶⁷⁷



Fig. 256

The regenerative aspect of the singularly depicted horned animal is however not only enhanced by the addition of vegetable objects but can also be underlined by the combination with a hippopotamus (HORNUNG/STAEHELIN 1976:129)⁶⁷⁸ as on a 19th dynasty (1292-1190) scarab from Ashkelon (Fig. 257).



Fig. 257

Two horned animals placed together were already known in the 3rd millennium (cf. fig. 245 on p. 339). The tête-bêche arrangement is characteristic of that period (e.g. BEN-TOR 1978:71, figs. 6:41,42, 20:8-10; ibid. 1995:67,68, fig. 3). This arrangement is attested on a scarab from the

10:105, 12:126; an unpublished scarab from Tell Beit Mirsim (Corpus File no. 52). *MB II B-LB II A* (13th-18th dynasties = 1759-1292): TUFNELL 1958: pl. 35:223,224. *IA*: Gezer. MACALISTER 1912: III pls. 90:34,205:29,209:29.

⁶⁷⁵ Parallels: KEEL 1997:122,123, no. 55, 132,133 no. 82, 238,239, no. 397, 430,431 no. 961, 444,445, no. 1001, 492,493, no. 1143; HORN 1966: fig. 1:51; DE VAUX/STEVE 1949: pl. 46:2; KENYON 1965: fig. 301:12; PETRIE/ELLIS 1937: pl. 6:63; AMIRAN/EITAN 1965:120, fig. 15:2; two unpublished scarabs (Corpus File no.: Giv'at Sharet 3, Tell Halif 16) as well as an unpublished seal impression from Taanach (Corpus File no. 34).

⁶⁷⁶ Parallels: MACALISTER 1912: II 318, nos. 145,146.

⁶⁷⁷ There are several examples of horned quadrupeds that have a circle over the back of the animal or below its head which might be debased plants or *nfr*-signs: *MB II B*: KENYON 1965: fig. 301:12. *LB*: YADIN 1961: pl. 245:13. *IA I-II B*: JAMES 1966: fig. 113:5; KEEL 1997:412,413, nos. 908,909, 578,579, no. 134, 588,589, no. 166; MACKENZIE 1912-13: pl. 29:B2; LAMON/SHIPTON 1939: pls. 67:35, 69:14; 70:17; an unpublished scarab from Gezer (Corpus File no. 651). *IA II C*: BEIT-ARIE 1994:111, fig. 127.

Montet Jar from Byblos (TUFNELL/WARD 1966:180, fig. 2:5), dated to the beginning of the second millennium (KEEL 1995a:25). In Palestine/Israel the motif appears on MB II B (1760–1540/1450) scarabs,⁶⁷⁹ and occurs again on scaraboids, a conoid dated to 1150–800, and a scarab from the 9th century (KEEL 1997:62,63, no. 119).

Fig. 258 is a scaraboid from Tell el-Farfah (South) and stems from an unstratified context but probably belongs to the same period as the Beth-Shemesh pieces from tomb 1 (1150–800).⁶⁸⁰ A number of seals also depict three horned quadruped⁶⁸¹ which are even doubled on an unpublished scarab from Beth-Shean (Fig. 259).



Fig. 258



Fig. 259

Two ibexes are represented on a scaraboid from Lachish dated to the Iron Age II B (900–700) (Fig. 260).⁶⁸² However in this case the motif has a different background. It derives from compositions that have a central element, such as the “master of horned animals” (cf. p. 357) or tree/horned animal (cf. p. 346) compositions, which is omitted in fig. 260.⁶⁸³



Fig. 260

⁶⁷⁸ For the hippopotamus see also cat. no. 56 on p. 220 and fig. 131 on p. 244, PETRIE 1928: pl. 19:43 as well as KEEL 1977b:167 with pl. 13:C.

⁶⁷⁹ GIVEON 1985a:118,119, no. 25; KEEL 1997:662,663, no. 3. An unpublished rectangular plaque from Sha'ar Ha'amaqim (Corpus File no. 2) seems to be the only LB example of this motif.

⁶⁸⁰ ROWE 1936: pl. 25:SO.36; MACKENZIE 1912/1913: pl. 29B2. Also unstratified is a seal from Megiddo, that comes from one of SCHUMACHER's trenches/dumps (LAMON/SHIPTON 1939: pl. 73:3). Another seal from Megiddo depicts two horned animals with two plants (LAMON/SHIPTON 1939: pl. 73:7). An unpublished scarab from Rishon (Corpus File no. 26) places two crouching animals in a row.

⁶⁸¹ Additional seals with three horned animals are: LAMON/SHIPTON 1939: pl. 69:16; HÜBNER 1988:90, fig. 2; PRITCHARD 1962: fig. 83 (stags). Four horned animals with a suckling animal are depicted on MACALISTER 1912: III pl. 200:9.

⁶⁸² Parallels: TUFNELL 1953: pl. 44:101; LOUD 1948: pl. 153:229; REISNER 1924: II pl. 57:a7; McCOWN 1947: pl. 54:22; KEEL 1997:578,579, no. 137; ROWE 1936: no. SO. 29; an unpublished scaraboid from Beth-Shean (Corpus File no. 196).

⁶⁸³ An identical motif but with a tree in the middle was found at Megiddo (LOUD 1948: pl. 152:181). The heads are facing the tree in USSISHKIN/WOODHEAD 1992:49, fig. 38:B.

Popular during the same period⁶⁸⁴ was a motif with another family of horned animals, namely, representations of grazing or drinking deer. A 9th



Fig. 261

century⁶⁸⁵ example is the ivory procession of deer from Samaria (Fig. 261). Almost identical ivory representations of the South Syrian school (WINTER 1981:123–127) have also been found at the North Syrian site of Arslan Tash (THUREAU–DANGIN 1931: pl. 36:61,62) as well as in Mesopotamia at Nimrud (LAYARD 1849b: pl. 91:29–31; cf. also FISHER/HERRMANN 1995:153, fig. 10, 155, fig. 12). Related to these traditions are grazing deer which appear on bronze bowls of the “marsh pattern” type at Nimrud (BARNETT 1976:3). The same motif is found several times on Judean name seals (cf. fig. 262)⁶⁸⁶ of the 8th and 7th centuries.⁶⁸⁷

UEHLINGER (KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:120) argued in line with Psa 42:2 that these representations on name seals do not follow the fertility⁶⁸⁸ related tradition history of this motif but symbolise rather the thirst for life.



Fig. 262

Doubtless the same tradition as the ivory carving from Samaria follows an impression on a krater from En–Gedi, dated to 600 (Fig. 263). Paintings on a bowl of local red and black Edomite tradition from Transjordanian



Fig. 263

⁶⁸⁴ Probably the earliest deer representation found in Palestine is found on a stamp seal from Gezer dated to the 4th millennium and most likely imported from northern Mesopotamia or Iran (KEEL–LEU 1989:17,18, fig. 19).

⁶⁸⁵ On the date cf. footnote 460 on p. 198.

⁶⁸⁶ Parallels: AVIGAD/SASS 1997: nos. 144,181,301,649.

⁶⁸⁷ For a parallel on an anepigraphic stamp seal from Beth Joseph see ZORI 1962: pl. 15:1.

⁶⁸⁸ Already at the beginning of this century it was noted that deer are associated with the mother–goddess (COOK 1925:61). Recently KEEL (1984b:94–100) summarised the research history of this topic and listed the iconographic testimonies for the relationship of deer, ibexes, and gazelles with the Asiatic naked goddess of fertility and love (cf. also *ibid.* 1980b:89–118). A deer appears in the context of the naked goddess on a cylinder seal from Meggido (cf. fig. 264 on p. 346). Of particular interest is an Old Syrian cylinder seal (c. 1750) at the Biblical Institute of the University of Fribourg which shows next to the naked goddess in the lower register mating deer (Fn. fig. 31). Not only mating but also the life–giving milk of the deer can be mentioned in this regard (HEIMPEL 1975:420 § 4) and is graphically displayed on a conical stamp seal from Megiddo (c. 1000) which shows a deer suckling a young animal (Fn. fig. 32).



Fn. fig. 31



Fn. fig. 32

Buseirah (7th/6th centuries) connect the grazing deer clearly to the fertility tradition as an accompanying representation of a cow suckling a calf next to the deer indicates.⁶⁸⁹

3.4.1.1.2. Horned animals flanking a central tree

A motif that can be traced back to the Early Dynastic period (29th–24th centuries)⁶⁹⁰ and appears in Palestine on different objects is the tree⁶⁹¹ flanked by two horned animals. It was already encountered on the Mitannian cylinder seal from Megiddo dated to the 14th century (Fig. 264 = fig. 38 on p. 191, 151 on p. 284).



Fig. 264

This theme was very popular on LB pottery. The evidence in this regard was collected by R. AMIRAN (1969:161–165) in a special section on the “Palm–tree and Ibex Motif” in her study on *Ancient Pottery of the Holy Land*. An example is in fig. 265: a jar from Megiddo, level VII B (14th–12th centuries) which is dated to LB II A (14th century) by AMIRAN (ibid. 161).⁶⁹²

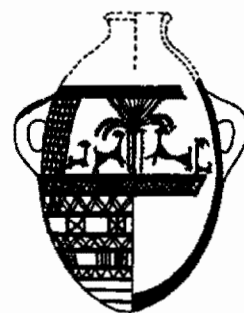


Fig. 265

There are several stamp seals from Palestine/Israel that used the same motif.⁶⁹³ Among them is a conical seal from Taanach belonging to the Iron Age I (1250/1150–1000) (Fig. 266).



Fig. 266

⁶⁸⁹ Other deer representations are: KEMPINSKI/NIEMEIER 1994: fig. 21:2; MACALISTER 1912: III pl. 200:17 (+ a tree?); KEEL 1997:736,737, no. 1 (+ canide?); PARKER 1949:20, no. 75, pl. 11:75 (+ winged sphinx); MESHORER/QEDAR 1991:46, no. 6, 72, nos. 67–69, 46, no. 7, 59, nos. 81,82.

⁶⁹⁰ For a cylinder seal cf. FRANKFORT 1955: pl. 6:32, for painted ceramics KEEL 1980:94, fig. 57, and for a rampant ibex figurine on a rosette tree from the royal cemetery at Ur (c. 2650) cf. ibid 1992b:59, fig. 8. A synopsis of this motif from the Early Dynastic to the Neo-Assyrian period is found in METZGER 1992:8 footnotes 27,29. Rampant horned animals which eat from a tree in the context of fertility are also known on a 3rd millennium representation from Egypt (KEEL 1980:72, fig. 29).

⁶⁹¹ In the case of PARKER 1949: no. 112 it is a standard and a surmounted sun disk. A standard-like objects also flanked by two horned animals in NOUGAYROL 1939: pl. 3: EG. 11.

⁶⁹² On incised ceramics the motif is also found at Lachish (7th/6th centuries) (ibid. 1953: pls. 50:1; 78:17; 94:1).

⁶⁹³ Parallels: PETRIE 1930: pl. 48:564; STARKEY/HARDING 1932: pl. 73:38; SELLIN/WATZINGER 1913: p. 159, pl. 420; LOUD 1948: pl. 152:181; PETRIE 1928: pl. 20:14; KEEL 1997:46,47, no. 74, 580,581, no. 144.

During the 15th and 14th centuries cylinder seals with horned animals were mass-produced at workshops at Beth-Shean. These products were found in Palestine/Israel⁶⁹⁴ at Lachish, Tell el-Hesi, Tell Abu Hawam, Gezer and Megiddo (COLLON 1987:62).



Fig. 267

While a cylinder seal from Lachish (Fig. 267)⁶⁹⁵ presents the classical tree/ibex composition others add a worshipper to the scene as a seal from Beth-Shean (Fig. 268).⁶⁹⁶



Fig. 268

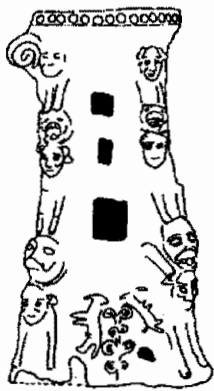


Fig. 269

The cultic value of this composition is also underlined when this motif appears in the lowest register of the already mentioned 10th century cult-stand from Taanach (cf. p. 155) (Fig. 269).

Also dated to the 10th century is a clay palette from Megiddo level V which shows two horned animals⁶⁹⁷ flanking a tree (Fig. 270).



Fig. 270

The last to be mentioned in this selection of various objects with the motif of horned animals flanking a tree is the painting on pithos A from Kuntillet 'Ajrud dated to the first quarter of the 8th century.⁶⁹⁸ Of significance below the tree with its flanking animals is a lion which was earlier on (cf. p. 192) identified as belonging to the sphere of the



Fig. 271

goddess, thus strengthening the fertility-related significance of the whole motif (Fig. 271 = fig. 40 on p. 192).

⁶⁹⁴ This particular product or its imitation was found in Syria, Mesopotamia, Iran, and Failaka in the Gulf.

⁶⁹⁵ Parallels of similar horned animals with and without tree: PARKER 1949: nos. 49,52,79,83,99,101,117; NOUGAYROL 1939: pls. 12:TT.2, 5:GR.7; YADIN 1961: pl. 320:4; LOUD 1948: pl. 161:16.

⁶⁹⁶ Parallels: *ibid.* nos. 38,80,125; NOUGAYROL 1939: pls. 4:EG.39, 5:GR.4, 11:TH.4; ELGAVISH 1994:40, fig. 15. Two worshippers are depicted on: PARKER 1949: nos. 36,45; NOUGAYROL 1939: pl. 12:T.S.2; an unpublished cylinder seal from Taanach (find context: SW 5-6, locus 65, basket 177). Only those with a worshipper are worthy of mention: PARKER 1949: no. 58.

⁶⁹⁷ STERN (1978:15) identified them as deer while SCHROER (1987:390) tended to see them as ibexes.

A painting on a jar from Tell el-Far'ah (South) suggests the same concept (Fig. 272).⁶⁹⁹ The lion, which is typical for the sphere of the goddess, seems to function as substitute for the central tree (MAY 1939:251,253). The animal is flanked by horned animals and birds (which are also often associated with the goddess).⁷⁰⁰



Fig. 272

It does not come as a surprise that the flanking horned animals are also depicted with a stylised pubic triangle as central element. An example of this type of motif is seen on a goblet from Lachish dated to the 14th century (Fig. 273).⁷⁰¹

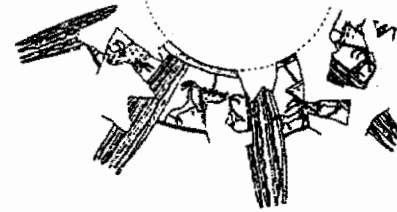


Fig. 273

Of particular interest is in this regard also a Late Bronze figurine of the naked goddess from Revadim, which shows on the thighs of the goddess two horned animals each flanking a tree. The central element is the vulva that is opened by the goddess's fingers (Fig. 274).



Fig. 274

3.4.1.1.3. Suckling horned animals

A very popular motif that can be traced back to the middle of the 3rd millennium and is found from Egypt to Mesopotamia is the horned animal suckling its young. A recent monograph on this theme is KEEL'S (1980) *Böcklein in der Milch seiner Mutter und Verwandtes*.⁷⁰² Probably one of the earliest finds in Palestine/Israel that shows a non-bovine horned animal suckling its calf is a plaque with the name of Ramses III (1187–1156) that was

⁶⁹⁸ A parallel from the Persian period with two ibexes flanking a tree is a singular coin from Samaria (MESHORER/QEDAR 1991:59, no. 85).

⁶⁹⁹ For another representation that associates the lion with the motif of the central tree and horned animals (in this case deer) is the Lachish Ewer dated to the 13th century (HESTRIN 1987b:213, fig. 1). Compare also fig. 44 on p. 193 of the cult-stand from Taanach which places the goddess as central element between two flanking lions.

⁷⁰⁰ For references on the bird in the context of fertility see also p. 167.

⁷⁰¹ A ceramic sherd from Tell el-Far'ah (South) (STARKEY/HARDING 1932: pl. 58:972) gives an interesting intermediate composition. Here several horned animals flank a tree the three branches of which on either side of the trunk of the tree point upwards forming a triangle. The space between the branches is filled with dots to indicate the pubic hair (for further discussions on the pubic triangle cf. e.g. SCHROER 1987a:40; HESTRIN 1987b:215–217; KEEL 1989b:75–78; SCHROER 1989:96–117,123,124,130; KEEL 1992b:164,165, KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:30–34,37, 38,61,62,80–85,94–96,186,226).

found in a tomb at Gezer (Fig. 275). Dated to the 12th–8th centuries are several conoids that depict the same motif as well as a scarab from Acco dated to about 1250–1000 (Fig. 276).⁷⁰³



Fig. 275

Dated to the 7th century is a seal from Megiddo on which elements are added that belong to the sphere of the goddess, such as a bird⁷⁰⁴ and two twigs (Fig. 277).⁷⁰⁵ That this motif was not restricted to glyptic is indicated by a sherd from southern Palestine (Fig. 278).



Fig. 276



Fig. 277

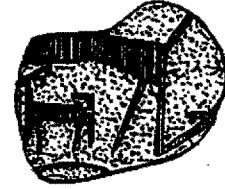


Fig. 278

A variant of this motif seems to have enjoyed even more popularity, at least when judged by the number of extant pieces. A scorpion is added on these examples, enhancing thereby the fertility aspect of the whole composition (KEEL 1985:26; SHUVAL 1990:103). A piece that depicts the scorpion very effectively comes from Taanach and is dated to about 900 (Fig. 279).⁷⁰⁶ A subversion omits the suckled animal (Fig. 280).⁷⁰⁷



Fig. 279



Fig. 280

A very interesting conoid from Tell el-Far'ah (South), dated to the Iron Age I (1250/1150–1000) seems to combine the naked goddess, which is depicted *en face*, her breasts and vulva indicated by drill holes, a horned animal in front of her, and probably a scorpion to the right (Fig. 281).⁷⁰⁸

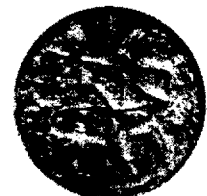


Fig. 281

⁷⁰² Cf. also the important section in KEEL 1985:26–38.

⁷⁰³ Parallels: MCCOWN 1947: pls. 54:28, 55:59; MACALISTER 1912: III pl. 200:9; EDELSTEIN/AURANT 1992:40, fig. 14:2; OREN/YEKUTIELI/NAHSHONI/FEINSTEIN 1991:11. Not suckling but on the back of the mother animal is probably a young horned animal in KEEL 1997:630,631, no. 282.

⁷⁰⁴ For references on the bird in the context of fertility see also p. 167.

⁷⁰⁵ Parallels: KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:161, fig. 165b; KEEL 1997:676,677, no. 43. Another possible bird with a suckling ibex was found at Megiddo (ibid. 1994a:40,41, no. 22, pl. 10:20).

⁷⁰⁶ Parallels: LAMON/SHIPTON 1939: pl. 69:22 (= footnote fig. 32 in footnote 688 on p. 345), LOUD 1948: pl. 152:192; WRIGHT 1962:11–13, fig. 4; GRANT 1934: fig. 3:16; DE VAUX 1955:581, fig. 18:F; MCCOWN 1947: pls. 54:19, 55:67; KEEL 1985:35, fig. 3; PETRIE 1930: pls. 29:281, 31:288, STARKEY/HARDING 1932: pl. 73:41; KEEL 1985:36, fig. 8; MACALISTER 1912: II 295:6, DEVER 1986: II pl. 62:17; KEEL 1997:680,681, no. 50; SHUVAL 1990:154, no. 71 (= Corpus File no. 2 with drawing!); an unpublished seal from Yoqneam with two scorpions (Corpus File no. 4).

⁷⁰⁷ Parallels: LOUD 1948: pl. 163:20; TUFNELL 1953: pl. 44:91; JAMES 1966: fig. 109:6; ROWE 1940: pl. 39:14; MCCOWN 1947: pl. 54:29,50; GRANT 1934: fig. 3:18; STARKEY/HARDING 1932: pl. 73:35; KEEL 1997:636,637, no. 297; an unpublished scaraboid from Jerusalem (Corpus File no. 71); an unpublished scarab from Megiddo (Corpus File no. 64).

3.4.1.1.4. *Horned animals and a worshipper*

Termed an icon of blessing or depersonalised numinous power is a motif that has its roots⁷⁰⁹ in the sphere of the goddess (KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:170). It shows a worshipper who raises his arms in front of a horned animal. An early example is a conoid dated to about 1150–800 from tomb 1 at Beth–Shemesh (Fig. 282), which yielded another four scaraboids⁷¹⁰ with the same motif.⁷¹¹ Another variant shows the worshipper behind the animal as on a bone scaraboid from Achzib dated to the end of the 11th/10th centuries (Fig. 283)⁷¹² or more frequently above it as on a scaraboid from Megiddo (1000–800) (Fig. 284).⁷¹³



Fig. 282



Fig. 283



Fig. 284

3.4.1.1.5. *Horned animals in an astral context*

The horned animal appears in Asiatic tradition in an astral context on an 8th/7th centuries cylinder seal from Beth–Shean (cf. fig. 300 on p. 355 and footnote 735).⁷¹⁴ The astralisation of motifs with horned animals is already seen, though in a very rudimentary fashion on a scaraboid (Fig. 285) from



Fig. 285

⁷⁰⁸ There is also a scaraboid from Megiddo (LAMON/SHIPTON 1939: pl. 67:13) which depicts a horned animal suckling its young with a figure above its back the function of which is not clear in this context. Is it a reference to the goddess?

⁷⁰⁹ Elements that belong to the goddess, such as the tree/twig and the bird, are also found with this composition (cf. e.g. LAMON/SHIPTON 1939: pl. 69:13,15,39,43).

⁷¹⁰ ROWE 1936: nos. SO. 25, SO. 27, SO. 32, and an unpublished piece (Corpus File no. 215).

⁷¹¹ Parallels: PETRIE 1930: pl. 33:377; LAMON/SHIPTON 1939: pl. 69:15 (cf. KEEL 1990c:372, no. 19), 69:39; LOUD 1948: pl. 153:226; KEEL 1997:444,445, no. 999; MCCOWN 1947: pl. 54:17,47; Tell el–Hamma: CAHILL 1987:282 (no depiction; Corpus File no. 3); TUFNELL 1953: pl. 45:151; PETRIE 1930: pl. 40:474; KEEL 1997:74,75, no. 157; MCCOWN 1947: pl. 54:50; TUFNELL 1953: pl. 44:78; STERN 1978b: pl. 31:11; MACALISTER 1912: III pl. 209:60; an unpublished scaraboid from Taanach (Corpus File no. 47).

⁷¹² Parallels: PETRIE 1928: pl. 17:23; BLISS/MACALISTER 1902: pl. 56:32; an unpublished scarab from Beth–Shean (Corpus File no. 192).

⁷¹³ Parallels: ROWE 1936: no. SO. 30; an unpublished scaraboid from Tell el–Far‘ah (South) (Corpus File no. 917); HERZOG/RAPP/NEGBI 1989: fig. 28:1.1; CHAMBON 1984: pl. 80:4 (very debased); KEEL 1997:576,577, no. 127; SHUVAL 1990:139, no. 33. For other depictions of figures above a quadruped cf. also pp. 366,368.

⁷¹⁴ For a 7th/6th centuries parallel see BERT–ARIE 1994:111, fig. 127.

Tell el-Far'ah (South),⁷¹⁵ dated to the 10th century,⁷¹⁶ which shows an ibex⁷¹⁷ with a tree in front and a disk above its back, which can be either the sun disk or the full moon (KEEL 1990c:375).

This motif is depicted unambiguously on a surface find from Megiddo (Fig. 286) which shows a crescent above the back of the animal.⁷¹⁸ Singular is a scarab (Fig. 287) from the early 13th century (level VIII) at the Egyptian



Fig. 286



Fig. 287

garrison at Beth-Shean. It depicts a horned animal together with the Pleiades.⁷¹⁹

On a Judean name seal belonging to a certain *špn (bn) nryhw* there is next to the twig and the star also the lozenge added – an Assyrian symbol for the divine sphere (cf. fig. 300 on p. 355 and footnote 735) – to underline the celestial aspect expressed by this motif (Fig. 288).



Fig. 288

Interesting is a scaraboid from Acco, dated to 730–539. Above the animal's back is an eight-pointed star, behind a crescent, and underneath possibly a suckling young animal (Fig. 289).⁷²⁰ All depictions in this section combine astral elements with symbols of fertility and therefore



Fig. 289

“suggerieren ... freudige Erneuerung und Gedeihen” (ibid. 1994c:68). Especially the crescent (as new moon) is regarded as North Syrian influence from the cult centre of the moon god at Harran (ibid. 1994c). UEHLINGER recently interpreted the combination of astral and old

⁷¹⁵ Parallel: Acco: KEEL 1997:584,585, no. 152.

⁷¹⁶ Possibly this motif without tree is already attested in the 12th century on a conoid from Acco (KEEL 1997:584,585, no. 155). On a fragment of a scarab from the Late Level VII (end of the 13th century) at Beth-Shean a horned animal with a disk is also visible (WEINSTEIN 1993: fig. 166:7).

⁷¹⁷ UEHLINGER (KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:162,163, fig. 167c) classified it among the bovine animals.

⁷¹⁸ On a three registered scaraboid from Samaria appears in the top register a crescent with a disk flanked by two additional disks. In the middle register is the head of a ram depicted (unpublished, Corpus File no. 77). On a cylinder seal from Beth-Shean (level VI, Iron Age I) horned animals flank a standard with surmounted disk. In the field is also a tree (PARKER 1949: no. 112). From a 14/13th centuries archaeological context at Lachish comes a very similar cylinder seal, in this case the sun disk is winged (ibid. no. 102). Another cylinder from Beth-Shean (level IX, LB IB/II a) replaces the sun disk on the standard with a star (ibid. no. 35). Similar is also ibid. no. 41 (same site and level as ibid. no. 35) but in this case the standard has a twig like ending at the top. From the same site but attributed to level VII (LB II B) is a cylinder seal which depicts a horned animal and an eight-pointed star (ibid. no. 88). An identical cylinder seal comes from level IX (LB I B/II A) (ibid. no. 37).

⁷¹⁹ For other astral objects from Beth-Shean of that period cf. JAMES/MCGOVERN 1993:242.

⁷²⁰ Parallels: TUFNELL 1953: pl. 44:105; KEEL 1997:676,677, no. 43.

Canaanite fertility symbols (cf. p. 341) as follows: "Die Konstellation ist vielleicht so zu verstehen, dass die Verehrung des Capriden letztinstanzlich dem Mondgott gilt, Zweig und Capride aber die vordergründige Segensmacht des Gottes zum Ausdruck bringen" (KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:369).

3.4.1.1.6. Horned animals hunted and attacked

A typical Egyptian concept of thought is expressed on a scarab from Megiddo from an archaeological context of the 19th/20th dynasties (1292–1075) (Fig. 290 = fig. 511 on p. 504). It was manufactured at the beginning



Fig. 290

of the Late Bronze Age and belongs to the small group of 18th dynasty (1530–1292) jasper scarabs (KEEL 1995a:144). The pharaoh is depicted as bowman hunting ibexes.⁷²¹ Dated to the 13th century is an ovoid seal from the same site. In this case the animal is speared (Fig. 291).

As mentioned earlier, (p. 301; cf. also p. 375) the ibex – belonging to the *Wild der Wüste* – was due to its association with the desert also equated with life-threatening forces. The representation of their destruction had therefore an apotropaic force (HORNUNG/STAEHELIN 1976:140).



Fig. 291

A variant of the same concept has already been encountered earlier (cf. figs. 46–48 on pp. 194,194) in which the pharaoh is replaced by the lion. This motif was of course not limited to the MB II B (1760–1540/1450)⁷²² and Late Bronze Age⁷²³ but is a frequent

motif of the Ramesside mass-production of scarabs (1130–945) as for example can be seen on bone scarab from Tel Masos (Fig. 292 = fig. 525



Fig. 292

on p. 527).⁷²⁴ An additional meaningful aspect was associated with such images in particular in Palestine/Israel, because in Egyptian thought ibexes were also equated with foreign mountainous regions, and more especially with the nations inhabiting these regions (KEEL

⁷²¹ Parallels: cat. nos. 260–262 on p. 385.

⁷²² Parallels: cat. nos. 290–298 on pp. 394,395.

⁷²³ Parallels: cat. nos. 299–301 on p. 395.

1990b:287; cf. als *ibid.* 1995a:222 § 603). That the popularity of this motif was also undiminished in the first millennium is indicated not only by a three-registered stamp seal from Megiddo dated to the 8th century where it appears in the lowest register (Fig. 293 = fig. 55 on p. 196) or similar name seals,⁷²⁵ but also on conoids, scaraboids and seal impressions, ranging from the 11th–4th centuries.⁷²⁶



Fig. 293

This motif was however not only restricted to Egyptian influenced “royal” iconography but also used as submotif on cylinder seals as in an offering scene from Lachish, dated to about 1750–1600 (Fig. 294). Accompanied by an attendant the worshipper brings a

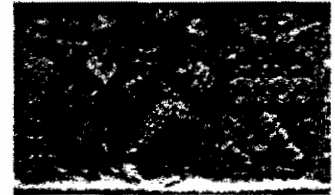


Fig. 294

lamb to the seated deity. In the lower register behind the god a seated lion attacks an ibex which turns its head back towards the attacker.⁷²⁷

The *Sitz im Leben* of a potsherd from Shiloh depicts a leopard attacking an rampant ibex/stag (Fig. 295). BECK (1994:378) identified it as part from a fenestrated Iron Age I cult-stand. Thus in contrast to the horned animals on the cult-stand from Taanach which peacefully flank a tree, the cult-stand from Shiloh represents them as animals to be violently subdued.⁷²⁸



Fig. 295

While an attack on a rampant horned animal generally means to convey the malevolent nature of the horned animal, it is questionable if the attack on a crouching stag on coins from Samaria (Fig. 296 = fig. 56 on p. 197) dating to the Persian period must be seen in the same light. The attacked stag could



Fig. 296

simply enhance the prowess of the lion. On the other hand the stag is especially related to the theme of fertility or thirst for life (cf. pp. 345,346 with footnote 688). Therefore we might also

⁷²⁴ Parallels: cat. nos. 301–307,309–311 on pp. 396,397.

⁷²⁵ Parallels: cat. nos. 318–321 on pp. 399.

⁷²⁶ Parallel: cat. nos. 313–316,322–325 on pp. 398–400.

⁷²⁷ Parallel: cat. no. 327 on p. 400.

⁷²⁸ Parallel for an attack on a rampant horned animal on a cylinder seal: cat. no. 328 on p. 401.

consider that this motif expresses not only the desire to be victorious like a lion but also to obtain life in such a powerful way (cf. also p. 198).⁷²⁹

A different role is played by the lion on an Iron Age I scarab from Tell Abu Salima (Fig. 297) – PETRIE'S Anthedon – where the bowman attacks the lion⁷³⁰ which in turn kills a horned animal.⁷³¹ If the horned animal is the focus it could be seen as a combination of figs. 290 and 292



Fig. 297

on p. 352 whereby both the bowman and lion stand for the same attacker. If the focus is the bowman, it could, however, also indicate that his might is so powerful that he can conquer all kinds of dangerous forces (cf. also fig. 311 on p. 358). Or the attack of the lion on the horned animal may simply seek to underline the dangerousness of the lion thereby enhancing the image of the bowman.

Figs. 298 and 299 seem to take up again the hunting scene motif of fig. 290 on p. 352 except that the composition is expanded. On fig. 298 – an Iron Age I (1250/1150–1000) scarab from Tell Qasile – the bowman is now riding in a chariot and his targets are a horned animal and in addition a human being.⁷³² The chariot is replaced with a lion⁷³³ on the scarab from Tell el-Far'ah (South) (Fig. 299)⁷³⁴ dating to the same period. Since in this



Fig. 298



Fig. 299

motif the bowman is attacking a comprehensive negative force these scenes are not "eigentliche Kriegs- oder Jagdszenen, sondern ... Szenen umfassenden Triumphs, die die Herrschaft des Pharaos über feindselige, unwirtliche Bereiche jeder Art zum Gegenstand haben" (KEEL 1990b:287).

⁷²⁹ For 29 coins of the same type see MESHORER/QEDAR 1991:72, nos. SH 38–65, 48, no. 18. Once also a ram is depicted instead of a stag (ibid. 48, no. 20).

⁷³⁰ KEEL (1997:560, no. 85) also considered the possibility that the lion is a battle lion (cf. also fig. 50 on p. 195).

⁷³¹ Parallels: cat. nos. 329,330,332,333 on pp. 404,404.

⁷³² Parallels: cat. nos. 264,266,268,269 on p. 386.

⁷³³ Cf. also with footnote 730 the possibility that the lion could be a battle lion.

⁷³⁴ Parallels: cat. nos. 270,271,273,276 on pp. 386,387.

The motif of a bowman shooting at a horned animal is known in Asiatic tradition (cf. e.g. MOORTGAT 1942: figs. 11–18; PORADA 1948: no. 621; TEISSIER 1984: no. 156; KEEL 1990:274–276,278,288) as a cylinder seal from Beth–Shean shows in the upper register



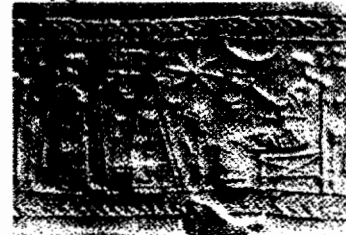
Fig. 300

(Fig. 300 = fig. 229 on p. 305, 467 on p. 459, 546 on p. 545). When the whole concept⁷³⁵ of the seal is taken into consideration the bowman aiming at the horned animal⁷³⁶ does not represent an ordinary hunting scene but places it into the celestial realm.

⁷³⁵ UEHLINGER (KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:357) treated the upper register for lack of a coherent pattern as a paratactic composition of possible signs of the zodiac. Some remarks in passing are in order. The upper register consists of two motifs. To the left is the “master/mistress of ibexes” (very similar is WARD 1910:291, fig. 896). The remaining part to the right has an almost identical parallel to a 13th century Elamite cylinder seal from Tchoga Zanbil (Fn. fig. 33) and a related motif on a cylinder seal from Surkh Dum in Luristan dated to the 10th/9th centuries (PORADA 1964: pl. I:1). The differences are that a griffin (the style of the griffin is according to MATTHEWS [1990:113] late Kassite [14th–12th centuries; BOEHMER 1981]) replaces the two recumbent ibexes, that the archer is aiming at an ibex, that the plant between the rampant ibexes is not depicted and that the stars are not distributed over the whole scene but reduced to four globes. That the four globes or stars indicate the celestial realm is not only supported by the winged “master/mistress of ibexes” giving an uranic connotation to the scene but also by a cylinder seal from the Marcopoli collection dated to the 9th–8th centuries (Fn. fig. 34). It depicts a banquet scene (interpreted by POARADA [1970:131] as the *takultu* banquet associated with the *akitu* festival; cf. also TEISSIER 1984:36), very



Fn. fig. 33



Fn. fig. 34

similar to the one in the lower register of the cylinder seal from Beth–Shean. Worthy of note is the fact that a cluster of four stars is placed next to the eight-pointed star and a crescent. Banquet scenes are nearly always placed in the celestial realm by the addition of stars. These are missing in the lower register of the Beth–Shean seal, except for another symbol “[der sich] öffnenden Heiligkeit der himmlischen Sphäre” (UEHLINGER 1990c:328), namely, the lozenge. It is noteworthy that the lozenge is very dominant in the banquet scenes from Tchoga Zanbil, appearing on almost 50% of all scenes (PORADA 1970:63–74). Without deeper pursuit of the issue, it seems that the upper register of the Beth–Shean functions as the celestial realm associated with the scene in the lower register. What is unique at the Beth–Shean cylinder seal is not the combination of two separate scenes (cf. for the same combination but not divided by a line COLLON 1987:64, no. 270) but the additional elements to the left in both registers. As UEHLINGER (KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:358) correctly pointed out the palm tree with the rampant ibex and the flanking griffin indicate the sphere of the goddess (cf. also fig. 449 on p. 454). Interestingly enough an additional three globes are placed below the lozenge, in a line vertical to the “celestial” winged “lord/mistress of ibexes” (for a lozenge, star, ibex and tree on a Judean name seal cf. fig. 288 on p. 351). Perhaps the scenes to left in both registers should be understood in a vertical perspective similar to the cylinder seal from Acco where a winged naked goddess appears in the second register above a tree flanked by horned animals and griffins (cf. fig. 59 on p. 198 with footnote 462). A last remark should be made in regard to the meaning of the top right scene. How loose and distant the connection to the Tchoga Zanbil motif may be, the archer scene of the latter was interpreted by PORADA as a representation of “some ancient concepts concerning a complex of a goddess of fertility and of the hunt, mountain goats ..., and a juniper tree ...” (1964:15) which seemed to have continued at least in glyptic art in Luristan in the 10th/9th century (cf. also a Megiddo ivory [1200–1150] which shows a tree flanked by two ibexes and an archer behind; LOUD 1993: pl. 22:125). A connection with the fertility goddess is therefore certainly not excluded in fig. 300.

⁷³⁶ For hunting scenes involving a bowman and a horned animal cf. LAMON/SHIPTON 1939: pl. 72:15.

The "malevolent character" (PARKER 1949:16, no. 48) of the ibex is indicated by a Late Bronze cylinder seal from Beth-Shean (Fig. 301) which depicts two figures struggling with a rampant ibex next to a tree.⁷³⁷



Fig. 301

A Neo-Assyrian cylinder seal from Gezer also conveys dominion over life-threatening forces. The winged hero and the star as well as the lozenge (cf. fig. 300 with footnote 735) indicate that this scene is placed into the divine sphere (Fig. 302 = fig. 224 on p. 302, 514 on p. 505, 537 on p. 538). With a wingless hero this motif continued to be used into the Persian period.⁷³⁸



Fig. 302

A few times the aggressive griffin also attacks a horned animal as for example on a scarab from Tell Gerisa (Fig. 303)⁷³⁹ or on the already-mentioned cylinder seal from Tell el-^cAjjul (Fig. 304 = fig. 187 on p. 293).



Fig. 303



Fig. 304

Although superficially resembling the just-mentioned scarab from Tell Gerisa, an ivory plaque from Megiddo (Fig. 305),⁷⁴⁰ which depicts a winged, bearded sphinx on the back of an ibex, needs not necessarily to represent a violent attack on the horned animal. The forepaw of the winged sphinx can also be considered to be placed protectively on the horns to secure the animal and the stepping on its back as an expression of domination (cf. p. 285).⁷⁴¹



Fig. 305

⁷³⁷ Parallels: cat. nos. 277,278,282,283 on pp. 388,389.

⁷³⁸ Parallels: cat. nos. 286,288 on p. 390.

⁷³⁹ Parallels: cat. nos. 334-339 on p. 407.

⁷⁴⁰ Parallel: LOUD 1939: pl. 5:5.

⁷⁴¹ What makes an attack less likely is that sphinxes are not depicted as aggressive in the corpus of this study. Even if the sphinx is interpreted as a goat demon (cf. below footnote 913 on p. 506; EISSFELDT 1966:91,92; KEEL 1984a:73, fig. 97; STAUBLI 1991:178, fig. 10; JANOWSKI/WILHELM 1993:119,120 fig. 2; SCHROER/STAUBLI 1998:111,

3.4.1.1.7. Master/mistress of horned animals

The “master of ibexes” is already attested in the 16th⁷⁴² century in Palestine as a scarab from Acco indicates (Fig. 306).⁷⁴³ The negative



Fig. 306

aspect of the horned animal (cf. pp. 301,375) is also dominant in this motif, “wo ein Mann gezeigt wird, der mit beiden Händen je ein solches Wüstentier gepackt hält, es jedoch dadurch bereits gebändigt und unschädlich gemacht hat” (HORNUNG/STAEHELIN 1976:140). During the



Fig. 307

Iron Age I/II A this motif experienced a revival as is suggested by a scarab (Fig. 307) from the Ramesside mass-production (KEEL 1995a:36 § 67)



Fig. 308

which was found at Tell Abu Salima. This finds support by four seal impressions on storage jars from Tel Dan dated to the end of the 10th/beginning of the 9th centuries (Fig. 308).⁷⁴⁴

A unique composition is depicted on a scarab from Gezer, dated to the MB II B (1760–1540/1450), which shows two horned animals in the typical position of the “master of animals” motif. However, there is no central figure, only a few twigs (Fig. 309).

Obviously these twigs have to be interpreted as symbols for the goddess, thereby providing a “mistress of ibexes” composition (ibid. 190 § 520).



Fig. 309

Shifting the focus to cylinder seals, on a Mitannian seal of the 15th/14th centuries from Tell Jemmeh (Fig. 310) the motif of the “master of ibexes” appears in an interesting context. In the middle of the scene two figures hold a standard with the emblem of the moon god. To their right



Fig. 310

fig. 39) the depiction does not necessarily indicate the destruction of the horned animal. It can also convey possession similar to Lev 17:7 where goats were sacrificed to demons (cf. below p. 506).

⁷⁴² Cf. also a Late Bronze cylinder seal from Megiddo (fig. 228 on p. 304 with footnote 647) depicting two flanking horned animals but probably not as “master of horned animals” composition intended.

⁷⁴³ On the early Mesopotamian history of this motif cf. p. 300.

⁷⁴⁴ Parallels: cat. nos. 343,345,346 on p. 410. The motif appears also on a cylinder seal from the 9th/8th centuries from Taanach (cf. cat. no. 270 on p. 386).

a striding figure holds two horned animals by their horns and to the left is an additional figure holding a horned animal upside down by its hind legs. In regard to the meaning of the scene it is to note that the moon god is generally associated with two aspects, namely, those of guaranteeing legal order and promoting vegetative and animal prosperity (KEEL 1994c:147,161,162,164). The overcoming of horned animals above was interpreted as the control of the threats to the peaceful order of life (cf. p. 303). Since the fertility aspect is not in focus in this representation it could be inferred that the moon god is associated in the 2nd millennium with the responsibility of guaranteeing cosmic order.

A horned animal appears on a Late Bronze cylinder seal from Tell el-^cAjjul (Fig. 311 = fig. 27 on p. 156, 80 on p. 204, 223 on p. 302, 397 on p. 380). At first sight it does not seem to be a typical “master of animals” composition. CORNELIUS noted that “Ba^cal is



Fig. 311

depicted as the protector of the animals and of the humans” (1994:191). One could even go one step further. The lion and the horned animal indicate not only the protective force over the fauna, but pointedly bring across that Baal as “master of animals” has unlimited power over this realm so that even the demon is forced to retreat.

The same point is brought across on a scaraboid from Gaza dated to the Late Bronze Age (1540/1450–1250/1150) (Fig. 312 = fig. 372 on p. 373). It depicts the Canaanite god Reshef with the Egyptian white crown holding a horned animal in his uplifted left hand, while in his right hand is the Egyptian sign for



Fig. 312

life. The “master of animals” composition is indicated by a flanking lion and horned animal, the former depicted upside down behind him, the latter rampant in front of him.⁷⁴⁵

⁷⁴⁵ Parallel: cat. no. 354 on p. 416.

3.4.1.1.8. *Horned animals as symbol for might*

Rather surprising is the use of the horned animal to convey the notion of power in the light of the survey of motifs discussed so far.⁷⁴⁶ There are two different elements which associate the horned animal with the idea of might, namely, the combination with a pseudo-cartouche as on a seal from Dan (Fig. 313)⁷⁴⁷ or by placing the ibex on a *nb*-sign ("lord") as on a bone seal from Ashdod dated to the 10th–8th centuries (Fig. 314). UEHLINGER pointed out that the ibex is metaphorically used in Hebrew (עֲתוּרָה; Isa 14:9; Zec 10:3) as

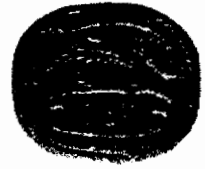


Fig. 313



Fig. 314

"leader" thereby providing a textual link to the imagery on seal-amulets (KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:308). A common feature of these horned animals is the dominant horn parallel to the back of the animal. It already appears at the end of the 4th millennium (cf. fig. 250 on p. 341 and footnote 668 on p. 340) and experienced a revival in the Iron Age.⁷⁴⁸ A second stylistic feature is the tail which, with one exception (KEEL 1997:58,59, no. 111), is always depicted as straight single, double, or triple line.⁷⁴⁹ It remains to be decided if some of these similarly stylised horned animals, without any qualifying element such as a scaraboid from Lachish (Fig. 315), also belong to the group under discussion in this section.

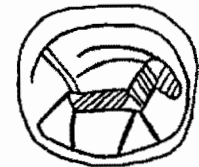


Fig. 315

⁷⁴⁶ It should be noted that this aspect of the horned animal is not new. Might, strength, and protection are variously associated with the horned animal (cf. pp. 339 and 343). Furthermore in his forthcoming first Schweich lecture (§ 14, The Sunk Relief group) KEEL suggests that caprids combined with a uraeus may be a metaphor of the ruler.

⁷⁴⁷ Parallel: KEEL 1997:666,667, no. 11.

⁷⁴⁸ Cf. the additional ten examples quoted in the first in footnote 668 on p. 340.

⁷⁴⁹ Crouching animals and such depictions where the base is damaged were excluded. In the case of MACALISTER 1912: II 295, fig. 437:12 the simply drawing depicts the tail as horizontal knob, which might derive from the double-line tail version.

3.4.1.2. Bovine horns/animals

3.4.1.2.1. Solitary bovines

The oldest representation of a metal bull, more specifically a young bull calf, in Palestine was found in 1990 at Ashkelon and is dated between 1600 and 1550 (Fig. 316).⁷⁵⁰ It was manufactured in bronze and covered with a silver overleaf. Although its specific function is difficult to determine without further iconographic context, its place in the cult is secured. The figurine

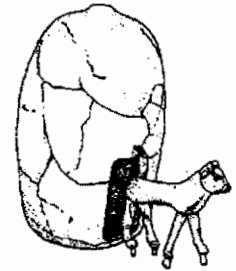


Fig. 316

was found in a miniature terracotta religious shrine in a storeroom at a sanctuary at Ashkelon (STAGER 1991:25–27). Similar figurines also associated with the cult were found in the 13th century temple at Hazor (cf. fig. 8 on p. 150) and at the famous Iron Age I (1250/1150–



Fig. 317

1000) “Bull Site” a few kilometres east of Dothan in the Samarian hill country (Fig. 317). Also cultic in nature are zoomorphic vessels. It has been suggested that the weather god has to be associated with

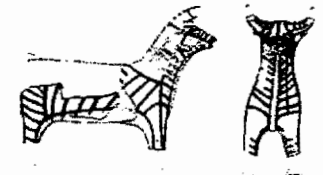


Fig. 318

bull-shaped zoomorphic vessels such as the one from stratum VII (1650/1600–1550) at Shiloh (BRANDL 1993b:227) (Fig. 318).

Although the type of object and its archaeological context can enlighten the function of a certain object generally figures in the round without further iconographic context have a limited value in pinpointing their specific function.



Fig. 319

This also applies to clay “wall brackets” with a bull protome from 12th century Megiddo (Fig. 319), a bronze bull head from 8th century Tell



Fig. 320

Jemmeh (Fig. 320), as well as to the 143 terracotta bovine figurines which date from the 9th–6th centuries which were collected by T. A. HOLLAND (1977:126,127). In the northern part of

⁷⁵⁰ From the same site but of the other end of the chronological range discussed in this study, namely, the Persian period, comes a calf-shaped weight (STAGER 1993:109).

Palestine Samaria yielded with 5 pieces the highest number, in the south the three most important sites in terms of number are Tell el-Far'ah (South) (6), Jerusalem (32), and Tell Jemmeh (75). An example is depicted in fig. 321 and stems from room A of the 7th century Assyrian Vaulted Building at Tell Jemmeh. In a cultic context a similar terracotta bovine head of a figurine was found at the Edomite shrine at Ḥorvat Qitmit dated to the end of the 7th/beginning of the 6th century (Fig. 322).



Fig. 321



Fig. 322

Surveying solitary bovines in glyptic art the first motif to be mentioned are *bukephalia*. They were already encountered on the first depiction of this chapter (cf. p. 147 and fig. 331 on p. 363) on an MB II B (1760–1540/1450) cylinder seal from Megiddo where they indicate the relationship between the weather god and the naked goddess. On the cylinder seal from Acco in fig. 24 on p. 155 they indicated the sphere of the weather god.

The bull's head is depicted on the back of a seal belonging to Hoduyahu son of 'Akbor (Fig. 323)⁷⁵¹ as well as on two triangular seals, one from Aroër (Fig. 324) dated to 700–539 and an unpublished contemporary piece from Taanach



Fig. 323



Fig. 324

and an unpublished contemporary piece from Taanach (Corpus File no. 46).

A number of seals depict a bovine animal without any additional elements.⁷⁵² The doubling of the animal in a tête-bêche arrangement is seen on an ovoid from Tell Jemmeh (Fig. 325).



Fig. 325

⁷⁵¹ For *bukephalia* see also PARKER 1949: nos. 152,158; NOUGAYROL 1939: pl. 4:EG.48; LOUD 1948: pl. 161:10.

⁷⁵² TUFNELL 1958: pl. 35:228; an unpublished rectangular plaque from Giv'at Rahum (Corpus File no. 1); KEEL 1997:60,61, no. 113; 698,699, no. 23. The identification of the animal in the following is unclear. McCOWN 1947:154, fig. 35:1,2,6,7.

Considerably more popular were solitary bovine representations with an additional element. Most frequently bovines were combined with vegetable elements as on an MB II B (1760–1540/1450) scarab from Tell el-‘Ajjul (Fig. 326),⁷⁵³ followed by the addition of the Egyptian sign for life.



Fig. 326

In the case of a 19th dynasty (1292–1190) scarab from Beth-Shean the ‘nh-sign is even doubled (Fig. 327).⁷⁵⁴ Once the k3-sign (phonetic: “bull”; KEEL 1995a:171 § 456) is combined with a bull (ORY 1944:57, pl. 13:5, Tell Gerisa).⁷⁵⁵



Fig. 327

A few times the cow of Hathor is depicted on seal-amulets in Palestine. On a square plaque from Acco dated to 945–525 (Fig. 328), the cow between the papyrus marsh represents Hathor as “lady of the west” who assists the deceased in her function as funerary goddess (DAUMAS 1977:1028; HART 1986:78,79; KEEL 1997:618, no. 251).⁷⁵⁶



Fig. 328

Last to be mentioned in this section is a second Hebrew seal, this one belonging to Shema‘yahu ben ‘Azaryahu (Fig. 329). Its singularity testifies that bovine animals are nearly non-existent on inscribed Hebrew seals which is explained by the association of the weather god with the bull (SASS 1993:225).



Fig. 329

3.4.1.2.2. The bull and the weather god

While seal-amulets represent generally the Egyptian background of bovine animals, the Asiatic tradition is of course testified by cylinder seals and also by the basalt figure from 14th century Hazor that was already mentioned earlier (cf. fig. 7 on p. 149). On the back of the

⁷⁵³ Parallels: KEEL 1997:590,591, no. 94; *ibid.* 1994d:227,249, fig. 46; TUFNELL 1958: pl. 35:226 (flower?); KEEL 1997:4,5, no. 4 (rosette?); PETRIE 1930: pl. 38:321 (twig?); PRITCHARD 1963:154, fig. 70:1 (+ lizard and disk).

⁷⁵⁴ Parallels: TUFNELL 1958: pl. 35:227 (2 x ‘nh); PETRIE 1930: pl. 38:231 (+ twig?); KEEL 1997:184,185, no. 242 (+ nfr).

⁷⁵⁵ Unclear objects are depicted on LAMON/SHIPTON 1939: pl. 69:33 (three strokes above the bull’s back and in front possibly a scorpion) and KEEL 1997:62,63, no. 120.

⁷⁵⁶ Parallels: KELSO 1968:121, pl. 44:3 (18th dynasty despite the Iron Age I archaeological context! cf. KEEL 1997:618, no. 251); *ibid.* 620,621, no. 254.

broken bull statuette the remains of feet indicate that this animal functioned as pedestal⁷⁵⁷ for the broken headless figure that was found nearby, generally identified with the weather god (Fig. 330 = fig. 7 on p. 149). Worthy of note is the spear that is held by the weather god. When the weather god is depicted

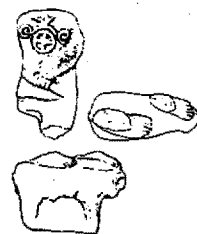


Fig. 330

with it, he is not put into the context of fertility but functions as attacker of the elements of chaos.

In a context related to fertility the bull appears together with the weather god in the presence of the naked goddess as on the cylinder seal to which has been referred previously, the MB II B /1760-



1540/1450) cylinder seal from Megiddo (Fig. 331 = fig. 1 on p. 147, Fig. 331

6 on p. 149, 362 on p. 371, 379 on p. 375). Although the weather god appears in an aggressive stance it is just a stereotyped way of identifying him. Almost all other elements on this seal are fertility related. The three *bukephalia* in front of the naked goddess connect the bull on the weather god's leash with her fertility aspects.

3.4.1.2.3. Attacking bovine animals

The aggressiveness of the bull is highlighted when it attacks other animals. Several variants of the Syrian charging bull can be distinguished. The first is the version where the opponent is a lion as on

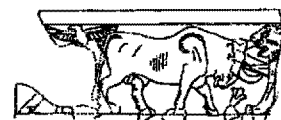


Fig. 332

the 12th century ivory carving from Lachish (Fig. 332 = fig. 9 on p. 150, 61 on p. 199). The same motif was also adapted in glyptic art when it appears on a scarab from Tell Keisan (12th-10th centuries) (Fig. 333 = fig. 11 on



Fig. 333

p. 151, 354 on p. 369).⁷⁵⁸

⁷⁵⁷ Cf. also a 9th/8th century Neo-Assyrian cylinder seal found during a survey in the vicinity of Natanya where the bull serves as pedestal for a bearded god (STERN 1973:12,13).

⁷⁵⁸ Parallel: cat. no. 360 on p. 420.

On an ivory fragment of a cup or vessel from Megiddo, stratum VIA (1050–1000) the attacking bull struggles with another opponent, probably a griffin as the beak and wings would suggest (Fig. 334).



Fig. 334

No opponent of the charging bull is depicted on a Cypriot ivory carving from Tel Dor, dated to the end of the 11th century. As on pottery paintings from tombs of the Mycenaean period at Enkomi



Fig. 335

(MURRAY 1969:42, fig. 70:1283, 45, fig. 45:933, 49, fig. 89:1262) only a flower is visible, probably indicating the object to be protected by the bull (Fig. 335).⁷⁵⁹ This motif is related to Cypriot representations of antithetically arranged bulls flanking a tree as for example on a 13th century krater from Cyprus (BUCHHOLZ/KARAGEORGHIS 1971:153,439, no. 1624; cf. also MURRAY 1969:34, fig. 62:1235).⁷⁶⁰ A similar Cypriot (ibid. 75, fig. 132:136; ALBRIGHT 1943:44,45, footnote 1) related motif which exchanges the vegetable object with concentric rings is seen on sherd of a Phoenician jug found at Tell Beit Mirsim and dating to the 7th century (cat. no. 363 on p. 420).

An Egyptian background underlies the depiction on the base of a scarab from Tell el-^cAjjul. The cartouche on the top left gives the name of Amenophis II (1426–1400). Below is a bull trampling over a human. In front of the bull and between a falcon is written “beloved of Maat” (Fig. 336 = fig. 535 on p. 536). ROWE (1936:124, no. 527) identified the bull as the pharaoh.⁷⁶¹



Fig. 336

The epithet of the pharaoh, “strong bull”, is alluded to on a scarab from Acco dated to 1292–1075. Above the bull is the hieroglyph for “strong” *nht*, below only partly visible on the photograph (not on the drawing) *nb* “lord” (Fig. 337).



Fig. 337

⁷⁵⁹ Parallel: cat. no. 364 on p. 421.

⁷⁶⁰ On a Megiddo ivory a bull is flanking a tree but the animal is not depicted in an aggressive pose (LOUD 1939: pl. 51:225).

⁷⁶¹ Parallels: cat. nos. 366,367 on p. 421. For Egyptian parallels cf. JAEGER 1982:167 §§ 1207–1210.

3.4.1.2.4. Bovine animals attacked

The 9th century ivory carving from Samaria (Fig. 338 = fig. 58 on p. 198) does not depict a myth related composition as fig. 333 but a very realistic scene when a lion overcomes a bull. In this composition



Fig. 338

the bull obviously stands for prosperity and life and the lion for the forces that take control of it.⁷⁶² The same motif is also represented on glyptic art as



Fig. 339

for example on a scarab with a silver mounting from Tell Abu Hawam dated to the 6th/5th centuries (Fig. 339).⁷⁶³

Clearly mythological overtones are evident in the scene on a cylinder seal from Beth-Shean dated to 1391-1353. The bull, again representing prosperity and life, is protected by the weather god from a vicious attack by a griffin (Fig. 340 = fig. 185 on p. 293, 507 on p. 502, 530 on p. 532).



Fig. 340

The same motif seems to be depicted on a scarab from the same site dated to the 14th/13th centuries. If this is the case, then the repulsed force must be depicted at the damaged section of the base (Fig. 341). Both motif



Fig. 341

types represent a human reality: the desire to be empowered to take control of life and prosperity and the harsh reality that without divine help this dream is destined for doom.

3.4.1.2.5. Master/mistress of bovine animals

The motif of "master/mistress of bovine animals" is very rare in Palestine/Israel. The only example with wingless bulls is a scarab from unknown provenance, bought in Jerusalem, on the base of which a central figure appears as "mistress (?) of suckling cows" above which are birds⁷⁶⁴ (Fig. 342). Another



Fig. 342

possible "master of bovine animals" composition could be intended on a 10th century haematite

⁷⁶² Parallel: LOUD 1948: pl. 204:1.

⁷⁶³ Cf. a related depiction in fig. 59 on p. 198 which places the bull into the sphere of the naked goddess. Cf. the references in footnote 461 on p. 198.

scarab from Acco (Fig. 343 = fig. 352 on p. 368). UEHLINGER (cf. p. 352) suggested that the combination of ibex, twig, and crescent points primarily to a worship of the moon god. If the central crescent on the scarab from



Fig. 343

Acco (note that half of the crescent is clearly visible, the right half was omitted due to lack of space) is interpreted as moon god then this composition could be understood as a representation of the moon god as "master of bovine animals".

3.4.1.2.6. Suckling cows

Suckling cows are not very frequently depicted on miniature art from Palestine/Israel. Nevertheless the motif is already attested on an MB II B (1760–1540/1450)



Fig. 344

cylinder seal from Hazor in the upper register (Fig. 344 = fig. 378 on p. 375).⁷⁶⁵

Dated to the Iron Age I (1250/1150–1000) is a conoid from Tell el-Far'ah (South) (Fig. 345) which shows on the base a paratactic arrangement of two motifs – a bowman and a cow⁷⁶⁶ suckling its young. The cow is generally⁷⁶⁷



Fig. 345

identified with the consort of Baal, the warrior goddess Anat,⁷⁶⁸ an identification which finds support in this representation by the association with a warrior (cf. also KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995: 144,146).⁷⁶⁹

A possible debased version of the same theme is depicted on a conoid from Acco, dated to 1150–900 (Fig. 346). The bow has been reduced to a



Fig. 346

⁷⁶⁴ For references on the bird in the context of fertility see also p. 167.

⁷⁶⁵ Cf. also a conoid from Beth-Shemesh (1000–800) which depicts probably a bovine animal with a calf over its back.

⁷⁶⁶ Cf. also the depiction of a horned animal suckling its young with a human above its back referred to in footnote 708 on p. 350.

⁷⁶⁷ In his dissertation, *The Goddess Anat in Ugaritic Myth*, N. H. WALLS (1992:122–144) argued against an association of the cow with Anat.

⁷⁶⁸ Cf. the literature in AUFRECHT/SHURY 1997:62, footnote 30. See also KEEL 1980b:136,137; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:144,146.

⁷⁶⁹ A similar piece from Gezer (MACALISTER 1912 III pl. 200:11) depicts a sucking ibex with a bowman in front. For another possible cow suckling its young from Iron Age I Megiddo cf. LOUD 1948: pl. 163:15.

single stroke and the suckling animal is missing.

Assigned to the 10th century is an unstratified conoid from Megiddo, which depicts the suckling cow motif, and a lion which is already known to indicate the sphere of the fertility goddess (Fig. 347).⁷⁷⁰



Fig. 347

The hind legs and udder of a cow are possibly also depicted on an ivory carving from Samaria (9th/8th centuries) suggesting the motif of a cow suckling its young (CROWFOOT/CROWFOOT 1938: pl. 10:7).

Last to be mentioned are the early 8th century drawings from Kuntillet °Ajrud. On pithos A the complete motif is depicted (Fig. 348), while on pithos B only the mother animal is partly completed (BECK 1982:10, fig. 6).



Fig. 348

3.4.1.2.7. Bovine animals and the scorpion

A surface find from Tell el-Far'ah (South), dated to the Iron Age I/II A (1250/1150–900),⁷⁷¹ is a conoid whose base is depicted in fig. 349. It adds an additional element to the bovine animal, namely, the scorpion. Since the scorpion is related to fertility and is frequently depicted with suckling ibexes (cf. figs. 279,280 on p. 349) the bovine animal, although not depicted with a calf, has to be seen in a fertility related context.⁷⁷² The motif is doubled on a haematite scarab from level VB at Megiddo (1050–1000) (Fig. 350).

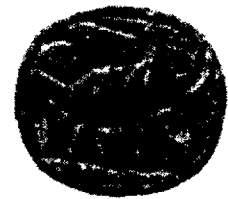


Fig. 349



Fig. 350

⁷⁷⁰ Two suckling cows flanking a central figure (master/mistress?) are depicted on a scarab that was bought in Jerusalem. Another conoid allegedly from Shechem shows above the suckling cow a bird (KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:161, fig. 165b,c).

⁷⁷¹ SHUVAL (1990:124, no. 3) assigned it to tomb 800 and dated it to the 11th century. The Corpus File lists it as surface find and dates it to Iron Age I/IIA.

⁷⁷² Parallel: REISNER 1924: I 377, no. 5, II 12, pl. 56:e7.

Two scarabs from Acco, both dated to the 10th century, also depict bovine animals together with scorpions. Fig. 351 (= fig. 356 on p. 369) adds in addition a palm tree⁷⁷³ and a human figure to the motif, while fig. 352 (= fig. 343 on p. 366) symmetrically doubles the bovine animal and the scorpion above its back. The central axis is marked by a crescent.⁷⁷⁴



Fig. 351



Fig. 352

3.4.1.2.8. A human above a bull

A few representations of a human figure above a bull recall the bull-leaping scenes in Minoan Crete (MARINATOS 1993:68,69, fig. 57,58, 214, fig. 220, 218, fig. 225; cf. also ZAZOFF 1983:72, footnote 43, pl. 14:7). They convey the idea that the bull is "an adversary, the need to prove superior human skill, the opposition between man and nature" (MARINATOS 1993:219). Probably the most impressive of these depictions in Palestine/Israel is a truncated pyramid seal from Samaria (Fig. 353)



Fig. 353

stemming from level II which is corresponding to the reign of king Ahab (871–852). However, upon closer examination the figure seems to be holding a stick which seems to merge with the back of the bull. Since an almost identical depiction on a conoid from Acco (KEEL 1997:574,575, no. 124) clearly shows the stick, KEEL'S (1994e:33) suggestion that the Samaria seal does not depict a bull-leaping scene is most probably correct.⁷⁷⁵

⁷⁷³ Parallel: Megiddo: LAMON/SHIPTON 1939: pls. 69/70:12.

⁷⁷⁴ Cf. also a 10th century square plaque from Acco which combines horned animals, scorpion, and crescent and full moon/sun disk (KEEL 1997:576,577, no. 128).

⁷⁷⁵ Parallels: There are only three further examples that might belong to this section. The motif appears on the back of a name seal from the 7th century (AVIGAD/SASS 1997:87, no. 118). The second comes from Hazor (YADIN 1961: pls. 174:19, 360:6,7) from a mid-10th century archaeological context (stratum XA, locus 202c). Unfortunately the head of the animal is not visible due to damage, but tail and body shape suggest that it is a bovine animal. The third parallel comes from tomb 562 at Tell el-Far'ah (South), dated to the Iron Age I (possibly an unpublished conical seal from Tell Jemmeh [Corpus File no. 133] is identical with the piece from Tell el-Far'ah). In this case the right horn in the drawing makes it rather an ibex, but the tail is too long, so that it indeed could be a bull-leaping depiction. Note also other depictions of a figure above a quadruped on pp. 350,366.

3.4.1.2.9. Bovine animals in an astral and solar context

Astral symbols in connection with the bull were already encountered on fig. 1 on p. 147, an MB II B (1760–1540/1450) cylinder seal from Megiddo.

Similar North Syrian and Anatolian astral influence as fig. 351 on p. 368 portray depictions which belong to the Early Iron Age (1250–900) which

also place above the bull the crescent. A scarab from Tell Keisan (Fig. 354 = fig. 11 on p. 151, 333 on p. 363) has been mentioned already earlier; the same motif, without the

lion, is seen on a conoid from Lachish (Fig. 355 = fig. 12 on p. 151). A similar scene is depicted on a conoid from Achzib (1050–900) with the addition of a

human in front of the bull (ibid. 1997:58,59, no. 109). To be noted is the disk below the bovine animal's head on the 10th century scarab from Acco

(Fig. 356 = fig. 351 on p. 368). The tree and scorpion in the field might by a hint that the disk, although placed at the ground level, refers to the moon, since the Syrian moon cult was associated with fertility aspects (ibid. 1994c:162,164).

Placed in a solar context is a grazing bovine animal that is seen on a scarab from Beth-Shemesh, tomb 1 (1150–800). A *nb* functions as basis on which the animal stands, on top a winged sun disk (Fig. 357).

3.4.1.3. None-bovine and bovine horned animals together

None-bovine and bovine⁷⁷⁶ horned animals also appear paratactically without any additional element. The two examples belong to the haematite group dated to about 1050–900 (cf. ibid. 1990c:367–377) and come both from Philistine territory. Fig. 358 is a scaraboid from Ashkelon and depicts on the

base in a kind of tête-bêche arrangement a crouching ibex and probably a bull. The second, an identical composition comes from Ashdod (ibid. 1997:686,687, no. 67).



Fig. 354



Fig. 355



Fig. 356

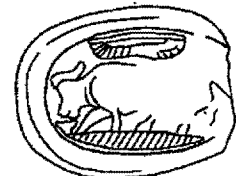


Fig. 357



Fig. 358

3.4.1.4. Goddesses/gods with horns and associated with horned animals

Since horned animals are strongly linked with the naked goddess, it is not surprising to find that the goddess is also depicted as wearing horns. Among the bronze figurines collected by O. NEGBI in her study on *Canaanite Gods in Metal* a number of goddesses found in Palestine/Israel are fitted with horns.

The first is a figurine with downward bent horns from Gezer which is dated to the Middle Bronze Age (2000–1550/1450) by NEGBI (1976:83 (Fig. 359).

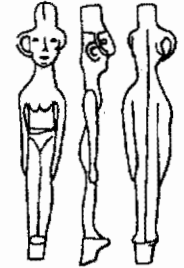


Fig. 359

The same goddess according to SCHROER (1989:114) also appears on an MB II B (1760–1540/1450) scarab from Jericho. The naked goddess flanked by twigs (cf. p. 148) wears twisted rams' horns (Fig. 360). SCHROER made a significant remark in regard to the horns when she noted:

Auffällig ist, dass diese Art von Hörnern nicht mit den nach oben wegragenden Hörnern der Hörnermützen oder -kronen vergleichbar ist, welche die nackte Göttin in seltenen Fällen auf (provinziell-)babylonischen und altsyrischen Rollsiegeln trägt (ibid.).



Fig. 360

That the orientation of the horn does not relate to the nature and role of the god/goddess is evident when considering the horned goddess from Nahariya, located in the very north of Palestine (Fig. 361). The steatite mould for casting metal figurines that was found on the MB II B (1760–1540/1450) high-place at this site (DOTHAN 1993:1091,1092) produced female figurines with a high conical headgear and two horns protruding sideways as well as slightly upwards. What associates this goddess in regard to her nature/role with those of figs. 359,360 is



Fig. 361

that, as KEEL (KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:34) observed, her posture or more precisely her arms are hanging down the side and the vulva is emphasised.

⁷⁷⁶ Cf. also a haematite conoid from Ashkelon dated to 1050–900 which shows two bovine animals and a small human and a possible reptile in KEEL 1997:700,701, no. 31.

Completely horizontal⁷⁷⁷ are the horns of the headgear worn by a worshipper of the naked goddess on an MB II B (1760–1540/1450) cylinder seal from Megiddo (Fig. 362 = fig. 1 on p. 147, 6 on p. 149, 331 on p. 363, 379 on p. 375), thereby identifying them as rams' horns.



Fig. 362



Not horizontally but vertically pointing horns are found on the leaden figure that was found in Tomb 257 of the "Hyksos cemetery" (1750–1300) at Tell el-^cAjjul and was dated by NEGBI (1976:83) to the LB I (1540/1450–1400) period (Fig. 363). Her association to the realm of fertility is self-



Fig. 364

evident. The circular shape of the horns as well the hairdo are almost identical with the Hathor-head with bull horns and sun disk on a scarab in gold mount from Tell el-^cAjjul, dated to 700–539 (Fig. 364).



Fig. 365



Two upward-pointing horns characterise the *en face* depicted winged naked goddess on the seal of Ga'al son of Shu'al from the end of the 8th/beginning of the 7th century (Fig. 365 = fig. 145 on p. 282).

To the end of the Late Bronze Age (13th–first half of the 12th centuries; WEINSTEIN 1991:82; GIVEON 1985b:100,101) belongs fig. 366. The base of this scarab from Tell el-Far'ah (South) depicts the head of the Egyptian god Amun wearing the *3tf*-crown and the sideways horizontally-projecting twisted ram horns (STRAUSS 1980:814) of the *ovis longipes palaeoegyptiacus*.⁷⁷⁸ However,



Fig. 366

⁷⁷⁷ Horizontally arranged are the horns on a bronze figurine from Gezer (SEEDEN 1979: pl. 108:1765).

⁷⁷⁸ On the different types of ram's horns that are relevant, cf. BEHRENS 1985–86:1244, footnote 1. Although the *ovis longipes palaeoegyptiacus* is associated with Chnum (cf. the hieroglyphs  [E10], depicting an *ovis longipes palaeoegyptiacus* and functioning as determinative for "ram", and  [C4], the ideogramme for Chnum) Amun is also depicted as wearing his horns (OTTO 1975:239; SETHE 1929:24). Additional parallels (as collected by A. JÄKLE at the BIF; this applies also to the parallels in the next footnote) of the same motif are: STARKEY/HARDING 1932: pls. 53:193,57:348,383, PETRIE 1930: pls. 12:149,22:203; PETRIE 1928: pl. 19:31; a scarab from Shechem: Tel Aviv University, Archaeological Institute Collection; a scarab from Beth-Shean: Wilfried-Israel Museum, Hazoreac Inv. Nr. 205. To this has to be added an unpublished scarab from Deir el-Balah (Corpus File no. 119).

Amun is more frequently depicted as ram sphinx as on a scarab from Acco also dated to the 19th–20th dynasties (1292–1075). Attached to the horizontal horns is the atef-crown and at each end a uraeus having a sun disk above it (Fig. 367).⁷⁷⁹



Fig. 367

The same headdress is also sometimes worn by Amun when he is depicted in anthropomorphic form, i.e., at least in regard to his body, as can be seen on another scarab from Tell el-Far'ah (South) which also belongs to the 19th–20th dynasties (Fig. 368).⁷⁸⁰



Fig. 368

Connected in terms of chronology and site of the previous depiction is a scarab in a gold setting from cemetery 900, tomb 936 (Fig. 369), which is dated to about 1300–1000. Its unique base design depicts two figures with an inscription that is probably to be read as the prenomen of Thutmose III



Fig. 369

followed by "beloved of Amun". The left figure is possibly a Philistine god or prince, the right was identified already by ROWE (1940:125, no. 532) as Amun, an identification recently re-emphasised by UEHLINGER (1990b:16) by pointing out the ram's head and horns.

With reference to the function of the ram horns of Amun, SETHE (1929:23) suggested that the most likely meaning was simply to express the "majesty" and "reputation" of Amun above other gods, a concept that might have been associated with the strength of the ram. In the same light the decoration of the barque of Amun with rams' heads is understood when the connotations of "might" and "power" are ascribed to it (ibid. 22; OTTO 1975:239).

⁷⁷⁹ Parallels: KEEL 1997: 520,521, no. 1226, 602,603, no. 206, 694,695, no. 16, 720,721, no. 82; a scarab from Shechem: Tel Aviv University, Archaeological Institute; Collection Dajan d/H 269,336; WEINSTEIN 1993: fig. 166:1; PETRIE 1930: pl. 29:254, STARKEY/HARDING 1932: pls. 48:28,50:53, 52:143,144,146,147, 53:228,229, 57:340,73:40, ROWE 1936: no. 731; PETRIE 1928: pl. 17:26; ibid. 1934: pl. 11:424; OREN 1980:31, no. 5; LAMON/SHIPTON 1939: pl. 72:3; a scarab at the Vorderasiatischen Museum Berlin, VA 15045; a scarab from Lachish: London, British Museum, find context: DX, area 100; inv. no. 5375 (an additional one is listed by A. JAKLE in her catalogue only with the inv. no. 5361; TUFNELL 1958: pl. 41:16; MACALISTER 1912: III pl. 207:42; OREN 1972:169, pl. 31D; a scarab from Taanach: Kibbuz Beth Alpha, Collection M. Reschef, no. 36.

⁷⁸⁰ An additional example comes from the same site: STARKEY/HARDING 1932: pl. 62:25.

An unidentified male horned god in menacing pose appears on a Late Bronze Age (1540/1450–1250/1150) cylinder seal from Acco. Under the auspices of the enthroned violent Egyptian goddess, Sakhmet (cf. footnote 805 on p. 389), a divine hero subdues a horned animal to the left of the scene by holding it upside down by a hind leg (Fig. 370).



Fig. 370

Another male horned god occurring in Late Bronze Palestine/Israel is the Canaanite god Reshef,⁷⁸¹ associated with the underworld, pestilence, and war. First to be noted is a serpentine cylinder seal from Beth-Shean that is dated to the Late Bronze Age (13th century) (Fig. 371). It depicts the pharaoh aiming a bow at a target that is already pierced by three arrows and to which two Asiatic prisoners are tied. On the left a god is standing and holding out straight a *hps*-sword. He is wearing the white crown to which a gazelle head is attached which identifies him as Reshef.⁷⁸² Reshef also represented as horned on a Late Bronze scaraboid from Gaza where he acts as



Fig. 371

“master of animals” (Fig. 372 = fig. 312 on p. 358).



Fig. 372

On stamp-seal amulets the gazelle is generally not depicted as part of his headdress. But Reshef is often standing on such an animal as for example on a scarab from Acco dated to c. 1200–1075 (Fig. 373). However, the horned animal is not always clearly identifiable.⁷⁸³



Fig. 373

⁷⁸¹ For an up-to-date research history on Reshef cf. CORNELIUS 1994:3–8.

⁷⁸² For the iconography of Reshef and his identification cf. *ibid.* 23–133.

⁷⁸³ Parallels with identifiable gazelles are: GIVEON/KERTESZ 1986:36,37, no. 134 (= CORNELIUS 1994:116, no. RM23, pl. 30:RM23; 1500–1100); MAZAR 1967:64–67, pls. 4,5 (= CORNELIUS 1994:116, no. RM24, pl. 30:RM24; 1150–1000). Those with unidentifiable horned animals are: KEEL 1980a: 267–269, no. 10, pl. 88:10 (= CORNELIUS 1994:117, no. RM27, pl. 30:RM27; 1050–950); McCOWN 1947:149,295, no. 34, pl. 54 (= CORNELIUS 1994:117,118, no. RM28, pl. 30:RM28; 1150–1000); PETRIE 1930: pl. 43:513 (= CORNELIUS 1994:118, no. RM29, pl. 30:RM29; 1150–1000); PETRIE/ELLIS 1937: pl. 6:58,62; TUFNELL 1953: pl. 44:80.

The identity of the horned figure on a limestone ring from Tell Beit Mirsim, dated to 1300–1200 (Fig. 374) is not entirely clear. The linear design is very crudely cut. The figure has two parallel strokes (cf. fig. 365 on p. 371) on its head suggesting an *en face* representation of the deity. Noteworthy is that the horned figure is not standing on the horned animal but is placed considerably higher. The identification of the horned animal is not clear. What is unusual is the very long neck (see also the next figure). From the available depictions of deities standing on horned animals it might be deduced to be a depiction of Reshef, especially because the weather god is generally not represented as standing on a horned animal (cf. below fig. 377).



Fig. 374

Reshef standing on a horned animal is sometimes associated with other animals, in particular with the lion, as on a scarab from Megiddo⁷⁸⁴ dated to the 11th century (Fig. 375). CORNELIUS pointed out that the lion “emphasises the god’s power over all animals”, thus reflecting “his lordship over the wild animals” (1994:124).



Fig. 375

From Tell el-Far‘ah (South) stems a scarab dated to about 1150–900 (Fig. 376 = fig. 26 on p. 156, 132 on p. 278, 532 on p. 532) which shows Reshef on the right standing on a horned animal. He is accompanied by a second figure, his wings outspread,⁷⁸⁵ standing on a lion.



Fig. 376

Last to be mentioned is a singular variant from Acco (1150–1000) which shows the same basic composition with the difference that the second figure, identified as Baal (ibid. 205, no. BM66), is shooting with a bow (Fig. 377).



Fig. 377

⁷⁸⁴ A second one comes from Tell el-Far‘ah (South): PETRIE 1930: pl. 39:439 (= CORNELIUS 1994:119,120, no. RM34, pl. 31:RM34; 1150–1000).

⁷⁸⁵ Parallels: KEEL 1980a:269,282, no. 31, pls. 90,136 (= CORNELIUS 1994:201, no. BM57, pl. 49:BM57; 1050–1000); ROWE 1936:138, no. 575, pl. 15:575 (= CORNELIUS 1994:201,202 no. BM58, pl. 49:BM58; 1300–1100); KEEL 1997:680,681, no. 54.

In regard to the function of the horned animal which is associated with Reshef, the prevailing opinion considers the animal's association with the desert and dangerous mountainous regions as significant (SIMPSON 1984:245; KEEL 1990a:198,199; CORNELIUS 1994:123, footnote 1). Although Reshef's connection with a horned animal goes back to a second millennium Syrian tradition⁷⁸⁶ it fitted very well into concept that not only associated horned animals with the realm of death (cf. p. 301),⁷⁸⁷ but likewise underlined the Asiatic origin of Reshef. Furthermore it connected his warrior aspect with the Egyptian connotation of the desert and mountainous regions with foreign lands (cf. footnote 554). This ties in with the fact that Reshef is depicted together with Baal-Seth (cf. fig. 376). Thus Reshef depicted on an Egyptian object that was in circulation in Palestine/Israel certainly involved a similar apotropaic function (HORNUNG/STAEHELIN 1976:93) that was associated with Baal-Seth.

Baal(-Seth) having been mentioned, it seems appropriate to discuss him at this juncture. He antedates (at least in regard to the first appearance in Palestine/Israel) the next group to be discussed, namely, horned goddesses with bovine horns but shares with them the bovine horns that now become more dominant. First to be mention is an 18th century Syrian cylinder seal (BECK 1989a:312) that was found in temple H at Hazor in a 14th century context (Fig. 378 = fig. 344 on p. 366). The



Fig. 378

scene on the broken seal is very similar to fig. 379 (= fig. 1 on p. 147, 6 on p. 149, 331 on p. 363, on p. 371), an MB II B (1760-1540/1450) cylinder seal from Megiddo. The difference in regard to the weather god and the associated bovine symbol is that



Fig. 379

on the cylinder seal from Hazor he wears a headdress with bulls' horns while on that from Megiddo he holds a bull on a leash.

⁷⁸⁶ On a suggested tradition history of this feature, cf. KEEL 1990a:199, fig. 31; *ibid.* 1990b: figs. 64,65.

⁷⁸⁷ Reshef was identified in Mesopotamia with Nergal, a god of the netherworld, pestilence, and warfare (SIMPSON 1984:244).

The weather god in Hittite garb in the context of fertility⁷⁸⁸ appears in ascending posture on a cylinder seal from Gezer (Fig. 380). He wears a horned cap and holds in his one hand on a rope a bull's head. A *bukephalion* is also represented in front of him. A stylised scared tree, which is in front of him, indicates his association to the vegetation.



Fig. 380

Classified by PARKER (1949:6, no. 2) as Babylonian and by VANEL (1965:101,102) as Mitannian with tendencies to Babylonian imitation is another adoration scene⁷⁸⁹ (Fig. 381) involving the horned weather god which is depicted on a cylinder seal from Beth-Shemesh. The weather god is represented as stepping on a calf⁷⁹⁰ and holding the classical Babylonian lightning fork. Two horns protrude from his headgear.

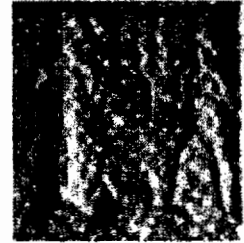


Fig. 381

The menacing weather god with a horned headdress is depicted in an entirely different composition on a cylinder seal from Bethel, dated to 1300 where he acts as protector of the name of Astarte (Fig. 382 = fig. 15 on p. 152). The goddess to the right, identified as the warrior



Fig. 382

goddess Anat (cf. 405 on p. 152), is also wearing a horned headdress. It is a stylised *3f*-crown with ram's horns and two long streamers.⁷⁹¹

A Late Bronze (1550–1250/1150) gold plaque from Lachish (Fig. 383) depicts a female deity which was identified with the warrior goddess Astarte due to her association with a horse (CLAMER 1980:159,160; WEIPPERT 1988:304,305).



Fig. 383

⁷⁸⁸ Mention should be made of a cylinder seal from Beth-Shean (PARKER 1949: no. 161) which depicts fertility motifs such as the sacred tree and an ibex eating from it next to a horned (?) deity, which, due to the worn state of the seal, cannot be identified.

⁷⁸⁹ For additional adoration scenes involving horned divinities see also fig. 18 on p. 153, PARKER 1949: nos. 1, 113, and an Anatolian cylinder seal from Ashkelon (ZIFFER 1990:84, fig. 91).

⁷⁹⁰ The drawing by NOUGAYROL (1939: pl. 5:GR.8) does not correspond with the photograph by PARKER (1949: pl. 1:2). The horns are not long but short and the neck is thick and not almost absent as on NOUGAYROL's drawing. It is therefore more likely a bovine animal (cf. also VANEL 1965:102, footnote 1).

⁷⁹¹ Anat with the *3f*-crown and streamer appears also on a stela from Beth-Shean (ROWE 1930: pl. 48:2 = PRITCHARD 1954: no. 475) holding a flower sceptre and an 'nh.

However, the absence of a weapon or a smiting act suggests that she should be classified among the *Qudshu*-type goddesses. On her hairdo with Hathor-locks she wears an unusual *3tf*-crown in which the feather flanking uraei are transformed into two pairs of horns.⁷⁹²

The largest number of depictions of the horned weather god in Palestine/Israel represent him in a non-menacing, standing posture. The date for this group ranges between 1300–1000 and can be divided into three different compositions. First to mention is the unique representations of the horned weather god in the presence of the pharaoh (Fig. 384 = fig. 17 on p. 153).



Fig. 384

Likewise singular is the motif on a scarab from Tell el-Far'ah (South) which places the horned weather god between two vegetable objects (Fig. 385 = fig. 4 on p. 148).



Fig. 385

The winged Baal-Seth forms the largest subgroup of the standing horned weather god. Typical of this group in regard to the iconography is the pyramid seal from Tell Qasile dated to around 1150 (Fig. 386 = fig. 130 on p. 275).⁷⁹³



Fig. 386

The horned version of the winged Baal-Seth is also depicted as standing on animals. On a lion he is represented on a scarab from Jericho dated to about 1100. Below one wing a debased uraeus is visible (Fig. 387).⁷⁹⁴ From Acco is a scarab that is assigned by



Fig. 387



Fig. 388

CORNELIUS (1994:210, footnote 1) to the Late Bronze/Iron Age I period which depicts the winged horned Baal-Seth⁷⁹⁵ standing on a horse (Fig. 388 = fig. 133 on p. 278).⁷⁹⁶

⁷⁹² Parallel: WEIPPERT 1988:304, fig. 3.52.2. For the naked goddess standing on a lion wearing also a Hathor-like hairdo and horns, cf. fig. 41 on p. 192.

⁷⁹³ The other parallels are: PETRIE 1930: pls. 21:308,22:186 (= CORNELIUS 1994:187, nos. BM31,BM32, pl. 48:BM31,BM32).

⁷⁹⁴ Parallel: KEEL 1997:626,627, no. 268.

⁷⁹⁵ CORNELIUS' iconographic identification with Baal-Seth was recently criticised by LIPÍŃSKI (1996:262) on the basis of linguistic arguments.

The last type of horned Baal-Seth representations is showing him in a menacing pose as serpent slayer as on a scarab from the Late Bronze chamber tomb no. 120 at Lachish that was re-used in the 10th/9th centuries (Fig. 389 = fig. 21 on p. 154, 492 on p. 487). Also only once the weather god is depicted as horned god when he overcomes the lion. Although the drawing of the 14th century cylinder seal from Acco does not show the horns of the weather god (Fig. 390 = fig. 24 on p. 155, 60 on p. 199, 527 on p. 529) the photograph shows them (Fig. 391).



Fig. 389



Fig. 390



Fig. 391

A scaraboid from Samaria assigned to the 9th/8th centuries depicts an unidentified anthropomorphic figure standing on a bovine animal that serves as pedestal (Fig. 392).⁷⁹⁷ Although the pose is not typical of the weather god, the bovine animal, the long tassel on the figure's head, and the weapon suggest that it is probably a depiction of the weather god.



Fig. 392

In 1899 E. SELLIN (1900:7,8) acquired from a boy at the well of Kafr Kanna in the Galilee an interesting bronze figurine that allegedly was found in a cave west of the village dating to the Iron Age (Fig. 393 = fig. 539 on p. 540).⁷⁹⁸ The whole composition consists of a platform to which at each corner a naked figurine is attached that is wearing a high conical headgear and is holding/supporting the breasts with her hands. On the platform a horned goddess with an Egyptianising crown⁷⁹⁹ is placed. Two features are remarkable: First, the posture, i.e., the goddess is stepping forward with her left leg and she is raising her right arm, which is broken off at the elbow, while she is



Fig. 393

⁷⁹⁶ Parallel without horned Baal-Seth: STARKEY/HARDING 1932: pl. 61 (level 377) (= SHUVAL 1990:137, no. 28). Possibly also REISNER 1924: pl. 56:e4.

⁷⁹⁷ The same motif however probably with an ibex as pedestal is found in Lachish (TUFNELL 1953: pls. 44:80).

⁷⁹⁸ There is a general trend in lowering the date from the Late Bronze to the Iron Age. NEGBI (1976:86) still considered a date in the second half of the 2nd millennium. SEEDEN (1980: pl. 139) classified the figurine to the end of her Late Urban period (1500-1000). FALSONE (1986:70) considered the middle horn as distinctive feature that dates it to the Iron Age. He does not specify first or second millennium, but implies the early Iron Age II.

holding an object in her left hand. Second, from the head of the goddess protrude three bovine horns. Due to her posture the goddess has been classified into a rather small group of figurines termed as "smiting goddesses" (cf. FALSONE 1986). The bovine horns underline her association with her aggressive male counterparts. The figurine continues the concept of a more violent aspect that is associated with horns, but it also retains the fertility aspect of the naked goddess by the little naked figurines holding/supporting their breasts.

From the very south, in the eastern Negev, 10 km south of Tel Arad, stems a terracotta head of a deity with a three-horned conical mitre (Fig. 394). It was found in the *bamah* enclosure of the Edomite shrine at



Horvat Qitmit dated to the end of the 7th/beginning of the 6th century. Based on the figurine from Kafr Kanna, a Syrian statuette in the Louvre⁸⁰⁰ and one allegedly from Ras Shamra⁸⁰¹ BECK (1995:121) reconstructed the whole figure as "smiting goddess". Supported was this interpretation by clay swords (ibid. 174,175) from the same locus and a part of a warrior figurine (ibid. 63) that was found about 5 m to the east in the altar enclosure. Added to these finds have to be pomegranate chalices, a pomegranate bowl (ibid. 155–159), and bird figurines⁸⁰² (ibid. 141–151) from within and east of the *bamah* enclosure as well as south of the three-roomed structure, which might indicate her fertility aspect.

⁷⁹⁹ It slightly differs from the atef crown in one aspect, namely, that the middle part of the atef-crown (the Egyptian white crown or a bundle of plants) is missing (cf. also fig. 383 on p. 376). Only the two ostrich feathers flanked by two uraei (?) and a sun disk are represented. The whole is supported with straight rams' horns.

⁸⁰⁰ The figure referred to is AO 20160, a statuette of 12 cm in height and 4 cm in width. The goddess's conical headdress which ends in a knob has three horns. Her right arm is raised in a smiting posture holding in the hand a double-headed battle-axe. In her left fist the goddess holds a knife. Across her hip a large sword is attached with ropes. The left leg is slightly advancing (Fn. fig. 35).



Fn. fig. 35

⁸⁰¹ BECK (1995:121, footnote 20) referred to *Myth and Majesty*. Catalogue No. 41, Antiquarian Ltd., New York.

⁸⁰² Predominantly ostriches were found, usually associated with a male deity/hero. Recently it has been argued that it can be connected with a female goddess (ibid. 151,152). Apart from the ostriches a few other birds were found as well (ibid. 144, no. 163, 146, nos. 171–173). Thus the overall evidence in regard to a connection between the goddess and birds at Horvat Qitmit is not conclusive. For references on the bird in the context of fertility see also p. 167.

Entirely different in regard to the posture from all so far discussed representations of horned deities is the last depiction to be mentioned in this section. The fragment of a stela from stratum IX (14th–early 13th centuries) at Beth-Shean, depicts a *seated* god as he



Fig. 395

is worshipped by the Egyptian architect Amen-em-Opet and his son Pa-Ra-em-Heb (Fig. 395 = fig. 461 on p. 457, 544 on p. 544). The inscription identifies the enthroned as “Mekal, the [great] god, the lord of Beth-Shean” (ROWE 1930:15). In typical Asiatic tradition he wears a conical cap with a long streamer and two horns in front (cf. fig. 378 on p. 375, figs. 384,385 on p. 377, figs. 386,387 on p. 377).

3.4.1.5. Horned dragons, monsters, and demons

The Late Bronze Age (1540/1450–1250/1150) is the starting point to cover horned beings whose common denominator is that they are life-threatening forces. Except for two all have been encountered so far in this study in other sections. First to mention is the horned serpent which is the opponent of the serpent-slayer Baal. It is probably the most frequently depicted horned life-threatening force that is depicted on Palestinian glyptic. A representative of this group that was in circulation until the 8th century (Macalister 1912: III pl. 214:19) is seen on a scarab from Tell el-Far‘ah (South) which is dated to 1500–1150 (Fig. 396).⁸⁰³



Fig. 396

Dating to about the same period is the cylinder seal from Tell el-‘Ajjul (Fig. 397 = fig. 27 on p. 156, 80 on p. 204, 223 on p. 302, 311 on p. 358) that depicts a horned winged anthropomorphic figure with not the best of intentions. It is about to grab a helpless human being, which is only saved by the intervention of the weather god.



Fig. 397

⁸⁰³ Parallels: cat. nos. 379,380 on p. 429.

Moving into the first millennium influences from Mesopotamia are clearly visible by the motifs that are in circulation. On a cylinder seal of unknown Palestinian provenance (Fig. 398 = fig. 237 on p.



Fig. 398

308, 538 on p. 539) dating to the 9th–7th centuries the scene is

placed into the divine realm (lozenge, star; cf. fig. 300 on p. 355 with footnote 735) where Ninurta is fighting the horned Anzu–dragon.

On a conoid from Tell Keisan dating to about 700 another well known figure is depicted, namely, the *mushussu*–serpent–dragon (Fig. 399). The signs of the Babylonian gods Marduk and Nabu – spade and stylus – are on a pedestal on its back. The *mushussu*–dragon lost its earlier nature as “angel of



Fig. 399

death, killing with its venom at the command of its masters” (WIGGERMANN 1995:461) as it became the servant of Marduk not being a chthonic snake god. It was however still a “fearsome champion of law” and retained its apotropaic function (ibid.).

Probably also apotropaic function has to be assigned to the attacking galloping horned and winged griffin depicted on a 4th century coin from Samaria (Fig. 400).



Fig. 400

Lastly to mention is a Persian clay impression from Samaria that depicts the king fighting a horned lion dragon (Fig. 401 = fig. 189 on p. 294, 509 on p. 502, 534 on p. 534).⁸⁰⁴ The composition of a hero/king slaying a lion is based on age-



Fig. 401

old Mesopotamian tradition and is also found in Assyrian art, but got a unique aspect in the Persian period by depicting the king not with fighting real animals but mythical monsters (ROOT 1979:304,305). ROOT assigned to this type of motif an apotropaic function whereby the king “protects his domain from creatures who symbolize any and all hostile forces” whereby the scene is “transposed to a cosmic plane” (ibid. 307,308).

⁸⁰⁴ Parallels: cat. nos. 386,387 on p. 431.

3.4.2. Catalogue and analysis of possible relevant motifs

Again the covered material is too comprehensive and too rich that a detailed analysis can be made which would require to incorporate the hundreds of seal-amulets mentioned in the footnotes in an evaluation which goes beyond what is necessary for this study. However, the survey provides enough criteria to establish a catalogue of possible relevant motifs for the better understanding of the horned beast in Dan 7. Furthermore the survey itself is a summary of the iconographic world of the horn/horned animal in its own right. What needs to be emphasised at this place is that an exclusion of a motif from the catalogue does not necessarily mean that it is not important for the overall study. Also the seemingly irrelevant can be relevant for the better understanding when it is contrasted with differing concepts.

Looking at horned animals we observe that the majority of motifs place the horned animal in the context of fertility and life. This applies to such motifs as the horned animal flanking a tree, the suckling horned animal, the horned animal in an astral context but to also many motifs classified under the heading "horns and solitary horned animals". Indirectly related to this theme is also the motif of the worshipper with a horned animal. It is obvious that all these representations have little or no bearing on the horned monstrous beast of Dan 7. Of course the notion of strength is also involved with these depictions of horned animals as KEEL correctly stated when he remarked: "Sie repräsentieren Kraft und Potenz und sind wohl als Symbole der Virilität zu deuten" (KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:21). But it needs no further explanation that this is another semantic domain than that of the fourth beast of Dan 7. Excluded from the catalogue are again depictions with horned animals without further context since their exact function cannot unambiguously be determined.

The horned beast in Dan 7 is characterised on the one hand as a political force which exerts power over all other kingdoms (Dan 7:23) but it is also as a life-threatening force (Dan 7:21,25a.b.d) which is challenging the peaceful order of life and necessitates divine intervention

(Dan 7:11,26). There are a number of motifs, which associated the horned animal with similar concepts and invite to include them in a catalogue for possible relevant motifs for the better understanding of Dan 7. When the horned animal is attacked and hunted it can be a symbol for a political enemy but can also represent a life-threatening force, which has to be overcome. This is also the case when the horned animal is subdued in the "master of animals" composition. While these compositions present the dangerous horned animal as subjugated, there are also representations, which place the powerful nature of the horned animal in a positive light and therefore also need further investigation if they have a bearing on Dan 7.

A similar picture is provided when bovine animals are considered. Here the relationship to fertility, life, and prosperity is almost overwhelming. Often a symbol of life or fertility is added to the motif of the solitary bovine animal. The "master/mistress of bovine animals" is also placed in a fertility-related context. The same applies to the suckling cows, the combination with a scorpion or the association with astral elements. When the bovine animal is attacked it functions again a symbol of life and prosperity which one desires to obtain in the same powerful way as the lion kills the bovine animal. Again, representations of solitary animals are not considered in the catalogue because their exact function cannot be determined with absolute certainty. It is also obvious that the Hathor cow has nothing to do with the horns of the beast of Dan 7. Surprisingly there is only a very small number of images of bovine animals which are not directly related to the theme of fertility but indicate aggression and power by the virtue of the dangerous horns. Among them are the depictions of the aggressive bull. Finally, also a possible candidate, which might shed light on the violent horns of Dan 7, are depictions of the aggressive weather god in connection with the bull while those depicting him in a fertility-related context are not considered relevant for the catalogue. Likewise no bearing on Dan 7 have depictions which combine horned and bovine animals.

Studying the above survey one can notice that horned deities occur in the context of fertility or adoration scenes, while others are not involved in any action and the horns simply indicate

the divine nature. Again others deities are set in relation to horned animals but themselves have no horns. What transpires from the overview of motifs is that the horn is not surprisingly a very general symbol, which indicates more the divine nature than to bring across a specific aggressive attitude. Nevertheless there are horned deities with threatening or power displaying poses or attributes. It will be necessary to study them and see how they integrate in the general impression received from the survey.

The last group to be considered in the catalogue will be horned monsters, dragons, and demons. The very nature of these beings necessitates including all their depictions of the survey in the catalogue.

3.4.2.1. Non-bovine horned animals

3.4.2.1.1. The horned animal attacked by a human figure

3.4.2.1.1.1. Catalogue

- 259 OBJECT: Scarab; hollowed-out engraving; jasper; green; 16,5 x 11,3 x 7,7 mm.
 DESCRIPTION: The pharaoh as bowman, wearing a kilt, is aiming at two fleeing ibexes which are arranged one above the other. The lower animal is falling and turns its head towards the attacker. Behind the upper ibex is an unidentified object.
 DATE: 1530-1292.
 PROVENANCE: Megiddo; stratum 8, W-5083.
 LITERATURE: LOUD 1948: pl. 152:154; KEEL 1977b:142, fig. 5; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:93, fig. 101b. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 290 on p. 352, 511 on p. 504.



- 260 OBJECT: Scaraboid; hollowed-out engraving; limestone; grey; 15,1 x 12,7 x 11 mm.
 DESCRIPTION: A bowman aiming at a horned animal facing the attacker.
 DATE: 1150-900.
 PROVENANCE: Acco; surface find.
 LITERATURE: GIVEON/KERTESZ 1986:38,39, no. 147; KEEL 1997:574,575, no. 123.



- 261 OBJECT: Rectangular plaque with handle; basis and all four sides engraved, part of base and the sides broken off; hollowed-out engraving; stone, grey; base: 42 x 40 mm. Height: 27 mm without handle, with handle 44 mm.
 DESCRIPTION: Side A: A bowman aiming at a horned animal which turns its head backwards to the attacker. In front of the animal a twig.
 DATE: ? (KEEL 1995a:96 § 235) (1150-700?).
 PROVENANCE: Acco; surface find.
 LITERATURE: KEEL 1997:590,591, no. 172.



- 262 OBJECT: Scarab; hollowed-out and linear engraving; hatching and cross-hatching; 16 x 13 x 7 mm.
 DESCRIPTION: The pharaoh with the blue crown and clad with a short kilt is aiming with his bow at a falling horned animal. Above it is a rhinoceros (?). On the right side is a *nfr*-sign.
 DATE: 1530-1075.
 PROVENANCE: Taanach; surface find.
 LITERATURE: GIVEON 1978a:81-84, fig. 39.



- 263 OBJECT: Ovoid seal; linear and hollowed-out engraving; steatite; chocolate brown; 19,2 x 14,4 x 9,5 mm.
 DESCRIPTION: A figure wearing a round cap and a knee-long kilt spears a mother animal. In his raised hand he holds another object which touches the animal's head. Between the legs of the attacked animal a small ibex with horns is depicted. Above the attacked animal's back are two antithetically arranged birds, behind it is a twig. A kind of semi-circle is before the man's head. Below his spear a clump of papyrus like object (M16) is merged with the S35 hieroglyph. Behind the figure is the hieroglyph *z3* "protection".
 DATE: 1292-1190.
 PROVENANCE: Megiddo; square P 8, surface find.
 LITERATURE: ROWE 1936:222, pl. 25:SO. 9. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 291 on p. 352.



- 264 OBJECT: Scarab; part of base broken off; schematic hollowed-out engraving; steatite; 22,9 x 18,8 x 10,3 mm.

DESCRIPTION: A bowman in a chariot aims at a horned animal and a human.

DATE: 1130-945.

PROVENANCE: Tell el-Far'ah (South); tomb 533.

LITERATURE: PETRIE 1930: pl. 31:284. *Photograph from Corpus File.*



- 265 OBJECT: Scarab; part of the base broken off; schematic hollowed-out engraving with hatching; steatite; yellowish; 21 x 17 mm.

DESCRIPTION: A human figure in a chariot of which only part of the wheel is visible. In front is a human figure raising one arm. Between the charioteer and the human figure a horned animal. A second horned animal is behind the human.

DATE: 1130-945.

PROVENANCE: Tell el-Far'ah (South); tomb 601.

LITERATURE: PETRIE 1930: pl. 31:287.



- 266 OBJECT: Scarab; part of the base broken off at several places; schematic hollowed-out engraving with hatching; 18 x 14,2 mm.

DESCRIPTION: A bowman in a chariot. In front of him is a horned animal and a human clad with a short kilt and having a long lock on his head and facing away from the charioteer.

DATE: 1130-945

PROVENANCE: Tell el-Far'ah (South); tomb 609.

LITERATURE: PETRIE 1930: pl. 31:304.



- 267 OBJECT: Scarab; part of the back broken off; schematic hollowed-out engraving; faience; white; 16 x 11 x 8 mm.

DESCRIPTION: As no. 266, but the charioteer's headdress has a projection and the human is schematically executed.

DATE: 1130-945.

PROVENANCE: Tell Qasile; stratum 12, locus 230, basket 2912.

LITERATURE: MAZAR 1985: 18, 19, fig. 6:1, photo 15. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 298 on p. 354.



- 268 OBJECT: Scarab; schematic hollowed-out engraving; 15,2 x 12 x mm.

DESCRIPTION: As no. 266, but the human is schematically executed and is facing the chariot. One of his arms touches the horse's mouth.

DATE: 1130-945.

PROVENANCE: Tell Qasile; stratum 8, area A, room L2.

LITERATURE: MAZAR 1985: 19, 20, fig. 6:21.



- 269 OBJECT: Scarab; schematic hollowed-out engraving; steatite; 18 x 15 x 5 mm.

DESCRIPTION: As no. 266.

DATE: 1130-945.

PROVENANCE: Gezer; 4th Semitic period.

LITERATURE: MACALISTER 1912 II 327, 328, no. 364, III pl. 208:51 (*drawing of impression!*).



- 270 OBJECT: Scarab; border chipped; schematic hollowed-out engraving; steatite; white with yellowish glaze; 17 x 14 x 9 mm.

DESCRIPTION: A bowman aiming at a lion, a horned animal (above), and (debased) human figure (right).

DATE: 1130-1000.

PROVENANCE: Beth-Shean; south end of city, lower level of stratum V; square P7,



locus 1708.

LITERATURE: JAMES 1966:332, fig. 109,8; SHUVAL 1990:130, no. 13. *Photograph from Corpus File*. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 138 on p. 249.

- 271 OBJECT: Scarab; border chipped; schematic hollowed-out engraving with cross-hatching; steatite; 17,5 x 12,5 x 8,5 mm.
DESCRIPTION: As no. 270.
DATE: 1130-945.
PROVENANCE: Acco; surface find.
LITERATURE: GIVEON/KERTESZ 1986:28,29, no. 93; SHUVAL 1990:131, no. 15; KEEL 1997:560,561, no. 87. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 139 on p. 249.



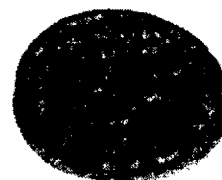
- 272 OBJECT: Scarab; schematic hollowed-out engraving; 14,7 x 11,4 x mm.
DESCRIPTION: As no. 270.
DATE: 1130-945.
PROVENANCE: Tell el-Far'ah (South); cemetery 100, tomb 133.
LITERATURE: PETRIE 1930: pl. 29:272; SHUVAL 1990:130, no. 14. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 140 on p. 249. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 69 on p. 201, 512 on p. 504.



- 273 OBJECT: Scarab; schematic hollowed-out engraving; steatite; 17 x 13,3 x 9,7 mm.
DESCRIPTION: As no. 270.
DATE: 1130-945.
PROVENANCE: Tell el-Far'ah (South); tomb 506.
LITERATURE: PETRIE 1930: pl. 31:324; SHUVAL 1990:129, no. 11. *Photograph from Corpus File*. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 141 on p. 250. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 299 on p. 354.



- 274 OBJECT: Scarab; border chipped; schematic hollowed-out engraving; steatite; white-yellowish; 17 x 13,3 x 9,7 mm.
DESCRIPTION: As no. 270.
DATE: 1130-945.
PROVENANCE: Tell el-Far'ah (South); surface find from cemetery 500.
LITERATURE: PETRIE 1930: pl. 43:537; ROWE 1936: no. 813; SHUVAL 1990:131, no. 16. *Photograph from Corpus File*. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 142 on p. 250.



- 275 OBJECT: Scarab; schematic hollowed-out engraving; steatite; 16,6 x 13 x 7,7 mm.
DESCRIPTION: As no. 270.
DATE: 1130-945.
PROVENANCE: Gezer; find context unknown.
LITERATURE: Unpublished. *Drawing from Corpus File*. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 143 on p. 250.



- 276 OBJECT: Scarab; base partly broken off at the top; schematic hollowed-out engraving; steatite; grey-white glaze; 17 x 13 x 8 mm.
DESCRIPTION: As no. 270.
DATE: 1130-945.
PROVENANCE: Tell Jemmeh; find context unknown.
LITERATURE: PETRIE 1928: pls. 17:44,19:47; SHUVAL 1990:129, no. 12. *Photograph from Corpus File*. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 144 on p. 250.



277 OBJECT: Cylinder seal; faience; green.

DESCRIPTION: A striding figure with a roundish headgear to the left wearing a long, open dress is holding a weapon in its right hand. A rampant ibex is before it. Behind the rampant animal a figure with a long dress and a high, pointed headgear with a streamer raises both arms. To the right below the guilloche pattern is a rampant smaller ibex turning its head back to a rampant dog or lion.

DATE: 1600–1350.

PROVENANCE: Tell el-Far'ah (North); period 4, locus 250.

LITERATURE: *DE VAUX 1955:572,581, fig. 18:F.2904*. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 513 on p. 505.



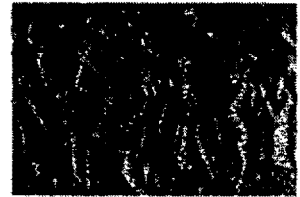
278 OBJECT: Cylinder seal; paste; white, with creamy surface.

DESCRIPTION: To the right a figure in a long dress and a round headgear raises its hand in devotion towards a striding figure with open, long dress and the same headgear. In his right hand the figure holds a scimitar in order to attack the rampant horned animal in front of it. Above is already a prostrate horned animal overcome. Behind the central figure are two antithetically arranged seated winged sphinxes. Above them a lion attacks another horned animal.

DATE: 1539–1292.

PROVENANCE: Tel Azeka; find context unknown.

LITERATURE: *BLISS/MACALISTER 1902:153, pl. 83:2*; *NOUGAYROL 1939: pl. 12:T.Z.2*; *PARKER 1949:21, no. 86, pl. 14:86*. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 100 on p. 230, 327 on p. 400. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 54 on p. 196.



279 OBJECT: Cylinder seal; Mitannian style; haematite; 22 (h) mm.

DESCRIPTION: Two figures with a long dress hold with one hand a standard with the emblem of the moon god. The other hands are raised. To the left is a figure in a short kilt holding a horned animal upside-down by its hind legs. To the right of the seal is a striding (naked?) figure holding two horned animals which face outwards by their horns.

DATE: 1500–1300.

PROVENANCE: Tell Jemmeh; "city of 22nd dynasty", areal E, room Eb, 191" (*PETRIE 1928:11: EG 190*)

LITERATURE: *PETRIE 1928:11,12 pl. 19:30*; *NOUGAYROL 1939: pl. 11:T.G.2 C*; *KEEL 1994c:191, fig. 55*. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 349 on p. 411. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 310 on p. 357.



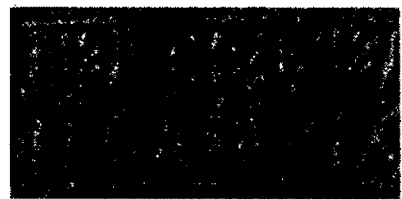
280 OBJECT: Cylinder seal; faience; white.

DESCRIPTION: Two figures back-to-back wearing a long, open dress struggle with two rampant ibexes which turn their heads backwards. Next to this scene is a seven-branched tree. The stem has two lines across it.

DATE: 15th century.

PROVENANCE: Beth-Shean; level IX.

LITERATURE: *PARKER 1949:16, no. 48, pl. 7:48*. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 301 on p. 356.



281 OBJECT: Cylinder seal; glazed; 31 x 53 mm.

DESCRIPTION: Flanking a pole two rampant horned animals turn their heads back towards a human attacker who grabs the animal by the horns. One leg of the attacker is in a kicking posture.

DATE: 15th century.

PROVENANCE: Gezer, tomb 252.

LITERATURE: *MACALISTER 1912: II 345 no. 8, III pl. 137:50*; *NOUGAYROL 1939: pl. 3:EG. 11*.



282 OBJECT: Cylinder seal; Mitannian style; faience; remnants of glaze on the edges; 26,5 x 12,5 mm.

DESCRIPTION: "Two groups of contestants are portrayed, each including two heroes. On the left, a nude hero wearing a round hat and a sash is subduing a horned animal (antelope) standing on its hind legs and facing him. The hero's right foot is placed on the animal's hind leg; in his left hand he is grasping on [sic] of its horns and in his right its tail. The contestant on the right is wearing a long fringed garment, which exposes his right leg, and a round hat with a brim depicted by two strokes. He is grasping the animal by its other horn and foreleg. The group on the right is identical, except for the figure in a long garment, who is holding a scimitar in his left hand and the foreleg of the animal in his right. Only one foreleg is depicted" (BECK 1989a:315).

DATE: Early 15th century, if not earlier.

PROVENANCE: Hazor; area H, locus 2113, stratum 1A.

LITERATURE: BECK 1989a:315,316, pl. 319:3.



283 OBJECT: Cylinder seal; badly preserved; Mitannian style, faience; remnants of glaze in the carved lines; 29,5 x 13 mm.

DESCRIPTION: Identical to the previous seal.

DATE: Early 15th century, if not earlier.

PROVENANCE: Hazor; area H, locus 2113, stratum 1A.

LITERATURE: BECK 1989a:315,316, pl. 319:4.

284 OBJECT: Cylinder seal; badly damaged; white paste (faience?); 21 x 10 mm.

DESCRIPTION: On the left a striding figure wearing a short kilt with a long belt and a horned roundish headgear is brandishing a sword in his right and holding with the other hand a horned animal by one hind leg upside-down. In the middle of the scene a female figure wearing a headdress and a knee-long dress is holding out towards the hero in her right a chalice and holding with the other a horizontally depicted stick. To the right the lioness-headed Sakhmet⁸⁰⁵ with a long dress is seated on a throne holding in one hand the *shmsistrum* with the Hathor head. Possibly she is also holding the flower (papyrus?) sceptre, which is in front of her. Above her is a sun disk.



DATE: 18th/19th dynasty (1539–1190).

PROVENANCE: Acco; tomb B 3, no. 435.

LITERATURE: BECK 1977:68,69, pls. 8:15, 21:4. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 371 on p. 424. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 370 on p. 373.

285 OBJECT: Cylinder seal; probably stone; 32 (h) mm.

DESCRIPTION: A rampant horned animal is seized by a winged figure with a long dress, holding a scimitar. Below the horned animal is a rhomb, above it is a crescent, and behind an eight-pointed star above a stylised tree.

DATE: 9th/8th centuries.

PROVENANCE: Gezer; find context unknown.

LITERATURE: MACALISTER 1912: II 346, no. 33; *ibid.* III pl. 214:22; NOUGAYROL 1939: pl.

4:LXII; REICH/BRANDL 1985:46,47, fig. 6:2; ORNAN 1990:175, fig. 21; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:329, fig. 282a. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 255 on p. 330. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 224 on p. 302, 302 on p. 356, 514 on p. 505, 537 on p. 538.



⁸⁰⁵ BECK (1977:69) spoke of a deity which "is not encountered in Egyptian iconography". However the head looks like that of a lioness and the Hathor-sistrum, the flower sceptre as well as the sun disk point to Sakhmet (STERNBERG 1984:324,326; HART 1986:187). On scarabs Sakhmet appears especially in the Iron Age II C (7th/6th centuries) (KEEL 1997:32,33, no. 30, 38,39, nos. 52,53, 532,533, no. 6, 718,719, no. 76, 722,723, no. 88; GIVEON 1988:62,63, no. 64). For a 19th dynasty (1292–1190) cylinder seal with Sakhmet cf. KEEL 1989c:306, fig. 96.

- 286 OBJECT: Oval plaque with bronze ring; border and base slightly chipped; hollowed-out and linear engraving with hatching; bronze; 9,9 x 8,3 x 4,9 mm.

DESCRIPTION: A striding figure to the right who is holding with lowered arms the forelegs of a rampant horned animal. An unidentified object is behind the latter.

DATE: 900–587.

PROVENANCE: Tel Arad; fortress, in the vicinity of the cult area, exact find context unknown, probably stratum X–VIII (900–c. 701).

LITERATURE: *KEEL* 1997:654,655, no. 25.



- 287 OBJECT: Round plaque, top conical; hollowed-out and linear engraving; stone; black and white; 12 (d) x 8,7 mm.

DESCRIPTION: A striding figure attacking a rampant horned animal. In his hand the figure holds an object.

DATE: 700–539.

PROVENANCE: Ashdod; surface find.

LITERATURE: *KEEL* 1997:676,677, no. 42.



- 288 OBJECT: Scarab; border slightly chipped; hollowed-out engraving with hatching; steatite; light yellow; 14 x 11 x 9 mm.

DESCRIPTION: A striding figure is holding with his left hand the foreleg of a rampant horned animal which turns its head away from the figure. Above the scene a winged sun disk. Between the human and the horned animal a disk. Below a *nb*-sign. Rope border.

DATE: 539–400.

PROVENANCE: Atlit; south-east cemetery, tomb 7, b-1.

LITERATURE: *JOHNS* 1933:63, no. 328 with fig. 21, pls. 14:328, 15:328; *ROWE* 1936: no. 903;

HÖLBL 1986: I 184, fig. 24; *KLINGBEIL* 1992:98, no. 9; *KEEL* 1997:758,759, no. 1.



- 289 OBJECT: Cylinder seal; Mitannian–Assyrian–Pseudo–Kassite style (*MATTHEWS* 1990:113); onyx; red; 35 x 13,3 mm.

DESCRIPTION: Upper register: to the left a naked winged figure is holding two upside-down horned animals by their hind legs, their heads face outwards. To the right is a rampant horned animal turning its head away from the winged figure. Behind it are four globes. To the right of them is a naked kneeling archer with a round headdress aiming at a galloping horned animal.

Underneath the latter is a griffin couchant. Lower register: to the left is a seated griffin. On its body is one and below it are two globes. Above it is a lozenge. The griffin protects a palm tree, which is flanked by a vase and a rampant horned animal turning its head backwards towards the palm tree. The second half of the lower register shows a fan scene. It is closed by two naked attendants of which the left one has a fan in his outstretched left hand. The second attendant to the very right holds an object in his left hand and touches with his right hand a tree(–standard?). In the middle of the fan scene is a bearded figure with a round headdress and a long garment sitting on a stool. In his lifted right hand is a small vase. In front of him another vessel is standing on the ground. Part of a drinking tube is still visible.

Underneath the latter is a griffin couchant. Lower register: to the left is a seated griffin. On its body is one and below it are two globes. Above it is a lozenge. The griffin protects a palm tree, which is flanked by a vase and a rampant horned animal turning its head backwards towards the palm tree. The second half of the lower register shows a fan scene. It is closed by two naked attendants of which the left one has a fan in his outstretched left hand. The second attendant to the very right holds an object in his left hand and touches with his right hand a tree(–standard?). In the middle of the fan scene is a bearded figure with a round headdress and a long garment sitting on a stool. In his lifted right hand is a small vase. In front of him another vessel is standing on the ground. Part of a drinking tube is still visible.

DATE: 8th century.⁸⁰⁶

PROVENANCE: Beth–Shean; level IV.

LITERATURE: *PARKER* 1949:28, no. 122, pl. 18:122; *MATTHEW* 1990:18,22,90,95,110,112,113, no. 520;

KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:359, fig. 308. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 350 on p. 411, 395 on p. 472. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 229 on p. 305, 300 on p. 355, 467 on p. 459, 546 on p. 545.



⁸⁰⁶ *MATTHEWS* (1990:110,112, no. 520) dated it to the 13th century, *PARKER* (1949:28, no. 122) to 1200–800 and *UEHLINGER* (*KEEL/UEHLINGER* 1995:356–360) to the end of the 8th/beginning of the 7th century.

3.4.2.1.1.2. Analysis

Two main traditions can be distinguished when a human attacks a horned animal, namely, a typical Egyptian and a characteristic Asiatic one. Egyptian iconographic tradition depicts the attacker with the exception of 263 always as archer. Egyptian representations can be subdivided into three types. The first type depicts the pharaoh/hero alone with the horned animal (259–263) with the exception of 262 which adds a rhinoceros (?) and a *nfr*-sign and is often considered an allusion to a hunt of Thutmose III (1479–1426) on a Nubian campaign (GIVEON 1978a:82; KEEL 1977b:32; STÖRK 1982:351). When the horned animal appears alone its meaning is ambiguous, certainly it goes beyond the simple representation of a hunting scene. It could represent life-threatening forces but also political enemies (HORNUNG/STAEHELIN 1976:140; KEEL 1990b:287; *ibid.* 1995a:222 § 603), at least in the case of 259 where the pharaoh is clearly depicted. The second and third type – both Ramesside mass-products (cf. KEEL 1995a:36 § 67; cf. also below footnote 423 on p. 159) – are more complex constellations which invite for a more precise interpretation. Basically type 2 and 3 are the same compositions, namely, the pharaoh attacking an array of enemies, viz., a human, a lion, and a horned animal. On type 2 the pharaoh attacks from a chariot (264–268), on type 3 he is depicted on foot (269–276). The depicted human victim indicates that these depictions are not hunting scenes but representations of royal triumph. Again the meaning of the subdued opponents is ambiguous. The attacked human can function as indicator that the animals are not objects of a royal hunt but symbols of political enemies. Since horned animals were also understood as symbol for foreign dangerous mountainous regions the combination with the lion can be interpreted as comprehensive royal triumph over all political enemies. On the other hand horned animals are also a symbol of life-threatening forces which are associated with the desolate habitat of these animals. Thus, the meaning is in this case less on a political than on a “mythological” level. The combination of lion and horned animal reminds of compositions where omnipotence is indicated by the control of a horned animal and a lion (cf. figs. 311,312 on

p. 358 and also p. 314). If the human is added to this combination the meaning would be a superlative of omnipotence, conveying triumph over any threatening human and mythological power. What speaks however against such an interpretation is the necessity to combine a royal Egyptian motif with the Asiatic theme of the "master of the horned animal and the lion."

The Asiatic counterpart depicts a deity or divine hero as he subdues usually a *rampant* horned animal (two⁸⁰⁷ exceptions are 279,284 where the horned animal is held by a hind leg upside down). We can distinguish two phases, namely, depictions dating to the 16th–13th centuries (277,278,280–284) and a second group dating mainly to the 9th–6th centuries (285–288) whereby only the last three are stamp seal amulets, all others are cylinder seals. What is common to all these depictions is that there are no indications that a royal figure is struggling with the horned animal. It is therefore generally accepted that the rampant horned animal indicates malevolent, life-threatening forces which are subdued by a supernatural hero.

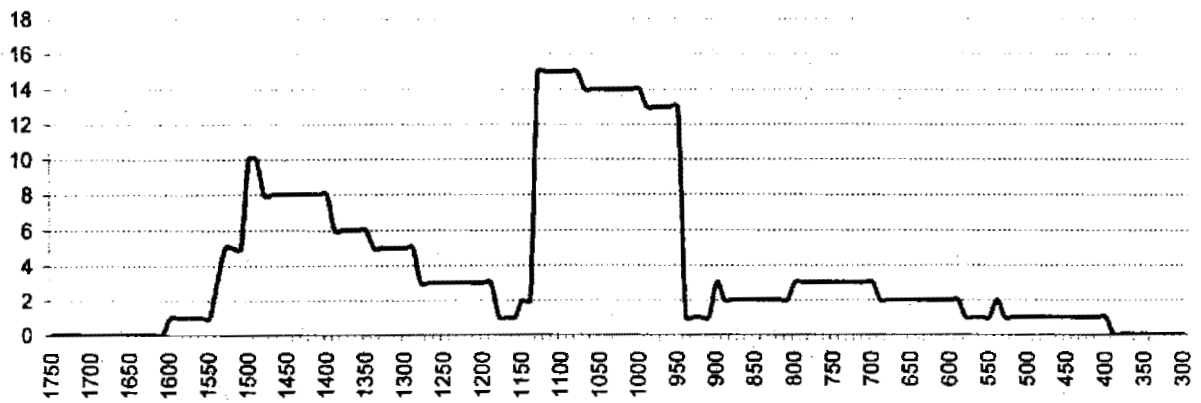
Different in composition is 279 although there is a similar meaning underlying this representation. The focus on the seal is again a deity, in this case the moon god is represented by the standard. Flanked is the scene by two figures both subduing horned animals which might underline the protective force of the moon god over the peaceful order of life. Entirely different is 289. There an Asiatic archer is aiming at a horned animal. Although in footnote 735 on p. 355 some links to Mesopotamian traditions were indicated only a detailed research on this particular motifs can establish its specific meaning in the complex context of 289. Lastly to mention is 284 which is a combination of Egyptian elements (Sakhmet, the chalice of the worshipping lady [BECK 1977:68]) and a divine hero subduing the horned animal in an Asiatic fashion (cf. 279, fig. 24 on p. 155).

⁸⁰⁷ The "mistress/master of horned animals" composition of 289 is not considered here.

3.4.2.1.1.3. Geographical and chronological distribution




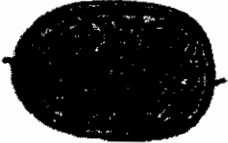



Map 18: The horned animal attacked by a human figure








Graph 18: The horned animal attacked by a human figure

3.4.2.1.2. The horned animal attacked by the lion

3.4.2.1.2.1. Catalogue

- 290 **OBJECT:** Scarab; base partly broken off; linear engraving with hatching and cross-hatching; steatite; 21 x 15 x 9 mm.
DESCRIPTION: A lion is attacking a crouching horned animal, which turns its head back. The lion's tail ends in a uraeus. Before the lion's head and below its tail is a filling.
DATE: 1750–1550.
PROVENANCE: Gezer; find context unknown.
LITERATURE: *GIVEON 1985:118,119, no. 23.* Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 69 on p. 225.
- 
- 291 **OBJECT:** Scarab; part of bronze attachment in perforation; linear engraving with hatching; steatite; ochre on the surface; 22,8 x 15,8 x 9,4 mm.
DESCRIPTION: A lion standing on the back of a crouching horned animal, which turns its head back towards the attacker. Twig between the horned animal's and lion's (?) legs. An ' below and a circle above the horned animal's head.
DATE: 1750–1550.
PROVENANCE: Tell el-Far'ah (South); tomb 1021.
LITERATURE: *STARKEY/HARDING 1932: pl. 43:14; TUFNELL 1984: pls. 36:2429,40:2616. Photograph from Corpus File.* Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 70 on p. 225.
- 
- 292 **OBJECT:** Scarab; part of the border and base broken off; hollowed-out partly linear engraving with hatching and cross-hatching; steatite; 20,5 x 14,7 x 8,5 mm.
DESCRIPTION: A lion is attacking a fleeing horned animal.
DATE: 1750–1400.
PROVENANCE: Tel Harasim; surface find.
LITERATURE: *KARON 1985: no. 2. Drawing from Corpus File.* Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 71 on p. 225.
- 
- 293 **OBJECT:** Scarab; base partly broken at the perforation on the right side; hollowed-out engraving with hatching and cross-hatching; steatite; 18 x 12 x mm.
DESCRIPTION: A seated lion with forepaws on the back of a horned animal that is turning its head towards the attacker. Below the lion's head three horizontal lines, to the right of them is a uraeus. Above behind the lion's back: *ntr nfr* ("good, perfect god")
DATE: 1759–1292.
PROVENANCE: Lachish; pit 542.
LITERATURE: *TUFNELL 1953: pls. 39/40:345.* Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 72 on p. 225.
- 
- 294 **OBJECT:** Scarab; border slightly chipped, part of the elytra broken off along the perforation; hollowed-out engraving with hatching and cross-hatching; steatite; 17,8 x 13,2 x 8,4 mm.
DESCRIPTION: A lion is attacking a crouching horned animal from behind. The horned animal turns its head back towards the attacker.
DATE: 1650–1522.
PROVENANCE: Tell Abu Zureq; area C, disturbed tomb, below locus 517.
LITERATURE: *GIVEON 1988:20,21, no. 1; KEEL 1997:16,17, no. 1.* Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 73 on p. 225.
- 

- 295 **OBJECT:** Scarab; broken into two pieces along the middle. Parts of the base missing; hollowed-out engraving with hatching; steatite (?); 27,7 x 20,5 x 13 mm.
DESCRIPTION: A lion attacking a horned animal, which turns its head backwards. In front of the horned animal is a debased uraeus.
DATE: 1640-1540.
PROVENANCE: Tell el-Far'ah (South); cemetery 500, tomb 563.
LITERATURE: PETRIE 1930: *pl. 12:125*; TUFNELL 1984: pls. 36:2492,40:2618. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 74 on p. 226.
- 
- 296 **OBJECT:** Scarab; top left part of base broken off; hollowed-out engraving with cross-hatching; steatite; white-yellow; 21,3 x 16 x 10,5 mm.
DESCRIPTION: An attacking lion with its forepaws on a standing horned animal, which is turning its head backwards. Above the lion's head two lines forming an arch and touching the border. Before the horned animal an 'c'-sign.
DATE: 1630-1522.
PROVENANCE: Tell el-'Ajjul; field E, (locus?) EKI or room EK/EJ, 785", stratum II.
LITERATURE: PETRIE 1934: *pl. 5:108*; WILLIAMS 1970: *fig. 18k*; ROWE 1936: no. 320; TUFNELL 1984: pls. 36:2513, 40:2642; KEEL 1997:330,331, no. 668. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 75 on p. 226.
- 
- 297 **OBJECT:** Scarab; brown-red strip along the back, border chipped; linear engraving with hatching; steatite; grey-white glaze; 29 x 21 x 12 mm.
DESCRIPTION: A galloping horned animal with its head turned backwards is fleeing from an attacking lion. 90° turned to this scene a male figure with short kilt and a conical headgear (?) is standing on a *nb*. The right arm is raised in a blessing/adoring fashion. In front of the horned animal is part of a uraeus.
DATE: 1650-1575.
PROVENANCE: Tell el-'Ajjul; field A, trail section AT, 765", stratum II.
LITERATURE: PETRIE 1933: *pl. 3:35*; WILLIAMS 1970:23,24; TUFNELL 1984: pls. 36:2516,40:2651; 43:2754; GIVEON 1985:84,85, no. 71; SCHROER 1985:84, *fig. 50*; KEEL 1997:240,241, no. 405. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 102 on p. 231. Text figure cross-reference(s): *fig. 48* on p. 194.
- 
- 298 **OBJECT:** Scarab; border chipped; linear engraving with hatching and cross-hatching; steatite; light yellow; 26,7 x 19,8 x 11,7 mm.
DESCRIPTION: A lion is attacking an ibex whose head is turned back towards the attacker. Below it is a human figure, above it a filler element or a *nb*-sign.
DATE: 1750-1550.
PROVENANCE: Jericho; tomb 30.
LITERATURE: ROWE 1936: *pl. 2:69*; GARSTANG 1933: *pl. 1*; KEEL 1984b:165, *fig. 76*; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:27, *fig. 5b*. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 106 on p. 231. Text figure cross-reference(s): *fig. 47* on p. 194.
- 
- 299 **OBJECT:** Scarab; hollowed-out engraving with hatching; steatite; 18 x 13 x 8,9 mm.
DESCRIPTION: A lion is attacking a fleeing, galloping horned animal from behind. Between the two animals and below the horned animal is a twig. Above the lion's back is a double-lined half-circle and before its head a single lined triangle whereby the border forms their bases. Below the horned animal's head a horizontal stroke angled at the end and touching with the other end the border.
DATE: 1400-1300.
PROVENANCE: Hazor; 1B (XIV), locus 8144.
LITERATURE: YADIN 1960: pls. 137:16,187:17. *Drawing from Corpus File*. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 76 on p. 226.
- 
- 300 **OBJECT:** Scarab; fish on the scarab's back; hollowed-out engraving with hatching and cross-hatching; grey steatite; white glaze; 25,8 x 17,4 x 10,5 mm.
DESCRIPTION: A lion is attacking a fleeing, galloping horned animal from behind whereby the horned animal turns its head towards the attacker. Above and below is a twig.

DATE: 1400–1300.

PROVENANCE: Tell Jemmeh; surface find.

LITERATURE: Unpublished. No depiction is available. Information from Corpus File.

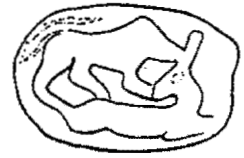
- 301 OBJECT: Scarab; border chipped, worn; hollowed-out engraving; faience; 28,2 x 19,3 x 11,8 mm.

DESCRIPTION: A lion on the back of a crouching horned animal turning its head backwards.

DATE: 1400–1200.

PROVENANCE: Tell el-^cAjjul; field C (at B/D?), (room?) CA V, stratum III (1700–1600).

LITERATURE: PETRIE 1931: pl. 13:76; WILLIAMS 1970: fig. 18j; TUFNELL 1984: pl. 36:2515; KEEL 1997:128,129, no. 70. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 78 on p. 226.



- 302 OBJECT: Scarab; border slightly chipped, part of the base on the left side broken off; schematic hollowed-out engraving; steatite; whitish-beige; 13,5 x 9,1 x 6,3 mm.

DESCRIPTION: A horned animal with head turned back and towards a striding lion, which is behind/above it. The "fifth leg" might be a newborn animal (cf. also nos. 303–305).

DATE: 1130–945.

PROVENANCE: Taanach; SW 5–1/2, locus 85, basket 171.

LITERATURE: Unpublished. *Drawing from Corpus File*. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 79 on p. 226.



- 303 OBJECT: Scarab; base on the right side damaged; hollowed-out schematic engraving; steatite; 18 x 13 x 8 mm.

DESCRIPTION: A standing horned animal turning its head backwards. Behind and above it is a lion. Between them a twig. Behind the horned animal and merging with the forepaw of the lion is an upside-down "V"-shaped object which KEEL (1997:604, no. 213) suggests to be the legs of a newborn animal (cf. also nos. 302,304,305).

DATE: 1130–945.

PROVENANCE: Acco, surface find.

LITERATURE: GIVEON/KERTESZ 1986:30,31, no. 101; KEEL 1997:604,605, no. 213. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 80 on p. 227.



- 304 OBJECT: Scarab; border slightly chipped; hollowed-out schematic partly linear engraving; steatite; white; 12,7 x 10 x 6 mm.

DESCRIPTION: A standing horned animal turning its head backwards. Behind and above it is a lion. A flat disk or *nb*-sign is between the heads of the two animals. Behind the horned animal is an object which might be a newborn animal. (cf. also nos. 302,303,305).

DATE: 1130–945.

PROVENANCE: Beth-Shemesh; find text unknown.

LITERATURE: ROWE 1936: no. 889. *Photograph from Corpus File*. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 81 on p. 227.



- 305 OBJECT: Scarab; schematic hollowed-out engraving; steatite; whitish-yellowish glaze; 13,9 x 10,3 x 6,5 mm.

DESCRIPTION: A horned animal with its head turned back towards a striding lion which is above it. Above the horned animal is a disk, behind it an object which might be a newborn animal (cf. also nos. 302–304).

DATE: 1130–945.

PROVENANCE: Megiddo; stratum IV, square Q21, 182,30 m above sea level, 4,20 m below the tell surface.

LITERATURE: SCHUMACHER 1908:86 fig. 124; KEEL 1994a:35,36, pl. 9:17; Keel/Uehlinger 1995:137, fig. 145a. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 82 on p. 227.



- 306 OBJECT: Scarab; schematic hollowed-out engraving; steatite; 14 x 10,3 x 5,2 mm.
DESCRIPTION: A striding lion behind a horned animal. Disk above the lion's back.
DATE: 1130-945.
PROVENANCE: Bet Sahur; find context unknown.
LITERATURE: Unpublished. *Drawing from Corpus File*. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 83 on p. 227.



- 307 OBJECT: Rectangular plaque, back slightly domed, sides notched; hollowed-out schematic engraving; steatite; white glaze; 15,8 x 11 x 6,5 mm.
DESCRIPTION: Along the long side of the base a striding lion, along the short side a horned animal. Over the back of the lion a twig (?).
DATE: 1130-945.
PROVENANCE: Tell el-Far'ah (South); FN 374.
LITERATURE: STARKEY/HARDING 1932: pl. 61:top right, 3rd row. *Photograph from Corpus File*. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 84 on p. 227.



- 308 OBJECT: Scarab; base broken at the perforation on the right side; schematic hollowed-out engraving; bone; yellow; 10 x 7 x 5 mm.
DESCRIPTION: A lion attacks a horned animal from behind.
DATE: 1130-1100.
PROVENANCE: Tel Masos; stratum II, locus 1114.
LITERATURE: GIVEON/KEMPINSKI 1983: pls. 109:2,107:3; KEEL 1990c:345, fig. 19; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:137, fig. 145b. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 85 on p. 227. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 292 on p. 352, 525 on p. 527.



- 309 OBJECT: Scarab; schematic hollowed-out engraving; steatite; white-grey; 12 x 9,4 x 6 mm.
DESCRIPTION: Two striding lions behind a horned animal.
DATE: 1130-945.
PROVENANCE: Beth-Shemesh; north-west cemetery, tomb 1.
LITERATURE: MACKENZIE 1912-13: pl. 29A; ROWE 1936, no. 851. *Photograph from Corpus File*. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 103 on p. 231.



- 310 OBJECT: Scarab; schematic hollowed-out engraving; steatite; yellowish-brownish; 14,4 x 11,2 x 7 mm.
DESCRIPTION: As no. 309.
DATE: 1130-945.
PROVENANCE: Megiddo; stratum IV, square Q21, 182,30 m above sea level, 4,20 m below the tell surface.
LITERATURE: SCHUMACHER 1908:86 fig. 124; KEEL 1994a:43,44, pl. 10:22. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 104 on p. 231.



- 311 OBJECT: Scarab; coarse hollowed-out engraving; steatite; brownish; 16,4 x 11,7 x 7 mm.
DESCRIPTION: As no. 309, but the horned animal is very debased.⁸⁰⁸
DATE: 1130-945.
PROVENANCE: Megiddo; stratum IV, square Q21, 182,30 m above sea level, 4,20 m below the tell surface.
LITERATURE: SCHUMACHER 1908:86 fig. 124; KEEL 1994a:30,31, pl. 8:11. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 105 on p. 231.



⁸⁰⁸ Another similar type with two lions attacking a singular animal comes from Tell Rekesh. However, the debased animal is rather a griffin or an ostrich (KEEL 1994a:51, fig. 9).

- 312** OBJECT: Fragment of cult-stand; relief and incision technique; clay.
 DESCRIPTION: A rampant horned animal, turning its head away from an attacking leopard.
 DATE: 1200–1000
 PROVENANCE: Taanach; stratum 5, area C, structure 335.
 LITERATURE: FINKELSTEIN/BUNIMOWITZ/LEDERMANN 1984:24; *ibid.* 1985:19; BECK 1994:378, fig. 21. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 295 on p. 353.



- 313** OBJECT: Conoid, type IV (KEEL 1997:102 § 253); base partly chipped; hollowed-out engraving with hatching; dark stone; 31 x 32 x 33 mm.
 DESCRIPTION: A lion is attacking a horned quadruped from behind. The horned animal turns its head backwards towards the attacker. Barred strand rope border.
 DATE: 1100–900.
 PROVENANCE: Bethel; debris.
 LITERATURE: KELSO 1968: pl. 44:5. *Photograph of impression from Corpus File.* Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 86 on p. 228.



- 314** OBJECT: Scaraboid; worn; hollowed-out and linear engraving, scratched, drilling holes; limestone; red; 15,7 x 13 x 9 mm.
 DESCRIPTION: A standing horned animal. Behind above it a quadruped with its tail pointing upwards. In front of its head is an "x"-like shaped object.
 DATE: 1150–800.
 PROVENANCE: Tell el-^cAjjul; find context unknown.
 LITERATURE: PETRIE 1931: pl. 4:171; KEEL 1997:160,161, no. 165. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 87 on p. 228.



- 315** OBJECT: Scaraboid; border partly chipped; hollowed-out and linear engraving; limestone; black; 29,6 x 16 x 8 mm.
 DESCRIPTION: A standing horned animal. Above it a lion whose tail is pointing upwards over its back. Notched border rope.
 DATE: 1050–800.
 PROVENANCE: Acco; surface find.
 LITERATURE: GIVEON/KERTESZ 1986:42,43, no. 163; KEEL 1997:578,579, no. 135. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 88 on p. 228.



- 316** OBJECT: Conoid; hollowed-out engraving; carnelian; 17 x 12 x 24,8 mm.
 DESCRIPTION: A striding lion with open mouth is above a crouching horned animal turning its head backwards, having a reptile-like shaped body.
 DATE: 1000–586 or later.
 PROVENANCE: Lachish; cave 504 (dated to 2000 but reused until 4000 C.E.).
 LITERATURE: TUFNELL 1953: pls. 44A/45:141. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 89 on p. 228.



- 317** OBJECT: Scarab; border slightly chipped; linear and hollowed-out engraving with hatching; white stone; 27,3 x 20,2 x 11,1 mm.
 DESCRIPTION: Three registers: top: a vulture and a running hare; middle: two griffins flanking a palm tree; bottom: a lion attacking a horned animal with turned-back head. Above the lion is a crescent, below a uraeus.
 DATE: 800–700.
 PROVENANCE: Megiddo; stratum 6, room R.
 LITERATURE: SCHUMACHER 1908:142, fig. 212a; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:267, fig. 231a. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 94 on p. 229. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 55 on p. 196, 293 on p. 353.



- 318 **OBJECT:** Scaraboid; border slightly chipped; hollowed-out engraving with hatching; limestone; red-brown; 25 x 19 x 10 mm.
DESCRIPTION: Four registers: top: a winged solar disk with two uraei; second: two kneeling figures adoring a four-winged scarab below which is a papyrus stalk; third: a running lion in pursuit of a horned animal; bottom: *lš ʾ* "Belonging to Saul".
DATE: 800-700.
PROVENANCE: Unknown (purchased in Jerusalem).
LITERATURE: AVIGAD 1954a: pl. 21:B1. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 95 on p. 229.



- 319 **OBJECT:** Scaraboid; hollowed-out engraving; limestone; yellow; 28 (l) mm.
DESCRIPTION: Three registers of figures separated by double lines and a fourth with the inscription *lmnhn* "belonging to Menahem" and a debased *ʿnh* to the left. An empty bottom register. Top register: a crouching horned animal flanked by two falcons; second register: a four-winged figure flanked by two worshippers in adoration. An unclear sign is behind the winged figure (*ntr* ?); third register: A roaring striding lion having one forepaw lifted behind a horned animal in front of which is a falcon.
DATE: 9th/8th centuries.
PROVENANCE: Unknown (purchased in Aleppo).⁸⁰⁹
LITERATURE: DRIVER 1955:183; GUBEL 1991:918, fig. 3d; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:221, fig. 211b. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 96 on p. 229.



- 320 **OBJECT:** Scaraboid; worn; limestone; light brown-brick red; 25 x 18 x 10.
DESCRIPTION: Three registers of figures. Top register: a crouching griffin wearing the Egyptian double crown in front of a sceptre with a disk and upside-down crescent (GUBEL 1991:917, fig. 2a,b); second register: a four-winged scarab flanked by two figures with a long dress and hands raised in adoration; third register: a roaring striding lion behind two horned animals; bottom register: inscription: *lmqn*.
DATE: End of 9th/8th centuries.
PROVENANCE: Unknown (cf. footnote 530).
LITERATURE: LEMAIRE 1986:307-309, fig. 2b; GUBEL 1991:918, fig. 3e. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 97 on p. 230. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 526 on p. 528.



- 321 **OBJECT:** Scaraboid; schist, 20 x 14 x 9 mm.
DESCRIPTION: Three registers of figures. At the bottom a fourth register with the inscription *lšdqy* "belonging to Šdiqi". Top register: a winged sphinx. Behind it is an unclear object. In front is possibly a uraeus; second register: a four-winged scarab flanked by two adoring figures; third register: a lion behind a horned animal.
DATE: 9th/8th centuries.
PROVENANCE: Unknown (cf. footnote 530).
LITERATURE: ZUCKERMAN 1987:25-27, pl. 10, fig. 11b; LEMAIRE 1993:23, fig. 5. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 98 on p. 230.



- 322 **OBJECT:** Seal impression on a *lmk* jar; hollowed-out engraving; clay.
DESCRIPTION: A lion is attacking a crouching horned animal from behind which turns its head back towards the attacker.
DATE: 700-539.
PROVENANCE: Ramat Raḥel; stratum IVB, locus 457, level 5.15.
LITERATURE: AHARONI 1964: pl. 40:7; SASS 1993:223, fig. 111. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 90 on p. 228.



⁸⁰⁹ Although at present it cannot be determined whether this seal comes from a Phoenician, Aramaic or Israelite workshop nothing would speak against an Israelite origin (cf. KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:222,292, footnote 266).

- 323 **OBJECT:** Scaraboid; part of the base broken or mould not completed filled at manufacture; hollowed-out engraving; glass; whitish; 13,8 x 10,65 x 6,5 mm.
DESCRIPTION: A lion attacking a fleeing stag.
DATE: 650–500.
PROVENANCE: Ashkelon; grid 57, square 68, layer 296, filling of a pit, phase 5B.
LITERATURE: *KEEL 1997:714,715, no. 67*. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 91 on p. 228.



- 324 **OBJECT:** Scaraboid; half of upper side broken off; hollowed-out engraving; glass; colourless; 17 x 12,7 x 8,3 mm.
DESCRIPTION: A lion attacking a fleeing horned animal from behind.
DATE: 539–333.
PROVENANCE: Acco; surface find.
LITERATURE: *KEEL 1997:634,635, no. 294*. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 92 on p. 229.



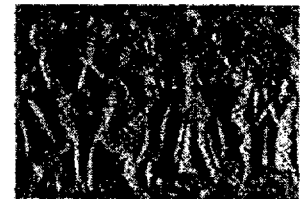
- 325 **OBJECT:** Seal impression; hollowed-out engraving; clay; 38 x 24 mm.
DESCRIPTION: A lioness?, leopard? with open mouth attacking a horned animal.
DATE: 539–333 or later.
PROVENANCE: Gezer; Hellenistic level (3rd/2nd centuries).
LITERATURE: *MACALISTER 1912: pl. 200:33*. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 93 on p. 229.



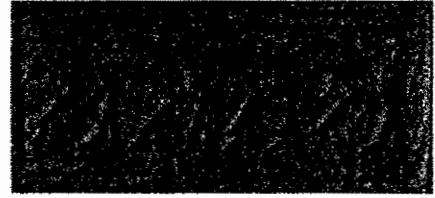
- 326 **OBJECT:** Cylinder seal; slightly damaged; haematite.
DESCRIPTION: To the left an attendant with a long dress leading a worshipper to a seated deity. Between them is above an 'nh-sign and below a twig. The worshipper in a long dress lifts one hand in devotion and holds in the other a lamb as offering. The bearded god wearing a similar round headgear as the worshipper is seated on a panelled stool and holds in his right a sceptre. Between the worshipper and god a disk with crescent. Behind the god two scenes divided by a guilloche. In the upper register are two antithetically arranged seated winged sphinxes. In the lower a seated lion is attacking an ibex which turns its head back towards the attacker.
DATE: 1750–1600.
PROVENANCE: Lachish; from the sieving at the Fosse Temple (c. 1550–1250).
LITERATURE: *TUFNELL 1940:74, pl. 33A/B:52; PARKER 1949:38, no. 174, pl. 25:147*. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 99 on p. 230. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 294 on p. 353.



- 327 **OBJECT:** Cylinder seal; paste; white, with creamy surface.
DESCRIPTION: To the right a figure in a long dress and a round headgear raises its hand in devotion towards a striding figure with open, long dress and the same headgear. In his right hand the figure holds a scimitar in order to attack the rampant horned animal in front of it. Above is already a prostrate horned animal overcome. Behind the central figure are two antithetically arranged seated winged sphinxes. Above them a lion attacks another horned animal.
DATE: 1539–1292.
PROVENANCE: Tel Azeka; find context unknown.
LITERATURE: *BLISS/MACALISTER 1902:153, pl. 83:2; NOUGAYROL 1939: pl. 12:T.Z.2; PARKER 1949:21, no. 86, pl. 14:86*. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 100 on p. 230, 278 on p. 388. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 54 on p. 196.



- 328 **OBJECT:** Cylinder seal; faience; traces of brown glaze.
DESCRIPTION: A rampant lion attacking a rampant horned animal turning its head back towards the attacker. Above a line of recumbent horned animals.
DATE: 13th century.
PROVENANCE: Beth-Shean; level VII.
LITERATURE: PARKER 1949:19, no. 67, pl. 10:67. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 101 on p. 230.



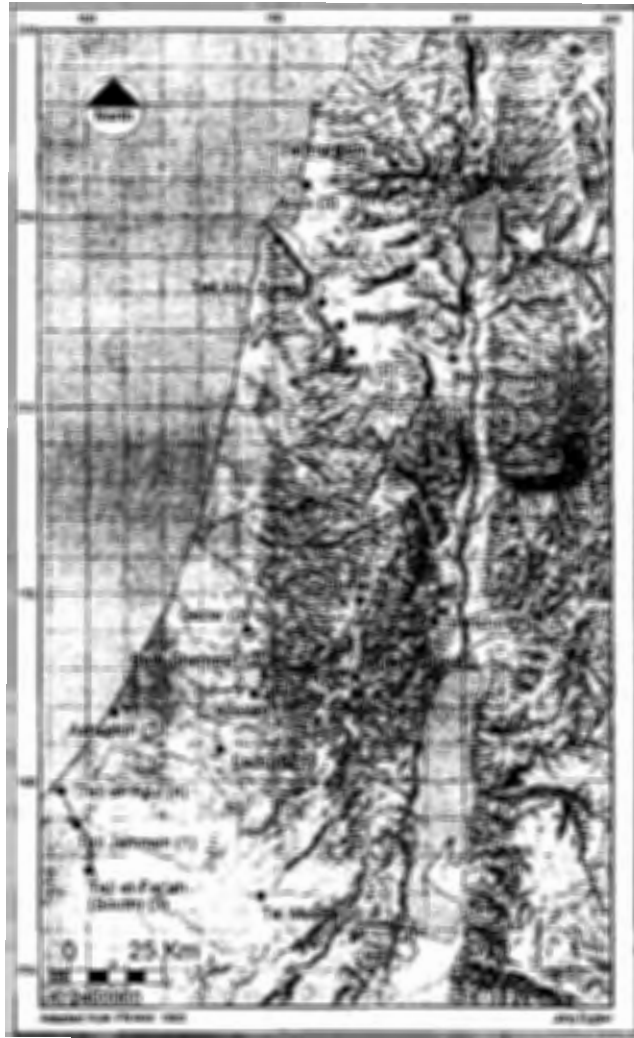
3.4.2.1.2.2. Analysis

A detailed analysis on this motif was already made on pp. 232–235 which will not be repeated here. Only a few remarks will be added. First of all it is again difficult to pinpoint the specific function of the horned animal without additional context. Thus, since the lion is equated with the pharaoh on scarabs from the MB II B (1760–1540/1450) down to the end of Ramesside mass-production (1130–945) (290–301,306–311) the horned animal on these stamp seals can represent life-threatening forces as well as political enemies. The latter is clearly supported by 298 which depicts a fallen human underneath the horned animal.

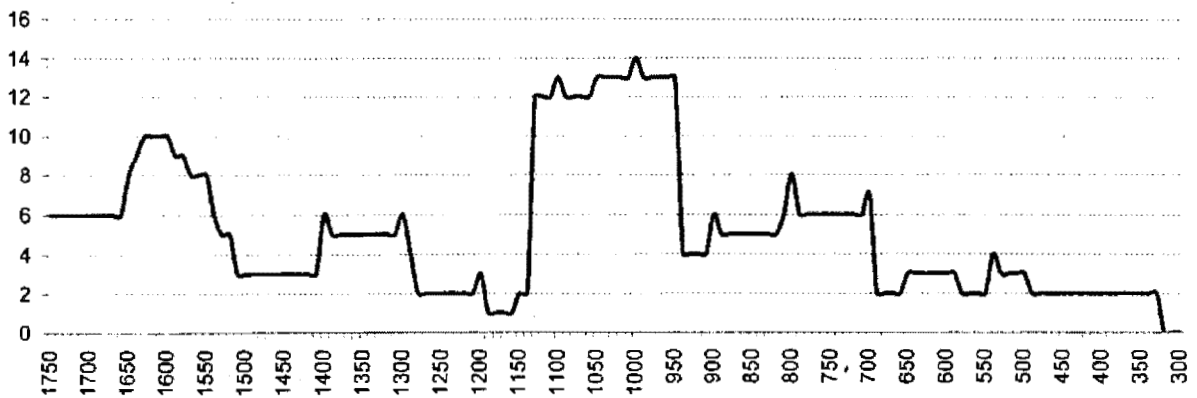
Scaraboids (314,315,323,324), conoids (313,316), and seal impressions (322,325) dating to the 11th–4th centuries show a different style and/or design than the scarab group (290–301,306–311). The difference in medium as well as style and design suggests a closer dependency on non-Egyptian traditions which would imply that the horned animal as Egyptian symbol of an overcome foreign enemy is hardly in mind in this group. This becomes even more obvious on Israelite name seals (318–321) which hardly depict the Egyptian king's power overcoming the foreign nations in Palestine/Israel. More likely the horned animal stands for life-threatening forces which are overcome, a concept which is known in Egyptian as well as in Asiatic thought or they convey the possession or at least the desire to possess in a lion-like way the life-giving properties the horned animal can also stand for (302–305). To this class has to be counted 317 which is a combination of fertility-related motifs and therefore the lion hardly depicts the destruction of life when it attacks the horned animal but rather indicates the power to obtain life.

While the attacker in Egyptian iconography is usually the pharaoh or a heroic figure following the same iconographic tradition, Asiatic representations depict a deity or divine/superhuman hero as attacker. This equation is very well depicted on **327**. Two times a horned animal is attacked. In the main scene it is a deity or divine/superhuman hero who struggles with a rampant animal and receives devotion from a figure to the right. On the top left the same theme is depicted again, but in this case it is a lion which attacks. The equation between attacking lion and a deity is probably also made on **326**. The main scene is an offering scene. The reason why the worshipper brings a lamb as offering to the seated deity is most probably depicted below the guilloche. There we see a lion attacking a horned animal, obviously a symbol for the divine intervention in the light of a life-threatening situation which is represented by the horned animal. **328** fits in so far into this pattern, as the contest of rampant animals is also typical for Mesopotamian contests between rampant animals and a divine/supernatural hero (cf. KEEL 1992:1-59).

3.4.2.1.2.3. Geographical and chronological distribution








Map 19: The horned animal attacked by the lion



Graph 19: The horned animal attacked by the lion

3.4.2.1.3. The horned animal attacked by a human and a lion

3.4.2.1.3.1. Catalogue

- 329 **OBJECT:** Scarab; border slightly chipped; schematic hollowed-out engraving; steatite; 15,5 x 8,5 x 6,5 mm.
DESCRIPTION: A bowman is aiming at a seated lion, which attacks a crouching horned animal. Above is a debased lotus flower.
DATE: 1130-945.
PROVENANCE: Acco, surface find.
LITERATURE: GIVEON/KERTESZ 1986:26,27 no. 90; KEEL 1990:340,341, fig. 10; *ibid.* 1997:560,561, no. 85. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 146 on p. 250. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 70 on p. 202.
- 
- 330 **OBJECT:** Scarab; schematic hollowed-out engraving; steatite; 18,7 x 14,2 x mm.
DESCRIPTION: As no. 329.
DATE: 1130-945.
PROVENANCE: Tell Jemmeh; EM 188.
LITERATURE: PETRIE 1928: pl. 19:46. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 147 on p. 250.
- 
- 331 **OBJECT:** Scarab; schematic hollowed-out engraving; 13,5 x 10,5 x mm.
DESCRIPTION: As no. 329.
DATE: 1130-945.
PROVENANCE: Tell Abu Salima; find context unknown.
LITERATURE: PETRIE/ELLIS 1937: pl. 6:57. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 148 on p. 251. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 297 on p. 354.
- 
- 332 **OBJECT:** Scarab; border slightly chipped, base has a hole behind the figure; hollowed-out and linear engraving; limestone; 19,5 x 14,4 x 9 mm.
DESCRIPTION: A lion attacks a horned animal. Behind the lion a figure wearing a dagger (?) is holding an object in his outstretched left arm. The right arm is raised in menacing pose. In front of the figure two triangles touch each other at the apex. Below the figure is a small animal and below the lion a circle.
DATE: 1200-1000.
PROVENANCE: Tell el-Farfah (South); find context unknown.
LITERATURE: STARKEY/HARDING 1932: pl. 61:above left, 4th row. *Photograph from Corpus File.* Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 149 on p. 251.
- 
- 333 **OBJECT:** Scarab; border chipped, part of scarab broken off; schematic hollowed-out engraving; 12,7 x 9,7 x 8 mm.
DESCRIPTION: A bowman aims at a lion,⁸¹⁰ which in turn attacks a horned animal.⁸¹¹
DATE: 1130-945.
PROVENANCE: Tell el-Farfah (South); surface find from tomb 200.
LITERATURE: PETRIE 1930: pl. 43:529. *Photograph from Corpus File.* Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 150 on p. 251.
- 

⁸¹⁰ The right ear of the animal was cut too big, otherwise the body and head is typical feline.

⁸¹¹ The head is not visible but by analogy it must be that of a horned animal for the body is typical for that. Furthermore, with one exception, two lions are never attacked from behind and if two lions are depicted, they are always placed exactly in line.

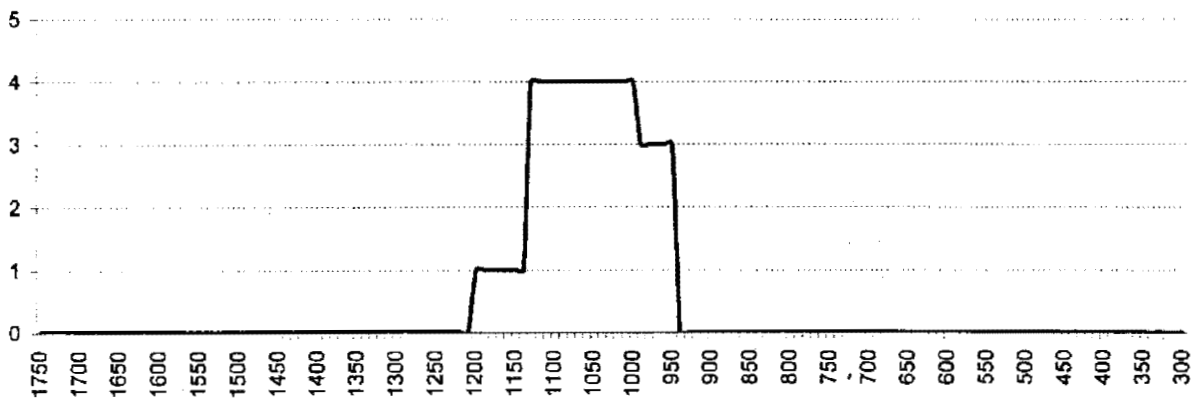
3.4.2.1.3.2. Analysis

This group which is limited to the 12th–10th centuries is another variation of the pharaoh's triumphant dominion. The horned animal in this group is set in relation to the lion, thereby indicating that it primarily defines this animal as being powerful and dangerous. Thus it does not serve as symbol of a life-threatening force or a political enemy. It simply underlines the prowess of the lion and indirectly that of the pharaoh who subdues this dangerous animal and, symbolically, the power it represents.

3.4.2.1.3.3. Geographical and chronological distribution








Map 20: The horned animal attacked by a human and a lion



Graph 20: The horned animal attacked by a human and a lion

3.4.2.1.4. The horned animal attacked by a griffin

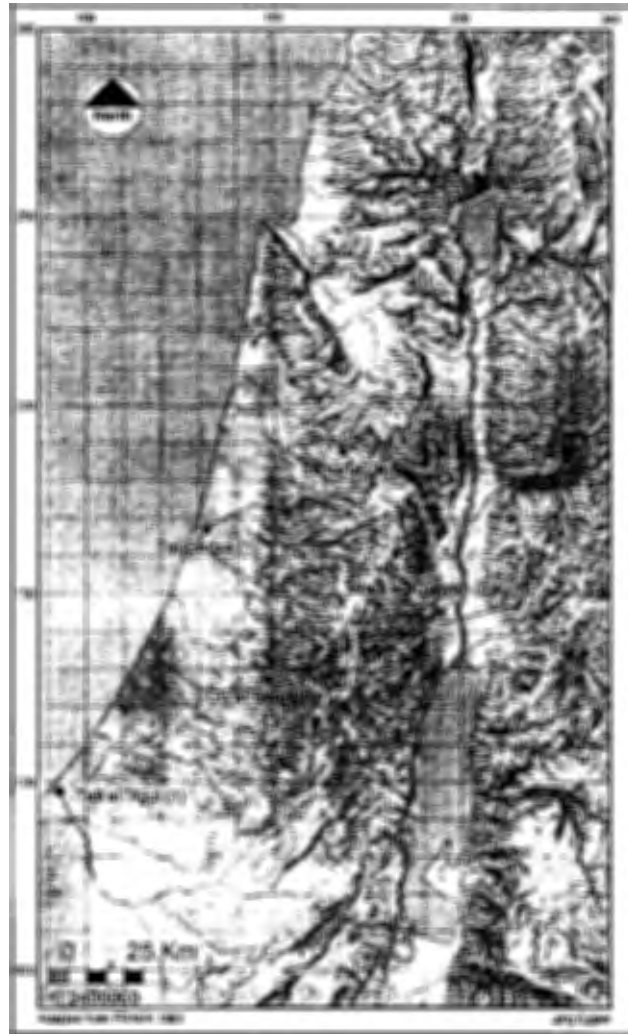
3.4.2.1.4.1. Catalogue

- 334 **OBJECT:** Scarab; 2/5 is broken off; hollowed-out and linear engraving with hatching and cross-hatching; steatite; grey with white glaze; 21,1* x 19,2 x 9,8 mm.
DESCRIPTION: A fleeing horned animal is attacked by two quadrupeds of which only the head and forepaws are visible. The lower one has a typical griffin-like head. The uppermost one might be a feline or canide. An unclear wing-shaped object is on the back of the horned animal.
DATE: 1750–1550.
PROVENANCE: Giv'at Sharett; building L.2.
LITERATURE: Unpublished. *Photograph from Corpus File no. 5.* Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 207 on p. 317.
- 
- 335 **OBJECT:** Scarab; boarder slightly chipped; hollowed-out engraving; amethyst; 23,3 x 17,6 x 12,1 mm.
DESCRIPTION: A rampant griffin with outstretched wings above an ibex couchant. In front is an unidentified object.
DATE: 1300–1150.
PROVENANCE: Tell Gerisa; area C, locus 310.
LITERATURE: *GIVEON 1988:70,71, no. 76.* Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 208 on p. 317. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 303 on p. 356.
- 
- 336 **OBJECT:** Bulla.
DESCRIPTION: A winged griffin attacks a stag from the rear.
DATE: 4th century.
PROVENANCE: Wadi ed-Daliyeh; Cave of the Papyri.
LITERATURE: *MESHORER/QEDAR 1991:36; LEITH 1997: pl. 23:3.* Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 221 on p. 319, 387 on p. 431.
- 
- 337 **OBJECT:** Coin; obol; 0.74 g.
DESCRIPTION: A winged griffin attacks a stag from behind.
DATE: 4th century.
PROVENANCE: Samaria.
LITERATURE: *MESHORER/QEDAR 1991:55, no. 61, pl. 21:66.*
- 
- The following coins are the same objects as no. 337 and have the same description, date, and provenance:
- 338: 0.62 g; *ibid.* 55, no. 61; 339: 0.66 g; *ibid.*
- 340 **OBJECT:** Cylinder seal; green glass; 32 x 40 mm.
DESCRIPTION: Two rows of running animals. Top: a galloping griffin behind an animal that was designated by PETRIE (1933:4) and NOUGAYROL (1939:17) as dog. Bottom row: A running ibex, lion/lioness with turned back head towards an attacking griffin. On the lower border line there are three twigs.
DATE: Iron Age I/II (c. 1200–600)
PROVENANCE: Tell el-'Ajjul; tomb 361.
LITERATURE: PETRIE 1933: pl. 4:127; NOUGAYROL 1939:17,18, pl. 8:XXXVI; *LEIBOVITCH 1944b:235, fig. 4.* Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 213 on p. 317. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 187 on p. 293, 304 on p. 356.
- 

3.4.2.1.4.2. Analysis

The horned animal being attacked by the griffin is not a dominant motif. It is distributed by singular pieces over the MB II B (334), the Late Bronze Age (335), Iron Age (340) and occurs several times only in the Persian period (336–339). The griffin in these representations symbolises power and superiority, values desired by the owner of these objects. It is not entirely clear whether the horned animal should be regarded merely as prey to highlight the supremacy of the griffin, or if the horned animal should symbolise a malevolent power which has to be overcome (cf. pp. 352–358).

3.4.2.1.4.3. Geographical and chronological distribution



Map 21: The horned animal attacked by the griffin



Graph 21: The horned animal attacked by the griffin

3.4.2.1.5. Master/mistress of horned animals

3.4.2.1.5.1. Catalogue

- 341 **OBJECT:** Scarab; border slightly chipped; linear engraving; steatite; 20 x 14 x 10 mm.
DESCRIPTION: A striding figure with a collar and belt with an unidentified object on it is holding two ibexes by their heads.
DATE: 1600–1500.
PROVENANCE: Acco, surface find.
LITERATURE: GIVEON/KERIESZ 1986:14,15, no. 27; KEEL 1997:536,537, no. 18. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 306 on p. 357.
- 342 **OBJECT:** Scarab; hollowed-out engraving; 15 x 12 mm.
DESCRIPTION: A striding figure in a knee-length dress is holding two horned animals – their heads facing outwards – by their backs.
DATE: 1130–945.
PROVENANCE: Tell Abu Salima; find context unknown.
LITERATURE: PETRIE/ELLIS 1937: pl. 6:59. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 307 on p. 357.
- 343 **OBJECT:** Seal impression on pottery vessel; top damaged; hollowed-out engraving; clay; 34 x 22,8 x mm.
DESCRIPTION: A striding figure in a short kilt is holding two rampant horned animals which – turn their heads backwards to the central figure – by their necks.
DATE: End of 10th century.
PROVENANCE: Tel Dan; area T.
LITERATURE: BIRAN 1977:244, pl. 37D; *ibid.* 1982:27, fig. 13, pl. 19:3; *ibid.* 1992:158, fig. 132; *ibid.* 1994:167, fig. 127.
- 344 **OBJECT:** Seal impression on pottery vessel; top right damaged; hollowed-out engraving; clay; 15–16 mm (d).
DESCRIPTION: As no. 343.
DATE: End of 10th century.
PROVENANCE: Tel Dan; area B.
LITERATURE: BIRAN 1982:42, footnote 25; KEEL 1978:93, fig. 20b. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 308 on p. 357.
- 345 **OBJECT:** Seal impression on pottery vessel; top right damaged; hollowed-out engraving; clay; 30 x 25 x mm.
DESCRIPTION: As no. 343.
DATE: End of 10th century.
PROVENANCE: Tel Dan, area B.
LITERATURE: Unpublished. *Photograph from Corpus File no. 8.*
- 346 **OBJECT:** Seal impression on pottery vessel; top part broken off; hollowed-out engraving; clay; 34 x *18 x mm.
DESCRIPTION: As no. 343.
DATE: End of 10th century.
PROVENANCE: Tel Dan; area T.
LITERATURE: Unpublished. *Photograph from Corpus File no. 9.*



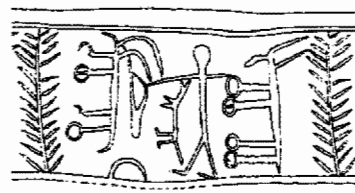
347 OBJECT: Cylinder seal; clay; 14–15,2 x 26,5 mm.

DESCRIPTION: A linear cut figure is holding two rampant horned animals, both facing to the left. A tree forms the border. An unidentified object is below the figure's right arm. Below the left animal touching the borderline is a semi-circle.

DATE: 9th/8th centuries.

PROVENANCE: Taanach; SW 1–27, locus 6, basket 10.

LITERATURE: LAPP 1964:43, fig. 23:4. *Drawing from cylinder seal file at the BIF.*



348 OBJECT: Scarab; border slightly chipped; linear engraving with cross-hatching; steatite; whitish yellow; 16 x 11,3 x 6,4 mm.

DESCRIPTION: Two antithetically seated horned animals, back-to-back and lifting their forelegs. Their heads are turned backwards towards two branches arranged as a cross. Before the right animal's head a second small twig, a third is between the animal's haunches.

DATE: 1750–1550.

PROVENANCE: Gezer; find context unknown.

LITERATURE: MACALISTER 1912: III pl. 205:20; ROWE 1936: no. 183; KEEL 1995a:190, fig. 329. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 309 on p. 357.



349 OBJECT: Cylinder seal; Mitannian style; haematite, 22 (h) mm.

DESCRIPTION: Two figures wearing a long dress hold in one hand a standard with the emblem of the moon god. The other hands are raised. To the left is a figure in a short kilt holding a horned animal upside down by its hind legs. To the right of the seal is a striding (naked?) figure holding by their horns two horned animals which face outwards.

DATE: 1500–1300.

PROVENANCE: Tell Jemmeh; "city of 22nd dynasty", areal E, room Eb, 191" (PETRIE 1928:11: EG 190")

LITERATURE: PETRIE 1928:11,12 pl. 19:30; NOUGAYROL 1939: pl. 11: TG.2 C; KEEL 1994c:191, fig. 55. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 279 on p. 388. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 310 on p. 357.



350 OBJECT: Cylinder seal; Mitannian-Assyrian-Pseudo-Kassite style (MATTHEWS 1990:113); onyx; red; 35 x 13,3 mm.

DESCRIPTION: Upper register: To the left a naked winged figure is holding two horned animals upside down by their hind legs, their heads facing outwards. To the right is a rampant horned animal turning its head away from the winged figure. Behind it are four globes. To the right of them is a kneeling naked archer with a round head-ress, aiming at a galloping horned animal. Underneath the latter is a griffin couchant. Lower register: To the left

is a seated griffin. On its body is one globe and below it further two. There is a lozenge. A griffin protects a palm tree which is flanked by a vase and a rampant horned animal turns its head backwards towards the palm tree. The second half of the lower register shows a fan scene. It is closed by two naked attendants the left one of which has a fan in his outstretched left hand. The second attendant to the very right holds an object in his left hand and touches with his right hand a tree(-standard?). In the middle of the fan scene is a bearded figure with a round headdress and a long garment sitting on a stool. In his lifted right hand is a small vase. In front of him another vessel is standing on the ground. Part of a drinking tube is still visible.

DATE: 8th century.⁸¹²

PROVENANCE: Beth-Shean; level IV.

LITERATURE: PARKER 1949:28, no. 122, pl. 18:122; MATTHEW 1990:18,22,90,95,110,112,113, no. 520; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:359, fig. 308. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 289 on p. 390, 395 on p. 472. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 229 on p. 305, 300 on p. 355, 467 on p. 459, 546 on p. 545.



⁸¹² MATTHEWS (1990:110,112, no. 520) dated it to the 13th century, PARKER (1949:28, no. 122) to 1200–800 and UEHLINGER (KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:356–360) to the end of the 8th/beginning of the 7th century.

- 351 **OBJECT:** Cylinder seal; deep engraving, drilling; haematite; black; 18 x 8 mm.

DESCRIPTION: A standing figure to the left with a long hairlock dressed in a short decorated kilt is holding with his right hand a roaring lion and in his left hand a galloping horned animal. On the right side of the scene is a winged demon with a tail and a beak⁸¹³ as well as a horned headgear. He is about to grab a human figure seated on the ground, raising its hand in a gesture of prayer. Behind the demon is a human head.



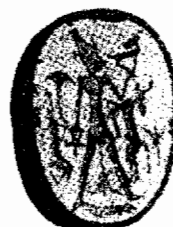
DATE: 1500–1100.

PROVENANCE: Tell el-‘Ajjul; E 829” above sea level.

LITERATURE: PETRIE 1934: pl. 12:1; ROWE 1936: pl. 27:S. 60; NOUGAYROL 1939: pl. 9:XC1 (TA. 18); PARKER 1949: pl. 2:13; PORADA 1948:183; DIGARD 1975: no. 1456; KEEL 1984a:336, fig. 485; CORNELIUS 1994:190, no. BM42, pl. 48:BM42; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:88: fig. 90a. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 27 on p. 174, 179 on p. 258, 254 on p. 330, 381 on p. 430. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 27 on p. 156, 80 on p. 204, 223 on p. 302, 311 on p. 358, 397 on p. 380.

- 352 **OBJECT:** Scaraboid; hollowed-out and linear engraving; amethyst; 19 x 14 x mm.

DESCRIPTION: A figure striding on a guilloche pattern, wearing the Egyptian white crown and a short kilt, is holding in his lifted left hand a horned animal which turns its head back to face the figure. In his right hand is the Egyptian sign of life. Between the legs is an upside-down hanging flower. Behind the figure is an upside down facing lion and a papyrus stalk. In front is a rampant horned animal, its head turned away from the central figure. To the very right is another flower.



DATE: 1500–1200.

PROVENANCE: Gaza; find context unknown.

LITERATURE: REITLER 1961:88–92, pl. 7A; MESNIL DU BUISSON 1967:349, fig. 3; CONRAD 1971:171,172; GALLING 1977:108; SCHULMAN 1979:83, footnote 50; GIVEON 1980:145,149: pl. 20:1; CORNELIUS 1994:121,122, no. RM40, pl. 31:RM40. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 180 on p. 259, 374 on p. 425.

- 353 **OBJECT:** Scaraboid; worn; hollowed-out and linear engraving; frit; dark brown; 17,4 x 14,4 x 7 mm.

DESCRIPTION: A figure is holding with one arm a flanking horned animal. A lion is flanking the figure on the other side. The photograph of the Corpus File suggests that he is also holding the lion, although that very spot is very worn



DATE: 1150–800.

PROVENANCE: Beth-Shemesh; north-west cemetery, tomb 1.

LITERATURE: MACKENZIE 1912–13:61, pl. 29:B1; ROWE 1936:225, pl. 25:SO. 19. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 181 on p. 259.

3.4.2.1.5.2. Analysis

The horned animal has an ambivalent value. It can represent the life-giving forces due to its ability to survive in the hard conditions of the wilderness and mountainous regions. On the other side its association with these dangerous regions lends itself to see in the horned animal is a symbol of life-threatening forces. This twofold meaning is also visible in the

⁸¹³ Clearly visible on the photograph (CORNELIUS 1994: pl. 48:BM42).

“master/mistress of horned animals” compositions whereby the negative aspect is clearly dominant.

Looking at this negative connoted theme we can observe two different types of compositions. In one instance, the horned animal is symmetrically doubled in the “master of horned animals” composition (341–346,349), and in the other the horned animal is combined with the lion as animals being subdued by the master (351–353). Considering the symmetrical type the earliest examples are a 16th century scarab (341) and 15th/14th century cylinder seal (349). While 341 does not give a lot of information beyond the general theme, 349 is interesting because the overcoming of horned animals as symbols of the chaotic forces is set in relationship with the worship of the moon (god). The moon god is known to watch over legal boundaries (KEEL 1994c:147) and in the case of 349 he is also guardian over cosmic “boundaries” or the guarantor for the proper order of life. Apart from these two early examples, the main period of the symmetrical type is however the 12th–10th centuries corresponding with the Ramesside mass-production of scarabs (342–346). The asymmetrical “master of horned animals” composition involving also a lion is linked once to Reshef (351) and another time to Baal (352). While these Late Bronze examples depict a clearly definable deity, the only Iron Age version does not specify the master (353), typical for the iconography of this period. The nuance of two differing animals being subdued seeks to convey the unquestionable omnipotence of the master. He is not overcoming just the malevolent horned animal but he is able to control even the lion, thereby enhancing his display of power.

The horned animals on 348 have a positive connotation. The twigs between them are a symbol of the goddess of fertility who controls or guarantees by virtue of her power the life-giving properties symbolised by the horned animals.⁸¹⁴ The gender of the figure in 347 cannot be determined, but the conspicuous twig/tree border suggests the sphere of the fertility

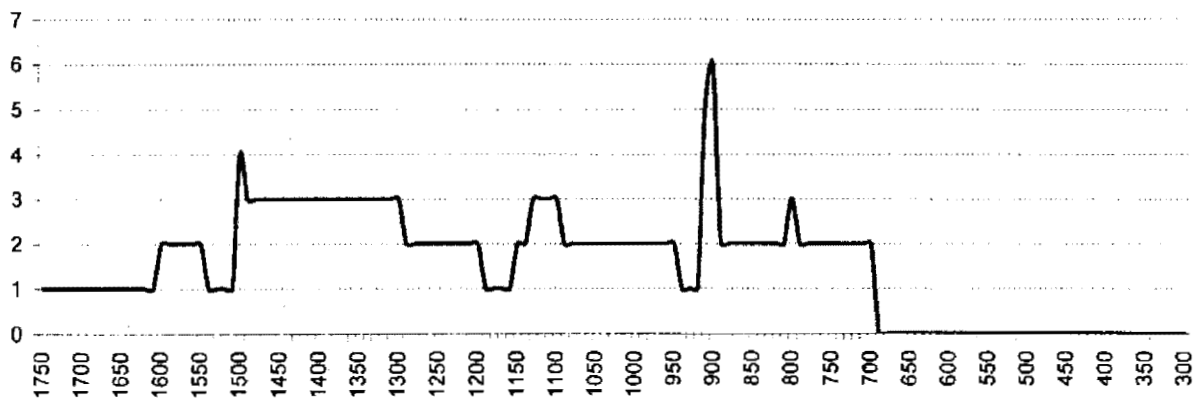
goddess. Contextual arguments might also suggest that the winged figure on 350 is a goddess. When the cylinder seal is read in vertical perspective, the palm tree can be understood as representing the same as the winged figure with the horned animal, namely, the fertility goddess. A rampant horned animal flanks both compositions. Furthermore, it cannot be ruled out that the top right scene is also reminiscent of the goddess of fertility (cf. footnote 735 on p. 355).

⁸¹⁴ Cf. also fig. 342 on p. 365 which clearly indicates that the "master/mistress of animal" composition can also be in the context of fertility and not only conveys the message of overpowering a malevolent power.

3.4.2.1.5.3. Geographical and chronological distribution



Map 22: Master/mistress of horned animals



Graph 22: Master/mistress of horned animals

3.4.2.1.6. The horned animal as symbol for might

3.4.2.1.6.1. Catalogue

354 **OBJECT:** Bone seal; border partly broken off; linear and hollowed-out engraving with hatching; bone; 19 x 16,6 x 8,4 mm.

DESCRIPTION: A striding horned animal above a pseudo-cartouche.

DATE: 945–713

PROVENANCE: Ashdod; stratum D–3b (=VIII), area D, square T/U–1, building 2, mass burial locus 1113.

LITERATURE: DOTHAN 1971: I 100,101, II 98,99, fig. 44:19, pl. 44:13; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:307,308, fig. 269a; KEEL 1997:666,667, no. 11. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 517 on p. 508, 536 on p. 537.



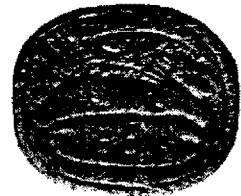
355 **OBJECT:** Scaraboid; 20,5 x 22, 9 x mm.

DESCRIPTION: A striding horned animal on a pseudo-cartouche.

DATE: 7th century.

PROVENANCE: Tel Dan; stratum I, area T, residential quarter in the western section of the sacred precinct.

LITERATURE: BIRAN 1992:248, fig. 220; *ibid.* 1994:262,270, fig. 224. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 313 on p. 359.



356 **OBJECT:** Bone seal; linear and hollowed-out engraving with hatching; bone; 18 x 17 x 5,8 mm.

DESCRIPTION: A striding horned animal on a *nb*-sign.

DATE: 945–713.

PROVENANCE: Ashdod; stratum H–2 (= IX?–VIII), area H, square S–4, locus 5043.

LITERATURE: DOTHAN 1971: I 164, II 188, fig. 89:5, pl. 81:5; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:307,308, fig. 269b; KEEL 1997:668,669, no. 16. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 314 on p. 359.

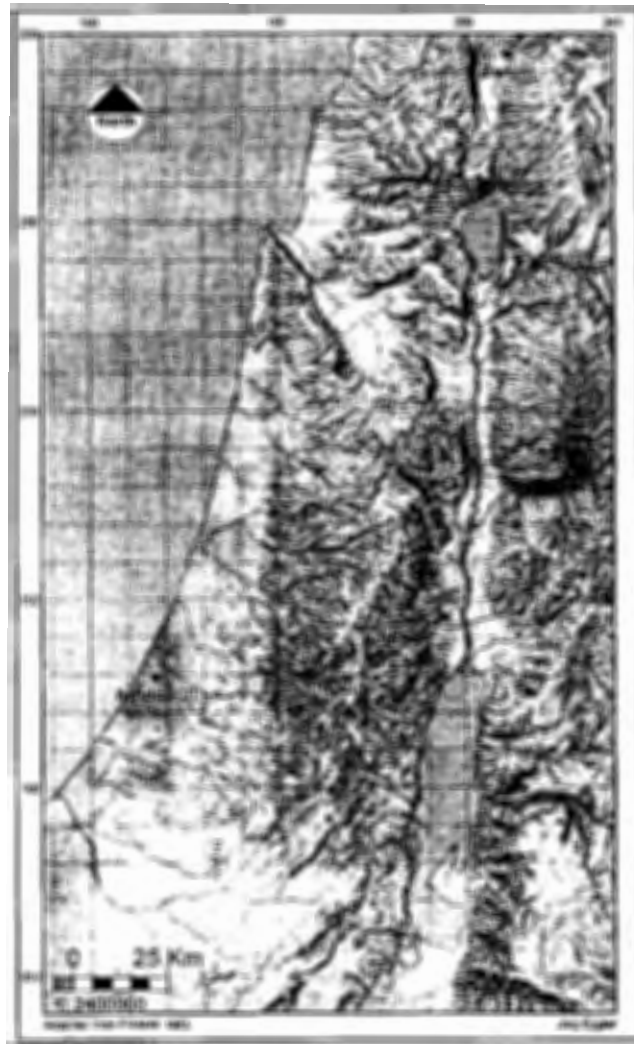


3.4.2.1.6.2. Analysis

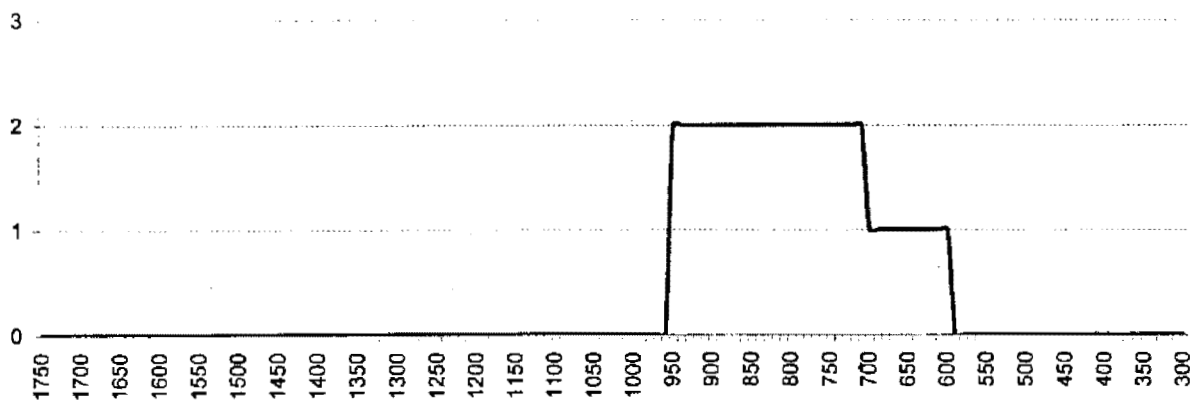
The motif was discussed in detail on p. 359, therefore only some aspects will be touched on here. Although only three seals with this motif have been found so far, they are very significant in the light of Dan 7 because they associate the notion of a “political” power with the horned animal which is also an aspect of the horned fourth beast. It is important to note that the appearance of this particular meaning is not restricted to the 10th–7th centuries. It has its ascendancy as early as in the MB II B (1760–1540/1450) when the horned animal is depicted with an object reminiscent of the hieroglyph for “strong” or “protect” (cf. fig. 254 on p. 343 with footnote 675). Very conspicuous are the long horns parallel over the back of the animal, a feature which did not escape UEHLINGER [KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:306] and KEEL [1997:666, no.

66]. One wonders whether this feature, which is already known at the end of the 4th millennium in Palestine/Israel (cf. fig. 250 on p. 341) where particularly the horns played a dominant role (cf. figs. 241–245 on pp. 338,339), is related to the notion of power in line with ELLIOTT'S statement about ibex horns around the turn to the 3rd millennium that they might "connote their power of watching over the four corners of the world" (1977:9)?

3.4.2.1.6.3. Geographical and chronological distribution



Map 23: The horned animal as symbol for might



Graph 23: The horned animal as symbol for might

3.4.2.2. Bovine animals

3.4.2.2.1. The bull and the aggressive weather god

3.4.2.2.1.1. Catalogue

357 OBJECT: Base and figure of a statue; figure broken off from pedestal; basalt; 265 mm (h).

DESCRIPTION: A bull pedestal with the remains of the feet of the remains of a figure without head, right arm, and legs. On the chest is hanging an ornament consisting of a chariot yoke with a four-pointed star. In its left hand the figure holds a partly broken weapon, probably a spear pointing down.

DATE: 1400–1300.

PROVENANCE: Hazor; lower city in front of the orthostat temple, stratum IB, locus 2119.

LITERATURE: YADIN 1961: pl. 324; BARNETT 1964:73, fig. 9; PRITCHARD 1969a:352,379, no.

835a–b; YADIN 1972:95, pl. 20a; KEEL1985:12; SCHROER 1987a:92 footnote 120;

WEIPPERT1988:300; Uehlinger 1991:880–881; CORNELIUS 1994:226–227, no. BS1a, pl.

52:BS1a; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:59, fig. 44. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 7 on p. 149, 10 on p. 150, 330 on p. 363.



3.4.2.2.1.2. Analysis

Only once does the anthropomorphic weather god appear as warrior together with the bull which suggests that the violent nature of the anthropomorphic weather god was not in particular associated with the bull. This is also indicated by the posture of the pedestal animal which is not aggressive, thereby not allowing the equation “bull horn” = “power”, “aggression”.

3.4.2.2.2. Attacking bovine animals

3.4.2.2.2.1. Catalogue

358 OBJECT: Cylindrical box; burnt; relief; ivory.

DESCRIPTION: A bull is lowering its head to attack a standing lion.

Behind the bull and above the lion is a bird, and behind the lion a second bovine animal that seems to be attacked by another lion.

DATE: 1200–1150.

PROVENANCE: Lachish; south-east corner of the shrine in structure III of the Fosse Temple.

LITERATURE: TUFNELL 1940: pl. 18A; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:135, fig. 143a. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 9 on p. 164, 125 on p. 243. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 9 on p. 150, 61 on p. 199, 332 on p. 363.



- 359 OBJECT: Scarab; border chipped and partly broken off; hollowed-out engraving; steatite; 18 x 13,5 x 8,5 mm.

DESCRIPTION: A bull, facing to the right, is attacking a lion that is about to fall on its back. Above the bull's back is a crescent that is touching the borderline. Inside the half-circled crescent is a disk.

DATE: 12th–10th centuries.⁸¹⁵

PROVENANCE: Tell Keisan, stratum 8, locus 637.

LITERATURE: KEEL 1990a:190, no. 9; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:163: fig. 169a. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 10 on p. 164, 126 on p. 243. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 11 on p. 151, 333 on p. 363, 354 on p. 369.



- 360 OBJECT: Ox head scaraboid; schematic hollowed-out engraving and drilling; haematite; 20,2 x 16,7 x 10,6 mm.

DESCRIPTION: A bull is attacking a lion. Above the bull is a scorpion.

DATE: 1150–900.

PROVENANCE: Tell el-Far'ah (South); tomb 220.

LITERATURE: PETRIE 1930: pl. 35:389; KEEL 1990:190, fig. 9; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:163, fig. 169b; KEEL 1995a:75, fig. 115 (no depiction of base). Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 11 on p. 164, 127 on p. 243.



- 361 OBJECT: Fragment of cup or vessel; ivory; burned to slate blue, painted red band at base of interior corresponding to rosettes on exterior; outer restored diameter c. 140 mm, thickness 8 mm, width: (top) 11 mm / (bottom) 5 mm.

DESCRIPTION: (Only lowest register) an attacking bull. The lion-like forepaws of a griffin, whose beak is visible above the bull's neck and part of its wing in front of the bull's head, are placed on the bull's head and foreleg.

DATE: 1050–1000.

PROVENANCE: Megiddo; stratum VIA, locus 4000.

LITERATURE: LOUD 1948: pl. 204:3; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:135, fig. 143b. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 334 on p. 364.



- 362 OBJECT: Plaque; finely incised; ivory; c. 1 mm thick.

DESCRIPTION: A charging bull lowering its head towards a lotus flower.

DATE: End of the 11th century.

PROVENANCE: Tel Dor; area B1, 7 m below surface level.

LITERATURE: STERN 1992:48, fig. 56, ibid. 1994b:103,104 fig. 52. (for a drawing cf. fig. 335 on p. 364). Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 335 on p. 364.



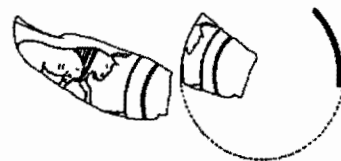
- 363 OBJECT: Sherd of ointment jug; vanished reddish buff on surface with ornament in black; c. 110 mm long.

DESCRIPTION: Two charging bulls with lowered head flanking a series of concentric rings.




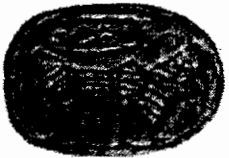

DATE: 7th century.

PROVENANCE: Tell Beit Mirsim; phase gamma of locus NW 33–15.

LITERATURE: ALBRIGHT 1943:44,45, pl. 28:5,6; STERN 1978a:17, fig. 7.



⁸¹⁵ KEEL 1990a:190, no. 9 dates it to Iron Age IA, KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:164, no. 169b assigns it to Iron Age IIA.

- 364** OBJECT: Cylindrical handle; bone; 97 mm (l) with a c. 43 mm long chord.
 DESCRIPTION: The hind limbs and the tail of a charging (according to McCOWN 1947:155) bull are visible. Between the legs is an ovoid object with cross-hatching. Below the bull are round knobs identified by McCOWN as lotus leaves. Above the bull is an unidentified carving.
 DATE: 8th century.
 PROVENANCE: Tell en-Naşbeh; cistern 36, AJ 24, near the highest portion of the hill on the south-east.
 LITERATURE: McCOWN 1947:155, pl. 55:82; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:217, fig. 209.
- 
- 365** OBJECT: Scarab; hollowed-out engraving with hatching; steatite; light yellow; 19 x 13 x 8 mm.
 DESCRIPTION: A bull is walking on a fallen human. In front is a falcon, above the bull a cartouche with the prenomen of Amenophis II (*3-hprw-rʿ*). In front of the bull are the words: "Beloved of Maat" (*nry mʿt*).
 DATE: 1426-1400.
 PROVENANCE: Tell el-ʿAjjul; cemetery VI, tomb 1037.
 LITERATURE: ROWE 1936:124, no. 527, pl. 13:527; KEEL 1992a:190, fig. 161; *ibid.* 1997:178,179, no. 222. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 336 on p. 364, 535 on p. 536.
- 
- 366** OBJECT: Scarab; worn; shallow, hollowed-out engraving; faience; 21,5x 15 x 9 mm.
 DESCRIPTION: A bovine animal running over fallen human figure.
 DATE: 1450-900.
 PROVENANCE: Megiddo; stratum VIII, 4084, K-11.
 LITERATURE: LOUD 1948: pl. 152:156; KEEL 1992a:190, no. 162; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:93, fig. 99. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 515 on p. 507.
- 
- 367** OBJECT: Scarab; hollowed-out engraving with hatching; steatite; withish-yellow with white glaze; 20,5 x 14,5 x 8 mm.
 DESCRIPTION: A striding bull with a cloth tied around the body by two bands, above it the prenomen of Thutmose III (*mn-hpr-rʿ*).
 DATE: 1479-1400.
 PROVENANCE: Beth-Shean; stratum IX, south end of the city, courtyard west of the Mekal temple, locus, 1228.
 LITERATURE: ROWE 1930: pl. 34:2; *ibid.* 1936:144, no. 483, pl. 11:483; *ibid.* 1940: pl.71A:7. Photograph from *Corpus File*.
- 
- 368** OBJECT: Scarab, border chipped and parts of the base broken off; hollowed-out engraving; steatite with haematite inclusions; 15,5 x 10 x 7,5 mm.
 DESCRIPTION: A striding bull. In front of it a scarab (*hpr*), above it the hieroglyph for "strong" *nh*, below only partly visible on the photograph (not on the drawing) *nb* "lord".
 DATE: 1292-1075.
 PROVENANCE: Acco; surface find.
 LITERATURE: GIVEON/KERTESZ 1986:30,31, no. 103; KEEL 1997:564,565, no. 94. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 337 on p. 364.
- 

3.4.2.2.2. Analysis

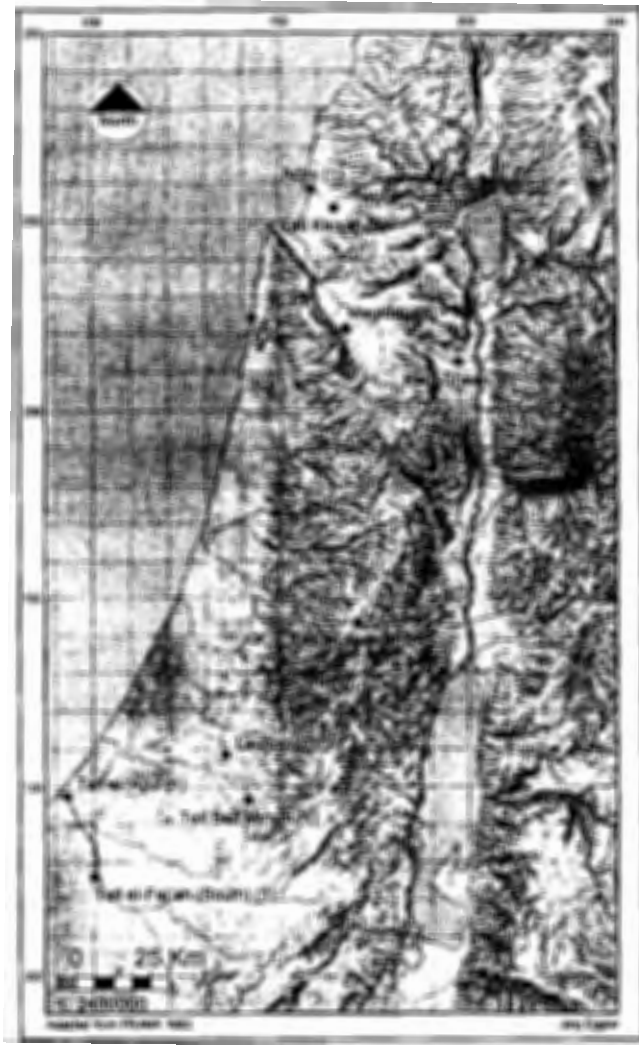
Representations of bulls which convey the notion of power and aggression can be divided into three groups corresponding to Syro-Palestinian, Cypriot-Phoenician, and Egyptian tradition. The latter is associated with the pharaoh when on two occasions a cartouche is added

(365,367). The pharaoh is indirectly alluded to on 368 when a *nb*-sign ("lord") is combined with the bull or when the hieroglyph "strong" alludes to the title of the Egyptian king, "strong bull". The aspect of power and aggression is conveyed by depicting the bull as trampling (365) or running (366) over a human, which is also typical of Egyptian representations of triumphal dominion over his enemies (cf. figs. 45–48 on pp. 193,194), and by hieroglyphs such as "strong" (368).

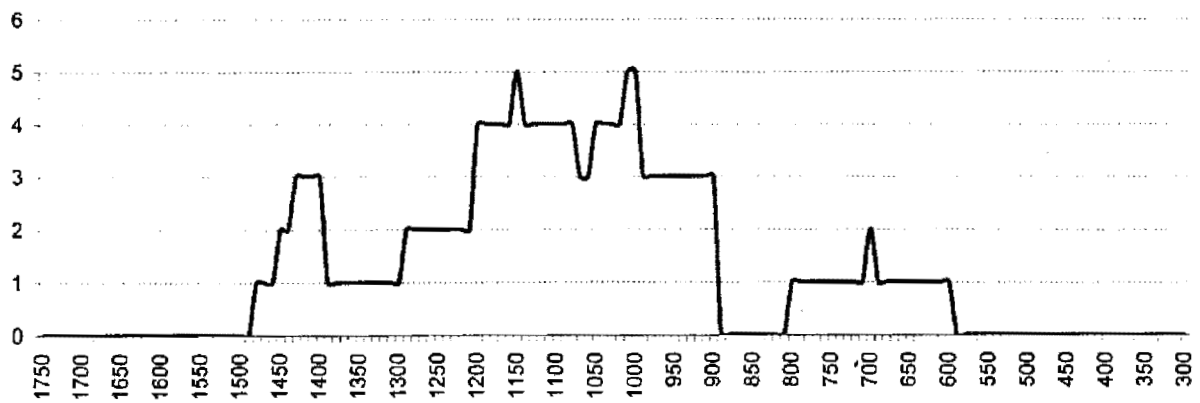
While the aggression and the display of power of the Egyptian bull is not associated with the horns, the Syro-Palestinian (358–361,364) and Cypriot-Phoenician (362,363) bull uses the horns in particular to convey that notion. The aggressive Syro-Palestinian and Cypriot/Phoenician bull is not typified as running over an enemy but often as lowering its head (358,360–363) and attacking with the horns (358–363). The opponent of the Syro-Palestinian bull is mainly the lion, a contest which was interpreted as the combat between Baal and Mot (cf. p. 150). But the weather god in theriomorphic form also attacks the griffin (361) which finds a parallel with the anthropomorphic weather god fighting an attacking griffin (cf. fig. 185 on p. 293). An interesting combination is seen on the Cypriot-related depiction of an aggressive bull (362). On the one hand the animal is represented as aggressive and attacking but on the other it does not have a real opponent. The animal lowers its head towards a lotus flower which is certainly not a dangerous force to be overcome. Comparable material from Cyprus indicates that bulls also appear in similar pose as flanking and thereby protecting a vegetable element (BUCHHOLZ/ KARAGEORGHIS 1971:153,439, no. 1624).⁸¹⁶ Even more stylised is the whole decoration on the Phoenician sherd from Tell Beit Mirsim where concentric circles replace the vegetable object to be protected (363). Thus, while the Syro-Palestinian version depicts the combat with the opponent, the Cypriot-Phoenician type focuses on the cause for the attack, namely, the endangered vegetation.

⁸¹⁶ For Phoenician parallels of the 6th/5th centuries cf. also ALBRIGHT 1943:44,45, footnote 1.

3.4.2.2.3. Geographical and chronological distribution



Map 24: Attacking bovine animals



Graph 24: Attacking bovine animals

3.4.2.3. Horned gods/goddesses with threatening or power-displaying poses or attributes

3.4.2.3.1. Catalogue

369 OBJECT: Cylinder seal; broken; haematite.

DESCRIPTION: A nude goddess holding the ends of her garment is flanked to her left by the weather god with a conical horned headgear. In his raised hand he holds a mace. In the other hand



he holds a curved stick (tree branch) and possibly reins. Seven minute globules are adjacent to the mace-head (not visible on the drawing). Between the goddess and the weather god is a winged sun disk. To her right is a man with a tall oval headgear and dressed with a *Wulstsaummantel* or "toga" (SCHROER 1985) and holding a bird. To the right of this whole scene is above a guilloche design a bovine animal suckling its young. Before it is an unidentified object (dagger?).

DATE: 18th century.

PROVENANCE: Hazor; stratum I B, area H, locus 2113.

LITERATURE: BECK 1989a:310-312; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:45, fig. 31a. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 344 on p. 366, 378 on p. 375.

370 OBJECT: Cylinder seal with gold caps; haematite; 19 x 7,5 mm.

DESCRIPTION: A striding figure in a short kilt wields in his raised right hand a weapon in a menacing pose. The photograph of the seal shows that the figure wears a headgear with a horn. A rectangular object protrudes backwards from the figure which was identified by BECK as the free-hanging end of the belt but might be in fact a dagger (cf. KEEL 1984a:193, fig. 291). With his left hand he holds the hind legs of a lion.⁸¹⁷ A rosette is placed between the legs. Facing towards him is a figure with a long dress raising one hand and holding with the other a weapon (?) that crosses a similar object held by the figure to the right.⁸¹⁸



Two short parallel strokes are behind its head (part of a headgear?). The centre figure is separated by two *bukephalia* from another figure with long garment holding – apart from the weapon (?) mentioned above – at belt height another weapon. Above the two bull-heads is a circle, underneath a horizontal stroke (not represented on the drawing) – obviously the full moon and crescent (cf. fig. 1 on p. 147 for both, *bukephalia* and the disk and crescent).

DATE: Late 14th century (based on the pottery in the tombs).

PROVENANCE: Acco; tomb B 3; inv. no. 497; next to the lower part of a skull.

LITERATURE: BECK 1977:66-68, pl. 21:3 (photograph); KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:88, fig. 88b (drawing). Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 1 on p. 162, 116 on p. 241. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 24 on p. 155, 60 on p. 199, 390 on p. 378, 391 on p. 378, 527 on p. 529.



371 OBJECT: Cylinder seal; badly damaged; white paste (faience?); 21 x 10 mm.

DESCRIPTION: On the left a striding figure wearing a short kilt with a long belt and a horned roundish headgear is brandishing a sword in his right and holding with the other hand a horned animal by one hind leg upside down. In the middle of the scene a female figure wearing a headdress and a knee-length dress is holding out towards the hero in her right hand a chalice and with the other a horizontally-depicted stick.



⁸¹⁷ With KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:88 against BECK who identified it as horned animal. However, head and tail rather suggest a lion.

⁸¹⁸ It is unfortunate in this regard that the two flanking figures are not shown together on the drawing. They both clearly hold an object of which one crosses the other. The drawing of a single cross-like object is inaccurate because it is not executed as a single object but as two that clearly cross each other.

To the right the lioness-headed Sakhmet⁸¹⁹ with a long dress is seated on a throne holding in one hand the *sh̄m*-sistrum with the Hathor head. Possibly she is also holding the flower (papyrus?) sceptre, which is in front of her. Above her is a sun disk.

DATE: 18th/19th dynasty (1539–1190).

PROVENANCE: Acco; tomb B 3, no. 435.

LITERATURE: BECK 1977:68,69, pls. 8:15, 21:4. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 284 on p. 389.

372 OBJECT: Cylinder seal; frit; 26 x 11 mm.

DESCRIPTION: The name Astarte in hieroglyphs is flanked to the left by the menacing weather god holding in the raised hand a *hps*-sword and in the other a spear as does the figure to the right. The female figure is wearing the atef-crown with two long streamers and a long dress.

DATE: 1300.

PROVENANCE: Bethel; dump with MB II and LB I A objects.

LITERATURE: ALBRIGHT 1934:7,8, fig. 1; KELSO 1968:85,86,121, pl. 43; NOUGAYROL 1939:55, pl. 2:EB.1; PARKER 1949:40, pl. 26:180; WEIPPERT 1988:307,308, fig. 3:53.2; WINTER 1987:230, fig. 214; CORNELIUS 1994:173,174, no. BM7, pl. 45:BM7 (with additional references); KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:99, fig. 109. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 15 on p. 152, 382 on p. 376.



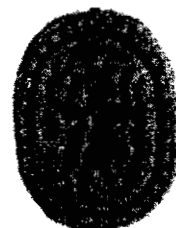
373 OBJECT: Scarab; schematic hollowed-out engraving; steatite; 13,7 x 9 x 6 mm.

DESCRIPTION: A figure wearing a knee-long kilt in menacing pose is brandishing a *hps*-sword above its head. The headgear has two horns and a long streamer. With the outstretched hand the figure holds a serpent with oversized horns by its neck. Behind the figure is a sun disk. Twisted rope border.

DATE: 1000–800.

PROVENANCE: Lachish; tomb 120 (LB chamber with burials from 10th–9th centuries that was used until 600, but the “scarabs were presumably associated with burials of the tenth to ninth centuries” [TUFNELL 1953:194]).

LITERATURE: MURRAY 1953:368, pls. 43,43A:22; KEEL 1990b:314,317, fig. 91; CORNELIUS 1994:214,215, no. BM77; pl. 50:77; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:87, fig. 87a. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 23 on p. 170, 380 on p. 429. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 21 on p. 154, 389 on p. 378, 492 on p. 487.



374 OBJECT: Scaraboid; hollowed-out and linear engraving; amethyst; 19 x 14 x mm.

DESCRIPTION: A figure striding on a guilloche pattern wearing the Egyptian white crown and a short kilt is holding in his lifted left hand a horned animal which turns its head back to face the figure. In his right hand is the Egyptian sign of life. Between the legs is an upside-down hanging flower. Behind the figure is an upside-down facing lion and a papyrus stalk. In front a rampant horned animal, its head turned away from the central figure. To the very right is another flower.

DATE: 1500–1200.

PROVENANCE: Gaza; find context unknown.

LITERATURE: REITLER 1961:88–92, pl. 7A; MESNIL DU BUISSON 1967:349, fig. 3; CONRAD 1971:171,172; GALLING 1977:108; SCHULMAN 1979:83, footnote 50; GIVEON 1980:145,149: pl. 20:1; CORNELIUS 1994:121,122, no. RM40, pl. 31:RM40. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 180 on p. 259, 352 on p. 412.



⁸¹⁹ BECK (1977:69) spoke of a deity which “is not encountered in Egyptian iconography”. However the head looks like that of a lioness and the Hathor-sistrum, the flower sceptre as well as the sun disk point to Sakhmet (STERNBERG 1984:324,326; HART 1986:187). On scarabs Sakhmet appears especially in the Iron Age II C (7th/6th centuries) (KEEL 1997:32,33, no. 30, 38,39, nos. 52,53, 532,533, no. 6, 718,719, no. 76, 722,723, no. 88; GIVEON 1988:62,63, no. 64). For a 19th dynasty (1292–1190) cylinder seal with Sakhmet cf. KEEL 1989c:306, fig. 96.

- 375 OBJECT: Cylinder seal; serpentine; greenish grey, green speckled; 52 x 22 mm.

DESCRIPTION: To the right the pharaoh with the blue crown, wearing a long dress with tassels at the shoulders, is aiming with bow and arrow at a target in the form of a copper ingot on a stand pierced by three arrows. Behind him is a falcon and a papyrus plant. Above his bow a cartouche with *wst-n3't-rs*, the prenomen of Ramses II (1279–1213). Tied to the target are two prisoners flanked on each side by plants. To the left is a striding figure in a short kilt, a conical headgear with two streamers and a gazelle head in front. In his stretched out hand is a *hps*-sword, in his other an *'nh*. Three *nbw*-signs are touching the top border chevron border.



DATE: 1279–1200.

PROVENANCE: Beth-Shean; stratum V; south temple of Ramses, room no. 1021.

LITERATURE: ROWE 1936:252,253, pl. 28:S. 61; NOUGAYROL 1939:63–65, pl. VII:CXXIX; PARKER 1949:13, pl. 4:30; KEEL 1974:174, fig. 27; CORNELIUS 1994:104,105, no. RM16, pl. 30:RM16 (including additional references). Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 371 on p. 373.

- 376 OBJECT: Figure; bronze; 80 (h), 55 (figure) mm.

DESCRIPTION: A striding goddess wearing a long garment, with a raised arm (broken off at elbow), is placed on a platform. In the left outstretched hand she holds a short-handled object (weapon?). Three bull horns protrude from the head. The headgear consists of two feathers flanked by two uraei (?). On top is a sun disk. At each corner of the platform is a naked figurine with a conical headgear, holding/supporting the breasts.

DATE: 1250–900.

PROVENANCE: Kafr Kanna; cave west of village.

LITERATURE: SELLIN 1900:7, fig. 1; VINCENT 1907:168, fig. 114; NEGBI 1976:185, no. 1628 (no illustration); SEEDEN 1980:110, no. 1726, pl. 103:1726, BECK 1995:80: fig. 3.57b. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 393 on p. 378, 539 on p. 540.



- 377 OBJECT: Head of figurine; left horn and tip of right horn are broken off; clay; beige, black and red paint; 120 (h) x 90 (w) mm.

DESCRIPTION: A head has a conical crown with a knob on the top. The hairdo is attached on both sides of the face and above the eye, the hair is indicated by impressed diagonal strokes. At eye level two upward curved horns protrude as well as a central one from the forehead.

DATE: End of 7th/beginning of 6th centuries.

PROVENANCE: Horvat Qitmit; locus 30.

LITERATURE: BECK 1995:78–80, figs. 3.53,3.55,3.56. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 394 on p. 379.



3.4.2.3.2. Analysis

Only three horned gods/goddesses with threatening or power displaying poses or attributes have been identified, namely, the weather god (369–373), Reshef (374,375), and the “smiting goddess” (376,377). A fourth was not identified (371).

Among the horned weather god representations, 369 is in a fertility-related context (FALSONE 1986:70) suggesting that the menacing pose has less to do with the story told by the image than as serving simply as “trademark” to typify the weather god. Two times the horned

weather god does battle with life-threatening forces (370,373) and once he acts as guardian (372).

The unidentified horned deity of 371 appears in the same menacing pose as the weather god (369,370,372,373) and is also engaged in a struggle with a life-threatening power. If this divine hero would be identified with the weather god, the subjugation of a horned animal by this deity would be unique in this catalogue.

The horned Reshef is once depicted in an asymmetrical "master of animals" composition which conveys the message of omnipotent power over all enemies (374). The second representation of the horned Reshef depicts him as war-god who supernaturally confirms the pharaoh's destruction of his enemies (375) (CORNELIUS 1994:105).

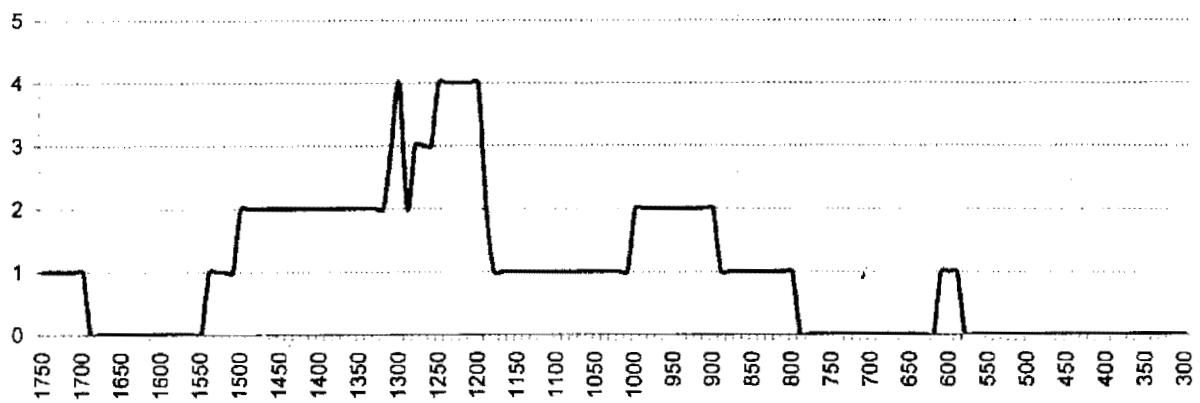
The only horned goddess which is depicted (after reconstruction) in a threatening pose and with weapons is the "smiting goddess" (376,377). Compared with the horned deities in this section, the pose corresponds with that of the menacing weather god. Another similarity with the weather god, who is not only a warrior god but also related to reproduction and fertility, are fertility symbols such as the naked goddesses on the corners of the platform on which the goddess stands (376) or pomegranate chalices and a pomegranate bowl and possibly bird figurines found at the same site as 377. Significant in regard to Dan 7 is that only the "smiting goddess" of this catalogue has multiple horns.

In regard to the origin of deities in this section, it is worthy of note that all of them are Syro-Palestinian.

3.4.2.3.3. Geographical and chronological distribution



Map 25: Horned gods/goddesses with threatening or power displaying poses or attributes



Graph 25: Horned gods/goddesses with threatening or power displaying poses or attributes

3.4.2.4. Horned dragons, monsters, and demons

3.4.2.4.1. Catalogue

378 OBJECT: Scarab; border chipped, top of base broken off; hollowed-out engraving with hatching; steatite; white with traces of green glaze; 22,7 x 15,6 x 9,5 mm.

DESCRIPTION: A striding figure with spread wings is wearing an Egyptian white crown. The headgear is manufactured of reed indicated by fine vertical lines (CORNELIUS 1994:214, no. BM76), with a uraeus in front and a streamer at the back reaching to knee height and ending there in a flower. The short kilt has three tassels. The figure is piercing with a spear a horned serpent.



DATE: 1500-1150.

PROVENANCE: Tell el-Far'ah (South); tomb 902.

LITERATURE: COOK 1925:116 footnote 3; PETRIE 1930:7, pls. 12:171, 37:902; GALLING 1937:26; LEIBOVITCH 1953:107, fig. 11; CASSIRER 1959:6-7; GALLING 1977:11a; MATOUK 1977:268; WELTEN 1977:111; MÜLLER-KARPE 1982: pl. 113:9; SCHULMAN 1979:69; KEEL 1986:3,5, figs. 1+2; *ibid.* 1990b:310-311, fig. 85; CORNELIUS 1990:29,40, fig. 10; UEHLINGER 1990a:217-218, fig. 4; DĄBROWSKI 1992:36-38, fig. 2a; CORNELIUS 1994:214, no. BM76; pl. 50:BM76; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:87, fig. 87b. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 22 on p. 170, 199 on p. 312. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 20 on p. 154, 131 on p. 276, 491 on p. 487, 510 on p. 503, 521 on p. 521, 531 on p. 532.

379 OBJECT: Cylinder seal; steatite; white; 25 x 5 mm.

DESCRIPTION: On the right side of the scene Seth in a menacing pose is surrounded by three lions one of which he holds by the tail. In front of Seth's head it is written '3 *ph*ty "great of might". To the left of the scene Seth is shown once more, wearing a headgear derived from the Egyptian Double crown, this time attacking a horned serpent - which he seems to hold with one hand - with a spear. Five twigs are inserted into the whole scene. The twig behind Seth to the left is damaged and the upper part merges with the end of the spear.



DATE: 13th century.

PROVENANCE: Tell eš-Šafi; Roman burial cave.

LITERATURE: GIVEON 1978a: fig. 49; KEEL 1990b:311, fig. 82; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:89, fig. 89. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 2 on p. 162, 117 on p. 241. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 28 on p. 156, 495 on p. 490, 506 on p. 500.

380 OBJECT: Scarab; schematic hollowed-out engraving; steatite; 13,7 x 9 x 6 mm.

DESCRIPTION: A figure in a knee-length kilt and in menacing pose, is brandishing a *hps*-sword above its head. The headgear has two horns and a long streamer. In the outstretched hand the figure holds by the neck a serpent with oversized horns. Behind the figure is a sun disk. There is a twisted rope border.

DATE: 1000-800.

PROVENANCE: Lachish; tomb 120 (LB chamber with burials from 10th-9th centuries that was used until 600, but the "scarabs were presumably associated with burials of the tenth to ninth centuries" [TUFNELL 1953:194]).

LITERATURE: MURRAY 1953:368, pls. 43,43A:22; KEEL 1990b:314,317, fig. 91; CORNELIUS 1994:214,215, no. BM77; pl. 50:77; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:87, fig. 87a. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 23 on p. 170, 373 on p. 425. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 21 on p. 154, 389 on p. 378, 492 on p. 487.



- 381 OBJECT: Cylinder seal; deep engraving, drilling; haematite; black; 18 x 8 mm.

DESCRIPTION: A standing figure to the left with a long hairlock, dressed in a short decorated kilt, is holding in his right hand a roaring lion and in his left hand a galloping horned animal. On the right side of the scene is a winged demon with a tail and a beak⁸²⁰ and wearing a horned headgear. He is about to grab a human figure which is sitting on the ground, raising its hand in a gesture of prayer. Behind the demon is a human head.



DATE: 1500–1100.

PROVENANCE: Tell el-‘Ajjul; E 829” above sea level.

LITERATURE: PETRIE 1934: pl. 12:1; ROWE 1936: pl. 27:S. 60; NOUGAYROL 1939: pl. 9:XC1 (TA. 18); PARKER 1949: pl. 2:13; PORADA 1948:183; DIGARD 1975: no. 1456; KEEL 1984a:336, fig. 485; CORNELIUS 1994:190, no. BM42, pl. 48:BM42; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:88: fig. 90a. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 27 on p. 174, 179 on p. 258, 254 on p. 330, 351 on p. 412. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 27 on p. 156, 80 on p. 204, 223 on p. 302, 311 on p. 358, 397 on p. 380.

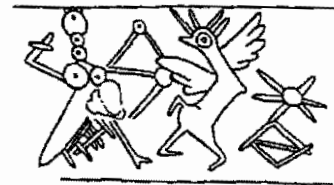
- 382 OBJECT: Cylinder seal; rough drill-hole cutting; crystal.

DESCRIPTION: A striding bowman with long dress is aiming at a horned winged monster which turns its head backwards towards the attacker. In front of the monster are a star and a rhomb.

DATE: 9th century.

PROVENANCE: Unknown.

LITERATURE: PARKER 1949:38, no. 172, pl.25:172; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:333, fig. 284a. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 257 on p. 331. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 237 on p. 308, 398 on p. 381, 538 on p. 539.



- 383 OBJECT: Conoid, base and two sides engraved; linear and modelled engraving with cross-hatching; limestone; light brown with inclusions of quartz, patina very dark; 22 x 20 x 17 mm.

DESCRIPTION (only of relevant side): A *mushussu*-dragon couchant. On its back is a pedestal with the spade (*marru*) of Marduk to the right with two tassels on the horizontal bar and two similar objects at the base and on the left the (double) stylus (*qan tuppī*) of Nabu. In front of the dragon is an ‘*nh*’-sign.

DATE: 700.

PROVENANCE: Tell Keisan; stratum 5, locus 669.

LITERATURE: KEEL 1990a:238–242, no. 24. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 399 on p. 381.



- 384 OBJECT: Coin; obol; 0.76 g; axis: 00.

DESCRIPTION: A galloping horned and winged griffin. Below is a pentagram.

DATE: 4th century.

PROVENANCE: Samaria.

LITERATURE: MESHORER/QEDAR 1991:59, no. 83. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 400 on p. 381.



- 385 OBJECT: Seal impression; impression of string and papyrus on the back; court style (BOARDMAN 1970b:305–309); clay; pale brown; 14 (h) x 24 (w) mm.

DESCRIPTION: A figure wearing the Persian crown (*kidaris*) and the long-sleeved Persian robe (*kandys*) is holding with the extended left arm a winged lion by its throat. The rampant *Mischwesen* has talons and is standing on an unidentifiable object. Its forepaws are put on the hero's chest and shoulder.

DATE: End of 6th/5th century.

PROVENANCE: Samaria; field Qf.



⁸²⁰ Clearly visible on the photograph (CORNELIUS 1994: pl. 48:BM42).

LITERATURE: CROWFOOT/CROWFOOT/KENYON 1957:88, pl. 15:42; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:433, fig. 360a. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 219 on p. 319. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 189 on p. 294, 401 on p. 381, 509 on p. 502, 534 on p. 534.

- 386** OBJECT: Bulla; string preserved, papyrus imprint; court style; clay; deep reddish brown; image size: 19 x 17 mm, bulla size: 19 x 17 mm.
 DESCRIPTION: As no. 385, but the hero wears a beard and is holding in his right lowered hand a short sword (*akinakes*). The lion has a horn.
 DATE: 4th century.
 PROVENANCE: Wadi ed-Daliyeh; Cave of the Papyri.
 LITERATURE: CROSS 1974a:28, pl. 62:c; LEITH 1990:398-410, pl. 39:WD 4 = *ibid.* 1997: pl. 18:WD 4. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 220 on p. 319.



- 387** OBJECT: Cylinder seal impression on a fragment of a tablet; court style; clay lightly baked; 20 (l) mm
 DESCRIPTION: As no. 385, but with rope-patterned border line.
 DATE: End of 6th/5th century.
 PROVENANCE: Samaria; S8-S14 sub.
 LITERATURE: REISNER 1924: I 378: no. IV:4, II pl. 57:h2. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 221 on p. 319, 336 on p. 407.

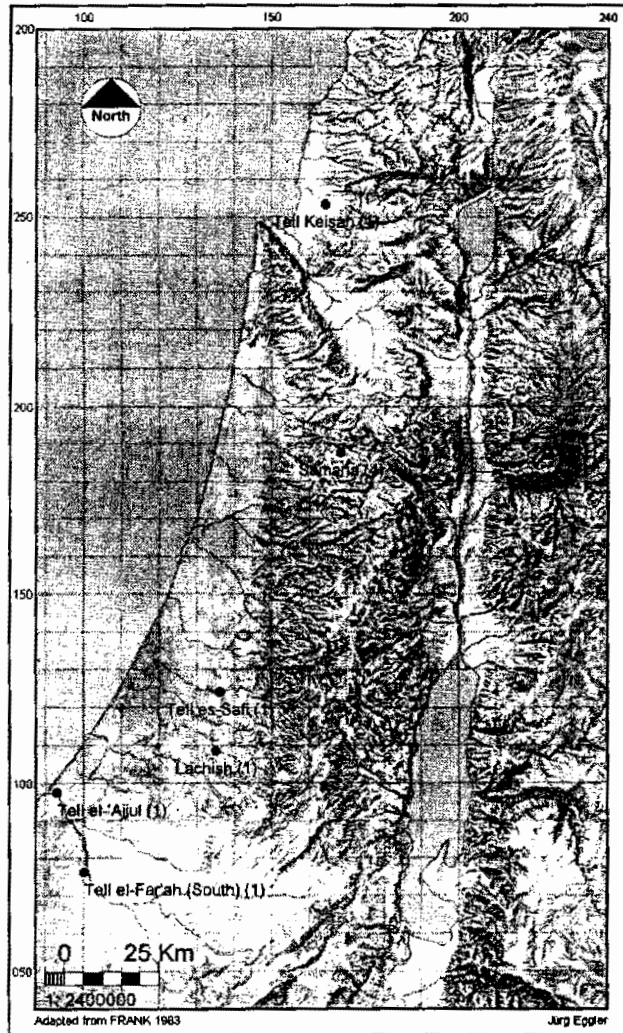


3.4.2.4.2. Analysis

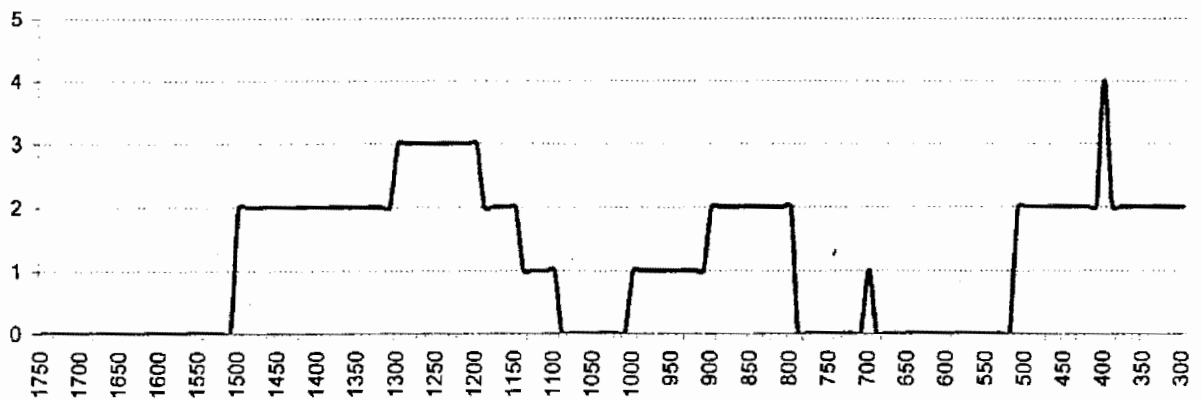
Horned monsters and dragons appear in two themes, namely, the mythological combat with life-threatening chaos forces and royal Persian iconography which depicts the king as superior over malevolent supernatural powers. The former topic is covered by the struggle of the weather god and Seth with the horned serpent (378-380) and Ninurta fighting the Anzu-dragon (382). The opponent of the Persian king in the second theme is the horned "monster-lion-griffin" (385-387).

The horned demon appears only once in the catalogue (381) and is depicted as attacking a person with the object of killing him. Thus, the struggle is not on a cosmic plane but in the personal life of a human being. Only two dangerous horned beings are not depicted with an opponent, namely, the *mušhuššu*-dragon (383) and a galloping winged griffin (384). Their function is obviously simply apotropaic without the intention of telling a story.

3.4.2.4.3. Geographical and chronnological distribution



Map 26: Horned dragons, monsters, and demons



Graph 26: Horned dragons, monsters, and demons

3.4.3. Iconographic summary of the catalogue

The *dangerous* properties and, by extension, the *power* of the horned animal are conveyed through three basic themes. First, the horned animal is depicted as being attacked; second, it is represented as overcome – two topics which define the dangerous and powerful nature of the horned animal by way of its subjugation; third, the powerful nature of the horned animal is brought across in a positive light by associating it with symbols of dominion.

When the horned animal is attacked, its opponent is a human, a lion, or a griffin. Considering the first antagonist who attacks the horned animal, we can deduce that it is either the pharaoh (or a heroic figure which stands in the same iconographic tradition) (259–276) or a deity/divine/superhuman hero (277–288).⁸²¹ The Egyptian tradition associates the horned animal with either the political enemies of the pharaoh and/or on a supernatural level with life-threatening forces. In contrast with the royal context of Egyptian tradition, the Asiatic tradition depicts deities or divine heroes as attacking a horned animal. It is obvious that the horned animal in this case is not associated with a political force. The negative power, which is expressed by the horned animal, can relate to the earthly or the cosmic sphere. Regarding the more mundane aspect, it has to be kept in mind that it is always deities or divine/superhuman heroes that are involved. But the divine intervention is not restricted to a cosmic plane: it breaks into the life of human beings, which is indicated by adoring human figures (277–279, 284). In contrast to these scenes, 285 gives a totally different setting. No human beings are part of the scene, but a winged deity/divine hero is struggling with the horned animal amidst various celestial symbols – the setting is clearly on a higher, cosmic plane. Therefore the struggle also probably has cosmic dimensions. The theme is not just the subjugation of (human) life-threatening forces but a struggle with a power which endangers the cosmic order. Possibly the

solar setting of 288 also suggests a divine sphere. A number of depictions (280-283,286,287) do not allow a clear localising of the struggle. Since no human beings are part of the scene, it is more likely that they present a divine sphere than an earthly one.⁸²²

When the lion attacks the horned animal, we can distinguish two different phases/backgrounds which roughly correspond to the second and first millennia. Depictions of the second millennium down to the end of Ramesside mass-production in the middle of the 10th century (290-301,306-311) are thematically the same as the Egyptian tradition discussed above.

The second tradition, differing in style and sometimes theme from the Egyptian tradition, ranges from the 11th down to the 4th century, thus overlapping slightly with the first phase. Since there is less direct Egyptian influence visible, the theme of the dominion of the pharaoh over his enemies is probably no longer intended but rather the overcoming of dangerous and life-threatening forces. To the same theme belongs 312 which comes from a cult-stand. It has been mentioned above that Asiatic tradition employs a deity/divine/superhuman hero to subdue the horned animal. This aspect is very well brought across in 326,327 where the lion is equated with the deity/divine/superhuman hero which is the focus of the main scene. Last to be mentioned is in this connection is the combination of an archer aiming at a lion which in turn attacks a horned animal (329-333). In this case the horned animal is probably only the prey of the lion in order to enhance the dangerousness of the lion which in turn highlights the prowess of the archer.

The least frequently occurring attacker of the horned animal is the griffin, which is singularly attested in the Middle Bronze Age II B, Late Bronze Age, and Iron Age (334,335,340) and only appears in the Persian period more frequently (336-339). The

⁸²¹ Although not all Asiatic opponents of the horned animal in this catalogue can positively be identified as deities or divine/superhuman heroes by way of attributes, there is no indication that a king is subjugating the horned animal.

horned animal in these representations either symbolises a malevolent power which needs to be overcome by a superior might, or serves merely to underline the dangerousness of the griffin.

The second theme of subjugation is that of the master/mistress of horned animals. We can distinguish between the symmetrical (341–346) and asymmetrical (351–353) composition, in the latter one horned animal is replaced by a lion. There are no indications that this motif is related to royal iconography. While on the other hand many depictions have no typical divine attributes, 349 sets the scene into the sphere of the moon god, and the asymmetrical compositions 351, 352 depict Baal and Reshef as masters, thereby indicating that this motif has less to do with a royal than with a divine hero. If this line is followed, the horned animal represents a dangerous force which threatens human life (351) as well as the cosmic order (349).

The positive or, in UEHLINGER'S words, "surprising association" (KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:308) between the horned animal and dominion or power, is achieved by combining the solitary striding horned animal with symbols of dominion such as the cartouche (354, 355) or the *nb*-sign ("lord") (356). The renewed equation of the horned animal with a political force in the middle of the 10th–7th century, this time in a positive sense and not as subjugated animal representing the enemies of pharaoh, is not an entirely new theme. Already in the MB II B (1760–1540/1450) period horned animals were combined with hieroglyphs associated with the meaning of "strong" or "protect". In addition the peculiarly-styled horns of this type are reminiscent of horned animals around the turn from the 4th to the 3rd millennium, the only period which emphasised in particular the horns alone, which were interpreted as symbols of power.

⁶²² The tree in 280 must not necessarily be seen as indicator for an earthly sphere. It can simply be a symbol of life, i.e., the representation of the underlying issue of the depicted struggle.

The closer investigation of the motifs selected for the catalogue also indicated that not all horned animals portrayed as being attacked or overcome are a symbol of a dangerous, life-threatening, mythical, cosmic-order-threatening or "political" force. This applies not only to the horned animal in the horned-animal-archer-lion composition where it serves merely as the natural prey of the lion, but also to depictions which suggest that the horned animal represents the forces of life. This is the case when the lion "attacks" a cubbing horned animal (302-306), when the "attack" occurs in a completely fertility-symbol-saturated setting as 317, or in a context which suggests a relationship to the goddess of fertility as 347,348,350. It would make little sense to interpret such horned animals as chaotic forces which need to be destroyed. Rather these compositions convey the idea that the wearer of the amulet is imbued with the same power as the lion in order to obtain life and prosperity or that the deity possesses the necessary power to control and protect the life-giving and sustaining forces.

Bovine animals were investigated according to two criteria, namely, when they occur in connection with a closely-related figure which appears in an aggressive posture and when they are depicted in an aggressive posture themselves. Only 358 fulfilled the first criterion and it was concluded that the bull associated with the warrior-like weather god did not have any aggressive aspect which would allow the equation "bull horn" = "power", "aggression". More promising is the second group which, on the basis of the selection criteria, already incorporated the aggressive aspect. It was observed that this motif occurs in three traditions, namely, Syro-Palestinian, Cypriot, and Egyptian. In Egyptian tradition the bull represents the pharaoh and typical of this iconographic tradition is that the bull is depicted as striding or running over a fallen human or simply alone as striding animal (365-368). Thus there is no relationship between the horns and the aggressive behaviour. In contrast with the Egyptian iconography, the ivory carving 362 which is derived from Cypriot tradition shows a significantly different posture in the bull. The forelegs are stretched and projected beyond the head which is lowered with the body, the horns ready for attack. Surprisingly the opponent is not a dangerous creature

but a lotus flower. Similar material from Cyprus indicates that the bull of 362 is a guardian bull protecting a vegetable object = life, but the sinister power against which life is protected is not depicted. The antagonist is depicted in Syro-Palestinian tradition (358-361,364), however, which shows a bull with head and horns lowered to attack the opponent which is the lion (358-360) or the griffin (361). The struggle between the lion and the bull was interpreted as a rendering of the mythological combat between Baal and Mot. The contest with a griffin finds a parallel in the anthropomorphic weather god repulsing a griffin as it is about to attack a bovine animal, a symbol of life and prosperity (cf. fig. 185 on p. 293).

Since horns can be a general attribute to indicate the divine nature of a figure, the catalogue limited the representations of horned deities to those with threatening or power-displaying poses or attributes. Only four deities met these criteria, namely, the weather god, Reshef, the "smiting goddess" and an unidentified deity. The weather god appeared four times, once in a fertility related context (369), once as guardian (372), and twice as fighting life-threatening forces (370,373). Involved in the latter activity is also the unidentified horned deity of 371. Reshef appears two times as horned god, once as "master of animals" (374) the other time as war-god who supernaturally confirms the pharaoh's destruction of his enemies (375). The "smiting goddess" appears twice (376,377) and there are also indications that apart from her dominant warrior nature she retained her fertility-related aspect to some degree. Notable is that the "smiting goddess" depictions both have multiple horns, a feature which is also part of the horned beast in Dan 7.

Since the fourth beast of Dan 7 is not only horned but is also typified as monster, the last group to be investigated were horned monsters, dragons, and demons. Three different spheres or functions can be assigned to the beings in this group. Either they represent malevolent forces in a struggle on a cosmic plane or in the personal life of a human, or they are not engaged in any contest at all but function simply as apotropaion. To the first group belongs the

horned chaos serpent (378–380) (15th–9th centuries), the Anzu-dragon (382) (9th century) or the “lion-monster-griffin” (385–387) (6th–5th centuries). The life-threatening force in the personal life of a human is represented by a horned winged demon (381) (15th–12th centuries). Functioning solely as apotropaion are the *mushu*-dragon (383) and the galloping winged griffin (384). It is worthy of note that 90% of depictions classified in the section dealing with horned monsters, dragons and demons are theriomorphic beings, and 78% of scenes depict a struggle on a cosmic plane, and that all representations are of Asiatic background: 60% Mesopotamian, 40% Syro-Palestinian.

3.5. The enthroned

The second part of the vision of Dan 7 did not receive much attention in regard to iconographic parallels (cf. pp. 131–135). Usually the main focus in previous iconographic remarks was directed towards the scene of the “Ancient of days”. Indeed, the complex of motifs associated with the “Ancient of days” is the most descriptive passage, which therefore invites to set it against the iconographic world of Palestine/Israel.

The study of the motif complex of the enthroned “Ancient of days” in the following section will be based on a survey which presents the iconographic repertoire of enthroned⁸²³ male figures in Palestine/Israel. The depictions of enthroned figures in the following survey can roughly be divided into two groups, those involving royal figures and those representing deities. However, the nature of the enthroned figure cannot be determined in all cases. In a few instances there even occurs a combination of the two when a royal figure is depicted as deified ruler. For this reason, no attempt is made in the overview of motifs to divide the corpus along this line but divine as well as non-divine seated figures are presented.

Two different approaches will be taken in the following iconographic study. There are conceptual and descriptive parallels, both of which will be pursued. Thus one of the objects of the overview will be to look at the context in which the enthroned figure appears. Conversely it will be important to consider descriptive parallels even if they do not occur in a conceptual context similar to the judgement scene in Dan 7.

The structure of the following survey leads from the simple motif of the enthroned figure without an object in his hand to the more complex motifs involving specific attributes and additional figures. Therefore media which usually give a more complex imagery will be treated first. Since figurines and statues often occur without iconographic context, they will be discussed at the end in order to be able to place them against a wider iconographic repertoire.

3.5.1. Survey of motifs involving seated figures

3.5.1.1. The enthroned on seals, ivories, coins, and ceramics

3.5.1.1.1. The solitary enthroned without an object in his hand

The enthroned without an object in his hand appears first in the MB II B (1760–1540/1450) period. On a scarab from Lachish (Fig. 402) a figure clad in a *Wulstsaummantel* (SCHROER 1985) is sitting on a seat with a high backrest and with legs ending in lion's paws (METZGER 1985:230, no. 1167). His right hand is raised in a gesture of blessing or greeting. The surrounding *omnium gatherum* of symbols⁸²⁴ of dominion (*nb*, *ⲛⲗⲃ*), regeneration (*ⲣ*), fortune (*nfr*), and protection (uraeus) indicate the deified nature of the depicted "prince" (SCHROER 1985:105).



Fig. 402

A recurring symbol associated with the enthroned from the MB II B is the twig, indicating fertility (cf. p. 148), as on a scarab from Gezer (Fig. 403).⁸²⁵ A typical feature of the enthroned on MB II B scarabs is also the hand resting on the knee (cf. KEEL 1995a:229 § 622). The same posture of the hand is found on an ornamental impression on a krater from En-Gedi dated to 600 where a sitting male figure wearing a crown is depicted before a similar vegetable object (Fig. 404) as on the MB II B scarab from Gezer. The relationship with a symbol of life is also given on a broken scarab from 'Atlit, found in a tomb dating to the Persian period, where the sitting figure with a raised hand is not facing a twig but this time a flower with a long stalk (Fig. 405).⁸²⁶



Fig. 403



Fig. 404



Fig. 405

⁸²³ On the throne in general see the monograph by METZGER (1985).

⁸²⁴ For the meaning of the hieroglyphs on scarabs cf. KEEL 1995a:169–174 §§ 448–465.

⁸²⁵ Parallel: KEEL 1997:280,281, no. 519. Another piece of unknown provenance is at the Pelizaeus-Museum Hildesheim (= ibid.1995a:229, fig. 526). The vegetable object is also held in the hand (cf. GIVEON 1988:96,97, no. 112).

⁸²⁶ A scarab from Acco (KEEL 1997:556,557, no. 75) also depicts a sitting figure with a symbol of life before it, namely, the *ⲛḥ*-sign. But most probably it is a female deity, viz. Isis (cf. also fig. 149 on p. 283).

While the identity of the previous figures is not in all cases clear, another seated figure on a scaraboid from Shechem, dated to the 7th century, has been identified as a representation of the Syrian moon god who raises his hand towards a stylised tree (KEEL 1977a:281–320; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:349–352) (Fig. 406).⁸²⁷ A variant of this motif shows the moon god⁸²⁸ sitting in a boat between a tree and a similarly shaped stand⁸²⁹ on a Judean seal belonging to a certain *ʾismʿ bn gdlyhw* (Fig. 407).⁸³⁰ Sometimes the tree is also replaced by an ‘*nh*’-like shaped object



Fig. 406

(UEHLINGER 1990c; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:345–347) as on another epigraphic seal belonging to a certain *šyhw (bn) msms* (Fig. 408).



Fig. 407

A totally different theme represents the only Late Bronze Age (1540/1450–1250/1150) depiction of a sitting male figure, namely, the youthful royal Egyptian child (Fig. 409). The base design of this scarab from Tell el-‘Ajjul shows the child, clad in a kilt and wearing the blue crown with uraeus, as sitting on a bow, a symbol for the conquered foreign enemies. Below it are nine strokes or bows, a reference to the “nine bow nations”, comprising Egypt and the surrounding nations over which the pharaoh exerts his power (DECKER 1975:842). The broken section gives the name of the pharaoh, that of



Fig. 408



Fig. 409

Thutmose III (1479–1426), *mn-hpr-rʿ*. Together with the *ntr nfr* behind the royal child, ROWE (1936:115, no. 484) read: “The good god, Thutmosis III, [is over] the Nine Bows.”

The pharaoh is also the focus of the next group, consisting mainly of scarabs of which KEEL (1994b) collected 32 examples (8 additional pieces were in the meantime added to the catalogue) of which 6 come from known provenance in Palestine/Israel.⁸³¹ The motif, dated to

⁸²⁷ Parallels: KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:351, fig. 307; KEEL 1997:568,569, no. 110; 722,723, no. 91.

⁸²⁸ DALMAN (1906) published this seal under the title: “A newly found image of Yahweh”!

⁸²⁹ Note also a signet ring from Tel Michal (HERZOG/RAPP/NEGBI 1989:334–336, fig. 28:1.4, pl. 74:1) which depicts a seated female figure in a long dress with a fire altar in front of her.

⁸³⁰ Parallel: cat. no. 397 on p. 473.

⁸³¹ Parallels: KEEL 1994b:125,126, figs. 7,18c and below cat. nos. 427–429 on p. 482.

the 10th/9th centuries and represented here by a scarab from Tel Zeror (Fig. 410 = fig. 520 on p. 515, 549 on p. 547), shows the pharaoh sitting on a palace facade throne, a uraeus coming forth from his mouth. Four stylised falcons with protecting wings surround the pharaoh and above him is a winged sun disk. Below the throne is the *nw*-hieroglyph (S12) which is a stylised collar. KEEL (ibid. 115–120) interpreted the whole motif as the representation of the pharaoh as sun god who brings well-being and life as well as banishes all evil.



Fig. 410

Similar in style, although coarser, is the enthroned on a stone cylinder seal from Ashdod stratum XIII (11th century) which is associated with “proto-Philistines” migrants (DOTHAN/DOTHAN 1992:169) (Fig. 411).



Fig. 411

“Unique in its theme” is according to AHARONI (1996:52) the second cylinder seal in this section which was found in stratum IX at Tel Arad dating to the second half of the 8th century (Fig. 412). A figure with a dress covering the knees is depicted as sitting on a cubic throne with a backrest on which one hand rests while the other is raised in a gesture of greeting/blessing. In front of the enthroned are the *sibittu* – the planetary constellation of the Pleiades. The being towards which the hand of greeting/blessing is extended is an ostrich⁸³² above which is a crescent and behind which is a lozenge.



Fig. 412

Recently BECK (1995:150,151) pointed out in her summary on the iconographic evidence of the ostrich in Palestine/Israel during the Iron Age that the main⁸³³ motif was the “master of ostriches”. KEEL (1978:102–108) has shown that this motif appeared first in the 11th century in Palestine/Israel and only during the 8th century in Assyria. The general nature of the ostrich in

⁸³² What speaks against the identification of the bird with a duck or goose are the long legs and the tail feathers. On the Arad seal the ratio between body-neck-head and the legs is about 1:1. Ducks and geese however have much shorter legs. Also the tail feathers are typical for the ostrich (cf. KEEL 1978:103,104, figs. 33–42). What makes the identification of the bird not entirely clear at first sight is the curved neck and the rather large head. Usually the neck of ostriches is depicted in a straight vertical manner (but for a curved neck cf. SCHAEFFER-FORRER 1983:82, no. R.S. 4.162).

this motif is presented as being malevolent and therefore in need of being subdued by the “master of ostriches”.⁸³⁴ This demonic nature of the ostrich is very well expressed by a Neo-Assyrian cylinder seal which replaces one ostrich with a demon and provides a similar celestial sphere as the cylinder seal from Arad.⁸³⁵ The theme of the Arad seal is the approach of an ostrich into the very presence of a deity. Exactly the same theme also appears at the cult-site of Ḥorvat Qitmit located only about 13 km south-west of Arad and within sight of the latter. The chronological gap between the two is roughly 100 years. As mentioned in footnote 802 on p. 379 at Ḥorvat Qitmit quite a number of ostrich figurines were found which were used in connection with the cult at this shrine. What links the Arad seal and Ḥorvat Qitmit is not only the geographical and chronological closeness, or the theme, namely, the ostrich in the context of approaching a deity, the very purpose of a cult-site, but also the nature of the ostrich. While the ostrich is generally presented as evil, BECK stated that “in southern Palestine ostriches represented benevolent powers” (1995:187). Certainly neither the ostrich figures at Ḥorvat Qitmit nor the one on the Arad seal can be regarded as evil and destructive, and representing the chaos to be subdued. BECK supported her claim for benevolent ostriches in southern Palestine by referring to ostriches on a female-headed MB II B (1760–1540/1450) juglet from Jericho, perched ostriches on the head of Hathor on an MB II B/LB I (1756–1400) scarab located at the Biblical Institute at the University of Fribourg, and to decorations on vessels from various sites dating to the Late Bronze Age (1540/1450–1250/1150)⁸³⁶ as well as to a scarab from Tell Keisan where the ostriches flank a tree.

⁸³³ Rare in the Iron Age is the motif of ostriches flanking a tree (KEEL 1980b:189, fig. 20).

⁸³⁴ An exception is of course the ostrich in the motif mentioned in the previous footnote and its possible association with a female deity (BECK 1995:150,151).

⁸³⁵ Notable are also the celestial elements which appear: the *sibitu*, the crescent, and a star. The same combination appears on the cylinder seal from Arad with the exception that a lozenge replaces the star. The divine nature of the hero battling the demon and ostrich is underlined by the (double) stylus (*qan šuppi*) of Nabu on which the demon puts its paw.



Fn. fig. 36

⁸³⁶ KEEL (1990a:187, footnote 106) mentioned pieces from Lachish (TUFNELL 1940: pls. 48:249; 60:2; AHARONI 1975: pl. 40:1), Gezer (MACALISTER 1912 III pl. 65:1), Taanach (SELLIN 1905: pl. 19), and Megiddo (MAY 1935: pl. 39, fig. A).

Moving on to the Iron Age a scarab from Taanach, dated to 1250/1150–1000, with the same motif has to be added (Fig. 413).⁸³⁷ BECK suggested that the ostrich in these motifs is associated with a female deity, especially in the light of the “smiting goddess” of Ḥorvat Qitmit (cf. fig. 394 on p. 379)



Fig. 413

and the large number of ostrich figurines found at that site. Unfortunately the “smiting goddess” of Ḥorvat Qitmit can only by implication be associated with these ostrich figurines. However, in addition to the Iron Age scarab from Taanach mentioned above, there are further indicators which suggest that a connection between a female figure and the ostrich in Iron Age Palestine is not too far fetched. Although not a conclusive argument in itself but still notable is the fact that the “smiting goddess” from Kafr Kanna wears a crown with ostrich feathers (cf. fig. 394 on p. 378) and is clearly related to fertility as the figures attached to the pedestal indicate. A virtual web of interconnecting motifs – all pointing to a female deity – are seen on a conical Iron Age seal from another site in the south, namely, Tell el-Far‘ah (South) (Fig. 414). A figure raising both hands

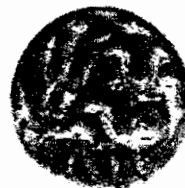


Fig. 414

is standing on a lion which is facing to the right its tail bending upwards along the border of the base.⁸³⁸ It has been noted earlier that the goddess of fertility is often depicted together with the lion and is also using it as a pedestal (cf. pp. 191–193). Opposite of the lion is an ostrich, above which is a (flying) bird, again a symbol associated with the goddess.⁸³⁹ And at the very top is a “y” shaped object in horizontal position, most likely a stylised scorpion, another symbol of fertility (cf. figs. 279,280 on p. 349, 349–351 on p. 368).

⁸³⁷ BECK (1995:151) mistakenly lists this scarab under the section of the “master of ostriches”.

⁸³⁸ For a similar depiction of a figure with raised hands on an animal cf. EDELSTEIN/AURANT 1992:29,40, fig. 14:1.

⁸³⁹ For references on the bird in the context of fertility see also p. 167.

If the object combined with two lions on a number of seals – all stemming from the south⁸⁴⁰ except one from Tell Rekesh (Fig. 415) and dated to the 12th/11th centuries – is indeed an ostrich as the comparative



Fig. 415

examples suggest, once again two symbols which can be associated with a female goddess would be combined. However, if the motif is not a paratactic composition, it would indicate rather an attack on the bird (cf. cat nos. 290–301, 306–311 on pp. 394–397) which stands in contrast to all other depictions mentioned above. In this case the lions would not necessarily be connected with a female goddess.

The last to be mentioned in regard to the Arad seal is a scaraboid from Ashdod dated to 800–600 (Fig. 416). It depicts an enthroned figure with a dress covering the knees. It has its hands raised in a blessing/greeting gesture. In front of it are two birds, probably falcons. Above is a crescent and below the left



Fig. 416

arm a sun disk. The general assemblage of elements, with the difference that the bird is not an ostrich, as well as the theme as such are very close to that of the Arad seal. One last feature should be pointed out, namely, the long hair on the scaraboid from Ashdod. Should the knot behind the head of the enthroned figure of the Arad seal be part of a female coiffure, we would have another indicator that the enthroned figure on the Arad seal is a goddess.

In summary one can state that there are a number of indicators which suggest that in Palestine not only was a male hero associated with a malevolent ostrich but also a female deity with a benevolent ostrich, and that the majority of these depictions to date have appeared in the south. It is noteworthy that while a direct link between the goddess of Ḥorvat Qitmit and the ostrich figurines cannot be proven, the Arad seal in close geographical and chronological connection to Ḥorvat Qitmit clearly shows such a relationship. What is especially striking is the appearance of the very same theme at Arad and Ḥorvat Qitmit, namely, the ostrich in the very

⁸⁴⁰ Acco: KEEL 1997:562,563, no. 90; Tell el-Far'ah (South): PETRIE 1930:29:282; Gezer: GIVEON 1985:128,129, no. 58;

presence of a deity. Were the hairdo of the Arad seal indeed that of a female figure, then the association of the ostrich figurines and the "smiting goddess" of Horvat Qitmit would be on a more solid base. A last comment in regard to the ambivalent nature of the ostrich is in order. As has been seen above, such a difference in values is not unique. For example, griffins and horned animals can also protect a symbol of life (cf. fig. 170 on p. 289 and pp. 346–352) but can also represent a demonic and life-threatening power (cf. figs. 184–191 on pp. 292–294 and pp. 352–358). And since the life-giving attributes of the horned animal are also related to its ability to survive in the life-threatening habitat of the wilderness, a similar perception can as well be assumed with a desert animal such as the ostrich.

The last group of seated figures to be mentioned comprises singular pieces which date back to the first millennium. The first is an unpublished type IV limestone scaraboid of a type which ranges between the 10th–6th centuries (KEEL 1993a:64 § 138) that was excavated at Megiddo (Fig. 417). Although the



Fig. 417

original photograph is almost black the computer-enhanced version seems to indicate that the sitting figure wears a conical headgear with two horns and that the face is pointed as is the one of Baal-Seth in fig. 130 on p. 275. The horned figure has both hands raised in a blessing gesture and in front of it is a uraeus as it is also found on fig. 130.

On a pottery sherd from Ramat Rahel dating to the end of the 7th century a bearded figure is sitting on a throne and his feet seem to rest on a footstool. Both hands are stretched out (Fig. 418). Most probably the depicted person is a royal figure (AHARONI 1962:43), according to P. MATTHIAE (AHARONI



Fig. 418

1964:92), the king of Judah.

A surface find from Acco is the bulla in **fig. 419**. It dates to the Persian period and depicts the Egyptian god Thot with an Ibis head and a disk above it as he is sitting on a throne. One hand is raised in a greeting gesture, the other one is resting on the leg reminiscent of the early depictions discussed in this section.



Fig. 419

Unidentifiable is a sitting figure on a scarab from Gezer attributed by MACALISTER (1912: II 327, no. 363) to his 4th period (**Fig. 420**). The seat is not depicted. In comparison to the other enthroned figures in this section, this one does not raise the hands to greet or bless.



Fig. 420

The last to be mentioned in this section is a Samaritan obol depicting a young male with a himation about the lower limbs (**Fig. 421**). Behind him is



Fig. 421

inscribed: חַנְיָהּ, most likely the name of the satrap of Samaria, Ḥananyah, mentioned in the Wadi ed-Daliyeh Papyri nos. 7 and 9 (MESHORER/QEDAR 1991:15).

3.5.1.1.2. *The solitary enthroned holding an object in his hand*

Two dominant groups can be distinguished in this section: (1) the enthroned holding such Egyptian paraphernalia of dominion as the flagellum and/or the crook sceptre or the *w3s*-sceptre, a theme which occurs mainly in the second half of the second millennium; (2) the enthroned holding a vegetable object in his hand, a theme which is also prominent in the first millennium.

The first theme is seen on a scarab from Tell el-^cAjjul dating to about 1479–1390, where the throne with the pharaoh who is wearing the blue crown is placed in a barque (cf. WIESE 1990:59–67) (**Fig. 422**).⁸⁴¹



Fig. 422

⁸⁴¹ Parallel: *ibid.* 1995a:640,641, no. 3.

Once the seated Harpocrates is depicted as holding the flagellum in his hand. Before him is an altar with a burning fire on it (Fig. 423). The scarab which bears this motif was found at Ashkelon and is dated toward the end of the 6th–4th centuries.



Fig. 423

On a scarab from Tell el-Farfah (South) which is dated to the 14th–12th centuries the *w3s*-sceptre is held by a falcon-headed deity with a solar disk and uraeus on his head (Fig. 424). Over the body of Re-Harachte (cf. KEEL 1989b) a large cross is incised (cf. SCHROER 1985:90).



Fig. 424

Another Egyptian god, namely, Ptah is depicted on a scarab from Tel Zippor (13th/12th centuries) as holding the *w3s*-sceptre. Behind the enthroned the inscription reads: "Ptah, Lord of the Two Lands" (Fig. 425).



Fig. 425

A seated bearded figure with a long dress is depicted on a scarab from Lachish (14th–11th centuries) (Fig. 426). Although at first sight it is not entirely clear what kind of sceptre the enthroned is holding, upon closer examination both curved ends of the *w3s*-sceptre are identifiable. In front of the enthroned two vertical strokes are incised. Whether it is a deity is not clear. However in the survey of this study only enthroned deities hold a *w3s*-sceptre.⁸⁴²

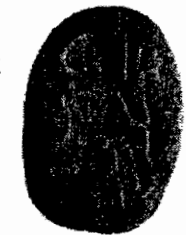


Fig. 426

The second large group of enthroned figures begins also in the MB II B (1760–1540/1450). A scarab from Tel Michal depicts an identical scene as seen in fig. 403 on p. 440 except that the vegetable object is a flower which is bent downwards (cf. KEEL 1997:28, no. 21) and held by the enthroned (Fig. 427).



Fig. 427

The additional *'nh*-sign is fitting the general theme of regeneration.

⁸⁴² Parallel: KEEL 1997:28,29, no. 22.

A linear engraved scene interpreted by KEEL (1997:772, no. 37) as “dominion of love” is depicted on a scarab from ‘Atlit, also dated to the MB II B. The enthroned mongoose is holding with both hands a big branch and is considered in this combination to have a sexual connotation. Behind the animal another twig is visible above which is the Egyptian red crown (Fig. 428).



Fig. 428

Dated by SCHROER (1987b:210) to the last quarter of the 2nd millennium and termed “Baumkult-Szene” is a cylinder seal from Tell el-‘Ajjul (Fig. 429). The enthroned figure sitting on a throne whose legs end in lion’s paws (METZGER 1985:230, no.

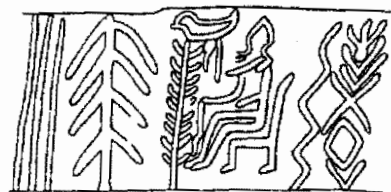


Fig. 429

1167) is wearing a conical headdress and holding a weapon in the right hand. In front of it is a tree similar to fig. 404 on p. 440 with a bird⁸⁴³ on top. Between the terminating three parallel lines and tree is either another tree or a standard.⁸⁴⁴

The seated figure on a scarab from Beth-Shemesh (Fig. 430) dated to the 9th/8th centuries (KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:280) is holding, not a tree or a twig, but an oversized lotus flower (cf. fig. 427 on p. 448). Possibly the enthroned is sniffing at the blossom. This is at least suggested by a wall painting from



Fig. 430

Kuntillet ‘Ajrud, dated to the first half of the 8th century, where a seated figure is making the same gesture (cf. fig. 463 on p. 457) thus indicating that the scarab design from Beth-Shemesh is an abbreviation⁸⁴⁵ of that type of motif.⁸⁴⁶

Dated back to the 7th century is a scarab from stratum VI Hazor (Fig. 431).

It depicts a falcon-headed god (KEEL 1989b:252–266) with a sun disk above his head on a throne with criss-cross pattern. With both hands he holds a tree-



Fig. 431

⁸⁴³ For references on the bird in the context of fertility see also p. 167.

⁸⁴⁴ For a similar motif on a 17th century Cappadocian cylinder seal of unknown provenance cf. HAMMADE 1987: no. 117.

⁸⁴⁵ On principles in regard to the transfer of motifs from *Grosskunst* to media of miniature art see KEEL 1989c.

⁸⁴⁶ For a stone statue with a similar motif see fig. 484 on p. 464.

standard (cf. CLERC/KARAGEORGHIS/LAGARCE/LECLANT 1976:54, fig. Kit. 505, 85, fig. Kit. 995; KEEL 1997:44,45, no. 66).

The enthroned figure sniffing at a flower also appears in the Persian period on Samarian coins from the 4th century. This time it is the Persian king wearing kidaris and kandys, sceptre in hand, who is performing the act. In front of him is a fire altar (Fig. 432).⁸⁴⁷



Fig. 432

A variation of the epithet "Lord of Maat" of the Egyptian god Ptah is depicted on a scarab from Achzib (Fig. 433). The usual Maat-feather (ibid. 1989c:309, figs. 97-100) is in this case replaced with the anthropomorphic representation of Maat. Ptah, sitting on a throne which is mounted on a *nb*-sign ("lord"), is holding a bent lotus flower with both hands.



Fig. 433

Beside these two main groups, mention must be made of additional single seated figures holding an object. The first depiction is a scarab from Tell el-^cAjjul (16th/15th centuries) (Fig. 434) which depicts a falcon-headed (?) figure holding in one hand a uraeus and touching a second one with the other.



Fig. 434

The second depiction is found on an agate scaraboid from Beth-Shean stemming from locus 1022, which is located south of the northern temple in upper stratum V (9th/8th) (Fig. 435). Its base depicts a seated figure on a chair with a high backrest. On the enthroned figure's head there are two long projections and the outstretched hands hold an unidentifiable object.



Fig. 435

Several seated figures also appear on Samarian coins. The first is a bearded lyre player on a drachm from the 4th century (Fig. 436). According to MESHORER/QEDAR (1991:25) this scene is unique and attested by only two



Fig. 436

⁸⁴⁷ Parallels: MESHORER/QEDAR 1991:48, nos. 18,21, 51, nos. 36-38.

coins.⁸⁴⁸ They speculated whether this motif might be related to a Samaritan Yahvistic cult similar to that at the Jerusalem temple where Levites were in charge of the music programme at religious ceremonies. Notable on this coin is also the Ω-shaped object enclosing a (dotted pubic?) triangle which is at the musician's foot.⁸⁴⁹

Among the enthroned figures on Samaritan coins is also the Persian satrap. Once he is holding a bird in his hand (Fig. 437), another time he is depicted together with bow and arrow (ibid. 50, no. 31), and on a third type of coin he is playing the lyre whereby again the bow is at his feet (Fig. 438).



Fig. 437



Fig. 438

Lastly there is the much-discussed (KIENLE 1975; PRICE 1975:10,11, fig. 13; MESHORER 1967:36-38) singular drachm BMC Palestine S. 181, no. 2 with the Palaeo-Aramaic inscribed legend *yhd* (Yehud) in the upper half of the coin indicating that it was minted in the province of Judea, probably in Jerusalem



Fig. 439

at the beginning of the 4th century (Fig. 439 = fig. 519 on p. 513, 548 on p. 545). It shows a bearded deity dressed in a himation as seated on a winged wheel, a feature which is particularly interesting in connection with Dan 7:9 speaking of the wheels of the throne of the "Ancient of days". On the outstretched hand of the enthroned a bird is sitting, similar to that of the enthroned in fig. 437. At the lower right of the scene is face of a figure (Bes?). In regard to the identification of the deity L. MILDENBERG remarked:

The figure on the winged wheel obviously does not represent the God of the Jews,⁸⁵⁰ or even a Greek or Persian deity, but instead appears to be a composite

⁸⁴⁸ In contrast to this figure which does not have the typical Persian garment there is a Samaritan coin which shows the Persian satrap playing the lyre (ibid. 50, no. 32).

⁸⁴⁹ On the meaning of the Ω-sign as symbol for the womb of the earth cf. KEEL 1989a.

⁸⁵⁰ Recently BLUM (1997:24) stated: "M.E. [according to my opinion] steht ausser Frage, dass die Rückseite der singulären Jehud-Münze als JHWH-Bild gemeint ist." BLUM arrived at this conclusion because he (in common with many others in the last two centuries) was not able to present a coherent explanation of the iconography of the reverse of the Yehud coin. Thus, since it cannot be convincingly be proven that the enthroned is Zeus, Baaltars, Dionysos, or Triptolemos, there remains according to BLUM no other option than to consider the image as a representation of Yahweh. However, in contrast with the partial explanations on the basis of the above-mentioned gods, there exists no iconographic representation at all which could be referred to in order to substantiate the identification with YHWH. Because BLUM was not able to provide hard evidence for his claim, he

creature, a highly syncretistic image formed from most heterogeneous elements. That which is depicted is not a specific god, but a general conception of deity easily comprehensible to many people in the western part of the Persian Empire (1998:68).

3.5.1.1.3. *The enthroned with one additional figure*

By far the most frequently occurring motif is that of an enthroned with one additional figure and belongs to WIESE'S (1990:89–103) "king with worshippers" class dated to 1130–945. Within this class type 1a⁸⁵¹ is the dominant one among scarabs from Palestine/Israel. A representative of this type is a scarab from Tell el-^cAjjul. The flagellum and crook sceptre are rendered very schematically and merge with the shoulders of the pharaoh. The arms form two semi-circles as the hands hold the royal insignia. The worshipper is depicted on a much smaller scale with the arms hanging down at the sides (Fig. 440).⁸⁵²



Fig. 440

resorted to the question: "Konnten jüdische Benutzer der Münze das Bild auf den Gott ihrer Tradition beziehen?" (ibid. 21). Of course there is big difference between actively demonstrating the iconographic identity of a deity on the basis of inscriptions and correlating images (for a recent methodological sound study which establishes the iconographic identity of two Canaanite deities cf. CORNELIUS 1994), and an inquiry as to whether or not a certain group of people could perceive a specific deity in an image which is so far unique. Such an undertaking would have at least some credibility if there had been unique features linking only this specific group to the deity on the Yehud coin. But how can the bearded deity on the Yehud coin be identified with Yahweh on the basis of perception when "die dargestellte Gottheit wohl ohne grössere Schwierigkeiten von einem Griechen als Zeus, von einem Perser als Ahuramazda und in der eingeren Umwelt als Baalschamen akzeptiert werden konnte" (BLUM 1997:25)? In this last statement BLUM said in actual fact nothing other than what MILDENBERG said in the above statement, namely, "that which is depicted is not a specific god, but a general conception of deity easily comprehensible to many people in the western part of the Persian Empire." The latter statement of MILDENBERG was heavily criticised by EDELMAN (1995:191–193). She claimed that "personal religious reasons" led MILDENBERG to refuse an identification of the enthroned with Yahweh. Unfortunately EDELMAN did not advance a significant iconographic argument which would conclusively identify the enthroned on the Yehud coin with Yahweh. In fact she resorted to a quite different explanation when she stated: "The identity of the enthroned deity as Yahweh is primarily indicated by the coin's point of origin as legal tender within the province of Yehud" (ibid. 193). One cannot overlook the fact that the common denominator of all recent discussions on this coin is the inability to identify the enthroned with one specific deity on the basis of the *iconography* of that coin. Thus it seems wiser to adhere to MILDENBERG'S general statement than to name the enthroned without conclusive iconographic evidence.

⁸⁵¹ The following features mark type 1a and 1b as far as they are applicable to the debased Ramesside mass-products under consideration here: (1a) the pharaoh is depicted as holding flagellum and crook-sceptre; (1b) the pharaoh does not have the flagellum and the crook-sceptre but is stretching out his hands (sometimes holding a whisk) and the worshipper can hold a whisk (the original type 1a also shows the worshipper with a whisk which is omitted on the mass-products).

⁸⁵² Parallels: PETRIE/ELLIS 1937: pl. 6:72; PETRIE 1928: pl. 19:36; KEEL 1997: 608,609, no. 224, 610,611, no. 229.

Completely worn away or schematically cut is a piece from Tell Abu Salima, PETRIE'S Anthedon (Fig. 441). As in fig. 442 the arms are almost gone, and only the lower arms are depicted. The crook-sceptre has turned into a straight line as if to function as outstretched hand. The flagellum is only a short stroke attached at the shoulder.



Fig. 441



Fig. 442

The only 1b type comes from Acco (Fig. 443). KEEL (1997:558,559, no. 83) explained the curved line which extends from the right shoulder upwards as a raised hand mistakenly incised in the gesture of greeting.



Fig. 443

According to WIESE'S typology only type 1a shows the worshipper, when appearing at all, with a raised hand. If it were a type 1a motif, then the pharaoh should have the flagellum and the crook-sceptre, which he does not have in fig. 443. The gesture of the enthroned is that of stretching out his hand. And this is the typical gesture of type 1b whereby the original motif placed a whisk into the pharaoh's extended hand (Fig. 444). A feature of type 1b is also that the worshipper holds a whisk. And obviously this is the curved line extending from the shoulder upwards (cf. figs. 445,⁸⁵³ 446 = fig. 462 on p. 457). But the motif is faulty because the arms of the worshipper are hanging down, thus indicating that the seal cutter definitively did not know what this line was good for.



Fig. 444



Fig. 445

But the motif is faulty because the arms of the worshipper are hanging down, thus indicating that the seal cutter definitively did not know what this line was good for.



Fig. 446

Possibly a late type of the motif of "the king with a worshipper" is fig. 447.

This limestone scarab from Achzib dated by BRANDL (KEEL 1997:62, no. 125) to the 7th century on the basis of the material depicts a very 'crudely-cut' enthroned figure, which is not at all identifiable as pharaoh. But the throne as



Fig. 447

⁸⁵³ This example is a combination of type 1a and 1b!

well as the *nb*-sign are still part of the design as frequently depicted on the original Ramesside mass-products.

At first sight related to the just-discussed group is a scarab from Tell el-Far'ah (South) (Fig. 448). However, its date of manufacture in the MB II B (1760-1540/1450) indicates that this motif cannot be classified among the "king with worshippers" representatives which are roughly dated between



Fig. 448

1300-900 (WIESE 1990:90). Not only its dating into the Hyksos period but also the iconography of the enthroned which is closely related to the "toga"-wearing prince suggests Asiatic influence (cf. fig. 402 on p. 440). Furthermore the enthroned is not sitting on an Egyptian palace facade throne (METZGER 1985: pls. 26-28) but on the Syro-Palestinian throne with legs ending in lion's paws (ibid. pls. 109,110). Nevertheless an Egyptian mode of expressing dominion was incorporated into the scene as SCHROER (1985:86) correctly observed, namely, the fallen human figure below the throne (cf. figs. 45, 47 on pp. 193, 194).

A further type of enthroned figure is represented by a scaraboid from Tell en-Naşbeh dated to the 10th century (KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:172). The enthroned is raising his hands in adoration, as does the worshipper in front of him. The focus of their joyful expression is the tree in their midst (Fig. 449).



Fig. 449

In conjunction with the cylinder seal from Beth-Shean depicted in fig. 467 on p. 459 (= fig. 300 on p. 355) UEHLINGER (ibid. 174) identified the enthroned as El-type figure. A contemporary scaraboid from Lachish bears the identical motif, except that the tree is omitted (Fig. 450).



Fig. 450

Also of local production is a serpentine square plaque from Megiddo, probably dating back to the Iron Age I (1250/1150-1000) or slightly later (KEEL 1995a:89 § 215, fig. 151) (Fig. 451). This time the figures are not raising their



Fig. 451

hands but horizontally extending them. Between the enthroned and the standing figure is a laden table. The standing figure holds an object in his hand.

It would appear that a (laden) table is possibly (partly) depicted to the very left on a broken square plaque with a lion – executed in the round – on top of it. The object was excavated at Ashdod and is dated to 1050–950. The base of the plaque depicts a lyre player seated on a chair holding the instrument with almost-completely outstretched hands. Below the lyre is a kind of stand (Fig.



Fig. 452

452). The reconstruction of the scene can be aided by a bronze seal of unknown provenance from the R. Hecht Museum at Haifa (Fig. 453) which depicts opposite the lyre player a laden table and a female tambourine player.



Fig. 453

Again going back to the Late Bronze Age and Egyptian iconography, there are three depictions of the pharaoh and a royal officer kneeling before a seated deity. The first scarab with this type of motif comes from Tell eš-Šafi (Fig. 454).



Fig. 454

The base shows below the cartouche of Ramses II (1279–1213) the enthroned Ptah holding in one hand the *w3s*-sceptre and with the extended other hand giving to the pharaoh life in the symbol of the *‘nh*-sign in exchange for humanity, symbolised by the lapwing (Egypt. *rhyt* which also means “subjects”) in the pharaoh’s hand (GIVEON 1978:101; KEEL/KÜCHLER 1982:838).

The second example, an unpublished scarab from Deir el-Balah (?), depicts the pharaoh again below the cartouche of Ramses II in a kneeling position. Opposite him is the enthroned god Onuris as indicated by the crown with the four high plumes and the inscription before him (ERMAN/GRAPOW 1971:91; FELDE 1995:43; HANNING 1995:1190) (Fig. 455).



Fig. 455

On an ivory model pen case from Megiddo, an officer of the pharaoh, most probably Ramses III (1187–1156), whose cartouche also appears on the case, is depicted as kneeling before the enthroned Amun, as indicated by the inscription stating: “Amun-Re, Lord of Heaven”. As the other two examples above, this seated deity also holds the *w3s*-sceptre (Fig. 456).



Fig. 456

The last enthroned figure in this section stems from the EB III (2700–2000), certainly out of the scope of our study but included for the sake of completeness. Five⁸⁵⁴ almost-identical cylinder seal impressions found at Tel Qashish (**Fig. 457**), Giv'at Rabi, Beth Yerah, and Tel Dan depict an

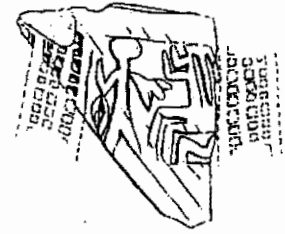


Fig. 457

incident taking place within a temple building. A human masked as a horned animal or the animal as human is sitting on a stool, raising the arms/forelegs in adoration. In front of it is a human figure whose extended arm has merged into a plant with three leaves. BEN-TOR (1992:161–164) identified the theme as related to the Mesopotamian motif of the “feeding of the sacred herd” in which in a ritualistic act the fertility of the herd and the prosperity of the community are expressed.

3.5.1.1.4. *The enthroned with two additional figures (in the main scene)*

The space which is required to depict three people has an effect on the media. For this reason only two stamp seal-amulets belong to this group, in contrast with four cylinder seals, three ivory carvings, a painting, and a stela. Furthermore there is only one dominant motif in this group, namely, the prince surrounded by attendants. All other depictions are singular.

The earliest depiction with an enthroned with two additional figures is dated to the 18th century and the cylinder seal which bears it was excavated at Hazor (**Fig. 458** = fig. 155 on p. 285). A



Fig. 458

“toga“-wearer with upraised hand approaches an enthroned deity, behind whom is a suppliant goddess, while presenting him with a weapon.

The cylinder seal in **fig. 459** was found by MACALISTER at Gezer in a 14th century archaeological context (3rd Semitic period) and dated by the excavator to his 2nd Semitic period (MB-LB). Between the seated



Fig. 459

⁸⁵⁴ The remaining four parallels are depicted in BEN-TOR 1992:155, fig. 1, 156, fig. 2, 158, fig. 4, 159, fig. 5.

figure, who is raising a hand and holding with it an object, and the tree (which is in fact behind the enthroned) are two figures (a worshipper and an accompanying deity?). The one next to the tree is wearing a conical headdress and is walking.⁸⁵⁵ In front of it is another figure, standing with the arms hanging down the side.

From the same site and archaeological context stems **fig. 460**. This time the seated figure occupies the centre of the scene. It is again raising one hand and holding an object with it. Two figures flank it. The left has a long dress and oversized arms hanging down the side.



Fig. 460

Better archaeological and iconographic information is at our disposal regarding a fragment of a stela from a 14th–early 13th centuries context at Beth–Shean (**Fig. 461** = fig. 395 on p. 380, 544 on p. 544). The depicted seated god is identified by the inscription as



Fig. 461

“Mekal, the [great] god, the lord of Beth–Shean” (ROWE 1930:15). He is worshipped by the Egyptian architect Amen–em–Opet and his son Pa–Ra–em–Heb.

Also encountered was the Ramesside (13th/12th centuries) scarab of **fig. 462** (= fig. 446 on p. 453) from Lachish which depicts the seated pharaoh with crook–sceptre being adored by two figures each holding a huge whisk.



Fig. 462

Fig. 430 on p. 449 was considered an abbreviation of the type of scene as it appears on a wall painting at Kuntilet ‘Ajrud (800–750) where a royal figure is smelling a lotus flower (**Fig. 463**). Behind the enthroned prince a second figure is visible which helps to place this painting within a solid iconographic tradition.



Fig. 463

⁸⁵⁵ NOUGAYROL (1939:45, no. LXXXIII, pl. 3:EG.5) drew the legs so short to make it look like a tree.

First to be mentioned in this regard is an ivory panel of a box from Tell el-Far'ah (South) dated to the 19th dynasty (1292-1190) (BARNETT 1982:22) (**Fig. 464**). The



Fig. 464

piece, executed in incised style, was recovered in the governor's palace. It shows the prince in a banquet scene. In his left hand he holds a lotus flower, in his right a bowl which is filled by a female servant. Behind the enthroned prince another servant is depicted.

The second item depicting a similar scene is an ivory handle from Megiddo (12th century) which depicts the enthroned prince at a victory celebration over his enemies (for the complete scene cf. fig. 168 on p. 288) (**Fig. 465** = fig. 51 on



Fig. 465

p. 195). His right hand holds a bowl from which he is drinking, his left grasps a lotus flower. In front of him is the princess handing the prince a towel and holding the stalk of the lotus flower while a lyre player entertains the celebrating party. In a sub-scene in smaller scale are depicted servants who are bringing new supplies for the festivities.

A section⁸⁵⁶ on another ivory from the same site again shows a banquet scene with the enthroned in an almost identical posture as on the ivory handle, again holding a bowl and a flower while this time a male servant is



Fig. 466

handing a towel. A second servant is approaching the enthroned from the right. On the scene to the right a servant (**Fig. 466**) attends other guests at the banquet.⁸⁵⁷

⁸⁵⁶ A scene similar to that of the left is a second time depicted behind the enthroned while to the right a second pair of guests is depicted (LOUD 1939: pl. 32:160).

⁸⁵⁷ An additional ivory from Samaria (9th century) depicts a similar scene, however the enthroned is this time a female person (CROWFOOT/CROWFOOT 1938: pl. 11:1). On an extremely worn Megiddo ivory the enthroned also appears in connection with the tribute presentation of ducks (LOUD 1939: pl. 33:162).

Belonging to the divine realm is another banquet scene (cf. also footnote 735 on p. 355) in the lower register of an 8th⁵⁵⁸ cylinder seal from Beth-Shean (**Fig. 467** = fig. 229 on p. 305, 300 on p. 355, 546 on



Fig. 467

p. 545). The bearded enthroned is drinking with a tube from vessel. An attendant in front provides a cool breeze with a fan. Behind the enthroned is a tree (cf. fig. 406 on p. 441) or tree-standard (cf. fig. 431 on p. 449 and the right "tree" in fig. 408 on p. 441) touched by a third figure holding an object in his left hand.

The last depiction in this section is also related to the divine sphere. The 8th century scarab from Acco in **fig. 468** shows an enthroned figure with



Fig. 468

knee-length dress, long hair, and an atef-crown in the act of touching a burning incense altar with vegetable decoration. A worshipper with a sacrificial offering animal approaches the enthroned. At the back is another divine being with a conical headdress holding a sceptre. To the very left is a mongoose.

3.5.1.1.5. The enthroned with more than two additional figures

On a cylinder seal from Megiddo, stratum V (11th/10th centuries), but considered older than its archaeological context, possibly 15th/14th centuries (WIESE 1990:71-79; KEEL 1994c:163), a processional scene is depicted. Five or six figures carry the anonymous pharaoh on his throne.



Fig. 469

Two additional smaller kneeling figures with raised hands are depicted below the sedan.⁸⁵⁹ Behind the pharaoh's throne are two fans, in front of it two whisks and the moon standard. Before the whole procession is a jackal standard (**Fig. 469**). WIESE (1990:77-79) interpreted this motif as the presentation of the king as ruler of rulers of the world⁸⁶⁰ and as *deus praesens*

⁵⁵⁸ MATTHEWS (1990:110,112, no. 520) dated it to the 13th century, PARKER (1949:28, no. 122) to 1200-800 and UEHLINGER (KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:356-360) to the end of the 8th/beginning of the 7th century.

⁸⁵⁹ See also the next footnote which textually explains the function of these two figures.

⁸⁶⁰ Cf. the following inscription of Ramses III (1187-1156) located below the sedan on a temple relief at Karnak: "Alle Länder, Fremdländer, das, was die Nut verhüllt, (jedes) Auge, das den Re erblickt und das, was die Sonne

similar to a cult image that was shown to the public in a procession and therefore allowed the common folk to approach the deity in personal matters.

On a cylinder seal impression from Tell el-^cAjjul (1350–1150) (Fig. 470) an enthroned king or deity wearing a conical cap is approached by three worshippers. The second one raises one hand in adoration. The key element for the interpretation of the scene is



Fig. 470

the flying bird behind the worshippers. KEEL (1977c:109–142) in his book *Vögel als Boten* interpreted it as messenger of a victory (cf. fig. 465 on p. 458) over enemies or of the enthronement of the god-king.

Similar in style as the pharaoh on fig. 410 on p. 442, namely, with horizontal and vertical lines appears the enthroned on a name seal, possibly Hebrew, found near Ekron (Fig. 471). He is surrounded by three figures.



Fig. 471

The seal belonging to a certain 'b' is dated to 850–800 (SASS 1993:199).

Finally there is a cylinder seal from Gezer from an unstratified context (Fig. 472 = fig. 518 on p. 512, 540 on p. 541). It depicts on the right side,



Fig. 472

the enthroned flanked by two worshippers raising their hands in adoration. On the left side, in a second scene, two heroes hold an unidentifiable vanquished animal upside down.

3.5.1.1.6. Two seated figures facing each other

Only a single representation depicts two seated figures facing each other.⁸⁶¹ Assigned to the MB II B (1760–1540/1450) period is the Old Syrian cylinder seal in fig. 473, which was found at Tell el-



Fig. 473

^cAjjul. It depicts a seated couple drinking with tubes from a vessel. The palm-tree and star were

insgesamt erfassen kann, (das) liegt zu Füßen dieses präsenten Gottes, Herr beider Länder. Die Götter und das Horusgefolge sind sein Schutz und alle Untertanen verehren ihn" (WIESE 1990:76, pl. 5:2).

⁸⁶¹ For two seated figures next to each other in a sub-scene of a banquet see fig. 466 on p. 458.

associated by KEEL (KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:52) with the Syrian goddess Ishtar/Astarte suggesting an erotic connotation to the whole scene.

3.5.1.2. Enthroned figurines and statues

The earliest statue of an enthroned comes from Hazor – Area H, stratum 1 B (14th century) – and is dated to the MB II B (1750–1150) (BECK 1989b:324). The decapitated figure of the basalt statue (height: 31 cm) wears a “toga” with thick borders (cf. SCHROER 1985). While his left hand rests on his left thigh, the right is holding a (broken) cup (Fig. 474).



Fig. 474

Another statue (height: 13,5 cm) from Area F, stratum I A (13th century), at Hazor which originated in stratum 1 B (14th century) (YADIN 1960:157) depicts also a headless enthroned holding in his right hand a (broken) cup (Fig. 475).



Fig. 475

The third basalt statue (height: 20 cm) from the same site which is contemporary to the one from Area F was discovered in stratum 1 A of Area C (13th century). In this case the broken section of head could be recovered nearby in a thick layer of ashes. Again a thick garment border which runs diagonally over his body can be observed as well as the (broken) cup in the right hand of the figure. The unique feature of this statue is the chair with free-standing lion legs (Fig. 476).



Fig. 476

The fourth statue of the same category was found in the same stratigraphical location at Hazor as the previous one but in the so-called Stelae Temple. It was placed at the far end of a row of basalt stelae of which the one in the centre has a relief – two hands



Fig. 477

stretched toward a crescent and circle – indicating that this cult site was associated with the moon god (Fig. 477).

The 40 cm high statue belongs to the Syrian cup-holding figures as do the three other examples above. Although there are general similarities to fig. 476, there are also differences. Particular interest was created by the crescent-shaped amulet the figure is wearing on his chest (**Fig. 478**). YADIN (1972:72,73) therefore identified the enthroned as the moon god Sin. GALLING'S (1959) reservation concerning such an identification was recently shared by BECK (1989b:324) and KEEL (KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:58,60) who pointed out that the moon god is rarely represented in anthropomorphic form – and when it is the case then his emblem is always on top of his mitre, never on his chest. Thus the amulet could well be that of an ordinary human. Another factor that speaks against the identification of the figure as deity is the location of the statue at the end and not in the centre of the stela row. Therefore there is a general tendency to consider this as well as the three other statues as “revered ancestor[s]” (BECK 1989b:327).



Fig. 478

Not a phallic symbol but a schematic seated figure is depicted in **fig. 479**. This stone object – one of three⁸⁶² found at Hazor – was also discovered in the 13th century Stelae Temple. KIRKBRIDE (1969) termed similar objects “ancestor idols” which are “guardian spirits who are equally at home in temple doors, in city gates, in house doors, in ancestor shrines, and in palace shrines” (HOWARD-CARTER 1970:40). According to BECK (1990:94) these schematic statues strengthen the argument that the Stelae Temple at Hazor served to commemorate the dead.



Fig. 479

⁸⁶² For the other two cf. YADIN 1958: pl. 162:5,6; BECK 1990:92, fig. 1:b,c.

Chronologically the next homogeneous group of seated figures are 15⁸⁶³ votive bronze casts dating to the Late Bronze and Iron Age I (1540/1450–1000). Typical of these 8–13 cm (Fig. 480 = fig. 16 on p. 152; 26 cm) tall figurines are the full-modelled head and flat, strap-like body. Another feature is a headgear which is usually conical (Figs. 480, 482, 483), although two are also bare-headed (Fig. 481;



Fig. 480

YADIN 1969: pl. 340 = NEGBI 1976: no. 1454). The latter feature was regarded by NEGBI (1989:355,358) as “diagnostic of mortals” and she followed MOOREY/FLEMING (1984:79) who argued that such shaved figurines are “rulers or high ranking officials, placing votive statuettes of themselves as perpetual token of service to the god.” The headgear-wearing type is generally regarded as deity of the El-type (WELTEN 1977:101; WEIPPERT 1988:300) although the possibility of an enthroned Baal was also



Fig. 481

considered (KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:66,132). A third position is held by NEGBI (1989:359) who voiced general reservation about the identification with a deity in the absence of clear divine attributes such as horns. Another feature of these bronze statuettes is that often the right hand is raised in a benedictory pose (Figs. 480, 481,



Fig. 482

482)⁸⁶⁴ while the left holds a sceptre. Unfortunately the sceptre is often lost or only partly visible as in fig. 481. In case of fig. 480 the enthroned is holding a floral (?) object. The figurine from Beth-Shean (Fig. 483 = fig. 543 on p. 543) does not raise one arm but holds with both hands a *w3s*-sceptre.⁸⁶⁵ Often these



Fig. 483

⁸⁶³ Megiddo (3x; LOUD 1948: pls. 235:23, 236:24 = NEBI 1976: nos. 1451,1452; fig. 480); Beth-Shean (2x; ROWE 1940: 68A:9 = NEGBI 1976: no. 1476); Hazor (2x; YADIN 1961: pl. 340 = NEGBI 1976: no. 1475; fig. 482); Tell Abu Hawam (1x; HAMILTON 1935:60, no. 370, pl. 15:2 = NEBI 1976: no. 1447); Tell el-'Oreimeh (1x; WEIPPERT 1988: pl. 9; HENDEL 1997:216 fig. 6); Shechem (1x; NEGBI 1976: fig. 57 = NEGBI 1976: no. 1449); Beth-Shemesh (1x; GRANT 1931: pl. 11:1571; *ibid.* 1932:80; pl. 47:42 = NEGBI 1976: no. 1450); Tell el-Madrassa (1x; NEGBI 1976: no. 1477; no depiction); Tell Zippor (1x, fig. 481); Gezer (1x; MACALISTER 1912: III pl. 211:1 = NEGBI 1976: no. 1484); Khirbet Yanun (1x; ZERTAL 1979:60).

⁸⁶⁴ On the controversy in regard to the identification of this figurine with Yahweh by AHLSTRÖM (1970–71) cf. KEEL 1973:335,336 and KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:132,133.

⁸⁶⁵ Often the cup or bowl is mentioned as object which is held (WEIPPERT 1988:299; NEGBI 1989:358; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:132). Indeed there are examples of this type of figure with a bowl (NEBI 1976: nos. 1457,1458) but so far none of them was excavated in Palestine/Israel.

enthroned figures are dressed in a long cloak, a few are also bearded (Figs. 480, 483; ZERTAL 1969:60) and wear earrings (Figs. 480, 482).

It is not entirely clear whether the approximately 20 cm high enthroned on a limestone statue from Tel Zippor, stratum III (beginning of 12th century),



Fig. 484

(Fig. 484) is a deity⁸⁶⁶ or a king (WEIPPERT 1988:299; BIRAN 1993:1527).

However, the iconography is typical of royal figures and the majority of flower-holding figures or those associated with a twig/tree in this survey belong to the second group (cf. figs. 403,404 on p. 440, 427 on p. 448, 430 on p. 449, 432 on p. 450, 463 on p. 457, 464 on p. 458, and 465 on p. 458). Closest parallels in date and iconography are figs. 464 on p. 458 and 465 on p. 458. Thus, the weight of evidence leans heavily toward a royal figure.

No doubt about the royal nature is given by a contemporary statue from lower Level V at Beth-Shean (Fig. 485). After the title "Lord of the Two Lands" a cartouche on the left shoulder of the enthroned contains the throne-name of Ramses III (1187-1156), *Wsr-m3't-r' mrj-jmn*. On the right shoulder his personal name "Ramses, ruler of Heliopolis" preceded by his other title "Lord of Appearances" is engraved.



Fig. 485

Unique in Palestine/Israel is an Iron Age II A (1000-900) four-legged bronze stand which was found by a shepherd in one of SCHUMACHER'S old trenches at Megiddo (Fig. 486). Similar examples of such a stand which served to support a bowl, were found at Cyprus (ZWICKEL 1986:460, footnote 6; *ibid.* 1990:146). On its four sides are depictions of adoration and gift-presenting scenes. The seated deity wears a long robe and headgear while the approaching worshipper is clad in a knee-length kilt. In one he has an object in his extended hand (Fig. 487), another time it is missing.

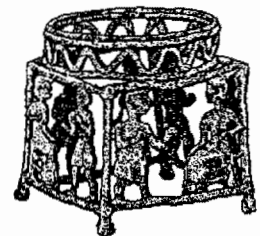


Fig. 486



Fig. 487

⁸⁶⁶ For flower-holding female enthroned deities there is little evidence in Palestine/Israel. The two references mentioned by WEIPPERT (1988:299) come from Syria.

The next and last phase to be discussed in this study of enthroned figurines and statues is the Persian period (6th–4th centuries). In this period we can distinguish two types of enthroned figurines, namely, those made in terracotta and those carved in stone (all three depicted examples below stem from Makhmish). The first type is mainly confined to the Phoenician–Palestinian coast and therefore regarded as “Phoenician creation”. The typical features of the enthroned terracotta figurines under consideration are the long dress reaching down to the feet and the moustache and beard of the enthroned which the enthroned fondles with his hand. Two different types of enthroned figures can be distinguished, those with a cylindrical, flat headgear which is the typical Phoenician headdress (Fig. 488 = Fig. 488



fig. 547 on p. 545)⁸⁶⁷ and those with a high pointed Egyptian styled “Osiris” hat (Fig. 489).⁸⁶⁸ According to STERN the “different dress may attest to ‘Ba’als’ of different localities, as was common in the Canaanite–Phoenician cult. A further possibility is that they represent two separate gods of unknown identity” (1982:165).

Only one stone figurine of an enthroned ruler or god can be mentioned (Fig. 490). It is classified among the “Cypro–Archaic” stone statuettes, dating to the 6th century and stemming from Makhmish. The seated man clad in a long dress is resting both his arms on the arms of the chair. This type of statuette is particularly common in Rhodes and the Eastern Greek islands (ibid.).



Fig. 490

⁸⁶⁷ Parallels: cat. nos. 400–409 on pp. 473,475.

⁸⁶⁸ Parallels: cat. nos. 411–422 on pp. 475,475.

3.5.2. Catalogue and analysis of possible relevant motifs

The general impression given by the survey leaves no doubt that there are considerably less iconographic parallels for this section of the Danielic vision than for the first part – particularly looking at the overall concept. Nevertheless there are a few points of contact which should be noted and evaluated. Again the main interest is placed on conceptual parallels not just the descriptive details.

There are several avenues to establish the nature of a throne–scene. One is to determine the objects with which the enthroned is most closely associated. Taking this approach the above survey shows that the enthroned on objects found in Palestine/Israel is associated with mainly two elements, namely, royal/divine insignia of dominion or vegetable objects. Three different emblems of dominion are frequently depicted, namely, the flagellum, the crook–sceptre and the *w3s*–sceptre, all typical Egyptian objects. The former two are usually associated with the pharaoh, the latter with gods as can be expected from a sceptre which is primarily associated with a deity (cf. KAPLONY 1985–86:1374). The vegetable objects which are held by the enthroned or are placed in front of him are the twig/tree and the flower, the two occurring in about the same ratio. The vegetable object associates the enthroned with the concept of life while the royal insignia underline dominion. It is obvious that the enthroned in the context of life and fertility has nothing to do with the judgement scene of Dan 7. The same is true with related depictions which involve the Egyptian sign of life or the moon (on its relation to fertility see pp. 350,352,369). The theme of dominion is also expressed when the young pharaoh is sitting on a bow, when the king is carried on his throne or when his statue is put up. Connected to the display of pharaonic dominion is also royal protection. The most numerous depictions of an enthroned can be classified under this theme, namely, the pharaoh as representation of the sun god who banishes all evil (cf. fig. 410 on p. 442). Although this topic is at least in the most general terms related to the theme of Dan 7 – both enthroned figures display power over evil

forces – to propose that there is a factual relationship to Dan 7 would be too farfetched. The motif is much more functioning as apotropaion than to tell the story of the actual punishment of evil. Notable is that the same motif also conveys the notion of bringing life and well-being, thereby combining the two most dominant themes in this survey.

Apart from these two main topics there are a number of subordinated themes, which also have little direct bearing on the throne-scene of Dan 7. The most important of them are lyre player, banquet, and offering scenes. Hardly enlightening for the topical relationship with Dan 7 are depictions of the enthroned without an attribute or without a further iconographic context which is particularly the case with figurines and statues. Passing the singular themes of the enthroned in the above survey without further discussion, it is evident that the iconographic repertoire of the enthroned as it appears on objects from Palestine/Israel does not indicate a topical relationship to the scene of Dan 7, which would warrant the inclusion of them in a catalogue of possible relevant motifs. One exception should however be mentioned, namely, fig. 472 on p. 460 which depicts the overcoming of a dangerous animal in the presence of an enthroned.

Considering now descriptive parallels of the throne-scene one could first look for a similar structural set-up of the scene, which is characterised by several thrones (כַּרְסֵי, Dan 7:9)⁸⁶⁹ as well as numerous participants (רַבְּנֵי רַבָּן, Dan 7:10) to the judgement. Since the enthroned generally appeared alone as seated in the above survey (exceptions are figs. 473 on p. 460 and 466 on p. 458 whose theme is however not relevant for our discussion) only a more general parallel could be looked for, namely, for the enthroned accompanied by several attendants.

⁸⁶⁹ Generally the plural of כַּרְסָא is considered as a reference to additional participants in the judgement (VON LINGERKE 1835:323; HITZIG 1850:109; BEVAN 1892:123; BEHRMANN 1894:46; MARTI 1901:51; DRIVER 1912:85; MONTGOMERY 1927:296,297; GOETTSBERGER 1928:55; CHARLES 1929:181; GRESSMANN 1929:367; JUNKER 1932:48; HEATON 1956:178; DELCOR 1971:149,150; JEFFERY 1956:457; BALDWIN 1978:141; HARTMAN/DI LELLA 1978:217; LACOCQUE 1979:142; ARCHER 1985:89 COLLINS 1993b:300,301; BAUER 1996:155). Only KEARNS (1982:178) emphatically denied this and interpreted it as *pluralis maiestatis*. GOLDINGAY (1987:165) considered the plural as possible means to emphasise the size of the throne thereby following a translation by KEARNS, while

Although there are depictions of the enthroned with several additional figures they have again no topical significance for this study since they do not appear in a similar context as the enthroned of Dan 7. Since there was only one topical "parallel" noted above, no additional motif can therefore be added to the catalogue of possible relevant motifs.

Looking at the enthroned of Dan 7 several features characterise him, namely, he is עֲחִיק יוֹמָיו ("advanced of days"), his raiment is white, and his hair is like pure wool, lamb's wool, or pure white wool.⁸⁷⁰ The first attribute is generally interpreted as indicating an aged⁸⁷¹ being,⁸⁷² or expressing dignity⁸⁷³ while a few regard it as reference to the eternal existence of the "Ancient of days".⁸⁷⁴ Although only a few scholars connected the white hair with old age (HITZIG 1850:110; DELCOR 1971:149,150) or majesty/experience (HARTMAN/DI LELLA 1978:218; LACOCQUE 1979:143; BAUER 1996:155) and the majority considered the white dress and hair as indicating a realm of light⁸⁷⁵ and purity,⁸⁷⁶ there were several attempts made to find an iconographic parallel to a wise enthroned figure who is advanced in years. Thus COLLINS pointed out that "white hair is not predicated of God in the Hebrew bible" (1993b:301) thereby hinting that this particular feature must come from another source. He mentioned in this regard the grey beard of El as others (DELCOR 1971:151; LACOCQUE 1979:143) who also referred to the grey hair of that god. Along the same line the bearded Zeus was also referred to (MONTGOMERY 1927:297; HARTMAN/DI LELLA 1978:218). For the study of iconographic material in this regard it is obvious that the colour "white", which is actually the only specification of the dress and indirectly also of the hair, is of no help. In this connection it should also be remarked

MONTGOMERY (1927:296) and ARCHER (1985:85) pointed out that plural is not stressed. Some reservation to take the plural at face value is also expressed by PORTEOUS (1962:88).

⁸⁷⁰ On the different translations see CHARLES 1929:182,183; KEARNS 1982:183–185; COLLINS 1993b:301.

⁸⁷¹ However not in the sense of a decrepit person (cf. the end of footnote 297 on p. 105).

⁸⁷² VON LENGERKE 1835:323; HITZIG 1850:110; BEVAN 1892:123; DRIVER 1912:85; MONTGOMERY 1927:297; HEATON 1956:178; BALDWIN 1978:140; HARTMAN/DI LELLA 1978:218; GOLDINGAY 1987:165.

⁸⁷³ MARTI 1901:52; DRIVER 1912:85; MONTGOMERY 1927:298; GOETTSBERGER 1928:55; CHARLES 1929:181; GOLDINGAY 1987:165.

⁸⁷⁴ MARTI 1901:52; PORTEOUS 1962:88; HARTMAN/DI LELLA 1978:218; LACOCQUE 1979:143; GOLDINGAY 1987:165.

⁸⁷⁵ VON LENGERKE 1835:325; JUNKER 1932:48,52; HEATON 1956:178; JEFFERY 1956:457; DELCOR 1971:150; GOLDINGAY 1987:165; COLLINS 1993b:301.

that linguistic terms like “advanced in years” or “white/pure (= bright) hair” are expressed differently on the iconographic level, particularly in glyptic art. One way to express the concept of seniority and higher authority in ancient Near East art which is related to the imagery of the enthroned of Dan 7 is by way of the beard.⁸⁷⁷ Thus, if it is assumed that the linguistic concept of the enthroned of Dan 7 as an “ancient of days” with “white hair” is being reflected in a visual expression by an enthroned deity with a beard as sign of authority and seniority, it will be interesting to investigate if and how depictions of bearded enthroned deities fit into the imagery of the enthroned of Dan 7.

The second peculiarity of the description of the throne-scene of Dan 7 which is resembled to some degree on iconographic sources is the throne with wheels, namely, on the above-mentioned Yehud coin. The last feature which will be studied in the catalogue, is the theme of fire which is associated with the enthroned. Again there is no “literal” iconographic parallel to this feature, but there is a conceptual parallel when the deified pharaoh is depicted with a uraeus coming forth from his mouth. The uraeus or its poison are repeatedly compared in Egyptian texts with fire or its flame (cf. KEEL 1994b:100–102).

⁸⁷⁶ HRTZIG 1850:110; BEHRMAN 1894:47; DRIVER 1912:85; JEFFERY 1956:457; DELCOR 1971:150; BALDWIN 1978:141.

⁸⁷⁷ The most comprehensive study on beards is still that of H. MÖTEFINDT (1923). Other references on the topic are: RIV vol. 5, 1926, pp. 5–11; BÖRKER-KLÄHN 1972–75; STAEHELIN 1975. Seniority, superiority, and dignity found expression in different ways through the years. In periods when a shaved face was in vogue, gods usually retained their beards, providing thereby a visual mark of distinction between the human level and the divine. The beard was also used to distinguish the king from subordinates who in this case appeared beardless. In times when beards were worn by all classes of society, the length of the beard indicated status. Long beards were reserved for deities or kings while commoners wore short beards.

*3.5.2.1. The enthroned in the context of overcoming a dangerous beast**3.5.2.1.1. Catalogue*

388 OBJECT: Cylinder seal; stone; red; 26 x 35 mm.

DESCRIPTION: Two scenes: to the right an enthroned in a greeting/benedictory gesture seated on a foldable chair. In front and behind him two adorers with raised hands; the left scene depicts two heroes holding an unidentifiable overcome animal upside down. All figures are dressed in long robes.

DATE: 2nd millennium (first half?).⁸⁷⁸

PROVENANCE: Gezer; find context unknown.

LITERATURE: MACALISTER 1912: II 346, no. 37, III pl. 214:25; NOUGAYROL 1939:47, no.

LXXXXVII, pl. 4:EG.44. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 472 on p. 460, 518 on p. 512, 540 on p. 541.

*3.5.2.1.2. Analysis*

The singularity, uniqueness in some respects, and non-stratified context of this seal will not make it a crucial parallel for the Danielic vision. Nevertheless there are some significant features which should be mentioned. First, the overcoming of a dangerous animal is depicted in association with an enthroned figure. Although it is true that the seal depicts two scenes, the overcoming of an evil force in the presence of the enthroned is still noteworthy since the destruction of the monstrous horned beast of Dan 7 occurs in a similar context. Thus in contrast to fig. 410 on p. 442 we do not only have an allusion to the ability of the enthroned to banish evil but a representation of the very act. Second, the seated figure is hardly an ordinary human as the context of the whole scene suggests, but a deity. Third, as in Dan 7 where the setting-up of thrones alludes to additional participants in the judgement scene the enthroned on the Gezer seal does not act alone but appears with additional figures. Fourth, the iconographic theme of an enthroned deity in connection with the defeat of a monstrous evil

⁸⁷⁸ No exact parallel exists. MACALISTER'S dating to the Hellenistic and NOUGAYROL'S assignment to the Persian period is very doubtful. But there are a number of Old Assyrian, Syro-Cappadocian, Anatolian, and Old-Babylonian cylinder seals which depict the enthroned as being approached by one or two figures with an adoring gesture and on the left side there is a contest scene with one or two heroes and a dangerous animal. Usually the animal is rampant but it also appears as being upside-down, the hero stepping on it (DELAPORTE 1910: pl. 29:432,433; COLLON 1986: pl. 8:57; PORADA 1948: pl. 49:321; WARD 1910: figs. 1a, 270; GAILANI WERR 1988: pl. 22:2; TEISSIER 1994: nos. 143,147, 191,211,298-301,467). Unique on the Gezer cylinder is the foldable chair and that the two worshippers are in front and behind the enthroned.

beast is not of Levantine origin but has an affinity to old Mesopotamian and Anatolian traditions (cf. footnote 878).⁸⁷⁹

3.5.2.2. The bearded enthroned god

3.5.2.2.1. Catalogue

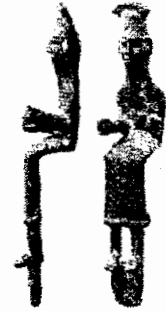
389 OBJECT: Figurine; bronze; 116 (h) mm.

DESCRIPTION: A seated figure with arms extended forward. The enthroned has a long beard, is wearing a plumed helmet (PORADA 1942; NEGBI 1961), and is dressed in a long robe with a thickly-rolled border.

DATE: 1550–1000.

PROVENANCE: Khirbet Yanun.

LITERATURE: ZERTAL 1979:60; WEIPPERT 1988:297 with footnote 7.



390 OBJECT: Figurine; bronze; 260 (h) mm.

DESCRIPTION: A seated figure with a conical headgear dressed in a long robe and wearing a strap sandal on the left foot (right foot is reconstructed). The arms are extended forward, the left hand is holding a sheet gold standard with floral (?) terminal. The ears are pierced and a gold wire earring is in the left lobe. Grooves for eyebrows, beard, and moustache are inlaid with remnants of black material of unknown substance.

DATE: 1400–1000.

PROVENANCE: Megiddo; area BB, locus 2048, stratum VII or VI.

LITERATURE: LOUD 1948: pls. 237/238:30; NEGBI 1976: no. 1453; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:67, fig. 56.

Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 16 on p. 152, 480 on p. 463.



391 OBJECT: Figurine; bronze; 110 (h) mm.

DESCRIPTION: A bearded seated figure wearing conical head-gear. Both hands hold a *w3s*-sceptre in front of the chest.

DATE: 1250/1150–1000.

PROVENANCE: Beth-Shean; Southern Temple of level V, room 1021 A.

LITERATURE: ROWE 1940: pls. 35:9/65A:2; NEGBI 1976: no. 1448. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 483 on p. 463, 543 on p. 543.



392 OBJECT: Stela, upper part; broken; limestone; 283(h) mm.

DESCRIPTION: To the left a seated bearded deity wearing a conical headgear with two horns and two streamers. In his left hand he holds the *w3s*-sceptre, in his right an *nh*-symbol. Opposite him are two worshippers depicted in Egyptian dress and hairstyle. Both raise their right hand in adoration and hold with the left a sceptre with a lotus terminal. Between the enthroned and the worshippers there is part of a lotus flower. Inscription: "Mekal, the [great] god, the lord of Beth-Shean." "Made for the builder Amen-em-Apt, true of word, by his son, Pa-Ra-em-Heb."




DATE: End of 14th/beginning of 13th century.

PROVENANCE: Beth-Shean; stratum IX.






LITERATURE: ROWE 1930: pl. 33, Frontispiz; PRITCHARD 1954: no. 487; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:95, fig. 102. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 395 on p. 380, 461 on p. 457, 544 on p. 544.



⁸⁷⁹ Notable in this regard is also the presentation and judgement of the bird-man before the enthroned god Ea and the lion-demon before the enthroned god Shamash on Akkadian cylinder seals (c. 23rd century) (BOEHMER 1965: pls. 43,44 nos. 509–514, 38:461). Whether the Anzu-bird myth which is known from Old Babylonian and Neo-Assyrian texts is related to the presentation of the imprisoned bird-man is still a matter of controversy (cf. WIGGERMANN 1994:223; GREEN 1994:249; *ibid.* 1997:578,579).

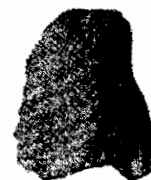
- 393** **OBJECT:** Scarab; partly broken; linear engraving; steatite; 20 x 15 x 5 mm.
DESCRIPTION: The enthroned god Ptah with the royal beard is holding a *w3s*-sceptre. Behind him it is inscribed: "Ptah, lord of the Two Lands", in front of him part of his name appears a second time.
DATE: 13th/12th centuries.
PROVENANCE: Tel Zippor.
LITERATURE: BIRAN/NEGBI 1966: pl. 22E; KEEL/KÜCHLER 1982:928, fig. 627; KEEL 1989c:290, fig. 30.
PROVENANCE: Beth-Shean; level VIII (c. 1290–1280; JAMES/MCGOVERN 1993:236,249), locus 1292.
LITERATURE: ROWE 1930:14,15 pl. 33; *ibid.* 1940 frontispiz; PRITCHARD 1954, no. 487; THOMPSON 1970; WEIPPERT 1988:298, fig. 3.49.2; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:95, fig. 102. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 395 on p. 380, 461 on p. 457, 544 on p. 544. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 425 on p. 448.
- 
- 394** **OBJECT:** Model pen case; ivory; thickness: 10 mm; depth of trough 5 mm.
DESCRIPTION: The enthroned god Amun with beard holds in his left hand the *w3s*-sceptre and in his right an *'nh*-symbol. Kneeling before him is a figure with wig-like hairdo. Before the double-plumed headgear of Amun an inscription reads: "Amun-Re, Lord of Heaven." Above is a winged sun disk.
DATE: 12th century.
PROVENANCE: Megiddo.
LITERATURE: LOUD 1939: pl. 62:377. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 456 on p. 455.
- 
- 395** **OBJECT:** Cylinder seal; Mitannian-Assyrian-Pseudo-Kassite style (MATTHEWS 1990:113); onyx; red; 35 x 13,3 mm.
DESCRIPTION: Upper register: to the left a naked winged figure is holding two upside-down horned animals by their hind legs, their heads face outwards. To the right is a rampant horned animal turning its head away from the winged figure. Behind it are four globes. To the right of them is a naked kneeling archer with a round headdress aiming at a galloping horned animal. Underneath the latter is a griffin couchant. Lower register: to the left is a seated griffin. On its body is one and below it are two globes. Above it is a lozenge. The griffin protects a palm tree, which is flanked by a vase and a rampant horned animal turning its head backwards towards the palm tree. The second half of the lower register shows a fan scene. It is closed by two naked attendants of which the left one has a fan in his outstretched left hand. The second attendant to the very right holds an object in his left hand and touches with his right hand a tree(-standard?). In the middle of the fan scene is a bearded figure with a round headdress and a long garment sitting on a stool. In his lifted right hand is a small vase. In front of him another vessel is standing on the ground. Part of a drinking tube is still visible.
DATE: 8th century.⁸⁸⁰
PROVENANCE: Beth-Shean; level IV.
LITERATURE: PARKER 1949:28, no. 122, pl. 18:122; MATTHEW 1990:18,22,90,95,110,112,113, no. 520; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:359, fig. 308. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 289 on p. 390, 350 on p. 411. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 229 on p. 305, 300 on p. 355, 467 on p. 459, 546 on p. 545.
- 







⁸⁸⁰ MATTHEWS (1990:110,112, no. 520) dated it to the 13th century, PARKER (1949:28, no. 122) to 1200–800 and UEHLINGER (KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:356–360) to the end of the 8th/beginning of the 7th century.

- 396 **OBJECT:** Scaraboid; hollowed-out and linear engraving with cross-hatching; limestone; traces of reddish veins; 18 x 16 x 5-7 mm.
DESCRIPTION: A boat, ornamented with cross-hatching, terminating in bird's heads. In the boat a bearded figure, wearing a dress reaching from the waist to the knee, is seated on a chair with a footstool. One arm is extended, the other raised (and holding an object?). In front of the enthroned is a tree with a leaf-like (?) projection to the right below which are two vertical lines almost making it identical to the tripod-like pedestal behind the enthroned.⁸⁸¹ Both have the same tree-like terminal at the top. On the upper side of the scaraboid an inscription reads: *ʾismʿ bn gdlyhw*, "Belonging to Elishamaʿ son of Gedalyahu."
DATE: 7th century.
PROVENANCE: Unknown.
LITERATURE: DALMAN 1906: pl. 1; VINCENT 1909: pl. 1:2,3; WEBER 1920: no. 411; KEEL 1977a:308, fig. 238a; SASS 1993:233, fig. 136; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:351, fig. 306a. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 407 on p. 441.
- 
- 397 **OBJECT:** Scaraboid.
DESCRIPTION: As no. 396, except that the enthroned is wearing a long robe and that there is no footstool. Before the enthroned three globes.
DATE: 7th century.
PROVENANCE: Purportedly from the region of Jerusalem.
LITERATURE: BARNETT 1969-1971:48 no. 5, pl. 14:5; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:351, fig. 306b. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 545 on p. 544.
- 
- 398 **OBJECT:** Scaraboid; linear, hollowed-out engraving and drilling with cross-hatching; limestone; reddish; 14 x 12 x 10 mm.
DESCRIPTION: A bearded seated figure dressed in a robe extending from the waist to the feet. In front of the enthroned an 'nh-like object. On the figure's extended hand a crescent. Inscription on the obverse: *ʾyhw (bn) msms*.
DATE: 7th century.
PROVENANCE: Unknown.
LITERATURE: SASS 1993:233, fig. 137; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:351, fig. 305c.
- 
- 399 **OBJECT:** Statue; terracotta; 172 (h) mm.
DESCRIPTION: A seated figure in a long robe. The enthroned has a moustache and a long beard and wears a cylindrical headgear. The right hand is resting on the knee, the left is fondling the beard.
DATE: 5th/4th centuries.
PROVENANCE: Makhmish.
LITERATURE: AVIGAD 1960: pl. 10:B; STERN 1982:165,178. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 488 on p. 465, 547 on p. 545.
- 
- 400 **OBJECT:** Statue fragment; terracotta.
DESCRIPTION: As no. 399.
DATE: 5th/4th centuries (?).
PROVENANCE: Beth-Shean; beneath the Arab floor!
LITERATURE: FITZGERALD 1931: pl. 24:2; STERN 1982:165,178.
- 

⁸⁸¹ VINCENT'S (1909: pl. 1:3) drawing makes the object before the enthroned identical to the one behind him although it is clearly not according to the photograph (ibid. pl. 1:2). Particularly the horizontal projection does not cross the vertical incision.

- 401 OBJECT: Statue fragment; terracotta.
DESCRIPTION: As no. 399.
DATE: 5th/4th centuries (?).
PROVENANCE: Beth-Shean; beneath the Arab floor!
LITERATURE: FITZGERALD 1931: pl. 24:3; STERN 1982:165,178.
- 402 OBJECT: Statue fragment; terracotta.
DESCRIPTION: As no. 399.
DATE: 530-350.
PROVENANCE: Tel Zippor.
LITERATURE: NEGBI 1966:17, no. 65, pl. 9:65; STERN 1982:165,178.
- 403 OBJECT: Statue fragment; terracotta.
DESCRIPTION: Male torso identical with no. 399.
DATE: 530-350.
PROVENANCE: Tel Zippor.
LITERATURE: NEGBI 1966:17, no. 66; STERN 1982:165,178. (no depiction)
- 404 OBJECT: Statue fragment; terracotta; *118 (h) mm.
DESCRIPTION: As no. 399.
DATE: 500-350.
PROVENANCE: Tell es-Şafi.
LITERATURE: BLISS 1899b:328, centre; BLISS/MACALISTER 1902:39,141, fig. 53, centre; STERN 1982:165,178.
- 405 OBJECT: Statue fragment; terracotta.
DESCRIPTION: As no. 399.
DATE: 5th/4th centuries.
PROVENANCE: Lachish.
LITERATURE: TUFNELL 1953:378, pl. 33:7; STERN 1982:165,178.
- 406 OBJECT: Statue fragment; terracotta.
DESCRIPTION: As no. 399.
DATE: 5th/4th centuries.
PROVENANCE: Lachish.
LITERATURE: TUFNELL 1953:378, pl. 33:17; STERN 1982:165,178.
- 407 OBJECT: Statue fragment; terracotta.
DESCRIPTION: As no. 399.
DATE: 5th/4th centuries.
PROVENANCE: Lachish.
LITERATURE: TUFNELL 1953:378, pl. 33:18; STERN 1982:165,178.
- 408 OBJECT: Statue fragment; terracotta.
DESCRIPTION: As no. 399.
DATE: 5th/4th centuries.
PROVENANCE: Lachish.
LITERATURE: TUFNELL 1953:378, pl. 33:19; STERN 1982:165,178.



- 409 OBJECT: Statue fragment; terracotta.
DESCRIPTION: As no. 399.
DATE: 450–350.
PROVENANCE: Tel ʿErani.
LITERATURE: *CIASCA* 1963: pl. 16; *STERN* 1982:165,178.
- 
- 410 OBJECT: Statue fragment; terracotta.
DESCRIPTION: A seated figure in a long robe. The enthroned has a moustache and a long beard and wears a high-pointed headgear. The left hand is resting on the knee, the right is fondling the beard.
DATE: 5th/4th centuries.
PROVENANCE: Makhmish.
LITERATURE: *AVIGAD* 1960: pl. 10:A; *STERN* 1982:165,178. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 489 on p. 465.
- 
- 411 OBJECT: Statue fragment; terracotta.
DESCRIPTION: As no. 410.
DATE: 5th/4th centuries (?).
PROVENANCE: Beth-Shean.
LITERATURE: *STERN* 1982:165,166,178, fig. 283.
- 
- 412 OBJECT: Statue fragment; terracotta.
DESCRIPTION: As no. 410.
DATE: 530–350.
PROVENANCE: Tel Zippor.
LITERATURE: *NEGBI* 1966:17, no. 67, pl. 9:67; *STERN* 1982:165,178.
- 
- 413 OBJECT: Statue fragment; terracotta.
DESCRIPTION: As no. 410.
DATE: 500–350.
PROVENANCE: Tell es-Şafi.
LITERATURE: *BLISS* 1899b:328, left; *BLISS/MACALISTER* 1902:39,141, fig. 53, right; *STERN* 1982:165,178.
- 
- 414 OBJECT: Statue fragment; terracotta.
DESCRIPTION: As no. 410.
DATE: 500–350.
PROVENANCE: Tell es-Şafi.
LITERATURE: *BLISS* 1899b:328, right; *BLISS/MACALISTER* 1902:39,141, fig. 53, left; *STERN* 1982:165,178.
- 

The following statue fragments are the same type of objects as no. 412, often made from the same mould, and have the same date and provenance:

415: man sitting; similar to no. 412 but right arm also missing; *NEGBI* 1966:17, no. 68; 416: man sitting; identical to no. 415 but head partly broken; *NEGBI* 1966:17, no. 69; 417: man sitting; identical to no. 415 but head completely missing; *NEGBI* 1966:17, no. 70; 418: man's head; of the same type as as no. 412; *NEGBI* 1966:17, no. 71; 419: man's head; similar to no. 418; *NEGBI* 1966:17, no. 72; 420: man's head; identical with no. 419; *NEGBI* 1966:17, no. 73; 421: man's head; similar to no. 418; *NEGBI* 1966:17, no. 74; 422: man's head; identical with no. 421; *NEGBI* 1966:18, no. 75.

- 423 OBJECT: Statue; "Cypro-Archaic" (STERN 1982:162,180); stone.
 DESCRIPTION: A bearded enthroned figure dressed in a long robe, resting both arms on the arms of the throne.
 DATE: 6th century.
 PROVENANCE: Makhmish.
 LITERATURE: STERN 1982:164, fig. 278. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 490 on p. 465.



- 424 OBJECT: Coin; Yehud drachm; 3,29 g; 15 (d) mm.
 DESCRIPTION: (of the reverse): A bearded deity wearing a himation is seated on a winged wheel. On his extended hand is a bird (falcon?). In the lower right corner is the face of a figure (Bes?). Before and behind the head of the enthroned is the inscription *yhd*.
 DATE: Beginning of 4th century.
 PROVENANCE: Unknown (probably Jerusalem).
 LITERATURE: KIENLE 1975: pl. 2; WEIPPERT 1988: pl. 22:1; MILDENBERG 1998: pl. 21:1. Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 425 on p. 480. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 439 on p. 451, 519 on p. 513, 548 on p. 545.



3.5.2.2.2. Analysis

There are three main phases when the bearded enthroned god appears on iconographic material from Palestine/Israel. The first period covers the Late Bronze Age and Iron Age I (1550–1000). Four out of six representations of the bearded enthroned god belonging to this timeframe are Syro-Canaanite deities (389–392), while the remaining two are the Egyptian gods Amun and Ptah, the only two Egyptian deities which appear at all among the bearded enthroned deities (393,394). Three of the four non-Egyptian enthroned bearded deities are bronze figurines. These casts (389–391) are generally identified as representations of an El-type deity. However it has also been suggested that they could be a Baal-type deity (cf. pp. 152, 463). Considering that 15 of these figurines were found to date it follows that 80% of seated bronze figurines appear without a beard. Obviously the beard was not a standard feature of this type of figurine in Palestine/Israel. This is also underlined by the fact that the three bearded bronze figurines have different beards. It can be a long flowing beard (389), or a short beard at the chin (391) or the latter can be combined with a moustache (390). With the exception of 390 all seated bearded deities from the second half of the second millennium have a shaved upper lip. Generally the bearded enthroned in this period is represented as domineering deity. Only once (390) he appears with a floral element. In all other cases, when the type of sceptre is

known, it is the *wšs*-sceptre (391–394). When he appears together with worshippers the bearded enthroned god has the role of a supreme god, either of the pantheon (394) or of a city (392).

The 8th and 7th centuries constitute the second period during which the bearded enthroned god appears (395–398). The enthroned on these seal-amulets was identified with the Syrian moon god (KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:349) (396–398) – a deity already referred to by BAUMGARTNER (1926:22) when he discussed the iconographic background of the “Ancient of days” – or the lunar El (KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:360). Quite different is the context in which the enthroned of this period appears. Twice the bearded enthroned is flanked by trees (396,397) indicating the gates of heaven whence the moon (god) makes his appearance (KEEL 1977a:303). One of these two flanking trees, which are also a symbol for life, can also be replaced by *ḥnh*-signs (KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:351, fig. 305a). In the case of 398 not only is a tree substituted by a stylised Egyptian sign of life, but the second flanking symbol is omitted. According to UEHLINGER the *ḥnh*-sign characterises “den numinosen Bereich ... als einen Bereich des Lebens” (KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:342). That the enthroned of the 8th/7th centuries is indeed placed into the sphere of life is very well demonstrated by 395 where the tree of life to the left of the lower scene is flanked by a rampant ibex and a winged griffin (cf. also footnote 735 on p. 355). Thus while the bearded enthroned of the second millennium is presented as rather static and being surrounded by an aura of authority, the bearded enthroned of the early first millennium is dynamic. He is emerging in a boat from the gate of heaven⁸⁸² to illuminate the earthly sphere with his light. On the other hand he is also less surrounded by a sphere of domination than with that of life. Furthermore the bearded enthroned of the Late Bronze Age–Iron Age I is associated with human beings when he appears in an iconographic context and

⁸⁸² On the significance of the heavenly god in the first millennium cf. NIEHR 1990; on the astral aspect particularly pp. 141–147.

therefore associated with the earthly sphere. His counterpart in the Iron Age II B–C is in contrast clearly a celestial being.

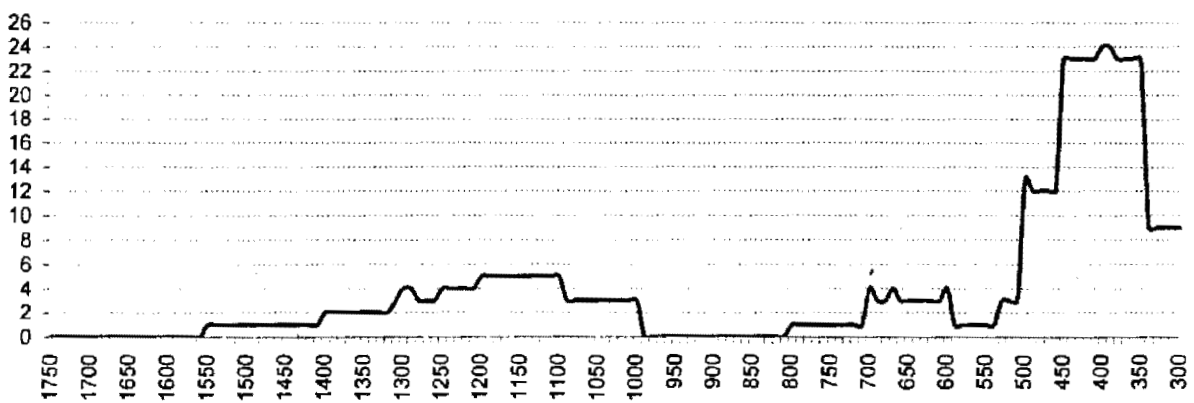
The last era associated with the bearded enthroned is the Persian period. Under Phoenician influence the bearded enthroned reverted more to the 2nd millennium type of bearded enthroned deity. The numerous terracotta figurines (399–422) depict again a static deity. However this time the enthroned displays less authority and domination but truly patriarchal and fatherly aspects when he is depicted as peacefully fondling his beard.

Greek traditions are not only underlying the singular bearded enthroned stone statue of 423 – which is now entirely static not even moving his hands – but also the unique coin 424 (cf. KIENLE 1975:32–39 and below footnote 885 on p. 481). Due to its singularity this coin has to be treated carefully in regard to its significance. One aspect seems noteworthy to be mentioned at this place. There is a general consensus that the iconography of this coin is highly syncretistic. This vivid syncretism had the very purpose to provide “a general conception of deity easily comprehensible to many people” (MILDENBERG 1998:68) and is therefore classified in a group of coins whose “characteristic ... is that they represent types likely to attract the people among whom they circulated” (HILL 1914:LXXXVIII; KIENLE 1975:50). It follows that this imagery had a very “decorative” (*ibid.* 26) nature and “a priori precludes its identification with the God of the Jews [cf. above footnote 850 on p. 451], be it Jewish or Persian in manner” (MILDENBERG 1998:68, footnote 8). Since the enthroned deity on this coin is bearded it can therefore on the basis of the nature of that coin be assumed that it reflects the general perception of an enthroned deity during the time of its circulation.

3.5.2.2.3. Geographical and chronological distribution



Map 27: The bearded enthroned god



Graph 27: The bearded enthroned god

3.5.2.3. The enthroned on a throne with wheels

3.5.2.3.1. Catalogue

425 OBJECT: Coin; Yehud drachm; 3,29 g; 15 (d) mm.

DESCRIPTION: (of the reverse): A bearded deity wearing a himation is seated on a winged wheel. On his extended hand is a bird (falcon?). In the lower right corner is the face of a figure (Bes?). Before and behind the head of the enthroned is the inscription *yhd*.

DATE: Beginning of 4th century.

PROVENANCE: Unknown (probably Jerusalem).

LITERATURE: KIENLE 1975: pl. 2; WEIPPERT 1988: pl. 22:1; MILDENBERG 1998: pl. 21:1.

Catalogue cross-reference(s): no. 424 on p. 476.



3.5.2.3.2. Analysis

It is tempting to see at first sight in the enthroned on this coin a virtual blueprint or copy of the "Ancient of days" seated on a throne with wheels as was done with the moving throne in the vision of Ezekiel (cf. KIENLE 1975:69,70 with footnote 170 for the respective bibliography). However a closer investigation of this unique coin reveals a considerable number of problems which make such an equation difficult to prove. I will not attempt to repeat the rather inconclusive results of almost two centuries of research on this coin which were summarised by KIENLE (1975) in his monograph *Der Gott auf dem Flügelrad* nor to discuss at this point the coin's relationship to Dan 7:9. While there are a number of issues in regard to this coin which have not yet found an entirely satisfying answer, at least the iconography of the winged wheel seems clear. Since we are concerned at this place with iconographic issues a few remarks in regard to the *winged* wheel and its iconographic background are in order. Comparing the Yehud coin with the Danielic imagery we note two basic differences to the throne of the "Ancient of days": First, the Yehud coin does not depict a throne *with* wheels but a wheel *as* throne. It might be argued that this difference is minor and does not affect the concept of a moving throne. Indeed that there is a general similarity in terms of concepts in regard to the throne is not denied. But since we are concerned with iconographic issues, the difference should be noted which should caution against too hastily proposing some kind of direct linkage

between the two images.⁸⁸³ Second, the Yehud coin's wheel is *winged* whereas the throne of the "Ancient of days" is not associated with wings.⁸⁸⁴ Both features which are not identical with the Danielic throne are however typical of mid-6th to 5th century representations of the Greek gods Triptolemos and Dionysos.⁸⁸⁵ What can be observed at this stage is that there is a similarity in concept but not in terms of iconography.

⁸⁸³ As mentioned above, the composition, message, function, and transmission of the imagery of the Yehud coin is too complex to propose a simple link to Dan 7:9. Only an isolated and not even congruent feature as the wheeled throne can be mentioned which falls far too short to make a good case for a dependency.

⁸⁸⁴ KIENLE (1975:70,71) – referring to 2 Sa 22:11; 1 Ch 28:18; Psa 18:11, 104:3; Eze 1:4ff; 10:1ff – downplayed the argument that the biblical tradition does not know of a throne with *winged* wheels. It has to be pointed out that although the wheeled throne in Ezekiel does not have wings it is associated with winged beings (Eze 3:13; 10:16,19; 11:22). Thus while there is not an iconographic parallel there is a conceptual similarity. In contrast to Ezekiel the wheeled throne in Dan 7:9 – a passage which was not mentioned by KIENLE! – is not at all associated with wings. Therefore KIENLE's statement of a "lacking congruence" between the biblical wheeled throne and that of the Yehud drachm certainly applies to Dan 7:9.

⁸⁸⁵ The former is depicted in this fashion on red painted Greek vases from the 5th century (Fn. fig. 37) while Dionysos is represented in a similar way on a black painted vase dated to the second half of the 6th century (Fn. fig. 38).







Fn. fig. 37



Fn. fig. 38

3.5.2.4. The fire associated with the enthroned

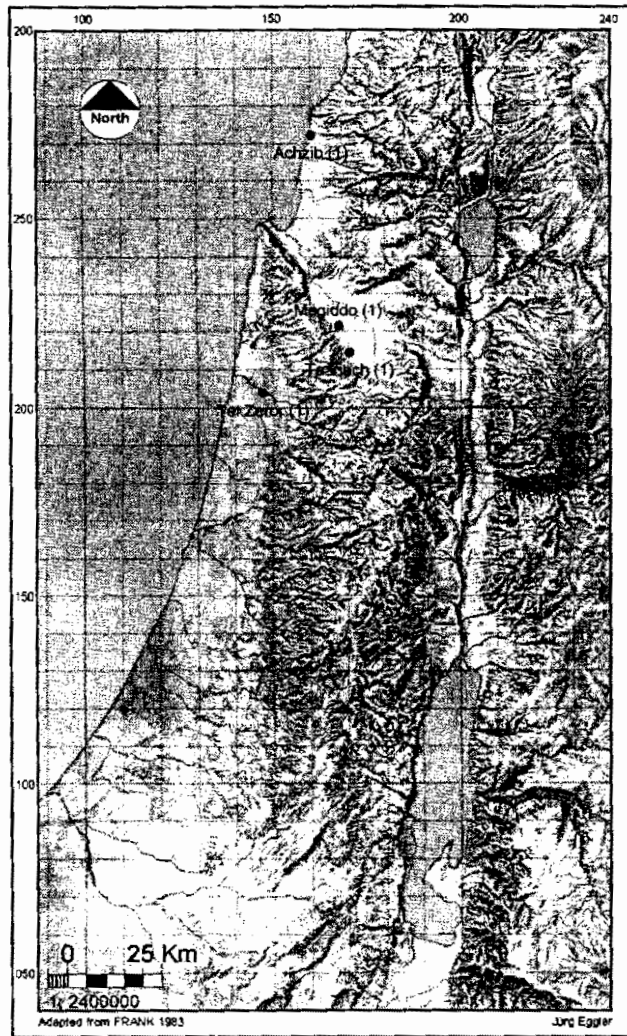
3.5.2.4.1. Catalogue

- 426 **OBJECT:** Scarab; damaged at head and back section; hollowed-out and linear engraving; faience; light brown; c. 18 x 14 x 8 mm.
DESCRIPTION: A stylised figure seated on a palace facade throne. Both his arms are pointing downwards. From his mouth a uraeus is emerging. The enthroned is surrounded by four stylised falcons. Three of them have a circle between their wings, which is the stylised ring held by falcons. Below the throne is a *nbw*-sign. Above the enthroned is a winged sun disk.
DATE: 10th/9th centuries.
PROVENANCE: Tell Zeror; tomb III.
LITERATURE: KEEL 1994b:63,64, no. 4, 125, fig. 4, pl. 12:4; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:155, fig. 158a. Text figure cross-reference(s): fig. 410 on p. 442, 520 on p. 515, 549 on p. 547.
- 
- 427 **OBJECT:** Scarab; hollowed-out and linear engraving with hatching; composite material (?); 15 x 10,5 x 7 mm.
DESCRIPTION: The throne and enthroned are similar to no. 426 except that one arm is raised. Opposite the enthroned is a falcon with open wings where the upper horizontal one is too short due to lack of space. The vertical line to the right is the bird's body. Between the falcon and the enthroned are a disk and probably a *nfr*-sign. To the left of the upper wing of the falcon is a second disk. Below the throne is again the *nbw*-sign.
DATE: (10th?/) 9th century.
PROVENANCE: Achzib; Phoenician cemetery of Gesh'er Achzib (er-Ras), tomb 9.
LITERATURE: KEEL 1994b:71,72, no. 10, 125, fig. 10, pl. 13:10; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:155, fig. 159a.
- 
- 428 **OBJECT:** Rectangular plaque; hollowed-out and linear engraving with hatching; steatite; 17 x 12 x 6 mm.
DESCRIPTION: (of the obverse) As no. 427 (the arm which extends backwards merges with the border line).
DATE: 10th/9th centuries.
PROVENANCE: Taanach; surface find.
LITERATURE: KEEL 1994b:73-76, no. 13, 125, fig. 13, pl. 14:13; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:155, fig. 159b.
- 
- 429 **OBJECT:** Prism; hollowed-out and linear engraving; steatite; 7 x 7 x 17,5 mm.
DESCRIPTION: The throne and enthroned are similar to no. 427. Before the enthroned is a sun disk, below a stylised *nbw*-sign.
DATE: 10th century.
PROVENANCE: Megiddo; field L-7, locus 2162, stratum VA.
LITERATURE: LOUD 1948: pl. 163:22; KEEL 1994b:78,79, no. 17, 126, fig. 17, pl. 15:17.
- 

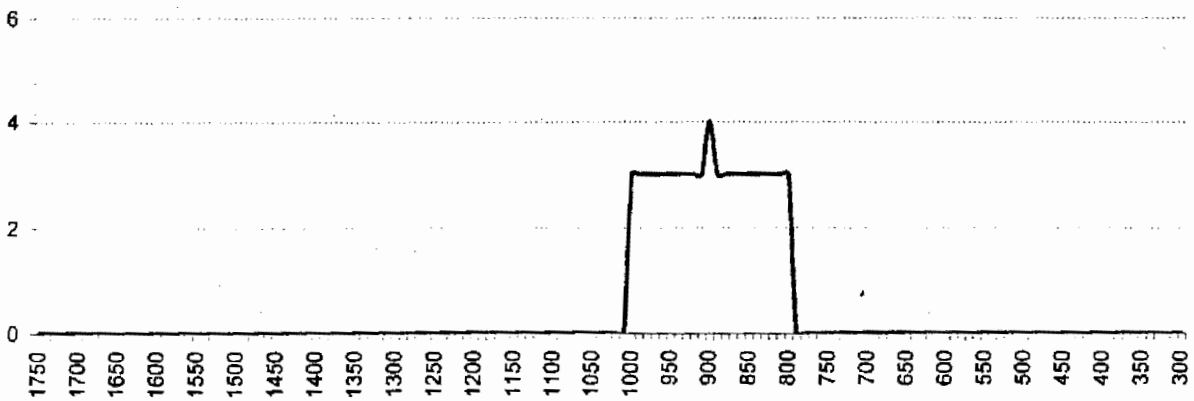
3.5.2.4.2. Analysis

The various aspects of this motif were discussed by KEEL (1994b) in great detail and do not necessitate a repetition. Looking at the four examples with identifiable provenance within Palestine/Israel which depict the enthroned with a uraeus, only 426 contains all the elements of this particular motif. The other three show a reduced repertoire of elements.

3.5.2.4.3. Geographical and chronological distribution



Map 28: The fire associated with the enthroned



Graph 28: The fire associated with the enthroned

3.5.3. Iconographic summary of the catalogue

There was only one depiction (388), which corresponded faintly with the topic of a judgement scene that is associated with the destruction of a monstrous beast. The following features were noted: first, the overcoming of a dangerous animal occurs in the context of an enthroned figure. Second, the enthroned is a deity. Third, additional participants appear on the scene. Fourth, the iconographic theme of an enthroned deity in connection with the defeat of a monstrous evil beast has an affinity to old Mesopotamian and Anatolian traditions.

Looking at particular features the *bearded* enthroned god was discussed first. Out of 35 catalogued representations only two depict bearded Egyptian deities (393,394) and two betray Greek influence (423,424). The reminders are of Syro-Palestinian and Phoenician background and are associated with El- and Baal-types of gods. Three main phases were distinguished: during the Late Bronze-Iron Age I (1550-1000) the bearded enthroned god (389-394) can be characterised as static figure connected with dominion, an aspect that is indicated by a sceptre (391-394). When the enthroned appears together with other figures he displays the notion of a supreme god to whom homage is paid (392,394). The second period of the bearded enthroned god is during the 8th/7th centuries (395-398). The deity in this phase is the Syrian moon god or an El-type of god with lunar aspects. In contrast to the previous phase the bearded enthroned is now dynamic as he moves in a boat and appears at the gate of the heaven (396,397). In contrast to the previous period the bearded enthroned is now associated with the heavenly sphere that is also characterised as the realm of life (395,398). The last area during which the bearded enthroned god appears in the catalogue is the Persian period (end of 6th-4th centuries). Numerous terracotta statues depict the bearded enthroned in this phase as patriarchal and fatherly type of god who fondles his beard (399-422).

The second feature of the enthroned that was investigated was the *throne with wheels*. Only a unique coin, the so-called Yeduh drachm, depicts a bearded deity as sitting on a movable

throne (425). In contrast to the throne of Dan 7:9 the Yehud coin does not represent a throne *with* wheels but a wheel *as* throne and the wheel is *winged* whereas the throne of the “Ancient of days” is not associated with wings. The closest parallels to the “throne” on the Yehud coin are mid-6th to 5th century representations of the Greek gods Triptolemos and Dionysos.

The *fire* associated with the enthroned was the last feature which was studied. No identical iconographic counterpart was found, however a very popular conceptual parallel could be located. While the fire in the Danielic vision issues from the throne, a uraeus – often compared with the fire and its flames – comes forth from the mouth of the enthroned deified pharaoh (426–429).

4. Points of contact between the iconographic imagery from Palestine/Israel and the Old Testament

After having studied some possible relevant iconographic imagery for selected motifs of the vision of Dan 7, the reader should be made aware of some points of contact with the Old Testament in general before proceeding to a final assessment of Dan 7. One of the findings of the research history was that the Old Testament plays a significant role in the imagery of the vision of Dan 7. It follows, therefore, that there is the possibility that any similarity between the iconographic repertoire studied above and the literary imagery of Dan 7 could also have occurred by way of the Old Testament tradition. In order to enrich the conceptual horizon it seems appropriate to mention some Old Testament passages in this regard.

It will be noted that this section is kept very short. There is no intention to engage in literary and exegetical discussions (cf. also p. 15). The only purpose is to list suggested points of contact and discuss correspondences *from the perspective of the iconographic study* in a brief manner. The implications for the text and its interpretation, *et cetera*, cannot be discussed in this work. Thus the reader should not expect more than an introduction to a number of passages which reflect a conceptual and descriptive similarity to iconographic sources studied above. In order to facilitate the reading the biblical text⁸⁸⁶ is quoted in the footnotes and appropriate visual imagery, which should by now be known from the iconographic study, will accompany the text for convenience.

4.1. *The great sea*

The theme of the sea as it presents itself in the iconography from Palestine/Israel is reflected in the Old Testament by similarities with the following iconographic topics: the

⁸⁸⁶ If not otherwise stated the text of the RSV is quoted.

struggle with the serpent as symbol of a life-threatening and chaotic force, the combination of the lion and serpent to convey a similar message, and the Egyptian symbol of the chaotic sea – the crocodile.

4.1.1. The serpent overcome

(Job 26:13; Isa 27:1; 51:9; Psa 89:10; 74:14)⁸⁸⁷

Comparing Job 26:13 with related iconographic imagery as for example figs. 491 (= fig. 20 on p. 154, 131 on p. 276, 510 on p. 503, 521 on p. 521, 531 on p. 532) and 492 (= fig. 21 on p. 154, 389 on p. 378; cf. also cat. nos. 20 and 21 on p. 170) we note first the compositional parallel of two contestants whereby the literal serpent is mentioned. In the biblical text the emphasis is laid not on the attacker as a person but on his hand which destroys the serpent. The violent act performed by the hand of the attacker is described as חלל II “to pierce”



Fig. 491



Fig. 492

(DOMMERSHAUSEN 1977:982–986; KOEHLER/BAUMGARTNER 1967–95: 1:307). It is obvious that it is not the hand that pierces but the weapon held in it. Job 26:13 does not mention the type of weapon with which the serpent is pierced. Looking at the various occurrences of חלל II in the Old Testament, we find it mentioned thirty-six times together with a weapon. Thirty times the weapon is designated as sword (חֶרֶב),⁸⁸⁸ five times as spear (חֲנִיָּה, עֵצֶן),⁸⁸⁹ and once חלל II is also mentioned in connection with the arrow (חֵץ).⁸⁹⁰ Thus we can note in respect of the

⁸⁸⁷ “By his wind the heavens were made fair; his hand pierced the fleeing serpent” (Job 26:13).

“In that day the LORD with his hard and great and strong sword will punish Leviathan the fleeing serpent, Leviathan the twisting serpent, and he will slay the dragon that is in the sea” (Isa 27:1).

“Awake, awake, put on strength, O arm of the LORD; awake, as in days of old, the generations of long ago. Was it not thou that didst cut Rahab in pieces, that didst pierce the dragon?” (Isa 51:9).

“You Yourself crushed Rahab like one who is slain; You scattered Your enemies with Your mighty arm” (Psa 89:10). (NAB)

“Thou didst crush the heads of Leviathan, thou didst give him as food for the creatures of the wilderness” (Psa 74:14).

⁸⁸⁸ Num 19:16, 31:8; Jos 13:22; 2 Sa 1:22; Isa 22:2, 66:16; Jer 14:18; Lam 4:9; Eze 21:19, 26:15, 28:23; 30:15,25; 31:17,18,20–26,28–32, 35:8, Nah 3:3; Zep 2:12.

⁸⁸⁹ 2 Sa 23:8,18; 1 Ch 11:11,20; Nah 3:3.

⁸⁹⁰ Deu 32:42.

weaponry a rather close parallel between the iconographic imagery typified by figs. 491,492 and the textual rendering of the motif in Job 26:13. When the sword, the weapon mentioned more frequently, is intended, the translation with “to pierce” would be a little bit awkward. Fig. 492 suggests what one would naturally do with a sword to a serpent – to cut off its head. Considering the aspect of the weapon, there is no correspondence to **fig. 493**

(= fig. 23 on p. 155) where the serpent is overcome with the bare hand. A second detail also differs in fig. 493, namely, that the serpent is facing the attacker. Job



Fig. 493

26:13 describes the serpent as קָרַח “fleeing” thereby bringing across the inferiority of the serpent. While the struggle of the *Schlangenwürger* in fig. 493 does not indicate that the serpent is trying to escape but rather that it is attacking, figs. 491 and 492 depict the serpent as facing away from the attacker. Although this posture cannot literally be designated as “fleeing” – it must be admitted that fig. 491 can involve this aspect – thematically both representations indicate the superiority of the attacker and are thereby “in spirit” in line with Job 26:13. The point to be made here is best expressed by contrasting figs. 491 and

492 with **fig. 494** (= fig. 22 on p. 154). As in fig. 493 the serpent is facing the attacker and indicates thereby confrontation rather than inferiority and the notion of fleeing. This feature together with the fact



Fig. 494

that the arrow is mentioned only once with קָרַח II, and the rarity of the motif as such in Palestine/Israel (cf. footnote 435 on p. 183) makes it less likely that the weather god as archer should be considered as close descriptive iconographic parallel to Job 26:13.

What has been said in regard to Job 26:13 also applies to Isa 27:1. In this case, the opponent of the serpent is expressively mentioned, namely, Yahweh, not only his hand. Furthermore, it is also clearly stated that the serpent will be slain by the sword, making fig. 492 the closest iconographic parallel. Thus the parallels include the anthropomorphic attacker, the serpent as animal which is attacked, the fact that the latter is fleeing, i.e., in a clearly defensive posture,

and the weapon as being a sword. It remains to be considered whether the hapaxlegomenon עִקְלָחוֹן “twisting” should be regarded as referring to the serpent only as it is fleeing in rapidity. Considering the iconographic rendering of the overcoming of the serpent, it can also be understood as the motions of a serpent grabbed by the neck as on fig. 492 as it tries to escape the deadly grip (cf. also KEEL 1978:143).

While the first two passages discussed above mentioned the serpent as symbol of the chaotic force subdued by Yahweh, Isa 51:9 designates this power as Rahab,⁸⁹¹ a designation that as such cannot be compared with iconographic material. Two terms connect this passage with Job 26:13, making it likely that the reader could associate it with such images as figs. 491 and 492. First, חָלַל II “to pierce” is used as in Job 26:13 thereby indicating an attack with a weapon, underlined by the addition of חָצַב designating the action of cutting.⁸⁹² Second, similar to Job 26:13 where the hand is mentioned in connection with the destruction of the serpent, here the arm of Yahweh is referred to in connection with the extermination of the dragon Rahab.

Notable in Psa 89:10 which is considerably less descriptive than Isa 27:1 or Job 26:13, is again the use of חָלַל II, this time in the nominal form חָלָל qualifying the act of crushing (דָּכָא) Rahab. דָּכָא appears twenty-two times in the Old Testament and only in Psa 89:10 is it qualified by a comparative construction, namely, כְּחָלָל. Thus when Rahab is “crushed” it is done most likely by a sword, the main weapon associated with חָלַל II (cf. footnote 888 on p. 487) thereby linking it with depictions of the type of fig. 492 (or 491 when the weapon is the spear; cf. footnote 889).

Only a topical parallel is attested by Psa 74:14. Again it is stated that Leviathan’s heads are *crushed* (רָצַץ), but this time there is no pointer to a weapon. Furthermore, it is spoken of the

⁸⁹¹ Cf. in this regard also Job 26:12 (“By his power he stilled the sea; by his understanding he smote Rahab”) in which Rahab is parallel to the serpent of v. 13 discussed above. מָחַץ in Job 26:12 refers mainly to the shattering of the head (Num 24:17; Jdg 5:26) but is also once used for the piercing by arrows (Num 24:8).

וְשֵׁרֶפְתָּי of the Leviathan. Multiple heads are not attested in the Palestinian iconographic tradition of the subjugation of the chaos monster but known from the Ugaritic texts: "I fought the Twisty Serpent, The Potentate with Seven Heads" (SMITH 1997:111; CAT 1.3 III: 41,42).

4.1.2. The lion and the serpent

(Isa 11:7c–9a/65:25; Psa 91:13; Isa 30:6,7)⁸⁹³

In the glyptic art of Palestine/Israel the prime mythological opponent of the weather god fighting life-threatening forces is the lion and not the serpent. Looking at the record of the Hebrew Bible, there is little evidence that the iconographic tradition of the overthrow of the lion without reference to the serpent was adapted into the Old Testament.⁸⁹⁴ However the defeat of the lion in glyptic art is also depicted together with that of the serpent

as in **fig. 495** (= fig. 28 on p. 156, 506 on p. 500), although the iconographic tradition generally separated the two strands of motifs (cf. cat. nos. 1,3–19 on pp. 162–166/cat. nos. 20–25 on pp. 170,171). In



Fig. 495

Isa 11:7c–9a/65:25 the lion and the serpent also appear together and a reflection of the theme of the subjugation of these two life-threatening beasts might ring with the imagery of the peaceful nature of these creatures. Furthermore, it would be adding a more cosmological dimension to these passages, which is indeed fitting their context.

In the famous Psalm 91 about the assurance of God's protection the crushing of lions and serpents will certainly not be the literal experience of the faithful but it signifies the defeat of

⁸⁹² חֲצִיבָּי appears 25 times and mainly refers to the cutting of stone.

⁸⁹³ "The lion shall eat straw like the ox. ⁸The sucking child shall play over the hole of the asp, and the weaned child shall put his hand on the adder's den. ⁹They shall not hurt or destroy in all my holy mountain" (Isa 11:7c–9a).

"The wolf and the lamb shall feed together, the lion shall eat straw like the ox; and dust shall be the serpent's food. They shall not hurt or destroy in all my holy mountain, says the LORD" (Isa 65:25).

"You will tread on the lion and the adder, the young lion and the serpent you will trample under foot" (Psa 91:13).

"An oracle on the beasts of the Negeb. Through a land of trouble and anguish, from where come the lioness and the lion, the viper and the flying serpent, they carry their riches on the backs of asses, and their treasures on the humps of camels, to a people that cannot profit them. ⁷For Egypt's help is worthless and empty, therefore I have called her 'Rahab who sits still'" (Isa 30:6,7).

⁸⁹⁴ Usually the lion is subjugated in narrative sections which have no relationship to a supernatural reality (1 Sa 17:34; 2 Sa 23:20//1 Ch 11:22) except maybe Jdg 14:16 which is discussed on p. 499.

life-threatening forces very well exemplified by two creatures which are associated in the iconographic tradition with the forces of chaos and death (cf. also KEEL 1969:204).

As a caravan of asses and camels loaded with gifts to buy the protection of Egypt makes its way from Jerusalem through the dry land in the south, the **נִינְוֵה**, it is not only open to attack by dangerous creatures from that region, but in fact it has ventured on a course through the realm of the "Gefährlich-Unheimlichen" (WILDERBERG 1982:1162) as the reference to the flying serpent indicates in Isa 30:6,7 (cf. also Isa 14:29). In fact the hope placed in Egypt is trusting in an ultimately life-destroying as well as impotent force – Rahab. Considering the type of imagery used in this passage, one wonders if the reference to lions and serpents should not also be understood as a hint to the life-threatening symbols of the lion and serpent as encountered in the above iconographic study. It is certainly not coincidental that the "dry land" is mentioned in connection with the lion, which in the studied glyptic art can also be a symbol for the Mot, the god of arid lands (cf. p. 150). The dangerous nature of the lion in this passage certainly transcends the ordinary physical aspect. The disastrous decision taken by the Egypt-party in Jerusalem was not only a misjudgement of the political reality of the day but ultimately a spiritual journey into the realm of death and chaos of which the lion and the serpent as well as Rahab are exemplary.

4.1.3. The crocodile

(Job 41:1; Eze 32:2)⁸⁹⁵

While Isa 27:1 identifies the chaos monster Leviathan clearly with the serpent, the particular features⁸⁹⁶ of the Leviathan in Job 41:1 indicate that it has to be understood in this passage as crocodile (cf. KEEL 1978:143). When God challenges Job in this passage it is noteworthy that we

⁸⁹⁵ "Can you draw out Leviathan with a fishhook, or press down his tongue with a cord?" (Job 41:1).

"Son of man, raise a lamentation over Pharaoh king of Egypt, and say to him: 'You consider yourself a lion among the nations, but you are like a **תנין** in the seas; you burst forth in your rivers, trouble the waters with your feet, and foul their rivers'" (Eze 32:2).

⁸⁹⁶ To mention are the scales (Job 41:13,15,16), the dangerous teeth (v. 14), the track in the mud (v. 30), and the disturbed water when it moves in it (v. 31).

do not have a description of the violent cutting in pieces of the crocodile-Leviathan as is mentioned of the serpent-Leviathan of Isa 27:1. In fact, Job 41:1 refers only to the single-handed capture of a crocodile by a hook and the subjugation of the living reptile by tying up its snout with a cord. Thus in contrast to the serpent-Leviathan that is violently cut in pieces, the crocodile-Leviathan is "only" mastered and not destroyed (cf. also UEHLINGER 1995b:962). Considering this passage from an iconographic point of view, KEEL was certainly correct when he stated that "Kap. 40f. ... zwar einen kämpferischen Gott an[visiert], aber keinen Wettergott wie Baal" (KEEL 1978:126,127). While the violent destruction of the serpent-Leviathan is based on an Asiatic tradition of the weather god (cf. figs. 491,492), the mastering of the crocodile-Leviathan in Job 41:1 is related to the Egyptian motif of the divine Horus-type hero holding up two crocodiles upside down by their tails (**Fig. 496** = fig. 33 on p. 158, 522 on p. 524; cf. also cat. nos. 40-49 on pp. 181,182). The iconographic difference between the treatment of the Asiatic serpent-motif of figs. 491 and 492 and the Egyptian crocodile-motif of fig. 495 is obvious. The former depicts a clearly violent attack with weapons while the latter is a heroic display of power and superiority.⁸⁹⁷



Fig. 496

In the above iconographic study a second motif involving the mythological subjugation of the crocodile was discussed, namely, that of the pharaonic lion striding over a lion (**Fig. 497** = fig. 29 on p. 157, 57 on p. 197, 523 on p. 524; cf. also cat. nos. 31-33,29-36 on pp. 177,178). Eze 32:2



Fig. 497

is the only passage in the Old Testament which combines the lion with the crocodile when the לִיּוֹן in this passage is interpreted accordingly (cf. ZIMMERLI 1969:762). Most interesting is also the comparison of the pharaoh with a lion and the cosmological nature of the described

⁸⁹⁷ Although there are distinctive Asiatic and Egyptian features in the two strands they are of course also combined with features of the other tradition. For example, the iconographic rendering of mastering the Egyptian crocodile is typically Asiatic, while the weather god appears as the hybrid Egypto-Asiatic weather god, Baal-Seth. Thus we cannot speak of a purely Asiatic or Egyptian motif of the subjugation of the chaos monster in figs. 491,492, and

events (vs. 7,8) indicating that the crocodile in this passage stands for more than just the reptile. ZIMMERLI (ibid. 768) in his commentary on Ezekiel noted in regard to the lion and the crocodile a "hard transition" to a "completely different" imagery. Taking the mythological background which is connected to fig. 496 into consideration, this passage is more harmonious than it appears at first sight. The judgement over the pharaoh is connected with the boasting of the king in the parallel passage of Eze 29:3. When the pharaoh appears in Eze 32:2 as כַּפִּיר, the vigorous "young lion", then it is in the sense of the mighty pharaonic lion which subdues all nations (cf. pp. 193–195). Taking fig. 496 into consideration, he is then designated also as master of the chaotic forces. However when the pharaoh is himself compared to the crocodile (כַּתְּנִים) the whole imagery is turned into a sarcastic mockery about the supposed omnipotence of the king. Now the pharaoh himself is equated with the vanquished life-threatening force symbolised by the crocodile. The change of roles from royal dominator to a subjugated evil beast is furthermore underlined by the description of the hunt of the pharaonic crocodile. Eze 32:4,5 describe the exact opposite of what is depicted in **fig. 498** (= fig. 30 on p. 157) where the deified king is hunting the crocodile.⁸⁹⁸



Fig. 498

495. Nevertheless, there are remarkable correspondences between text and image reflecting once an Asiatic background and once an Egyptian.

⁸⁹⁸ Although vs. 7 and 8 do not single out the sun, one wonders if the emphasis on the darkness which will fall upon the land of the pharaoh cannot also be understood as a hidden hint that there is no help to be expected from the rising sun which is also known to overcome the life-threatening darkness symbolised by the crocodile (cf. fig. 31 on p. 158).

4.2. The lion

Since this study is of an iconographic nature, the approach to Old Testament texts reflects this background by structuring this part according to the iconographic sections of the attacking and the attacked lion. This procedure is necessitated because we look at the text from an iconographic perspective. As a general observation at the beginning, it will be noted that in the iconography of Palestine/Israel the lion being attacked occurs slightly more often than the attacking lion. In the literary tradition of the Old Testament the attacking lion dominates the imagery.

4.2.1. The attacking lion

4.2.1.1. God and/as the lion

4.2.1.1.1. The lion attacking an individual (1 Ki 13:24; 20:36; Isa 38:13; Job 10:16; Lam 3:10)⁸⁹⁹

The rationale in starting with this group of verses is simple: On the structural level these passages most closely resemble the iconographic motif of “the lion attacking a human” (Fig. 499 = fig. 524 on p. 527; cf. also cat. nos. 50–66,68 on pp. 219–222). In fact the statement in 1 Ki 13:24 that



Fig. 499

“the lion also stood beside the body” is a virtual quote of this motif. However, on the topical level there are differences to observe. First in the texts under consideration the lion does not signify the person of the king but stands for God’s might or his judgement. Second, the individual who is represented on glyptic art does not symbolise a single person over which the

⁸⁹⁹ “And as he went away a lion met him on the road and killed him. And his body was thrown in the road, and the ass stood beside it; the lion also stood beside the body” (1 Ki 13:24).

“Then he said to him, ‘Because you have not obeyed the voice of the LORD, behold, as soon as you have gone from me, a lion shall kill you.’ And as soon as he had departed from him, a lion met him and killed him” (1 Ki 20:36).

“I cry for help until morning; like a lion he breaks all my bones; from day to night thou dost bring me to an end” (Isa 38:13).

“And if I lift myself up, thou dost hunt me like a lion, and again work wonders against me” (Job 10:16).

pharaoh triumphs but a nation which he subdues. In contrast to the iconographic theme, the texts of this section present only one human as being attacked. Lastly 1 Ki 13:24; 20:36 speak of a literal attack on a person, Hezekiah only compared his suffering with God's attacking him like a lion (Isa 38:13). A similar comparison is made in Job 10:16, and Lam 3:10.

4.2.1.1.2. The lion attacking nations
(2 Ki 17:25; Isa 15:9; Jer 49:19, 50:44, 5:6; Hos 5:14, 13:7)⁹⁰⁰

The first four passages of this group name foreign people as the victim of God's lion-attack, while the remaining three report such an attack on God's own people. On the topical level there is now congruence, at least as far as the victim is concerned. A difference in this as well as the previous group of texts is the purpose of the attack. In glyptic art the motif seeks to convey the notion of royal triumph and domination of the king, in all cited texts the attack is associated with the judgement of God.

4.2.1.1.3. God as protective lion
(Isa 31:4)⁹⁰¹

Only once does God appear as a protective lion. Although an attack on foreign people is implied, the main aspect is that of protection, a theme which is not related to the iconographic imagery under study.

"He is to me like a bear lying in wait, like a lion in hiding" (Lam 3:10).

⁹⁰⁰ "And at the beginning of their dwelling there, they did not fear the LORD; therefore the LORD sent lions among them, which killed some of them" (2 Ki 17:25).

"For the waters of Dibon are full of blood; yet I will bring upon Dibon even more, a lion for those of Moab who escape, for the remnant of the land" (Isa 15:9).

"Behold, like a lion coming up from the jungle of the Jordan against a strong sheepfold, I will suddenly make them run away from her; and I will appoint over her whomever I choose. For who is like me? Who will summon me? What shepherd can stand before me?" (Jer 49:19).

"Behold, like a lion coming up from the jungle of the Jordan against a strong sheepfold, I will suddenly make them run away from her; and I will appoint over her whomever I choose. For who is like me? Who will summon me? What shepherd can stand before me?" (Jer 50:44).

"Therefore a lion from the forest shall slay them, a wolf from the desert shall destroy them. A leopard is watching against their cities, every one who goes out of them shall be torn in pieces; because their transgressions are many, their apostasies are great" (Jer 5:6).

"For I will be like a lion to Ephraim, and like a young lion to the house of Judah. I, even I, will rend and go away, I will carry off, and none shall rescue" (Hos 5:14).

"So I will be to them like a lion, like a leopard I will lurk beside the way" (Hos 13:7).

4.2.1.2. The ungodly as lion
(Psa 7:1,2; 10:9; 17:12; 22:13,21; 57:5)⁹⁰²

The psalmist places the motif of the lion attacking a human in an existential context and gives the perspective of the victim of this motif. The attacked is therefore again an individual, but the attacker can now be more than just one. There are some interesting iconographic correspondences which deserve attention. Psa 17:12

states that the ungodly is "as a young lion lurking in ambush". The attacked lion is once depicted as hiding itself behind plants (Fig. 500 = fig. 68 on p. 201). But



Fig. 500



Fig. 501

the attacking lion is also associated with twigs when it kills a horned animal (Fig. 501) (cf. also cat. no. 84 on p. 227) or runs over a human in a raging attack (Fig. 502) (cf. also cat. no. 54 on p. 220). With one exception (cat. no. 54; 1630–1550) the twig occurs only on Late Bronze and Iron Age I/II A (1540/1450–900) seals.



Fig. 502

Also a typical Late Bronze Age and Iron Age I/II A feature of the motif of a lion attacking a human is the wide-open mouth of the lion (Fig. 503 = fig. 516 on p. 507; cf. also cat. nos. 56–58 on p. 220 and KEEL 1969:203,204).



Fig. 503

One cannot fail to notice the parallel with expressions like: "they open wide their mouths at me" (Psa 22:13), "save me from the mouth of the lion" (Psa 22:21), and "their teeth are spears and arrows, their tongues sharp swords" (Psa 57:5).

⁹⁰¹ "For thus the LORD said to me, As a lion or a young lion growls over his prey, and when a band of shepherds is called forth against him is not terrified by their shouting or daunted at their noise, so the LORD of hosts will come down to fight upon Mount Zion and upon its hill."

⁹⁰² "O LORD my God, in thee do I take refuge; save me from all my pursuers, and deliver me, lest like a lion they rend me, dragging me away, with none to rescue" (Psa 7:1,2).

"He lurks in secret like a lion in his covert; he lurks that he may seize the poor, he seizes the poor when he draws him into his net" (Psa 10:9).

"They are like a lion eager to tear, as a young lion lurking in ambush" (Psa 17:12).

"They open wide their mouths at me, like a ravening and roaring lion" (Psa 22:13).

"Save me from the mouth of the lion, my afflicted soul from the horns of the wild oxen!" (Psa 22:21).

"I lie in the midst of lions that greedily devour the sons of men; their teeth are spears and arrows, their tongues sharp swords" (Psa 57:5).

4.2.1.3. *The wicked ruler(s) oppressing their own people as a lion*

(Pro 28:15; Eze 22:25; Zep 3:3)⁹⁰³

Again the lion is associated with ungodly humans. Although in some respects on the topical level there are close correspondences to the motif of the lion attacking a human – the lion represents a ruler and the victim a group of people – it reverses the imagery. Instead of the lion representing the glorious king who subdues foreign nations, it now signifies the disgraceful behaviour of the king who turns against his own people. In this sense the theme of this iconographic motif becomes a mirror of a perverted kind of dominion and might well have been the focus of these statements.

4.2.1.4. *The foreign king(dom) as lion*

(Isa 5:26,29; Jer 4:7, 50:17; Eze 19:2, 32:2; Nah 2:11–13; Joe 1:6)⁹⁰⁴

This group of verses comes closest to the theme of the lion attacking a human as it is presented on seal-amulets, although with two little nuances. First, the lion is not in all instances referring to the king but more generally to the whole nation. The iconographic roots of the motif under consideration are clearly associated with the person of the king and his victorious domination of the nations. Although this has been widened in some Old Testament texts, Jer

⁹⁰³ "Like a roaring lion or a charging bear is a wicked ruler over a poor people" (Pro 28:15).

"Her princes in the midst of her are like a roaring lion tearing the prey; they have devoured human lives; they have taken treasure and precious things; they have made many widows in the midst of her" (Eze 22:25).

"Her officials within her are roaring lions; her judges are evening wolves that leave nothing till the morning" (Zep 3:3).

⁹⁰⁴ "He will raise a signal for a nation afar off, and whistle for it from the ends of the earth; and lo, swiftly, speedily it comes! ... Their roaring is like a lion, like young lions they roar; they growl and seize their prey, they carry it off, and none can rescue" (Isa 5:26,29).

"A lion has gone up from his thicket, a destroyer of nations has set out; he has gone forth from his place to make your land a waste; your cities will be ruins without inhabitant" (Jer 4:7).

"Israel is a hunted sheep driven away by lions. First the king of Assyria devoured him, and now at last Nebuchadrezzar king of Babylon has gnawed his bones" (Jer 50:17).

"What a lioness was your mother among lions! She couched in the midst of young lions, rearing her whelps" (Eze 19:2).

"Son of man, raise a lamentation over Pharaoh king of Egypt, and say to him: 'You consider yourself a lion among the nations, but you are like a *lion* in the seas; you burst forth in your rivers, trouble the waters with your feet, and foul their rivers'" (Eze 32:2).

"Where is the lions' den, the cave of the young lions, where the lion brought his prey, where his cubs were, with none to disturb? ¹²The lion tore enough for his whelps and strangled prey for his lionesses; he filled his caves with prey and his dens with torn flesh. ¹³Behold, I am against you, says the LORD of hosts, and I will burn your chariots in smoke, and the sword shall devour your young lions; I will cut off your prey from the earth, and the voice of your messengers shall no more be heard." (Nah 2:11–13).

50:17 still specifically equates the lion with the king of Assyria and the king of Babylon, as does Eze 32:2 with the king of Egypt. The second difference is that the glorious dominion and the glorification of the king are not the primary focus, but again the theme of judgement.⁹⁰⁵ While the Egyptian theme on seals conveyed by this motif the ultimate power of the person of the pharaoh, the lion in this section is only a tool in God's hand. This aspect is most clearly demonstrated by Nah 2:11–13 where Yahweh is presented as ultimate authority over the lion-like devouring Assyria/Nineveh.

4.2.1.5. Israelite tribes and the royal house of Judah as lion (Gen 49:9; Num 23:24, 24:9; Deu 33:22; Eze 19:2–9; Mic 5:8)⁹⁰⁶

This last group of texts again equate the lion with a people as well as with a ruler. Gen 49:10 expressively associates the lion of Judah of v. 9 with royal aspects. In Eze 19 the lion is set into relationship with the royal house and their kings although not *expressis verbis* since the passage is a parable. Often the lion is not engaged in an attack but serves primarily as a designation (Gen 49:9; Num 24:9; Deu 33:22) thus not relating in this aspect very much to the imagery on seal-amulets. When the opponent is mentioned it is always the foreign nations. Only in the case

"For a nation has come up against my land, powerful and without number; its teeth are lions' teeth, and it has the fangs of a lioness" (Joel 1:6).

⁹⁰⁵ An exception is Eze 19:2 where the glorious royal house of Judah is compared with surrounding lion-like kingdoms and Eze 32:2 where the glorious pharaoh is equated with the lion. Both passages also have similar wording ("among lions", "among the nations").

⁹⁰⁶ Judah is a lion's whelp; from the prey, my son, you have gone up. He stooped down, he couched as a lion, and as a lioness; who dares rouse him up?" (Gen 49:9).

"Behold, a people! As a lioness it rises up and as a lion it lifts itself; it does not lie down till it devours the prey, and drinks the blood of the slain" (Num 23:24).

"He couched, he lay down like a lion, and like a lioness; who will rouse him up? Blessed be every one who blesses you, and cursed be every one who curses you" (Num 24:9).

"And of Dan he said, 'Dan is a lion's whelp, that leaps forth from Bashan'" (Deu 33:22).

"What a lioness was your mother among lions! She couched in the midst of young lions, rearing her whelps. ³And she brought up one of her whelps; he became a young lion, and he learned to catch prey; he devoured men. ⁴The nations sounded an alarm against him; he was taken in their pit; and they brought him with hooks to the land of Egypt. ⁵When she saw that she was baffled, that her hope was lost, she took another of her whelps and made him a young lion. ⁶He prowled among the lions; he became a young lion, and he learned to catch prey; he devoured men. ⁷And he ravaged their strongholds, and laid waste their cities; and the land was appalled and all who were in it at the sound of his roaring. ⁸Then the nations set against him snares on every side; they spread their net over him; he was taken in their pit. ⁹With hooks they put him in a cage, and brought him to the king of Babylon; they brought him into custody, that his voice should no more be heard upon the mountains of Israel" (Eze 19:2–9).

"And the remnant of Jacob shall be among the nations, in the midst of many peoples, like a lion among the beasts of the forest, like a young lion among the flocks of sheep, which, when it goes through, treads down and tears in pieces, and there is none to deliver" (Mic 5:8).

of Eze 19:3 do we find the equation that the Judean king attacks other nations, a constellation which is closest to the iconographic theme of the lion/king attacking a human/foreign nations.

4.2.2. The attacked/subdued lion

(Jdg 14:6; Psa 91:13; Isa 11:7c-9a/65:25; 30:6,7)⁹⁰⁷

One particular feature distinguishes the killing of a lion by Samson in Jdg 14:6 from that reported by David, the shepherd, and Benaiah, the son of Jehoiada (1 Sa 17:34; 2 Sa 23:20//1 Ch 11:22), namely, the significant statement: "the Spirit of Yahweh came mightily upon him." Although the setting of the Samson incident and its particular details have little to do with what is found on seal-amulets, the reference to divine empowerment is noteworthy.

Furthermore, it is also stated that Samson killed the lion with his bare hands (cf. also WENNING/ZENGER 1982:49). These two features are also present on depictions of the motif of the "mistress/master of lions" (Fig. 504) (cf. also cat. nos. 175,176,178-195 on pp. 258-

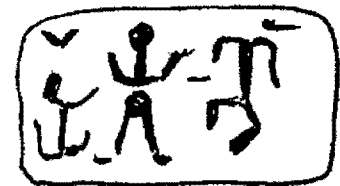


Fig. 504

261). The power over the lion is depicted in a fashion which does not involve a weapon. Second, the hero who subdues the lion is either a deity or in later times the Persian king in a role which places him on a supernatural level (ROOT 1979:307,308). In this sense a certain parallel between the "master of animals" motif and the divinely-empowered hero Samson killing a lion is observable.

As has been seen in this study, the attacked lion can symbolise an entity which is not related to the supernatural realm. Typical of this use is the pharaoh aiming with his bow at a lion,

⁹⁰⁷ "And the Spirit of the LORD came mightily upon him, and he tore the lion asunder as one tears a kid; and he had nothing in his hand. But he did not tell his father or his mother what he had done" (Jdg 14:6).

"You will tread on the lion and the adder, the young lion and the serpent you will trample under foot" (Psa 91:13).

"The lion shall eat straw like the ox. ⁸The sucking child shall play over the hole of the asp, and the weaned child shall put his hand on the adder's den. ⁹They shall not hurt or destroy in all my holy mountain" (Isa 11:7c-9a).

"The wolf and the lamb shall feed together, the lion shall eat straw like the ox; and dust shall be the serpent's food. They shall not hurt or destroy in all my holy mountain, says the LORD" (Isa 65:25).

"An oracle on the beasts of the Negeb. Through a land of trouble and anguish, from where come the lioness and the lion, the viper and the flying serpent, they carry their riches on the backs of asses, and their treasures on the humps of camels, to a people that cannot profit them. ⁷For Egypt's help is worthless and empty, therefore I have called her 'Rahab who sits still'" (Isa 30:6,7).

representing his domination over other people (cf. figs. 68–72 on pp. 201,202). However, more often the attacked and subdued lion represents a life-threatening force on the cosmic plane. This is obvious when the lion is attacked and overcome by gods (cf. cat. nos. 116–135 on pp. 241–245, cat. nos. 175–181 on pp. 258–259 and cat. nos. 193–195 on p. 261). The same thought is involved when the Persian king appears as supernatural hero battling all kinds of demonic forces like “lion monsters” (griffins) (cf. figs. 189,190 on p. 294, fig. 218 on p. 300), sphinxes (cf. figs. 216,217 on p. 300), winged bulls (213 on p. 299), and winged demons (cf. fig. 231 on p. 306). Therefore the variant of this motif where the opponent is a lion (cf. cat. nos. 165–172 on pp. 254,255 and cat. nos. 183–192 on pp. 259,260) should also be seen on a more elevated level than just the heroic subjugation of a dangerous animal. The attacked lion represents in many instances a life-threatening force of the supernatural realm where the true battle over the control of the earth and its inhabitants takes place.

Such a function has also to be assigned to the remaining texts of this group which were already discussed in connection with the great sea. When in Psa 91:13 divine protection is compared with the ability to trample under foot the lion and serpent, one cannot overlook that the weather god as warrior displays his control of life-threatening forces by subduing the serpent and lion. He even appears as standing on the subdued lion, making it his

pedestal to serve him (Fig. 505). In the same way, the one who is protected by God has to fear no danger because with divine help he can confidently face the most dangerous forces in life. Although there is no descriptive iconographic



Fig. 505

parallel to Isa 11:7c–9a/65:25, the underlying concept is the same. The lion represents in these passages the life-threatening forces of the cosmic plane which have been subdued and thereby allow a paradisiac peace. The third passage in Isa 30:6,7 should

technically be placed in the section with attacking lions but it is mentioned here because the lion in this passage represents in



Fig. 506

connection with (flying) serpents (cf. fig. 506 = fig. 28 on p. 156, 495 on p. 490) and the Rahab

terminology more than just a dangerous animal of the desert (cf. p. 491). Ultimately the lion is set in contrast to the true protector of life and therefore transcends the mere physical sphere. The nature of the lion of Isa 30:6 can be seen in the same light as the other passages in this section, with the difference that divine protection cannot be expected in this case.

4.3. The wings

4.3.1. The swift attacking eagle or vulture

(Deu 28:49; Jer 4:13, 48:40, 49:22; Lam 4:19; Eze 17:3; Hos 8:1; Hab 1:8)⁹⁰⁸

Comparing the winged beings in the catalogue of this study with the Old Testament, one will hardly find a corresponding imagery. However, despite the obvious lack of winged *Mischwesen* of the type listed in the catalogue, there is on the conceptual level one feature which deserves



Fig. 507

attention. In the iconographic study (cf. pp. 276–278 and footnotes 555,556) it was noted that the wings of the aggressive griffin – which are those of the eagle or vulture – are associated with the attack of a bird of prey that pursues its enemies “at furious speed or crushing



Fig. 508

them underfoot” (TE VELDE 1977:21). This aspect is manifested in various ways by the glyptic art found in Palestine/Israel, be it for example when the griffin attacks a bull representing prosperity and life (Fig. 507 = fig. 185 on p. 293, 340 on p. 365, 530 on p. 532), when it is engaged in a cosmological struggle (Fig. 508 = fig. 184 on p. 292, 533 on p. 534), or when it appears in the form



Fig. 509

of the “lion monster” fighting with the Persian king (Fig. 509 = fig. 189 on p. 294, 401 on

⁹⁰⁸ “The LORD will bring a nation against you from afar, from the end of the earth, as swift as the eagle flies, a nation whose language you do not understand” (Deu 28:49).

“Behold, he comes up like clouds, his chariots like the whirlwind; his horses are swifter than eagles — woe to us, for we are ruined!” (Jer 4:13).

“For thus says the LORD: ‘Behold, one shall fly swiftly like an eagle, and spread his wings against Moab’” (Jer 48:40).

“Behold, one shall mount up and fly swiftly like an eagle, and spread his wings against Bozrah, and the heart of the warriors of Edom shall be in that day like the heart of a woman in her pangs” (Jer 49:22).

“Our pursuers were swifter than the vultures in the heavens; they chased us on the mountains, they lay in wait for us in the wilderness” (Lam 4:19).

“Thus says the Lord GOD: A great eagle with great wings and long pinions, rich in plumage of many colors, came to Lebanon and took the top of the cedar” (Eze 17:3).

“Set the trumpet to your lips, for a vulture is over the house of the LORD, because they have broken my covenant, and transgressed my law” (Hos 8:1).

“Their horses are swifter than leopards, more fierce than the evening wolves; their horsemen press proudly on. Yea, their horsemen come from afar; they fly like an eagle swift to devour” (Hab 1:8).

p. 381, 534 on p. 534). The aggression which is associated with the wings is obviously also intended when the winged Baal-Seth subdues the serpent (Fig. 510 = fig. 20 on p. 154, 131 on p. 276, 491 on p. 487, 521 on p. 521, 531 on p. 532) (cf. also cat. nos. 200–213, 215, 217, 218, 220–222 on pp. 312–319). Although



Fig. 510

the Old Testament does not use the same imagery as it is depicted on seal-amulets it does employ the underlying concept of a swiftly attacking eagle or vulture when God brings judgement upon various nations like Israel, Judah, Edom, or Moab.⁹⁰⁹ Related to this imagery is also the frequently-occurring phrase “(the beast of the earth and) the birds of the air” when it is used in a context of judgement.⁹¹⁰ Concerning the Danielic winged lion Jer 49:19,22 is a very interesting passage:

Behold, like a lion coming up from the jungle of the Jordan against a strong sheepfold, I will suddenly make them run away from her; and I will appoint over her whomever I choose. For who is like me? Who will summon me? What shepherd can stand before me? ... Behold, one shall mount up and fly swiftly like an eagle, and spread his wings against Bozrah, and the heart of the warriors of Edom shall be in that day like the heart of a woman in her pangs.

First, in this passage the lion and eagle are mentioned together, thus immediately recalling Dan 7:4. Furthermore the lion and the eagle stand for the same concept, and third, the wings of the swiftly attacking eagle are mentioned *expressis verbis*. Nevertheless, as similar as this imagery is to Dan 7:4 one cannot fail to observe that the lion and eagle are not represented as a composite being. From this follows that the concept of the attacking bird of prey or the representation of its wings are common to Old Testament and iconographic tradition. However, the merging of this feature with a lion into a *Mischwesen* is unique to Dan 7:4, thereby indicating that this aspect points to an influence other than the Old Testament.

⁹⁰⁹ Related to this imagery is also Isa 41:3: “He pursues them and passes on safely, scarcely touching the path with his feet” (NRS) (the revised Elberfelder Bible and the Luther translation of 1984 render אָרַח בְּרַגְלָיו לֹא יָבֹוא as the NRS instead of the usual “by paths his feet have not trod”).

⁹¹⁰ Deu 28:26; Isa 17:44,46; 1 Ki 14:11, 16:4, 21:24; Psa 79:2; Jer 7:3, 15:3, 16:4, 19:7, 34:20; Eze 29:5, 32:4. Hos 2:18 reverses the imagery when a covenant is promised with the beasts of the earth and the birds of the air to indicate peace.

4.4. The horns

4.4.1. The horned animal attacked/the horn broken or cast down

(Jer 48:25; Lam 2:3,17; 1:6; Dan 8:7; Zec 1:21; Isa 13:14; Amo 6:13)⁹¹¹

The first category of attacked horned animals in the catalogue dealt with the motif of the pharaoh/hero attacking horned animals alone (Fig. 511 = fig. 290 on p. 352) or as one of an array of opponents (Fig. 512 = fig. 69 on p. 201). The theme was described as comprehensive royal triumph and dominion over other nations and any threatening sphere (cf. pp. 354,391,392).



Fig. 511



Fig. 512

Although the Old Testament does not speak of a bowman attacking a horned animal, the imagery of an attacked horned animal or the breaking and casting down of a horn – both being a symbol of a fallen nation – is well attested (Jer 48:25; Lam 2:3,17; Dan 8:7; Zec 1:21). Related to this imagery is also Lam 1:6. Although in this passage not a nation but the princes of the fallen Jerusalem are equated with the hart, the imagery retains the theme of a hunt, when the VIPs of Jerusalem are compared with starved-out deer, unable to flee from the hunters. The theme of the hunt is also mentioned in Isa 13:14 when doomed Babylon is likened to hunted gazelles. Although it is true that there is a correspondence on the topical level, a basic

⁹¹¹ "The horn of Moab is cut off, and his arm is broken, says the LORD" (Jer 48:25).

"He has cut down in fierce anger all the רָקַע of Israel; he has withdrawn from them his right hand in the face of the enemy; he has burned like a flaming fire in Jacob, consuming all around ... The LORD has done what he purposed, has carried out his threat; as he ordained long ago, he has demolished without pity; he has made the enemy rejoice over you, and exalted the רָקַע of your foes" (Lam 2:3,17).

"From the daughter of Zion has departed all her majesty. Her princes have become like harts that find no pasture; they fled without strength before the pursuer" (Lam 1:6).

"I saw him come close to the ram, and he was enraged against him and struck the ram and broke his two horns; and the ram had no power to stand before him, but he cast him down to the ground and trampled upon him; and there was no one who could rescue the ram from his power" (Dan 8:7).

"And I said, "What are these coming to do?" He answered, "These are the horns which scattered Judah, so that no man raised his head; and these have come to terrify them, to cast down the horns of the nations who lifted up their horns against the land of Judah to scatter it" (Zec 1:21).

"And like a hunted gazelle, or like sheep with none to gather them, every man will turn to his own people, and every man will flee to his own land" (Isa 13:14).

difference has to be noted too. The focus of the motif in glyptic art is the glorification of the pharaonic might and dominion, while the underlying theme of the texts in this section is with the exception of Dan 8:7 the divine judgement, a theme which was already encountered in the motif of the lion attacking a nation. Finally, Amo 6:13 mentioning the place name Karnaim has been placed in this section because it talks about the overthrow of the "Double-Horns" citizens, thus in a figurative sense associating a group of people with the theme of "horns" and subjugation.

4.4.2. The horned animal/horn associated with the evil

4.4.2.1. The goat demon/the goat for Azazel (Lev 17:7; 2 Ch 11:15; Isa 13:21; 34:14; Lev 16:10,21,22)⁹¹²

In the iconographic study it was noted that the horned animal does not appear with only a negative aspect as foreign nation to be subdued by the pharaoh. Especially the Asiatic depictions, where a supernatural hero struggles with a rampant horned animal, indicate the malevolent



Fig. 513

nature of the horned animal as a force which threatens life (Fig. 513) and the cosmic order (Fig. 514 = fig. 224 on p. 302, 302 on p. 356, 537 on p. 538; cf. also cat. nos. 278–284, 286–288 on pp. 388–390, cat. nos. 326, 328



Fig. 514

"You who rejoice in Lodebar, who say, "Have we not by our own strength taken Karnaim for ourselves?" (Amo 6:13).

⁹¹² "So they shall no more slay their sacrifices for satyrs, after whom they play the harlot. This shall be a statute for ever to them throughout their generations" (Lev 17:7).

"And he appointed his own priests for the high places, and for the satyrs, and for the calves which he had made" (2 Chr 11:15).

"But wild beasts will lie down there, and its houses will be full of howling creatures; there ostriches will dwell, and there satyrs will dance" (Isa 13:21).

"And wild beasts shall meet with hyenas, the satyr shall cry to his fellow; yea, there shall the night hag alight, and find for herself a resting place" (Isa 34:14).

"But the goat on which the lot fell for Azazel shall be presented alive before the LORD to make atonement over it, that it may be sent away into the wilderness to Azazel ... ²¹and Aaron shall lay both his hands upon the head of the live goat, and confess over him all the iniquities of the people of Israel, and all their transgressions, all their sins; and he shall put them upon the head of the goat, and send him away into the wilderness by the hand of a man who is in readiness. ²²The goat shall bear all their iniquities upon him to a solitary land; and he shall let the goat go in the wilderness" (Lev 16:10,21,22).

on pp. 400,401, cat. nos. 341–346,349,351–353, on pp. 410–412). A few passage in the Old Testament also associate the horned animal, or more specifically the *שָׂעִיר* – the (hairy) goat with the demonic sphere.⁹¹³ According to Lev 17:7 goat demons were worshipped in the open field by offering sacrifices to them. Rehoboam even appointed own priests for them (2 Chr 11:15). However, the goat demon could also symbolise the complete destruction and desolation which Yahweh brings upon Babylon and Edom (Isa 13:21; 34:14). The demonic nature of the goat also finds expression when the goat for Azazel (cf. JANOWSKI/WILHELM 1993) was led into the wilderness after the iniquities of the people of Israel were confessed over it.

4.4.2.2. The horn of the wicked (Psa 22:21; 75:4,5,10)⁹¹⁴

While the iconographic imagery from Palestine/Israel does not associate the horn with evil human beings, it is not surprising when the psalmist compares the wicked with the violent horn of the wild ox, the *μονόκερως* “unicorn” as the Septuagint translates it in Psa 22:21 (cf. also Deu 33:17). The attacking bovine animal in the glyptic art from Palestine/Israel is in general associated with the mythological realm. The particular iconographic feature of this motif is the lowered head with the horns ready to attack (cf. cat. nos. 358–364 on pp. 419,421). However, the different contexts of these images and the Psalm texts mentioned in this section make it unlikely that there is a link. The attacking bull is also known from royal Egyptian iconography.

⁹¹³ EISSFELDT, impressed by the Megiddo ivory of fig. 305 on p. 356, defined the goat demon as “ein Dämon, er dem in der Wüste lebenden Wild nachstellt” (1966:92). However, the goat demon can also be associated with the forces that turned into steppe the vegetation. In this regard KEEL stated: “Es ist selbstverständlich, dass der altorientalische Kleinviethnomade in diesen Vorgängen, die zu einer schlagartigen Ausweitung der Wüste führten, nicht nur Winde, Feuchtigkeitsgrade, Temperaturschwankungen (und Viren), sondern auch unheimliche persönliche Mächte am Werk gesehen hat. In solch auffälligen meteorologischen und biologischen Erscheinungen manifestierten sich Dämonen” (1972:419). Since the horned animal was also considered a symbol for the life-threatening forces of the wilderness (cf. above pp. 301,352,375) it was only natural to bring goats as sacrifices to such demons thereby connecting the horned animal furthermore with the demonic realm.

⁹¹⁴ “Save me from the mouth of the lion, my afflicted soul from the horns of the wild oxen!” (Psa 22:21). “I say to the boastful, ‘Do not boast,’ and to the wicked, ‘Do not lift up your horn; ⁵do not lift up your horn on high, or speak with insolent neck.’ ... ¹⁰All the horns of the wicked he will cut off, but the horns of the righteous shall be exalted” (Psa 75:4,5,10).

Although a direct connection to this motif cannot be made, **fig. 515** illustrates very well the anguish of the psalmist when he cries out in desperation: "Many bulls encompass me, strong bulls of Bashan surround me; ¹³they open wide their mouths at me, like a ravening and roaring lion ... Save me from the mouth of the lion, my afflicted soul from the horns of the wild oxen!" (Psa 21:12,13,21). Also interesting to note is the comparison to



Fig. 515



Fig. 516

the mouth of the lion (**Fig. 516** = fig. 503/496; cf. also p. 496) which might suggest that this passage draws on the same imagery but transfers it into an existential context. In contrast to this passage Psa 75:4,5,10 resembles again the imagery of the broken horn of the nations as they face the judgement of God (cf. p. 504).

4.4.3. The horned animal/horn as symbol of royal power

(1 Sa 2:10; 1 Ki 22:11//2 Chr 18:10; Psa 89:24,132:17; Isa 14:9; Dan 8:3–8,20,21; Eze 34:17–21; Zec 10:3)⁹¹⁵

As has been seen in the previous section, the Egyptian king was represented in glyptic art as a bull. Along the same line a number of Old Testament passages use the bull imagery to connote leaders (Psa 68:30; Isa 10:13, 34:7; Jer 50:27; Eze 39:18), although the horn is not specifically mentioned. Looking at the various functions of the non-bovine horned animal in the iconographic repertoire found in Palestine/Israel, one would not necessarily expect that it also can express the notion of royal power. But glyptic evidence from the middle of the 10th–7th centuries⁹¹⁶ shows that the horned animal was indeed associated with political leadership when it was combined with a cartouche (Fig. 517 = fig. 536 on p. 537) or with a *nb*–

hieroglyph (“lord”) (cf. cat. nos. 355,356 on p. 416). That the theme of this motif is in fact not such a rarity is testified by the Old Testament when it specifically mentions the horns of the ram and he-goat in connection with



Fig. 517

political leaders (Eze 34:11,21; Dan 8:3–9,20,21) while other passages only refer to the ram only

⁹¹⁵ “The adversaries of the LORD shall be broken to pieces; against them he will thunder in heaven. The LORD will judge the ends of the earth; he will give strength to his king, and exalt the power of his anointed” (1 Sa 2:10).
 “And Zedekiah the son of Cheneanah made for himself horns of iron, and said, Thus says the LORD, With these you shall push the Syrians until they are destroyed” (1 Ki 22:11//2 Ch 18:10).
 “My faithfulness and my steadfast love shall be with him, and in my name shall his horn be exalted” (Psa 89:24).
 “There I will make a horn to sprout for David; I have prepared a lamp for my anointed” (Psa 132:17).
 “Sheol beneath is stirred up to meet you when you come, it rouses the shades to greet you, all who were leaders [lit. “he-goat”, עֵזָרָה] of the earth; it raises from their thrones all who were kings of the nations” (Isa 14:9).
 “I raised my eyes and saw, and behold, a ram standing on the bank of the river. It had two horns; and both horns were high, but one was higher than the other, and the higher one came up last. ⁴I saw the ram charging westward and northward and southward; no beast could stand before him, and there was no one who could rescue from his power; he did as he pleased and magnified himself. ⁵As I was considering, behold, a he-goat came from the west across the face of the whole earth, without touching the ground; and the goat had a conspicuous horn between his eyes. ⁶He came to the ram with the two horns, which I had seen standing on the bank of the river, and he ran at him in his mighty wrath. ⁷I saw him come close to the ram, and he was enraged against him and struck the ram and broke his two horns; and the ram had no power to stand before him, but he cast him down to the ground and trampled upon him; and there was no one who could rescue the ram from his power. ⁸Then the he-goat magnified himself exceedingly; but when he was strong, the great horn was broken, and instead of it there came up four conspicuous horns toward the four winds of heaven ... ²⁰As for the ram which you saw with the two horns, these are the kings of Media and Persia. ²¹And the he-goat is the king of Greece; and the great horn between his eyes is the first king” (Dan 8:3–8,20,21).
 “As for you, my flock, thus says the Lord GOD: Behold, I judge between sheep and sheep, rams and he-goats ... ²⁰Behold, I, I myself will judge between the fat sheep and the lean sheep. ²¹Because you push with side and shoulder, and thrust at all the weak with your horns, till you have scattered them abroad” (Eze 34:17,20,21).
 “My anger is hot against the shepherds, and I will punish the leaders [lit. “he-goat”, עֵזָרָה]; for the LORD of hosts cares for his flock, the house of Judah, and will make them like his proud steed in battle” (Zec 10:3).

as symbol for a leader (Isa 14:9; Zec 10:3). Furthermore there are a number of passages referring to the royal houses of Judah and Israel which mention the horn without further qualification (1 Sa 2:10; 1 Ki 22:11/2 Chr 18:10; Psa 89:24,132:17).

4.4.4. The horned animal/horn as mighty nation

(Deu 33:17; Psa 89:17,148:14; Eze 29:21; Dan 8:22; Mic 4:13; Zec 1:19)⁹¹⁷

According to KEDAR-KOPFSTEIN (1993:187) a process of linguistic democratisation was responsible for the fact that the royal horn was applied also to the people and the individual. Whatever the reasons were which led to the identification of a nation with the horned animal, the Old Testament equates the bull and wild ox (Deu 33:17) with the tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh or just the horn without further qualification with the people of Israel (Psa 89:17,148:14; Eze 29:21; Mic 4:13), the Assyrians and Babylonians and threatening nations of the post-exilic period (Zec 1:19,21) as well as the subsequent kingdoms after the empire of Alexander the Great (Dan 8:22). Thus by equating a nation with the horned animal we have the same imagery as when the pharaoh attacks a horned animal (cf. p. 504). The difference is that the nation is now not associated with subjugation but with the opposite, namely, strength and might.

⁹¹⁶ For the connection between the horned animal and the notion of power in earlier periods cf. pp. 339 and 343.

⁹¹⁷ "His firstling bull has majesty, and his horns are the horns of a wild ox; with them he shall push the peoples, all of them, to the ends of the earth; such are the ten thousands of Ephraim, and such are the thousands of Manasseh" (Deu 33:17).

"For thou art the glory of their strength; by thy favor our horn is exalted" (Psa 89:17).

"He has raised up a horn for his people, praise for all his saints, for the people of Israel who are near to him. Praise the LORD!" (Psa 148:14).

"On that day I will cause a horn to spring forth to the house of Israel, and I will open your lips among them. Then they will know that I am the LORD" (Eze 29:21).

"As for the horn that was broken, in place of which four others arose, four kingdoms shall arise from his nation, but not with his power" (Dan 8:22).

"Arise and thresh, O daughter of Zion, for I will make your horn iron and your hoofs bronze; you shall beat in pieces many peoples, and shall devote their gain to the LORD, their wealth to the Lord of the whole earth" (Mic 4:13).

"And I said to the angel who talked with me, 'What are these?' And he answered me, 'These are the horns which have scattered Judah, Israel, and Jerusalem'" (Zec 1:19).

4.4.5. God, the divine sphere, and the horn

(Num 23:22; 24:8; Exo 34:29,30,35; Hab 3:4; 2 Sa 22:3//Psa 18:2; Dan 8:9–12,23–25)⁹¹⁸

One of the first associations one has with horns and the iconographic world of the ancient Near East is their function to indicate a deity. Surprisingly only a few depictions of horned deities with threatening or power-displaying poses or attributes could be identified in the course of the iconographic survey (cf. cat. nos. 369–377 on pp. 424–426). Although there are no “literal” parallels to these images in the Old Testament, the concept that God is associated with horns is also known in the biblical tradition. Of particular interest are the passages of Num 23:22, 24:8 which state that אֱלֹהִים מוֹצִיאֵם מִמִּצְרַיִם כְּחוֹעֶפֶת רְאִים לוֹ. Although the text formally ascribes the horns to אֱלֹהִים NOTH (1966:163,164) reinterpreted the passage and connected the horns with the Israelites as do a number of translations. Recently STAUBLI (1996:296,397 fig. 55) in his commentary on Leviticus and Numbers aptly observed that the horned אֱלֹהִים is a very plausible image seen with a pictorial mind instead of just a linguistic one. Notable is also the warrior-like nature of אֱלֹהִים in this passage, which corresponds with the criteria of the catalogue and the war-terminology of 2 Sa 22:3//Psa 18:2 where Yahweh is addressed as the “horn of

⁹¹⁸ “God brings them out of Egypt, He is for them like the horns of the wild ox” (Num 23:22; 24:8) (NAB).

“When Moses came down from Mount Sinai, with the two tables of the testimony in his hand as he came down from the mountain, Moses did not know that the skin of his face קָרַן because he had been talking with God. ³⁰And when Aaron and all the people of Israel saw Moses, behold, the skin of his face קָרַן, and they were afraid to come near him ... ³⁵the people of Israel saw the face of Moses, that the skin of Moses’ face קָרַן; and Moses would put the veil upon his face again, until he went in to speak with him” (Exo 34:29,30,35).

“And his brightness was as the light; he had horns coming out of his hand: and there was the hiding of his power” (Hab 3:4) (KJV).

“My God, my rock, in whom I take refuge, my shield and the horn of my salvation, my stronghold and my refuge, my savior; thou savest me from violence.” (2 Sa 22:3//Psa 18:2).

“Out of one of them came forth a little horn, which grew exceedingly great toward the south, toward the east, and toward the glorious land. ¹⁰It grew great, even to the host of heaven; and some of the host of the stars it cast down to the ground, and trampled upon them. ¹¹It magnified itself, even up to the Prince of the host; and the continual burnt offering was taken away from him, and the place of his sanctuary was overthrown. ¹²And the host was given over to it together with the continual burnt offering through transgression; and truth was cast down to the ground, and the horn acted and prospered ... ²³And at the latter end of their rule, when the transgressors have reached their full measure, a king of bold countenance, one who understands riddles, shall arise. ²⁴His power shall be great, and he shall cause fearful destruction, and shall succeed in what he does, and destroy mighty men and the people of the saints. ²⁵By his cunning he shall make deceit prosper under his hand, and in his own mind he shall magnify himself. Without warning he shall destroy many; and he shall even rise up against the Prince of princes; but, by no human hand, he shall be broken” (Dan 8:9–12,23–25).

salvation". An additional feature which should be mentioned is that the majority of the catalogued deities have bovine horns as does לָאֵל in Num 23:22; 24:8.

KEDAR-KOPFSTEIN recently emphatically argued that קָרַן in Exo 34:29,30,35 should not be translated with "shone" because:

qrn hat nirgends diese Bedeutung, und die ausdrückliche Betonung, dass es die Haut war, die *qæræn*-ähnliche Form aufwies, weist of Hörner hin, nämlich als Symbol majestätischer Macht: "Cornu autem, regnum significa[t] atque potentiam" (1993:188).

Without engaging in the discussion whether קָרַן should be understood figuratively as rays of light or not, it cannot be overlooked that the theophanic glory and majesty of the presence of God (Hab 3:4) was associated with a term which is closely linked to the divine nature of a being.

Last to be mentioned is the horn of Dan 8:9-12,23-25. Although the little horn evolves out of a political context which would allow to classify it with the texts of the previous section it is obvious that this horn is ultimately more associated with the spiritual/divine sphere than just the political realm.

4.5. *The enthroned*

The passages in this section comprise only those which mention the enthroned. There are several Old Testament passages which mention particular features discussed in the iconographic study but do not mention the enthroned. Thus Yahweh is associated a number of times with the imagery of fire. However, only a few mention God as being enthroned. Only those passages which specifically mention the enthroned in connection with the themes of the iconographic catalogue are referred to here.

4.5.1. *The enthroned and the judgment*

(Psa 9:4,7; 11:4; Jer 49:38)⁹¹⁹

The iconographic survey revealed that in Palestine/Israel the imagery of a subjugated dangerous beast in connection with an enthroned deity is basically non-existent. The only depiction which shows some affinities to this theme is **fig. 518** (= fig. 472 on p. 460, 540



Fig. 518

on p. 541). In Old Testament passages other than Dan 7:9–12, there is none which would qualify for such a theme since life-threatening beasts are not mentioned anywhere else as being judged by the enthroned God. When the enthroned is mentioned with the theme of judgement, he is associated with destruction when he destroys the wicked and blots out their name (Psa 9:5,6), rains coals of fire and brimstone on them (Psa 11:6), or will scatter the doomed and send the sword after them (Jer 49:36,37).⁹²⁰ In contrast to **fig. 518** where additional figures are involved in the scene, the texts of this section always mention the enthroned judge alone.

⁹¹⁹ "For thou hast maintained my just cause; thou hast sat on the throne giving righteous judgment ⁷But the LORD sits enthroned for ever, he has established his throne for judgment" (Psa 9:4,7).

"The LORD is in his holy temple, the LORD's throne is in heaven; his eyes behold, his eyelids test, the children of men" (Psa 11:4).

"And I will set my throne in Elam, and destroy their king and princes, says the LORD" (Jer 49:38).

⁹²⁰ Psa 55:19 might also be mentioned in regard to the judgment as the enthroned from old humbles those who keep no law.

4.5.2. The enthroned on a throne with wheels

(Eze 10:1,2,9–12, 16,19)⁹²¹

In the above iconographic study only the Yehud coin (Fig. 519 = fig. 439 on p. 451, 548 on p. 545) could be adduced for the theme of the wheeled throne. Several attempts were made to establish a link between the Yehud coin and Eze 1 and 10 (cf. KIENLE 1975:69,70 with footnote 170 for the respective bibliography). However looking at the Yehud coin and Eze 10⁹²² significant differences are to note (contra EDELMAN 1995:194). Without commenting on the completely different settings of the two images, there are also important divergences in the whole set-up of the throne-structure. The throne structure in Eze 10 is a vertical, consisting of several layers so to speak: cherubim – רְקִיעַ – throne – יְהוָה כְּבוֹד. The structure of several throne-supporting layers is well known in ancient Near Eastern iconography.⁹²³ In contrast to this, the Yehud coin depicts only a wheel, which is not only a significant formal difference but also indicates the completely different background of the two images. Second, the Yehud coin does not depict a throne at all, but a wheel functioning as seat. In contrast to the deity on the Yehud coin Triptolemos in footnote 885 on p. 481 is at least sitting on a seat and not just on the plain wheel. In Eze 10 the wheels are not attached to the top element of the whole structure, i.e., to the throne, but they are located at the very bottom beside the cherubim as independent elements without axle but co-ordinated by the רִיב (v. 17; KEEL 1977:165). Thus to speak of a wheeled



Fig. 519

⁹²¹ "Then I looked, and behold, on the firmament that was over the heads of the cherubim there appeared above them something like a sapphire, in form resembling a throne. ²And he said to the man clothed in linen, 'Go in among the whirling wheels underneath the cherubim; fill your hands with burning coals from between the cherubim, and scatter them over the city.' ... ⁹And I looked, and behold, there were four wheels beside the cherubim, one beside each cherub; and the appearance of the wheels was like sparkling chrysolite. ¹⁰And as for their appearance, the four had the same likeness, as if a wheel were within a wheel. ¹¹When they went, they went in any of their four directions without turning as they went, but in whatever direction the front wheel faced the others followed without turning as they went. ¹²And their rims, and their spokes, and the wheels were full of eyes round about — the wheels that the four of them had ... ¹⁶And when the cherubim went, the wheels went beside them; and when the cherubim lifted up their wings to mount up from the earth, the wheels did not turn from beside them ... ¹⁹ ... and the glory of the God of Israel was over them" (Eze 10:1,2,9–12,16,19).

⁹²² Eze 1:15–21 mentions only the wheels not the throne.

throne in Eze 10 would be misleading. Third, the wings on the Yehud coin are attached to the wheel on which the deity sits while in Eze 10 they are an integral part of the cherubim supporting the עֲרֹכָב and throne. However, despite these differences, especially of the overall set-up of the throne, there is a conceptual similarity⁹²⁴ which can be acknowledged, namely, that an enthroned deity was perceived as moving and being associated with wings. In this respect the Yehud coin depicts “a general conception of deity easily comprehensible to many people” (MILDENBERG 1998:68).

⁹²³ Examples are found in KEEL 1977: figs. 109–115. Interesting is also that BECK (1994:357, fig. 3) set a similar motif on a cylinder seal impression from Kültepe in relationship with the layer-structured cult-stands from Taanach (cf. above p. 285)

⁹²⁴ A possible similarity of detail was mentioned by KEEL (ibid. 273, footnote 391) at the very end of his comprehensive study of Eze 1 and 10, when he remarked that the expression “wheel within a wheel” (1:16; 10:10) might resemble the wheel of the Yehud coin. However, whether the large hub which looks like a small wheel can explain the *wheel* within the wheel is questionable. From the functional description that follows the wheel-within-wheel-statement (1:17; 10:11) one rather gets the impression that two equal-sized wheels are arranged in a cross-like construction so that there is no need to turn in order to move in all four directions. For a response to KEEL’s reference to the Yehud coin see also BLUM 1997:22.

4.5.3. The enthroned associated with fire

(Psa 97:2-5; Isa 6:1,4; Eze 1:4,13,26,27; 8:2; 10:7)⁹²⁵

A number of passages in the Old Testament associate God with fire and similar manifestations.⁹²⁶ In this section only those which mention the enthroned are discussed since they resemble closest the only iconographic motif located for this theme, namely, the enthroned pharaoh as sun god from whose mouth



Fig. 520

comes forth a uraeus which is associated with fire (Fig. 520 = fig. 410 on p. 442, 549 on p. 547).

The fire connected with the poison-spitting uraeus often refers to the destruction of enemies (KEEL 1994b:100-102), an aspect which is also present when in the eschatological-universal theophany (KRAUS 1961:671) of Psa 97 where verse 3 says about the enthroned Yahweh: "Fire goes before him, and burns up his adversaries round about." That the fire does not just "go before him" but issues from his face, i.e., his mouth is implied by the idiom לִפְנֵי.

The second theophany of the enthroned associated with fire to be mentioned is found in Isa 6. Differences to Psa 97 which are of concern in this study are that the fire is not literally mentioned, only implied by the smoke which is mentioned in v. 4 (cf. Psa 18:8//2 Sa 22:9; Psa

⁹²⁵ "Clouds and thick darkness are round about him; righteousness and justice are the foundation of his throne. ³Fire goes before him, and burns up his adversaries round about. ⁴His lightnings lighten the world; the earth sees and trembles. ⁵The mountains melt like wax before the LORD, before the Lord of all the earth" (Psa 97:2-5). "In the year that King Uzziah died I saw the Lord sitting upon a throne, high and lifted up; and his train filled the temple ... ⁴And the foundations of the thresholds shook at the voice of him who called, and the house was filled with smoke" (Isa 6:1,4).

"As I looked, behold, a stormy wind came out of the north, and a great cloud, with brightness round about it, and fire flashing forth continually, and in the midst of the fire, as it were gleaming bronze ... ¹³In the midst of the living creatures there was something that looked like burning coals of fire, like torches moving to and fro among the living creatures; and the fire was bright, and out of the fire went forth lightning ... ²⁶And above the firmament over their heads there was the likeness of a throne, in appearance like sapphire; and seated above the likeness of a throne was a likeness as it were of a human form. ²⁷And upward from what had the appearance of his loins I saw as it were gleaming bronze, like the appearance of fire enclosed round about; and downward from what had the appearance of his loins I saw as it were the appearance of fire, and there was brightness round about him" (Eze 1:4,13,26,27).

"Then I beheld, and, lo, a form that had the appearance of a man; below what appeared to be his loins it was fire, and above his loins it was like the appearance of brightness, like gleaming bronze" (Eze 8:2).

"And a cherub stretched forth his hand from between the cherubim to the fire that was between the cherubim, and took some of it, and put it into the hands of the man clothed in linen, who took it and went out" (Eze 10:7).

⁹²⁶ E.g. Gen 15:17; Exo 3:2; 19:18; 20:18; Num 16:35; Deu 4:24; 9:3; 33:2; Psa 18:9-14; 21:9; 50:3; 30:27,33; Jer 5:14; 23:29.

68:2; Isa 4:5; 9:8; 30:27; 65:5; Joe 2:30) and secondly, that the "fire" is not functioning as means to destroy the evil.

The last two passages which speak of the enthroned in connection with fire are Eze 1 and 10. Eze 1:4 uses the imagery of clouds and flashes/lightning as does Psa 97. However, the fire is not associated with the destruction of enemies but only mentioned in connection with the storm-theophany. Although the enthroned is not mentioned in v. 4 the subsequent descriptions in chapter 1 and 10 explain that the lightning issues from the lowest section of the four-layered throne-structure consisting of: living creatures/cherubim - עֲרֻבִים - throne - the enthroned (1:13; 10:2,6,7). Thus in contrast to Psa 97:3 and fig. 520 Ezekiel does not associate the fire with the burning breath of the enthroned but with burning coals at the foot of the throne-structure. In looking at the function of the fire, it was observed that in Eze 1 the fire was associated only with the theophany. However, Eze 10:2 adds a second function when the man clothed in linen is commanded to use the burning coals of fire to destroy the city of Jerusalem (cf. 9:8), thereby again resembling Psa 97:3. Lastly, a third function of the fire in Ezekiel has to be mentioned, namely, its use in the glorious description of the enthroned (Eze 1:27; 8:2).

5. General conclusion

The conclusion is divided into two parts. First, the selected imagery of Dan 7 will be assessed against the results of the foregoing iconographic study. Enriching aspects will be provided by various points of contact with the Old Testament. Since the various motifs are not considered as an expression of a pan-iconographic influence on the vision of Dan 7 they will be treated separately without attempting to force the results into one overarching iconographic summary. The second part of the conclusion will be a retrospection on this study and will formulate some contributions to scholarship and provide a forecast on the future of iconographic research as a means to a better understanding of the religious world of the biblical lands.

5.1. The iconography from Palestine/Israel and the vision of Dan 7

5.1.1. The great sea

The starting point in the evaluation of the motif of the agitated sea from which several beasts emerge was a research history covering the last one hundred years on the proposed influences and traditions underlying this theme. While no attempt was made to discuss this motif against the background of ancient Near Eastern iconography (cf. p. 61), numerous literary explanations were advanced to enlighten the imagery of Dan 7:2 and the subsequent verses. The most dominant position to date considers the theme of the stirred-up sea as related to the struggle of the weather god Baal with the chaos sea – represented by a serpent – as it is known especially from the mythological texts from Ugarit (cf. pp. 30–35). As almost universally accepted as this explanation is in modern scholarship, so widely are the nature of its influence on Dan 7 and the transmission history of the theme itself debated (cf. footnote 63 on p. 35). Some consider mythological texts themselves as being responsible in a more or less direct way for the theme

of the stirred-up sea in Dan 7, while others perceive the Old Testament tradition, which itself was influenced by the language of Canaanite mythology, as closest source (cf. pp. 49–55).

Considering the strong emphasis which is placed on Canaanite mythological imagery in the formulation of the theme of the sea in Dan 7, it was only natural for one to inquire what insights iconographic sources from Palestine/Israel can give to this debate. It was therefore decided to study especially the theme of the weather god struggling with the chaos serpent. However, it was also felt that looking only at the weather god in this particular motif was too narrow an approach which did not allow it to be placed into a wider context. Therefore, the “complete” imagery associated with the weather god was surveyed. Furthermore, other chaos-sea related themes not associated with the weather god were also incorporated.

The survey of motifs (cf. pp. 147–156) characterised the weather god as having three main aspects: First, the weather god is a warrior god who overcomes life-threatening forces; second, he is associated with the celestial realm, and third, he is connected with the theme of fertility (cf. pp. 160,161). Thus the overall imagery associated with the weather god is dominated by a theme which is in very general terms also present in Dan 7 where anti-divine forces are ultimately defeated.

The broadened approach to the imagery of the weather god also revealed that although the weather god is a warrior, his main opponent is not the serpent. In fact, he is presented as fighting against several opponents. In the first place the weather god overcomes and dominates the lion, namely, in 68% of cases. Only 25% of depictions present him as fighting the serpent, while in 7% of cases *Mischwesen* are his opponents. Excluding the last group the ratio between lion and serpent is about 3:1. Thus, although the weather god is very often known as serpent-slayer, especially because this theme is also reflected in the Old Testament, within the iconographic corpus of the fighting weather god it is a subordinate role and should caution that he be associated primarily with the chaos sea.

In looking at the overall image of the weather god and comparing him in his role as serpent-slaying god, one will note that he appears twice as frequently in a celestial as well as a fertility-related context. Thus the struggle against the serpent is a subordinate role of the violent weather god and secondary in regard to his other typical aspects.

A particular characteristic of the serpent-slaying weather god is the combination of Asiatic and Egyptian features. This applies to details such as posture and weaponry but is also true in regard to his opponents. While the serpent is usually horned, thus indicating an eastern origin, the spearing of it is especially reminiscent of the Egyptian Apophis-snake. Thus the rationale for depicting the overcoming of the serpent was not necessarily that of illustrating a "canonical" mythological story as it is known from Ugarit. The free combination of elements from different backgrounds indicates rather that the serpent was symbol for every evil power wherever it made its manifestation and that it was not linked exclusively to a particular myth. This is underlined when the serpent and lion together are overcome in one scene. The message that was thereby conveyed had less to do with a very specific story than with indicating that the weather god's struggle is directed towards all life-threatening forces.

Not only does the serpent become a more general symbol for malevolent powers; the weather god also does not appear in a "canonical" form, but usually as the Canaanite-Egyptian hybrid god Baal-Seth. The people of old were less interested in presenting the hero of the "famous" literary work from Ugarit than an all-powerful warrior god, combining the forces of a Canaanite and Egyptian god. The same is achieved by the combination of Baal-Seth with the god Reshef in one scene. As masters over the lion and the horned animal – a combination of two animals symbolising all life-threatening forces – they conveyed the unquestionable superiority over any evil power.

Comparing the theme of the serpent-slaying weather god with other motifs which depict the overcoming of the chaos sea, one cannot fail to observe that the subjugation of the Egyptian equivalent of the chaos sea – the mythological crocodile – plays a far more important role, at

least according to number of objects. There are a great many depictions which show not only the royal-connoted lion as dominating the chaos crocodile, but also the Horus-type of hero subjugating it. In addition, the rising sun dispels the evils of darkness and chaos which are symbolised by the crocodile. In comparison with the number of contemporary depictions on which the crocodile and serpent are overcome, twice as many representations show the subjugation of the crocodile.⁹²⁷

Thus, from all the evidence taken together, the serpent-slaying weather god was rather a subordinate motif in comparison with other aspects of the weather god as well as other chaos-overcoming themes from Egyptian background. Furthermore, there is a tendency which indicates that the motif of the serpent-slaying weather god was not intended to convey the "canonical" mythological destruction of the chaos sea as known from Ugaritic texts but rather served as vehicle to depict an omnipotent warrior god taking on the very essence of evil and overcoming it (cf. also pp. 185-188).

One of the basic problems of linking Dan 7 with mythological texts such as those from Ugarit is a convincing transmission history or rather lack thereof (cf. footnote 63/6 on p. 35). Archaeological evidence such as seal-amulets can serve as important indicator for the relevance of a certain religious theme at a given time. Studying graph 2 on p. 173, which gives the chronological distribution of the motif of the serpent-slaying weather god, two different phases can be observed. The main phase covers the period from 1400 to the beginning of the 12th century, a second phase occurs from 1000-800.⁹²⁸ Interestingly enough the intermediate period between the two phases corresponds approximately with the apex of the motif of the overthrow of the mythological crocodile (cf. graph 4 on p. 180 and graph 5 on p. 184). Thus the first phase of the serpent-slaying motif concurs more or less with the texts from Ugarit while the second provides a link to the biblical tradition. As has been seen on pp. 487-490 there are

⁹²⁷ On the relationship between the Egyptian and Syro-Canaanite chaos imagery in glyptic art cf. also UEHLINGER

not only very close parallels between text and image for the motif of the serpent-slaying weather god but also reasons which allow the suggestion that there are topical parallels for the combination of the lion and serpent as symbol of life-threatening forces (cf. pp. 490,491). The lack of a significant iconographic tradition beyond the 9th century and its complete disappearance after the 7th century are crucial. When the weather god again makes his appearance in the 6th century he takes on the age-old role of the lion-vanquishing hero and continuous this function down to the Persian period. In this way the present iconographic evidence from Palestine/Israel supports those critics which point to a missing convincing extra-biblical literary tradition of the theme of the serpent-slaying Baal which would serve as link to the imagery of Dan 7.

With the iconographic results of the motif of the serpent-slaying weather god, the various points of contact with the Old Testament (cf. pp. 486-493), and the chronological distribution of the motif in mind, there remains to be established the relationship to Dan 7. According to the Canaanite school the Ugaritic chaos dragon is reflected in Dan 7 by the motif of the stirred-up sea and here in particular by the fourth beast. Comparing the imagery of these Danielic passages with the iconographic motif of the serpent-slaying weather god, one needs no longwinded explanations to note that there are hardly any parallels on the descriptive level. There is no stirred-up sea depicted on the iconographic motifs studied above and consequently no beasts coming out of it. In fact this is the very reason iconographic sources were never considered as possible background to Dan 7:2. In regard to the fourth beast, it is obvious that on the descriptive level there is hardly a parallel to the serpent as it appears on iconographic material (cf. fig. 521 = fig. 20 on p. 154, 131 on p. 276, 491 on p. 487, 510 on p. 503, 531 on p. 532). A single detail should however be mentioned, namely, that the iconographic serpent is often horned, a feature notable in the



Fig. 521

fourth beast. But since horns are not an exclusive feature of the chaos serpent, this similarity will hardly constitute an iconographic parallel, although it might indicate a common background of the concept of horns (cf. p. 539). When contrasting Dan 7 with the other Old Testament passages mentioned on pp. 487–490 there is on the purely descriptive level a significant difference. While some of the latter passages frequently agree with the iconographic counterpart in the minute details like the weaponry, nothing of this sort can be observed in Dan 7.

However, not only elements of a motif but also the constellation of elements and their relationship among each other belong to the descriptive level. Only the inter-connection of the different elements will provide a story. The motif of the weather god as serpent-slayer is characterised by a violent combat between two opponents one of which symbolically represents the chaos sea. When other Old Testament texts such as Isa 27:1 were compared above with the iconographic material, it was noted that there is a correspondence also on this level. The imagery is that of a violent combat whereby both opponents are mentioned and one is designated as the dragon of the sea. In contrast to this, Dan 7 does not mention any combat, particularly not with the expected “opponent”, namely, the “son of man”. Secondly, the fourth beast is not represented as a sea-related chaos monster, such as the chaos serpent or the crocodile. In Dan 7 the sea is an entity distinct from the beasts. Although the fourth beast comes from the sea as do all others, they are not equated with it. In fact, if there were not verses 2 and 3, nobody would have associated the beasts with the chaos sea at all. Its only role is to indicate the origin of the beasts. Thus, also on the level of constellations and relationships between the various elements of the iconographic motif, there is no correspondence to Dan 7.

Considering the lack of parallels on different levels, one would hardly argue that the iconographic motif of the weather god as serpent-slayer stood godfather to the formulation of

⁹²⁸ On the single cylinder seal from Gezer extending down to the 7th century cf. footnote 435 on p. 183.

the first part of the Danielic vision. That this is the case indicates not only the lack of iconographic correspondences but also harmonises with the fact that this motif levels out around 800 and is attested by only a single cylinder seal in the Assyrian period.

However, this situation is no reason to throw the baby out with the bathwater. Although the iconographic evidence does not allow considering it as *Vorlage* for Dan 7, nevertheless it can help to elucidate the meaning of the imagery of the Danielic sea. Considering the association with the theme of the sea on a more general level, one need not deny a common background. In fact, in studying the research history of the Canaanite school, the reader cannot help but notice that from an enthusiastic beginning the "pendulum of parallelism" has returned to considerably more modest statements. Thus, while COLLINS admitted that many details of the first part of the vision of Dan 7 are not derived from Ugaritic myths, as ardent advocate of the Canaanite school COLLINS still maintained that "there is a point of analogy, in so far as both [the Ugaritic *lm* and the fourth beast of Dan 7] are monsters associated with the sea and opposed to the good god in the story." On the other hand he showed objectivity when he added that "most scholars, however, see the analogy against a broader background. The primary enemy, both in Daniel and in the Canaanite myth, is the sea, Yamm" (1993b:288).

In fact the conceptual tension between the anti-divine/life-threatening evil associated with the sea and the ultimate victory of the good is common to the iconographic tradition and Dan 7. It was pointed out that the iconographic tradition of the motif of the serpent-slaying weather god exhibits not so much the intention slavishly to illustrate a kind of canonical version of the texts from Ugarit as to bring across the all-comprehensive evil of the sea as symbolised by the serpent, and the matchless superiority of the weather god. In fact this is also in agreement with the function of the seal-amulet, which was not a kind of picture book but a powerful means of providing protection and "positive energy" (KEEL 1995a:266). Thus when Dan 7 uses the imagery of the sea, it employs a widely-known metaphor which characterises the nature of the beasts on the basis of their origin. At the same time it is also a very powerful means to

underline the contrasts between evil and good, of below and above, and the cosmological⁹²⁹ dimension which underlies Dan 7.

Working on the basis that Dan 7 does not use the iconographic motif of the serpent-slaying weather god but employs only that of the sea, one senses no need to cling exclusively to the Asiatic iconographic depiction of the chaos sea. The idea that the life-threatening forces are ultimately doomed is also present



Fig. 522

when the Egyptian chaos crocodile is overcome (Figs. 522 = fig. 33 on p. 158, 496 on p. 492, 523 = fig. 29 on p. 157, 57 on p. 197, 497 on p. 492). As with the serpent-slayer motif, there are no parallels on the descriptive level



Fig. 523

but, common to all three imageries – that of the sea of Dan 7, the serpent-slaying weather god, and the subjugation of the crocodile – is the life-threatening/anti-divine nature of the sea. And as the serpent-slayer motif found its way into the Old Testament, so did the overcoming of the crocodile (cf. pp. 491–493). In fact the cross-cultural connections of the motif of the sea are visible not only in the motif of the weather god slaying the serpent but also in that of the “master of crocodiles”. In this motif an Asiatic aspect (the posture of the hero) is combined with an Egyptian element (the crocodile). Thus, what really mattered was not a pure iconographic canon but the desire to indicate that the life-threatening forces will ultimately be overcome. Moreover, this notion was not restricted to one specific region but was a common theme in the ancient Near East. Pointing out the Egyptian theme of the chaos sea it does not argue that it is linked to the Danielic sea. Rather the horizon was opened to other motifs which shared the common theme of a life-threatening sea. The same theme appears also in Dan 7 –

⁹²⁹ The cosmological dimension of the serpent/sea motif is also indicated, namely, when the serpent is associated with the lion which is very well reflected in Isa 11:7c–9a/65:25 (cf. above p. 490). For the cosmological dimension of the sea, cf. also Rev. 21:1. Notable also is that the weather god subduing the serpent is never depicted together with human beings, thereby indicating the superhuman level of the confrontation which is depicted. In contrast to this in fig. 27 on p. 156 the weather god appears in the sphere of a human being.

disassociated from the collateral imagery that appear in myths, iconographic representations, and Old Testament passages.

5.1.2. The lion

The winged lion of Dan 7:4 has provided a favourite motif about which Bible commentators could drop a word about ancient Near Eastern iconography. Unfortunately, the remarks are often very brief and without a real interest in enlightening the *conceptual* background. Most commentators point to the Mesopotamian winged *Mischwesen* as iconographic background (cf. pp. 61–64) and consider the topic with these references as exhausted. Interestingly enough, the inner-biblical comparisons of the same exegetes do not attempt to point out a winged lion, but some refer to passages mentioning only the lion and others only the eagle (cf. p. 58). Thus the two features are split in Old Testament comparisons. The reason for such a different approach is simple: the Old Testament does not speak of a plain winged lion. In fact the plain lion (i.e., a lion with a lion head, body, paws, tail, and no horns) with wings is a rarity in ancient Near Eastern iconography (cf. footnote 201/3 on p. 74 and fig. 34 on p. 189). Thus, when it is referred to Mesopotamian winged feline *Mischwesen* then it is ignored that these beings have often have talons, sometimes feathers instead of a tail, or the head of a bird of prey or a human, i.e., features which are not mentioned in Dan 7:4.⁹³⁰ It lies at hand, therefore, to consider the winged lion of Dan 7:4 not necessarily as a composite animal as it is found in Mesopotamian art, although this does not mean that the whole composition as winged predator is not inspired by Mesopotamian *Mischwesen* as they are mentioned above. What was suggested rather in the iconographic study is that the lion and the wings should be studied separately and that the *combined* concepts of the lion and the wings will provide a more accurate explanation of what

⁹³⁰ Of course it can be argued that the text of Dan 7 simply falls short of an accurate description and does not use the terminology which would be appropriate to designate what the visionary saw. Whatever speaks for or against such a position, what we have at hand is a text which should be taken seriously as it is and attempted to be harmonised with the conceptual world of the ancient Near East. Previously this was not done with the consequence that a reinterpretation of the given wording is premature.

the first beast in Dan 7:4 wants to convey in terms of meaning and message (cf. p. 190). Thus the approach suggested here places stronger emphasis on *the understanding of the concepts* which are expressed by the winged lion as it appears in Dan 7 than on *pointing out an iconographic Vorlage*. Another reason for studying the two features independently of each other is the function of the lion in the Danielic vision, namely, that it represents a king(dom) (cf. 7:17,23). Such an equation of the lion is a typically Egyptian and not a Mesopotamian *iconographic motif* (CORNELIUS 1989:59).⁹³¹ In fact on the conceptual level it does not make sense to equate the Mesopotamian winged composite beings with a king(dom). This is simply not what these beings stood for. And with this remark it also becomes obvious that too hasty references to descriptively similar beings not only lack an accurate differentiation of what is said in the text and what is in fact represented but also an attempt to ask what the concept behind these threatening Mesopotamian composite beings really is and how this fits into the biblical text. Although the study of the wings will indicate that the Mesopotamian connections is not altogether wrong, a more differentiating approach might be not only more correct but also more rewarding in terms of results. Thus, what is suggested is that not a specific icon disassociated from its concept should be considered as having had an influence on the Danielic lion, but rather that the concepts associated with iconographic material be used to help in the understanding of the underlying imagery of the Danielic lion.

With the remark that the king is represented in Egyptian iconography as lion, the key word is provided to summarise briefly the findings of the relevant iconographic motifs and set these results together with Old Testament points of contact in relation to the Danielic lion. When the iconographic lion represents the king, the opponents are the human, the horned animal, and the crocodile (cf. pp. 219–240). The human represents nations over which the lion/pharaoh

⁹³¹ This observation will therefore naturally demand study of the motif of the lion as it appears on Egyptian objects of art which overlaps with the design of this work to concentrate on the iconographic imagery from Palestine/Israel and not that of Mesopotamia.

exerts his glorious domination (Fig. 524 = fig. 499 on p. 494). In this sense the conceptual meaning of this particular motif is very close to the Danielic lion where the “mightiest among beasts” (Pro 30:30)⁹³² represents also the



Fig. 524

unequaled dominion of a king. This concept seems at first sight removed from the motif of the lion subduing the crocodile (cf. fig. 523 on p. 524) since the king is now set in relationship with a mythological opponent and not with a political entity. However, the statement in Eze 32:2 indicates that the full force of the concept of the “lion among the nations” is also present in a context alluding to the mythological crocodile (cf. p. 492). In regard to the horned animal as victim of the lion (Fig. 525 = fig. 292 on p. 352), some ambiguity was noted



Fig. 525

in the iconographic study. The horned animal can refer to pharaoh’s political dominion but it can also encompass his control of the mythological life-threatening forces (cf. p. 391).

What transpires from the motif of the lion is the very significant concept that this predator represents a political entity as does the Danielic lion. But it should not be overlooked that the lion as symbol for the king is associated also with the supernatural realm. This aspect is noteworthy in so far as the vision of Dan 7 is ultimately not restricted to only a historical perspective but is set also into the cosmological arena. The historical events of the vision of Dan 7 are only part of a more comprehensive struggle on a higher plane. Thus the Danielic lion emerges from the sea (7:3) and finds its ultimate demise by the judgement of the “Ancient of days” (7:12). In this sense the iconographic motif of the lion as king is able to convey more than purely political ambitions.

While surveying points of contact between the Old Testament and the iconographic motif of the attacking lion as symbol for the dominion of the king, it was noted that this theme is

⁹³² Notable in Prov 30:29–31 is the fourth item of the x/x + 1 formula where the emphasis is laid on the striding king: “Three things are stately in their tread; four are stately in their stride: the lion, which is mightiest among beasts and does not turn back before any; the strutting cock, the he-goat, and a king striding before his people.”

reflected in different variations in the biblical text (cf. pp. 494–497). Thus the lion was also equated with the judging God. The Late Bronze iconographic imagery of the roaring lion with a wide-open mouth is reminiscent of the existential distress caused by the attacks of the ungodly as described in the Psalms. The glorious royal lion even descends to the level of a disgraceful predator that attacks his own people.

Studying the chronological distribution of the iconographic motif of the attacking lion (cf. graphs 6–8 on pp. 224,236,240) in correlation with the biblical texts dealing with a similar theme will show that the iconographic motifs which equate the lion with the Egyptian king break off at the end of the 10th century. Only the motif of the lion attacking a horned animal survived and, in fact, flourished down to the 4th century. That the lion in this later phase symbolised the Egyptian king is less likely, however. The style, the iconographic composition, and the media on which the motif appears indicate a clear disassociation from its Egyptian predecessor (Fig. 526). Possibly the lion was simply regarded as a general symbol of might. Who the mediator of this



Fig. 526

victorious power was cannot be answered conclusively. But it cannot be excluded that it was also equated in an *Interpretatio judaica* with the royal lion of Judah (cf. p. 498). Thus, while the typical Egyptian motif of the king as lion levelled out at the end of the 10th century, the biblical texts from the 8th–6th century which compare the king to a lion certainly do not reflect only extra-biblical literary traditions⁹³³ which equated the king with a lion – these biblical texts also testify of the continuation of the motif of the royal lion as it is known from iconographic sources in Palestine/Israel itself. This tradition was preserved in a particular fashion for centuries after the original motif fell out of use and even recalled almost four centuries later the glorious Egyptian “lion among the nations” (Eze 32:2). Thus it certainly contributed also to the imagery of the Danielic lion as symbol for the king.

A significant feature of the iconographic lion as symbol for the king is that “the lion is always victor, never the vanquished” (TUFNELL 1984:134). It is important to note that this absolute qualification does not apply to the Danielic lion, however. In one sense, the Danielic lion represents the glorious domination of the king, but at the same time this threatening lion is characterised as being changed (7:4b) and finally as being overcome (7:12). The Danielic lion is not only a symbol for a king(dom) but also for a power which is ultimately set in contrast to the eternal kingdom of the “son of man”. Thus the Danielic lion is not merely a symbol for a political entity. Its origin from the sea and its demise by the “Ancient of days” indicates that it wants to convey aspects which transcend the purely historical level. The water of the sea from which it comes still sticks to it and betrays its anti-divine nature, so to speak. In this regard it is important to note that especially iconographic sources convey also the life-threatening properties of the lion on a supernatural and history-transcending level, although also the Old Testament testifies of this concept of the lion (cf. pp. 499,501). While the subdued lion is equated with the enemies of the king (cf. pp. 249–257) which have little to do with the supernatural realm,⁹³⁴ the overwhelmed lion does represent also a life-threatening force which is primarily overcome or mastered by a deity (Fig. 527 = fig. 24 on p. 155, 60 on p. 199, 390 on p. 378; cf. also cat. nos. 117–135 on pp. 241–248 and cat. nos. 175–181 on pp. 258,259 and cat. nos. 193–195 on p. 261). Significant in regard to the Danielic lion and the setting of the



Fig. 527

vision is the fact that this particular perception of the lion was not restricted to the second millennium but experienced a revival in the 6th century which continued down to the end of the 4th century (cf. graph 9 on p. 248 and graph 11 on p. 263). Thus especially in the post-exilic period the lion was associated also with a life-threatening force of a supernatural type which

⁹³³ For literary sources comparing Egyptian and Mesopotamian kings to lions cf. CORNELIUS 1989:59, footnotes 23,24.

⁹³⁴ Cf. however p. 391 on possible hints on a more comprehensive domination of the king in some of these depictions.

needed to be overcome by a deity. Even when the Persian king usurped the prerogative of the divine “mistress/master of lions” (Fig. 528 = fig. 83 on p. 204; cf. also cat. nos. 182,184–192 on pp. 259,260) this only underlines the supernatural power which was attributed to that ruler



Fig. 528

(cf. p. 256 with footnote 548). Thus, looking at the iconography of the lion in Palestine/Israel it was no contradiction to present the lion as symbol of a political power but at the same time indicate that this animal stands for a anti-divine force which needs to be overcome.

A second feature of the lion needs to be addressed in connection of the overwhelming of the lion, namely, the remark that the lion “was lifted up from the ground and made to stand upon two feet like a man” (Dan 7:4). It will not escape the careful observer that the rampant posture of the lion is not an autochthon element of the iconography of Palestine/Israel but is a heritage of Mesopotamia iconography (cf. also footnote 153 on p. 64). The attacking rampant lion appears once in the catalogue of this study on a late Bronze cylinder seal at Beth-Shean (cat. no. 101 on p. 230). More interesting in connection with the study of the Danielic lion are the representations of the attacked rampant lion. They are attested to first by the royal Assyrian seal from Samaria at the end of the 8th century, then on a scarab from

Ashkelon from the end of the 6th–4th century which is unique in so far as the subjugator is not identifiable as king, and finally on numerous coins where the Persian king is overcoming the lion (Fig. 529) (cat. nos. 165,167–171 on



Fig. 529

pp. 254,255). With the same posture the lion is depicted three times without an opponent (cat. nos. 196–198 on p. 264). In comparing these representations with the Danielic lion, one cannot fail to notice that the change from the striding royal lion symbolising the glorious domination of the king to an upright posture does not indicate only that it received human-like features, but that the nature of the aggressive lion changed into that of the overwhelmed rampant lion. Thus, the author did not only use the literary comparison to a human but also hinted at a very popular iconographic theme when he wanted to indicate the change of the

nature of the Danielic lion. The imagery which brought to mind first of all the glorious domination of the king was changed into that which conveyed the message that it will ultimately be defeated by a superior power (cf. also Dan 4:19–23). A last remark on the historical level is in order: since the Persian king is represented very frequently as the victor over the rampant lion, one cannot escape the temptation to consider this particular imagery as a forceful hint at the defeat of the Babylonians by the succeeding Persian empire.

5.1.3. The wings

The wings mentioned in the vision of Dan 7 were never studied against the iconographic imagery of the ancient Near East. They were referred to in connection with winged composite beings from Mesopotamia, but what this attribute signifies in the iconographic world was never an real issue in the interpretation of the winged lion of Dan 7. Two reasons make it necessary for this study to take a closer look at the wings as such: First, the proposed study of only the motif of the lion demands separate investigation of the motif of the wings (cf. p. 190). Second, the conceptual approach which was emphasised above requires dealing with what wings conveyed in the iconographic repertoire of Palestine/Israel.

On the basis of a survey of motifs it was established that wings can symbolise different aspects quite a number of which have no significance for the winged lion of Dan 7. This applies to the very dominant theme of protection which is indicated by wings but also to the notion that a winged being is a heavenly being (cf. p. 309). Mesopotamian demons and monsters are not infrequently equipped with wings. Since the winged lion is a threatening beast, it lies at hand to seek a connection in this direction. However, it has to be pointed out that many of these Mesopotamian *Mischwesen* had an apotropaic function and are therefore not related to the winged Danielic lion. Thus again it was felt that not only descriptive features need to be considered but also that the conceptual background should harmonise with the winged lion of Dan 7. Therefore a narrowed-down definition of what should be looked for would consider

wings which are associated with destructive, negative, and life-threatening forces, i.e., values which are related to a predator which emerges from the sea and is finally eliminated by a supernatural being.

Cataloguing of depictions on the basis of such criteria results in the following concepts which are associated with wings: they can reflect the imagery of a fierce attack of a bird of prey, the struggle of winged beings against an opponent which often has a cosmological dimension, and sometimes underlining the demonic nature of a being (cf. pp. 334,335). In a comparison of the biblical tradition and the winged lion of Dan 7 in particular with the iconographic depictions of the catalogue, the following common themes can be observed: First, the basic notion which is underlying the wing is related to the fierce attack of a bird of prey. While the Old Testament mentions in this regard the eagle and the vulture (cf. pp. 502,503), the

iconographic representations of the same concept orientate themselves around the griffin, i.e., a composite being blending the features of a lion and a bird of prey/vulture (Fig. 530 = fig. 185 on p. 293, 340 on p. 365,



Fig. 530

507 on p. 502). Particularly interesting in this regard is Jer 49:19,22 which parallels the attacking lion and eagle. In comparing the Old Testament texts with the winged lion of Dan 7, it will be observed that the former always describe a violent attack while nothing of that sort is mentioned in Dan 7. The use of dynamic and static imagery is also seen on

iconographic sources. On the one hand, we have depictions which show the violent attack of the griffin. But when Baal-Seth spears the horned chaos serpent, then the wings play only a supporting role (Fig. 531 = fig. 20 on p. 154,

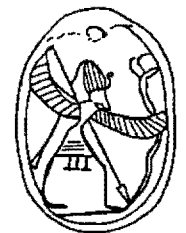


Fig. 531

131 on p. 276, 491 on p. 487, 510 on p. 503, 521 on p. 521). The destruction is done by Baal-Seth with a weapon, not by a bird of prey. Nevertheless, the wings remind one in the context of a violent attack of the aggressive properties of a bird of prey when wings are attached to the weather god.



Fig. 532

Almost static is the winged Baal-Seth as he stands on a lion (Fig. 532 = fig. 26 on p. 156, 132

on p. 278, 376 on p. 374). Though no action at all is represented, the combination of certain elements evoke an aura of comprehensive power (cf. pp. 247,314), a notion which is substantiated by wings of a dangerous bird. Likewise the representation of the winged lion of Dan 7:4 is reduced to a descriptive statement that the first beast "was like a lion and had eagles' wings". Nothing is said about any action of the winged lion (only when the wings are plucked off does the imagery become dynamic). Obviously the reference to the origin from the sea and the very symbol of the lion in connection with wings of a bird of prey conveyed likewise a message of "omnipotence".

An important difference between the mentioned Old Testament passages and Dan 7:4 is that the former never merge the lion and the bird of prey/vulture into a composite being while the latter is presented as one being with both features. This is a clear indicator that the nature of an aggressive composite being points to a source other than the Old Testament. Obviously iconographic representations had a significant influence in regard to this particular feature. However, the author of the vision of Dan 7 did not describe a particular *Mischwesen*. He simply employed the concept of the composite being and retained biblical terminology by mentioning the lion and the eagle's wings. A possible reason for such a procedure was that in this way the symbolism of the lion as king(dom) was retained. Furthermore, by the use of biblical terms cross-links could be established within the Old Testament, a possibility which would have been eliminated had a particular expression of a composite being been employed. On the other hand, the introduction of the concept of a composite being enriched the imagery and meaning considerably. First of all the concept of a dangerous composite being directed the focus towards Mesopotamia, a fact on which basically almost all commentators agree. Therefore it does not surprise one that the majority of depictions in the catalogue in the section on wings stems from the East (cf. pp. 312-331). As this foreign influence is only in a limited way represented in Palestine/Israel, it follows that a particular study of the iconographic repertoire in Mesopotamia would be necessary to establish a wider meaning for the imagery of the wings.

Nevertheless, some basic concepts are also deducible from the iconography at hand. Thus, next to the concept of an aggressive attack, wings very often transpose this struggle to a higher sphere. While there are representations of aggressive griffins or demons which involve the earthly sphere by depicting a human or symbols which ensure individual human existence, there are significantly more depictions of winged beings which alluded to a struggle on a higher plane (Fig. 533 = fig. 184 on p. 292, 508 on p. 502). Typical for these motifs is the absence of



Fig. 533

human beings who are saved by a deity or who worship the latter. Rather, a divine hero or sometimes also a king associated with supernatural power and dominion confront evil on a cosmological level. Wings as such often signify the association with the celestial sphere but the point to be made here is that wings in a contest between two opponents in the absence of rescued human beings or human worshippers indicate a cosmological struggle. Therefore either the hero or the evil opponent can be winged.

Wings can also indicate the demonic nature of a being. This is particularly evident when the sphere lacks identification by the absence of celestial bodies as being of cosmological nature. The aspect of a demonic nature and a struggle on a cosmological level often overlap, particularly when the king is overwhelming threatening winged theriomorph *Mischwesen* (Fig. 534 = fig. 189 on p. 294, 401 on p. 381, 509 on p. 502) and demons.

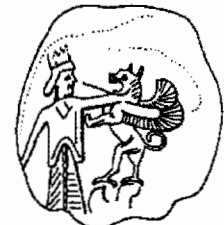


Fig. 534

Coming back to Dan 7, one can hardly argue that the author had in mind nothing more than underlining the aggressive nature of the winged lion or pointing to Mesopotamia as a kind of interpretational hint. Obviously the winged lion represents certain concepts which are associated with composite beings. Considering that the winged lion emerges from the sea – the latter a symbol *par excellence* which can be associated with the cosmological struggle between good and evil – and the second part of the vision which unambiguously introduces a dimension which is clearly above plain earthly history and alluding to an ultimate spiritual struggle, it

would be difficult to deny the winged lion a role on that level as well. In other words, the winged lion symbolises not only a pure historical dimension but sets earthly history into the wider context of a cosmological conflict.

A last feature of the Danielic lion needs to be considered, namely, the plucking off of the wings. On the basis of the forgoing discussion on the lion and the wings, this act goes hand in hand with the change into a rampant position. Obviously the aggression, expressed by the wings, will be taken from the first beast and therefore it is brought into a rampant position, i.e., it is taking on the role of a beast destined to be ultimately overwhelmed. Secondly, when the wings are considered to have also a certain demonic connotation, it would not be too farfetched to interpret their removal as a reference to Dan 4:29–34 where the insane king Nebuchadnezzar experiences healing from his desolation of mind and acknowledges that the Most High is the ultimate ruler of the cosmos.

5.1.4. The horns

The approach to the iconography of the fourth beast is indicative of the aim of this study. This work is less interested in identifying the fourth beast or pointing to a possible iconographic *Vorlage* than in enlightening the underlying imagery as it was perceived in the ancient Near East on the basis of iconographic material. Such an undertaking can produce meaningful results only when the primary or natural subject matter is clearly defined.⁹³⁵ This is hampered seriously in the case of the fourth beast because it is not identified zoologically. The response to this fact ranges from an attempt at a straightforward zoological identification by way of an *a priori* historical interpretation (cf. pp. 73,74) to the position that the fourth beast is not intended to be identified at all (cf. e.g. 201/6 on p. 74). Others see in it only a general reflection of a mythical chaos-monster (cf. p. 34). Whatever position one takes in regard to the zoological

⁹³⁵ For a summary of the methodology of iconographic interpretation as defined by E. PANOFSKY, e.g., cf. EGGLER 1992:23–28 and KEEL 1992a:267–273.

identity of the fourth beast, there is common agreement that one feature of the fourth beast is of utmost importance, namely, its horns. Not surprisingly the main interest in the horns is their historical identification. Little iconographic work has been done in regard to the symbolism, which is conveyed by the general motif of the horns. Although general statements are found in almost every commentary, a detailed study on the iconographic motif of the horns in relation to Dan 7 has not been done so far. This study is an attempt to close this gap. It is hoped that in the light of ancient Near Eastern iconography another avenue will be opened to understanding the nature of the fourth beast when the symbolism which is conveyed by its horns is studied more closely.

In ancient Near Eastern iconography horns are generally not depicted alone but in association with an object or being, very often simply with the animal to which they naturally belong.⁹³⁶ Thus mention of horns in iconography means in many cases looking at horned animals – bovine or non-bovine. Among the themes which were identified in the survey of motifs, some had no relationship with the monstrous horned beast of Dan 7. This was especially the case when the horn appeared in the context of fertility and life. The horns of the fourth beast are associated with concepts of a different nature. According to Dan 7:22,23 the ten horns symbolise on the one hand kingdoms, while on the other hand in the case of the little horn of Dan 7:8 the notion of an evil, life-threatening, anti-divine force which is ultimately destroyed by divine authority comes into focus.

The horned animal in the wider sense of the word – including the bovine as well as non-bovine animal – as symbol for a political power found two main expressions in the iconography of Palestine/Israel. During the second half of the second millennium the bull symbolising the Egyptian king appeared on scarab



Fig. 535

designs (Fig. 535 = fig. 336 on p. 364; cf. also cat. nos. 366–368 on p. 421). In comparison with

⁹³⁶ In a similar fashion in the Old Testament horns by themselves or horned animals can represent the same thing.

the Syro-Palestinian bull representations, the Egyptian bull does not emphasise the horns but rather the aspect of trampling on or running over a human. As has been noted the Old Testament used in a similar way the imagery of the bull as symbol for political leaders even though the horns are not particularly mentioned (Psa 68:30; Isa 10:13, 34:7; Jer 50:27; Eze 39:18). Unfortunately these iconographic images are too far removed from the setting in which Dan 7 is placed.

Much more promising are depictions of striding ibexes as they appear on bone seals and scaraboids dated to a time range from 945–600 (Fig. 536 = fig. 517 on p. 508; cf. also cat. nos. 355,356 on p. 416). In connection with a cartouche



Fig. 536

or a *nb*-sign they convey the notion of political power.⁹³⁷ Noteworthy are the unusually big horns of these animals. While there are a number of passages in the Old Testament equating the horn with royal power which do not specify the type of horn (1 Sa 2:10; 1 Ki 22:11/2 Chr 18:10; Psa 89:24,132:17), there are others which not only compare political leaders with the ram (Isa 14:9; Zec 10:3) but expressly with the horns of rams (Eze 34:11,21; Dan 8:3–9,20,21). Thus in comparison to the bull, the non-bovine horned animal as symbol for a political power is not only closer in time to the literary setting of Dan 7, but can also be connected with other biblical texts which specifically mention the horn of the ram and he-goat as symbols of political entities. Interestingly enough both biblical books from which these passages come have a Babylonian setting as does the vision of Dan 7. Thus based on iconographic as well as inner-biblical evidence, it is much more likely that the ten horns of the fourth beast symbolising kingdoms are non-bovine horns than those of a bull.⁹³⁸

Thus in Zec 1:19 only horns symbolise nations while in Dan 8:21–23 the he-goat and the ram as well as their horns stand for a king(dom).

⁹³⁷ It should be noted that the concept of power in connection of the non-bovine horned animal has antecedents as early as in second-millennium Egyptian which influenced iconography (cf. pp. 339 and 343). Furthermore, as subjugated victim of the pharaoh's power, the horned animal has possibly also political connotations (cf. cat. nos. 259–276 on pp. 385–387, 290–301,306–311 on pp. 394–397, and 329–333 on p. 404).

⁹³⁸ It will be noted that the multiple horns of the "smiting goddess" (cf. cat. nos. 376,377 on p. 426) which invariably remind one of the multiple horns of the fourth beast are bull horns. On the other hand, in terms of concept, the "smiting goddess" has nothing to do with what the ten horns of the fourth beast stand for. Thus we can notice

The second aspect of the horn as noted in the little horn of Dan 7 which associates it with a struggle on the supernatural level also is most likely connected with the non-bovine horned animal. Although there are depictions of the aggressive mythological bull attacking the lion which indicates a struggle on the supernatural level, the few depictions which show both opponents are restricted to 1200–900.

Much more convincingly can the theme of a life-threatening, anti-divine force in the context of a cosmic struggle between good and evil be connected with non-bovine horned animals. Although it cannot entirely be excluded that the horned animal was also partially perceived by the beholder as symbol of an evil, life-threatening force on the supernatural level in depictions where the pharaoh displays his glorious domination in hunting and battle scenes (cf. cat. nos. 259–276 on pp. 385–387) or as attacking lion⁹³⁹ (cf. cat. nos. 290–301, 306–311 on pp. 394–397 and cat. nos. 329–333 on p. 404), it is less likely that they would be connected with the little horn of Dan 7. Not only is the aspect of a political opponent most likely in the foreground, but these motifs terminate at the end of the 10th century. But the underlying concept that the non-bovine horned animal is a symbol for life-threatening forces is common to

Egyptian as well as Asiatic thought. Of particular interest in this regard are Asiatic depictions where a deity or divine hero subdues a lone rampant horned animal (Fig. 537 = fig. 224 on p. 302, 302 on p. 356, 514 on p. 505)



Fig. 537

or where the horned appears in a “master of animals” constellation (cf. also cat. nos. 278–284, 286–288 on pp. 388–390, cat. nos. 326, 328 on pp. 400, 401, cat. nos. 341–346, 349, 351–353, on pp. 410–412). These motifs do not involve a royal figure but a deity or divine hero, thus underlining the supernatural struggle against the malevolent nature of the horned animal. In

only that there is a certain similarity in form between text and image but not of content in regard to these warrior goddesses.

⁹³⁹ Considering that version of the motif of the lion attacking a horned animal which shows little Egyptian influence (cat. nos. 312–325 on pp. 398–400) it is less likely that the horned represented political enemies. Probably what was intended was rather the general meaning as a life-threatening force. Thus looking at the development of this

studying the chronological distribution it will be noted that the motif of the divine hero struggling with a rampant horned animal ranges in a first phase from the 16th–13th century (cf. graph 19 on p. 403). That of the “*master of horned animals*” occurs mainly from the 12th–10th century; when the asymmetrical motif type involving a lion and a horned animal is added to the count, then down to the 9th century. In a second phase the divine hero struggling with a rampant horned animal appears again in the 9th century through to the 6th century. Thus we can speak of a continuous representation of the horned animal as symbol of an evil life-threatening force which is overcome by a divine being down to the beginning of the post-exilic period. That this negative, demonic perception of the horned animal is reflected in the Old Testament therefore is not surprising. Mentioned above in this regard were the goat demon and the goat for Azazel as conceptual points of contact with the Old Testament (cf. p. 505).

Tying in with this concept is the fact that horned dragons, monsters, and demons also appear within the theme of the combat of life-threatening forces in a supernatural sphere (Fig. 538 = fig. 237 on p. 308, 398 on p. 381; cf. also cat. nos. 378–380, 385–387 on pp. 429, 431)



Fig. 538

Thus, when considering the iconographic as well as biblical evidence, there are good reasons to believe that according to ancient Near Eastern perception the little horn in Dan 7 is ultimately related to the supernatural struggle between good and evil. Thus, although this chapter deals with political history, it is couched ultimately in a cosmological arena (the evil sea below, the righteous “Ancient of days” above). Even within Dan 7:8 the two dimensions are not only textually referred to but also iconographically explainable. While the ten horns are basically political entities, the little horn clearly widens the perspective to a spiritual struggle of

motif apart from direct Egyptian influence, one cannot exclude the conclusion that this meaning was not perceived in earlier periods to some extent.

dimensions which transcend pure political history as it not only attacks the קדישי עליונין but also challenges the divine order (Dan 7:25).

With the last remark a third aspect of the horn needs to be mentioned, namely, that it can indicate in ancient Near Eastern iconography a deity. In fact this function of the horn is the best known and most frequently cited one. In this regard it should be noted that the little horn of Dan 7 is not only opposing God (Dan 7:25a.b); when it changes “the times and the law” (Dan 7:25c), it also usurps divine authority. When the iconographic repertoire in regard to horned deities was surveyed in the iconographic study, it was noted that it is a very general symbol for a deity which indicates more the divine nature than a specific function (cf. p. 384). Nevertheless those horned deities with threatening or power–displaying poses or attributes were studied more closely in order to be able to verify a particular pattern which would associate the divine horn with an aggressive nature similar to that of the fourth beast. The results of this investigation were of a mixed nature (cf. pp. 426,427). Although a number of these deities are engaged in a violent struggle with life–threatening forces others are not. Secondly, similar types of motifs depict an aggressive deity, once with horns and another time without (cf. cat. no. 373 on p. 425 with cat. no. 22 on p. 170 and cat. no. 370 on p. 424 with cat. nos. 117,120 on pp. 241,242). Thus a particular pattern cannot be established.

This corresponds with the biblical parallels where God is associated with horns. God with horns can but must not be associated with a violent nature (cf. pp. 510,511). On the other hand it cannot be denied that the multiple horns of the “smiting goddess” as a typical warrior deity underline her aggressive nature (Fig. 539 = fig. 393 on p. 378). However, this very particular case should not mislead in the judgement that overall considered the horn is not generally



Fig. 539

associated with the notion of “aggression” or “power” but functions simply as indicator of the divine nature of a being. Thus in considering the nature of the confrontation between the little

horn and the Most High and the function of the horn as symbol for a deity, it does not seem too farfetched to assume that with the imagery of the ancient Near East in mind the little horn could also have been understood as indicating a claim for divine authority. In this sense this *single* horn which is so different from the ten others can not be regarded only as acting as opposing force of God but also as demanding the prerogatives of the divine μονοκέρωτος (LXX) "unicorn" (cf. Num 23:22; 24:8 and 2 Sa 22:3//Psa 18:2).

5.1.5. The enthroned

When one looks at the attempts to link iconographic material with the second part of the vision it will be noted not only that the results are meagre but that basically only descriptive parallels were made (cf. pp. 131–135). It was pointed out several times that in a too one-sided comparison of descriptive details without an attempt to establish a common conceptual background there is a danger of its becoming a demeaning exercise to play around with images without contributing any significant results. With this statement it is not stated that specific details cannot be important even when there is no common conceptual background; nevertheless they have to be integrated into a wider framework of ancient Near Eastern perception and accordingly explained.

In regard to the second part of the vision of Dan 7 the most promising imagery-complex, namely, that associated with the enthroned, will be used to see how far the iconographic world can help us to understand this part of the vision better. On the conceptual level the iconographic study revealed that there exists in the iconographic repertoire of Palestine/Israel basically no parallel to the judgement scene of Dan 7. Except for one cylinder seal (**Fig. 540** = fig. 472 on p. 460, 518



Fig. 540

on p. 512) there is no depiction which would represent an enthroned deity in the context of a judgement on a cosmic level involving the punishment of a life-threatening force. What can be deduced from this fact? It can be argued that there was simply no interest in depicting this kind

of theme. While this is true for the iconography of Palestine/Israel, the single cylinder seal from Gezer suggests that in Mesopotamia at least this topic was not unknown. In fact Mesopotamian glyptic has very famous motifs which conceptually match the judgement scene of Dan 7 to a considerable degree. Referred to is the presentation

of a bird demon before the enthroned god Ea (Fig. 541) and of a lion demon before the enthroned god Shamash (Fig. 542) in



Fig. 541

order that he might pronounce judgement on them. It is of course another matter to establish a connection between these Akkadian motifs from the end of the third millennium and Dan 7.⁹⁴⁰ Such an undertaking is beyond the scope of this study.



Fig. 542

Nevertheless it is noteworthy that there are indications that in principle the basic concept here under discussion had an iconographic expression in Mesopotamia while in Palestine/Israel this theme is reflected in neither the iconographic repertoire nor in biblical literature.⁹⁴¹ Coming back to the introductory remarks in this section we have to acknowledge that the iconography of Palestine/Israel cannot enlighten the conceptual background of the judgement scene of Dan 7. On the other hand this investigation also indicated the possibility that a thorough study of Mesopotamian judgement scenes in text and art might clarify whether the judgement scene in Dan 7 is unique or draws on concepts from a region which is the setting of Dan 7.

What can be said about descriptive details of the judgement scene? It was suggested on p. 468 that the reference to the "white hair" in connection with the designation "Ancient of days" can be understood as an expression of dignity, authority, and seniority. If such an aspect is conceived as plausible, an iconographic means to express such attributes of a deity – which is

⁹⁴⁰ On the disputed literary connection of the myth of the Zu-bird who challenged the supreme cosmic authority and stole the tablets of destiny (text: SPEISER 1969d) with the presentation of the bird-man to Ea which would provide a link to the New Assyrian period, see GREEN 1994:249 § 3.2; WIGGERMANN 1994:223.

⁹⁴¹ As has been seen above (cf. p. 512) biblical texts which mention the enthroned God in connection with the judgement is rare. Furthermore the judgement is on the individual wicked person or a nation. In case of Psa

also close to the concept of “white hair”– would be the representation of the enthroned with a beard.

In studying the depictions from Palestine/Israel of bearded enthroned gods in the catalogue on pp. 471–479 three main periods were distinguished: (1) 1550–1000; (2) 800–600; (3) 500–300 (cf. graph 27 on p. 479). The only two Egyptian enthroned gods with beards in the whole catalogue belong to the first period, namely, Ptah and Amun. The other four deities of the second millennium are all Syro–Canaanite. Three of the latter belong typologically to a group of 15 bronze casts of a seated deity who are generally classified as the El-type of god. If this designation is correct then we would have the rather surprising fact that only 20% of these figurines are bearded as the classical El-depiction from Ras Shamra (PRITCHARD 1969a: no. 493) shows. While only the second millennium depictions of the enthroned from Palestine/Israel cannot suffice to make a judgement on the iconographic typology of El, they do likewise not provide such information which would allow to make a clear-cut identification of these bronze casts with El. On the other hand the identification with the weather god as it was suggested is hampered by the fact that the iconographic typology of Baal between 1500–1000 (cf. CORNELIUS 1994) does not know of a seated weather god. Thus, leaving the question on the identity open, what can be said about the nature of the bearded enthroned of the first period? Finding an answer to this question is hampered by the fact that 3 out of 6 representations are figurines, thus not providing an iconographic context. It is significant, however, that only during the period from 1550–1000 does the bearded enthroned hold a sceptre (Fig. 543 = fig. 483 on p. 463). We can therefore characterise this type of enthroned as being associated with the imagery of a ruler. A second significant feature is that when an iconographic context is provided the domineering



Fig. 543

9:4,7, verse 8 indicates at least a universal perspective although this is still different from the cosmic dimension, which is involved in Dan 7.

enthroned god is set into relationship with humans who worship him in a manner befitting his status as just described (Fig. 544 = fig. 395 on p. 380, 461 on p. 457).



Fig. 544

The depictions from the 8th–7th centuries are not many (at least in Palestine/Israel) but very significant and of a nature entirely different from that of the first period. Notable is that they have features which create a *Vorstellungswelt* ("imagination") which is the closest to what is described in Dan 7. First, the scenery has nothing to do with the human sphere as in the previous period. There is no contrast between the supreme god and the homage-paying human worshipper. There is no evidence of an attempt to indicate the domineering power by means of a sceptre. This time the location of the imagery is in the heavenly sphere, which of course recalls what is described in Dan 7 about the "Ancient of days".

Particularly interesting are those depictions which show the moon god or the lunar El as emerging from the gate of heaven to enlighten the earthly sphere with divine light (Fig. 545). In a similar manner the "Ancient of days" makes his appearance after a rather "dark" imagery which prevailed in the sphere below. It is not suggested that we should compare the throne scenes of 8th–



Fig. 545

7th centuries depictions with that of Dan 7 in the attempt to find a linking iconographic *Vorlage*. What should be emphasised is only that both the author of Dan 7 and the seal-cutters from the 8th–7th centuries operated with a similar *Vorstellungswelt* when they described or depicted the bearded enthroned. Noteworthy in this regard is the concluding remark of THEUER in her recent dissertation on the moon god when she points out that the iconographic evidence suggests "dass der höchste Gott Judas in der ausgehenden Königszeit als lunare Gottheit vorgestellt wurde bzw. lunare Züge übertragen bekam" (1997:458). Thus the fact that the supreme God in Dan 7 in a vision the setting of which is placed into the 6th century shows affinities to a *Gottesvorstellung* which was prevailing in Judah during the 7th century should not

surprise one. One additional iconographic feature should be mentioned, namely, that the celestial sphere is characterised by means of trees (Fig. 546 = fig. 229 on p. 305, 300 on p. 355, 467/459) and the 'nh-sign (cf. cat. no. 398 on p. 473) as a sign of life. Although



Fig. 546

this point should not be pressed to the extreme, the emphasis on the source of life and light also implies the existence of the opposite. While the negative aspect is not represented on the iconographic imagery of the second period, it is clearly described in all its detail in the vision of Dan 7. Thus in regard to Dan 7 we cannot speak only of a contrast between below and above, between limited anti-divine rule and eternal divine dominion, but also of the contrast between the dark and chaotic life-threatening forces and the bright heavenly glory of the "Ancient of days" who is not only the guarantor of true dominion but also the true source of life, a fact which is clearly expressed by the theme of judgement and by the terrible end of the fourth beast which is "slain, and its body destroyed and given over to be burned with fire" (Dan 7:11).

The conceptual similarity of the imagery from the 8th–7th centuries to Dan 7 is even more underlined when it is contrasted not only with the concept of the bearded enthroned of the second millennium but also with that of the Persian period where he appears as a fatherly god fondling his beard (Fig. 547 = fig. 488 on p. 465). In the second millennium there was at least an aura of dominating authority which would fit the judge of Dan 7. This is entirely lacking in the terracotta statues from the 5th–4th centuries.



Fig. 547

The second descriptive feature of the throne scene which was investigated was the throne with wheels. Having surveyed the iconographic imagery in Palestine/Israel from about 1750 down to about 300, only one depiction can be considered as being possibly relevant for the topic, namely, the Yehud drachm BMC Palestine S. 181, no. 2 (Fig. 548 = fig. 439 on p. 451, 519 on p. 513). It will be



Fig. 548

obvious that a case built on one coin will not be very strong. It is weakened even more when it

is noted that its iconography is so intricate that there is no single explanation which does not have problems of its own. It is not surprising, therefore, that this coin is considered as highly syncretistic depicting "a general conception of deity easily comprehensible to many people" (MILDENBERG 1998:68). The differences between these and the Danielic throne have already been mentioned. They should be set here in the context of Eze 10 which was considered as another biblical point of contact (cf. pp. 513,514). The throne in all three images is different. In Eze 10 there is a multi-tiered vertical throne structure where the wheels are *not* part of the throne itself but located at the bottom of the whole structure. Secondly, they are not attached to that structure but are independent elements beside the throne. The Danielic description simply suggests a two-part structure which is movable by means of wheels. In comparison with this concept, the Yehud drachm depicts not a throne but only a wheel functioning as seat for the enthroned so that one should speak more properly of a deity seated on a wheel and not use the term throne at all. A second basic difference between the Yehud drachm and the Danielic throne is that the latter is not associated at all with wings, while the former is winged. In contrast with the winged wheel of the Yehud drachm, the throne in Eze 10 is not winged but the elements supporting the throne, namely, the cherubim are winged. In considering Eze 10 and Dan 7, the former passage is certainly closer to the Yehud coin as it has the common concept of a movable throne which is associated with wings and is therefore also often mentioned in discussions. Dan 7 is to my knowledge not referred to in this regard. Thus the only parallel we can note is that of a seated deity moving by means of wheels. Of course the Old Testament describes the mobility of Yahweh in various passages (Deu 33:26; Psa 18:10; 68:33; Hab 3:8; Isa 66:15). That the imagery of a moving god in the heavens is related to the Asiatic "Götterwagen" is well known (cf. KEEL 1978:182-187). But these texts and depictions do not speak of a *throne* that moves but a *chariot* which is pulled. Thus, an exact literary and iconographic parallel of a *throne with wheels* does not exist for Ezekiel (ibid. 167) and Dan 7.

The last feature to be discussed is the fire associated with the enthroned. According to the Dan 7:9 the throne of the "Ancient of days" has fiery flames, its wheels were burning fire. The iconographic survey resulted in only one very popular motif which associated the enthroned with fire, namely, the deified



Fig. 549

pharaoh as sun god from whose mouth emerges a fiery uraeus (Fig. 549 = fig. 410 on p. 442, 520 on p. 515). Thus in contrast to Dan 7 which specifically connects the throne and its wheels with fire, the only iconographic motif connects it with the enthroned itself. What also speaks against a direct connection with the imagery of the pharaonic uraeus is its date of the 10th/9th century. Three Old Testament passages which mention the enthroned in association with fire were discussed briefly above (cf. pp. 515,516). It was noted that Psa 97:2-5 is rather close to the iconographic motif under discussion in that the fire issues from before the face of the enthroned and has a destructive function, thus related to Dan 7:9 only in the sense of an enthroned associated with the notion of fire but not more. Isa 6:1,4 is of little help in so far as the fire is not directly mentioned and therefore cannot be located. What links this passage to Dan 7:9 is that the fire is not a means of destroying the wicked but part of the majestic appearance of God. The closest parallel to the fire of Dan 7:9 is without doubt Eze 1:4,13,26,27. In both cases the fire is associated not with the enthroned but with the throne(-structure). In Dan 7 the throne and its wheels are associated with fire, in Eze 1 it is the lowest part of the throne-structure and in both cases the fire is part of a theophany.⁹⁴² Thus, based on the iconographic evidence from Palestine/Israel, there is no direct influence which could be referred to as link with Dan 7:9. As far as the more general theme of a deity being associated with fire is concerned, the mentioned iconographic motif is certainly a very good expression of

⁹⁴² Different is the imagery in Eze 8:2 where the enthroned is associated and 10:7 where the fire functions as means of judgement as in Psa 97:2-5.

a particular concept about God which contributed to imagery which is well reflected in several places of the Old Testament.

5.2. Retrospection and outlook

In looking back at this iconographic study, a few principle themes are worthy of reconsideration, namely, the value of a comprehensive iconographic approach, the emphasis on the conceptual rather than on only of the descriptive aspect, the relationship of image to text, and the influence of Canaanite mythology on Dan 7.

The approach to a theme by covering first the general iconographic landscape by a survey of motifs had the following advantages: First, it indicated that this study was not a chase for the ultimate matching iconographic link to Dan 7 but an objective attempt to present the unvarnished reality of the visual world of Palestine/Israel. Second, the suggested relevant results for the imagery of Dan 7 were couched into a wider iconographic context thereby providing transparency in regard to their relevance. Third, only the comprehensive overview revealed significant details which would have been missed by a narrow approach. As example may serve the fact that by concentrating only on the serpent-slayer weather god it would have escaped notice that this motif is not only a very subordinate motif in the iconographic repertoire of the weather god in Palestine/Israel but also that the lion is the dominant life-threatening opponent of the weather god, particularly in the later periods. Had the wings not been studied *in toto* the subordinate role of the wings of dangerous theriomorph winged *Mischwesen* in the iconographic repertoire of Palestine/Israel could not have been crystallised as an important indicator that the wings of the first beast are also to be understood in the light of Mesopotamian iconographic concepts. And only the comprehensive study of all enthroned figures could demonstrate that the enthroned in the context of a judgement scene is not related to the iconographic imagery of Palestine/Israel but reflects rather concepts of Mesopotamian origin. Without expanding this list there is no question that a narrow iconographic approach would not only have lacked a significant methodological step, namely, a representative repertoire of motifs as basis for a justified selection of motifs, but would also have prevented the observation of

significant details. Another positive aspect of this approach was that for the field of iconography five valuable sketches of motifs or iconographic words studies resulted. A further contribution to the field of iconography is a catalogue with several hundred objects with all relevant information. It is thus hoped that the present study was as step into the direction of providing non-specialists in the field of iconography with information which goes beyond the particular application to Dan 7.

In retrospective the emphasis of concepts rather than zeroing in on superficial descriptive parallels to the imagery of Dan 7 proved to be a very important methodological decision. As an example of this approach may serve the separate study of the motif of the lion and the wings. Only with this conceptual approach could it be shown that the lion is in fact taking up an old Egyptian iconographic motif to convey that the first beast stands for a king(dom). At the same time the conceptual approach directed the focus to the fact that the Danielic lion is not represented as invincible. Of particular interest in the course of the study of overcome lions was the observation that the statement that the lion "was lifted up from the ground and made to stand upon two feet like a man" (Dan 7:4) finds a significant parallel in the Mesopotamian motif of the rampant lion particularly as it is overcome by the Persian king. The conceptual approach based on a survey of motifs indicated this very significant parallel. By concentrating on the concepts of wings, a motif which also had never been considered, a much more accurate characterisation of the winged lion was possible. Not only could the notion of aggression be established in connection with Old Testament texts, but furthermore that the wings in this case are also an indicator that the first beast not only conveys the idea of a political power but also alludes to a conflict on a higher plane. A second example which highlights the importance of the conceptual approach is the theme of the sea. First of all a descriptive approach would have led to the immediate skipping of this motif because there is not a parallel in this regard. In contrast the conceptual approach revealed that during the time the Canaanite chaos imagery was in vogue the Egyptian version of the same concept was far more dominate in iconographic

sources. Thus with the emphasis of concepts this study wants to point out that the incorporation of iconographic material in the study of the Old Testament should not necessarily seek descriptive parallels. Such an approach is based on the wrong assumption that text and image convey a certain idea with identical imagery. Iconographic material should help one rather to grasp what underlying concepts are used. Therefore their use goes further than to just pinpoint traditio-historical origins of motifs. Foremost iconographic sources enrich our understanding of the concept of a certain passage and help us to think in those categories as did the people who created them.

With these comments the theme image-text has been touched. I do not intend to engage in a long theoretical discussion on this topic at the end of this study. Rather the practical results of this work should briefly be touched upon. Of particular interest in this regard is the theme of the sea. It was noted that there was no correspondence on various levels between text and image. Such an assessment was reason enough in the past not to study iconographic material in this regard at all. But the detailed study of this motif also revealed the tendency to emphasize the all-embracing evilness of the chaos symbol without necessarily adhering to a "canonised" motif of the serpent-slaying weather god. Therefore Canaanite and Egyptian features are freely combined. In fact it was shown that with the "master of crocodiles" motif another even more numerous chaos motif was known which also combined Egyptian and Canaanite feature. Thus, although there are specific features like the serpent, the crocodile, and the divine heroic opponent, for the customer of these seals it mattered less whether there was a close identity between the mythological Canaanite texts and the purchased image than to have a depiction of an all-evil force overcome by an invincible hero. It does therefore not surprise us that the Danielic sea can convey the source of malicious life-threatening powers without supplementary features such as the serpent or crocodile, etc. Even in a time when images with "supplementary features" were in vogue their iconography reveals that the main emphasis was to serve as "ein Zeichen für jede die bewohnbare Welt gefährdende Macht, für das Böse schlechthin zu

werden" (KEEL 1992a:215) and that struggle was not directed towards "nur einer bestimmten (Natur-)Gewalt, es ist ein umfassender Kampf gegen alles Lebensfeindliche" (KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:88). Thus we can say that although we cannot propose an image-text connection for the motif of the Danielic sea, iconographic sources nevertheless help us to understand better the underlying concepts.

A second example of the relationship between image and text is the lion of Dan 7. In surveying the iconographic repertoire of the lion on ancient Near Eastern art, it will not escape the reader that it is the Egyptian king who is represented as lion. Thus on the conceptual level there is in this a close relationship to the Danielic lion which is a symbol for a king(dom). But that this particular Egyptian motif levelled out at the end of the 10th century does not make it a convincing case that they were in the possession of the visionary. Thus a direct relationship is less likely. Having said this, one nevertheless cannot just ignore the fact that the conceptual link is very unique. Furthermore, a particular variant of this motif, that of the lion attacking a horned animal, continued down to the 4th century which was a reminder of the once-glorious Egyptian royal lion. This concept is very well expressed in Eze 32:2 where the Egyptian king is still called "lion among the nations". Thus, of what nature is the relationship between image and text in this case? Again not a direct one, but it testifies of the concept that the lion was associated with a glorious and mighty king such as that of Egypt. In this sense the iconographic evidence highlights the supreme role of the first beast as a symbol of a king(dom) which can be compared in its splendour and might to that of the Nile of olden days.

A look at the second part of the verse which mentions that the lion was lifted up to stand on its feet like a man shows that a completely different relationship to the image is observable. Having in mind the iconographic repertoire of Palestine/Israel on the basis of a survey of motifs, it strikes one between the eyes that the lion is never depicted in a rampant position when he is attacked, except in depictions from the 6th-4th centuries (the single exception is a royal Assyrian seal from the end of the 7th century). Considering the historical background

which is associated with the first beast, there can be no doubt that there is a strong influence from the iconographic imagery. The completely different nature of iconographic influence within one verse and the same basic motif – that of the lion – indicates that as a matter of fact the conveyed message was the primary focus of interest and that the author was not tied to only one particular source for his description. This observation should therefore caution against proposing a simplistic traditio–historical explanation.

A third and last example shall be mentioned in regard to the question of image and text. It was noted that the imagery of the enthroned judge does not have a corresponding iconographic imagery in Palestine/Israel. If at all, Mesopotamian iconographic sources might be adduced. However, only a specific iconographic study of that region can inform whether and in what way visual sources are related to the imagery in Dan 7 or if literary sources should rather be considered as reflecting the judgement scene of Dan 7. In looking at the enthroned only on the basis of the particular feature of his hair (or beard?), it is again notable that the *Göttervorstellung* of the 8th–7th century reflects a concept which is entirely different from that of the previous and subsequent periods and corresponds in a number of aspects very well with Dan 7. Although it would be wrong to say that these images formed the imagery of Dan 7 – the judicial aspect and the violent overcoming of life–threatening beasts are not present – it nevertheless reflects a concept about an enthroned deity which is in many respects similar to that of Dan 7.

Thus we can conclude that the primary approach to the iconographic sources in the light of texts should focus on unravelling conceptual similarities in order better to understand the *Vorstellungswelt* which underlies the text. In only a few cases a correspondence on the descriptive level will occur.

As the last topic in this retrospection a few remarks in regard to traditio–historical influences should be made. The proposed Canaanite influence on Dan 7 is the issue of an ongoing debate. During the years this position retracted from high claims to more modest statements after the

discovery of the texts from Ugarit. In regard to the fourth beast and the theme of the sea, which are a vital part of this suggested influence, iconographic evidence was so far not systematically adduced. The results of the iconographic study in this regard are the following: First, the motif of the serpent-slaying weather god levels out in the 9th century. Second, the serpent-slaying weather god is a subordinate motif in the repertoire of the weather god, while the more important opponent is the lion. Third, the Canaanite sea chaos imagery is secondary to that from Egypt in the iconography from Palestine/Israel. In short, the iconographic evidence cannot support a significant mythological Canaanite influence on the theme of the sea and the fourth beast. Although a backdrop to mythological imagery is not denied by this study, COLLINS is correct when he points out that many see today "the analogy against a broader background" (1993b:288). The simplistic reference to Canaanite texts whose transmission history down to Dan 7 is problematic seems not able to do justice to the complexity of this vision.

What is the future of iconographic research as means to better understanding the religions of the biblical lands and the Old Testament? While favourable scholarship in general evaluates the significance of visual imagery in this regard, there are still serious deficiencies which make this discipline a field for specialists, a field that it is difficult for the ordinary biblical scholar to access. Two basic problems contribute to this dilemma: First, the actual iconographic evidence is to a large extent scattered and not adequately published. An important contribution to reduce this lack of readily-accessible iconographic material is the stamp seal amulet project of the Biblical Institute at the University of Fribourg, Switzerland. However, it must be borne in mind that this project covers only one type of object, albeit an important one, which has visual information. There are numerous others which have not yet been collected and published in a way that the interested biblical scholar could use effectively for his/her particular task. Furthermore, regions such as Jordan, Lebanon, and southern Syria need to be incorporated into a wider web of information. Thus one of the basic issues which needs to be tackled in order

to make this field interesting for the biblical scholar at large is the collection and publication of basic iconographic evidence.

The second need in order to make iconographic evidence a significant contributor to a more fruitful exegetical process is the publication of an iconographic "word" lexicon. Even when the biblical scholar is provided with a catalogue of 9'000 nicely published stamp seal amulets, he will have to go through the painstaking process of bringing order into numerous submotifs, not to mention interpreting them. Which biblical scholar has the time to do this so that the reference to iconographic material becomes as commonplace as the looking up a word in a dictionary. It is therefore suggested that for biblical studies an iconographic lexicon be created which lists the various motifs according to types and subtypes with basic interpretational information on their meaning. Such a lexicon would significantly advance the incorporation of visual information into the exegetical process and provide an important contribution to biblical scholarship.

Appendices

Appendix A:

The text of Dan 7 according to the RSV and BHS

<p>1 In the first year of Belshazzar king of Babylon, Daniel had a dream and visions of his head as he lay in his bed. Then he wrote down the dream, and told the sum of the matter.</p>	<p>בשנת חדה לבלאשצר מלך בבל דניאל חלם חזה וחזוי ראשה על-משכבה בארין חלמא כתב ראש מלין אמר:</p>
<p>2 Daniel said, "I saw in my vision by night, and behold, the four winds of heaven were stirring up the great sea.</p>	<p>ענה דניאל ואמר חזה הנית בחזוי עם ליליא וארו ארבע רוחי שמיא מניחן לימא רבא:</p>
<p>3 And four great beasts came up out of the sea, different from one another.</p>	<p>וארבע חיון כבדון סלקון מרומא שגון דא מורדא:</p>
<p>4 The first was like a lion and had eagles' wings. Then as I looked its wings were plucked off, and it was lifted up from the ground and made to stand upon two feet like a man; and the mind of a man was given to it.</p>	<p>קדמיתא כארנה ונפין דרנשר לה חזה הנית עד דירמריטו נפיה ונטילת מרארעא ועל-רגלין כאנש הקימת ולבב אנש יהיב לה:</p>
<p>5 And behold, another beast, a second one, like a bear. It was raised up on one side; it had three ribs in its mouth between its teeth; and it was told, 'Arise, devour much flesh.'</p>	<p>וארו חיוה אחרי חנינה דמיה לרב ולשטר חרהקמת וחלת עלעין בפמה בין שניה וכן אמרין לה קומי אכלי בשר שניא:</p>
<p>6 After this I looked, and lo, another, like a leopard, with four wings of a bird on its back; and the beast had four heads; and dominion was given to it.</p>	<p>כאתר דנה חזה הנית וארו אחרי כנמר ולה נפין ארבע דיעוף על-נפיה וארבעה ראשין לחיותא ושלמן יהיב לה:</p>
<p>7 After this I saw in the night visions, and behold, a fourth beast, terrible and dreadful and exceedingly strong; and it had great iron teeth; it devoured and broke in pieces, and stamped the residue with its feet. It was different from all the beasts that were before it; and it had ten horns.</p>	<p>כאתר דנה חזה הנית בחזוי ליליא וארו חיוה רביעיה דחילה ואימתני ותקיפא ותירא ושגין דרפרול לה כבדון אכלה ומדקה ושארא כרגליה רפסה והיא משגיה מן-כל-חיותא די קדמיה וקרנן עשרלה:</p>
<p>8 I considered the horns, and behold, there came up among them another horn, a little one, before which three of the first horns were plucked up by the roots; and behold, in this horn were eyes like the eyes of a man, and a mouth speaking great things.</p>	<p>משחפל הנית בקרניא ואלו קרו אחרי זעורה סלקת ביניחן וחלת מן-קרניא קדמיתא אחעקרו מן-קדמיה ואלו עינין כעניי אנשא בקרנא-דא ופם ממלל כבדון:</p>
<p>9 As I looked, thrones were placed and one that was ancient of days took his seat; his raiment was white as snow, and the hair of his head like pure wool; his throne was fiery flames, its wheels were burning fire.</p>	<p>חזה הנית עד די כרסון רמיו ועתיק יומין יתב לבושה כחלג חור ושער ראשה כעמר וקא כרסיה שביבין די-נור גלגלוי נור דלק:</p>
<p>10 A stream of fire issued and came forth from before him; a thousand thousands served him, and ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him; the court sat in judgment, and the books were opened.</p>	<p>נהר דיענור נגד ונפק מן-קדמוהי אלה אלפים ישמשונה ורבו רבבן קדמוהי וקומון דינא יתב וספרין פתיחו:</p>
<p>11 I looked then because of the sound of the great words which the horn was speaking. And as I looked, the beast was slain, and its body destroyed and given over to be burned with fire.</p>	<p>חזה הנית בארין מן-קל מליא כבדכתא די קרנא ממללה חזה הנית עד די קטילת חיותא והוכר גשמה ויהיבת ליקרת אשא:</p>
<p>12 As for the rest of the beasts, their dominion was taken away, but their lives were prolonged for a season and a time.</p>	<p>ושאר חיותא העדיו שלטנהון וארכה בחיון יהיבת להון עד-זמן ועדן:</p>
<p>13 I saw in the night visions, and behold, with the clouds of heaven there came one like a son of man, and he came to the Ancient of Days and was presented before him.</p>	<p>חזה הנית בחזוי ליליא וארו עם-עניי שמיא כבר אנש אהה דנה ועד עתיק יומיא משה וקדמוהי הקרבוהי:</p>

<p>14 And to him was given dominion and glory and kingdom, that all peoples, nations, and languages should serve him; his dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away, and his kingdom one that shall not be destroyed.</p>	<p>ולא יהיב שלטון ויקר ומלכו וכל עממיא אמיא ולשניא לה יפלחון שלטנה שלטן עלם דילא יעדה ומלכותה דילא תחבל:</p>
<p>15 "As for me, Daniel, my spirit within me was anxious and the visions of my head alarmed me.</p>	<p>אחזרית רוחי אנה דניאל בנוא נרנה וחזוי ראשי ובהלגני:</p>
<p>16 I approached one of those who stood there and asked him the truth concerning all this. So he told me, and made known to me the interpretation of the things.</p>	<p>קרבת על-חד מן קאמיא ויציקא אבעא-מנה על-כל-דנה ואמר לי ופשר מליא יהודעני:</p>
<p>17 These four great beasts are four kings who shall arise out of the earth.</p>	<p>אלין חיותא כרבכתא די אנין ארבעא רבעה מלכין יקומון מן-ארעא:</p>
<p>18 But the saints of the Most High shall receive the kingdom, and possess the kingdom for ever, for ever and ever.'</p>	<p>ויקבלון מלכותא קדישי עליונין ויחטנון מלכותא עד-עלמא ועד עלם עלמא:</p>
<p>19 "Then I desired to know the truth concerning the fourth beast, which was different from all the rest, exceedingly terrible, with its teeth of iron and claws of bronze; and which devoured and broke in pieces, and stamped the residue with its feet;</p>	<p>אבין צביח ליצבא על-חיותא רביעיתא דיהנות שניה מן-כלהין דחילה יחירה שניה די-פרזל וטפריה די-נחש אכלה מדקה ושאר אברגליה רפסה:</p>
<p>20 and concerning the ten horns that were on its head, and the other horn which came up and before which three of them fell, the horn which had eyes and a mouth that spoke great things, and which seemed greater than its fellows.</p>	<p>ועל-קרניא עשר די בראשה ואחרי די סלקת ונפלו מן-קרמיה חלת וקרנא רבן ועינון לה ופם ממלל כרבון וחזוה רב מן-חברתה:</p>
<p>21 As I looked, this horn made war with the saints, and prevailed over them,</p>	<p>חזוה הניח וקרנא רבן עברה קרב עם-קדישין וזבלה להון:</p>
<p>22 until the Ancient of Days came, and judgment was given for the saints of the Most High, and the time came when the saints received the kingdom.</p>	<p>עד די אתה עתיק יומיא ודינא יהב לקדישי עליונין וזמנא משה ומלכותא חטנו קדישין:</p>
<p>23 "Thus he said: 'As for the fourth beast, there shall be a fourth kingdom on earth, which shall be different from all the kingdoms, and it shall devour the whole earth, and trample it down, and break it to pieces.</p>	<p>כן אמר חיותא רביעיתא מלכו רביעיא תהוא בארעא די חשנא מן-כל-מלכותא וחאכל כל-ארעא וחרושנה וחרקנה:</p>
<p>24 As for the ten horns, out of this kingdom ten kings shall arise, and another shall arise after them; he shall be different from the former ones, and shall put down three kings.</p>	<p>ויקרניא עשר מנה מלכותה עשרה מלכין יקומון ואחרן יקום אחריהון והוא ישנא מן-קדמיא וחלתה מלכין יהשפל:</p>
<p>25 He shall speak words against the Most High, and shall wear out the saints of the Most High, and shall think to change the times and the law; and they shall be given into his hand for a time, two times, and half a time.</p>	<p>ומליון לצד עליא ומלל ולקדישי עליונין יבלא ויסבר להשניה זמנין ודת ויתנהבון בינה עד-עדן ועדנין ופלג עדן:</p>
<p>26 But the court shall sit in judgment, and his dominion shall be taken away, to be consumed and destroyed to the end.</p>	<p>ודינא יתב ושלטנה יתעדון להשמדה ולהוכרה עד-סופא:</p>
<p>27 And the kingdom and the dominion and the greatness of the kingdoms under the whole heaven shall be given to the people of the saints of the Most High; their kingdom shall be an everlasting kingdom, and all dominions shall serve and obey them.'</p>	<p>ומלכותה ושלטנא ורבנותא די מלכות תחות כל-שמיא יהיבת לעם קדישי עליונין מלכותה מלכות עלם וכל שלטניא לה יפלחון וישתמעון:</p>
<p>28 "Here is the end of the matter. As for me, Daniel, my thoughts greatly alarmed me, and my color changed; but I kept the matter in my mind."</p>	<p>עד-רבה סופא דיי-מלחא אנה דניאל שניא רעיוני ובהלגני חזוי ישתנון עלי ומלחא בלבי נטרתי:</p>

Appendix B: Chronological tables

Since most objects in this study are stamp seal amulets the chronological tables of KEEL 1995a:249–255 were adopted.

Archaeological periods

Middle Bronze Age II A (MB II A)	1950–1760
Middle Bronze Age II B (MB II B)	1760–1540/1450
Late Bronze Age I (LB I)	1540/1450–1400
Late Bronze Age II A (LB II A)	1400–1300
Late Bronze Age II B (LB II B)	1300–1250/1150
Iron Age I A (IA I A)	1250/1200–1150
Iron Age I B (IA I B)	1150–1000
Iron Age II A (IA II A)	1000–900
Iron Age II B (IA II B)	900–700
Iron Age II C (IA II C)	730/700–539
Persian period	539–333

Egyptian dynasties

Middle Kingdom (2081–1759)

11th Dynasty	2081–1938
12th Dynasty	1938–1759

Second Intermediate Period (1759–1539)

13th/14th Dynasties	1759–1630
15th Dynasty	1630–1522
16th Dynasty	1630–1522
17th Dynasty	1625–1539

New Kingdom (1539–1075)

18th Dynasty	1539/30–1292
19th Dynasty	1292–1190
20th Dynasty	1190–1075

Third Intermediate Period (1075–656)

21st Dynasty	1075–945
22nd/23rd Dynasties	945–713
24th Dynasty	727–715
25th Dynasty	728–656

Late Period (664–343)

26th Dynasty	664–525
27th Dynasty	525–404
28th Dynasty	404–399
29th Dynasty	399–380
30th Dynasty	380–343

List of figures

(The reference in italics indicates the source of the image)

Text figures

- Fig. 1 LOUD 1948: pl. 161:21; *KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:45, fig. 30.*
- Fig. 2 PETRIE 1930: pl. 7:4; WILLIAMS 1977:94, fig. 63,9; KEEL 1994d:221,222, pl. 21:4; *ibid. 1995a:221, fig. 482.*
- Fig. 3 MACKAY/MURRAY 1952: pl. 9:13; *KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:47, fig. 32a;* KEEL 1997:458,459, no. 1041.
- Fig. 4 PETRIE 1930:7, pl. 22:187; ROWE 1936:171, pl. 18:716; LEIBOVITCH 1953:107, fig. 9; MÜLLER-KARPE 1980: pl. 110:J4; SHUVAL 1990:133, no. 20; EGGLEER 1992:163,361, no. 79; *CORNELIUS 1994:181, pl. 47:BM20.*
- Fig. 5 YADIN 1958: pl. 151; CORNELIUS 1994:173,174, no. BM7, pl. 45:BM7; *KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:221, fig. 210.*
- Fig. 6 = fig. 1.
- Fig. 7 YADIN 1961: pls. 324,325; *KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:59, fig. 44.*
- Fig. 8 YADIN 1961: pl. 341; *KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:59, fig. 45.*
- Fig. 9 TUFNELL 1940: pl. 18A; *KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:135, fig. 143a.*
- Fig. 10 YADIN 1961: pls. 324,325; *KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:59, fig. 44.*
- Fig. 11 KEEL 1990a:191, fig. 23; *KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:163: fig. 169a.*
- Fig. 12 TUFNELL 1953: pls. 44A/45:150; KEEL 1990c: pl. 21:2; *KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:163, fig. 168b.*
- Fig. 13 = fig. 5.
- Fig. 14 PETRIE 1930: pl. 22:186; CORNELIUS 1994:187, no. 32, pl. 48:BM32; *KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:131, fig. 134b.*
- Fig. 15 PRITCHARD 1969a: no. 468; ROWE 1936: no. S.60A; WINTER 1983: fig. 214; CORNELIUS 1994:173,174, no. BM7, pl. 45:BM7; *KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:99, fig. 109.*
- Fig. 16 NEGBI 1976:51, fig. 59, no. 1453; *KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:67, fig. 56.*
- Fig. 17 STARKEY/HARDING 1932:30, pl. 73:20; CORNELIUS 1994:183, no. BM21, pl. 47:BM21.
- Fig. 18 ROWE 1936: pl.26:S.15; NOUGAYROL 1939: pl. 9:TA.19; PARKER 1949:7,8, no. 8, pl. 2:8; VANDEL 1965:87,177, fig. 43; *SCHROER 1985:104, fig. 81.*
- Fig. 19 USSISHKIN 1978:18, pl. 7:1; KEEL 1990b:321, fig. 96; *KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:87, fig. 86.*
- Fig. 20 PETRIE 1930:7, pls. 12:171, 37:902; KEEL 1990b:313, fig. 85; *KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:87, fig. 87b.*
- Fig. 21 TUFNELL 1953: pl. 43/43A:22; KEEL 1990b:321, fig. 96; *KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:87, fig. 86.*
- Fig. 22 MACALISTER 1912: III pl. 214:19; *KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:333, fig. 284b.*
- Fig. 23 LODS 1934:142, fig. 2; *KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:177, fig. 182c.*
- Fig. 24 BECK 1977: pl. 21:3; *KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:88, fig. 88b.*
- Fig. 25 SCHUMACHER 1908:86, fig. 124, top line, 2nd from right; *KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:131, fig. 134a.*
- Fig. 26 PETRIE 1930: pl. 43:534; SHUVAL 1990:144, fig. 46; DĄBROWSKI 1992:38,39, fig. 2h; CORNELIUS 1994:202 and pl. 49:BM59; *KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:131, fig. 138a.*

- Fig. 27 PETRIE 1934:4,5, pl. 12:1; ROWE 1936:251, pl. 27:S.60; PARKER 1949:9, pl. 2:13; CORNELIUS 1994:190,191, no. BM42, pl. 48:BM42; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:88: fig. 90a.
- Fig. 28 GIVEON 1978a: fig. 49; KEEL 1990b:311, fig. 82; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:89, fig. 89.
- Fig. 29 MACALISTER 1912:III, pl. 202a:9; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:27, fig. 6.
- Fig. 30 KEEL 1989b:271,272, fig. 95; *ibid.* 1995a:194, fig. 347. *Photograph from Corpus File.*
- Fig. 31 BLISS 1899a:186, pl. 7:4; BLISS/MACALISTER 1902:153, pl. 83:13; ROWE 1936: no. 896; KEEL 1997:744,745, no. 26.
- Fig. 32 ROWE 1936: pl. 27:S.54; OREN 1973:125, no. 6; KEEL 1978:145, fig. 84c.
- Fig. 33 GIVEON/KERTESZ 1986:36,37, no. 138; KEEL 1990c:341,342, fig. 14; KEEL 1997:570,571, no. 115.
- Fig. 34 MESHORER/QEDAR 1991:52, no. 41.
- Fig. 35 PETRIE 1933:4, pl. 3:89; pl. 5, left bottom, 2nd row, first right; ROWE 1936: no. 70; PIEPER 1940:54, fig. 3; TUFNELL 1984:134, n. 122; pl. 40:2648; SCHROER 1989:100, no. 50; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:23, fig. 4; KEEL 1995b:136, fig. 4; *ibid.* 1997:258-259, no. 457.
- Fig. 36 PETRIE 1931: pl. 4:136; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:33, fig. 15b.
- Fig. 37 LOUD 1948: pl. 251; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:65, fig. 55a.
- Fig. 38 GUY 1938: pl. 176:3; PARKER 1949:29, no. 128, pl. 19:128; WINTER 1983: fig. 143; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:63, fig. 52.
- Fig. 39 PETRIE 1930: pl. 38:232; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:193, fig. 191.
- Fig. 40 BECK 1982:7, fig. 4; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:239, fig. 219.
- Fig. 41 BEN-ARIE/EDELSTEIN 1977:29,30, pl. 6:1,2; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:75, fig. 70.
- Fig. 42 MCCOWN 1947: pl. 55:81; KEEL 1992b:150, fig. 91.
- Fig. 43 COULSON 1986:28, fig. 5:F-3.
- Fig. 44 GALLING 1977:191, fig. 45:3; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:179, fig. 184.
- Fig. 45 TUFNELL 1958: pl. 36:215; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:27, fig. 5a.
- Fig. 46 GIVEON 1985a:118,119, no. 23; KEEL 1995a:197, fig. 361.
- Fig. 47 ROWE 1936: no. 69; GARSTANG 1933: pl. 1; KEEL 1984b:165, fig. 76; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:27, fig. 5b.
- Fig. 48 PETRIE 1933:4, pl. 3:35, 5:above left, 6th row, 3rd left; WILLIAMS 1970: fig. 23 fig.; TUFNELL 1984:96,132 n. 104,134 n. 122,137,139, pl. 36:2516,40:2651,43:2754; GIVEON 1985a:84,85 no. 71; SCHROER 1985:84,86, fig. 50; KEEL 1997:240,241, no. 406.
- Fig. 49 ROWE 1936: no. 317; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:27, fig. 7.
- Fig. 50 LOUD 1939: no. 36; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:69, fig. 62.
- Fig. 51 LOUD 1939: pl. 4:2b; CLAMER 1980: 153, fig. 1; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:71, fig. 65.
- Fig. 52 AMIRAN 1975:36, fig. 8.
- Fig. 53 MAZAR 1980:101, fig. 34.
- Fig. 54 BLISS/MACALISTER 1902:153, pl. 83:2; NOUGAYROL 1939: pl. 12: T.Z.2; PARKER 1949:21, no. 86, pl. 14:86.
- Fig. 55 SCHUMACHER 1908:142, fig. 212a; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995: 267, fig. 231a.
- Fig. 56 MESHORER/QEDAR 1991:45, no. 5.
- Fig. 57 = fig. 29.
- Fig. 58 CROWFOOT/CROWFOOT 1938: pl. 10:1; SCHROER 1987a:522, fig. 34; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:213, fig. 203.
- Fig. 59 BECK 1977: pl. 21:1; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:63, fig. 53.
- Fig. 60 = fig. 24.
- Fig. 61 = fig. 9.
- Fig. 62 = fig. 25.

- Fig. 63 JOHNS 1933: pl. 14:496; *ibid.* 1975:134; CULICAN 1969: pl. 1:4; BISI 1980:32, footnote 60; STERN 1982:200, fig. 325; KLINGBEIL 1992a:187, no. 35; *ibid.* 1992b:98, no. 11; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:437, fig. 367a; KEEL 1997:758,759, no. 4.
- Fig. 64 CROSS 1974: p. 29, pl. 62:h; LEITH 1990: pl. 15:WD42 = *ibid.* 1997: pl. 6:WD 42.
- Fig. 65 GIVEON/KERTESZ 1986:38,39, no. 145; KEEL 1997:574,575, no. 122.
- Fig. 66 MACALISTER 1912: II 442: fig. 524:2b; STERN 1982:188, fig. 307:14; O'DWYER SHEA 1983:101, Gezer no. 6; ZWICKEL 1990:100, Gezer 3; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:441, fig. 372.
- Fig. 67 = fig. 50.
- Fig. 68 USSISHKIN 1978:45, fig. 11; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:93, fig. 101a.
- Fig. 69 SHUVAL 1990:130, no. 14; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:137, fig. 147b.
- Fig. 70 GIVEON/KERTESZ 1986: 28,29, no. 91; SHUVAL 1990:340,341, fig. 10; KEEL 1997:560,561, no. 85.
- Fig. 71 LAPP 1967:25-27,34,35, fig. 24; SHUVAL 1990: 132, fig. 17.
- Fig. 72 TUFNELL 1953:229,369, pl. 43:49.
- Fig. 73 REISNER 1924: pl. 56a; STERN 1994a:145, fig. 12; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:325, fig. 278b.
- Fig. 74 KEEL 1997:712,713, no. 59.
- Fig. 75 MESHORER/QEDAR 1991:53, no. 50.
- Fig. 76 *Ibid.* 47, no. 16.
- Fig. 77 DALMAN 1903:31, fig. 32; GALLING 1941:160,194, no. 145, pl. 12:145.
- Fig. 78 BECK 1994:366, fig. 9.
- Fig. 79 YADIN 1960:4, pls. 76:11, 162:1.
- Fig. 80 = fig. 27.
- Fig. 81 RAHMANI 1976: pl. 31:3, KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:435, fig. 366b; KEEL 1997:690,691, no. 8.
- Fig. 82 LEITH 1990: pl. 16:WD47 = *ibid.* 1997: pl. 12:WD 47.
- Fig. 83 CROSS 1974: pl. 62:f; LEITH 1990: pl. 41:WD17 = *ibid.* 1997: pl. 17:WD 17.
- Fig. 84 MESHORER/QEDAR 1991:55, no. 59.
- Fig. 85 YADIN 1961: pl. 120:2; KEEL 1984a:110, fig. 166.
- Fig. 86 ALBRIGHT 1938: pl. 23; AMIRAN 1975:34,35, pls. 1-3; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:211, fig. 201.
- Fig. 87 AMIRAN 1975:33 fig. 4.
- Fig. 88 USSISHKIN 1974:113, fig. 4; WEIPPERT 1988:488, fig. 4:36.4; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:211, fig. 202.
- Fig. 89 CROWFOOT/CROWFOOT 1938: pl. 9:1; SCHROER 1987a:522, fig. 34; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:213, fig. 204.
- Fig. 90 ROWE 1940:85, pl. 38:15; PARKER 1949:32, pl. 21:142; CORNELIUS 1994:93,94, pl. 28:RM4.
- Fig. 91 KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:89, fig. 88a.
- Fig. 92 SHUVAL 1990:123,124, no. 2; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:127, fig. 131b.
- Fig. 93 SHUVAL 1990:123,124, no. 2; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:127, fig. 131e.
- Fig. 94 GIVEON 1988: no. 88; KEEL 1997:652,653, no. 21.
- Fig. 95 KEEL 1994a: pl. 8:14.
- Fig. 96 BECK 1982:7, fig. 4; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:242, fig. 219.
- Fig. 97 LOUD 1948: pl. 76:1; MAZAR 1976:187-192; DOTHAN 1982:150-153, fig. 28:1, pl. 61; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:139, fig. 149c.
- Fig. 98 KEEL 1995c:95, fig. 3.
- Fig. 99 HORN 1973:287, fig. 2:73. Photograph from Corpus File.
- Fig. 100 KEEL 1997:712,713, no. 60.
- Fig. 101 *Ibid.* 1994a: pl. 11:29.

- Fig. 102 *Ibid.* 1997:10,11, no. 16.
- Fig. 103 PETRIE 1930: pl. 7:32; WILLIAMS 1977:115, fig. 82:3; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:23, fig. 3b.
- Fig. 104 KARON 1985: no. 14. *Photograph from Corpus File.*
- Fig. 105 LOUD 1948: pl. 149:2.
- Fig. 106 KEMPINSKI 1988: fig. 12:6.
- Fig. 107 MACALISTER 1912: III pl. 204a:4. *Drawing from Corpus File.*
- Fig. 108 KEEL 1997:590,591, no. 170.
- Fig. 109 KENYON 1965: fig. 295:23; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:24, fig. 3c.
- Fig. 110 *Photograph from Corpus File.*
- Fig. 111 MACKAY/MURRAY 1952: pl. 10:112; KEEL 1997:492,493, no. 1138.
- Fig. 112 PETRIE 1934: pl. 5:86; KEEL 1997:322,323, no. 646.
- Fig. 113 KEEL 1997:525,525, no. 1244.
- Fig. 114 MACALISTER 1912: III pl. 209:16; ROWE 1936: no. 893. *Photograph from Corpus File.*
- Fig. 115 MACKAY/MURRAY 1952: pl. 10:113; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:24, fig. 3a; KEEL 1997:492,493, no. 1139.
- Fig. 116 MCCOWN 1947: pl. 54:52. *Photograph from Corpus File.*
- Fig. 117 PETRIE 1931: pl. 14:170; KEEL 1997:160,161, no. 164.
- Fig. 118 KEEL 1995a:71, fig. 104.
- Fig. 119 MAZAR 1993:216.
- Fig. 120 DAVIES 1986:86, fig. 19a; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:213, fig. 205a.
- Fig. 121 KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:217, fig. 206a.
- Fig. 122 YADIN 1960:118, fig. 10.
- Fig. 123 AHARONI 1962: fig. 9,9; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:447, fig. 380a.
- Fig. 124 STERN 1982:211, fig. 349:2; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:447, fig. 381b.
- Fig. 125 LEITH 1990: pl. 32:WD55 = *ibid.* 1997: pl. 13:WD 55.
- Fig. 126 *Ibid.* 1990: pl. 33:WD37 = *ibid.* 1997: pl. 13:WD 37.
- Fig. 127 KEEL 1993b:210, fig. 7; KEEL 1997:217, fig. 464.
- Fig. 128 SHUVAL 1990:123,124, no. 2; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:127, fig. 131e.
- Fig. 129 PETRIE 1930: pl. 35:398; SHUVAL 1990:134, no. 23; KEEL 1990b:309, fig. 69.
- Fig. 130 KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:127, fig. 130e.
- Fig. 131 = fig. 20.
- Fig. 132 = fig. 26.
- Fig. 133 GIVEON/KERTESZ 1986:138,139, no. 142; SHUVAL 1990:136, no. 26; KEEL 1990b:307, fig. 81; KEEL 1997:572,573, no. 119.
- Fig. 134 STARKEY/HARDING 1932:25, pl. 55:229; GIVEON 1978a:83, fig. 40; MCCLELLAN 1979:66; GIVEON 1985a:46,47, no. 73; SHUVAL 1990:134, no. 22; KEEL 1990b:306; CORNELIUS 1994:191, no. BM43, pl. 48:BM43.
- Fig. 135 LOUD 1948: pl. 204:3; WILSON 1975:85, fig. 2:1; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:135, fig. 143b.
- Fig. 136 KEEL 1997:64,65, no. 131.
- Fig. 137 = fig. 5.
- Fig. 138 CROWFOOT/CROWFOOT 1938: pl. 14:2; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:221, fig. 212a.
- Fig. 139 MESHORER/QEDAR 1991:48, no. 21.
- Fig. 140 SASS 1933:233, fig. 141; AVIGAD/SASS 1997:143, no. 320.
- Fig. 141 STARKEY/HARDING 1932: pl. 73:43; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:221, fig. 213.
- Fig. 142 LEITH 1990: pl. 21:WD40 = *ibid.* 1997: pl. 9:WD 40.
- Fig. 143 ROWE 1936: no. S. 111; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:155, fig. 161.
- Fig. 144 = fig. 59.
- Fig. 145 BORDREUIL 1986:47,48, no. 44; SASS 1983:233, no. 142; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:387, no. 331a; AVIGAD/SASS 1997:85, no. 12.

- Fig. 146 BORDREUIL 1986:55, no. 58; SASS 1983:233, no. 143; *KEEL/UEHLINGER* 1995:387, no. 331b; AVIGAD/SASS 1997:103, no. 173.
- Fig. 147 CORNELIUS 1994:107,108, no. RM18, pl. 30:RM18; *KEEL* 1997:530,531, no. 3.
- Fig. 148 REISNER 1924: pl. 56:f; CROWFOOT/CROWFOOT 1938: pl. 3:1; *KEEL* 1977a:77, fig. 30; *KEEL/UEHLINGER* 1995:285, fig. 243.
- Fig. 149 STERN 1982:200, fig. 324; BROSHI 1993: 1003; *KEEL/UEHLINGER* 1995:436, fig. 363b.
- Fig. 150 MACALISTER 1912: II pl. 214; PARKER 1949:14, no. 34, pl. 5:34; *KEEL* 1977a:19, fig. 2.
- Fig. 151 = fig. 38.
- Fig. 152 CROWFOOT/CROWFOOT 1938: pl. 5:3a; *KEEL* 1977a:19, fig. 3; *KEEL/UEHLINGER* 1995:267, fig. 232b.
- Fig. 153 *KEEL* 1997:768,769, no. 26.
- Fig. 154 LEITH 1997: pl. 21:WD 15A.
- Fig. 155 YADIN 1961: pl. 319:2; BECK 1989a:312-315; *KEEL/UEHLINGER* 1995:49, fig. 35.
- Fig. 156 PARKER 1949:38,39, no. 175, pl. 25:175.
- Fig. 157 LEITH 1990: pl. 43:WD13 = *ibid.* 1997: pl. 20:WD 13.
- Fig. 158 GALLING 1977:191, fig. 45:3; *KEEL/UEHLINGER* 1995:179, fig. 184.
- Fig. 159 BECK 1994:353, fig. 1.
- Fig. 160 LOUD 1939: pl. 11:g.
- Fig. 161 BARNETT 1982: pl. 17:a.
- Fig. 162 *Photograph from Corpus File.*
- Fig. 163 BARTLETT 1976: pl. 8; *KEEL/UEHLINGER* 1995:289, fig. 249; AVIGAD/SASS 1997:63, no. 37.
- Fig. 164 MACALISTER 1912: III pl. 63:79.
- Fig. 165 STERN 1987:72; *ibid.* 1992:71, fig. 90; *ibid.* 1995:476, fig. 10.1.3, 477 photo 10.3.
- Fig. 166 LEITH 1997: pl. 15:WD 53.
- Fig. 167 BECK 1995:152, fig. 3.101.
- Fig. 168 LOUD 1939: pl. 4:2b; CLAMER 1980: 153, fig. 1; BARNETT 1982: pl. 19a; METZGER 1985: pl. 113:1181 (throne section); STAUBLI 1991: fig. 51; YADIN 1993:1012; *KEEL/UEHLINGER* 1995:71, fig. 65.
- Fig. 169 LOUD 1939: pl. 4:3e; *KEEL* 1984a:150, fig. 234; METZGER 1985: pl. 113:1182; *KEEL/UEHLINGER* 1995:71, fig. 66b.
- Fig. 170 = fig. 59.
- Fig. 171 LAMON/SHIPTON 1939: pl. 67:44; *KEEL/UEHLINGER* 1995:291, fig. 254b.
- Fig. 172 SCHUMACHER 1908:99, fig. 148; *KEEL/UEHLINGER* 1995:289, fig. 250b.
- Fig. 173 HESTRIN/DAYAGI-MENDELS 1979: no. 41; *KEEL/UEHLINGER* 1995:291, fig. 252.
- Fig. 174 PETRIE 1930: pl. 35:427; HESTRIN/DAYAGI-MENDELS 1979: no. 43; *KEEL/UEHLINGER* 1995:291, fig. 253.
- Fig. 175 ALBRIGHT 1932a:10, fig. 5; *ibid.* 1932b:559, fig. 3; *ibid.* 1938:44 § 51, pl. 29:3; ROWE 1933:97-99; *ibid.* 1936:48, no. 182, pl. 5:182; *KEEL/KÜCHLER* 1982:775, fig. 489:3. *Drawing from Corpus File.*
- Fig. 176 *KEEL/UEHLINGER* 1995:289, fig. 251.
- Fig. 177 LOUD 1939: pl. 9:32b; LEIBOVITCH 1944b:250, fig. 24.
- Fig. 178 ROWE 1940: pl. 19:13; LEIBOVITCH 1944b:236, fig. 6a; METZGER 1985:259, fig. 1180.
- Fig. 179 *KEEL/UEHLINGER* 1995:289, fig. 248.
- Fig. 180 ROWE 1936: no. SO. 3; *KEEL/UEHLINGER* 1995:293, fig. 258c.
- Fig. 181 CROWFOOT/CROWFOOT/KENYON 1957: pl. 15:14; *KEEL/UEHLINGER* 1995:291, fig. 255.
- Fig. 182 MACALISTER 1912: I 293, fig. 154:14b; *KEEL/UEHLINGER* 1995:337, fig. 293a.
- Fig. 183 *KEEL/UEHLINGER* 1995:337, fig. 292.
- Fig. 184 LAMON 1935: pl. 8:6; LAMON/SHIPTON 1939: pl. 66:11; ORNAN 1990:176, fig. 28; *KEEL/UEHLINGER* 1995:329, fig. 282c.

- Fig. 185 ROWE 1940:85, pl. 38:14; PARKER 1949:33, no. 147, pl. 22:147; CORNELIUS 1994:220, no. BM87, pl. 51:BM87; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:89, fig. 90b.
- Fig. 186 SASS 1993:227, no. 122; GUBEL 1993:107, fig. 12; AVIGAD/SASS 1997:110,111, no. 198.
- Fig. 187 PETRIE 1933: pl. 4:127; NOUGAYROL 1939: pl. 8:TA.9; LEIBOVITCH 1944b:235, fig. 4.
- Fig. 188 MESHORER/QEDAR 1991:55, no. 61, pl. 21:66.
- Fig. 189 CROWFOOT/CROWFOOT/KENYON 1957: pl. 15:42; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:433, fig. 360a.
- Fig. 190 TOOMBS 1957:101, fig. 11; WRIGHT 1965:168, fig. 94; JAROS 1976:57, fig. 156; STERN 1982:197, fig. 317, cover; ORNAN 1990:176, fig. 31.
- Fig. 191 LEIBOVITCH 1946:381, fig. 1; PARKER 1949:33, pl. 23:151; TUFNELL 1958:111,119, pls. 34,35, no. 164.
- Fig. 192 GRANT 1932:88, pl. 51:49; ROWE 1936: no. 639; KEEL 1977a:102, fig. 77.
- Fig. 193 SHUVAL 1990:123,124, no. 2; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:127, fig. 131d.
- Fig. 194 REISNER 1924: pl. 56:h; KEEL 1977a:77, fig. 30.
- Fig. 195 TUFNELL 1953: pl. 45:170; KEEL 1977a:104, fig. 85; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:313, fig. 274a.
- Fig. 196 AVIGAD 1975: pl. 10 C; KEEL 1977a:104, fig. 87.
- Fig. 197 STARKEY/HARDING 1932: pl. 49:967; ROWE 1936: no. 731; KEEL 1977a:102, fig. 78.
- Fig. 198 GRANT 1934: fig. 3 no. 9; KEEL 1977a:102, fig. 79.
- Fig. 199 LOUD 1948: pl. 153:235; KEEL 1977a:102, fig. 82.
- Fig. 200 GUY 1938: pl. 153:235; KEEL 1977a:102, fig. 83.
- Fig. 201 PETRIE 1931: pl. 13:51; TUFNELL 1984: pl. 10:1497; KEEL 1997:120,121, no. 47.
- Fig. 202 KEEL 1997:34,35, no. 35.
- Fig. 203 KEEL 1997:46,47, no. 75.
- Fig. 204 LAMON/SHIPTON 1939: pl. 67:34; KEEL 1977a:102, fig. 84.
- Fig. 205 WARD 1968:137: fig. 2; KEEL 1977a:109, fig. 88, KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:313, fig. 274b; AVIGAD/SASS 1997:109, no. 194.
- Fig. 206 WRIGHT 1962:6, fig. 1; *ibid.* 1965:162, fig. 81; VAN DEN BORN 1968:1587,1588, fig. 101.
- Fig. 207 KEEL 1997:60,61, no. 114.
- Fig. 208 *Ibid.* 1990a:231, no. 21; KLINGBEIL 1992:133; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:433, fig. 360b.
- Fig. 209 MESHORER/QEDAR 1991:45, no. 3.
- Fig. 210 LEITH 1997:195,196, pl. 15:WD38.
- Fig. 211 MESHORER/QEDAR 56, no. 63.
- Fig. 212 STERN 1987:69; COLLON 1987:84, fig. 392; ORNAN 1990:175, fig. 23; STERN 1992:68, fig. 86; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:329, fig. 283.
- Fig. 213 STERN/GILBOA/SHARON 1992:38, fig. 3.
- Fig. 214 CROWFOOT/CROWFOOT/KENYON 1957:87, pl. 15:22; KLINGBEIL 1992:108; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:433, fig. 361b.
- Fig. 215 HOLLAND 1982:557, fig. 226:7.
- Fig. 216 MACALISTER 1912: I 292, fig. 153; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:433, fig. 361a. *Drawn by Ines Haselbach, BIF.*
- Fig. 217 CROSS 1974: pl. 63:j; LEITH 1990: pl. 42:3A = *ibid.* 1997: pl. 19:WD 3A.
- Fig. 218 OREN 1993:1394; STERN 1994a:139, fig. 2.
- Fig. 219 BLISS 1899: pl. 6:9; BLISS/MACALISTER 1902: pl. 83:5s; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:433, fig. 361c.
- Fig. 220 LEITH 1997: pl. 16:WD 18.
- Fig. 221 KEEL 1997:244,245, no. 421.
- Fig. 222 = fig. 36.
- Fig. 223 = fig. 23.

- Fig. 224 MACALISTER 1912: II 346, no. 33; *ibid.* III pl. 214:22; NOUGAYROL 1939: pl. 4:LXII; REICH/BRANDL 1985:46,47, fig. 6:2; ORNAN 1990:175, fig. 21; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:329, fig. 282a.
- Fig. 225 PARKER 1949:28, no. 122, pl. 18:122; MATTHEW 1990: no. 520; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:359, fig. 308.
- Fig. 226 TORREY 1923:106, no. 6; COOK 1925:184; KEEL 1995a:103, fig. 178. *Drawing from Corpus File.*
- Fig. 227 ORNAN 1993:59, fig. 16; AVIGAD/SASS 1997:62, no. 34.
- Fig. 228 LOUD 1948: pl. 161:17; PARKER 1949:36,37, pl. 24:166.
- Fig. 229 PARKER 1949:28, no. 122, pl. 18:122; MATTHEW 1990: no. 520; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:359, fig. 308.
- Fig. 230 MACALISTER 1912: II 346, no. 36, pl. 214:3; NOUGAYROL 1939: pl. 4:CXVIII; PARKER 1949:42, no. 191; pl. 27:191; *drawing from the BIF's file of Palestinian cylinder seals.*
- Fig. 231 *Photograph from Corpus File.*
- Fig. 232 MACALISTER 1912: II 346, no. 38, II pl. 214:23; NOUGAYROL 1939:18, pl. 4:XXXVII; PARKER 1949:38, pl. 25:171; REICH/BRANDL 1985:47, no. 3, 46, fig. 3; ORNAN 1990:177, no. 32.
- Fig. 233 TUFNELL 1940: pl. 44:154; PARKER 1949:6, pl. 1:4; TUFNELL 1953: pls. 44A:154, 45:154; ORNAN 1990:177, no. 33.
- Fig. 234 PETRIE 1928:10,11, pls. 17:50, 19:29; NOUGAYROL 1939:55, pl. 11:CXIII; PARKER 1949:7, pl. 1:7; ORNAN 1990:177, no. 34.
- Fig. 235 SASS 1993:227, fig. 125; AVIGAD/SASS 1997:98, no. 159.
- Fig. 236 LEITH 1990: pl. 47: WD 25; *ibid.* 1997: pl. 21:WD 25.
- Fig. 237 PARKER 1949:38, no. 172, pl.25:172; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:333, fig. 284a.
- Fig. 238 = fig. 146.
- Fig. 239 LEITH 1990: pl. 36:WD 45 = *ibid.* 1997: pl. 12:WD 45.
- Fig. 240 ELLIOTT 1977:8, fig. 1:4; BAR-ADON 1980:100.
- Fig. 241 *Ibid.* 1993:824; *ibid.* 1980:45.
- Fig. 242 *Ibid.* 27.
- Fig. 243 *Ibid.* 24.; *ibid.* 1993:826.
- Fig. 244 ELLIOTT 1977:8, fig. 4:3, BAR-ADON 1980:46.
- Fig. 245 DE VAUX/STEVE 1948:551,552, fig. 3, pl. 22, 23:1; BECK 1967:43,44, fig. 106:5; BEN-TOR 1978: fig. 11:76.S-3; *ibid.* 1985:5,6, fig. 5; TEISSIER 1987:44, fig. 10b; KEEL-LEU 1989:29, fig. 35.
- Fig. 246 ELLIOTT 1977:8, fig. 4:2.
- Fig. 247 YADIN 1975:125.
- Fig. 248 PETRIE 1930: pl. 39:436. *Photograph from Corpus File.*
- Fig. 249 KEEL 1995c:95, fig. 4.
- Fig. 250 BEN-TOR 1978: fig. 11:76.S-3, pl. 11:77.S-4; ARNON/AMIRAN 1981:212, pl. 37:3; BEN-TOR 1985:7, fig. 11; KEEL-LEU 1989:17, fig. 20.
- Fig. 251 MACKAY/MURRAY 1952:8, pl. 10:118; WILLIAMS 1970: fig. 17f; TUFNELL 1984:104, pl. 36:2501; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:22,23, fig. 1a; KEEL 1997:492,493, no. 1144.
- Fig. 252 LOUD 1948: pl. 51:11.
- Fig. 253 PETRIE 1931: pl. 31:1; WILLIAMS 1970: fig. 17e; TUFNELL 1984: pl. 35:2465, 36:2510; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:22,23, fig. 1b; KEEL 1997:106,107, no. 1.
- Fig. 254 MACKAY/MURRAY 1952: pl. 10:117; TUFNELL 1984: pl. 36:2500; KEEL 1997:492,493, no. 1143.
- Fig. 255 PETRIE 1934: pl. 5:112; HORNUNG/STAEHELIN 1976: no. 788; TUFNELL 1984: pls. 16:1741, 36:2499; KEEL 1997:330,331, no. 672.
- Fig. 256 TUFNELL 1953: pl. 44:93; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:209, fig. 199a.
- Fig. 257 KEEL 1997:708,709, no. 48.

- Fig. 258 PETRIE 1930: pl. 48:560. *Photograph from Corpus File.*
 Fig. 259 *Photograph from Corpus File.*
 Fig. 260 TUFNELL 1953: pl. 44:100; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:207, fig. 198a.
 Fig. 261 CROWFOOT/CROWFOOT 1938: pl. 10:8a; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:209, fig. 200a.
 Fig. 262 HESTRIN/DAYAGI-MENDELS 1979:69, no. 45; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:209:200b.
 Fig. 263 STERN 1978a:13, fig. 1b.
 Fig. 264 = fig. 38.
 Fig. 265 LOUD 1948: pl. 64:4; AMIRAN 1969: pl. 50:7.
 Fig. 266 SELLIN 1904:73,74, fig. 98; AMIRAN 1969: pl. 50:1; KEEL 1992:59, fig. 9.
 Fig. 267 PARKER 1949, pl. 16:105.
 Fig. 268 *Ibid.* pl. 17:114.
 Fig. 269 BECK 1994:353, fig. 1; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:177, fig. 182a.
 Fig. 270 LOUD 1948: pl. 288:6; STERN 1978a:16, fig. 6.
 Fig. 271 = fig. 40.
 Fig. 272 STARKEY/HARDING 1932: pl. 58:978; SCHROER 1987a:514, fig. 12.
 Fig. 273 TUFNELL 1940: pl. 59:2; SCHROER 1987a:515, fig. 14.
 Fig. 274 BECK 1986: pl. 12:1; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995: 85, fig. 82.
 Fig. 275 MACALISTER 1912: III pl. 221:20; JAEGER 1982:43 § 95; KEEL 1980:88, fig. 49b.
 Fig. 276 *Ibid.* 1997:632,633, no. 287.
 Fig. 277 KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:371, fig. 318a.
 Fig. 278 BLISS/MACALISTER 1902: pl. 41:132.
 Fig. 279 LAPP 1967:34, fig. 24; KEEL 1980:115, fig. 90, SHUVAL 1990:153: no. 69; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:167, fig. 175a.
 Fig. 280 LOUD 1948: pl. 163:19; KEEL 1985:36, fig. 6, KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:167, fig. 176a.
 Fig. 281 PETRIE 1930: pl. 33:339. *Photograph from Corpus File.*
 Fig. 282 MACKENZIE 1912-13: pl. 29:B2; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:171, fig. 178a.
 Fig. 283 KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:171, fig. 178c; KEEL 1997:50,51, no. 86.
 Fig. 284 LAMON/SHIPTON 1939: pl. 69:29. *Photograph from Corpus File.*
 Fig. 285 PETRIE 1930: pl. 48:558; KEEL 1990c: pl. 22:1. *Drawing from Corpus File.*
 Fig. 286 LAMON/SHIPTON 1939: pl. 67:4; (*drawing from Corpus File.*)
 Fig. 287 ROWE 1940:85, pl. 39:2.
 Fig. 288 BORDREUIL/LEMAIR 1976: pl. 4:2a; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:371, fig. 317a.
 Fig. 289 GIVEON/KERTESZ 1986:42,43, fig. 164; KEEL 1997:578,579, no. 136.
 Fig. 290 LOUD 1948: pl. 152:154; KEEL 1977b:142, fig. 5; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:93, fig. 101b.
 Fig. 291 ROWE 1936: no. SO. 9.
 Fig. 292 FRITZ/KEMPINSKI 1983: pls. 107B,170:3; KEEL 1990c:345, fig. 19; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:137, fig. 145b.
 Fig. 293 = fig. 293.
 Fig. 294 PARKER 1949:38, no. 174, pl. 25:174.
 Fig. 295 BECK 1994:378, fig. 21.
 Fig. 296 = fig. 56.
 Fig. 297 PETRIE/ELLIS 1937: pl. 6:57; KEEL 1990c:340, fig. 9.
 Fig. 298 SHUVAL 1990:125, no. 4; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:137, fig. 146a.
 Fig. 299 PETRIE 1930: pl. 31:324; SHUVAL 1990:129, no. 11; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:137, fig. 147a.
 Fig. 300 = fig. 229.
 Fig. 301 PARKER 1949: pl. 7:48.
 Fig. 302 = fig. 224.
 Fig. 303 GIVEON 1988:70,71, no. 76.
 Fig. 304 = fig. 187.
 Fig. 305 LOUD 1939: pl. 5:4.

- Fig. 306 KEEL 1978:93, fig. 19b; GIVEON/KERTESZ 1986:14,15, no. 27; KEEL 1997:536,537, no. 18.
- Fig. 307 PETRIE/ELLIS 1937: pl. 6:59; KEEL 1990c:342, fig. 16.
- Fig. 308 KEEL 1978:93, fig. 20b; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:207:196b.
- Fig. 309 MACALISTER 1912: III pl. 205:20; ROWE 1936: no. 183; KEEL 1997:190, fig. 329.
- Fig. 310 PETRIE 1928:11,12 pl. 19:30; NOUGAYROL 1939: pl. 11: TG.2 C; KEEL 1994c:191, fig. 55.
- Fig. 311 = fig. 27.
- Fig. 312 CORNELIUS 1994: pl. 31:RM40.
- Fig. 313 BIRAN 1992:248, fig. 220; *ibid.* 1994:270, fig. 224.
- Fig. 314 KEEL 1997:668,669, no. 16.
- Fig. 315 TUFNELL 1953: pl. 44:89.
- Fig. 316 KEEL 1992a:182, fig. 142.
- Fig. 317 MAZAR 1982:30, fig. 2; KEEL 1992a:184, fig. 146; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:135, fig. 142.
- Fig. 318 BRANDL 1993b:225, fig. 9:2.
- Fig. 319 LOUD 1948: pl. 249:3.
- Fig. 320 VAN BEEK 1993:670.
- Fig. 321 PETRIE 1928: pl.37:22.
- Fig. 322 BECK 1995:126, fig. 3.82 no. 121.
- Fig. 323 AVIGAD/SASS 1997:91,92, no. 133.
- Fig. 324 KEEL 1997:660,661, no. 2.
- Fig. 325 PETRIE 1928: pl. 20:21.
- Fig. 326 *Ibid.* 1932: pl. 7:76; KEEL 1997:196,197, no. 279.
- Fig. 327 ROWE 1940:85, pl. 39:5.
- Fig. 328 KEEL 1997:618,619, no. 251.
- Fig. 329 SASS 1993:227, no. 118.
- Fig. 330 = fig. 7.
- Fig. 331 = fig. 1.
- Fig. 332 = fig. 9.
- Fig. 333 = fig. 11.
- Fig. 334 LOUD 1948: pl. 204:3 (only a section depicted)
- Fig. 335 STERN 1992:48, fig. 56, *ibid.* 1994b:103, fig. 52.
- Fig. 336 ROWE 1936:124, no. 527, pl. 13:527; KEEL 1992a:190, fig. 161.
- Fig. 337 *Ibid.* 1997:564,565, no. 94.
- Fig. 338 = fig. 58.
- Fig. 339 KEEL 1997:12,13, no. 19.
- Fig. 340 = fig. 185.
- Fig. 341 ROWE 1940:83, pl. 36:20. *Drawing from Corpus File.*
- Fig. 342 KEEL-LEU 1991: no. 65; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:161, fig. 165a.
- Fig. 343 GIVEON/KERTESZ 1986:40,41, no. 156; KEEL 1990c:368,369, fig. 64, pl. 18:2; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:163, fig. 167a; KEEL 1997:576,577, no. 132.
- Fig. 344 YADIN 1961: pl. 319:1; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:45, fig. 31a.
- Fig. 345 PETRIE 1930: pl. 43:533, KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:145, fig. 155b.
- Fig. 346 GIVEON/KERTESZ 1986:38,39, no. 148; KEEL 1997:574,575, no. 124.
- Fig. 347 KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:161, fig. 165c.
- Fig. 348 *Ibid.* 241, fig. 220.
- Fig. 349 SHUVAL 1990:124, no. 3. *Photograph from Corpus File.*
- Fig. 350 LOUD 1948: pl. 153:225. *Photograph from Corpus File.*
- Fig. 351 GIVEON/KERTESZ 1986:40,41, no. 155; KEEL 1990c:368,369, fig. 63, pl. 18:1; KEEL 1997:576,577, no. 131.

- Fig. 352 = fig. 343.
 Fig. 353 CROWFOOT/CROWFOOT/KENYON 1957: pl. 15:24. *Photograph from Corpus File.*
 Fig. 354 = fig. 11.
 Fig. 355 = fig. 12.
 Fig. 356 = fig. 351.
 Fig. 357 ROWE 1936: no. SO. 28; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:179:185a.
 Fig. 358 KEEL 1990c:371, no. 14, pl. 20:2; KEEL 1997:692,693, no. 12.
 Fig. 359 MACALISTER 1912: II 419, fig. 504; NEGBI 1976:79, fig. 93; WINTER 1983:100, fig. 14; SCHROER 1989:112: fig. 033; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:39, fig. 23.
 Fig. 360 KENYON 1965: fig. 296:14; SCHROER 1989:99, fig. 41; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:23, fig. 2.
 Fig. 361 NEGBI 1976:64, fig. 78; DOTHAN 1993:1091; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:35, fig. 17.
 Fig. 362 = fig. 1.
 Fig. 363 NEGBI 1976:80, fig. 94; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:39, fig. 25b.
 Fig. 364 KEEL 1997:516,517, no. 1216.
 Fig. 365 = fig. 365.
 Fig. 366 STARKEY/HARDING 1932: pl. 52:192; GIVEON 1985a:36,37, no. 40.
 Fig. 367 KEEL 1997:612,613, no. 236.
 Fig. 368 STARKEY/HARDING 1932: pl. 55:317; GIVEON 1985a:46,47, no. 72.
 Fig. 369 STARKEY/HARDING 1932: pl. 55:252; UEHLINGER 1990:14, fig. 4.
 Fig. 370 BECK 1977:68,69, pls. 8:15, 21:4.
 Fig. 371 KEEL 1974:174, fig. 27.
 Fig. 372 fig. 372.
 Fig. 373 GIVEON/KERTESZ 1986:26,27, no. 89; SHUVAL 1990:142, no. 42, KEEL 1990a:199, fig. 32b.
 Fig. 374 ALBRIGHT 1938:73,80,86, pl. 32:14. *Photograph from Corpus File.*
 Fig. 375 SCHAUMACHER 1908:86,89, fig. 124, pl.27:f; SHUVAL 1990:145, no. 45; KEEL 1994a:51, fig. 3; CORNELIUS 1994:119, no. RM33, pl. 31:RM33.
 Fig. 376 = fig. 26.
 Fig. 377 GIVEON/KERTESZ 1986:28,29, no. 91; SHUVAL 1990:143, no. 45; KEEL 1990b:291, fig. 0131; CORNELIUS 1994:205, BM66, pl. 50:BM66.
 Fig. 378 = fig. 344.
 Fig. 379 = fig. 1.
 Fig. 380 MACALISTER 1912: II 345, fig. 464; NOUGAYROL 1939:42,43, no. LXXXVII, pl. 3:EG.21.
 Fig. 381 GRANT 1932: pl. 48; NOUGAYROL 1939:40, no. LXXXIII, pl. 5:GR.8; PARKER 1949:6, pl. 1:2; VANEL 1965:102,102, fig. 51.
 Fig. 382 = fig. 15.
 Fig. 383 CLAMER 1980:153, fig. 1; WEIPPERT 1988:304, fig. 3.52.1; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:75, fig. 71.
 Fig. 384 = fig. 17.
 Fig. 385 = fig. 4.
 Fig. 386 = fig. 130.
 Fig. 387 GARSTANG 1933:36,37, fig. 11, pl. 11; ROWE 1936:173, pl. 18:722; SHUVAL 1990:135, no. 25; KEEL 1990b:297; CORNELIUS 1994:198, no. BM49, pl. 49:BM49. *Photograph from Corpus File.*
 Fig. 388 = fig. 133.
 Fig. 389 = fig. 21.
 Fig. 390 = fig. 24.
 Fig. 391 BECK 1977:66-68, pl. 21:3.

- Fig. 392 CROWFOOT/CROWFOOT/KENYON 1957: pl. 15:23; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:217, fig. 207b.
- Fig. 393 SELLIN 1900:7, fig. 1; VINCENT 1907:168, fig. 114; NEGBI 1976:185, no. 1628 (no illustration); SEEDEN 1980:110, no. 1726, pl. 103:1726, BECK 1995:80: fig. 3.57b.
- Fig. 394 Ibid. 78,79, figs. 3.53,3.55.
- Fig. 395 ROWE 1930: pl. 33; *ibid.* 1940 frontispiz; PRITCHARD 1954, no. 487; WEIPPERT 1988:298, fig. 3.49.2; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:95, fig. 102.
- Fig. 396 KEEL 1990b:313, fig. 85; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:87, fig. 87b.
- Fig. 397 = fig. 27.
- Fig. 398 = fig. 237.
- Fig. 399 KEEL 1990a:238, no. 24.
- Fig. 400 MESHORER/QEDAR 1991:59, no. 83.
- Fig. 401 = fig. 189.
- Fig. 402 TUFNELL 1958: pl. 30:64; SCHROER 1985:84, fig. 45; *photograph from Corpus File.*
- Fig. 403 MACALISTER 1912: III pl. 202a:7; MURRAY 1949: pl. 11:4; TUFNELL 1956:68, no. 6. *Photograph from Corpus File.*
- Fig. 404 STERN 1978a:13, fig. 1a, pl. 1A,B.
- Fig. 405 JOHNS 1933:44,88 no. 762 with fig. 65, pl. 14:762; ROWE 1936: no. 908; KLINGBEIL 1992:98, no. 18; KEEL 1997:764,765, no. 19.
- Fig. 406 HORN 1962:12, fig. 2:33, pl. 1:33; JAROS 1976: fig. 52:7; Keel 1977a:308, fig. 238c; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:347, fig. 304.
- Fig. 407 Keel 1977a:308, fig. 238a; SASS 1993:233, fig. 136; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:351, fig. 306a.
- Fig. 408 SASS 1993:233, fig. 137; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:351, fig. 305c.
- Fig. 409 PETRIE 1933: pl. 3:62; ROWE 1936: no. 484; KEEL 1984a:345, fig. 495; WIESE 1990:131,132, fig. 154; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:90,91, fig. 91; KEEL 1997:248,249, no. 430.
- Fig. 410 KEEL 1982:417,418, no. 3, pl. 3:4; *ibid.* 1994:63,64, no. 4, 125, fig. 4; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:155, fig. 158a.
- Fig. 411 DOTHAN/DOTHAN 1992: pl. 11; KEEL 1994b:130, fig. 48b.
- Fig. 412 AHARONI 1996: fig. 1.
- Fig. 413 KEEL 1990a:189, fig. 20.
- Fig. 414 PETRIE 1930: pl. 35:391. *Photograph from Corpus File.*
- Fig. 415 KEEL 1994a:51, fig. 9.
- Fig. 416 *Ibid.* 1997:678,679, no. 44.
- Fig. 417 *Photograph from Corpus File.*
- Fig. 418 STERN 1978a:17, fig. 8; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:411, fig. 347.
- Fig. 419 KEEL 1997:630,631, no. 280.
- Fig. 420 MACALISTER 1912: III pl. 208:55.
- Fig. 421 MESHORER/QEDAR 1991:50, no. 29.
- Fig. 422 KEEL 1997:178,179, no. 226.
- Fig. 423 *Ibid.* 698,699, no. 28.
- Fig. 424 PETRIE 1930: pl. 33:355. *Photograph from Corpus File.*
- Fig. 425 BIRAN/NEGBI 1966: pl. 22E; KEEL 1989c:290, fig. 30.
- Fig. 426 TUFNELL 1940: pl. 32A:31; *photograph from Corpus File.*
- Fig. 427 GIVEON 1988:96,97, no. 112.
- Fig. 428 KEEL 1997:772,773, no. 37.
- Fig. 429 PARKER 1949: no. 194; WINTER 1983: no. 469; SCHROER 1978b:211, fig. 23.
- Fig. 430 GRANT 1932:26, no. 1395; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:279, no. 238b.
- Fig. 431 YADIN 1961: pls. 187:19, 360:2; GOLDWASSER 1989:339, fig. 7.
- Fig. 432 MESHORER/QEDAR 1991:50, no. 33.

- Fig. 433 KEEL 1989c:309, fig. 102; *ibid.* 1997:28,29, no. 21.
 Fig. 434 PETRIE 1933: pl. 3:58; KEEL 1997:246,247, no. 427.
 Fig. 435 ROWE 1940: pl. 36:7.
 Fig. 436 MESHORER/QEDAR 1991:55, no. 58.
 Fig. 437 *Ibid.* 48, no. 19.
 Fig. 438 *Ibid.* 50, no. 32.
 Fig. 439 MILDENBERG 1991:308,309, pl. 21:1.
 Fig. 440 PETRIE 1934: pl. 7:238; KEEL 1997:376,377, no. 798.
 Fig. 441 PETRIE/ELLIS 1937: pl. 6:65.
 Fig. 442 WIESE 1990:91, fig. 113.
 Fig. 443 GIVEON/KERTESZ 1986:26,27, no. 88; WIESE 1990:95; KEEL 1997:558,559, no. 83.
 Fig. 444 WIESE 1990:92, fig. 115.
 Fig. 445 *Ibid.* fig. 118.
 Fig. 446 *Ibid.* 93, fig. 121; Corpus File no. 746.
 Fig. 447 KEEL 1997:62,63 no. 125.
 Fig. 448 PETRIE 1930: pl. 22:235; SCHROER 1985:84, fig. 48; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:49, fig. 36d.
 Fig. 449 MCCOWN 1947: pl. 54:18; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:171, fig. 181.
 Fig. 450 TUFNELL 1953; pl. 44:76. *Photograph from Corpus File.*
 Fig. 451 DOTHAN 1971: I 138,139, II 162,163, fig. 76:1, pl. 69:7; KEEL 1997:666,667, no. 15.
 Fig. 452 KEEL 1995a:89, fig. 151. *Photograph from Corpus File.*
 Fig. 453 KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:249, fig. 229.
 Fig. 454 GIVEON 1978: fig. 52a-c; KEEL/KÜCHLER 1982:838.
 Fig. 455 *Photograph from Corpus File.*
 Fig. 456 LOUD 1939: pl. 62:377.
 Fig. 457 BEN-TOR 1992:157, fig. 3.
 Fig. 458 = fig. 155.
 Fig. 459 MACALISTER 1912: pl. 137:44.
 Fig. 460 *Ibid.* fig. 45.
 Fig. 461 = fig. 395.
 Fig. 462 = fig. 446.
 Fig. 463 BECK 1982:54, fig. 21; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:279, fig. 238a.
 Fig. 464 BARNETT 1982:21, fig. 10a; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:73, fig. 68a.
 Fig. 465 = fig. 51.
 Fig. 466 LOUD 1939: no. 160; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:73, fig. 67.
 Fig. 467 = fig. 229.
 Fig. 468 GIVEON/LEMAIRE 1985: pl. 5b; GUBEL 1993:120,121, fig. 59; KEEL 1997:536,537, no. 19.
 Fig. 469 LAMON/SHIPTON 1939: pl. 66:3; PARKER 1949:12, no. 29, pl. 4:29; WEIPPERT 1978:54,56 no. 6; WIESE 1990:73, fig. 96; KEEL 1994c:191, fig. 53.
 Fig. 470 PETRIE 1934: pl. 9:355; NOUGAYROL 1939: pl. 9:TA.26; PARKER 1949:30, no. 130, pl. 20:130; KEEL 1977c:139, fig. 42; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:71, fig. 66a.
 Fig. 471 KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:155, fig. 160.
 Fig. 472 MACALISTER 1912: II 346, no. 37, III pl. 214:25; NOUGAYROL 1939:47, no. LXXXXVII, pl. 4:EG.44.
 Fig. 473 PETRIE 1931: pl. 13:33; PARKER 1949:8, pl. 2:9; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:51, fig. 41.
 Fig. 474 YADIN 1961: pl. 330:2.
 Fig. 475 *Ibid.* 1960: pl. 197.
 Fig. 476 *Ibid.* 1961: pl. 326:2.
 Fig. 477 *Ibid.* 1993:596.
 Fig. 478 *Ibid.* 1958: pl. 31:1.

- Fig. 479 *BECK 1990:92, fig. 1a.*
 Fig. 480 = fig. 16.
 Fig. 481 *BIRAN/NEGBI 1966: pl. 22:A; NEGBI 1976: no. 1478; BIRAN 1993:1527.*
 Fig. 482 *YADIN 1961: pls. 305:2, 340:1-6; NEGBI 1976: no. 1475, fig. 60; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:133, fig. 141.*
 Fig. 483 *ROWE 1940: pls. 35:9/65A:2; NEGBI 1976: no. 1448.*
 Fig. 484 *BIRAN/NEGBI 1966: pl. 23; BIRAN 1993:1527.*
 Fig. 485 *ROWE 1930: pl. 51; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:107, fig. 120b.*
 Fig. 486 *PRITCHARD 1954: no. 587; WEIPPERT 1988:471, fig. 4.30.*
 Fig. 487 *MAY 1935: pl. 18; LAMON/SHIPTON 1939: pl. 89.*
 Fig. 488 *AVIGAD 1960: pl. 10:B.*
 Fig. 489 *Ibid. pl. 10:A.*
 Fig. 490 *STERN 1982:164, fig. 278.*
 Fig. 491 = fig. 20.
 Fig. 492 = fig. 21.
 Fig. 493 = fig. 23.
 Fig. 494 = fig. 22.
 Fig. 495 = fig. 28.
 Fig. 496 = fig. 33.
 Fig. 497 = fig. 29.
 Fig. 498 = fig. 30.
 Fig. 499 *GIVEON 1984:120,121, fig. 38:2; KEEL 1990c:346, fig. 21.*
 Fig. 500 = fig. 68.
 Fig. 501 *YADIN 1960: pls. 137:16,187:17. Drawing from Corpus File.*
 Fig. 502 *LOUD 1948: pl. 152:200; KEEL 1994:42.*
 Fig. 503 *STARKEY/HARDING 1932: pl. 52:112; GIVEON 1985:26,27, no. 12.*
 Fig. 504 *Unpublished. Drawing from Corpus File.*
 Fig. 505 *STARKEY/HARDING 1932: pl. 61:5,6. Drawing from Corpus File.*
 Fig. 506 = fig. 28.
 Fig. 507 = fig. 185.
 Fig. 508 = fig. 184.
 Fig. 509 = fig. 189.
 Fig. 510 = fig. 20.
 Fig. 511 = fig. 290.
 Fig. 512 = fig. 69.
 Fig. 513 *DE VAUX 1955:572,581, fig. 18:F.2904.*
 Fig. 514 = fig. 514.
 Fig. 515 *LOUD 1948: pl. 152:156; KEEL 1992a:190, no. 162; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:93, fig. 99.*
 Fig. 516 = fig. 503.
 Fig. 517 *DOTHAN 1971: I 100,101, II 98,99, fig. 44:19, pl. 44:13; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:307,308, fig. 269a; KEEL 1997:666,667, no. 11.*
 Fig. 518 = fig. 472.
 Fig. 519 = fig. 439.
 Fig. 520 = fig. 410.
 Fig. 521 = fig. 20.
 Fig. 522 = fig. 33.
 Fig. 523 = fig. 29.
 Fig. 524 = fig. 524.
 Fig. 525 = fig. 292.
 Fig. 526 *LEMAIRE 1986:307-309, fig. 2b; GUBEL 1991:918, fig. 3e.*
 Fig. 527 = fig. 24.

- Fig. 528 = fig. 83.
Fig. 529 *MESHORER/QEDAR 1991:53, no. 49.*
Fig. 530 = fig. 185.
Fig. 531 = fig. 20.
Fig. 532 = fig. 26.
Fig. 533 = fig. 184.
Fig. 534 = fig. 189.
Fig. 535 = fig. 336.
Fig. 536 = fig. 517.
Fig. 537 = fig. 224.
Fig. 538 = fig. 237.
Fig. 539 = fig. 393.
Fig. 540 = fig. 472.
Fig. 541 *WARD 1910:105, fig. 300a.*
Fig. 542 *BOEHMER 1965: pl. 43:510.*
Fig. 543 = fig. 483.
Fig. 544 = fig. 395.
Fig. 545 *BARNETT 1969-1971:48 no. 5, pl. 14:5; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:351, fig. 306b.*
Fig. 546 = fig. 229.
Fig. 547 = fig. 488.
Fig. 548 = fig. 439.
Fig. 549 = fig. 410.

Footnote figures

- Fn. fig. 1 *OFFORD 1900:379, fig. 1.*
- Fn. fig. 2 *KEEL/UEHLINGER 1995:221, fig. 211c.*
- Fn. fig. 3 *KEEL 1994a:34, pl. 11:30.*
- Fn. fig. 4 *Ibid. 1995a:195, fig. 353.*
- Fn. fig. 5 *PORADA 1948:144, no. 1029, pl. 157:1029E.*
- Fn. fig. 6 *AMIET 1973:205, fig. 3; SCHAEFFER-FORRER 1983:21, fig. e; WINTER 1983: fig. 306; SCHROER 1985:87, fig. 53, 93, fig. 65.*
- Fn. fig. 7 *SCHAEFFER-FORRER 1983:16, R.S. 5.089.*
- Fn. fig. 8 *CROWFOOT/CROWFOOT/KENYON 1957:88,393, fig. 92:80; STERN 1994a:142, fig. 12.*
- Fn. fig. 9 *WARD 1910:332, fig. 1080.*
- Fn. fig. 10 *LEIBOVITCH 1953:105, fig. 18; TE VELDE 1977:19, fig. 8; KEEL 1990:311, fig. 83.*
- Fn. fig. 11 *ROWE 1940: pl. 19:13; LEIBOVITCH 1944b:236, fig. 6a; METZGER 1985:259, fig. 1180.*
- Fn. fig. 12 *NELSON pls. 81/82, sq 20.*
- Fn. fig. 13 *NEWBERRY 1893: pl. 4 (cf. also pl. 13); LEIBOVITCH 1944b; 237, fig. 7a; TE VELDE 1977:15, fig. 5.*
- Fn. fig. 14 *LEIBOVITCH 1944b:242, fig. 15; TE VELDE 1977:19, fig. 9.*
- Fn. fig. 15 *WRESZINSKI 1988: I pl. 94b; LEIBOVITCH 1944b:243, fig. 16.*
- Fn. fig. 16 *MONTET 1937:114, fig. 155; LEIBOVITCH 1943:195, fig. 13.*
- Fn. fig. 17 *Ibid. fig. 14.*
- Fn. fig. 18 *BARKAY 1984:105; ibid. 1986:27; WEIPPERT 1988:716, fig. 5:9; KLINGBEIL 1992:73,136.*
- Fn. fig. 19 *KEEL 1997:199, fig. 370.*
- Fn. fig. 20 *PETRIE 1925: pl. 11:608; KEEL 1997:199, fig. 371.*
- Fn. fig. 21 *PRITCHARD 1954: nos. 456,458; KEEL 1977a:20, fig. 4; ibid. 1984a:150, fig. 235; METZGER 1985: pl. 113:1183.*
- Fn. fig. 22 *KEEL 1978:89, fig. 14.*
- Fn. fig. 23 *MOORTGAT 1940: pl. 76:644.*
- Fn. fig. 24 *BUCHANAN 1966: pl. 39:582.*
- Fn. fig. 25 *WARD 1910:49, fig. 130; BOEHMER 1965:168. no. 881, pl. 28:333; MOORTGAT 1966:104, no. 233, pl. 31:233; SEIDL 1989:172, no. E 3. a; GREEN 1986:169, pl. 2:8.*
- Fn. fig. 26 *BOEHMER 1965:168, no. 888, pl. 29:340.*
- Fn. fig. 27 *WARD 1910:144, fig. 393; WEBER 1920: fig. 403; UNGER 1925: pl. 172:b.*
- Fn. fig. 28 *GREEN 1994:250, fig. 4.*
- Fn. fig. 29 *PORADA 1948: pl. 87:608E.*
- Fn. fig. 30 *Photograph from Corpus File.*
- Fn. fig. 31 *KEEL 1984b:174, fig. 97.*
- Fn. fig. 32 *LAMON/SHIPTON 1939: pl. 69:22; SHUVAL 1990:153, no. 68; KEEL 1980:116, fig. 91.*
- Fn. fig. 33 *PORADA 1970:40, no. 36.*
- Fn. fig. 34 *TEISSIER 1984:163, no. 204.*
- Fn. fig. 35 *NEGBI 1976: pl. 21:1317; SEEDEN 1980: pl. 102:1724, FALSONE 1986:69, fig. 7.*
- Fn. fig. 36 *KEEL 1978:107, fig. 45.*
- Fn. fig. 37 *KIENLE 1975: pl. 4:1.*
- Fn. fig. 38 *Ibid. pl. 4:2.*

List of graphs

Graph 1: The weather god (and Seth) and the lion	169
Graph 2: The weather god and the serpent.....	173
Graph 3: The weather god and Mischwesen.....	176
Graph 4: The overcoming of the mythological crocodile.....	180
Graph 5: The Horus-type hero as "master of crocodiles".....	184
Graph 6: The lion attacking a human.....	224
Graph 7: The lion attacking a horned animal (and a human).....	236
Graph 8: The lion overcoming the crocodile.....	240
Graph 9: The lion attacked and overcome by gods.....	248
Graph 10: The lion attacked by the king/royal hero.....	257
Graph 11: Mistress/master of lions.....	263
Graph 12: The solitary roaring rampant lion.....	266
Graph 12: The winged Baal-Seth.....	316
Graph 14: The aggressive griffin.....	322
Graph 15: Winged bulls.....	325
Graph 16: Master of winged animals.....	329
Graph 17: Winged demons, heros, and dragons involved in the struggle with life-threatening forces and the control of the cosmic order.....	333
Graph 18: The horned animal attacked by a human figure.....	393
Graph 19: The horned animal attacked by the lion.....	403
Graph 20: The horned animal attacked by a human and a lion.....	406
Graph 21: The horned animal attacked by a griffin.....	409
Graph 22: Master/mistress of horned animals.....	415
Graph 23: The horned animal as symbol for might.....	418
Graph 24: Attacking bovine animals.....	423
Graph 25: Horned gods/goddesses with threatening or power displaying poses or attributes.....	428
Graph 26: Horned dragons, monsters, and demons.....	432
Graph 27: The bearded enthroned god.....	479
Graph 28: The fire associated with the enthroned.....	483

List of maps

Graph 1: The weather god (and Seth) and the lion	169
Graph 2: The weather god and the serpent	173
Graph 3: The weather god and Mischwesen	176
Graph 4: The overcoming of the mythological crocodile	180
Graph 5: The Horus-type hero as "master of crocodiles"	184
Graph 6: The lion attacking a human	224
Graph 7: The lion attacking a horned animal (and a human)	236
Graph 8: The lion overcoming the crocodile	240
Graph 9: The lion attacked and overcome by gods	248
Graph 10: The lion attacked by the king/royal hero	257
Graph 11: Mistress/master of lions	263
Graph 12: The solitary roaring rampant lion	266
Graph 12: The winged Baal-Seth	316
Graph 14: The aggressive griffin	322
Graph 15: Winged bulls	325
Graph 16: Master of winged animals	329
Graph 17: Winged demons, heros, and dragons involved in the struggle with life-threatening forces and the control of the cosmic order	333
Graph 18: The horned animal attacked by a human figure	393
Graph 19: The horned animal attacked by the lion	403
Graph 20: The horned animal attacked by a human and a lion	406
Graph 21: The horned animal attacked by a griffin	409
Graph 22: Master/mistress of horned animals	415
Graph 23: The horned animal as symbol for might	418
Graph 24: Attacking bovine animals	423
Graph 25: Horned gods/goddesses with threatening or power displaying poses or attributes	428
Graph 26: Horned dragons, monsters, and demons	432
Graph 27: The bearded enthroned god	479
Graph 28: The fire associated with the enthroned	483

Abbreviations

AAA	Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology
AB	The Anchor Bible
ADPV	Abhandlungen des Deutschen Palästinavereins
AEO	Archives d'études orientales
AI	Acta Iranica
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology
AJBA	Australian Journal of Biblical Archaeology
AnStud	Anatolian Studies
AnOr	Analecta Orientalia
AO	Der Alte Orient
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
AOH	Acta Orientalia (Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae)
AOS	American Oriental Series
AS	Anatolian Studies
ASE	Archaeological Survey of Egypt
ASAE	Annales du service des antiquités de l'Égypte
ATA	Alttestamentliche Abhandlungen
ATD	Altes Testament Deutsch
AThANT	Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments
AUSDDS	Andrews University Seminary Doctoral Dissertation Series
AUSS	Andrews University Seminary Studies
BA	The Biblical Archaeologist
BaghF	Baghdader Forschungen
BaghM	Baghdader Mitteilungen
BAH	Bibliothèque archéologique et historique
BASOR	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research
BASOR.S	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research. Supplement
BETL	Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium
BHS	<i>Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia</i> . Eds.: K. Elliger/W. Rudolph. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1983.
Bib	Biblica
Biblical books	The abbreviation system used is that of the BibleWorks for Windows Computer Bible Research Software
BibOr	Biblica et orientalia
BIE	Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte
BIES	Bulletin of the Israel Exploration Society
BIF	Biblisches Institute Freiburg (Schweiz)
BK.AT	Biblischer Kommentar Altes Testament
BM	Bibliotheca Mesopotamica
BM EA	British Museum, Department of Egyptian Antiquities
BN	Biblische Notizen
BSAE	British School of Archaeology in Egypt

BSFE	Bulletin de la société française d'égyptologie
BTB	Biblical Theology Bulletin
BVSAW.PH	Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig. Philologisch-historische Klasse
BWANT	Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament
BZAW	Beiheft zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
BZSF	Biblische Zeit- und Streitfragen.
CAT	M. DIETRICH/O. LORENZ/J. SANMARTIN, <i>The cuneiform alphabetic texts from Ugarit, Ras Ibn Hani and other places: (KTU)</i> . (Abhandlungen zur Literatur Alt-Syrien-Palästinas und Mesopotamiens 8). Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1995.
CAT	Commentaire de l'Ancien Testament
CBQ	Catholic Biblical Quarterly
CBOTS	Coniectanea Biblica Old Testament Series
CM	Cuneiform Monographs
Corpus File	Seal amulet corpus file at the BIF
CRB	Cahiers de la Revue Biblique
CSF	Collezione di Studi Fenici
CTA	Cf. HERDNER 1963
CUOS	Columbia University Oriental Studies
DJD	Discoveries in the Judaean Desert
D+numeral	Cf. GARDINER 1969:442-548.
EB	Early Bronze Age
EBC	Expositor's Bible Commentary
EF	Erträge der Forschung
EPRO	Etudes préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'empire romain
EI	Eretz Israel
ET	The Expository Times
ETL	Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses
FOTL	The Forms of the Old Testament Literature
FRLANT	Forschung zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
FrZPhTh	Freiburger Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Theologie
GOF	Göttinger Orientforschungen
HAB	Harper's Annotated Bible
HAT	Handbuch zum Alten Testament
HKAT	Handkommentar zum Alten Testament.
HNT	Handbuch zum Neuen Testament
HSAT	Die Heilige Schrift des Alten Testaments
HSM	Harvard Semitic Monographs
HSS	Harvard Semitic Studies
HTR	Harvard Theological Review
HZ	Historische Zeitschrift
IA	Iron Age
ICC	The International Critical Commentary
IEJ	Israel Exploration Journal
ILN	Illustrated London News

Int	Interpretation
JANES	Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Studies
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society
JARCE	Journal of the American research center in Egypt
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature
JEA	The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology
JETS	Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society
JHS	Journal for Hellenic Studies
JJS	Journal of Jewish Studies
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies
JNSL	Journal of North–West Semitic Languages
JSOT	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament
JSOTSS	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series
JTS	Journal of Theological Studies
KAT	Kommentar zum Alten Testament
KEHAT	Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zum Alten Testament
KHAT	Kurzer Handkommentar zum Alten Testament
KJV	King James Version
Klio	Klio. Beiträge zur alten Geschichte
KST	Kohlhammer Studienbücher Theologie
KTU	Cf. DIETRICH/LORETZ/SANMARTÍN 1976.
LB	Late Bronze Age
MÄS	Münchner Ägyptologische Studien
MB	Middle Bronze Age
MMA	Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
MAOG	Mitteilungen der altorientalischen Gesellschaft
MNDPV	Mitteilungen und Nachrichten des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins
MMAIBL	Monuments et mémoires publiés par l'académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres
NAB	New American Standard Bible
NE	Die Neue Echter Bibel
NKZ	Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift
NRS	New Revised Standard Version
NSK.AT	Neuer Stuttgarter Kommentar. Altes Testament.
NTG	Neue theologische Grundrisse
NTL	The New Testament Library
NTOA	Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus
NTS	New Testament Studies
UF	Ugarit Forschungen
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
OBA.SA	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis. Series Archaeologica
OLZ	Orientalische Literaturzeitschrift
OIP	The University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications
OP	Orbis Pictus
Or	Orientalia

OrLovAn	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta
OTS	Old Testament Studies
PÄ	Probleme der Ägyptologie
PF	Prähistorische Bronzefunde
PINHAS	Publications de l'Institut historique-archeologique neerlandais de Stamboul
PJ	Palästinajahrbuch
PSBA	Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology
PSBF.Ma	Pubblicazioni dello studium biblicum franciscanum. Collectio maior
PEFQSt	Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement
PEQ	Palestine Exploration Quarterly
PFB	Prähistorische Bronzefunde
QD	Quaestiones Disputatae
QDAP	Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities of Palestine
RA	Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale
RB	Revue Biblique
Ref	Reformatio
RIA	<i>Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäolo- gie</i> . Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1932-.
RIV	<i>Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte</i> . 15 vols. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1924-1932.
RHR	Revue de l'histoire des religions
RSF	Rivista di storia della filosofia
RSO	Rivista degli Studi Orientali
RWB	Religionswissenschaftliche Bibliothek
SAAS	State Archives of Assyria Studies
SBM	Stuttgarter Biblische Monographien
SBS	Stuttgarter Bibelstudien
Sem	Semitica
SMS	Syro-Mesopotamian Studies
SNVAO.HF	Skifter det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi i Oslo. II. Historisk- Filosofisk Klasse
SP	Studia Phoenicia
SPB	Studia Post-Biblica
SPCK	Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge
SS	Studi Semitici
STh	Studia Theologica
StNT	Studien zum Neuen Testament
SVTP	Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha
TA	Tel Aviv
TBC	Torch Bible Commentaries
ThR	Theologische Rundschau
ThRv	Theologische Revue
ThStKr	Theologische Studien und Kritiken
ThWNT	Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament
TOTC	The Tyndale Old Testament Commentaries

TSAJ	Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum
TynBul	Tyndale Bulletin
UAVA	Untersuchungen zur Assyriologie und vorderasiatischen Archäologie
UF	Ugarit-Forschungen
VT	Vetus Testamentum
VT.S	Vetus Testamentum Supplementum
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
WRATR	Aus der Welt der Religion. Alttestamentliche Reihe
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
WVDOG	Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der deutschen Orientgesellschaft
ZPapuEp	Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik
ZÄS	Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde
ZA	Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und vorderasiatische Archäologie
ZAW	Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
ZBAT	Zürcher Bibelkommentare Altes Testament
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft
ZDP(V)	Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins
ZNWuKU	Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde des Urchristentums

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Indices

Subject index

(including the authors mentioned in the research history)

A

À jour work · 198

Acco · 149, 155, 159, 162, 181, 192, 198, 199, 200, 202, 211, 222, 227, 228, 229, 241, 242, 249, 250, 252, 258, 278, 281, 282, 289, 313, 340, 349, 351, 355, 357, 361, 362, 364, 366, 368, 369, 372–374, 377, 378, 385, 387, 389, 396, 398, 400, 404, 410, 421, 424, 425, 440, 445, 447, 453, 459

Achaemenid

art · 62

iconography · 215

period · 97, 308

proto–Achaemenid influence · 299

relief · 131

seal · 299

Achzib · 182, 280, 292, 297, 298, 350, 369, 450, 453, 482

Acrophony · 207, 208

Adam · 77, 80, 81, 93, 99, 119, 120, 127

Adam Kadmon · 93

Adapa · 76–78

Adoration · 153, 161, 194, 196, 229, 230, 251, 285, 306, 331, 376, 383, 399, 454, 456, 460, 464, 471

Aegean

feature · 293

world · 195

Aged god · 79, 83, 91

Ahram of Byblos · 288

Ahuramazda · 97, 131, 452

Akhenaten · 67

Akinakes · 319, 323, 431

Akitu festival · 355

Aladlammû · 282, 308, 310

Albright · 78

Aleppo · 171, 229, 303, 306, 399

Alexander III the Great · 69, 70, 74

Amarna letters · 85

Amenophis II · 67, 174, 293, 318, 364, 421

Amenophis III · 174, 293, 318

Amesha Spentas · 97

Amethyst · 259, 317, 318, 407, 412, 425

Amorites · 83, 84

Amun · 207, 209, 213, 217, 296, 371, 372, 455, 472, 476, 543

Anani · 101

Anat · 30–32, 80, 84, 152, 366, 376

Anatolian

cylinder seal · 470

symbol for the sun · 150

Anatolian tradition · 471, 484

Ancestor, revered · 462

Angel of the Lord · 114

Animal contest scene · 208

Ant · 41

Antelope · 289, 293, 389

Anthedon · 354, 453

Anthropomorphic · 114, 150, 161, 167, 187, 274, 276, 302, 305, 311, 337, 372, 378, 419, 422, 437, 450, 462, 488

Anthropos · 97, 101

Antiochus I Soter · 69, 71

Antiochus III the Great · 73

Antiochus IV Epiphanes · 29, 40, 41, 69, 70, 72, 101

Anubis · 276

Anzu · 308

Aphek · 252

Aphraates, homilies of · 105

Apkallu · 304

Apocalyptic · 33, 35, 41, 85, 86, 94, 98, 105, 106, 118

Apolloodor · 29, 31

Apolloodorian library · 28

Apotropaia · 216, 289

Apotropaic

element · 157, 238

figure · 307

force · 210, 352

function · 213, 265, 308, 310, 342, 375, 381, 431, 531

might · 214, 218

monster · 310

nature · 65

reliefs · 294

uracus · 179, 238

Apotropaion · 183, 271, 289, 295, 309, 319, 437, 467

Archer · 62, 63, 129, 130, 131, 154, 155, 171, 215, 269, 320, 355, 390–392, 411, 434, 472, 488

Aries · 36

Armenia · 38, 171, 172

Aroër · 361

Arrow · 142, 249, 255, 282, 293, 373, 426, 451, 487, 489, 496

Arslan Tash · 105, 106

Artaxerxes I · 62, 132, 134

Artaxerxes II · 132

Artaxerxes III · 132

Ashdod · 165, 244, 359, 369, 390, 416, 442, 445, 455

Ashkelon · 202, 204, 209, 228, 251, 254, 260, 343, 360, 369, 370, 376, 400, 448, 530

Asiatic

aspect · 524

background · 200, 438, 493

concept · 175

fashion · 392

feature · 171, 275

garb · 174

god · 175, 282

influence · 167, 183, 196, 246, 321, 454

motif · 335

origin · 172, 328, 332, 375

posture · 186

representation · 301, 402, 505, 538

royal iconography · 200

theme · 392

thought · 175, 401, 538

tradition · 166, 167, 183, 186, 220, 255, 269, 350, 355, 362, 380, 433, 434, 492

Assur · 132, 171, 303, 306, 307

Assyria · 39, 202, 442, 497, 498

Assyrian

art · 381

background · 63

cylinder seal · 281, 301, 330, 331

dress · 326

fashion · 282

god · 70

iconographic influence · 62, 167, 185, 255, 256, 270, 292

king · 109, 269, 271

motif · 64, 168

period · 328, 332, 523, 542

royal iconographic tradition · 155, 200

seal · 298

style · 318, 390, 411, 472

symbol · 351

text · 45, 48

tradition · 154, 328

Assyrians · 308, 509

Astarte · 85, 92, 152, 282, 376, 425, 461
 Astral
 context · 350, 382
 element · 351, 383
 geography · 36, 37, 39
 influence · 369
 mysticism · 101
 object · 351
 symbol · 303, 351, 369
 Astralisation · 350
 Astrology · 36, 37, 38, 39, 101
 Atrahasis · 78
 Atum · 102, 103
 Aureole · 106, 133
 Autochthone · 340
 Avesta · 95
 Axe · 147, 148
 Axis · 141, 142, 254, 255, 260, 323, 368, 430
 Azazel · 505, 506, 539
 Azekah · 158, 178, 196, 230
 Azi Dahaka · 40

B

Baal · 27–34, 53, 76, 79, 80, 82–87, 89–92, 104, 106, 121, 122, 132, 134, 149, 150, 152, 153, 155, 156, 160, 167, 187, 204, 246, 247, 269, 270, 275, 280, 281, 293, 302, 309, 314, 320, 321, 331, 332, 358, 366, 374, 375, 380, 413, 422, 435, 437, 452, 463, 492, 517, 521, 543
 Baal Nathan · 149
 Baal Shamem · 92, 104
 Baal Zaphon · 28, 29, 31
 Baalhammon · 133
 Baalschamen · 452
 Baaltars · 451
 Babylon · 37, 39, 50, 61–63, 76, 94, 97, 101, 125
 Babylonian
 art · 26, 44, 61, 62, 68
 background · 21, 25, 26, 27, 31, 62, 76, 294
 cosmogony · 30, 90
 creation myth · 22, 23, 27
 cylinder seal · 174, 328
 garb · 40
 god · 75, 77, 381
 iconographic background · 62
 imagery · 68
 influence · 22, 27, 49, 75, 78
 king · 90
 mythology · 23–27, 40, 49, 76, 116
 origin · 40
 representation · 64, 66
 seal · 61, 299
 style · 326, 376
 thought · 99
 tradition · 37
 Babylonians · 39, 509, 531
 Balz · 58, 60, 118, 124, 126, 129, 131
 Bamah · 379
 Banquet · 45, 355, 458, 459, 460, 467
 Bare hand · 155, 171, 488, 499
 Barker · 39
 Barque · 372, 447
 Bartelmus · 63, 64, 66
 Barton · 22
 Basalt · 149, 170, 213, 276, 291, 362, 419, 461
 Bauer · 52, 53, 56–60, 62–65, 70–72, 74, 79, 81, 128–131
 Baumgartner · 24, 25, 31, 51, 58–67, 74, 79, 94, 98, 99, 103, 126, 127, 132, 133
 Beak · 174, 258, 302, 330, 364, 412, 420, 430
 Bear · 51, 64
 Beard · 81, 132, 152, 275, 319, 431, 465, 468, 469, 471–473, 475, 476, 478, 484, 543, 545, 553
 grey · 81
 most comprehensive study · 469
 shaved upper lip · 476
 Bearded · 132, 153, 162, 163, 174, 230, 242, 252, 280, 284, 318, 326, 327, 356, 363, 390, 400, 411, 446, 448, 450–452, 459, 464, 468, 471–473, 476–480, 484, 543–545
 Bee · 41
 Beek · 25, 28, 51, 57–60, 63
 Beersheba · 105, 222
 Behrmann · 62, 63
 Beidha · 338
 Bel · 24, 66
 Beloved of Maat · 421
 Belt · 162, 170, 241, 389, 410, 424
 Benaiah, the son of Jehoiada · 499
 Benedictory pose · 463
 Beni Hasan · 277
 Bentzen · 24, 25, 30, 31, 49, 50, 51, 56, 58–60, 62, 63, 65, 67, 79, 99, 111, 120, 121, 127, 128–130
 Berlin Charlottenburg · 158
 Bes · 16, 49, 65, 189, 204, 260, 261, 262, 270, 279, 280, 290, 309, 451, 476, 480
 Bet Jibrin · 182
 Bet Sahur · 207, 227, 397
 Beth Joseph · 345
 Beth Yerah · 456
 Bethel · 152, 228, 342, 376, 398, 425
 Bevan · 39
 Bewer · 116, 129
 Bickermann · 38, 60, 62, 63, 68
 BIF · 9, 10, 13, 142, 155, 202, 341, 345, 371, 411
 Bird · 48, 62, 109, 151, 155, 164, 167, 191, 199, 217, 243, 255, 273, 274, 277, 278, 280, 288, 289, 294, 306–310, 314, 334, 348, 349, 350, 365, 366, 367, 379, 385, 419, 424, 427, 442, 444, 445, 449, 451, 460, 473, 476, 480, 482, 502, 503, 525, 532, 533, 542
 Bird demon · 542
 Bird of prey · 62, 151, 273, 278, 288, 289, 294, 309, 314, 334, 502, 503, 525, 532, 533
 Black · 117, 125, 126, 129, 130
 Boll · 36
 Bone · 149, 151, 221, 222, 227, 280, 350, 352, 359, 397, 416, 421, 537
 Book of Destiny · 101
 Book of the Dead · 134
 Bousset · 93–96, 100
 Bovine · 151, 164, 174, 192, 198, 233, 243, 294, 298, 318, 337, 351, 360–363, 365, –370, 375, 376, 378, 379, 383, 419, 421, 423, 424, 437, 506, 511, 536
 Bowman · 116, 124, 125
 Bronze · 10, 42, 65, 133, 150, 152, 192, 225, 276, 297, 306, 340, 345, 360, 370, 371, 378, 390, 394, 426, 455, 463, 464, 471, 476, 509, 515, 543
 Buddha · 100
 Bukephalion · 147, 162, 361, 363, 376, 424
 Bull · 62, 64, 65, 69, 71, 74, 147, 148, 149–151, 153, 155, 160, 162, 164, 167, 175, 189, 198, 199, 217, 241, 243, 246, 269, 271, 279, 282, 293, 294, 298, 299, 308, 320, 323, 326, 337, 360–365, 368, 369, 371, 375, 376, 383, 419, 420–422, 436, 502, 506, 508, 509, 536, 537, 538
 Bulla · 10, 163, 204, 209, 215, 243, 252, 259, 260, 281, 284, 285, 294, 299–301, 307, 317, 319, 321, 323, 327, 407, 431, 447
 Bull-leaping · 368
 Burial · 162, 170, 241, 416, 425, 429
 Burkitt · 36
 Buseirah · 346
 Byblos · 85, 90, 106, 341, 344

C

*Ain Samija · 211, 291
 Cancer · 38
 Canide · 302, 317, 346, 407

- Cap · 71, 73, 74, 132, 174, 293, 318, 326, 327, 380, 385, 460
 Cappadocian cylinder seal · 449
 Capricorn · 36
 Caquot · 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 74, 78, 126, 127
 Caragounis · 35, 78, 82, 83, 92, 97, 105, 110, 114, 118, 126, 127
 Carchemish · 67, 307
 Carmelian · 228, 253, 327, 398
 Cartouche · 221, 223, 286, 287, 290, 297, 340, 364, 421, 426, 435, 455, 464, 508, 537
 Casey · 28, 35, 38, 53, 56–59, 61, 75, 92, 110, 127–130
 Cat · 38, 39
 Catalogue cross-reference(s) · 16, 142
 °Atlit · 163, 200, 242, 261, 284, 390, 440, 449
 Celestial
 aspect · 351
 being · 126, 478
 bodies · 151, 287, 292, 534
 context · 519
 nature · 332
 plane · 331
 sphere · 150, 160, 161, 282, 309–311, 320, 334, 355, 443, 518, 534, 545
 spirits · 115
 struggle · 116
 symbol · 433
 Cemetery · 163, 181, 182, 203, 219, 226, 231, 242, 243, 249, 250, 252, 254, 259, 260, 261, 317, 319, 323, 327, 346, 371, 372, 387, 390, 395, 397, 407, 412, 421, 431, 482
 °En Besor · 341
 Chaldea · 39
 Chaos · 23, 25, 28, 32, 33, 35, 38, 49, 52, 80, 111, 123, 145, 147, 154, 156–158, 161, 167, 183, 185, 186, 188, 269, 270, 279, 292, 332, 335, 363, 431, 443, 490, 491, 492, 517–522, 524, 550, 551, 554
 beast · 23
 dragon · 32, 49, 52, 80, 521
 force · 270, 335, 431
 imagery · 188, 520, 550, 554
 monster · 33, 490, 491, 492, 522
 myth · 23, 145
 powers of · 90, 123, 157, 310, 320
 sea · 25, 147, 156, 157, 158, 161, 185, 186, 517, 518–520, 522, 524
 serpent · 518, 522
 symbol · 35, 186, 551
 warrior · 167
 Chariot · 133, 135, 170, 195, 277, 278, 293, 314, 354, 386, 391, 419, 497, 502, 546
 Charles · 49, 56–61, 63, 105, 128–131
 Cherub · 62, 513, 515
 Cherubim · 195, 283, 513, 515, 516, 546
 Cheyne · 22
 Chnum · 371
 Christensen · 94, 99
 Circle · 2, 106, 162, 225, 241, 251, 270, 343, 394, 404, 424, 461, 482
 Clay · 84, 148, 163, 165, 166, 192, 222, 228, 229, 243–245, 252, 259, 260, 264, 292, 294, 301, 308, 313, 318, 319, 323, 327, 347, 360, 379, 381, 398–400, 410, 411, 426, 430, 431
 Clemen · 94, 96
 Cloisonné work · 198
 Close combat · 155, 168, 202, 320
 Cloud · 22, 32, 33, 43, 52, 54, 77, 80, 85, 86–92, 101, 109, 114, 117, 122, 124–126, 130, 134, 135
 Club · 147
 Cobra · 295
 Coin · 10, 69, 70–74, 134, 135, 197, 202, 205, 217, 254–256, 260, 270, 280, 294, 298, 299, 309, 317, 321, 323, 353, 354, 407, 430, 440, 450, 451, 476, 478, 480, 530
 Lagidic · 71
 Sidonian · 203
 Tyrian · 134
 Coitus a tergo · 148
 Collection
 Dajan · 372
 Hecht · 299
 Marcopoli · 355
 Matouk · 202
 Michaelidis · 276, 291
 Pierpont Morgan · 199, 303
 Reschef · 372
 Collins · 27, 29, 34, 35, 38–41, 44, 48, 50–52, 56–64, 66, 68, 70, 74, 81, 82, 85, 87–92, 98, 99, 104, 109, 126–131
 Colpe · 32, 52, 61, 78, 81–84, 87, 89–96, 98, 99, 103, 104, 121, 126, 127, 132, 134
 Combat myth · 28
 Composite
 being · 156, 273, 274, 309, 503, 526, 532, 533, 534
 Conoid · 151, 155, 164, 182, 198, 205, 209, 228, 234, 244, 268, 271, 281, 292, 298, 304, 312, 339, 342, 344, 349, 350, 351, 353, 366–370, 381, 398, 401, 430
 Coppens · 35, 39, 57–59, 81, 91, 92, 115, 126, 127, 129
 Cosmic
 chaos · 188
 control · 273, 310
 dimension · 433, 543
 disorder · 154
 order · 175, 196, 309, 311, 330, 332–335, 358, 433, 435, 505
 plane · 381, 431, 433, 437, 500
 sphere · 433
 Cosmogonic
 story · 292
 symbol · 25
 Cosmogony · 23
 Cosmological
 arena · 527, 539
 conflict · 535
 dimension · 490, 524, 532
 level · 534
 nature · 492, 534
 struggle · 502, 534
 Cosmological being · 96
 Council of gods · 133
 Cow · 42, 148, 151, 157, 346, 362, 366, 367, 383
 Creation · 49, 76, 84
 Creation Epic · 76
 Crenshaw · 61, 88, 89
 Crescent · 151, 162, 164, 167, 229, 230, 241, 243, 249, 290, 292, 298, 307, 323, 330, 351, 355, 366, 368, 369, 389, 398, 399, 400, 420, 424, 442, 443, 445, 461, 473
 Crete · 278, 368
 Crocodile · 157, 158, 161, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181–184, 186, 188, 193, 197, 202, 217, 237, 238, 240, 267, 269, 270, 487, 491–493, 519, 520, 522, 524, 526, 551
 Cross · 162, 206, 241, 411, 424, 448, 473
 Crown · 47, 48, 70, 207, 249, 251, 281, 319, 323, 327, 378, 379, 385, 426, 429, 430, 440, 441, 444, 447, 455
 Cryptography · 207, 208, 213, 296
 Crystal · 331, 430
 Cumont · 36
 Cuneiform · 146
 Cup · 364, 420, 461, 463
 Cylinder seal · 10, 62, 64, 65, 67, 68, 147–149, 152–156, 162, 171, 172, 174, 175, 185, 191, 192, 194, 196, 198, 199, 202–204, 206, 230, 232, 241, 246, 253, 258, 259–261, 268, 276, 283–285, 287, 289, 292–295, 298–308, 317–319, 321, 326, 327, 328, 330, 331, 340, 345, 346, 347, 350, 351, 353, 355–358, 361, 362, 363, 365, 366, 369, 371, 373, 375, 376, 378, 380, 381, 388, 389, 390, 392, 400, 401, 407, 411–414, 424–426, 429–431, 442, 443, 449,

454, 456, 459, 460, 470–472,
514, 522, 523, 530, 541
Cylindrical handle · 421
Cypriot · 364, 422, 436
 depiction · 422
 motif · 364
 representation · 364
 tradition · 436
Cypriot–Phoenician
 bull · 422
 tradition · 421
Cyprus · 133, 364, 422, 437, 464

D

Dagger · 162, 206, 241, 251, 252,
254, 255, 278, 323, 404, 424
Darius · 61, 62, 294
David · 101, 113, 114, 122, 127
Day · 33, 35, 36, 39, 41, 48, 51,
52, 58–61, 63, 66, 74, 81, 82,
87, 88, 92, 98, 104, 109, 118,
121, 127, 129
Decrepit person · 105, 468
Deer · 345–348, 504
Deir el Bahari · 67
Deir el–Balah · 210, 371, 455
Delcor · 27, 28, 32, 35, 38, 56–60,
63, 64, 74, 78, 80, 81, 99, 115,
126–130
Demetrius Poliorketes · 69
Demon · 40, 64, 67, 174, 175, 204,
205, 217, 256, 258, 302, 304,
306, 309, 310, 330, 331–333,
337, 357, 358, 380, 384, 412,
429, 430, 432, 437, 443, 506,
531, 534, 539
Demon lion · 205, 217
Demotic Chronicle · 41
Denomination · 141
Deus praesens · 459
Dexinger · 120
Dhanis · 113
Dionysos · 451, 481, 485
Diorite · 177, 237
Divine
 attribute · 126, 435, 463
 being · 78, 86, 88, 89, 91, 126,
 269, 270, 309, 311, 459, 539
 conflict · 87, 88
 context · 262
 dominion · 545
 enemy · 33
 figure · 80, 92, 109, 135
 glory · 117, 118
 help · 365, 500
 hero · 320, 373, 392, 427, 433,
 435, 534, 538, 551
 horn · 540
 intervention · 28, 382, 402, 433
 judgement · 91, 505
 mode of expression · 271
 motif · 271

nature · 384, 437, 443, 511, 540
order · 540
power · 193, 271
prerogatives · 337
presence · 112
protection · 500
sphere · 126, 150, 153, 269,
331, 351, 356, 381, 434,
459, 510, 511
status · 247
Wisdom · 112
Dodd · 116
Dog · 38, 163, 198, 201, 208, 213,
214, 242, 293, 317, 407
Dothan · 340, 342, 360, 370, 416,
442
Double crown · 162, 220, 230,
241, 278, 284, 285, 290, 296,
313, 399
Doukhan · 28, 35, 51, 52
Drachm · 203, 254, 450, 451, 484,
546
Dragon · 26, 28, 29, 31–34, 38, 49,
52, 56, 76, 80, 83, 87, 88
Draws · 97, 100
Drilling · 163, 164, 174, 228, 242,
243, 254, 258, 261, 330, 398,
412, 420, 430, 473
Drinking · 195, 345, 390, 411,
458, 459, 460, 472
Driver · 26, 31, 33, 49, 58, 59, 60,
61, 92, 105, 128–131
Dromedary · 203, 215, 253, 256,
270
Duck · 442, 458

E

Ea · 75, 307, 471, 542
Eagle · 23, 37, 43, 58, 62, 125,
189, 273, 274, 288, 305, 308,
502, 503, 525, 532, 533
Eastern Greek islands · 465
Ebla · 83
Edom · 502, 503, 506
Egypt · 40, 67
Egyptian
 art · 194
 background · 41, 104, 132, 362,
 364, 520
 concept · 183, 197, 352
 dress · 471
 fashion · 269
 feature · 492, 519, 551
 god · 41, 102, 103, 156, 157,
 166, 171, 187, 207, 275,
 277, 279, 282, 283, 371,
 373, 447, 448, 450, 476, 519
 iconographic tradition · 174,
 391
 influence · 40, 41, 102, 103,
 152, 321, 335, 353, 434, 538

king · 201, 296, 401, 422, 508,
528, 536, 552
motif · 132, 320, 391, 392, 422,
492, 528, 552
mythology · 157
origin · 202
royal iconography · 245, 321,
389, 402, 425, 436, 455,
506, 526
style · 321, 465
symbol · 401, 487
text · 469
theme · 498, 524
thought · 197, 352
tradition · 255, 421, 433, 434,
436
Eichrodt · 118
Eisler · 37, 101
Eissfeldt · 28–31, 57, 58, 61, 78,
79, 81, 89
Ekron · 460
El · 27, 78–84, 86–92, 105, 106,
121, 122, 132, 133
Elam · 63
Elamite influence · 299
Elephant · 71, 73, 74
Elyon · 80, 88, 89, 121
Emeq Hefer · 211
Emerton · 31–34, 49, 50, 52, 56–
58, 61, 79, 80, 81, 87, 88, 92,
116, 121, 126, 127, 129, 134,
135
Endzeit · 22, 49, 93, 99, 119
Engraving
 hollowed-out · 162–166, 170,
 177, 178, 181, 182, 219–
 222, 225–229, 231, 237,
 238, 242–245, 249–254,
 258–261, 264, 312, 313,
 317, 318, 326, 327, 385–
 387, 390, 394–400, 404,
 407, 410, 412, 416, 420,
 421, 425, 429, 473, 482
 linear · 164, 177, 178, 219, 221,
 222, 225, 227–229, 231,
 237, 238, 244, 250–252,
 258, 259, 298, 302, 304,
 305, 312, 313, 317, 318,
 327, 374, 385, 390, 394–
 396, 398, 404, 407, 410–
 412, 416, 425, 430, 449,
 472, 473, 482
Enkidu · 45–47, 106–108
Enkomi · 364
Enthroned · 11, 83, 106, 108, 127,
129, 133, 134, 139, 152, 373,
380, 439, 440, 442, 445, 447–
480, 482–485, 512–516, 541–
547, 549, 553
Enthronement festival · 79, 88,
110, 111, 120, 121, 127
Enuma Elish · 22–25, 27, 28, 33,
34, 52, 75, 76, 78, 84, 87
Epigraphic seals · 234, 268, see
also Name seal

Equinoctial New Year's Day
 festival · 104
 Ereshkigal · 45, 107
 Eros · 281
 Eschatological being · 96
 Etana · 305

F

Faience · 226, 230, 276, 284, 326,
 341, 386, 388, 389, 396, 401,
 421, 424, 482
 Failaka · 347
 Falcon · 212, 219, 220, 223, 229,
 273, 274, 277–279, 291, 297,
 364, 399, 421, 426, 442, 445,
 476, 480, 482
 Fan · 390, 411, 459, 472
 Farrer · 119, 127
 Father of
 Mortals · 81
 Sunem · 81
 the Exalted Ones · 81
 the Luminaires · 81
 Years · 81
 Feather · 151, 163, 221–223, 242,
 267, 280, 287, 377, 379, 426,
 442, 444, 525
 Female · 26, 67, 178, 192, 193,
 220, 222, 258, 286, 370, 376,
 379, 389, 424, 425, 440, 441,
 443–445, 455, 458, 464
 Ferch · 35, 52, 82, 91, 92, 117
 Fertility · 14, 45, 147–152, 160,
 161, 175, 191, 196, 197, 199,
 217, 218, 220, 233, 234, 280,
 295, 298, 339, 340, 341, 342,
 343, 345, 346, 348, 349, 351,
 353, 355, 358, 363, 366, 367,
 369, 371, 376, 379, 382, 383,
 413, 414, 427, 436, 437, 440,
 444, 449, 456, 466, 518, 536
 Feuillet · 112, 115, 117, 118, 124–
 126, 127, 129–131
 Find context unknown · 163, 171,
 177, 178, 181, 182, 220, 221,
 225, 227, 228, 230, 237, 242,
 250, 251, 252, 253, 258, 259,
 327, 330, 387, 388–390, 394,
 397, 398, 400, 404, 410, 411,
 412, 425, 470
 Fire · 23, 33, 75, 97–99, 101,
 106, 107, 124, 125, 127, 129,
 130, 133, 134, 326, 441, 448,
 450, 469, 482, 483, 485, 504,
 512, 515, 516, 545, 547
 altar · 326, 441, 450
 fiery uraeus · 547
 stream of · 75, 97–99, 101, 106,
 127
 Fish · 208, 226, 326, 395
 Flagellum · 279, 447, 448, 452,
 453, 466

Fleeing · 194, 219, 220, 222, 225,
 226, 228, 229, 231, 232, 234,
 253, 267, 317, 319, 321, 385,
 394, 395, 400, 407, 487, 488
 Floral element · 160, 476
 Flower · 152, 160, 170, 202, 208,
 210, 250, 259, 280, 307, 312,
 343, 362, 364, 376, 389, 404,
 412, 420, 422, 425, 429, 437,
 440, 448–450, 457, 458, 466,
 471
 Footstool · 446, 473
 Foreleg · 326, 389, 390, 411, 420,
 436, 456
 Forepaw · 177, 179, 198, 199, 206,
 215, 219, 225–227, 229, 237,
 239, 254, 255, 264, 285, 289,
 290, 302, 317, 319, 327, 356,
 394–396, 399, 407, 420, 430
 Fravashi · 96, 99
 Freiburg school · 2
 Frit · 148, 152, 171, 212, 259, 306,
 307, 412, 425

G

Galloping · 174, 226, 231, 258,
 278, 287, 293, 299, 317, 319,
 330, 381, 390, 395, 407, 411,
 412, 430, 431, 438, 472
 Gates of heaven · 477
 Gayomart · 94, 95, 98–100
 Gaza · 259, 304, 341, 358, 373,
 412, 425
 Gazelle · 208, 293, 345, 373, 426,
 504
 Geometric design · 163, 242
 Gese · 24, 56, 91, 92, 98, 113, 126,
 129
 Gezer · 148, 149, 154, 157, 163,
 171, 174, 177, 181, 185, 194,
 197, 200, 209, 211, 212, 225,
 229, 234, 237, 242, 250, 284–
 287, 292, 298, 300, 302, 303,
 305, 306, 327, 330, 339, 343,
 345, 347, 349, 356, 357, 366,
 370, 371, 376, 386–389, 394,
 400, 411, 440, 443, 445, 447,
 456, 460, 463, 470, 522, 542
 Gibeon · 214, 215, 264
 Gilgamesh · 45, 108
 Girtablullū · 307
 Giv^{at} Rabi · 456
 Giv^{at} Rahum · 361
 Giv^{at} Sharett · 317, 342, 343, 407
 Glass · 174, 178, 228, 229, 253,
 260, 299, 317, 318, 326, 400,
 407
 Glasson · 117
 Glaze · 165, 170, 178, 220, 222,
 226, 227, 230, 231, 238, 245,
 249–252, 312, 313, 317, 386,

387, 389, 395–397, 401, 407,
 421, 429
 Gnosticism · 81, 93, 98
 Goat demon · 301, 304, 356, 505,
 506, 539
 Goddess · 147, 148, 160, 193, 198,
 199, 203, 261, 262, 270, 281,
 282, 284, 309, 339, 345, 348,
 349, 355, 361, 363, 365, 370,
 371, 377, 379, 427
 Goettsberger · 49, 56, 58, 59, 60,
 63, 133
 Gold · 65, 162, 241, 371, 372, 376,
 424, 471
 Goldingay · 27, 34, 39, 41, 44, 48,
 50, 56–61, 74, 78, 88, 91, 98,
 103, 105, 109, 126, 128–131
 Goose · 442
 Götterwagen · 546
 Graffito · 154, 163, 170, 172, 214,
 242
 Granite · 326
 Great Bear · 37
 Greece · 36, 37, 39, 171, 172, 508
 Greek
 god · 28, 281, 481, 485
 iconography · 204, 306
 influence · 20, 28, 102, 336,
 484
 mythological · 308
 period · 336
 tradition · 29, 478
 world · 246, 301
 Greenstone facies · 162, 163, 242,
 261, 299, 323, 326
 Griffin · 62, 174, 175, 197, 217,
 229, 230, 256, 276–279, 289–
 295, 299, 300, 302, 303, 306,
 309, 311, 313, 314, 317–322,
 326, 330, 331, 334, 355, 356,
 364, 365, 390, 397, 398, 399,
 407–409, 411, 420, 422, 430,
 433, 434, 437, 446, 472, 500,
 502, 532, 534
 Grill · 99, 114
 Guardian angel · 88, 114, 116
 Gudea · 67
 Guilloche · 230, 252, 259, 388,
 400, 402, 412, 424, 425
 Gunkel · 20, 22–25, 30, 31, 35, 49,
 50, 52, 56–58, 61, 75, 76

H

Horvat Qitmit · 193, 287, 361,
 379, 426, 443–446
 Haag · 54–60, 74, 87, 105, 123,
 124, 128–130
 Hadad · 33, 83–86, 91, 92, 105,
 106, 134, 135
 Haematite · 162, 164, 174, 230,
 241, 243, 252, 258, 283, 285,
 330, 365, 367, 369, 370, 388,

400, 411, 412, 420, 421, 424, 430
 Hairlock · 132, 152, 163, 174, 242, 258, 330, 386, 412, 430
 Hall of Hundred Columns · 134
 Halperin · 125–127, 129
 Hammer · 27, 56–60, 83, 121, 128–130
 Haremhab · 67
 Harpocrates · 448
 Harran · 351
 Hart · 504
 Hasanlu · 171
 Hatching · 163, 170, 177, 178, 219, 220–222, 225, 226, 228, 229, 231, 237, 238, 242, 254, 258, 261, 312, 317, 326, 327, 341, 385, 386, 390, 394, 395, 398, 399, 407, 416, 421, 429, 482
 Hathor · 289, 362, 383, 389, 425, 443
 cow of · 362
 head · 389, 425
 Hathor-like hairdo · 192
 Hazor · 148–151, 170, 203, 205, 206, 226, 258, 280, 285, 290, 340, 360, 362, 366, 368, 375, 389, 395, 419, 424, 449, 456, 461–463
 Headgear · 162, 164–166, 170, 171, 178, 221, 230, 231, 241, 242, 244, 245, 252, 312, 313, 370, 371, 376, 378, 388, 389, 395, 400, 424, 425, 426, 429, 446, 463, 464, 465, 471–473, 475
 Heaton · 26, 49, 56–63, 76, 116, 121, 128–131
 Hebron · 214
 Hecht Museum · 455
 Heirloom · 318
 Hellenistic
 art · 216
 empire · 70
 king · 71, 72, 74
 myth · 93
 period · 8, 10, 90, 105, 106, 305
 Hemiobol · 299
 Herakles · 155, 163, 200, 204, 243, 245, 246, 260, 262, 269, 270
 Heraklian mythology · 246
 Herder · 61
 Hermetic books · 36
 Hero · 157, 161, 168, 174, 175, 181, 183, 184–187, 191, 198, 202, 254, 256, 269, 299–303, 308, 318, 319, 321, 323, 326–328, 330, 331, 334, 356, 379, 381, 389, 391, 392, 402, 424, 430, 431, 433, 434, 443, 445, 460, 470, 492, 499, 500, 504, 505, 519, 520, 521, 524, 534, 538, 551
 Herringbone · 171

Herzfeld · 62, 106, 132, 134, 135
 Hieroglyph · 148, 152, 211, 222, 232, 238, 341, 343, 364, 371, 385, 416, 421, 422, 425, 435, 440
 Hill country · 201, 233, 360
 Hind leg · 47, 62, 162, 166, 198, 204, 220, 241, 264, 271, 292, 303, 330, 358, 367, 373, 388–390, 392, 411, 424, 472
 Hind paw · 246
 Hinduism · 99
 Hippocamp · 134, 307
 Hippopotamus · 220, 223, 279, 343, 344
 Hitzig · 62, 63
 Hölscher · 23, 26, 56, 60, 61
 Hommel · 76–78
 Hook · 492
 Hooker · 50, 57, 58, 116, 127
 Horn · 10, 11, 23, 34, 42, 43, 47, 52, 60, 62, 66, 68–74, 122, 132
 Horned
 Anzu-dragon · 381
 Baal-Seth · 377, 378
 beast · 70, 337, 382, 437, 470, 536
 being · 337, 380, 431
 cap · 69, 152, 376
 chaos serpent · 438, 532
 crown · 47, 70
 deity · 337, 370, 373, 375, 378, 380, 383, 426, 427, 437, 510, 540
 demon · 431
 dragon · 337, 539
 figure · 374, 446
 goddess · 370, 375, 378, 427
 griffin · 381, 430
 headdress · 376
 headgear · 69, 153, 174, 186, 258, 330, 389, 412, 424, 430
 Hellenistic ruler · 72
 helmet · 275
 horse · 71
 lion · 294, 381
 quadruped · 199, 228, 289, 303, 305, 306, 340, 342–344, 398
 Reshef · 427
 serpent · 154, 162, 166, 170–172, 185–187, 241, 247, 269, 312, 313, 334, 380, 429, 431
 sun disk · 307
 weather god · 148, 376, 377, 426
 winged anthropomorphic figure · 380
 Horned animal · 42, 73, 140, 143, 156, 162, 165, 174, 175, 187, 193, 194, 196, 197, 199, 201, 204, 205, 217, 225–236, 241, 244, 245, 247, 249–251, 256, 258, 259, 261, 267, 268, 270, 271, 284, 286, 287, 289, 294, 295, 303–306, 309, 312–314,

317, 319, 320, 327, 328, 330, 332, 334, 337–359, 366, 368–370, 373–375, 382–386, 388–416, 418, 424, 425, 427, 430, 433, 434–436, 446, 456, 472, 496, 504–506, 508, 509, 519, 526, 528, 536–538, 552
 Horns of plenty · 71, 72
 Horse · 71, 149, 208, 253, 256, 270, 277, 278, 301, 302, 313, 314, 334, 376, 377, 386, 502
 Horus · 102, 103, 158, 183, 276, 283
 Human head · 63, 64, 174, 258, 307, 330, 412, 430
 Humbaba · 45
 Hunt · 64, 65, 158, 172, 179, 194, 201, 215, 234, 235, 271, 276, 277, 293, 303, 352, 354, 355, 391, 493, 494, 504, 538

I

Iber · 96
 Ibex · 192–194, 199, 201, 202, 230, 231, 285, 289, 293, 294, 300, 301, 304, 305, 317, 338–345, 347–349, 351–353, 355–357, 359, 366–369, 376, 378, 385, 388, 395, 400, 407, 410, 417, 537
 Image
 pictorial lexicon · 12
 visual sources to be studied
 inde-pendently · 4
 Images, power of · 1
 Impression · 136, 163, 165, 166, 178, 190, 192, 200, 204, 206, 209, 214–216, 222, 228, 229, 234, 238, 243, 244, 245, 253, 259, 260, 264, 270, 292–294, 298, 300, 301, 313, 318, 319, 327, 339, 340, 343, 345, 353, 357, 381, 384, 386, 398, 399, 400, 401, 410, 430, 431, 440, 456, 460, 466, 514
 Incense burner · 193
 Inscription · 41, 105, 106, 189, 197, 229, 230, 253, 254, 255, 277, 278, 280, 290, 298, 318, 320, 323, 362, 372, 380, 399, 447, 448, 451, 455, 457, 459, 471, 472, 473, 476, 480
 Interpretatio judaica · 272
 Iran · 171, 172, 345, 347
 Ishtar · 461
 Isis · 157, 283, 309, 440
 Ivory · 10, 150, 164, 195, 198, 206, 243, 279, 280, 283–289, 291, 293, 296, 342, 345, 355, 356, 363, 364, 365, 367, 419, 420, 436, 440, 455–458, 472, 506

J

- Jackal · 276, 459
 Jaffa · 155, 203, 253
 Jansen · 77, 78, 98–100, 103
 Jar · 165, 192, 195, 214, 264, 270, 340, 346, 348
 Jasper · 297, 309, 352, 385
 Jebusites · 121
 Jeffery · 26, 27, 31, 56–61, 63, 67, 70, 79, 80, 97, 105, 128–131, 134
 Jeremias · 61, 65, 75, 77, 100
 Jericho · 164, 177, 194, 211, 214, 219, 231, 237, 244, 290, 312, 340, 341, 370, 377, 395, 443
 Jerusalem · 88, 113, 140, 156, 214, 229, 278, 293, 299, 318, 349, 361, 365, 367, 399, 451, 473, 476, 480, 491, 504, 509, 516
 Jordan · 10, 338, 341, 495, 503, 554
 Judah · 104, 123, 214, 446, 495, 498, 503, 504, 508, 509, 544
 Judge River · 81
 Jug · 342, 364, 420
 Junker · 25, 28, 50, 51, 56–61, 63–69, 78, 87, 99, 102, 105, 128–131

K

- Kabri · 211
 Kafr Kanna · 378, 379, 426, 444
 Kalthoff · 102
 Kandys · 205, 254, 255, 280, 319, 323, 327, 430, 450
 Karatepe inscription · 106
 Karnak · 459
 Kearns · 29, 33, 35, 56–58, 76, 81–87, 89, 91–95, 99, 102, 105, 106, 110, 113, 115, 119, 128–135
 Kefar Ruppin · 213, 340
 Ketef Hinnom · 278
 Khirbet Yanun · 463, 471
 Khorsabad · 303, 307
 Kicking · 306, 323, 388
 Kidaris · 205, 253, 254, 255, 259, 280, 284, 319, 323, 327, 430, 450
 King · 28, 32, 35, 40–45, 67–71, 74, 76–79, 81, 83, 86, 92, 95, 101, 104, 107, 108, 111, 117, 122, 124, 127, 134, 135, 158, 168, 187, 194, 195, 197, 201, 202, 203, 205, 214–218, 246, 249, 252–257, 259–262, 269–272, 277, 278, 280, 294, 298, 300, 301, 320, 323, 327, 331, 332, 334, 368, 381, 431, 434,

- 446, 450, 452, 453, 454, 459, 460, 464, 466, 469, 491, 493–495, 497–500, 502, 508, 510, 512, 520, 526, 527–530, 533,–535, 537, 550, 552
 Kingu · 76
 Kish · 307
 Knossos · 278
 Koch · 26, 28, 29, 56, 62, 63, 70, 78, 92, 99, 104, 110, 126
 Kraeling · 24, 35, 40, 61, 63, 66, 76, 78, 94, 98, 126
 Kruse · 115, 126
 Kudurru · 65, 66
 Kuntillet ^aAjrud · 192, 208, 347, 367, 449, 457
 Kuyuncik · 45
 Kvanvig · 27, 35, 44–48, 50, 52, 56–59, 78, 87, 91, 92, 106, 108–110, 125, 127–129, 131

L

- Labbu · 24
 Lachish · 150, 151, 154, 164, 165, 170, 174, 193, 201, 202, 210–212, 214, 219, 220, 222, 223, 225, 228, 230, 243, 244, 249, 252, 280, 286, 287, 296, 299, 307, 312, 326, 340, 341, 343, 344, 346–348, 351, 353, 359, 363, 369, 372, 376, 378, 394, 398, 400, 419, 425, 429, 440, 443, 448, 454, 457, 474
 Lachish Ewer · 348
 Lacocque · 27, 28, 32, 33, 35, 39, 50, 56–61, 83, 98, 105, 121, 128–131
 Lagidic coins · 71
 Lapis lazuli · 304, 307
 Lapwing · 455
 Lead · 371
 Leash · 147, 148, 149, 153, 363, 375
 Lebanon · 10, 45, 502, 554
 Lebram · 40, 56, 131, 132
 Leo · 37–39
 Leopard · 23, 25, 38, 39, 41–43, 48, 51, 55, 59, 66–68, 74, 209, 229, 273, 293, 353, 398, 400, 495
 Leupold · 49, 57–60, 62, 63, 128–131
 Leviathan · 22, 27, 30, 31, 33–35, 49, 50, 52, 487, 489, 491
 Levites · 451
 Libation tray · 195
 Life, sign of · 147, 259, 412, 425, 466, 477, 545
 Lightning · 107, 109, 134
 Limestone · 170, 182, 205, 214, 228–230, 251, 258, 318, 374, 385, 398, 399, 404, 430, 446, 453, 464, 471, 473
 Lindars · 116
 Lion · 11–14, 23, 25, 26, 37–39, 41–43, 47, 48, 51, 55, 58, 61–64, 67, 125, 139, 140, 143, 145, 150, 151, 155–158, 160, 162–169, 174, 175, 177–179, 182–251, 253–264, 267–273, 278, 279, 283, 285, 286, 288, 294, 298, 302, 304–306, 310, 312–314, 317–320, 330, 334, 347, 348, 352, 353, 354, 358, 363, 365, 367, 369, 374, 377, 378, 381, 383, 386, 388, 391, 394–407, 412, 413, 419, 420, 422, 424, 425, 429–431, 433–437, 440, 444, 445, 449, 454, 455, 461, 487, 490–492, 494–500, 502, 503, 505–507, 518–521, 524–535, 538, 542, 549, 550, 552, 554
 guardian · 191, 205, 211, 214
 hair whorl · 163, 242
 monster · 62, 256, 294, 300, 306, 500, 502
 pharaonic · 197, 492
 scaraboid · 158, 182, 207
 winged · 11, 61, 62, 63, 68, 74
 Lion demon · 193, 542
 Lion of Judah · 272, 498, 528
 Lioness · 213, 229, 293, 317, 389, 400, 407, 425, 490, 497–499
 Lions of the horizon · 158
 Lizard · 212, 362
Imk jar · 228, 399
 Lord of Appearances · see Ramses III
 Lord of Beth-Shean · 380, 457, 471
 Lord of Heaven · 455, 472
 Lord of Maat · 450
 Lord of the Two Lands · 472
 Lotan · 35
 Lotus · 151, 202, 208, 210, 250, 280, 404, 420–422, 437, 449, 450, 457, 458, 471
 Louse · 41
 Louvre · 158, 199, 301, 379
 Löwengreif · 61–63, 189
 Lozenge · 307, 318, 330, 331, 351, 355, 356, 381, 389, 390, 411, 430, 442, 443, 472
ltn · 31, 35, 183
 Lucas · 27, 28, 37–39, 42, 44, 48, 51, 52, 56, 58–60, 74, 109
 Lunar El · 477, 544
 Luristan · 171, 355
 Lying · 194, 209, 221, 284, 287, 290, 302, 495
 Lyre · 65, 92, 208, 450, 451, 455, 458, 467
 Lysimachus · 69, 70

M

- Maat · 163, 221, 242, 296, 297, 364, 450
 Magical Ivories · 216, 277
 Maier · 63
 Makhmish · 465, 473, 475, 476
 Mandatar · 118, 126
 Marduk · 26, 27, 32, 49, 75–78, 80, 84, 94, 98, 100, 101, 303, 381
 Mareshah · 182
 Marru, spade of Marduk · 430
 Marti · 23, 39, 49, 56–60, 62, 63, 128–130
 Master of
 animals · 156, 167, 183, 187, 204, 205, 218, 258, 261, 299, 300, 314, 357, 358, 373, 383, 427, 437, 499, 538
 bovine animals · 365
 crocodiles · 158, 181, 182, 184, 186, 202, 524, 551
 griffins · 300
 horned animal and lion · 175
 horned animals · 344, 392, 413, 539
 ibexes · 301, 357
 lion monsters · 300
 lions · 168, 188, 203, 204, 245, 246, 258, 261, 262, 263, 269, 270, 271, 306, 499, 530
 ostriches · 442, 444
 chaotic forces · 493
 the horned animal and the lion · 392
 winged bulls · 299, 327
 Master/mistress of
 ibexes · 305, 355
 Mazday/Mazaeus/
 Mazaïos · 254, 255
 Media · 37, 38, 39, 74
 Medinet Habu · 276–278, 320
 Mefalsim · 210
 Megiddu · 147, 149, 152, 155, 157, 164, 177, 178, 191, 195, 196, 205, 208, 210, 211, 214, 215, 220, 221, 227, 229, 231, 237, 238, 244, 279, 284–292, 296, 297, 304, 305, 312, 318, 340–344, 345–347, 349, 350–353, 355–357, 360, 361, 363, 364, 366–369, 371, 374, 375, 385, 396–398, 420, 421, 443, 446, 454, 455, 458, 459, 463, 464, 471, 472, 482, 506
 Mekal · 380, 421, 457, 471
 Melammu · 86
 Melcarth · 104
 Menacing pose · 147–149, 155, 162, 163, 170, 241, 242, 251, 281, 373, 376, 378, 404, 424–427, 429
 Menahem · 229, 399
 Merikare · 158
 Mesopotamia · 8, 10, 38
 Mesopotamian
 art · 63, 308, 525
 background · 63, 70
 king · 529
 motif · 456, 550
 mythology · 34, 109
 origin · 549
 text · 47
 tradition · 84, 168, 215, 246, 321, 381, 392
 Metatron · 115
 Metternichstele · 277
 Meyer · 24, 25, 31, 40, 61, 62, 64, 96–98, 116, 131
 Michael · 75, 87, 114, 115, 126
 Midrash · 101
Mischwesen · 24, 44, 52, 61–63, 125, 135, 160, 174, 176, 189, 190, 288, 289, 296, 299–301, 306–308, 503, 518, 525, 531, 533, 534
 Mitannian
 cylinder seal · 191, 199, 281, 284, 346
 Elaborate style · 198
 style · 388, 389, 411
 Mithras · 97, 98
 Moab · 495, 502–504
 Model pen case · 455
 Mongoose · 449, 459
 Mons Casius · 28
 Monster · 33, 46–49, 56, 61, 62, 84
 Montet Jar · 344
 Montgomery · 27, 49, 57–61, 63, 66–69, 78, 79, 116, 128–132
 Month · 277
 Moon · 151, 160, 162, 241, 292, 351, 357, 366, 368, 369, 388, 392, 411, 413, 424, 435, 441, 459, 461, 462, 466, 477, 484, 544
 god · 151, 351, 357, 366, 388, 392, 411, 413, 435, 441, 461, 462, 477, 484, 544
 Morenz · 60, 69–72, 74
 Morgenstern · 102–104
 Mosca · 35, 39, 51–53, 55–61, 90, 117, 121, 122, 127–131
 Mot · 92, 106, 150, 155, 187, 246, 247, 269, 314, 422, 437, 491
 Moth · 41
 Mountain · 28, 86, 124, 192, 278, 320, 355, 490, 498, 499, 502, 510, 515
 Mountainous regions · 352, 375, 391, 412
 Moustache · 152, 465, 471, 473, 475, 476
 Mowinckel · 94, 96, 111
 Mozah · 214
 Müllenburg · 78, 118, 126, 127
 Müller · 83, 98, 115, 126
Muššusu · 381, 430, 431, 438

- Mycenae · 291
 Mysticism · 101

N

- Nārāyaṇa · 99
 Nablus · 133
 Nahal Mishmar · 338, 339
 Nahal Tabor · 342
 Nahariya · 370
 Naked goddess · 147, 148, 160, 193, 198, 199, 203, 261, 262, 270, 281, 282, 284, 309, 339, 345, 348, 349, 355, 361, 363, 365, 370, 371, 377, 379, 427
 Name seal · 9, 141, 149, 214, 229, 230, 259, 282, 286, 290, 293, 296, 297, 304, 307, 308, 318, 320, 340, 345, 351, 353, 355, 361, 362, 368, 371, 401, 441, 460, 473
 Natanya · 363
 Nebuchadnezzar · 124, 535
 Nemean lion · 163, 200, 243, 246, 260
 Nephthys · 283, 309
 Nergal · 45, 107, 109, 214, 375
 New Year's festival · 76
 Newborn animal · 226, 227, 233, 268
 Nimrud · 62
 Nine Bows · 320, 441
 Ninurta · 308, 334, 381, 431
 Noth · 32, 56, 61, 63, 64, 66, 67, 69, 70
 Nut · 283, 459

O

- Obol · 197, 254, 255, 260, 317, 323, 407, 430, 447
 Offering · 230, 285, 303, 353, 400, 402, 459, 467, 506, 510
 Old Babylonian period · 300
 Old Syrian cylinder seal · 183, 199, 285, 295, 345, 370, 460
 Olivine · 318
 Omega sign · 451
 Omen literature · 42, 43, 44
Omnium gatherum · 222, 291, 440
 Onyx · 259, 390, 411, 472
 Oracle of the Potter · 41
 Orpheus Jug · 208
 Orthostat · 170, 206, 213, 419
 Osiris · 103
 Ossuary · 338
 Ostrich · 155, 231, 379, 397, 442–445
 Otto · 96, 98, 100

Ovis longipes palaeoegyptiacus · 371
 Ovoid · 203, 253, 259, 331, 342, 352, 361, 385, 421
 Ox · 337, 490, 499, 506, 509, 510
 Ox head scaraboid · 164, 243, 420

P

Panofsky · 14, 535
 Pantheon · 83, 477
 Panther · 37, 51, 67
 Papyri · 163, 203, 254, 259, 260, 317, 319, 323, 327, 407, 431, 447
 Papyrus · 229, 243, 259, 260, 290, 294, 319, 323, 362, 385, 389, 399, 412, 425, 426, 430, 431
 Parallelism, pendulum of · 523
 Paratactic scenes · 182
 Paste · 230, 306, 388, 389, 400, 424
 Paw · 42, 163, 177, 178, 189, 199, 203, 216, 237, 238, 242, 254, 285, 289, 290, 306, 310, 440, 443, 449, 454, 525
 Pedestal · 149, 150, 155, 161, 167, 170, 187, 192, 193, 199, 217, 247, 269, 271, 278, 308, 314, 363, 378, 381, 419, 430, 444, 473, 500
 Pegasus · 37, 301
 Pentaur, poem of · 278
 Persepolis · 61, 62, 70, 132, 134, 135
 Persia · 8, 30, 37, 61, 74, 98
 Pfeleiderer · 99, 100
 Phalli · 339
 Pharaoh · 197, 201, 354
 Pharaoh · 153, 177, 195, 201, 233, 234, 249, 251, 255, 269, 270, 271, 286, 290, 293, 296, 320, 352, 364, 373, 377, 385, 391, 401, 402, 405, 421, 426, 427, 433–437, 441, 447, 452, 453, 455, 457, 459, 460, 466, 469, 485, 492, 493, 495, 498, 499, 504, 505, 509, 515, 526, 537, 538, 547
 Philistine
 god or prince · 372
 rhyton · 195, 196
 territory · 369
 Philo · 85, 90, 120
 Philo of Byblos · 85, 90
 Phoenicia · 105
 Phoenician
 background · 204, 484
 feature · 307
 influence · 39, 328, 335, 478
 style · 280, 299
 Phoenician workmanship · 300
 Phoenicians · 39

Pictorial lexicon · 12
 Plant · 192, 201, 290, 304, 343, 344, 355, 379, 426, 456, 496
 Plaque · 64, 65, 210, 211, 222, 227, 233, 258, 275, 276, 280, 283–287, 291, 340, 342, 344, 348, 356, 361, 362, 368, 376, 385, 390, 397, 454, 455, 482
 Platonic ideas · 102
 Pleiades · 298, 318, 351, 442, 443
 Plöger · 27, 35, 51, 56–60, 63, 128–131
 Plume · 455
 Plumed helmet · 471
 Poimandres · 93
 Pomegranate · 379, 427
 Porteous · 26, 27, 50, 56–63, 116, 121, 128–130
 Porter · 28, 35, 39, 41–44, 56, 58–61, 69, 74, 108, 117, 130, 131
 Prayer · 174, 258, 303, 330, 412, 430
 Primal Man · 127
 Primordial Man · 93, 94, 96, 98
 Prince Sea · 31
 Processional scene · 67, 208, 459
 Procksch · 117, 118, 126
 Prophecy of Nefer-rohu · 41
 Ptah · 282, 448, 450, 455, 472, 476, 543
 Ptolemy I Soter · 69, 71, 73
 Punic · 105, 133
 Purusha · 99, 100
 Pyramid seal · 207, 275, 295, 368, 377
 Pyramid texts · 276

Q

Qrn · 511
 Qudshu · 192
 Quiver · 282, 303, 319

R

Rahab · 22, 49, 50, 52, 122
 Ram · 30, 36, 69, 70, 71, 74, 197, 282, 296, 307, 337, 339, 351, 354, 370–372, 376, 379, 504, 508, 537
 sphinx · 296, 372
 Ramat Rahel · 214, 215, 228, 264, 399, 446
 Ramesside mass-product · 159, 182, 202, 210, 223, 232–234, 267, 268, 271, 314, 340, 352, 357, 391, 401, 413, 434, 452, 454
 Rampant
 bear · 66
 bull · 326, 328
 dog · 388
 griffin · 303, 317, 326, 327, 407
 horned animal · 196, 230, 232, 259, 330, 353, 388, 389, 390, 392, 398, 400, 401, 410–412, 414, 425, 472, 505, 538
 ibex · 302, 346, 353, 355, 356, 388, 477
 lion · 162, 163, 168, 187, 190, 196, 199, 200, 202, 206, 215, 218, 220, 230, 232, 242, 246, 252, 253–256, 259–261, 264, 266, 269, 270, 271, 401, 530, 550
 Mischwesen · 319, 430
 posture · 64, 218, 264, 267, 268, 321, 530
 sphinx · 285, 327
 winged bull · 323, 326, 327
 Ramses II · 67, 276, 277, 278, 320, 348, 455, 459, 464
 prenomen · 426
 Ramses III · 67, 276–278, 320, 348, 455, 459, 464
 Lord of Appearances · 464
 Ras Shamra · 25, 31, 79, 99
 Re · 66, 103
 Recumbent · 178, 179, 197, 212, 213, 230, 287, 355, 401
 Red crown · 153, 207, 219, 222, 449
 Regeneration · 148, 179, 197, 279, 342, 440, 448
 Regenerative
 force · 167
 properties · 339
 Reid · 24, 28, 40, 52, 88, 132
 Reitzenstein · 77, 93
 Relief · 61, 62, 67, 134, 164, 198, 213, 243, 277, 280, 283, 288, 398, 419, 459, 461
 Reptile · 157, 158, 289, 370, 492, 493
 Reshef · 153, 156, 167, 175, 187, 195, 206, 247, 261, 262, 270, 278, 282, 314, 358, 373–375, 413, 426, 427, 435, 437, 519
 Revadim · 348
 Rhinoceros · 385, 391
 Rhodes · 26, 32, 49, 50, 56–61, 63, 66, 67, 127–131
 Rhomb · see Lozenge
 Rhyton · 195, 196
 Richter · 92
 Rider of the Clouds · 82, 83, 85, 87, 89, 91, 135
 Rigveda · 95, 100
 Ring · 163, 200, 204, 243, 260, 278, 280, 290, 300, 327, 364, 371, 373, 374, 390, 420, 441, 482, 490
 Rishon · 212, 344

Roaring · 174, 177, 209, 214, 215, 218, 220, 222, 229, 230, 237, 239, 258, 264, 266, 271, 277, 330, 399, 412, 430, 496–498, 507, 528
 Rosette · 162, 241, 340, 346, 362, 420, 424
 Rost · 32, 80, 81, 130
 Rowland · 118, 125
 Royal
 Assyrian iconography · 188, 246
 Assyrian seal · 202, 256, 530, 552
 beard · 296, 323, 472
 combat iconography · 256
 connotation · 179, 213, 271, 319
 crocodile hunt · 158
 cult in Jerusalem · 90
 Egyptian iconography · 171
 Egyptian tombs · 67
 figure · 392, 439, 446, 457, 464, 538
 figures · 439, 464
 hero · 62, 168, 205, 249, 257, 264, 294, 298, 300, 323, 328, 331
 iconography · 201, 204, 218, 245, 269–271, 435
 insignia · 452, 466
 lion · 157
 masters of animals · 269
 myths · 113
 Persian hero · 256, 306, 327
 Persian iconography · 174, 262, 431
 Persian sphinxes · 328
 power · 179, 188, 195, 196, 508, 537
 regalia · 328
 seal · 215
 sphinx · 256, 300, 334
 throne · 45, 107
 Russell · 116, 125

S

Sahlin · 125
 Sakhmet · 373, 389, 392, 425
 Samaria · 189, 198, 202, 203, 205, 206, 252–256, 260, 278, 280, 283, 284, 290–294, 296, 298, 299, 306–308, 317–319, 323, 326, 327, 331, 339, 345, 348, 351, 353, 361, 365, 367, 368, 378, 381, 407, 430, 431, 447, 458, 530
 Samson · 499
 Saoshyant · 94–96, 99
 Sardinia · 171, 172
 Sargon · 69
 Satrap · 63, 254, 255, 447, 451
 Satyr · 505
 Saul · 229, 399
 Scales · 181, 491
 Scarab beetle · 274, 297
 Scaraboid · 192, 212, 213, 223, 234, 268, 271, 281, 282, 287, 290, 291, 297, 298, 300, 339, 340, 341, 343, 344, 349, 350, 351, 353, 358, 359, 369, 373, 378, 441, 445, 446, 450, 454, 473, 537
 ox head · 164, 243, 420
 Sceptre · 165, 230, 376, 389, 399, 400, 425, 447, 448, 450, 452, 459, 463, 466, 471, 476, 484, 543, 544
Schlangenwürger · 172, 186, 488
 Schmidt · 75, 81, 92, 100, 110, 114, 126, 134
 Schrader · 23
 Scimitar · 230, 254, 302, 306, 330, 388, 389, 400
 Scorpion · 41, 62, 155, 164, 167, 208, 220, 223, 243, 290, 294, 298, 307, 308, 341, 349, 362, 367–369, 383, 420, 444
 Sea · 11, 22–26, 30–37, 40, 46–48, 50–54, 56, 57, 61, 77, 81, 84, 86, 87, 90, 91, 98, 121–123, 125, 126, 134, 139, 145, 146, 147, 156, 157, 161, 174, 178, 179, 185, 221, 227, 231, 238, 258, 307, 310, 330, 396, 397, 412, 430, 486, 487, 489, 500, 517–519, 521, 522–524, 527, 529, 532–534, 539, 544, 550, 551, 554
 Sea monster · 31, 32, 50, 56, 87, 91
 Seated · 45, 107, 125, 134, 135, 152, 157, 177, 179, 191, 197, 199, 202, 211, 212, 219, 220–222, 225, 230, 232, 237, 249–251, 255, 284, 288, 297, 300, 304, 327, 330, 353, 380, 389–390, 394, 400, 402, 404, 411, 412, 425, 439, 440, 441, 446, 448–451, 455, 456, 457, 460, 462, 463–465, 467, 470–473, 475, 476, 480, 482, 515, 543, 546
 Sedan · 459
 Sefire inscription · 41
 Seleucid
 king · 68, 69, 70, 71
 kingdom · 28
 Seleucids · 30, 69, 71, 73, 74
 Seleucus I Nicator · 69–71, 73
 Sellin · 98, 111, 112
 Septuagint · 506
 Serpent · 34, 41, 149, 154–156, 160, 170–173, 185, 186, 188, 276, 277, 314, 378, 381, 425, 429, 487–491, 499, 500, 503, 517–521, 523, 524, 551
 Seth · 41, 85, 156, 160, 162, 166, 167, 169, 186, 187, 199, 241, 246, 269, 275–279, 309, 314, 429, 431
 Seth animal · 275, 277
 Sethian wings · 186
 Seven Heads · 490
 Sexual attributes · 147
 Sexuality · 147, 148
 Sha^ʿar Ha^ʿamaqim · 344
 Shamash · 97, 471, 542
 Shamir · 340
 Shasu · 195
 Shechem · 209, 214, 294, 319, 367, 371, 372, 441, 463
 Shell · 65
 Shepherd · 43–45, 107, 108, 290, 305, 341, 464, 495, 496, 499, 503, 508
 Shield · 206, 510
 Shiloh · 220, 353, 360
 Shiqmona · 157, 178, 287
 Shishak list · 105
 Shrine · 164, 191, 243, 285, 286, 289, 338, 360, 361, 379, 419, 443, 462
 Shumma Izbū · 42, 43
 Silver · 63, 65, 254, 299, 360, 365
 Sin · 132, 133
 Sitting · 133, 134, 174, 195, 209, 223, 258, 290, 330, 390, 411, 430, 440, 441, 442, 446, 447, 449–451, 454, 456, 466, 472, 475, 484, 513, 515
 Skull · 162, 241, 424
 Smith · 39, 105
 Solar god · 104, 281
 Solomon · 104, 105, 126
 Son of man · 19, 22, 23, 31–33, 35, 36, 43, 44, 52, 53, 75–83, 86–105, 108–122, 125–127, 131, 132–136
 Spear · 134, 152, 154, 162, 166, 170, 171, 186, 215, 241, 256, 305, 312, 363, 385, 419, 425, 429, 487, 489
 Spearing · 157, 178, 203, 246, 253, 269, 293, 318, 519
 Sphinx · 64, 67, 189, 217, 283–289, 291, 296, 300, 306, 309, 310, 311, 327, 356, 500
 bull sphinx · 64
 ram sphinx · 296, 372
 Sprouting stick · 153
 Sraosha · 96
 Staerk · 96
 Stag · 197, 217, 228, 284, 317, 344, 353, 354, 400, 407
 Standard · 338, 346, 351, 357, 388, 392, 411, 449, 459, 471, 476
 Star · 7, 8, 14, 20, 22, 33, 37, 83, 86, 114, 146, 163, 170, 242, 261, 287, 303, 318, 330, 331, 336, 340, 351, 355, 356, 380,

- 381, 389, 419, 430, 443, 460, 494, 510, 517
 Statue · 10, 150, 170, 172, 205, 217, 419, 439, 449, 461, 462, 464–467, 473–576, 478, 484, 545
 Statuette · 67, 195, 363, 379, 465
 Staub · 28, 35, 38, 39, 64, 69–74
 Steatite · 162, 164, 165, 170, 177, 178, 181, 182, 202, 219–222, 225, 226, 227, 231, 237, 238, 241, 243–245, 249, 250, 251, 252, 284, 296, 312, 313, 317, 370, 385–387, 390, 394–397, 404, 407, 410, 411, 420, 421, 425, 429, 472, 482
 Steinmann · 30, 37, 56, 60, 62, 63, 69, 119, 129
 Stela · 10, 91, 133
 Stier · 99, 114, 115, 120, 126, 129–131
 Stone · 163, 209, 228, 229, 242, 253, 326, 327, 330, 331, 385, 389, 390, 398, 442, 449, 462, 465, 470, 476, 478, 490
 Storm god · 87, 90, 121, 122
 Story of Astarte · 85
 Streamer · 153, 162, 164, 166, 170, 174, 186, 242, 244, 245, 275, 293, 312, 313, 318, 376, 380, 388, 425, 429
 Striding · 73, 157, 162, 163, 170, 171, 174, 177, 178, 191, 196, 197, 206, 209, 211, 212–216, 219–223, 226–233, 237, 238, 241, 242, 251, 258, 259, 268, 284, 287, 290, 291, 312, 318, 323, 326, 327, 331, 340, 341, 358, 388–390, 396–400, 410–412, 416, 421, 424–426, 429, 430, 435, 436, 492, 527, 530, 537
 Stroke · 92, 162, 182, 207, 209, 220, 221, 226, 241, 268, 273, 367, 395, 424, 453
 Stylus of Nabu · 430, 443
 Suckling · 148, 283, 344, 345, 346, 348, 349, 350, 351, 365–367, 382, 383, 424
 Sumer · 67
 Sumerian mythology · 26
 Sun disk · 102, 133, 150, 158, 162, 170, 178, 207, 211, 213, 215, 242, 249, 267, 268, 275, 282, 290, 291, 292, 296, 319, 346, 351, 368, 371, 372, 379, 389, 425, 426, 429, 445, 449, 482
 Sun god · 98, 103, 132, 158, 216, 292, 297, 307, 442, 466, 515, 547
 Sun, rebirth of · 158
 Sur Bahir · 290, 342
 Surface find · 162, 165, 181, 182, 216, 221, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 242, 244, 249–252, 258, 260, 296, 312, 313, 318, 323, 331, 351, 367, 385, 387, 390, 404, 410, 421, 425, 429, 472, 482, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000
- 331, 351, 367, 385, 387, 390, 394, 396, 398, 400, 404, 410, 421, 447, 482
 Surkh Dum · 355
 Susa · 62
suhurmāšu · 307
 Swan · 208
 Sword · 45, 154, 162, 163, 168, 200, 242, 319, 323, 379, 389, 424, 431, 487–489, 496, 497, 512
 Syria · 10, 28, 30, 36, 39, 83, 105, 142, 215, 341, 347, 464, 554
 Syrian
 bovine animal · 175
 cylinder seal · 285, 375
 god · 461
 influence · 351
 king · 68
 tradition · 375
 Syrians · 36, 508
 Syro-Cappadocian cylinder seal · 470
 Syro-Palestinian
 tradition · 421, 436
-
- T**
- Tākultu* banquet · 355
 Taanach · 155, 171, 182, 193, 194, 202, 203, 209, 226, 252, 258, 285, 286, 340, 343, 346–350, 353, 357, 361, 372, 385, 396, 398, 411, 443, 444, 482, 514
 Table · 46, 47, 56, 125, 206, 454, 455
 Tablets of destiny · 75, 76, 101, 542
 Tail · 43, 62, 155, 158, 162, 163, 174, 177, 201, 204, 205, 209, 210–212, 214, 219, 220, 225, 228, 234, 237, 241, 242, 258, 264, 268, 276, 280, 292, 302, 330, 342, 359, 368, 389, 394, 398, 412, 421, 424, 429, 430, 442, 444, 525
 Talons · 61, 318, 319, 327, 430, 525
 Tambourine player · 455
 Tammuz · 77
 Targum · 101
 Tassel · 152, 164, 170, 244, 312, 378, 426, 429, 430
 Taurus · 100
 Tchoga Zanbil · 355
 Tel Arad · 207, 379, 390, 442, 443, 445
 Tel Aviv University · 371, 372
 Tel Dan · 212, 291, 357, 410, 416, 456
 Tel Dor · 204, 287, 296, 299, 306, 326, 327, 364, 420
 Tel Esur · 178, 238
 Tel Eton · 205
 Tel Hamid · 286
 Tel Harashim · 210, 225
 Tel Kishion · 341
 Tel Kitan · 341
 Tel Masos · 227, 352, 397
 Tel Michal · 287, 441, 448
 Tel Qarnayim · 148
 Tel Qashish · 456
 Tel Ridan · 216
 Tel Yarmut · 209
 Tel Zippor · 209, 448, 464, 472, 474, 475
 Tell Abou Danné · 171
 Tell Abu Hawam · 210, 289, 340, 347, 365, 463
 Tell Abu Salima · 251, 354, 357, 404, 410, 453
 Tell Abu Zureq · 225, 394
 Tell Beit Mirsim · 193, 195, 205, 219, 291, 343, 364, 374, 420, 422
 Tell Brak · 65
 Tell el-Amarna · 67
 Tell el-^cAjjul · 148, 153, 156, 174, 177, 181, 182, 191, 194, 204, 212, 213, 220, 226, 228, 231, 237, 252, 258, 286, 293, 295–297, 302, 317, 330, 340, 342, 356, 358, 362, 364, 371, 380, 395, 396, 398, 407, 412, 421, 430, 441, 447, 449, 450, 452, 460
 Tell el-^cOreimeh · 463
 Tell el-Far^cah (South) · 147–149, 152–156, 164, 165, 170, 192, 201, 220, 221, 225, 226, 227, 243–245, 249, 250, 251, 275, 276, 279, 281, 291, 296, 312, 313, 340, 341, 344, 348–351, 354, 361, 366–368, 371–374, 377, 380, 386, 387, 394, 395, 397, 404, 420, 429, 444, 445, 448, 454, 458
 Tell el-Ḥamma · 258, 350
 Tell el-Ḥer · 300, 327
 Tell el-Ḥesi · 1
 Tell el-Madrassa · 463
 Tell en-Naşbeh · 192, 212, 421, 454
 Tell eš-Šafi · 156, 162, 186, 241, 253, 300, 327, 429, 455, 474, 475
 Tell Gerisa · 175, 196, 209, 210, 275, 295, 356, 362, 407
 Tell Ḥalif · 343
 Tell Halaf · 65, 306, 307
 Tell Jemmeh · 226, 250, 253, 281, 307, 339, 340, 357, 360, 361, 368, 387, 388, 396, 404, 411
 Tell Judeideh · 307
 Tell Keisan · 151, 164, 166, 222, 243, 245, 275, 298, 313, 323, 363, 369, 381, 420, 430, 443
 Tell Qasile · 193, 195, 275, 286, 354, 377, 386

Tell Rekesh · 201, 231, 397, 445
 Tell Yehudiyeh · 276
 Tell Zeror · 196, 482
 Temple · 67, 69, 71, 88, 91, 105, 150, 152, 164, 170, 205, 220, 230, 243, 276, 277, 278, 285, 360, 375, 400, 419, 421, 426, 450, 451, 456, 459, 461, 462, 471, 512, 515
 Tepe Giyan · 171
 Terracotta · 10, 155, 171, 191, 193, 203, 214, 258, 287, 289, 360, 379, 465, 473, 474, 475, 478, 484, 545
 Teshub · 85
 Teucer · 37, 38, 39, 101
 Text figure cross-reference(s) · 16, 142
 Theophany · 89, 99, 117
 Theriomorphic · 167, 187, 195, 246, 269, 274, 306, 311, 337, 422, 438
 Thirst for life · 197, 345, 353
 Thot · 103
 Throne
 theopanic throne vision · 117
 Thronträger · 287, 288, 291, 309, 310
 Thronwagen · 133
 Thutmose III · 67, 221, 277, 372, 391, 421, 441
 Nubian campaign · 391
 Thutmose IV · 67
 Tiamat · 26, 27, 49, 50, 61, 75
 Toga · see *Wulstsaummantel*
 Tomb · 65, 67, 132, 148, 152, 162–164, 165, 170, 177, 178, 181, 182, 205, 215, 219, 220, 221, 225, 226, 231, 237, 238, 241–245, 249–251, 259, 261, 276–278, 281, 294, 303, 307, 312, 313, 317, 330, 343, 344, 349, 350, 364, 367–372, 378, 386–390, 394, 395, 397, 404, 407, 412, 420, 421, 424, 425, 429, 440, 482
 Towel · 458
 Towner · 56, 57, 59, 60, 62, 63, 74, 128–130
 Tree · 66, 124, 134, 149, 160, 172, 191–193, 197, 199, 204, 229, 258, 261, 280, 282, 284, 285, 287, 289, 291, 298, 302, 326, 330, 344, 346–348, 350, 351, 353, 355, 356, 364, 368, 369, 376, 382, 388, 389, 390, 398, 411, 413, 424, 435, 441, 443, 449, 454, 457, 459, 464, 466, 472, 473, 477, 545
 Triptolemos · 451, 481, 485, 513
 Twig · 148, 151, 160, 162, 191, 207, 210, 212, 218, 220, 221, 225–227, 230, 232, 233, 241, 249, 267, 268, 280, 284, 289, 304, 317, 318, 341, 343, 349, 350, 351, 357, 362, 366, 370,

385, 395, 396, 397, 400, 407, 411, 413, 429, 440, 449, 464, 466, 496
 Twisty Serpent · 183, 490
 Two-winged
 weather god · 160
 Typhon · 28–31, 41, 85, 132
 Tyre · 103

 U

Uehlinger · 63, 66
 Ugarit · 28, 35, 52, 79, 83, 84, 87, 92, 106, 133
 Ugaritic relief · 134
 Ugaritic reliefs · 132
 Ugaritic statuettes · 134
 Ugaritic stela · 133
 Ullikummi
 myth of · 84
 song of · 85, 87
 Unicorn · 506, 541
 University College in London · 283
 University of Minnesota · 193
 Unpublished · 158, 165, 181, 182, 194, 198, 201, 202, 207, 209–212, 221, 226, 227, 245, 250, 258, 275, 286, 287, 290, 291, 296, 313, 317, 331, 339–344, 347, 349, 350, 351, 361, 368, 371, 387, 396, 397, 407, 410, 446, 455
 Ur · 63, 65
 Uradam · 119
 Uraeus · 152, 164, 170, 177–179, 207, 208, 210, 211, 212, 218, 219, 220, 222, 225, 226, 229–232, 234, 237, 238, 244, 249, 275, 281, 289–292, 295–297, 302, 309, 312, 314, 342, 372, 377, 379, 394, 395, 398, 399, 426, 429, 440–442, 446, 448, 450, 469, 482, 485, 515, 547
 Uranic · 280, 283, 355
 Uranography · 101
 Urflut · 157, 158, 197
 Urmensch · 93–98, 100, 111, 119, 127
 Uruk · 90
 Urwasser · 157
 Urzeit · 22, 49, 93, 99, 119

 V

van Henten · 29, 41
 Vegetable
 object · 148, 153, 160, 172, 210, 261, 284, 341, 343,

362, 364, 377, 422, 437, 440, 447, 448, 466
 Vegetation · 41, 148, 149, 160, 172, 233, 376, 422, 506
 Vegetative prosperity · 358
 Vernal equinox · 104
 Vessel · 195, 289, 342, 360, 364, 390, 410, 411, 420, 443, 459, 460, 472
 Virgo · 39
 Vishnu · 99, 100
 Vision of the Netherworld · 44–48, 106–109
 Völkerarchonten · 116
 Völter · 40, 97
 von Gall · 40, 94, 95, 97, 98
 von Lengerke · 62, 66
 Vorderasiatisches Museum Berlin · 305, 372
 Vulture · 191, 197, 219, 222, 229, 273, 274, 282, 288, 289, 398, 502, 532, 533
 Vulva · 147, 348, 349, 370

 W

Wadi ed-Daliyeh · 163, 200, 203, 204, 215, 243, 254, 256, 259, 260, 278, 281, 284, 285, 287, 293, 294, 299–301, 307, 308, 317, 319, 321, 323, 327, 407, 431, 447
 Warrior god · 45, 160, 308, 366, 376, 427, 518, 519, 520, 538
 Weapon · 33, 42, 134, 148, 149, 154, 160, 162, 163, 165, 170, 171, 174, 200, 202, 206, 241, 242, 244, 254, 281, 318, 326, 341, 377, 378, 388, 419, 424, 426, 427, 449, 456, 487, 489, 492, 499, 519, 522, 532
 Wheel · 106, 107, 125, 126, 129, 135, 386, 451, 469, 476, 480, 481, 484, 513, 514, 545, 547
 Whisk · 452, 453, 457, 459
 White crown · 170, 259, 312, 358, 373, 379, 412, 425, 429
 White hair · 80, 87, 89, 105, 109, 468, 542
 Widengren · 94
 Wifall · 113, 114
 Wing · 11, 37, 43, 47, 48, 58, 59, 62, 64, 66–68, 125, 139, 143, 151, 152, 164, 165, 166, 170, 189, 190, 219, 244, 245, 273, 274–276, 278–283, 288, 291, 294, 295, 298, 301–306, 309, 311–315, 317, 320, 328, 332, 334, 364, 374, 377, 407, 420, 429, 442, 481, 482, 485, 502, 503, 513, 514, 525, 531–535, 546, 549, 550

Winged

- animal · 44, 64, 190, 301, 302,
 311, 323, 326, 327, 329
 arm · 281
 Baal-Seth · 276
 beast · 68
 being · 156, 274, 279, 302, 309,
 310, 331, 332, 334, 335,
 481, 502, 531, 532, 534
 bull · 64, 256, 298, 299, 301,
 306, 308, 309, 323, 326,
 327, 334, 500
 canide · 302
 composite being · 273, 526, 531
 deity · 279, 308, 433
 demon · 156, 174, 175, 204,
 258, 330-332, 412, 430,
 438, 500
 figure · 149, 160, 164, 165,
 229, 244, 278, 304, 305,
 312, 313, 330, 389, 390,
 399, 411, 414, 472
 genus · 309
 god · 281
 goddess · 281, 282
 griffin · 278, 289, 290, 292-
 294, 303, 317, 381, 407,
 430, 431, 438, 477
 hero · 204, 306
 horse · 293, 301, 309
 ibex-man · 304
 lion · 11, 61-63, 68, 74, 189,
 190, 273, 274, 298, 310,
 319, 326, 430, 503, 525,
 531, 532, 534, 550
Mischwesen · 64, 185, 283,
 502, 525, 549
 monster · 331, 334, 430
 scarab · 290, 292
 solar disk · 229, 399
 sphinx · 63, 189, 196, 230,
 283-289, 291, 297, 300,
 302, 309, 310, 327, 346,
 356, 388, 399, 400
 sun disk · 259, 260, 274, 290-
 292, 298, 300, 327, 328,
 369, 390, 424, 442, 472, 482
 Wisdom literature · 112
 Wittstruck · 41
 Wolf · 51
 Womb of the earth · 451
 Wulstsaummantel · 153, 424, 440,
 454, 456, 461

Young · 28, 56-63, 111, 128-131

Z

- Zaphon · 28, 29, 31, 121
Zaubermesser · 216, 277, 289
 Zeus · 28, 85, 88, 102, 132
 Zeus Casios · 28
 Zevit · 38, 57, 60, 106, 128-130
 Zimmern · 23, 40, 75, 100
 Zodiac signs · 36, 37
 Zoomorphic · 342, 360
 Zoroastrian · 97, 98

Y

- Yam · 31-35, 50, 53, 80, 81, 83,
 84, 86, 87, 92, 121
 Yama · 95, 99
 Yehud drachm · 451, 469, 476,
 480, 481, 485, 513, 514, 545
 Yima · 95, 99
 Yoqneam · 349

Biblical references

Genesis

1 · 25, 26, 27, 54, 56, 76, 111,
119, 120, 127, 129, 515
1:2 · 26, 54, 56, 111, 119, 120,
127
1:26 · 111, 119, 127
1:26–28 · 111
1:27 · 120
1:28 · 127
1:6 · 54
1:7 · 54
1:9 · 54
6:13 · 54
7:11 · 54, 56
15:17 · 129, 515
21:33 · 105
22:13 · 337
39 · 125
49:10 · 498
49:9 · 272, 498
65:25 · 490

Exodus

3:2 · 129, 515
19:16 · 130
19:18 · 129
20:18 · 129
32:32,33 · 130
34:29,30 · 510, 511
34:35 · 510

Leviticus

16:10 · 505
16:21,22 · 505
17:7 · 357, 505, 506

Numbers

16:35 · 129, 515
19:16 · 487
23:22 · 510, 541
23:24 · 498
24:17 · 489
24:8 · 489, 510, 541
24:9 · 498
31:8 · 487

Deuteronomy

4:24 · 129, 515
9:3 · 129
28:26 · 503
28:49 · 502
32:42 · 487
32:8 · 80, 87, 106, 115, 116
32:8,9 · 80, 116
33:17 · 60, 337, 506, 509
33:2 · 85, 86, 105, 106, 128,
129, 130, 498, 546
33:2,3 · 106
33:22 · 498
33:26 · 85, 86, 130, 546
33:27 · 105

Joshua

6:5 · 337
7:25 · 130
13:22 · 487

Judges

5:26 · 489

14:6 · 499

1 Samuel

2:10 · 508, 509, 537
17:34 · 58, 59, 490, 499
17:34–37 · 58, 59

2 Samuel

1:22 · 487
22:11 · 85, 481
22:3 · 510, 541
22:9 · 515
23:18 · 487
23:20 · 490, 499
23:8 · 487

1 Kings

8:10,11 · 130
13:24 · 494
14:11 · 503
16:4 · 503
20:36 · 494
21:24 · 503
22:11 · 508, 509, 537
22:19 · 106, 116, 128

2 Kings

2:24 · 59
17:25 · 495

1 Chronicles

11:11 · 487
11:20 · 487
11:22 · 490, 499
28:18 · 481

2 Chronicles

11:15 · 505
18:10 · 508, 509, 537

Esther

6:1 · 130

Job

1:6 · 106, 116, 128
1:6ff · 116
2:1 · 106, 116, 128
5:1 · 106
7:12 · 57
9:13 · 57
10:16 · 494, 495
15:14–16 · 117
15:8 · 106, 128
25:4–6 · 117
26:12 · 34, 57, 489
26:12,13 · 57
26:13 · 34, 487, 488, 489
26:7 · 34
36:26 · 128
38:8 · 56
41:1 · 57, 491
41:13,15,16 · 491
41:30,31 · 491

Psalms

2 · 33, 49, 50, 56, 86, 106, 111,
113, 120, 127, 128, 337,
496, 506
2:5 · 127
4 · 54, 56, 124, 345

10:9 · 496

7:1,2 · 496

8 · 34, 53, 55, 57, 86, 106, 113,
116, 117, 120, 121, 122,
123, 126, 128, 130, 487,
489, 508, 509, 537

8:2 · 122

8:20–25 · 60

8:3 · 122

8:4 · 117

8:5 · 117

8:7–10 · 116

9:4 · 128, 512, 543

9:4,7 · 512, 543

9:5,6 · 512

9:7 · 512

9:8 · 543

11:4 · 512

11:6 · 512

12:3,4 · 60

12 · 61

17:12 · 496

18:10 · 546

18:11 · 85, 481

18:2 · 510, 541

18:3 · 60

18:8 · 515

18:9–12 · 130

18:9–14 · 129, 515

22:13 · 496

22:21 · 337, 496, 506

29 · 33, 86, 106, 128

29:1 · 86, 106, 128

29:10 · 86

29:7 · 33

42:2 · 345

46:2,3 · 56

46:3,4 · 124

46:4 · 54

50 · 128, 129

50:3 · 129

51:7 · 129

55:19 · 128, 512

56:8 · 130

57:5 · 496

68:17 · 128

68:2 · 516

68:30 · 57, 508, 537

68:31 · 22

68:33 · 85, 86, 546

68:33,34 · 86

68:35 · 86

68:5 · 85

69:28 · 130

69:31 · 337

74 · 22, 49, 57, 130, 487, 489

74:13,14 · 124, 130

74:13–17 · 34

74:13–17 · 57

74:13f · 183

74:13ff · 50

74:14 · 487

- 75:10 · 60, 506
 75:4,5 · 506
 75:4-6,10 · 60
 79:2 · 503
 80 · 57, 116, 117, 126
 80:13 · 57
 80:17 · 113, 116, 117
 82:1 · 86, 106, 128
 82:6 · 106
 84:8,9 · 113
 87:4 · 22, 57
 89 · 34, 49, 53, 55, 57, 121,
 122, 123, 128, 130, 487,
 489, 508, 509, 537
 89:10 · 122, 124, 487, 489
 89:10-11 · 122
 89:12,13 · 122
 89:14 · 122
 89:17 · 122, 509
 89:19 · 122, 123
 89:19-27 · 122
 89:20 · 122
 89:23 · 122
 89:24 · 508, 509, 537
 89:25 · 122, 123
 89:26 · 122
 89:27 · 122, 123
 89:28,29 · 122
 89:3 · 122
 89:36,37 · 122, 123
 89:37 · 122
 89:4 · 122
 89:5,7 · 123
 89:5-7 · 122
 89:6,7 · 128
 89:6,8 · 106
 89:6-8 · 122
 89:6-9 · 122
 89:7 · 106
 89:9 · 122
 89:9,10 · 123
 89:9-11 · 34, 57, 130
 89:9f · 50
 90:2 · 128
 91:13 · 490, 499, 500
 92:10 · 337
 93 · 56, 86, 128, 130
 93:1 · 86, 128, 130
 93:13 · 128, 130
 93:1-4 · 86
 93:2 · 86
 93:3 · 56, 86
 93:3,4 · 54, 56, 124
 93:4 · 86
 97:2-4 · 129, 131
 97:2-5 · 515, 547
 97:3 · 516
 97:7 · 106
 101:5 · 60
 102:24-27 · 128
 104:25,26 · 57
 104:29 · 183
 104:3 · 85, 131, 481
 122:5 · 128
 132:17 · 508, 537
 139:16 · 130
- 145:13 · 86
 148:14 · 509
 148:2 · 106
- Proverbs
 1-9 · 112
 17:12 · 59
 28:15 · 58, 59, 497
 30:29-31 · 527
- Song of Songs
 4:8 · 58, 59
- Isaiah
 1:18 · 129
 2:11 · 60
 4:3 · 130
 4:5 · 516
 5:15 · 60
 5:26,29 · 497
 5:26-29 · 55, 123
 5:30 · 54
 6 · 106, 117, 128, 129, 130,
 490, 499, 515, 546, 547
 6:1 · 106, 128, 129, 515, 547
 6:1,2,8 · 128
 6:1,4 · 515, 547
 6:2 · 106
 8:7,8 · 55, 123
 9:8 · 516
 10 · 55, 60, 125, 508, 537
 10:13 · 508, 537
 10:5,6 · 55, 123
 10:7-11 · 55
 10:7-12 · 60
 11:6,7 · 58, 59, 60
 11:7c-9a · 490, 499, 500, 524
 13:14 · 504
 13:17 · 55, 59
 13:17,18 · 59
 13:21 · 505, 506
 14 · 55, 125
 14:29 · 491
 14:4-23 · 60
 14:9 · 359, 508, 509, 537
 15:9 · 495
 17:12-14 · 54, 57
 17:44,46 · 503
 18:19 · 54
 19:1 · 85, 131
 21:2 · 55, 59
 22:2 · 487
 27:1 · 22, 34, 49, 58, 130, 487,
 488, 489, 491, 522
 27:1f · 183
 28:15 · 55, 123
 30:27 · 516
 30:33 · 130
 30:6 · 490, 491, 499, 500
 30:6,7 · 490, 491, 499, 500
 30:7 · 22, 49
 31:4 · 495
 31:8 · 49
 34:14 · 505, 506
 34:7 · 508, 537
 37:23 · 61
 37:36 · 49
 38:13 · 494, 495
 40:28 · 105
- 41:2,3 · 55, 60
 41:3 · 503
 41:4 · 128
 43:19 · 49
 44:6 · 128
 45:1-7 · 55
 46:11 · 55
 50:2,3 · 49
 51:10 · 26, 57
 51:11 · 59
 51:28 · 59
 51:9 · 487
 51:9,10 · 34, 130
 51:9,11 · 58
 51:9-11 · 49
 65:25 · 490, 499, 500, 524
 65:5 · 516
 65:6 · 130
 66:15 · 546
 66:16 · 487
- Jeremiah
 1:15 · 55, 123
 1:22 · 123
 4:13 · 502
 4:6 · 55, 123
 4:6,7 · 55, 58
 4:7 · 497
 5:6 · 41, 58, 60, 495
 6:1 · 55, 123
 6:22 · 55
 6:23 · 54, 57
 7:3 · 503
 14:18 · 487
 15:3 · 41, 503
 16:4 · 503
 17:1 · 130
 19:7 · 503
 23:18 · 106, 130
 23:22 · 130
 25:9 · 55, 123
 27 · 55, 123
 34:20 · 503
 38:40 · 55
 46:7,8 · 57
 48:25 · 504
 48:40 · 502
 49:19 · 58, 495, 503, 532
 49:19,22 · 58, 503, 532
 49:20 · 55
 49:22 · 502
 49:36 · 54, 512
 49:36,37 · 512
 49:38 · 512
 50:17 · 55, 58, 497, 498
 50:27 · 508, 537
 50:44 · 495
 51:11 · 55
 51:25,26 · 55
 51:28 · 55
 51:41 · 55
- Lamentations
 1:6 · 504
 2:17 · 504
 2:3 · 504
 3:10 · 58, 59, 494, 495
 4:19 · 58, 502

- 4:9 · 487
 Ezekiel
 1 · 36, 55, 58, 60, 106, 109,
 110, 112, 116, 117, 118,
 124, 125, 126, 128, 129,
 130, 131, 272, 481, 497,
 498, 502, 513, 514, 515,
 516, 546, 547
 1:1 · 124, 125
 1:10 · 58, 125
 1:13 · 129, 515, 547
 1:13,14 · 124
 1:15,16 · 125
 1:15-21 · 125, 513
 1:15-28 · 124, 129
 1:22,23 · 125
 1:26 · 106, 125, 127, 128, 129
 1:26,27 · 515, 547
 1:26-28 · 125
 1:27 · 125, 129, 516
 1:29 · 124
 1:4 · 117, 124, 125, 129, 131,
 481, 515, 516, 547
 1:4ff · 481
 1:5 · 124, 125
 1:6 · 125
 1:6-11 · 124
 1:7 · 36
 1:8 · 125
 3:13 · 481
 3:23 · 124
 8:15 · 124
 8:2 · 119, 124, 515, 547
 8:28 · 124
 8:3 · 124
 8:4 · 124
 8-11 · 118, 126
 9:11 · 124
 9:1-11 · 119
 9:2,3 · 124
 9:8 · 516
 10:1 · 129, 513
 10:1,2 · 129, 513
 10:1,2,7 · 129
 10:16 · 481
 10:16,19 · 513
 10:19 · 481
 10:1ff · 481
 10:2 · 124, 130, 516
 10:2,6,7 · 119
 10:6,7 · 124
 10:7 · 124, 515, 547
 10:9-12 · 513
 11:13 · 124
 11:22 · 481
 12:27 · 124
 17:22,23 · 124
 17:3 · 55, 58, 124, 502
 17:3-15 · 55
 19:1-9 · 124
 19:2 · 272, 497, 498
 19:2-9 · 272, 498
 20:15 · 124
 20:6 · 124
 21:19 · 487
 21:30-34 · 124
 22:25 · 497
 26:15 · 487
 26:2 · 124
 26:7 · 124
 27:15 · 73
 27:2 · 124
 28:2-10 · 61
 28:23 · 487
 28:3 · 124
 29 · 22, 55, 58, 61, 493, 503,
 509
 29:18 · 55
 29:21 · 509
 29:3 · 58, 61, 493
 29:3-5 · 124
 29:5 · 503
 30:15 · 487
 30:25 · 487
 31:17,18 · 487
 31:20-26 · 487
 31:28-32 · 487
 32 · 22, 49
 32:2 · 58, 491, 492, 497, 498,
 527, 528, 552
 32:2-6 · 124
 32:2-8 · 58
 32:3 · 497
 32:4 · 503
 32:4,5 · 493
 32:7,8 · 493
 34:11 · 508, 537
 34:17 · 124
 34:17-21 · 508
 34:21 · 337, 537
 35:5 · 124
 35:8 · 487
 37:9 · 54
 38 · 55, 58, 125
 38:4 · 124
 39 · 55, 58, 130, 508, 537
 39:18 · 124, 508, 537
 39:6 · 130
 40:1ff · 119
 40:3 · 124
 41:21 · 124
 42:11 · 124
 43:1ff · 119
 43:3 · 124
 43:6 · 119
 44:1,4 · 119
 44:3 · 124
 46:19 · 119
 47:1,8ff · 119
 Daniel
 2 · 34, 56, 59, 60, 131
 2:32 · 59
 2:35 · 124
 2:37 · 124
 2:37,38 · 59, 131
 2:39 · 59, 60
 2:40 · 60
 2:44 · 131
 3:33 · 86, 131
 3:4 · 131
 4 · 56, 59, 86, 131, 531, 535
 4:19-23 · 531
 4:3 · 86, 131
 4:31 · 86, 131
 4:5-25 · 124
 4:9 · 124
 5:18,19 · 131
 6:26,27 · 131
 6:27 · 86
 8 · 30, 36, 37, 39, 42, 43, 44,
 56, 57, 60, 124, 337, 504,
 508, 509, 510, 511, 537
 8:15 · 115, 124
 8:17 · 124
 8:17ff · 124
 8:2 · 124
 8:20,21 · 36, 337, 508, 537
 8:21-23 · 537
 8:22 · 509
 8:23 · 60
 8:23-25 · 510
 8:26 · 124
 8:3-8 · 508
 8:3-9 · 60, 337, 508, 537
 8:7 · 504
 8:8 · 56
 8:9 · 124
 8:9-12 · 510, 511
 9:21 · 115
 10:16 · 124
 10:18 · 115
 10:20,21 · 116
 10:21 · 130
 10:5 · 115, 124
 10:5,6 · 36
 10:9-11 · 124
 11:16 · 124
 11:2,3 · 60
 11:21 · 60
 11:35-40 · 124
 11:36 · 61
 11:4 · 56
 11:41 · 124
 12:1 · 130
 12:17 · 124
 12:3 · 124
 12:4 · 124
 12:6 · 124
 12:8 · 124
 Hosea
 2:18 · 503
 5:14 · 495
 8:1 · 502
 13:5-6 · 74
 13:7 · 51, 495
 13:7,8 · 32, 41, 51, 52, 54, 59,
 60
 Joel
 1:6 · 497, 498
 2:30 · 516
 Amos
 3:12 · 55, 59
 3:12,13 · 59
 5:19 · 59
 6:13 · 504, 505
 7:4 · 26, 57
 Obadiah
 12 · 61

Micah

4:13 · 509

5:8 · 498

Nahhum

1:3 · 131

2:11–13 · 497, 498

3:3 · 487

Habakkuk

1:8 · 55, 59, 60, 502

3:8 · 546

Zephaniah

2:12 · 487

3:3 · 497

Zechariah

1:19 · 509, 537

1:21 · 504

2:10 · 54

2:1–4 · 58, 60

2:6 · 56

6:5 · 54, 56

10:3 · 359, 508, 509, 537

12–14 · 55, 58, 125

14:3–5 · 116

14:5 · 128

Malachi

3:1 · 114, 130

3:16 · 130

Revelation

1:13–16 · 36




































12 · 28















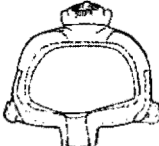





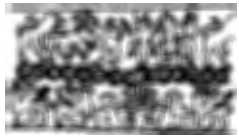
























13 · 28































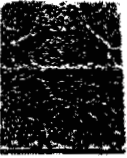














17 · 28














































21:1 · 524





























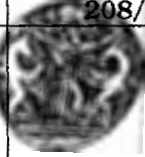











Figure index


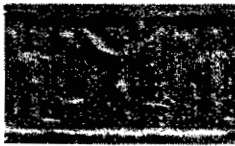














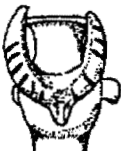



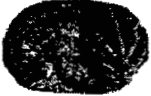



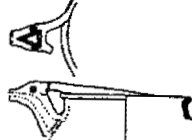














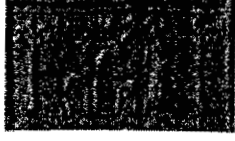
 <p>1/147, 6/149, 331/363, 362/371, 379/375</p>	 <p>2/147</p>	 <p>3/148</p>	 <p>4/148, 385/377</p>	 <p>5/149, 13/151, 137/280</p>
 <p>7/149, 330/363</p>	 <p>8/150</p>	 <p>9/150, 61/199, 332/363</p>	 <p>10/150</p>	 <p>11/151, 333/363, 354/369</p>
 <p>12/151, 355/369</p>	 <p>14/152</p>	 <p>15/152, 382/376</p>	 <p>16/152, 480/463</p>	 <p>17/153, 384/377</p>
 <p>18/153</p>	 <p>19/154</p>	 <p>20/154, 131/276, 491/487, 510/503, 521/521, 531/532</p>	 <p>21/154, 389/378, 492/487</p>	 <p>22/154, 494/488</p>
 <p>23/155, 493/488</p>	 <p>24/155, 60/199, 390/378, 527/529</p>	 <p>25/155, 62/200</p>	 <p>26/156, 132/278, 376/374, 532/532</p>	 <p>27/156, 80/204, 223/302, 311/358, 397/380</p>
 <p>28/156, 495/490, 506/500</p>	 <p>29/157, 57/197, 497/492, 523/524</p>	 <p>30/157, 498/493</p>	 <p>31/158</p>	 <p>32/158</p>
 <p>33/158, 496/492, 522/524</p>	 <p>34/189</p>	 <p>35/191</p>	 <p>36/191, 222/302</p>	 <p>37/191</p>


 38/191, 151/284, 264/346	 39/192	 40/192, 271/347	 41/192	 42/192
 43/193	 44/193	 45/193	 46/194	 47/194
 48/194	 49/194	 50/195, 67/201	 51/195, 465/458	 52/195
 53/195	 54/196	 55/196, 293/353	 56/197, 296/353	 58/198, 338/365
 59/198, 144/281, 170/289	 63/200	 64/200	 65/200	 66/200
 68/201, 500/496	 69/201, 512/504	 70/202	 71/202	 72/202
 73/202	 74/202	 75/203	 76/203	 77/203
 78/203	 79/203	 81/204	 82/204	 83/204, 528/530
 84/205	 85/205	 86/205	 87/205	 88/205








				
89/206	90/206	91/206	92/207	93/207
				
94/207	95/208	96/208	97/208	98/209
				
99/209	100/209	101/210	102/210	103/210
				
104/210	105/211	106/211	107/211	108/211
				
109/211	110/211	111/212	112/212	113/212
				
114/212	115/212	116/212	117/213	118/213
				
119/213	120/214	121/214	122/214	123/215
				
124/215	125/215	126/216	127/216	128/275
				
129/275	130/275, 386/377	133/278, 388/377	134/279	135/279





































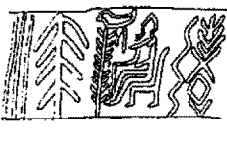



 136/280	 138/280	 139/280	 140/281	 141/281
 142/281	 143/281	 145/282, 365/371	 146/282, 238/308	 147/282
 148/283	 149/283	 150/284	 152/284	 153/284
 154/284	 155/285, 458/456	 156/285	 157/285	 158/285
 156/285	 160/286	 161/286	 162/286	 163/286
 164/287	 165/287	 166/287	 167/287	 168/288
 169/289	 171/290	 172/290	 173/290	 174/290
 175/291	 176/291	 177/291	 178/291	 179/291
 180/291	 181/292	 182/292	 183/292	 184/292, 508/502, 533/534
























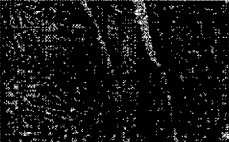








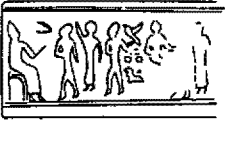







 185/293, 340/365, 507/502, 530/532	 186/293	 187/293, 304/356	 188/294	 189/294, 401/381, 509/502, 534/534
 190/294	 191/294	 192/295	 193/295	 194/296
 195/296	 196/296	 197/296	 198/296	 199/297
 200/297	 201/297	 202/297	 203/297	 204/297
 205/297	 206/298	 207/298	 208/298	 209/298
 210/299	 211/299	 212/299	 213/299	 214/299
 215/299	 216/300	 217/300	 218/300	 219/300
 220/301	 221/302	 224/302, 302/356, 514/505, 537/538	 225/303	 226/304

















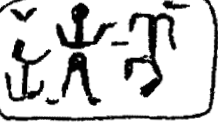








 227/304	 228/304	 229/305, 300/355, 467/459, 546/545	 230/305	 231/306
 232/306	 233/307	 234/307	 235/307	 236/308
 237/308, 398/381, 538/539	 239/308	 240/338	 241/338	 242/338
 243/338	 244/339	 245/339	 246/339	 247/340
 248/340	 249/341	 250/341	 251/341	 252/342
 253/342	 254/343	 255/343	 256/343	 257/343
 258/344	 259/344	 260/344	 261/345	 262/345
 263/345	 264/346	 266/346	 267/347	 268/347

 269/347	 270/347	 272/348	 273/348	 274/348
 275/349	 276/349	 277/349	 278/349	 279/349
 280/349	 281/349	 282/350	 283/350	 284/350
 285/350	 286/351	 287/351	 288/351	 289/351
 290/352, 511/504	 291/352	 292/352, 525/527	 294/353	 295/353
 297/354	 298/354	 299/354	 301/356	 303/356
 305/356	 306/357	 307/357	 308/357	 309/357
 310/357	 312/358, 372/373	 313/359	 314/359	 315/359
 316/360	 317/360	 318/360	 319/360	 328/362



































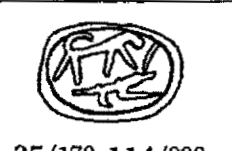
				
321/361	322/361	323/361	324/361	325/361
				
326/362	327/362	328/362	329/362	334/364
				
335/364	336/364, 535/536	337/364	339/365	341/365
				
342/365	343/366, 352/368	344/366, 378/375	345/366	346/366
				
347/367	348/367	349/367	350/367	351/368, 356/369
				
353/368	357/369	358/369	359/370	360/370
				
361/370	363/371	364/371	366/371	376/374
				
368/372	369/372	370/373	371/373	373/373
				
374/374	375/374	377/374	380/376	381/376














































				
383/376	387/377	391/378	392/378	393/378, 539/540
				
394/379	395/380, 461/457, 544/544	399/381	400/381	402/440
				
403/440	404/440	405/440	406/441	407/441
				
408/441	409/441	410/442, 520/515, 549/547	411/442	412/442
				
413/444	414/444	415/445	416/445	417/446
				
418/446	419/447	420/447	421/447	422/447
				
423/448	424/448	425/448	426/448	427/448
				
428/449	429/449	430/449	431/449	432/450


















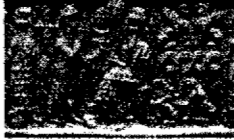



























 433/450	 434/450	 435/450	 436/450	 437/451
 438/451	 439/451, 519/513, 548/545	 440/452	 441/453	 442/453
 443/453	 444/453	 445/453	 446/453, 462/457	 447/453
 448/454	 449/454	 450/454	 451/454	 452/455
 453/455	 454/455	 455/455	 456/455	 457/456
 459/456	 460/457	 463/457	 464/458	 466/458
 468/459	 469/459	 470/460	 471/460	 472/460, 518/512, 540/541
 473/460	 474/461	 475/461	 476/461	 477/461

 478/462	 479/462	 481/463	 482/463	 483/463, 543/543
 484/464	 485/464	 486/464	 487/464	 488/465, 547/545
 489/465	 490/465	 499/494, 524/527	 501/496	 502/496
 503/496, 516/507	 504/499	 505/500	 513/505	 515/507
 517/508, 536/537	 526/528	 529/530	 541/542	 542/542
 545/544				









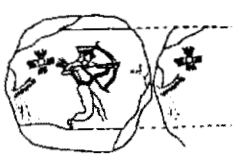




















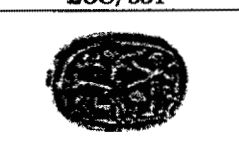
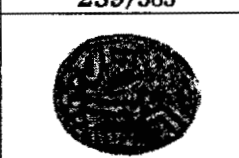
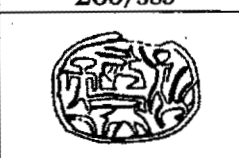






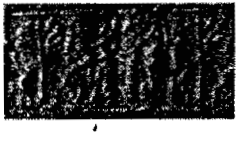

Catalogue index

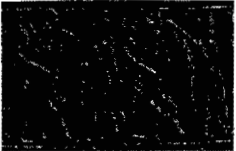













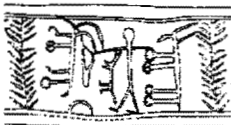






























 1/162, 116/241, 370/424	 2/162, 117/241, 379/429	 3/162, 118/242	 4/163, 119/242	 5/163, 120/242
 6/163, 121/242	 7/163, 122 /242	 8/163, 123/243, 193/260	 9/164, 125/243, 358/419	 10/164, 126/243, 359/420
 11/164, 127/243, 360/420	 12/164, 128/244, 200/312	 13/164, 129/244, 201/312	 14/165, 130/244	 15/165, 131/244, 202/312
 16/165, 132/244	 17/165, 133/245, 203/313	 18/165, 134/245, 204/313	 19/166, 135/245, 205/313	 20/170
 21/170	 22/170, 199/312, 378/429	 23/170, 373/425, 380/429	 24/171	 25/171
 26/174, 214/318	 27/174, 179/258, 254/330, 351/412, 381/430	 28/177, 107/237	 29/177, 108/237	 30/177, 109/237
 31/177, 110/237	 32/177, 111/237	 33/178, 112/238	 34/178, 113/238	 35/178, 114/238

 36/178, 115/238	 37/178	 38/178	 39/181	 40/181
 41/181	 42/181	 43/181	 44/181	 45/182
 46/182	 47/182	 48/182	 49/182	 50/219
 51/219	 52/219	 53/219	 54/220	 55/220
 56/220	 57/220	 58/220	 59/221	 60/221
 61/221	 62/221	 63/221	 64/221	 65/222
 66/222	 67/222	 68/222	 69/225, 290/394	 70/225, 291/394
 71/225, 292/394	 72/225, 293/394	 73/225, 294/394	 74/226, 295/395	 75/226, 296/395
 76/226, 299/395	 78/226, 301/396	 79/226, 302/396	 80/227, 303/396	 81/227, 304/396

				
82/227, 305/396	83/227, 306/397	84/227, 307/397	85/227, 308/397	86/228, 313/398
				
87/228, 314/398	88/228, 315/398	89/228, 316/398	90/228, 322/399	91/228, 323/400
				
92/229, 324/400	93/229, 325/400	94/229, 317/398	95/229, 318/399	96/229, 319/399
				
97/230, 320/399	98/230, 321/399	99/230, 326/400	100/230, 278/388, 327/400	101/230, 328/401
				
102/231, 297/395	103/231, 309/397	104/231, 310/397	105/231, 311/397	106/231, 298/395
				
124/243	136/249	137/249	138/249, 270/386	139/249, 271/387
				
140/249, 272/387	141/250, 273/387	142/250, 274/387	143/250, 275/387	144/250, 276/387
				
145/250	146/250, 329/404	147/250, 330/404	148/251, 331/404	149/251, 332/404
				
150/251, 333/404	151/251	152/251	153/252	154/252







































				
155/252	156/252	157/252	158/252	159/252
				
160/253	161/253	162/253	163/253	164/254
				
165/254	166/254	167/254	168/254	169/254
				
170/255	171/255	172/255	175/258	176/258
				
177/258	178/258	180/259, 352/412, 374/425	181/259, 353/412	182/259
				
183/259	184/260	185/260	186/260	192/260
				
194/260	195/261	196/264	197/264	198/264
				
206/313	207/317, 334/407	208/317, 335/407	209/317	210/317

				
213/317, 340/407	215/318	216/318	217/318	218/318
				
219/319, 385/430	220/319, 386/431	221/319, 336/407, 387/431	222/319	223/323
				
224/323	225/323	245/326	246/326	247/326
				
248/326	249/326	250/327	251/327	252/327
				
253/327	255/330, 285/389	256/330	257/331, 382/430	258/331
				
259/385	260/385	261/385	262/385	263/385
				
264/386	265/386	266/386	267/386	268/386
				
269/386	277/388	279/388, 349/411	280/388	281/388

				
282/389	284/389, 371/424	286/390	287/390	288/390
				
289/390, 350/411, 395/472	312/398	337/407	341/410	342/410
				
343/410	344/410	345/410	346/410	347/411
				
348/411	354/416	355/416	356/416	357/419
				
361/420	362/420	363/420	364/421	365/421
				
366/421	367/421	368/421	369/424	372/425
				
375/426	376/426	377/426	383/430	384/430
				
388/470	389/471	390/471	391/471	392/471
				
393/472	394/472	396/473	397/473	398/473

 399/473	 400/473	 401/474	 402/474	 404/474
 405/474	 406/474	 407/474	 408/474	 409/475
 410/475	 411/475	 412/475	 413/475	 414/475
 423/476	 424/476, 425/480	 426/482	 427/482	 428/482
 429/482				

Footnote index

 1/149	 2/149	 3/157	 4/157	 5/199
 6/199	 7/199	 8/205	 9/253	 10/276
 11/276	 12/276	 13/277	 14/277	 15/277
 16/278	 17/278	 18/278	 19/283	 20/283
 21/288	 22/301	 23/303	 24/303	 25/305
 26/305	 27/305	 28/307	 29/330	 30/341
 31/345	 32/345	 33/355	 34/355	 35/379
 36/443	 37/481	 38/481		