Baʿal and Seth
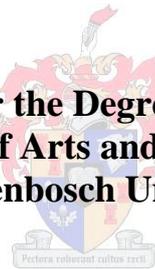# An investigation into the relationship of two gods with reference to their iconography
(ca. 1500 – 1000 BCE)

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**Dissertation Presented for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
in the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences
at Stellenbosch University**

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DECLARATION

By submitting this dissertation electronically, I declare that the entirety of the work contained therein is my own, original work, that I am the sole author thereof (save to the extent explicitly otherwise stated), that reproduction and publication thereof by Stellenbosch University will not infringe any third party rights and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it for obtaining any qualification.

Date: December 2013

I

ABSTRACT

Although the traditional viewpoint of the Ancient Egyptian civilisation is one of isolation and self containment, in fact Egypt and Syro-Palestine had a long history of contact and interaction before the Late Bronze Age, albeit somewhat tenuous and ad hoc. The commencement of the New Kingdom in Egypt heralded a more vigorous period of exchange. This was largely due to the Egyptian policy of increased commercial activity and military campaigns in Syro-Palestine as well as the rising strength of the Asiatic peoples. At the personal level there was always a trend of Asiatics moving into Egypt in search of a better life, which opened the door for the Hyksos rule at the end of the Middle Bronze Age. This foreign rule was an affront on the dignity of the Egyptians. Thus, following numerous military campaigns much of Syro-Palestine was incorporated into the wider Egyptian political entity.

In counterpoint to the situation in Egypt, Syro-Palestine was very far from isolated, situated in the open cultural landscape of Syria and Mesopotamia it was the very hub of the Ancient Near East. Inevitably there was considerable interaction, and throughout history, as even today, Syro-Palestine is a crossroads and melting pot of different peoples. At the forefront of any exchange were religious ideas, religious traditions were introduced and foreign gods were spread far and wide. The international nature of the gods seems to have been a characteristic of the Ancient Near East.

In this scenario were the Egyptian god Seth and his counterpart the Syro-Palestinian god Baʿal, each with a complex story, wherein the iconographical and textual evidence of the gods show much commonality. The association of Seth with Baʿal in Egypt is clear, the name of Baʿal being written with the Seth-animal determinative, whereas Syro-Palestine has the Mami stele from Ugarit. Major events shook the Ancient Near East ca. 1500-1000 BCE, Egypt reached its apogee and ruled the East; providing the most likely answer regarding the presence and worship of Seth in Syro-Palestine. Certainly Seth was present and worshipped, naturally the massive numbers of Egyptian military and diplomatic personnel required facilities for this practice. Since the earlier Hyksos rulers accepted and worshipped Seth this predicates on a continuum into the period in question. To summarize: Seth equals Baʿal and Baʿal equals Seth.

OPSOMMING

Alhoewel die tradisionele siening van die antieke Egiptiese beskawing een van isolasie en selfonderhouding is, het Egipte en Siro-Palestina in werklikheid 'n lang geskiedenis van kontak en interaksie voor die Laat Bronstydperk gehad, hoewel ietwat beperk en ad hoc. Die aanvang van die Nuwe Koninkryk in Egipte het 'n meer dinamiese tydperk van wisselwerking ingelui. Dit was grootliks weens die Egiptiese beleid van toenemende handelsaktiwiteit en militêre veldtogte in Siro-Palestina, asook die opkomende mag van die Asiatiese volke. Op persoonlike vlak was daar altyd 'n neiging van Asiate om na Egipte te trek op soek na 'n beter lewe, wat die deur vir die Hiksosheerskappy aan die einde van die Middel-Bronstydperk oopgemaak het. Hierdie vreemdelinge heerskappy was 'n belediging vir die waardigheid van die Egiptenare. Gevolglik, na afloop van talle militêre veldtogte is die meerderheid van Siro-Palestina in die breër Egiptiese politieke entiteit ingelyf.

In teenstelling met die situasie in Egipte was Siro-Palestina alles behalwe geïsoleer. Geleë in die oop kulturele landskap van Sirië en Mesopotamië was dit die ware middelpunt van die Ou Nabye Ooste. Daar was noodwendig aansienlike interaksie, en regdeur die geskiedenis, soos selfs vandag nog, is Siro-Palestina 'n kruispad en smeltkroes van verskillende volke. Aan die voorpunt van enige wisselwerking was godsdienstige idees, godsdienstige tradisies was ingevoer en uitheemse gode wyd en syd versprei. Die internasionale aard van die gode blyk 'n kenmerk van die Ou Nabye Ooste te wees.

In hierdie scenario was die Egiptiese god Seth en sy Siro-Palestynse eweknie Baäl, elk met 'n komplekse storie, waarin die ikonografiese en tekstuele bronne van die gode baie ooreenstemming toon. Die verbintenis van Seth met Baäl is duidelik in Egipte, waar Baäl se naam met die Seth-dier as determinatief geskryf is, terwyl Siro-Palestina die Mami-stela van Ugarit het. Groot gebeurtenisse het die Ou Nabye Ooste ca. 1500-1000 v.C. geskud, Egipte het sy hoogtepunt bereik en oor die Ooste geheers, wat die mees waarskynlike antwoord aangaande die teenwoordigheid en aanbidding van Seth in Siro-Palestina verskaf. Seth was ongetwyfeld teenwoordig en aanbid, natuurlik het die enorme getalle Egiptiese militêre en diplomatieke personeel fasiliteite vir hierdie praktyk vereis. Aangesien die vroeëre Hiksosheersers Seth aanvaar en aanbid het, bevestig dit 'n kontinuum in die periode onder bespreking. Om op te som: Seth is gelyk aan Baäl en Baäl is gelyk aan Seth.

III

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To my friends and family thank you for your understanding and patience where I have been so engrossed in this work and thus unable to properly attend to their needs and friendship. To my wife whom I know did not expect that on my retirement I would launch forth into this mammoth task whereby from being a Mechanical Engineer I took a whole new and diametrically opposed road through the Masters and now onward to the PhD in Ancient Cultures. Naturally this resulted in long unapproachable hours, covering the house with books and 'stuff,' monopolising the computing facilities and generally being 'miles away.' I record here my heartfelt thanks for her continual support and understanding.

Finally the opinions and conclusions expressed throughout this work are my own and may well differ from those of other readers. However, if the conclusions are provocative, create thoughtful discussion and healthy debate than this study will have been worthwhile and not in vain.

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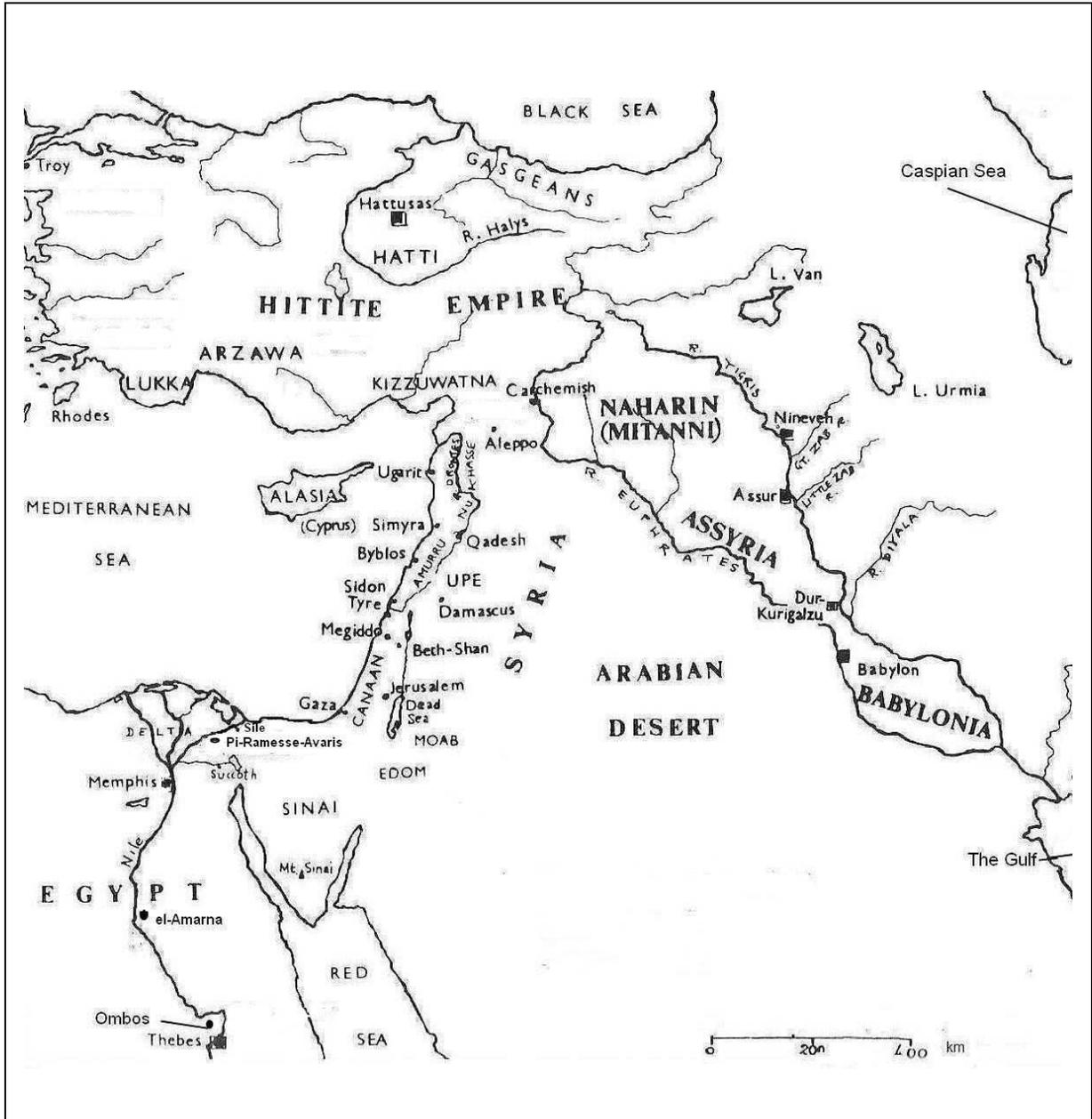
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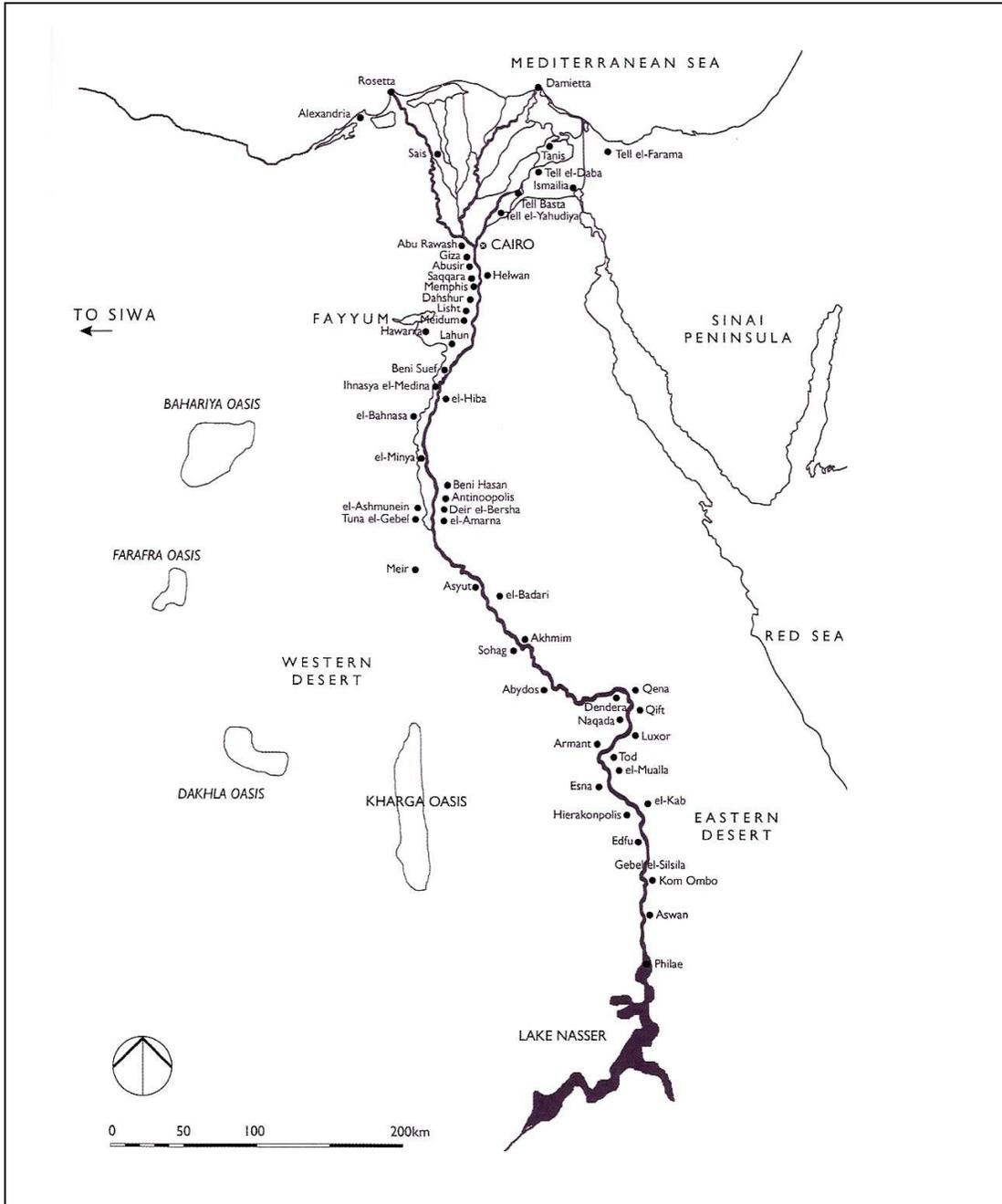
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2000–1700	Old Babylonian period in Mesopotamia
2050–1650	Middle Kingdom in Egypt – Dynasties 11, 12 & 13 - Canaanite city states
1650–1550	2nd Intermediate period in Egypt – Dynasties 15, 16 & 17
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(Timeline by author)

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Chapter 1.   Introduction

'Observe each detail which has been written. For if one knows how to dig into the depth, he will find a treasure in the details, and perhaps also, the precious jewels of the mysteries lie hidden where they are not esteemed.'

(Origen: Homily on Genesis VIII: In Heine 1982:136.)

1.1   Gods are international

The traditional viewpoint on ancient Egyptian civilization as static, self-contained and isolated from its neighbours has been the conventional explanation offered for the development of the civilisation we know as 'Dynastic Egypt'. Further, it has been said that 'Egypt appeared to be a civilisation devoid of dynamics and innovation' (Schneider 2003:155). During the last two decades scholarship has embraced a new viewpoint, the opposite of this older dogmatic idea. Although there was considerable continuity throughout the Egyptian Dynastic Period, the fact that extensive change occurred cannot be denied. As Hornung (1999: ix) states there were 'ongoing often stormy changes behind the rigid façade'. Herein it is clear that a major instrument for change was innovation from abroad. Naturally, this would not have been a one-way street, in that Egyptian ideas and religious thought must have influenced her neighbours, particularly those with whom contact was strongly present.

In counterpoint to the situation in Egypt, that of ancient Syro-Palestine was also very far from isolated. Situated in the open cultural landscape of Syria and Mesopotamia, at the very hub of the Ancient Near East, it was inevitable that considerable interaction would occur. 'Throughout Egyptian history, the region of the Levant has played a significant role as a crossroads in trade and communications between the Mediterranean and Asian worlds' (Gerstenblith 1983:1). This became more prevalent in the Late Bronze Age increasing into the New Kingdom through the Ramesside era. Such contact was manifest not only in commerce and on the battlefield, but also in the exchange of ideas (Cornelius 1988:23). At the forefront of these exchanges were *religious* ideas, wherein deities and religious traditions were introduced and foreign gods spread far and wide. As Assmann (1997:45) suggests, 'the conviction that God or the gods are international was characteristic of the polytheistic religions of the Ancient Near East.'

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1.2   The gods Baʿal and Seth

An interesting case study of such exchanges is the gods Seth and Baʿal. The presence of the Egyptian storm god *Seth* is widely attested in Egypt as far back as the Pre-Dynastic (before 3000 BCE) period (te Velde 2001:269; Turner 2013:9-13). Ongoing excavations of Avaris, the Hyksos capital, have produced evidence pertaining to the god Seth, showing that his cult was already established during their tenure and that he was the local god of the area (Bourriau 2000:190). His cult continued and even expanded during the New Kingdom (Bourriau 2000:214). In Egypt Seth, the *god of confusion was the foreign god, the lord of foreign countries* – thereby suggesting his association and identification with the god of the Western Semites Baʿal (Allon 2007:20). Seth owes this promotion to his association with Baʿal and the general Canaanophilic inclinations of the Ramesside dynasty (Assmann 2008:39). Bourriau (2000:190) suggests that 'Seth's cult may have evolved from the blending of a pre-existing cult at Heliopolis with a cult of the North Syrian weather god Baʿal–Zaphon, which was introduced by the Asiatics. Later in history, after the collapse of the New Kingdom, and as contact with the Semitic world lessened, interest in this foreigner diminished. Now, as the various foreign invaders plundered and occupied Egypt, hatred developed. With his close ties to Baʿal from Ramesside times Seth's cult was victimised and finally demonised by the 25th dynasty Kushite pharaohs of the 8th century BCE (te Velde 1967:109 and 2001:270; Turner 2013:48-49).

The Syro-Palestinian storm-god *Baʿal* is a very active god and should be regarded as one of the most important deities in the Syro-Palestinian pantheon, according to the texts from Ugarit (Ras Shamra) (ca. 1400-1200 BCE) (Hermann 1999:132). These texts contain more than 500 references to Baʿal and provide considerable details of the deity's power. He is said to control clouds, storm and lightning with a thundering voice ('the Bellower') in addition being the god of wind and weather (Hermann 1999:134). Baʿal was also called upon to drive away the enemy and offer protection against forces of destruction, and he even has a chthonic aspect. Baʿal's widespread influence has been described as follows: 'It cannot be said that the cult of Baʿal flourished only in certain periods or in a number of restricted areas, nor was it limited to the Canaanite part of the population' (Hermann 1999:136).

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Figure 1 Mami stele (Corpus B2)
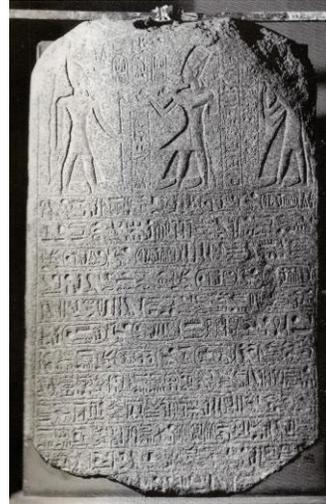
Figure 2 400 year stele (Corpus BS1)

The association of Seth with Baʿal is clear, the name of Baʿal is written with the determinative of the Seth-animal (Allon 2007:19) as on the Mami stele found in Ugarit (Yon 1991:328). On the famous 400-year-stele dedicated to Seth (Tazawa 2009:154), he is shown not in his typical iconography, but in Asiatic guise.

This association is also found in Syro-Palestine. For example on the mentioned stele from Ugarit, dedicated by the Egyptian official Mami to the local god Baʿal-Zaphon dressed in Egyptian garb (dated ca. 1300), the god Baʿal is identified by the inscription (Cornelius 1994:134, 151-152). At a time in history the two gods Seth and Baʿal developed such a commonality that some scholars now use the hyphenated appellation Baʿal-Seth, for example Cornelius (1994), Keel (2009a), Görg (2007:85) and recently Tazawa (2009:154) who talks of a "combination." Baʿal-Seth is never mentioned as a joint name in Egyptian or Syro-Palestinian texts, although (as with Zivie-Coche 2011:5) one could consider reading the

hieroglyphs $b^ʿr$ Baʿal-Seth, taking the Seth-animal as a *logogram* for the name of Seth. It must be mentioned that where only the Seth-animal is shown, identification is only possible through the context (cf. 3.2.6). In this study Baʿal-Seth is used to indicate the *combination* and more precisely *iconographical type*. For example as mentioned on the 400-year-stele the god is shown in Asiatic dress (like Baʿal), but the text still names it 'Seth of Ramesses'.

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To summarize: Seth equals Baʿal and Baʿal equals Seth. The research problem to be addressed in this study is *How and why Seth was combined with Baʿal and present in Syro-Palestine?*

1.3   Extant scholarship

The enigmatic role of Seth in Egypt itself is attested, in particular at the mythological level. The most comprehensive extant study is *'Seth, God of Confusion'* (te Velde 1967). Turner's new book (2013) looks at Seth's role across the entire Ancient Egyptian period to the death of Cleopatra, but only briefly considers his interaction across the borders. The role of Baʿal in Egypt has been studied in the famous monograph of Stadelmann (1967) and most recently by Tazawa (2009). According to Tazawa when the Hyksos arrived in Avaris their storm god Baʿal came with them (2009:154-158). There would have been recognition that Baʿal exhibited very similar attributes to the well-established Egyptian god Seth. As Seth became accepted as the dynastic god of the Ramesside kings, a natural progression was perhaps that Baʿal was also elevated to a royal warrior god as was the case in for example Ugarit. Thus, with Seth as the dynastic god of the 19th Dynasty, Baʿal seems to have been affected, suggesting the Baʿal-Seth combination. Further the original aim of the Ramesside kings, who were from non-royal stock, was achieved, namely the legitimisation by the divine authority of Seth. These ideas have to be critically evaluated by also looking at the other side of the coin, the role of Seth in Syro-Palestine.

There is no detailed study on the role of the god Seth in Syro-Palestine, to explain how and why such a god appeared at this period. For the god Baʿal itself there are studies like the outdated one by Kapelrud (1952) on Baʿal in the Ugaritic myths, and the detailed edition of the Baʿal epics by Smith (1994) and Smith & Pitard (2009). There are studies on the Western-Asiatic storm-god by Green (2003) and Schwemer (2001, 2007 and 2008). The only specific study on the iconography of the storm-god is by Vanel (1965), but is totally outdated by more recent studies. Specialised iconographical studies dealing with the material under discussion are by Cornelius (1994), Eggler (2007), Keel (2009a) and Shuval (1990). None of these studies deal with the question why Seth was combined with Baʿal and do not deal with the matter under discussion at all namely the role of Seth in Asia and how and why this god was

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identified/associated/combined with Baʿal. Recent studies like Keel (2009a) indicate that although the Baʿal-Seth combination in Syro-Palestine is shown in various iconographical presentations, there has been limited work on the *reasons* for the presence of Seth, albeit his never being part of the official pantheon. There is a need for such a study to contribute to the understanding of why Seth was incorporated into the religious world of Syro-Palestine.

Initial investigation shows that major events across the Ancient Near East occurred in the New Kingdom period, (ca. 1500-1100 BCE) wherein Egyptian civilisation reached its apogee and ruled the East. 'A society and its culture should be affected and then changed by a neighbours influence, which has definitely happened in ancient times as well as modern times' (Tazawa 2009:169). This statement would seem to epitomise the nub of the research being undertaken, and thus exploring this will attempt to clarify how people react to elements from without, and their subsequent actions to survive under such new circumstances. Clearly the civilisations could not have developed as they did without reciprocal influences of some kind.

1.4   Aim, Focus, Problem and Content

> 'One could qualify a deity as foreign to the (Egyptian) pantheon when it has a well established non-native origin and is known to have been introduced (into Egypt) at a specific point in time.'
>
> (Zivie-Coche 2011:1)

Even in today's world it is apparent that religions have the power to divide peoples. Many significant and frequently tragic consequences can be seen as a result, particularly in the Near East. 'Europeans were shocked to see the same happen in (the former) Yugoslavia, where Catholic and Orthodox Christianity have created barriers no less rigid than those of Islam' (Burkert 2003:17). However, in the earlier polytheistic religions that dominated the Ancient Near East for thousands of years, things were different, the multi-cultural society was omnipresent. Polytheism was an open system which even encouraged diversity and perhaps promised coexistence at the expense of a less stable society together with greater tendency for change. 'The "migrations" of gods from one civilization to another, or rather the diffusions of cults across existing borderlines, mostly without traumatic battles or attempts at repression, …

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and the "translations" of gods from one language and civilization to another … [suggest] there is the conviction that there exists the same gods for diverse peoples or civilizations, even if their names are different' (Burkert 2003:17).

A number of eminent scholars have endeavoured to identify the mechanisms that would explain the presence and acceptance of foreign gods in countries of the Ancient Near East. An investigation into the extant theories is naturally a starting point for this study (chap. 2), however these tend to be rather theoretical and often lack material evidence. Notwithstanding these deficiencies this overview enables a comparative study and synthesis of the merits of the various approaches. This holistic approach allows a cogent analysis of extant views on the relationship of deities.

It would appear that there were numerous deities, of different names, from different cultures and regions, all of who had similar attributes and roles. A question arises around this idea, was this merely a matter of 'translation', viz. - philology, wherein it was the 'same' god with a different name? Additionally, why did Seth and Baʿal appear simultaneously/combined in both Egypt and Syro-Palestine, perhaps given the apparent compatibility of their attributes. Further, what motivated the combination of Baʿal-Seth, which seems to stem from the Hyksos period, as Avaris became their capital in the Nile delta? A hint of the rationale can be found in the assertion 'in the area of international relations, it has become abundantly clear from research that religion accompanied politics' (Smith 2008:17).

To gain an appreciation and understanding of the two subject gods it is necessary to explore their origins, character, appearance and attributes within their native environment (chap. 3). The presence of both gods Seth in Egypt and Baʿal in Syro-Palestine is well known from the earliest times. Specifically in this study the origin of the two gods in their various manifestations will be investigated, to provide an insight into the rationale for the influence and acceptance of Seth and his presence in Syro-Palestine.

For interaction between peoples, regardless of where and when, there must be movement and thus contact between parties. There are numerous reasons and motivations for such movement

of a person or group of people from their homeland to a foreign land for either a short or protracted visit, or a permanent sojourn. A comprehensive review (chap. 4) details many of the reasons people undertake what are often long, arduous and dangerous journeys. Surely such an undertaking would require major motivation or incentive? During the period 1500 - 1000 BCE there was extensive and unprecedented movement of people across the Ancient Near East. Syro-Palestine was positioned at what has been called the 'hub' of the area, through which any movement naturally had to pass. In this time period Egyptians became particularly active in this regard, it has to be said largely in a militaristic and aggressive fashion. Thus it can be seen that much interaction and exposure to alien ideas, specifically in regards to religion, would have occurred – a two way process.

An emphasis of this work is the evaluation of the visual sources (iconography – chap. 5); this is seen as a somewhat neglected area in previous studies. Additionally authoritative translations of textual material such as that from Ugarit – which is still the largest corpus of Levantine texts of the period – will receive attention. The iconographical evidence is concentrated on Seth and Baʿal as well as the so called Baʿal-Seth combination – a modern construct. Other pertinent images are added to further illustrate the major influence of Egypt across Syro-Palestine. The images and texts used are primarily from the second half of the second millennium to demonstrate the interplay and acceptance of not only foreign, but also 'hybrid' deities at this time.

When looking holistically for an explanation of this exchange of deities it is germane to take a step back to the Second Intermediate Period and the trauma of the Hyksos rule (chap. 6). This time, ca. 1650-1550 BCE (actually 108 years), was the first time that the Egyptians had been subject to foreign rule. This would have been a massive blow to the Egyptian psyche, wherein foreign rule occurred in Egypt. However, modern thinking has moved from the suggestion of a Hyksos invasion to a more peaceful infiltration of foreigners. Evidence from pre-Hyksos times in the eastern Delta indicates an established cult of the god Seth in the area, into which the Hyksos entered with their god Baʿal. Here perhaps for the first time the two gods are known to be together in the same area. Surely then this episode is fundamental to the cross fertilisation of the subject gods.

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From the foregoing movement and interaction and given the exposure to the behaviours and polytheistic beliefs of the various peoples it is understandable that one of the most significant effects would have been in the area of religion. Thus the question of religious exchange is addressed (chap. 7) to consider the possible mechanisms for the acceptance (by either party) of foreign deities within their own pantheon. The study will investigate the significant commonality existing between the Egyptian god Seth and the Syro-Palestinian god Baʿal. Although the presence of Baʿal in Egypt has been the subject of previous studies (Helck 1971; Stadelmann 1967; te Velde 1967: Tazawa 2009), the converse situation of Seth in Syro-Palestine has been little explored. This question is elucidated through the medium of iconographical as well as textual evidence, taking cognisance of theoretical considerations previously put forward. A clearer understanding of the rationale for the presence of the Egyptian god Seth in Syro-Palestine and his association with Baʿal will advance the knowledge base in this important area of work.

1.5   Method

In accordance with the title of this study, the point of departure in this study is the relationship of the two gods Seth and Baʿal, especially in Syro-Palestine. To ensure a holistic appreciation of the relationship of these two gods in Syro-Palestine, the different approaches to cultural and religious exchange will be incorporated and are discussed in greater detail in chapter 2. In the synthesis (chap. 8) an evaluating investigation of the theories will suggest which one(s) most closely accord with events in the period.

In this study a combination of comparative iconographical and religio-historical approaches to cultural and religious exchange will be used. Although this is not a primary iconographical study *per se*, the examples described in chapter 5 reflect the approach of Panofsky (1955) as adapted by the Keel School (Keel 1992:267-273 and Keel & Uehlinger 1998; cf. Weissenrieder & Wendt 2005). Extant studies of Seth and Baʿal largely ignore their iconography or only refer to it in a limited degree; exceptionally Tazawa (2009) considers the iconography of Baʿal along with other foreign deities in Egypt.

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Without the interaction of people no exchange is possible, clearly it is necessary for peoples to move across cultural, religious and state boundaries to enable knowledge and possible exchange to take place. The numerous rationales for movement between Syro-Palestine and Egypt are considered in some detail in chapter 4.

This study looks specifically at the gods Seth and Baʿal. However prior to acquiring an understanding of the relationship between these gods, it is necessary to explore the origin, character and especially their appearance and attributes within their own native domain (cf. chap. 3)

On reviewing available evidence it is clear that notwithstanding the stated timeframe of this study (ca. 1500-1000 BCE), a significant milestone in the story occurred in Egypt during the Second Intermediate Period. Perhaps one of the most traumatic events in pharaonic history was the take over and rule by the mysterious Hyksos. The influence of this had far reaching ramifications across the Ancient Near East especially in Egypt as well as her immediate northern neighbours. The Hyksos episode is seen as so significant that a detailed analysis is undertaken in chapter 6.

Given the previous chapters, chapter 7 now allows for the investigation of religious exchange. Here private (popular) religion is reviewed opposite that of the state, and also considers foreigners and their gods in Egypt as well as Egypt and her gods in Syro-Palestine. Pulling together all the previous considerations, the synthesis in chapter 8 will present argument and conclusions in regard to the fundamental question of this study.

1.6   Summary

This study looks at the relationship of the two gods, Seth of Egypt and Baʿal from Syro-Palestine, but more specifically how they existed together in Syro-Palestine during the Late Bronze Age – Iron Age 1 periods. This is not a primary study but rather a secondary or meta study using a comparative procedure. A review of extant studies on the relationship of deities

across the Ancient Near East has been offered to enable a synthesis of such work and incorporate this into the present work. A comprehensive chapter on both Seth and Baʿal illustrates their common features and attributes for later comparison. Real people must meet in order to exchange ideas and practices in all aspects of life not least being that of religion, considerable effort is thus spent on the reasons for movement of people in this period. A turning point in Egyptian history occurred when the Hyksos became the first foreign rulers, an essential consideration in the relationship of deities. Thus the idea of religious exchange arises as the central point of the study and full consideration is given to theoretical but more especially primary sources. Following the examination and consideration of all the evidence conclusions are drawn in answer to the question: *How and why Seth was combined with Baʿal and present in Syro-Palestine?*

Chapter 2.   Theoretical approaches

2.1 Rationale

In order to consider the relationship of the two gods who form the basis of this work, one must first understand that any deity is the conception of the people who 'know' such a deity, this whether they worship or abhor such an image. Thus it is necessary to consider the peoples involved both within and without their own borders. For the two gods in question any relationship they may have is subject to the type and level of interaction between people from differing areas. Thus the movement of peoples across the Ancient Near East is fundamental. With movement it can be expected that many of the ideas and beliefs could be transferred in one form or another. Many theories to explain such transfer have been propounded and will be examined. Here one should consider both the theories and the resulting iconographical and textual evidence in an endeavour to understand why and in what aspects the gods became interconnected.

2.2 Extant inter-cultural theories

2.2.1 Syncretism

> 'The term "syncretism" usually refers to connections of a special kind between
> languages, cultures or religions. This term is most frequently used in the history of
> religions, where a special effort has been made to give it a more precise meaning.'
>
> (Colpe 1987:8926)

It seems most likely that the term syncretism was first used as the Greek word *sugkrētismos* in Plutarch's *Moralia* (490ab). It was first applied in the science of religions as well as historical theology around the middle of the 19th century CE. At this time it had negative overtones and at one time was even called the 'mishmash of religions' *(Religionsmischerei)* by the German scholar Usener (1985:337-340). Later the word became more positive and lost the negative overtones, but was now applied in many different senses.

From the outset it is clear that syncretism must be applied within a specific rather than an all embracing concept. It makes possible the contrast between syncretism and pure national

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tradition or, as the case may be, uncontaminated popular religion. In addition, it is a useful tool for identifying the phenomenon of syncretism itself. The concept of syncretism is a tool for interpretation, wherein the constituent parts are close enough to each other that a unity of type is preserved. Particular components of a religion, for example deities, can be linked to one another in various ways. They can be identified and new relationships can be established between them, various shifts may occur within a pantheon following encounters with another pantheon or deity (Colpe 1987:8926).

The idea of syncretism can be used to describe either a state or a process. As a state syncretism can be applied to an entire religion or specific parts of that religion. This would then be a static situation where the characteristics of the objects are systematically correlated among themselves. Alternatively as a process, there becomes a syncretic tendency or development towards a final syncretism. That is to say a process occurs with various stages of development, this is thus a dynamic concept of syncretism.

Separate religious entities can come together in such a manner that a syncretism is formed. If one considers this situation, a possibility is that the superimposed entity predominates, whilst the original one survives. A second scenario is that the original entity continues to dominate; clearly there is also the third possibility of a balance between the two entities. It would seem that a syncretism could most easily occur when some similarity or common ground pre-exists in the entities, this of course does not obviate syncretism from quite disparate entities. Syncretism in religion does not imply syncretism in other areas; a syncretic language is perhaps a good example, in that it may prevail amongst widely differing cultures. Colpe (1987:8928) held the view that for a period there was a degree of cultural syncretism when the ancient Hebrews migrated into Palestine, but with no religious syncretism, this has now been generally discounted. It is now thought that there was no migration of the ancient Hebrews who were already present and that Canaanite religion and culture was a matrix for what became Israel, hence Keel (1994:83-84; 2007:206-210) even links Baʿal-Seth with the god of the Hebrews. Thus one could perhaps envisage El/Baʿal traits: El-Yahweh; Baʿal-Yahweh.

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Colpe (1987) proposes three phenomena which can give rise to, define or facilitate the formation of syncretism; symbiosis, acculturation and superposition. In Asia Minor and Media in the first century CE worshippers of the Iranian goddess Anahita lived together with worshippers of the Greek goddess Artemis and this *symbiosis* led to a limited syncretism. However, it is by no means a natural corollary that all symbioses will lead to a syncretism. If one locates the symbiosis in the larger context of the systems in which those living together are socialized and to which a great many subsystems also belong, one may speak of *acculturation*. When conquerors such as the Ramessides moved across the Ancient Near East, they brought diverse cultures into contact. The conflation of tradition that occurred could repeatedly lead to syncretisms. Finally *superposition* is the phenomenon that takes place following the massive influx of a superior culture or race into a given area. Having defined the three relationships, it must be said, that not all instances where one of them is present, will result in syncretism. 'Other formations may have resulted in their stead; their names are often misleadingly taken as synonyms for syncretism' (Colpe 1987:8928).

The term syncretism is commonly used in the study of Egyptian religion, e.g. for the 'fusion' of Amen and Ra as Amen-Ra but still remaining independent gods (Hornung 1996:91). With regard to Egypt and the Levant, Tazawa (2009:2) wrote: '… the syncretism between Egyptian divinities and Syro-Palestinian deities, this process of adoption of foreign cults should be regarded as a result of not a simple "blending" or "mixing up", but a more complicated psychological process.'

2.2.2 Dualism

> 'Dualism, the religious or philosophical doctrine which holds that reality consists, or
> is the outcome, of two ultimate principles which cannot be reduced to one or more
> ultimate first cause. Dualistic systems have appeared in philosophical (metaphysical)
> as well as moral forms, both of which have exerted considerable influence on the
> history of religions.'

> (Werblowsky 2008:242)

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As a religio-philosophical phenomenon, dualism is more specific than either simple duality or polarity, not every duality or polarity is dualistic. Even when the opposition is strongly apparent such as, male and female, right and left, light and darkness, good and bad, they are not necessarily dualistic. In the historical perspective of religion dualism need not be opposed to monotheism, polytheism or monism (Bianchi 1987:506). The principles referred to are joined in pairs of related elements, such that the combination provides a new meaningful concept. This shows a sense of unity and inclusiveness that the individual elements lack. One of the best known forms of religious dualism is the ancient Persian religion of Zoroastrianism where the world is a cosmic struggle between good and evil (Werblowsky 2008:243).

Although the word 'dualism' is unattested in Egypt, dualistic ideas were deeply rooted in Egyptian thought and characteristic of the Egyptian mindset as shown by Servajean (2008). This is apparent from both textual as well as pictorial records. A fundamental example is *ntt* and *jwtt* – 'what is' and 'what is not' this denoting the totality of the cosmos (Servajean 2008:1). It must immediately be reiterated that duality can not be seen purely as opposites, the common conception, as in good and evil, black and white, *maʿat* and *isfet* – order and disorder. Alternatively the pair could have a relationship that is complementary, perhaps the most well known example of this being that of Upper and Lower Egypt.

Servajean (2008) also differentiates between the discrete characters of combinations by defining them as 'static' and 'dynamic,' again quoting the division of Upper and Lower Egypt as an example of a static dualism. In comparison with the concept of day and night, where the whole is divided into the succession of day and night. Static and dynamic approaches are often combined in the same image or concept. As for example a king was subject to time, therefore a dynamic situation, but also the powers of kingship are immutable, the eternal 'king' is thus a static situation. This duality provides the understanding of the king's immutable realm of divinities *(djet)* and the transitory world of man (*neḥeḥ*) (Servajean 2007:37-42).

Static duality

In a static scenario where dualism is used to explain the constancy of the concept, the two parties are in a state of equality.

This is perfectly shown in the images of Horus and Seth uniting the Two Lands (*smꜣ-tꜣwj*). Here the king's domination over the lands of Upper and Lower Egypt is demonstrated with his name surmounting the vertical hieroglyph sign 'unite' (*smꜣ*), and flanked by Horus and Seth each with their heraldic plants, the lotus of Upper Egypt and papyrus of Lower Egypt. Thus symbolically uniting the 'Two Lands' (*tꜣwj*).

Figure 3 Horus and Seth – uniting the 'Two lands'

(te Velde 1967 Pl. V, Fig. 1)

Notwithstanding the example of static duality shown by the image uniting the two lands, there is a much broader and somewhat contrary view to be found epitomised by *'the contendings of Horus and Seth.'* This relationship is more fully explained in chapter 3 (3.1.3- 3.1.4) where the evil nature of Seth is seen right from the moment of birth, the start of confusion. There are many textual references to the conflict between these two gods as described by te Velde (1967:32). The dualism presented is thus that of the classical good versus evil or order versus disorder. Suffice it to say that the history of Seth demonstrates the vacillation between good and evil.

Dynamic duality

In a dynamic scenario, where duality is used to explain the dynamic character of a phenomenon, the two parties of the relationship are interdependent, one relying on the other. The transition of time in Egyptian thought was expressed by combining time as reckoned by man (*neḥeḥ*) with eternity (*djet*). In this situation man's time is a constituent part of eternity but extracted from it and returned at regular intervals (Servajean 2007:57-64).

The complementary nature of dualism was especially prevalent in Egypt, from the fundamental idea of Upper and Lower Egypt, but much more than that, the cultural

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topography had a symmetrical distribution of cities and cult centres in both of these regions. Further this principle applied outside of the religious sphere, in governmental organisation, where offices were subdivided into pairs (nominally at least), each referring to either Upper or Lower Egypt. This pairing permeated throughout all functional areas from the king *'Lord of the Two Lands'* (*nb tꜣwj*) to the treasury *'The Two Houses of Silver'* (*prwj ḥḏ*) (Servajean 2008:3).

Egyptian ideas of cosmogony ('creation') were also dualistic. The cosmos although created by a single body, included both male and female qualities. The first two divinities created by Atum were Shu (male) and Tefnut (female), which continued during the development of the pantheon with Geb (male) and Nut (female), earth and sky respectively. Thus the concept of gender duality was very strong in Egyptian thought.

Paired concepts served to define rules for relationships between gods and men, with the fundamental overriding principle of *maꜥat* and *isfet* (order and disorder) setting the benchmark for moral behaviour. Sacred and profane as well as ritualized and non-ritualized served to define relationships with respect to ritual (Meeks 1988:444). In the geographical arena duality was simply north versus south, east versus west. This clearly illustrates that in Egypt the whole world was seen in terms of duality, a device by which the Egyptians lived, a vision of the functioning of the world. Although the concept of duality was comprehensively demonstrated in Egypt, it was not exclusively Egyptian (cf. Lévi-Strauss 1974; 1996). It is reasonable to deduce that the concept was common amongst the populations of the Ancient Near East in general, as a mechanism for comprehending the world.

2.2.3 Cultural Appropriation

Twentieth century anthropologists favoured the concept of presenting a culture as a continuous and normative structure that could be used to define a particular civilisation as a culture, where more recent stages of the culture merely assimilated the older ones (Schneider 2003:155). Schneider presents a different perspective after a number of challenges were put forward during the second half of the twentieth century. These challenges made the case for

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considerable inner dynamics and often-stormy change. With this in mind surely an important vehicle for it was innovation from abroad. Any player subject to such influence might incorporate and adapt such a cultural exchange. Hence the term 'cultural appropriation' proposed by de Certeau and Ricoeur (Schneider 2003:157), meaning the acquisition of external ideas, objects and practices by a given civilisation, or simply the refiguration of a civilisation.

In 2000 Collombert and Coulon published their paper on the Astarte papyrus entitled – *'Les dieux contre la mer. Le debut du "papyrus d'Astarte."'* This pictures Seth as a hero, a warrior god and the preserve of military exploits and frequently presented as Seth. However, some features are more like Baʿal, the clothing (armour) is more suited to a Syrian warrior deity. The references to mountains and a crown suggest the mountain god, a known representation of Baʿal dominating the peaks (Collombert and Coulon 2000:207-208) (corpus B13). This article also offers a 'simple' translation that mentions two horns on the helmet, being reminiscent of the iconography of the Near Eastern storm god.

> 'pour briller pour l'Ennéade des dieux
> [On (?)] construisit […...] (l.9) sa tête
> alors que ses **[deux (?) cor[nes (?)…]**
> [...] ses ennemis.'
>
> (Collombert & Coulon 2000:227)

The crucial point in the beginning of this text is that it offers an Egyptian version of the myth of Baʿal's fight against the sea, as such it is a 'cultural appropriation' to the very heart of Egyptian civilisation, previously seen as immune to innovation from abroad (Schneider 2003: 161). In this sense Egypt appropriated Baʿal as a prototype of belligerent kingship. Thus Egypt used this aspect of a foreign deity to reinforce and redefine aspects of Egyptian kingship using a non-Egyptian model.

2.2.4   Intercultural ligatures

> 'Man kann eine Kultur als ein System von Eigenheiten verstehen, die von der Ernährung, Sexualität und Kleidung über Sprache und politische Institutionen bis zur Vorstellung der Überwelt reichen.'
>
> (Keel 2009a:87)

The statement above encapsulates the very complex systems that define a culture, being largely immune to external influences and thus mostly specific. However, there will always exist the possibility of cultural appropriation giving rise to the expression 'intercultural ligatures' Thus we introduce the possibility of connections or ties with external cultures which thereby affect the original culture and bringing about a 'refiguration' of that culture (Keel 2009a:87; Schneider 2003:158).

Wherever there is a movement of peoples between different groupings, be it through trade, warfare, migration or other rationales, the autonomy of the given culture is necessarily affected. This phenomenon, however, is not restricted only by the influence of a foreign culture, but must also take cognisance of internal differences within the culture itself. There are always levels in any society such as affluence or penury (wealthy or poor), political affiliation or merely the characteristics of individuals. All such influences whether internal or external can lead to major difficulties even conflict. Conversely what is referred to as intercultural ligatures can bring benefits and progress to those affected.

The concept of such intercultural ligatures infers a kind of bringing together of one culture with another in a specific facet of their lives. Here we suggest that this togetherness is at variance with what is referred to as 'cultural appropriation' which more correctly might be the use of another cultures system or ideas independently and without such togetherness.

In his article on cultural appropriation (2003) Schneider examines three specific examples of intercultural ligatures which demonstrate the fact that their effect can be minimal or very significant. His first example is that of Egyptian glass found as a luxury product early in the

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New Kingdom, such glass has been shown to be technically advanced and thus most likely imported or made by craftsmen recruited from northern Mesopotamia. Used as a status accessory and only by the elite classes, it was clearly of minimum impact and as such demonstrated only a weak intercultural ligature.

The second example offered was the horse and chariot which was introduced early in the 17th century BCE and destined to be an influence of immense consequence. Although the benefits were great it took some 400 years to move from a status symbol of the rich and powerful used only for hunting, sports and official displays. During the 18th Dynasty the horse and chariot caused a restructuring of the army and the birth of a chariot division. Thus the introduction of the horse and chariot began a long term change in many areas especially in terms of warfare that became prevalent in the Ramesside period. It is thus clear that this was an intercultural ligature of massive significance (Schneider 2003:159-160).

The third example quoted by Schneider (2003) concerns the myth of Baʿal and his fight against the sea. Here the original connection was in the Middle Kingdom where the Egyptian story of the shipwrecked sailor was somehow selectively based on this Syro-Palestinian myth. With the publication of the opening pages of the Astarte papyrus by Collombert and Coulon (2000: 193-242), we see according to Schneider (2003:161) 'a cultural appropriation to the very heart of the Egyptian civilisation generally been believed to be immune from innovation from abroad.' This final example is germane to this study and will be further explored in this work.

2.2.5 Translating gods

> 'Translatability of deities has been defined as: 'How deities of various cultures were
> identified or recognised by name across cultural boundaries.'
>
> (Smith 2008: VIII)

The respected Egyptologist Assmann's informative article (1996) – 'Translating Gods: Religion as a Factor of Cultural (Un)Translatability' provides input to the question of translatability. In this exposition Assmann equates two gods by their common functional

definition which he calls 'theological onomasiology', a method that starts from the referent and asks for the word, here onomasiology is by definition cross-cultural and interlingual. Although this work ranges widely across time and space, religion seems to have promoted 'intercultural translatability.'

Assmann (1996) argues that peoples, cultures and political systems may be sharply different. But provided they have a religion and worship some definite and identifiable deities, they are comparable and contactable because they must necessarily be the same as those worshipped by other peoples under different names. Although names, iconography and rites may differ, the deities are the same. Religion appears to act as a mitigating factor in cultural differentiation. This would most often be alleviated by communication and translation, and manifested by cross-tribal, cross-national and cross-cultural commerce. From as early as the 4th millennium the Ancient Near Eastern commercial networks extended across the region, becoming more prolific during the 3rd and 2nd Millennia and thereby leading to a culture of translation.

> 'The practice of translating foreign panthea has to be seen in the context of this general emergence of a common world with integrated networks of commercial, political and cultural communication. This common world extended from Egypt to the Near and Middle East and westward to the shores of the Atlantic'
>
> (Assmann 1996:28)

Religion is generally seen as the most powerful promoter and expression of cultural identity, the giving up of a traditional cultural identity in favour of a dominating culture is normally seen as a major obstacle against assimilation. Movements of resistance against political and cultural domination and exploitation universally assume the form of religious movements. However, this is only true where the politically dominant culture threatens to overpower the culturally distinct group, certainly not the case in Egypt until the Macedonian conquest (Assmann 1996:29).

In a somewhat similar vein Mark Smith in an important new monograph with the apt title *God in Translation. Deities in Cross Cultural discourse in the Biblical World* asks the question –

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'how deities of various cultures were identified or recognised by name across cultural boundaries'? (2008: VIII). His investigation suggests that translating words requires an effort at translating ancient conceptions and perceptions from the texts, together with archaeological and pictorial sources. Additionally he suggests how a comprehensive view of the ancient media is critically important to the understanding of ancient cultures.

> 'In earlier history the Egyptians had identified foreign gods with their own deities, so that the goddess of Byblos was Hat-Hor to them and various Asiatic gods were Seth to them…. There were also two cosmopolitan forces at work: A worship of Asiatic gods as such at their shrines in Asia and a domestication of Asiatic gods in Egypt.'
>
> (Wilson 1969:249)

This quotation refers to the well known identification of Egyptian deities with Western Semitic deities due to the encounter with the religious cultures of Western Asia.

In another example of the translation of gods, from their original sources, Wilson (1969) refers to the substitution of divine names firstly in the poem to the battle of Qadesh by Ramesses II where written on a text at Luxor the king says 'I was like Seth in his time of might'. When this was inscribed at Abydos the deity becomes Montu not Seth, and yet a third recording on papyrus the god is Baʿal. Reviewing the textual evidence of Ramesses II it would seem that the god emulated by this pharaoh was variously called: Seth (Sutekh), Mont (Montu) or Baʿal (cf. textual corpus). Here we see the role as a figure of divine might thus demonstrating that the translatability was related to larger cultural and religious factors (Smith 2008:38).

The question of translatability of gods is encapsulated in this statement by Assmann: 'The conviction that God or the gods are international was characteristic of the polytheistic religions of the Ancient Near East' (Assmann 1997:45).

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2.2.6   Internationalism

Following the previous explanation regarding the 'translating of gods', it is apposite to review the question of internationalism with a view to its application to the relationship of gods particularly in the New Kingdom period. Internationalism in an international society is defined as:

> 'A group of states, conscious of certain common interests and common values form a society in the sense that they conceive themselves to be bound by a common set of rules in their relationship with one another, and share in the working of common institutions.'

> (Wight 1977:33)

In this statement Wight points out that here 'society' requires cultural interaction and exchange between players and is differentiated from 'system' which only requires basic interaction. Breasted (1959:331) referred to the Amarna period as the first internationalism of the ancient world from his ideas on a universal god, more recently Knapp (1988:135ff.) took a much broader view by suggesting that the entire second Millennium was the era of internationalism, apparently from a more secular viewpoint.

The New Kingdom period (Dynasties 18-20) has frequently been termed the age of empire in Egypt, manifested in many areas largely encompassed by the following points:

- More power, wealth and luxury living.
- Fostering and broadening of the intellectual horizon.
- A sense of superiority over foreigners – who were not abandoned, but mitigated by curiosity and tolerance.
- Scribes with a good knowledge of foreign places and bilingual.
- Semitic loan words appeared.
- Foreigners in Egypt could rise to high office.
- Correspondence with Asiatic rulers.

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New Kingdom internationalism led to diplomatic and economic exchanges between the great powers of Egypt, Babylon, Assyria, Khatti and Mittani as well as with the Egyptian vassal states in Syro-Palestine. The Levant formed a natural crossroads between Asia, Africa and south Eastern Europe. Thus the semi-autonomous vassal states, although under the nominal control of Egypt, acted as neutral territory for all with a complex level of political and diplomatic exchange. Such conditions allowed the system to flourish aided by military presence, as well as political and cultural factors all cultivated by Egypt. Thereby the Levant functioned as an international territory facilitating trade. Internationalism opened the doors for movement of people and goods and was thus a contributory factor in the movement and exchange of deities.

> 'Religious thinking was especially affected by the new internationalism. The great
> gods of Egypt became gods for all mankind. And this universalism allied itself to
> the growing tendency of viewing all gods as manifestations of the sun-god.'
>
> (Lichtheim 2006:4)

Thus finally the so called 'heretic' king Akhenaten took internationalism to the extreme where it became total universalism, where the sun-god ruled the universe and all mankind, as the sole god with no other gods beside him.

2.2.7   Translative adaptation

Tazawa (2009) has explored the influence and acceptance of foreign gods in Egypt, such as the role of Baʿal in Egypt, but what were the reasons with regard to Syro-Palestine, such as Seth's identification with Baʿal. Here the focus is on Syro-Palestinian deities in Egypt, which spawned the idea for this dissertation, being to investigate the converse: Egyptian deities in Syro-Palestine. In this work, socio-political issues, economics and mental/cognitive considerations are propounded to explain the phenomenon. Tazawa compares the phenomenon of 'tributary relationships' (Trigger 1993) with the process of 'translative adaptation theory' (Maegawa 1998). Here 'tributary relationship' is defined as; a highly reciprocal relationship between human beings and their deities. Whereas, 'translative

adaptation' propounds; that foreign ideas and systems are introduced into other societies with modifications by translating into the 'own words' of each society.

Tazawa's study (2009) identifies three basic differences between the translative adaptation theory and the case in point - the rationale for the presence of Syro-Palestinian gods in Egypt. Two of these, the application to an economic rather than religious process as well as the fact that the theory was related to modern times, also apply to the present study. The third, however, was the application to a weak country facing an experienced and superior one. This was true of Syro-Palestinian deities moving into Egypt, the converse which is being considered in this study i.e. the movement of Egyptian deities into Syro-Palestine is in accord with Maegawa's work. On this basis it is possible that the translative adaptation theory may be applied. Maegawa mentions that religious doctrine, rituals and the family system; the institution of exchange and socio economic organisation all exhibit the property of adapting to external institutions and principles whilst allowing for existing cultural system to maintain its traditional form and structure (Maegawa 1998:174-175).

Although somewhat complicated for the present work, one might contemplate that 'there might have been some exertion of thought or choice in order to allow newcomers (Egyptian deities) to adjust to (Syro-Palestinian) religious discipline and social order' (adapted from Tazawa 2009:12).

2.2.8   Acculturation

> 'Acculturation is the change in values, the acquisition of linguistic, professional
> and cultural knowledge, and the change in behaviour and lifestyle fostered by
> contact with the host society.'
>
> (Schneider 2010a:145)

A recent contribution to the debate on the presence of foreigners in Egypt by Schneider, coins the term 'acculturation' (2010a:144). Although this discussion concerns the presence of foreigners in Egypt, 'at the same time the tenets of Egyptian culture proliferated abroad, not the least in the urban centres of the Ancient Near East' (Schneider 2010a:146). This study

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explores the inclusion of ethnic groups and individuals in the host society, in terms of the stages of adaptation leading to complete assimilation. It would seem reasonable to extend this concept to the cross border presence of gods.

There are a plethora of terms applied to this 'integration' of cultures and there is no terminological unanimity around the word 'acculturation'. Schneider (2010a:144) thus offers the following alternatives – assimilation, accommodation, absorption, adaptation, integration and amalgamation. If one considers the definition of such terms it becomes apparent that, to a greater or lesser extent a particular word can be best applied to a specific phase in the progression of acculturation. From this concept we can see that the first stage is best described as accommodation, here the person (or god) can exist in the host society without embracing that society's basic values or thinking. Further progression would lead to acculturation following Schneider's definition above whereby there is no loss of cultural identity. Finally total assimilation would be achieved although this must be contrasted with conversion, being the 'complete obliteration of the previous origin and identity.' Assimilation is thus defined as the opposite of conversion wherein 'converts must not forget the past. Now they must remain aware of their old form of existence in order to retain their new identity all the more resolutely and steadily and to steer clear of any form of relapse' (Assmann 2008:124).

A further aspect of acculturation distinguishes between individuals and groups, their social standing and origins, where we find a 'segmented assimilation' which takes cognisance of social position and place of birth. Here we can refer to 'cultural distance' a factor that diminishes with the appropriation of foreign cultures in the host society. This holds true for both Egypt and the urban centres of the Ancient Near East (Schneider 2010a:145-146).

2.2.9   Migrating gods

When considering indigenous as opposed to foreign gods within the Ancient Near East, it should be noted that there were gods and goddesses on the fringes. Certain deities were associated with the frontier zones for long periods of time and thus would not be considered as foreign. In Egypt the Nubian god Dedoun was attested back to the pyramid age, Ha the god of

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the West was probably of Libyan origin, and Sopdu Lord of the East and eastern borders (Fig. 16) was not seen as a foreign god, but a god of foreign lands. Additionally Min of Coptos was Lord of the Eastern Desert and Hathor goddess of love was an itinerant deity honoured in the Sinai and Byblos, although of Egyptian origin both had power over marginal regions (Zivie-Coche 2011:2). Thus it can be seen that Egypt was not the self contained and cut-off country as it is so often depicted.

As economic exchange occurs between neighbours, clearly cultural interaction and thus influence takes place. Obviously personal mobility is inferred leading to some level of cultural transfer. Within this exchange will be found what Burkert (2003:17) refers to as 'higher and 'lower' civilizations, wherein a specific population group may imitate the other, not necessarily due to military domination. The spread and adoption of a writing system constitutes a significant event in terms of transfer, often occurring without force of arms. Transfer normally requires some level of migration of peoples, and in the Ancient Near East such migrations are known to have occurred. As still holds true today many such movements were for personal advancement or safety, this taking place largely from the "lower" to the "higher" civilisation. On the other hand the converse can be seen, where migration could be better termed "invasion" and the subsequent enforcement of the culture and beliefs of the invaders upon the invaded.

Contact with foreign cultures did not necessarily lead to the introduction of foreign deities into the countries of the Ancient Near East. Zivie-Coche (2011:2) gives a good example, that of the Libyan immigration into Egypt which brought about the 22nd and 23rd Dynasties, it appears that the Libyans had no influence on Egyptian religious practices; in fact they actually adopted them. Similar examples are found in the Kushite Dynasty and also the Persian invasion where no foreign gods were imported. Traditional deities could undergo the effects of acculturation under the influence of foreign domination and this is particular evident in respect of iconography. The god who epitomised the crossing of borders was Seth who performed this role in all his ambiguity, as protector of the sun god in the solar barque, murderer of Osiris and the god of the deserts. During the New Kingdom as we will endeavour to demonstrate this 'Otherness' led to 'assimilation' with the Syro-Palestinian deity Baʿal (Zivie-Coche 2011:2).

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In the Egyptian pantheon deities considered as foreign are primarily of Syro-Palestinian, West-Semitic origin. Initially Baʿal who is attested in the Ancient Near East from the middle of the 3rd millennium BCE was apparently brought into Egypt in the 2nd Intermediate Period by the Hyksos. He was followed by Resheph, Hauron, Astarte and Qedeshet, all of whom were introduced during the New Kingdom at the time of Amenhotep II. A further goddess, Anat, came later during the reign of Ramesses II. Evidence of these foreign gods can be found from the New Kingdom right upto the Roman Period (Zivie-Coche 2011:2).

2.2.10   Creolization

> 'I have suggested … that, as the inadequacies of Romanization as a model of
> contact and culture change in the Roman provinces became increasingly apparent,
> this acculturation model should be discarded in favour of creolization.'
>
> (Webster 2001:223)

Haverfield (1905-1906) first discussed the concept of Romanization, which until recently became the dominant model for intercultural change in the Roman provinces. This theory which is now seen as simply acculturation is predominantly applied to the processes by which provincial elites adopted the symbols of Rome. Recent work by Webster believes that this concept is fundamentally flawed, being restricted to the elite and thus fails to address the majority populations. She rather puts forward the idea of creolization and defines this as 'a linguistic term indicating the merging of two languages into a blended dialect' (Webster 2001: 217). This thereby denotes more broadly a multi-cultural adjustment, with artistic and religious change, based on the Afro-American and Afro-Caribbean peoples created in the New World. Creolization is further defined by Colpe as:

> 'A linguistic syncretism matched by a religious syncretism that often occurs when
> a language is pidginised or creolised in a group in which tribal religion has to some
> extent been amalgamated with Christianity.'
>
> (Colpe 1987:8928)

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In respect to creolization, links to the past are maintained in opposition to the traits of a dominant culture, thus being a process of 'resistant adaptation.' From this process, mixed cultures rather than a single culture would emerge. Evidence for this theory, applied to religion, is most evident through the medium of inscriptions and iconography by a process of religious syncretism, the spontaneous desire of polytheistic peoples to accommodate each others deities (Webster 2001:219). The essence of creolization is thus to shift the study of intercultural contact away from the elites and onto other social categories namely the ordinary folk and the poor and enslaved.

2.2.11 Elite emulation

> 'Whereas in prior centuries Asiatic revolts had been suppressed by Egyptian troops
> who then either returned home or went back to one of a handful of garrisons
> situated at certain strategic points in the region, in the 13th and early 12th centuries
> BCE the Egyptians stayed in Palestine in much larger numbers than ever before,…'
>
> (Weinstein 1981:18)

The above quotation supported by the analysis of objects found in Palestine from the Late Bronze Age IIB-Iron Age IA periods, shows that more of almost every category of Egyptian artefact has been found than in any other comparable time period in the entire Bronze Age (Weinstein 1981:22). Clearly this more overt Egyptian presence would have given rise to greater influence on the local population. Higginbotham (2000) coined the phrase 'Egyptianization and Elite Emulation' and develops the concept to explain the influence of the great culture that was Egypt upon its vassal states in Palestine.

> 'The peripheries of prestigious cultures sometimes derive a legitimizing function
> from the core culture. Features of the 'Great civilization' are adopted and adapted
> by local elites and their communities to provide an iconography of power which
> transfers some of the prestige of the distant centre to the local rulers.'
>
> (Higginbotham 2000:6)

Perhaps a more well known example of Elite Emulation is to be found from Roman times, when their Legions rode rough shod over Britain and incorporated it into the Roman Empire. In his book Millett (1990:68-69) points out that: 'Once Britain was incorporated into the Empire, the social status of those at the top of the hierarchy was defined as much in relation to Roman power as by dominance within their tribe.' Thus portraying oneself as Roman in dress and language (Latin) was paramount.

The concept of Elite Emulation necessarily suggests the partial copying of some perceived greater or better system whilst not adopting the culture in its entirety. In her book *'Egyptianization and Elite Emulation in Ramesside Palestine'* Higginbotham (2000) considers, in some detail, both textual and archaeological evidence to demonstrate how far Elite Emulation could be the explanation of the situation pertaining in Palestine during the Ramesside Period. The criteria used by Higginbotham (2000:15) to attempt to differentiate between the concepts of 'Direct Rule' and 'Elite Emulation' are:

a) The corpus of artefacts in the area concerned would be much more restricted in variety than would be found in the emulated country.

b) The artefacts would tend to reflect prestige goods rather than domestic goods.

c) The artefacts would include hybrid forms from the local area as well as that being emulated.

d) No settlements wholly of the emulated country would be found, attested by the mix of artefacts in both local and emulated country style.

e) Artefacts from the emulated country would appear primarily in the funerary and religious domain.

f) The quantity of evidence would be expected to decline with distance from the emulated country.

She contrasts 'Direct Rule' with 'Elite Emulation.' As one might reasonably expect a perfect match for either possibility was not found, each being applicable to some degree, best encapsulated by Higginbotham's words: 'Both the textual and archaeological evidence fail to provide a perfect correlation with the expectations for either the Direct Rule or the Elite

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Emulation model. In fact, the pattern which emerges from the data suggests that each model applies partially' (2000:129). Further it would appear that it was city dependent, some being more directly ruled than others.

2.3   Summary and conclusions

'The presence of foreign deities in the panthea of countries across the Ancient Near East must be studied in the light of the openness of polytheism and as a reflection on cultural identity' (Zivie-Coche 2011:1). Although this comment by Zivie-Coche was aimed at the situation in Egypt, which was intrinsically opposed to foreigners, there was always some level of contact between its neighbours particularly Nubia and Syro-Palestine. Naturally this contact would result in some level of influence both in culture and religion to a greater or lesser degree and across the aeons of time. For example, since ancient times Sopdu, the Lord of the East was part of the Egyptian pantheon as was the Nubian Dedoun known from the pyramid age and Ha the god of the West, probably Libyan. Due to the relative paucity of source material outside of Egypt, it is necessarily to lean heavily on the more plentiful Egyptian sources, which although not ideal makes a feasible conclusion possible.

This chapter has considered a range of theories propounded by eminent scholars to explain the movement of deities across borders in the Ancient Near East. It can be said that in many such theories the weight of the argument is biased towards the presence of foreign deities in Egypt. In this study necessarily these theories will be examined, and the synthesis (chap. 8) will endeavour to suggest a 'best fit' for the relationship of the two gods. However, the core need is to consider the presence of Egyptian deities and more specifically Seth in Syro-Palestine together with his commonality with Baʿal. Following due consideration of these theories and other information, including the available iconography for these two gods, a rationale for their relationship will be offered.

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Chapter 3.   Religio-Historical introduction

3.1   The God Seth

Seth has been described as the Egyptian god of confusion 𓏺𓊃𓅘𓄿𓀜 (*šhȝ*) spirit of disorder and personification of violence and bad faith, venerated by the Egyptians as a god with whom one had to come to terms. The birth of Seth is stated as the 'beginning of confusion' *šȝꜥ ḫnnw* in the well-known Leiden Papyrus (*Pap Leiden* I. 346 II: 12. Quoted by te Velde 1967:27). Disorder, at least to a certain extent, was accepted as a reality of life and as essential to the living order (te Velde 2001:269). Lately Cruz-Uribe (2009) and Turner (2013) suggest a rather less damning view (cf. 3.1.8).

3.1.1   The Seth name and its meaning

> 'It is generally accepted and the context makes it clear that with the signs that are to
> be read *nṯrw* and that are to be translated as 'gods' the hieroglyphs are meant. The
> conclusion seems to be unavoidable: Egyptian hieroglyphs are gods according to the
> Egyptians.'

<div align="right">(te Velde 1986:63)</div>

This statement encapsulates the respect and awe that the Egyptians gave to their texts and art in general. Possibly the quotation overstates the case, however many hieroglyphic scripts are termed 'words of the gods' or 'divine words' (*mdw nṯr*), for example the epithet of the scribe god Thoth is 'Lord of the divine words'. The hieroglyphic writing system is at the same time pictorial, phonetic and symbolic. Gardiner (1957) identified some 700 different signs in the Middle Egyptian language, being originally a pictorial representation of realities in the Egyptian world. Determinatives, a relatively small number of signs, have no sound, are written at the end of the word and categorise or classify the word. The Egyptologist Lacau captures the essence of hieroglyphic imagery:

> 'Les images sont des êtres vivants doués d'un pouvoir magique. Certains signes qui
> représentent des êtres dangereux ou impurs peuvent donc nuire au mort. Inversement
> le contact du mort peut profaner les images des dieux.'

<div align="right">(Lacau 1914:64)</div>

As te Velde puts it (1986:70): 'Seth was a sign a symbol and a god of confusion within the ordered reality that cannot be ignored.'

In Egyptian texts the name of Seth is represented in numerous ways. The rationales for this diversity come largely from historical changes, in addition *š, ḫ* and *ḫ* sometimes prove interchangeable (Lefebvre & Sauneron 1955:§40). In the *Pyramid Texts* the god Seth is written ⌐ – *śtš* (Setesh) with the exception of the texts in the Unas pyramid where the Seth-animal is shown lying down ⌐ (te Velde 1967:1). In later periods the name may be written with the Seth-animal in several forms and poses ⌐. Generally various one-letter signs are used for Seth with or without one of the usual determinatives for gods, some examples of spellings are illustrated in table 1 (te Velde 1967:1 cf. Leitz 2002 Vol. VI:691-698).

śtš	*stš*	*śtḫ*	*stḫ*	*ś(w)tḫ*	*śtḫ*	*ś(w)t(y)*	*št(y)*	*śt*
⌐	⌐	⌐	⌐	⌐	⌐	⌐	⌐	⌐
Setesh	Setesh	Setekh	Setekh	Sutekh	Setekh	Suty	Sety	Set
Table 1 Seth names								
(te Velde 1967:1)								

Despite a plethora of renderings of the name in ancient times, the generally accepted form today is Seth, following the Greek usage. For convenience the name Seth will be used in this work. The complicated character of Seth is not solved by an acceptable etymology of his name (Hart 2005:194). The old meaning adopted by Plutarch (*De Iside et Osiride* c.41, c.49, c.61. cf. Griffiths 1970:183, 197-198, 217), which is thought to come from Egyptian tradition, suggests the following definitions 'oppressive' 'compulsion' 'overpowering', 'violent', also 'turning back' and 'opposition'. There has been much debate and argument as to the etymology and it has been suggested that the Egyptians themselves were aware of such pseudo-etymology and practiced the art of punning in this regard. There often seems to have been a reluctance to use the phonetic letters preferring the Seth-animal determinative. Possibly this avoided the ominous word 'Seth' with its implication of splitting or cutting up, even

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though they acknowledged the god as instigator of confusion, oppressor or splitter-up, since this agreed with the mythical function of Seth.

Representations show a close relationship between the Seth-animal and the griffin, which has an animal body, wings and a falcon's head and also designated *tštš* - ⌓ ⌓. Thus it can be seen that the letters *tš* offer several possibilities including *t3š* or *tš* meaning 'frontier'. From this reasoning can be seen how Seth became the frontier god – the lord of foreign lands *(neb Khasut)*. Here also in the *Coffin Texts* the name Seth is often replaced with the sign ⊤ (Gardiner 1957: Aa21) meaning to separate, thus avoiding describing Seth as the instigator of confusion. According to a papyrus in Leiden it would seem the Egyptians thought that sickness could be cured by copious drinking of beer, thereby causing the demons to become fuddled. Seth can be seen here as the intoxicating power of the beer:

> 'Seth will be irrestrainable, when he wishes to conquer the heart in this his name of beer (*ḥnḥt*).
> He confuses the heart to conquer the heart of the enemy, the evildoer, the male and female dead person.'
>
> (*Pap, Leiden* I 348, rt. 13, 4: Quoted by te Velde 1967:7)

In summary there would appear to have been three basic meanings to the name Seth: Instigator of confusion, deserter and drunkard. J. Sainte Fare Garnot (1948:22) captured the essence of Seth: 'Grand amateur de femmes, bien qu'il ait en même temps des moeurs inavouables, toujours prête à la bagarre et point ennemi du chantage, il apparait comme la personification de la violence et de la mauvaise foi.'

The presence of the Seth-animal is widely attested in Egypt as far back as the Pre-Dynastic period as on an ivory artefact (fig.4), found at El Mahasna, from the Naqada I (Amaratian) period (ca. 4000-3500 BCE) (Baumgartel 1955:34), although scholars have expressed some reservations in respect of this discovery. Several other items found in Ombos (Naqada or Nubt), 30 km north of Luxor, an important and perhaps the earliest cult centre of Seth

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(Wilkinson 2003:199), also display attributes of the Seth-animal such as huge ears, long face and snout.

Unfortunately, due to the complications associated with the chronology of the period as well as the fragmentary nature of the evidence, it has not been possible to arrive at a positive identification. However, there is little doubt that the figures depicted on the enigmatic votive mace of king 'Scorpion' (ca. 3000 BCE) are of the Seth-animal.
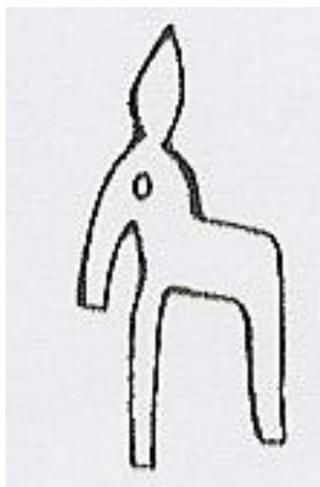
Figure 4 El Mahasna 'Seth'
(Ayrton & Loat 1911: Pl. XII No. 2)
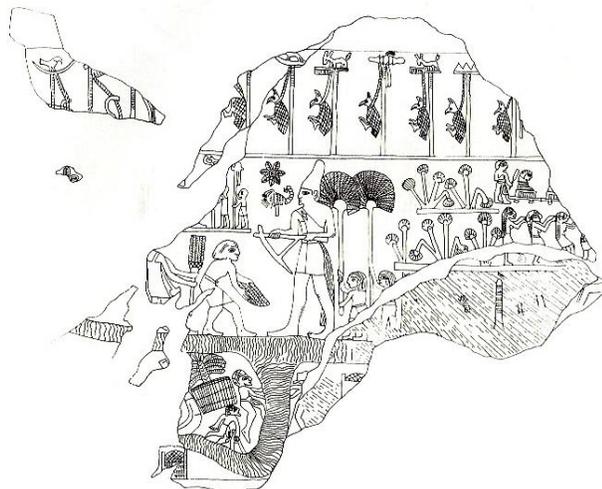
Figure 5 Mace head– king Scorpion
(Goldwasser 1995:133 Fig. 8

3.1.2   The Seth-animal − Zoological identity

Early opinions (Champollion, Lepsius et al.) declared the Seth-animal to be a fabulous beast, thereafter many scholars have endeavoured to discover its zoological identity. A multitude of animals have been suggested such as the ass, oryx antelope, greyhound, fennec, jerboa, camel, okapi, long snouted mouse, aardvark, giraffe, hare, jackal, tapir and a kind of hog or boar. A survey of the various hypotheses has been made by for example Newberry (1928:211-225) and Jensen (1934:7). Some of these animals can be immediately rejected, for instance the giraffe, which is depicted by the Egyptians themselves as a distinct and different beast.

Perhaps one plausible explanation of the Seth-animal, as can be inferred from the figure, is that it was modelled on the aardvark, due to its long blunt ended snout and huge ears. In ancient Egypt this nocturnal animal was the *Orycteropus Aethiopieus*, an animal between 1.2 and 1.8 metres long and 1 metre tall, it was a reddish colour owing to the thin hair allowing the skin to show and part canine.

Figure 6 Aardvark

(http://nationalgeographic.com/images/wpf/media-live)

As an interesting aside, the Egyptians believed that Seth had a white skin and red hair comparable to the pelt of a donkey. Due to the association with the colour red (also the Typhonic colour), red animals and even people with red hair were considered followers of Seth (Assmann 2008:41). Since red hair was mostly found on foreigners, this is possible the reason why the Egyptians gave Seth the godhood over foreign lands, lordship over western Asia. Robins in Wilkinson's book (2010a:362-363), states that in Egypt colours were symbolic, red having both a positive or negative meaning, being that of danger as in the chaotic and hostile desert, but red also signifying the sun or blood and also life.

It is still possible that the Seth-animal was developed from representation of some actual living animal. Some prehistoric figures of a donkey suggest this might have been the origin. Helck (1954:971) recounts that the farmers and nomads turned farmers held the wild ass in regard, due to their incomprehensible numinous experiences with the ass. Perhaps this is also something worth exploring further, since in the Late Period it became customary to show Seth as an ass or alternatively with the head of an ass (Figs. 7a-b). Now the Egyptian word for ass sometimes uses the Seth-animal as a determinative (Erman & Grapow 1926-1955:155).

From the third dynasty the shape of the Seth-animal became dog like but typically with a long curved snout, truncated large square ears and a raised forked tail. These attributes are always present regardless of the pose. Scholars have speculated that the strange tail configuration may represent a feathered arrow, possibly showing the Egyptian's hatred of the beast, this is endorsed by other depictions with a knife stuck into the neck or head.

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Figure 7a Ass headed Seth

(Roeder. 1956: Pl. Va)
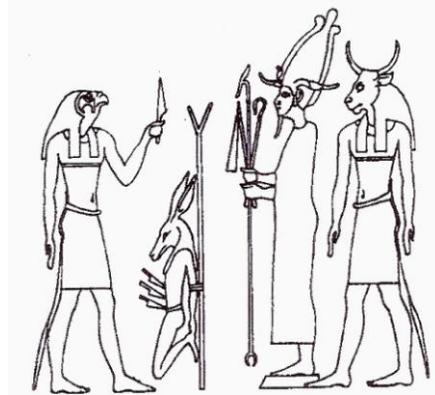
Figure 7b Seth as an ass bound and stabbed

(Ritner 1993:167 Fig. 14g)

A very different interpretation claims that the 'bundle' on the end of the tail represents plants i.e. vegetation. With the current state of knowledge it is still reasonable to say that the hieroglyph for the Seth-animal does not and did not represent an actual living animal. Thus it is now generally accepted that a zoological identification is impossible.
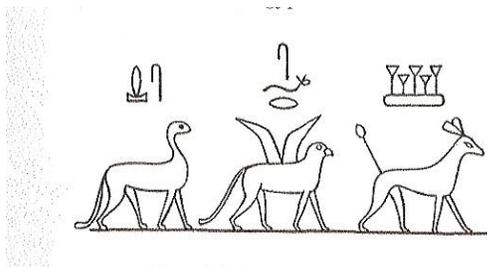
Figure 8 Animals from Beni Hasan tombs

(Newberry 1894: Pls. 4, 13)

The Seth-animal is shown on hunting scenes in the Middle Kingdom tombs at Beni Hasan. These indicate that the ancient Egyptians regarded it as a fabulous beast. Here he is always shown together with two other creatures, one with a snake's head the other with a falcon's head and wings – a griffin (Fig. 8).

The addition of attributes in the form of vegetation such as a lotus flower is found on other animals and even the feather of *ma'at* is found replacing the tail on a winged Seth-animal from Beth Shean (Leibovitch 1944a:236 & Figs. 9a & 9b). Thus all that can be deduced is that in addition to the ancient Egyptians, modern day scholars are also fascinated by Seth's tail! A late Egyptian text cited by Bonnet (1952:262) specifies that the characteristics of a griffin are the beak of a falcon, the ears of a fish and the tail of a snake. This clearly replicates the major obstacles in the zoological determination of the Seth-animal being the snout, ears and tail. This may suggest why the Egyptians associated the Seth-animal with the griffin.
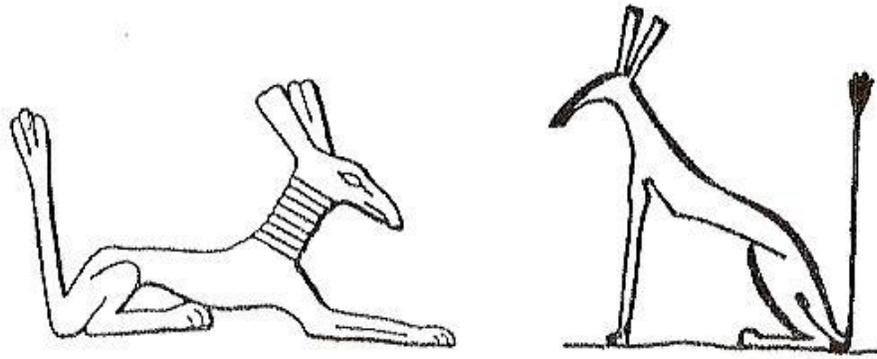
Figure 9 Seth-animals Old and Middle Kingdoms

(a. Erman 1934: Fig. 26b)   (b. Lange and Hirmer 1957: Pl. 103)

Throughout the Pharaonic period the god Seth was depicted in various guises. In the *Pyramid Texts* he was already attributed with wings *(Pyr.* 1742a cf. te Velde 1967:19, 20). Here the most frequent comparison made is with the griffin (ꜥḥḥ) an animal seen as both guardian and avenger. Te Velde (1967:21) makes the suggestion that the two functions were divided between the griffin and Seth-animal, thus making a mythical connection between Horus and Seth. Returning to the Beni Hasan hunting scenes (Fig. 8), the Seth-animal would represent bad fortune, the griffin being the guardian angel and perhaps the snake headed animal as a synthesis of both. 'From the Middle Kingdom a creature called the 'hiu' is also a manifestation of Seth, it is a braying donkey or a snake with an ass's head. In Ptolemaic hieroglyphs the donkey is shown killed by a knife in its back' (Hart 2005:198). The use of the Seth-animal, in some form, as a determinative in hieroglyphic writing indicates concepts divergent from the normal order and thus a negative meaning. A selection of some typical examples is given in table 2. This indicates how Seth was regarded in Egyptian culture, unpleasant, noisy and a disturber of the peace. Van Baaren states '… the originator of confusion, like the creator who sets in order, is an aspect of total reality which cannot be spared' (1964:70). In Egypt Seth is the god of death, written on a coffin is found:

'I do not die, Seth gains no power over me.'

(*CT III*, 349 e, f. Quoted by te Velde 1967:25)

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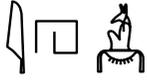
	iḥ	illness
	ind	to be afflicted
	mr	to be grievous
	nšni	rage, storm, disaster
	nḫm	to suffer
	śhꜣ	to be in confusion
	khb	to harm, to be violent, to roar
	ḳri	thunder, storm
	ḫꜣḫꜣti	storm
Table 2 Hieroglyphs and transliterations with Seth determinative		
(te Velde 1967:22-23)		

In summary, the Seth-animal was probably an imaginary animal related as complimentary to the griffin. Here the duality is seen with the griffin as guardian angel whilst the Seth-animal is the 'angel of death', a beast of ill omen. 'Because of the upheaval and confusion Seth can cause he was [later] identified by the Greeks with "Typhon" their rebel god' (Hart 2005:196) and often known as a 'Typhonic beast.' The animals associated with Seth were always animals of sacrifice – including oryx antelope, gazelle, crocodile, hippopotamus and fish as well as the auroch and snake. The destruction of Sethian animals was a part of religious activity maybe as far back as the first dynasty. The hippopotamus hunt was seen as a victory of Horus over Seth. 'The destruction of the hippopotamus became especially important in the

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later periods when widespread veneration of Seth had virtually ended' (Wilkinson 2003:199). He gradually became demonised during the 1st millennium (ca. 700 BCE) (te Velde 1986: 69).

Figure 10 Slaying of Seth as a hippopotamus – Edfu temple reliefs

(Photographs by courtesy of Cox A.R.)

3.1.3   The relationship between Seth and Horus

The Heliopolitan Ennead is detailed in the *Pyramid Texts (Pyr.* 1655 a & b. Quoted by te Velde 1967:27)*. This originates with Atum the primeval god described as 'lord of all' and creator of the Ennead. Atum produced a twin the god Shu and goddess Tefnut who in turn conceived a further twin, the earth god Geb and sky goddess Nut both pairs thus comprising a complementary duality of male and female. This process continued with the arrival of Osiris and Isis, however, the birth of a further twin Seth and Nepthys disturbed this natural progression of creation and signified the beginning of confusion. The disorder, unpredictability and violence brought about by Seth's arrival is confirmed in the *Pyramid Texts* (*Pyr.* 205), which Sethe translates as:

'Du den die Schwangere sich gegeben hat, als du die Nacht spaltetest,

Gestaltet bist du als Seth der gewaltsam ausbrach.'

(Sethe 1926: Vol. I:116)

Seth's birth was untimely and premature, as Plutarch says '… and on the third [epagomenal day] Typhon [Seth] was born, not in the right time or place, but bursting through with a blow,

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he leapt from his mother's side' (Plutarch *De Iside et Osiride* c.12; Griffiths 1970:137). From an early stage Seth's nature is apparent, his immaturity as the son of Nut and yet his alternative epithet 'great in strength' – he was said to wield a sceptre weighing some 2000 kg (Wilkinson 2003:198) indicating the confusion for which he is renowned. Here Zandee (1968:184-189) disagrees with the title god of confusion and suggests he was more a 'God of Strength.' The use of the appellation 'son of Nut' to describe Seth is almost as widely found as the name Seth itself. However, there was never a bond *(harsiesis)* between mother and son; indeed the texts clearly show that Nut turned against Seth *(Urk.* VI, 57: 4 ff. quoted by te Velde 1967:28). 'In the myth of Osiris, the duality of Osiris and Seth is that of life and death' (te Velde 1967:32). The birth of the divine child Horus symbolises the restoration of the unity of life. Horus finally triumphs over the vicissitudes of his childhood, due to the disorder brought about by the untimely birth of Seth, thus winning adult divine life. Thereby ensuring the enmity of Horus and Seth becomes a reality.

The relationship between Horus and Seth has been debated at length by numerous scholars and will therefore only be briefly mentioned here, a more comprehensive treatment is given by te Velde (1967:34-46). There are many ancient textual references to a conflict between Horus and Seth, as rivals and as fighters. The image is of the two doing battle and wounding each other, Horus losing an eye and Seth his testicles. This latter loss has been vigorously debated and the consensus, which is stated in *the contendings of Horus and Seth* (Lichtheim 2006: Vol. II, 214-220), agrees that this did not refer to castration as such, but to the loss of his seed. The fight followed homosexual advances made by Seth, even perhaps rape. The end result was the turning yellow and shrinking, then loss of Horus's eye. In retaliation Horus seizes Seth's testicles, also suggesting a sexual confrontation rather than straightforward fighting. It should be noted that in the Egyptian view rape or a blow could cause an eye infection. From the above it is therefore possible that the damage to Horus's eye may have been due to a homosexual act between Horus and Seth, wherein the evil Seth sexually abused the child Horus. It should be noted here that Zandee takes issue with te Velde's overt concern with Seth's homosexual nature (Zandee 1968:184-189).

In Egyptian mythology incidences of quarrels between gods were rare, thus that between Horus and Seth was an exceptional event. The general view of a warlike confrontation may thus be false, and it might be more correct to see it as an erotic game. This is also corroborated in *the Contendings of Horus and Seth* (Lichtheim 2006:214-220), where Isis throws his seed into the water. The virile role of Seth as god of thunder (storm god – cf. Zandee 1963) and war would further suggest that he was not castrated. The myth of Horus and Seth and their homosexual relationship ends in reconciliation and forms the foundation and explanation for the origin of the moon. The Egyptians saw the eye of Horus as a phenomenon of nature such as the moon, as well as in cultural phenomena such as the crown and uraeus.

3.1.4   The separation and reconciliation of Seth and Horus

To the Egyptian mind the birth of Seth was the beginning of confusion, he did not respect extant boundaries, notably those between the sexes. At first Horus and Seth were separated before being reconciled, this signified a separation between the cosmos and chaos. This is shown in the contrast between heaven and earth, right and left, earth and the underworld, these and many such contrasts are evidenced in various *Pyramid Texts* and *Coffin Texts*. Herein the contrasts are attributed to Seth on one side and Horus the other, and generally of a more cosmological than geographical nature. Although at a time Horus became linked to the papyrus country (*t3 mḥw*) and Seth to that of the land of sedges (*t3 šmˁ*), following the separation.

The Sethian past where Seth originated from Ombos is perhaps the rationale for Seth being associated with Upper Egypt, with Horus that of Lower Egypt. Although there is epigraphic evidence of this situation being reversed (e.g. *Pap. Sallier* 4 IX, 7. cf. te Velde 1967:62). This separation of the world extended beyond the boundaries of Upper and Lower Egypt, Seth was seen as Lord of Foreign Peoples, Libyans, Hittites and Asiatics. Additionally we know that Seth was allocated *dšrt* and Horus *kmt*, the 'red land' and the 'black land' respectively. Thus the separation revolves around the contrasts in the world making both gods essential to this duality.

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The irony of such a separation is that the peace, which was achieved, resulted in certain stagnation, preventing any possibility of integration or cooperation. Seth is the ⚊, the god apart (te Velde 1967:93). Clearly this situation would be untenable in the long term and thus a reconciliation of the two gods would be necessary. The Shabaka text informs us that Geb being dissatisfied with the separation of Horus and Seth gives the entire heritage to Horus.

> 'Then sprouted the two Great Magicians [the crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt] upon his head. He is Horus who arose as king of Upper and Lower Egypt, who united the Two Lands in the Nome of the [White] Wall, the place in which the Two Lands were united.'
>
> *(Shabaka text* 14c: Lichtheim 1973:53)

This has been explained that following the war between Seth worshippers and Horus worshippers and their separation, the whole land was awarded to Horus. However, the text continues by stating that Horus and Seth were contented which suggests that in fact the uniting of the two lands was definitive *(Shabaka* 15c. Lichtheim 1973:53).

Originally the relationship of Seth to Horus was that of the elder and uncle to Horus. Following the homosexual assault by Seth, Horus with the help of his mother Isis, outwits his older relative, thus turning the plot against Seth. He, being unwilling to accept the unfavourable decision of the court, proposes a new contest – the 'boat race.' Now the specific instruction to make 'stone boats' for the contest could be interpreted as a boat made of stone or one made to carry stone. Horus cleverly makes a cedar wood boat painted to resemble stone, whereas Seth makes his boat of stone, which promptly sinks. So Horus proves his superior judgement and intellect and makes Seth appear 'as a fool' (Goedicke 1961:154).

Hence Horus receives Egypt and the throne whereas Seth is driven out into the desert. In the New Kingdom Seth continued to function as lord of the desert (*dšrt*) but cooperating with Horus. Finally when the empire collapsed after Ramesses III the cult of Seth started to weaken. Personal names incorporating Seth's name were fairly common in the 19th and 20th Dynasties but the usage reduced in the 21st and 22nd Dynasties finally vanishing altogether.

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'The close cooperation of Seth with foreign countries and with the god Baʿal was not only fatal to the cult of Seth, but also to the symbolism of the reconciliation of Horus and Seth' (te Velde 1967:66). Thus in later periods Seth was seen as the god of the Semites and therefore odious, was superseded by the justification of Horus. It is apparent that the Egyptian cultic system needed a form of scapegoat as the permanent receptacle of evil. Their own negative qualities could thereby be disowned and thrown out to the far country of the Asiatics – something foreign wherein Seth's birthday was seen as the beginning of confusion and eradicated. 'From all the sources it can be seen that the character of Seth remains something of an enigma: is he a god of confusion, a trickster, a bisexual god. Or does he represent a change from old to new where his powers of strength and might are still required' (Turner 2013:7).

3.1.5   Seth the murderer of Osiris

The theme of the Osiris myth is resurrection from death. As Ra, manifest as the sun goes to rest in the evening and awakes from the sleep of death in the morning, mimicking the cycle of life. The conversation between Atum and Osiris in the *Book of the Dead* illustrates this point:

> 'How perfect is that which I have done for Osiris in contradistinction from all gods.
> I have given him the realm of the dead, and his son Horus as heir upon his throne
> on the Island of Fire.'
>
> (BD 175: 19, 20. quoted by te Velde 1967:81)

In both myth and religion the murder of Osiris was necessary to create order. However, outside of this religious arena, more attention was paid to the outrage of Seth. Little detail was given in the religious texts to Osiris's murder and there was only a hint of the homosexual relations between Horus and Seth. For example in neither the text of the Amenmose Stele (Fig. 11), Louvre C286 (Lichtheim 2006:81-86), nor that of the Ikhernofret stele (Lichtheim 1973:123-125) is the manner of Osiris's death or the fact that Seth was the murderer, explained. Osiris had to join the realm of the dead relinquishing the role in the realm of the living to Horus (*BD* 175:19, 20. quoted by te Velde 1967:81). The Egyptians accepted this to a point, but his death was deplored because Seth murdered him. Thus the image of Seth becomes that of a divine murderer and deceiver.

In the lunette of the Amenmose stele are two different offering scenes, on the left the official Amenmose and his wife are seated before an offering table, on the right lady (Baket) seated before a priest making offering rites. Amenmose's Sons and daughters are shown on either side of and below him on a second register.

Below the scenes are twenty eight horizontal lines of hieroglyphic text, providing the fullest account of the Osiris myth extant in Egyptian, although larger versions are known in Greek. It seems that the slaying of Osiris at the hands of Seth was too awesome an event to be committed to writing (Lichtheim 2006:81).
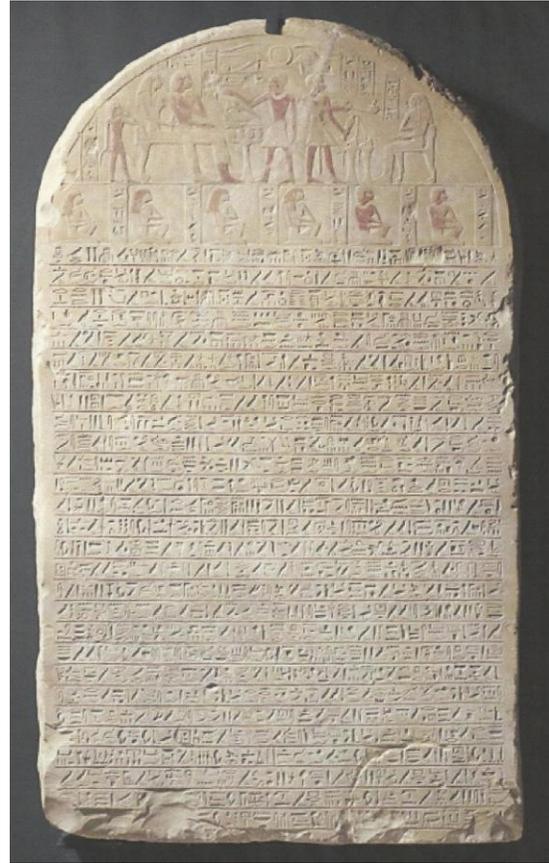
Figure 11 Stele of Amenmose
(Louvre C286)

3.1.6   Seth the demon of death

The story that Seth cut the body of Osiris into pieces and Isis buried them where she found them would appear to be more a Greek version of events, since Egyptian texts say little on this matter. The *Pyramid Texts* contain many references to the reuniting of parts of the dead Osiris, but none of the dismembering. Perhaps Egyptian priests were forbidden to, or simply would not, talk about it. The idea that the Egyptians feared dismemberment and expected it after death is important (te Velde 1967:92). Here Seth interferes with the concept of life and death at the time of the murder, and also for the seventy-day period before interment. During this period the deceased is vulnerable to the evil whims of Seth as the destructive Demon of Death.

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'I do not die, Seth obtains no power over me.'

(*CT III 349* e, f. Quoted by te Velde 1967:25)

Many ancient texts record the idea that Osiris's death or his wounds should be hidden, suggesting that Seth was capable of doing violence to a corpse. In the *Book of the Dead* Osiris is sometimes called 'the dismembered one' (*tštš*) (Allen 1960:69, 284). Presumably the Egyptians wished to see their friends or relations in the afterlife without them being subject to Seth's interference.

'Deliver me from this god, who seizes souls and licks that which is rotten, who lives on offal and is in darkness and obscurity, who terrifies the weary – it is Seth.'

(*BD* 17 Quoted by te Velde 1967:94)

Thus Seth is portrayed as the demon of death and he rather than his victim can find no rest.

3.1.7   The integration of Osiris and Horus myths

The critical point of the Osiris myth is at the moment of resurrection when it integrates with the Horus myth, as is frequently shown in the texts (Griffiths 1960:60ff.). Griffiths argues that the two parties in the judgement of the gods are not Osiris and Seth but Horus and Seth, because everyone once dead is given the name Osiris. The essential passivity of Osiris might in fact indicate defiance towards Seth. If Seth saw his brother Osiris as the essence of death this might account for the aversion and aggression of Seth with his great zest for life that would have clashed with passivity. If we consider the line of succession in the Ennead: Shu/Tefnut, Geb/Nut, Osiris/Isis, and then the divine pair of Seth/Nepthys are surely an anomaly. Here we see a duality of Osiris and Seth, wherein Osiris god of absolute life including death and resurrection whereas Seth is life – producing death (te Velde 1967:95). In summary Seth upset the order of original being by manifesting death, the great evil. Seth is not only a murderer and demon of death, but also assists in the resurrection of Osiris.

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3.1.8   Seth slaying Apep ☐ ☐ 〰 (*ꜣpp*)

The image of Seth is predominantly a negative one, being seen as the god of disorder and disturber of the peace, wherein he is the slayer of Osiris and enemy of Horus. However, the ambivalent nature of Seth is shown in his more positive role, standing on the prow of the barque of the sun god Ra 'repelling of the evil snake Apep to protect the god Ra,' for which he was worshipped. The text inscribed on the well-known 400-year stele describes Seth's actions:

ꜥꜣ pḥtj m wjꜣ nḥḥw ḥwj ḫftjw. f m ḥꜣt wjꜣ n rꜥ ꜥꜣ hmhmt

'…Great of power in the barque of millions, slaying his enemies,

in front of the barque of Reꜥ, great of war cry.'

(Cornelius 1994:166)

Nagel paints the scene (Fig. 12) depicted on the 'vignette du papyrus de Her-Ouben' currently held in the Cairo museum:

'La barque qui navigue, elle aussi, sur le ciel est place au-dessus d'un grand serpent don't la tête se dresse manacante a l'avant de la barque, tandis que Set, debout a la proue, est en train de lui enfoncer sa lance dans la gueule.'

(Nagel 1929:33)
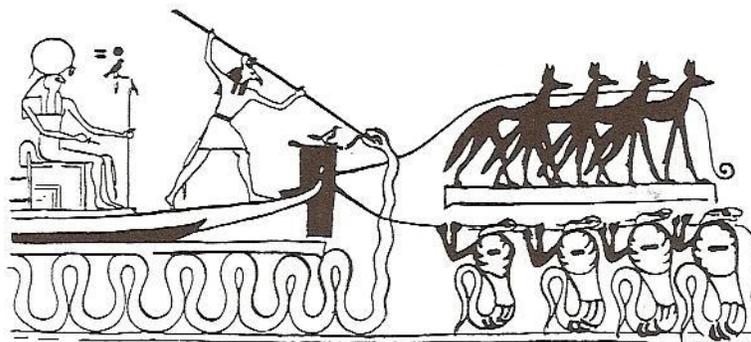
Figure 12 Seth slaying Apep

(Keel 1997:55 Fig. 55)

A great deal of scholarly effort has been expended attempting to explain the dichotomy of Seth's seemingly very diverse roles. Since the first evidence of the fight against Apep predates the entry into Egypt of the Hyksos, this surely demonstrates that there was no connection with the Baʿal/Seth interaction. Pictorially at least the battle with Apep is typically Egyptian.

Figure 13 Seth the serpent slayer
(Schroer 2011:332 Fig.897)

Although this depiction of the sun god and his entourage found at Medinet Habu is badly damaged, Seth can be again seen in his role of slayer of the serpent Apep.

It is true that the two roles of Seth seem contradictory, as the evil slayer of Osiris and the good god who protects Ra. After a lengthy debate on this controversy te Velde concludes: 'Surely the reason that Seth was chosen [as champion and defender of Ra] was not that he was as friendly and good as other gods, but that he was as aggressive as other mythical figures, even surpassing them in aggressiveness and viciousness. As the notorious rowdy and thunder-god the opponent of Horus and slayer of Osiris, Seth was eminently suitable to do the "dirty work"' (1967:106).

> 'I am Seth, who causes confusion and thunders in the horizon of the sky,
>   whose heart is as (that of) the *nbḏ*.' [possessor/lord]
>   *(BD 39,* 14 and 15. Quoted by te Velde 1967:106).

The status of Seth as he appears in the solar barque might therefore be seen as the violent aspect of Ra, as such he is often given the epithet 'chosen of Ra' *(Pap. Beatty* IX vs. B9, 3. Quoted by te Velde 1967:107).

The main point illustrated in the 'contendings of Horus and Seth' is that the son of the king should inherit the throne. Thereby Horus was the rightful heir to the throne, so what of Seth. His strength was needed so 'he was employed by the sun god to thunder in the sky and to keep away evil' (Oakes & Gahlin 2002:316).

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Thus the conventional position of Seth in ancient Egypt is as a violent and disruptive god, a viewpoint upheld by many scholars. However, perhaps this is not the entire story. In his review of te Velde's 1967 book Zandee criticises the stressing of Seth's homosexual nature with Horus and objects to the title of 'Seth the god of confusion,' and prefers Seth as the 'god of strength' (1968:184-189). More recently Assmann cites Seth's role as protector in the triumph over the serpent Apep and would rather view Horus and Seth as symbolising the change from old order to new (2003:44). In his article (2009:201-202) Cruz-Uribe also questions the title 'god of confusion,' and puts more emphasis on the '*pḥty* – strength' referred to in the title 'Seth, God of power and might' (*Stḫ ʿȝ pḥty*).

Figure 14 Defacement due to Seth's proscription -Valley of the Kings KV15 ceiling

(Cruz-Uribe 2009 Photograph 8 – cat. No. 20 and Fig. 18)

From these sources it is apparent that Seth remains something of an enigma, but throughout Egyptian history he was continually worshipped and at times (e.g. in the Ramesside Period) received some prominence, thus rather than an unwelcomed outsider to the Egyptian pantheon he had an important role within it (Turner 2013:7).

Figure 15a Seth, temple of Hibis at Kharga oasis

(te Velde 1967: Pl. IX)

Figure 15b Seth, temple of Hibis Kharga oasis

(Cruz-Uribe 2013: Fig. 1)

In later periods, perhaps due to his proscription which was perhaps localised, Seth's only positive role seems to have been protection against the serpent Apep as can be seen at the Hibis temple in the Kharga oasis. This dates from the Persian period where the Sethian head is replaced by the falcon head of Horus, however, the inscription has Seth (te Velde 1967:20).

3.1.9   Seth the storm god.

In the massively calm climate of Egypt, the atmospheric phenomena of earthquakes, storm and tempest were seen as a manifestation of a special force. Since such occurrences were seen as unusual for Egypt they were considered in relationship to other countries. Seth the storm god is not at home in a bright and cloudless sky, he belongs to the desert and the mountains where storms rage. Thus it is probable that the god Seth manifested in storm and rain was equated with the Semitic god Baʿal and became considered as a Semitic god, a god of foreign countries. Zandee (1963:155) also equated Resheph with Seth; this idea is now considered to be outdated since Resheph was not a weather god.

Zandee in his 1963 article *Seth als Sturmgott* presents a great many original sources for the aspects of the god Seth. From this his character is apparent from the earliest *Pyramid Texts*, *Coffin Texts* and spells as well as the *Book of the Dead*. Further his identification with the western Semitic Baʿal is explored wherein the name Baʿal is determined with the Seth-animal 𓃡. Baʿal in the Ras Shamra texts is the god of thunder – Hadad, and god of the mountain tops Baʿal-Saphon. Thus Seth and Baʿal are in parallel. As one text has it: *'....The scimitar of Seth is against you, O smn; the ktp of Baʿal is (stuck) in your head.'* (Pap. Leiden I 343+345, recto Tazawa 2009:36 Doc. 98).

3.1.10 Seth the foreigner

Up to this point three aspects of Seth have been described, Seth as a homosexual opposite Horus, as the murderer of Osiris and as a defender of Ra against the serpent Apep. The final aspect is the role as a *foreign god*, the *lord of foreign countries*; this is the area of primary concern in this study.

The idea of Seth as lord of foreign lands may stem from very early in Egyptian history. It may be that the pharaoh whose Horus name was Sekhemib took the Seth name of Peribsen because his power extended beyond the borders of Egypt (ca. 2700 BCE). This is indicated in his epithet 'conqueror of Asia (*ini Śtt*) (te Velde 1967:110). It is thus probable that the Seth connection with foreign countries was already in existence before the time of Peribsen. Since from the earliest times the Egyptians were in fear of the demons of the desert, the Seth-animal depicted on the Beni Hasan graves, also suggest an association with the desert or 'outside world'. The Egyptians were always in fear of the unknown foreign countries, seeing them as dangerous and inhospitable. 'In the [Egyptian] Book of Dreams the followers of Seth are typical foreigners, and that foreigners are Sethian people. Their sexual conduct is reprehensible. They are given to drink, quarrelsome and murderous' (te Velde 1967:111).

Gardiner (1947: Vol. 1 110) defines the *pˁt* – the true people as the 'autochthonous inhabitants of Egypt, from time when the earth was first separated from the sky and when Geb became the first terrestrial ruler.' This is contrasted with the *rḫyt* – 'the others,' where Gardiner does not attempt to define *rḫyt*. They are often enemies of the Pharaoh, and are sometimes connected with foreign countries, but are usually seen as subjects of the Pharaoh (Urk IV 223, 12 quoted by te Velde 1967:112). Here Gardiner suggests the nuance 'common folk.' The Egyptian culture, where self-control was the ideal, saw the habits and private lives of foreign nations as immoral, barbaric and strange when compared to their own manners and customs. This then goes a long way to explain why Seth the god of the desert and foreign parts was cast in such an unfavourable light.

The Egyptians perceived their country as the centre of the cosmos, the *axis mundi,* within which the foreign lands formed the periphery (Cornelius 2010:324). In the well-known Middle Kingdom *Tale of Sinuhe* (Lichtheim 1973:222-235), we see that when Sinuhe returned to Egypt, following his exile in Palestine, the Egyptocentric nature of the story becomes apparent. The story records:

'Years were removed from my body. I was shaved; my hair was combed. Thus my squalor returned to the foreign land, my dress to the sand farers. I was clothed in fine linen; I was anointed with fine oil. I slept on a bed. I returned the sand to those who dwell in it.'

(Lichtheim 1973:233)

Foreigners are differentiated by their names but also in art. Generally four groups of people are recognised: An Egyptian in red-brown, a light skinned Asian with thick beard and tasselled kilt, a black beardless Nubian with a large belt and an exotic-looking Libyan with a goatee beard, tattooed and with feathers in his hair (Cornelius 2010:325).

In the battle inscriptions of Ramesses II, foreigners are termed 'vile' and 'wretched' (Gardiner 1960:9 P98; 10 P130) and the Egyptian people must be protected from them. A relief of Sahure (Fig. 16) from 2480 BCE in the Egyptian collection in the Berlin Museum (ÄS 21782, Keel 1977: Abb. 406) shows the god Seth and Sopdu, indicated as *nb khasut* 'Lord of the foreign lands'. The two gods are holding prisoners from Punt, Libya and Asia on leashes. The names of their conquered cities are written in hieroglyphs (Cornelius 2010:328). It was essential to conquer the foreign enemy to drive disorder and chaos away. In this regard one of the oldest icons of pharaonic power is the 'smiting king' from 3000 BCE. This image served as an icon of violence against enemies (Assmann 2008:28).
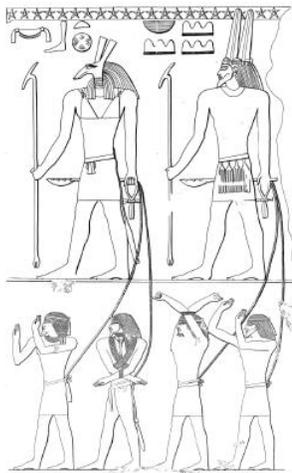
Figure 16 Relief of Sahure – Seth-Sopdu
(Cornelius 2010: 328 Fig. 7)

The cult centres of Seth in Egypt were generally on the borders of the desert especially where caravan routes commenced. Even Ombos (Gold Town), the original and most well known Sethian locale, was a frontier town of the gold mines of the eastern desert. It is general true to say that the gods of the polytheistic Egyptian religion were determined more by their location rather than social considerations. Te Velde (1967:117) hypothesises that: 'Seth did not become lord of foreign countries

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because in history he happened originally to be worshipped on the border of the desert, but ordering by locality required him, the mythological disturber of the peace, to be venerated on the verge of the cosmos'. Seth as disturber of the peace, thunder god and a foreigner could thus be worshipped in borderlands everywhere.

The question has often been asked as to why the cult of Seth arose in the north-eastern delta, by the Asian frontier. Given the rationale for Seth as god of the 'border' areas wherever they might be, it would perhaps seem reasonable that the close proximity of the north-eastern Egyptian border was sufficient justification. According to Tazawa, when the Hyksos came to the area, and built their capital Avaris, their storm god Baʿal came with them (2009:154-158). Ongoing excavations of Avaris, the Hyksos capital, have in fact also produced evidence pertaining to the god Seth. This showed that his cult was already established during their tenure and that he was the local god of the area (Bourriau 2000:190). His cult continued and even expanded during the New Kingdom (Bourriau 2000:214). The Ramesside kings followed the Hyksos in establishing royal residences in the area, and Seth became god of their residence. Thus it would seem that both geographical and historical reasons accounted in part for his presence there.

3.1.11 Summary and conclusions

The enigmatic nature of the god Seth is indicated from the variety and spelling of his name, as well as the visual representations of the Seth-animal and the other diverse animal forms that were sometimes attributed to him. The arrival of the twin Seth and Nepthys was anathema to the natural progression of creation and thereby initiated disorder and consequent violence, culminating in the murder of Osiris. However, the birth of Horus restores the unity of life but causes the enmity of Horus and Seth. Famously *'the Contendings of Horus and Seth'* end with the confirmation of Horus as the rightful heir to the throne. Notwithstanding the negative image Seth had acquired his strength was now put to good use in the virile role of thunder and storm god to keep evil away. Seth rose to prominence during the New Kingdom, reaching his apogee during the 19th and 20th dynasties where even Pharaohs took his name. Gradually following the collapse of the New Kingdom his cult became victimised and finally demonised

in the 8th century BCE. In later times after the glory of the Ramesside period when foreign deities were resented in Egypt it is likely that Seth was seen as evil due to his link with Baʿal (Sadek 1988:291). The diverse nature of Seth from his prowess as a warrior against the enemies of Ra to the characterisation as a 'demon of death' explains why this strange persona has been viewed as 'a god apart.'

The aspect of most interest in this work is Seth's role as a foreigner and his identification with a number of the 'foreign' gods both within and outside of Egypt. Of special interest is his association with Baʿal the storm god of the Western Semites. The cult centres of Seth were focused on the border areas confirming his position as god of the desert, border areas and foreign lands. '… Seth is the god of storm and darkness. In that capacity he has been equated with Baʿal at an early date' (van der Toorn 1999:748-749).

3.2   The god Baʿal

'Baʿal sits like the base of a mountain;
Hadd se[ttles] as the ocean,'

'In the midst of his divine mountain, Saphon,
in [the midst of] the mountain of victory.'

'Seven lightning-flashes […],
Eight bundles of thunder,'

(KTU 1.101 R 1-4 in Wyatt 2002:388)

The Syro-Palestinian storm-god *Baʿal* was a very active god and should be regarded as one of the most important deities in the Syro-Palestinian pantheon, according to the texts from Ugarit (Ras Shamra) (ca. 1400-1200 BCE). These texts contain more than 500 references (Herrmann 1999:134) to Baʿal and provide considerable details of the deity's power. Baʿal was also widespread in western Asia through his identification with the storm-god Adad (Hadad, cf. Greenfield (1999: 377-382). In Ugarit Baʿal is primarily used but in parallelism with Hadad as can be seen from the text KTU 1.101 above.
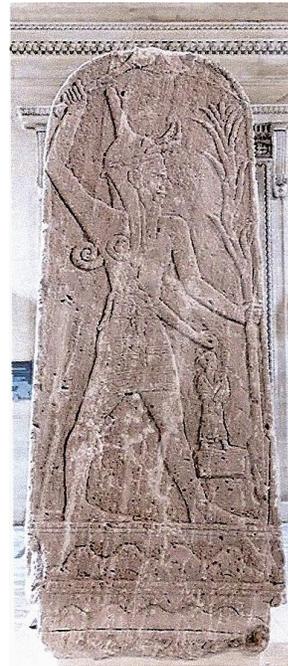
Figure 17 Baʿal stele – from Ugarit

(Cornelius 1994: Pl. 32 BR1)

3.2.1   The Baʿal name and its meaning

With respect to the god Baʿal, it is known that the word *baʿal* is a common Semitic noun meaning 'lord', but is properly 'possessor' or 'owner'. The word itself was not exclusively religious in connotation, but was used as honorific titles for the head of the household even master craftsman, but not for royalty. The Egyptian transliteration of the name is *bʿr* (Leitz 2002:II 778). There are a number of hieroglyphic representations, all notably using the Seth-

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animal as determinative such as - ⯑⯑⯑, and ⯑⯑⯑⯑ (Leitz 2002:II 778).
Applied to a god the name occurs some 90 times in the Hebrew Bible. The LXX writes the
name as *Βααλ* and in the Vulgate it is transcribed as *Baal*, the plural being *Baalim*. There are
various Baals in the pantheon lists from Ugarit (Wyatt 2002:361 and Pardee 2002:1). Baᶜal is
used in Ugaritic religion as the proper name of a deity (Herrmann 1999:132), and in the Bible
Baᶜal is also used as the name of a specific deity. The feminine form of the deity was *Baᶜalat*
meaning 'lady, mistress, owner (feminine), wife, as it is used for the 'Lady of Byblos' on the
stele of king Yehaumilk (Lipiński 1995:70).

3.2.2   The origins of Baᶜal

There is great confusion amongst scholars concerning these deities called Baᶜal and their
natures and origins. The survival of this god through vast periods of time gives a complex trail
with many problems. According to Pettinato (1980:203-209) the noun baᶜal was originally
used, in texts as a divine name, attested to already in the mid third millennium BCE. The
name is mentioned in the list of deities found during excavations at Abu Salabikh, a small
Sumerian city some twenty kilometres north west of the ancient town of Nippur, providing the
oldest original evidence of the worship of Baᶜal. Since the name is inscribed together with
many other gods it is reasonable to conclude that Baᶜal was known as a god at that time
(Biggs 1974:No. 83 V. 12). In texts from Ebla (ca. 2400 BCE) the name occurs as an element
in personal names (Herrmann 1999:132)

The Syro-Palestinian culture developed at the same time as the Babylonian culture out of the
chaos surrounding the Amorite invasion and infiltration of Sumer beginning around 2000
BCE (Cornelius & Venter 2002:197). Once cultural stability returned ca. 1800 BCE the
Babylonians were domiciled in Mesopotamia whilst the Syro-Palestinians were settled along
the Mediterranean, including the city-state of Ugarit. The most definitive evidence of Baᶜal
and his relationship to other gods comes from the Ugaritic texts of Ras Shamra.

Baʿal as the son of Dagan *(bn dgn)* was the lord over the fertile land. Additionally, as a member of the pantheon he like all the other gods was also the son of El, however, he gradually or through a sudden event became the dominating power in the local pantheon (Kapelrud 1952:73). The worship of Baʿal was common over all the areas inhabited by the people of Syro-Palestine. During the Middle Kingdom if not earlier the cult was adopted in Egypt together with other Asiatic gods (Morenz 1977:250-255). Following the Phoenician colonization the cult spread all over the Mediterranean region. The question of the adoption of Asiatic gods in Egypt, in particular Baʿal, is of major relevance in this study and has been recently explored in some detail by Tazawa (2009).
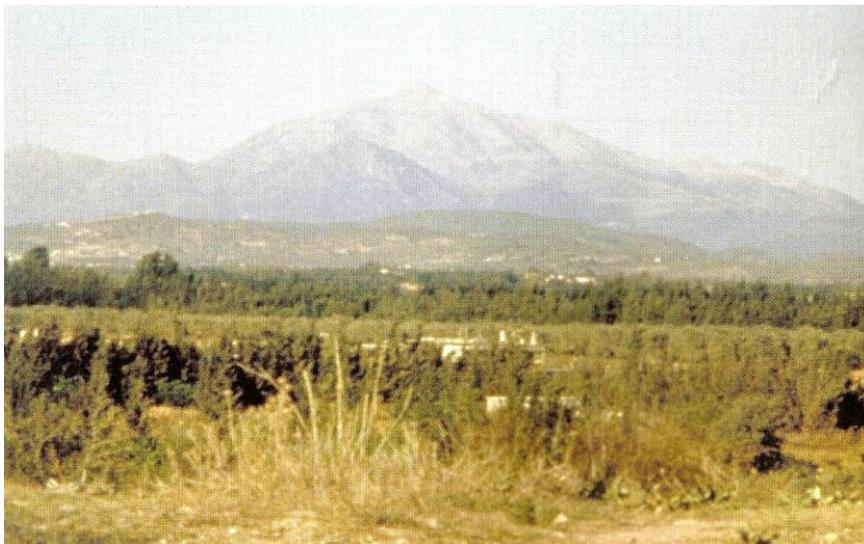
Figure 18 Mount Zaphon from Ras Shamra

(Yon 2006: viii)

Pettinato (1980:203-209), together with other scholars, suggests that Baʿal was originally the name of a Syro-Palestinian deity and distinguished from the Amorite god Hadad (Adad). However, they are frequently referred to as the same god in modern studies. Many also propose that Hadad was the correct name for the West Semitic storm-god. Kapelrud (1952: 50-52) holds that the name of the Mesopotamian storm-god Hadad, known in the Western Semitic world through cultural contact, was applied secondarily to Baʿal. Later during the first millennium BCE the two gods were differentiated, Hadad being the god of the Aramaeans and Baʿal that of the Syro-Palestinians (Herrmann 1999:132). His terrestrial home was on Mount Zaphon (Djebel al-Aqra) hence he also carried the title Baʿal-Zaphon.

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Here Hermann (1999:133) notes that: 'the domain or property of the god consists either of a natural area or one created by human hand; the relationship of the god to his territory is expressed with genitival construction: Baʿal is the lord of a mountain.' It would seem that different population groups within the Syro-Palestinian area each knew their own Baʿal so this image of the deity must have been of fundamental significance. It has been suggested that the people of each territory or in each wandering clan worshipped their own Baʿal, as the chief deity. As the source of all the gifts of nature he would be the patron of all growth and fertility, originating in the observation of the fertilizing effects of rains and streams.

3.2.3   The character of Baʿal

With reference to the character of Baʿal: 'His elevated position shows itself in his power over clouds, storm and lightning, manifest by his thundering voice. As the god of wind and weather, Baʿal dispenses dew, rain, and snow' (Herrmann 1999:134), thus ensuring fertility of the soil.

> 'And now may Baʿal also luxuriate with his rain,
>
> May he luxuriate luxuriantly with abundant water in a downpour(?)
>
> And he will sound his voice in the clouds
>
> May he flash to the earth lightning.'
>
> (KTU 1.4 v. 6-9 in Smith 1994:66)

Consequently the kingship of Baʿal was a guarantee of the annual return of the vegetation.

dm rgm ʾiṯ ly w ʾargmk	For I have a word that I would say to you,
hwt w ʾaṯnyk	A message that I would repeat to you:
rgm ʿṣ w lḫšt ʾabn	A word of tree and whisper of stone,
tʾant šmm ʿm ʾarṣ	The sighing of the heavens to the earth,
thmt ʿmn kbkbm	of the deep to the stars,
ʾabn brq dl tdʿ šmm	I understand the thunder which the heavens do not know,
rgm ltdʿ nšm	A word unknown to men,
wltbn hmlt ʾarṣ	And which the multitudes of the earth do not understand.
ʾatm wʾank ʾibǵyh	Come and I shall reveal it
btk ǵry ʾil ṣpn	In the midst of my divine mountain, Saphon,
bqdš bǵr nḥlty	In the sanctuary, on the mountain of my inheritance,
bnʿm bgbʿ tlʾiyt	In Paradise, on the height of victory.

(KTU 1.3 iii 21-31 in Smith 1990:46)   (KTU 1.3 iii 21-31 in Wyatt 2002:78)

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He was also called upon to drive away the enemy and offer protection against forces of destruction, and he even has a chthonic aspect. In a cultic context Baʿal was invoked as the god of the city-state of Ugarit under the name *bʿl ugrt*.

'For the sake of Saphon,

for the sake of Ugarit.'

(KTU 1.65 R 10 in Wyatt 2002:364)

In the Bible the character of Baʿal is negatively biased, thus both this and his attributes should be found in other sources from the Syro-Palestinian world. Generally the Iron Age I material yields little information in this regard.

However, the Ras Shamra texts (ca.1350 BCE) are much more extensive with, as previously indicated, over 500 references to Baʿal. Firstly the Ugaritic texts show how he obtained royal rule and kingship (Hermann 1999:134).

'Then B[aʿal] went out [   ]

Valiant Baʿal dried him up,

And [   ]'

'Yam is indeed dead!

Baʿal will rul[e   ]'

(KTU 1.2 iv 31-32 in Wyatt 2002:69)

Notwithstanding the kingship and his role in the cycle of the seasons, he is also required to drive away enemies that attack Ugarit, thus influencing the affairs of mankind. A further hardly reported role was in matters of sex and procreation. The only explicit reference being in the Epic of Aqhat, here Baʿal intercedes with El on behalf of the king Dan-El, requesting that he might grant a son (Aqhat) to Dan-El. This single venture into human fertility is perhaps unique, and is probably not atypical since many other Ugaritic gods could well have played a similar role.

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'You will surely bless him, Bull El my father,

You must surely give a blessing to him, O Creator-

of - creatures,

So that he may beget a son in his house,

A scion in the midst of his palace.'

<div align="right">(KTU 1.17 I 23-26 in Wyatt 2002:254-255)</div>

Baʿal has been characterised as the Syro-Palestinian storm-god, the most prominent deity in the local pantheon. As such he was known as the 'rider of clouds', 'lord of heaven and earth' controlling the earth's fertility.

'And Kothar-and-Hasis spoke:

"Indeed I say to you, O Prince Baʿal

I repeat, O Charioteer of the Clouds, now your foe, Baʿal,

Now your foe you must smite;

Now you must destroy your adversary!"'

<div align="right">(KTU 1.2 v 7-9 in Wyatt 2002:65)</div>

'For dead is Valiant Baʿal,

For perished is the Prince, Lord of the Earth!'

<div align="right">(KTU 1.6 I 42-43 in Wyatt 2002:131)</div>

In addition as the god of thunderstorms he was the most aggressive and vigorous of gods, upon whom all mortals must depend that is to say a war god. Many other epithets were applied to him such as 'Prince,' 'Valiant Warrior,' 'Ruler' and 'Powerful:'

'For alive is Valiant Baʿal,

For the Prince, Lord of the earth, exists!'

<div align="right">(KTU 1.6 iii 20 in Wyatt 2002:137)</div>

'Message of Valiant Baʿal,

word of Valiant warrior.'

<div align="right">(KTU 1.3 iii 10 in Wyatt 2002:77)</div>

<div align="center">59</div>

'Our king is Valiant,

Baʿal is our ruler,

There is none (who is) above him.'

(KTU 1.3 v 32-33 in Wyatt 2002:87)

'Baʿal is dead!

What has become of the Powerful one?

The Son of Dagan!

What has become of Tempest?'

(KTU 1.6 I 6-7 in Wyatt 2002:129)

3.2.4   Baʿal mythology

Continuous excavations at Ugarit since 1929 have unearthed thousands of texts covering all manner of information concerning the daily lives and beliefs of the Ugaritic civilisation. This thrived during the second half of the 2nd millennium BCE and was destroyed around 1200 BCE during the reigns of Niqmaddu II and Ammurapi. At that time in all likelihood the 'Sea Peoples' played a decisive role in the destruction of Ugarit (Yon 2006:21). It is these texts that contain the only primary contemporary sources of the Ugaritic religion found to date (Cornelius & Niehr 2004, Wyatt 2002).

'Without question the most important sources of information on the gods, cult, culture and religion of Syria-Palestine at the present time are the numerous tablets found at Ras Shamra, the ancient port city of Ugarit in northern Syria.'

(Handy 1994:20).

Found among these texts, six clay tablets written in the 'Ugaritic' cuneiform script are referred to as the Baʿal Cycle. These tablets and fragments belonging to the Baʿal Cycle, generally regarded as (KTU 1.1-1.6), were excavated between 1930 and 1933 from what has been called the 'Library of the High Priest,' or scribal school situated between two temples, traditionally thought to belong to Baʿal and Dagan' (Smith 1994:1). It is generally thought that the scribe of these six texts was *ilmlk*, usually read Ilimilku or more likely Ilimalku (Smith 1994:3). On the sixth tablet is mentioned the king *nqmd* meaning Niqmaddu II (ca. 1380-1346 BCE) a

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contemporary of Amenhotep IV according to Smith (1994:1). Yon (2006:24) dates his reign as 1370-1340/35 BCE although the date of the texts is known, it is possible that the actual age of composition of the myths could have been up to two or three centuries earlier, being previously passed on orally. The Baꜥal Epic or Baꜥal Cycle is a myth, but like other such myths of the Ancient Near East it tells how the forces of order (good) battled the forces of chaos (evil). 'The six tablets of the Baꜥal Cycle present a vivid story of conflict and kinship, love and death' (Smith 1994: xxii).
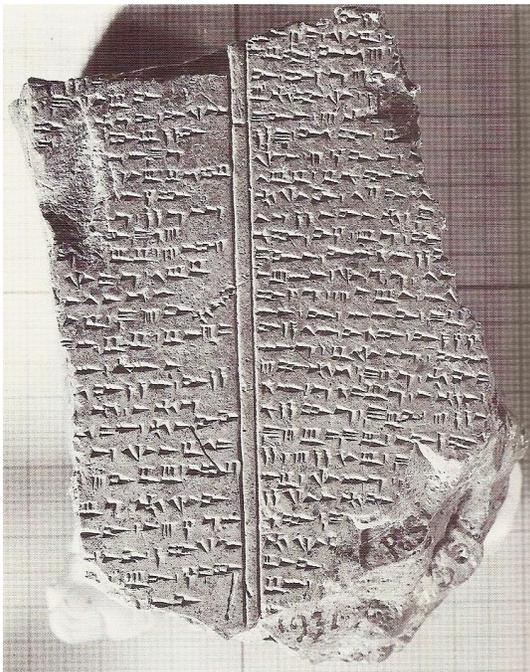
Figure 19 KTU 1.1 II and III

(Smith 1994: Pl. 1)

Smith (1994: xxii) divides the six tablets of the Baꜥal Cycle in the following manner, and further defines the gods in question:

Tablets 1-2 (KTU 1.1 & 1.2) - Present the battle of the storm god Baꜥal with his enemy, Yamm (literally 'sea') also Judge Nahar ('river').

Tablets 3-4 (KTU 1.3 & 1.4) - Recount how Baꜥal's palace, the mark of his kingship, came to be built.

Tablets 5-6 (KTU 1.5 & 1.6) - Describe Baꜥal's struggle against Mot, whose name means 'death.'

These gods, mentioned here, together with the god Athtar in the epic, are warrior gods ruling in different realms of the universe:

Baꜥal	The god of storm.
Athtar	The god of the stars (perhaps a natural irrigator).
Yamm	The god of the sea.
Mot	The god of the underworld ('death')

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Additionally El (Il) the older king and executive of the pantheon and Athirat (biblical Asherah) his wife, and according to Handy (1994:74, 77) the queen mother both also feature.

The story of the Baꜥal Cycle is summarized by Smith (1995:2032) as follows:

El proclaims Yamm as king.

Preparations commence for the building of Yamm's palace, the sign of kingship.

All the deities with the notable exception of Baꜥal accept the situation.

So El gives Baꜥal to Yamm as a prisoner.

Despite being a captive Baꜥal attacks Yamm.

Baꜥal is on the point of defeat, when Kothar wa-Khasis (the craftsman god) makes two self-propelled weapons.

The first weapon swoops down on Yamm but fails to defeat him. However, the second vanquishes Yamm.

Baꜥal is now declared king and this is celebrated with a feast.

Notwithstanding Baꜥal's success, his sister ꜥAnat continues to wage war on earth, defeating her enemies and eating them (cannibalism here is a metaphor for total victory).

Later, Baꜥal asks ꜥAnat to go to El.

Here she uses threats to gain permission to build a palace for Baꜥal, without success.

Baꜥal now bribes Athirat El's wife, with gifts made by Kothar wa-Khasis.

Impressed she goes to El, who is moved by his wife's pleas and permits the building of Baꜥal's palace.

Thus the construction commences on Mount Sapan (Zaphon) Baꜥal's mountain, supervised by Kothar.

On completion many deities attend a banquet to dedicate the palace.

Finally as a blessing Kothar opens a window and Baꜥal's thunder is heard across the world, this signifies the coming of rain and thus the world's well-being.

Almost immediately Baꜥal's kingship is threatened by Mot (death).

Mot and Baꜥal exchange threats, and finally Baꜥal becomes Mot's captive.

Baꜥal is obliged to descend to the underworld with his winds and clouds, the domain of Mot.

On discovering Baꜥal's body ꜥAnat and El mourn.

El and Athirat look for a successor among their progeny.

Baʿal, again aided by his sister, who implores Mot for his release, he refuses.

ʿAnat slays Mot and thereby weakens his power.

Baʿal returns to life and later engages Mot in battle, which is indecisive until Shapsu (Sun), intervenes stating that El favours Baʿal.

Mot ceases to fight, recognising Baʿal's kingship.

The Baʿal Cycle closes with a hymn.

This synopsis of the Baʿal Cycle serves to illustrate the key points raised, a number of eminent scholars (Kapelrud 1952; Smith 1995; Gibson: 1999:193-199, et al.) provide full explanations and it is thus unnecessary here to expand further. However, an appreciation of the significance of the myth is germane to this work.

The narrative of the Baʿal Cycle presents a powerful four-level vision of political reality: cosmic, human, natural, and individual (Smith 1995:2032). This is a complex image of the cosmos, not only a conflict story about power, since no single deity wields ultimate authority. Baʿal finally fends off Yamm and Mot but is never a single dominant figure. The struggle in heaven is shown as a conflict between political enemies, and the political order here is a human one. The cosmic vision is expressed in terms of kingship, which is the central theme of the story. There was possibly a political role for the conflict between Baʿal and Yamm since the dynasty at Ugarit saw Baʿal-Haddu as its special divine patron The Baʿal Cycle perhaps expressed the political values of the dynasty (Smith 1995:2032).

This West Semitic conflict myth is corroborated by a second millennium letter from Mari during the reign of the Amorite King Zimri-Lim (ca. 1776-1761 BCE) that confirms the storm-god's conflict with the cosmic sea. In this missive the storm god is Adad the Akkadian equivalent to Ugaritic Baʿal-Haddu, Here the god IM *bēl ḫuršân ḫazi,* is 'Adad, lord of mount Khazi' which corresponds to *bʿl ṣpn,* 'Baʿal Sapan'. Baʿal is equated to Adad in the list of divinities at Ugarit, as is Yamm to *tântum,* 'Tiamat' meaning 'sea' (Smith 1995:2033).

In the Baʿal Cycle reference to natural phenomena associated with storms, such as lightning, thunder and rain abound, demonstrating Baʿal's power. As previously described the story has three main sections, each of which focus on the autumnal season, this corresponds to the start of rain in the Levant. In his fight with Yamm Baʿal uses lightning as his weapon, the forerunner of autumn rain. The building of Baʿal's palace in the second section allows him to use his voice to thunder through the clouds. Finally Baʿal's death signals the loss (stopping) of the rain. The symbolism follows the progress of a storm rising from the west, lasting for a short time over Ugarit before moving out to 'death' in the Syrian Desert. 'In sum, the Baʿal Cycle replicates, on numerous levels, the basic fabric of reality through the theme of Baʿal's kingship' (Smith 1995:2033).

3.2.5   Baʿal worship

Theories abound as to the provenance and worship of Baʿal. He became associated as the deity of other cities, found in names such as Baʿal-Hazor in Palestine, Baʿal-Hermon and Baʿal of Tyre in the Lebanon (Day 2000:68-69). His widespread influence has been described as follows:

> 'It cannot be said that the cult of Baʿal flourished only in certain periods or in a number of restricted areas; nor was it limited to the Canaanite part of the population.'
>
> (Herrmann 1999:136)

However, Eissfeldt (1939:1-31) has denied that there were a great number of Baʿals. The many local versions are rather to be understood as manifestations of the one Baʿal worshipped among the Syro-Palestinian population. The 'one or the many' Baʿal's would appear to be open to some debate and awaits further clarification. In the pantheon lists from Ugarit Baʿal Zaphon is mentioned after Ilu and Dagan, followed by different Baʿal's (Pardee 2002:1; Wyatt 2002:361-362).

Ugaritic KTU 1.47	Akkadian RS 20.24	English
il ṣpn		The gods of Saphon
il	*ilum*	El
dgn	*dagan*	Dagan
bʿl ṣpn	*adad bel/ ḫuršan ḫazi*	Baʿal of Saphon
bʿlm	*adad II*	Baʿal
bʿlm	*adad III*	Baʿal
bʿlm	*adad IV*	Baʿal
bʿlm	*adad V*	Baʿal
[b]ʿlm	*adad VI*	Baʿal
[b]ʿlm	*adad VII*	Baʿal
[arṣ] w šmm	*idim ù idim*	Earth and heaven
[kṯr]	*ea*	Kothar

Table 3 Abstract from Pantheon list

(Wyatt 2002:361-362.)

By the 18th dynasty Baʿal worship had also spread across Egypt (Pusch & Eggebrecht 2006:249), and the god was formally served at several sites, an important site being located at Baʿal-Saphon near Peluseum in the northern Delta. He was also popular at Memphis and in several other areas, his popularity being attested in Egyptian theophoric names during New Kingdom and later periods. For example the stele of Matybaal erected by Amenhotep II at el-Sebuʿa has four figures on two registers. The top two (seated) figures are identified by the inscriptions and their iconography as Amun on the left and Seth to the right. The lower register has two standing figures; the one on the left is Resheph from the inscription and the Asiatic dress. To his right is shown a female worshipper named in the inscription named as Matj-Baʿal *m3tj-bʿr* clearly a theophoric name for Baʿal (Stadelmann 1967:58-59; Cornelius 1994:66-67 Pl. 24; Tazawa 2009:51-52 Doc. 3).

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3.2.6   Baʿal in Egypt

> 'From the hieroglyphic way of writing Baʿal one can already deduce that the god is a
> form in which Seth manifests himself. The divine name Baʿal is determined with the
> Seth-animal.'
>
> (te Velde 1967:120)

Egypt and Syro-Palestine had a long history of contact and interaction with each other before the New Kingdom, although the links at the time were somewhat weak and tenuous compared to the period from the New Kingdom onwards (Tazawa 2009:1). Some Syro-Palestinian deities have been attested in Egypt before the New Kingdom period for example in a number of personal names (cf. Tazawa 2009:191). However, in a royal context, Egyptian inscriptions identifying specific Syro-Palestinian gods have been identified from the reign of the 18th Dynasty king Thutmose III. This particular Pharaoh, often called 'the Napoleon of Egypt' (Cornelius & Venter 2002:33), carried out some 17 military campaigns in Syro-Palestine and established an empire there, taking huge numbers of Asiatic prisoners of war. The consequent presence of these prisoners together with craftsmen and sailors who entered voluntarily most probably introduced certain Syro-Palestinian deities into Egypt (Tazawa 2009:137). One of these deities was Baʿal who appeared in royal contexts from the 19th Dynasty especially during the martial reigns of Seti I and his son Ramesses II, perhaps due to Baʿal's reputation as a great warrior.

The tendency of scholars has been to focus on the affairs of kings (state religion) which were the series of cults throughout the Delta and Nile valley (and sometimes outside of Egypt) practised in the name of the king by a body of priests. However, more recently some attention has been given to the existence of Syro-Palestinian deities in the lives of the ordinary people. The religion of such people in Egypt has been termed variously as 'popular religion,' 'personal religion' or 'private religion' this is made up of beliefs and practices of the Egyptian people themselves, outside of the state run, secluded official temple-cults (Sadek 1988:2). Schroer states that 'Baʿal-Seth was an important figure of personal piety' (2011:54). It is known that Baʿal-Zaphon was worshipped in the eastern Delta from the New Kingdom (Sadek

1988:289) to what extent this could also be termed 'private religion' is unclear. This popular religion was not merely for the poor, it included all classes of Egyptians outside of the established priesthood (Sadek 1988:2). This personalization became particularly prevalent towards the end of the 18th and into the 19th Dynasties, a period referred to in the classical book of Breasted (1912:344) as 'the Age of Personal Piety.' Assmann (1995:190) focuses on the venues where religious acts are conducted: 'Official religion' (state), 'local religion' (nome or town), 'popular religion' (house and family) and 'personal religion' (individual). In respect of both state and private religion it can clearly be said that Syro-Palestinian deities belonged to both spheres. But notwithstanding this no Syro-Palestinian deity was regarded as a state god (Tazawa 2009:150).

During the 2nd Intermediate Period (15th Dynasty) the somewhat enigmatic, Hyksos ('foreign rulers') founded the town of Avaris (Tell el-Dabʿa) in the eastern delta, this then became the Egyptian capital. Here they installed their cult of Baʿal, whom they 'equated' with the Egyptian god Seth (Zandee 1963:148; Cornelius 1994:134).

'In the Egyptian royal texts of the 18th Dynasty there is no sign of Baʿal-Seth syncretism' (te Velde 1967:120). However, in contrast various other Semitic gods and goddesses do appear in these texts. Apparently Baʿal the principle god of the West Semites was omitted on purpose, and his connection with Seth avoided. This was probably due to the recollection of the Hyksos and their religion. The intimate link between Baʿal and Seth as well as the gods themselves were barely mentioned in this period. Baʿal is first mentioned in a text from the reign of Amenhotep II (ca. 1427-1400 BCE); this concerned a sacrifice to Baʿal in *Prw-nfr* (Helck 1971: 482), oricinally seen as the harbour area of Memphis. From Helck's data it is suggested that there was a temple to Baʿal in Memphis from the early part of the 18th Dynasty (te Velde 1967:122). It should be noted here that the name *Prw-nfr* normally rendered as the harbour Perunefer, the principal New Kingdom naval base may not have been located at Memphis but rather at Tell el-Dabʿa (Avaris) alongside Piramesse the capital of the Ramesside kings as argued by Bietak (2005:13-17). 'It would seem that the foreign god Baʿal, who is regarded as a manifestation of Seth because the latter is the lord of foreign countries, is now enriching the concept of Seth with a new function, [as controller of the sea]' (te Velde 1967:123).

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The 19th Dynasty names of both Seti I and Seti II are derived from Seth. This line of kings is descended from a family of officers living in the north eastern frontier close to Avaris, the ancient capital of the Hyksos tribes. The Ramesside kings founded the new capital of Piramesse in this area.
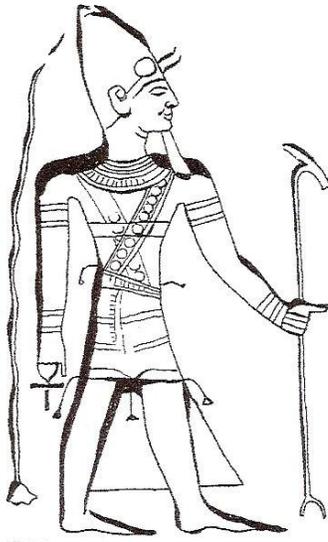
Figure 20 Seth on the 400 year Stele

(te Velde 1967:125 Fig. 15)

During his reign Ramesses II erected the famous '400 year stele.' The inscription shows that this was erected in commemoration of his great-grandfather who had been governor of the border town of Sile. Seth is not shown with the characteristic Seth-head, but as Baʿal with a human head, additionally the features are those of a foreigner as is the dress with ornamental tassels. The headdress is not Egyptian being a conical tiara with horns and a long ribbon hanging down from his crown. He does however carry the ʿnḫ-sign (☥) and the wꜣś-sceptre ( ) as is normal for Egyptian gods (te Velde 1967:124-125).

Assmann disputes te Velde's explanation for the erection of this 400 year stele, who states that the stele was erected by Seti I to celebrate the four hundredth anniversary of the cult of Seth-Baʿal in Avaris. At this time, the first half of the 17th century BCE, Syro-Palestinian settlers arrived in the eastern delta, and within one hundred years dominated all of Egypt forming the 15th Dynasty. The founding of Avaris '… is the event that was commemorated by Seti I of the 19th Dynasty' (Assmann 2008:40). Here we should perhaps consider the logic of such a commemoration, surely the arrival of the hateful Hyksos who took over and dominated Egypt was not a cause for later rulers to celebrate. In fact te Velde is categorical when he states, 'The cult of Seth is not a work of the Hyksos, but goes back to ancient Egyptian traditions' (1967:126).

However, this attitude of the Egyptians towards Seth demonstrates that he was certainly not demonised at the time. It can be seen that Seth assumed Asiatic traits like the ruling dynasty where Semitic names abounded. 'This was a time when Egypt ruled the East and when "Asianism" in manners, customs, and literary style corresponded to political colonisation and imperialism. Making Seth appear more Semitic and equating him with Baʿal reflected attempts to make him appear more positive' (Assmann 2008:40-41).

3.2.7   Summary and conclusions

It is apparent that Baʿal was a ubiquitous god known especially in Syro-Palestine but ranging across the Ancient Near East and further afield. His name has been linked to a number of other gods across the area, such as Haddu (Adad or Hadad). Additionally he was linked to particular locations, such as Baʿal-Hazor, Baʿal of Tyre in the Lebanon, Baʿal of Hermon. Perhaps the similarities assisted Baʿal's acceptance in Egypt, also his somewhat aggressive nature as storm god equated well with that of the Egyptian god Seth. In this study we are particularly interested in his role in relation to Seth, where Ramesses II was said to appear at the Battle of Qadesh 'like Seth the great of strength in his hour, Baʿal in person.' (Taken from a relief at the Ramesseum – Gardiner 1960:41 R42; cf. corpus T6)

There have been long and varied debates among scholars as to the origins of Baʿal, with the name attested back to the mid third millennium BCE. It would seem that he arose to prominence around 1400 BCE displacing El as the most important god in the pantheon. During the Egyptian Middle Kingdom, Baʿal's cult along with that of other Asiatic gods was adopted in Egypt as the Syro-Palestinian peoples across the Mediterranean region. How Baʿal got to Egypt is very complex; traders, soldiers, pharaohs, prisoners of war all play their part. Further discussion on the movement of Baʿal into Egypt may be found in Tazawa (2009). It appears that many population groups within the Syro-Palestinian world knew their own Baʿal, as the source of all the gifts of nature, bringing the fertilizing strength of rain and rivers.

Baʿal held power over the clouds, storm and lightning and brought protection against enemies. Following the discovery of the Ugaritic texts from Ras Shamra much new and original

information has been brought to light, in particular the prominent position Baʿal held in the pantheon of Ugarit and the role he played there. Whilst texts continue to be discovered, a wealth of data has been found. Notwithstanding the extreme difficulty in piecing together the fragmentary evidence, they thereafter producing a cohesive translation of the cuneiform texts.

By the 18th dynasty Baʿal worship had also spread across Egypt, and the god was formally served at several sites. An important site was located at Baʿal Saphon near Peluseum in the northern Delta; Memphis was also a cult centre of Baʿal. Of particular interest the ancient city of Avaris in the eastern delta became a centre of Baʿal worship in the second intermediate period with the advent of the Hyksos rule of the 15th Dynasty, later the Ramesside capital of Piramesse.

3.3   The god Baʿal -Seth

Plentiful evidence suggests that there was a great deal of integration of gods both in Egypt and the Levant especially in the New Kingdom period of Egypt (ca. 1500-1200 BCE). Although the Egyptians seem to have used the Seth determinative for both Seth and Baʿal, in Syro-Palestine Seth was not identified with Baʿal and the god was only known as Baʿal (Cornelius 1994:161).

The corpus to this work provides many of the most definitive examples of the gods under consideration. Here the attributes together with inscriptional material and context are used in an endeavour to identify the god depicted. It is immediately apparent that this identification is neither obvious nor definitive since in many if not most cases the picture does not conform specifically to one god or the other. Herein lies the conundrum with respect to the relationship of the two. Pardee (1999:318) in his review of Cornelius (1994) discusses the correlation between the winged deity Seth and Baʿal. On the one hand Cornelius concludes that a deity identify with an inscription of Seth – but with Canaanite features and attributes then the deity is Seth. On the other hand Pardee prefers to develop the idea of the 'assimilation' of the two gods in Egyptian culture during the Late Bronze Age into the Early Iron Age (IAI).

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Chapter 4. The movement of peoples across the Ancient Near East

4.1 Introduction

Surely when considering the movement and exchange of ancient deities across the countries of the Ancient Near East, a fundamental factor was the movement of the peoples worshipping such deities. Despite the many incursions, invasions and battles throughout the history of the Ancient Near East, it would perhaps be true to say that for individual groups of people such activities formed a relatively small part of their lives. If this is the case then it is also necessary to review other rationales for movement. For the purposes of this study the basic motivation for movement can be classified into the following broad areas:

a)   Warfare – incursion, invasion, intimidation.

b)   Prisoners/slaves – raid, war

c)   Trade and commerce.

d)   Immigration – economic, famine, exile, slavery

e)   Diplomacy – envoys, administrators

It is thus considered apposite to outline these movements, particularly with respect to the 'home' countries of our subject gods Seth and Baʿal. Although this study is directed at the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age Periods, it is pertinent to present an overview of the situation in the Ancient Near East from earlier periods. This enables consideration of the build up and interaction between states which lead up to the period under consideration. Following which more specific consideration will be given to the above five classifications.

Figure 21 Horus with an Egyptian, Asiatic, Nubian and Libyan

(Keel 1977: Fig. 494)

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4.2   Early Bronze Age to Middle Bronze Age IIA (ca. 3500 – 1750 BCE)

'Research within the last two decades has shown that, from prehistoric times, Egypt was not an isolated oasis on the river Nile but had close connections with the Near East.'

(Bietak 2010:417)

This comment from Bietak sets the scene for the exploration of the movement and presence of foreign peoples in countries across the region and can be largely interpolated to most cities and states of the Ancient Near East. There was certainly some movement of such people in the prehistoric period. Typically Egyptian flint implements were brought to Palestine (Giveon 1978:9) however; this is poorly evidenced at present. Whilst early civilisations in the Tigris-Euphrates valley had a gradual and continuous evolution over millennia, Egypt seems to have made a quantum leap from the Stone Age into the Pyramid Age. This phenomenon has often been debated and argued about but the dearth of evidence precludes a satisfactory answer Suffice it to say that around 3300-3200 BCE a catalyst or some combination of factors thrust Egypt into history (Redford 1992:3). Syro-Palestine was, already at a very early period, a conduit for movement between the Nile valley and Mesopotamia, as such provided a major trade route. Additionally, in times of unrest between regions, Syro-Palestine provided essential passage for armies and their supplies (Giveon 1978:10).

In the early dynastic period Egyptian art produced motifs with foreign figures demonstrably 'vanquished' a foretaste of the might of Egypt shown later by the pharaohs through images and inscriptions. Some representations clearly show the foreignness by the dress, adornments and accoutrements of these figures. Thus in the Old Kingdom the Asiatic man of the 3rd millennium BCE is shown bearded, with long braided hair confined by a fillet and falling behind the ears, dressed in a kilt reaching from waist to knee. Texts cite Asiatic and other interpreters in Egypt, while relief fragments from Sahure's pyramid complex at Abusir illustrate the maritime transport from the Near East to Egypt. There are both males and females depicted on the ships, perhaps merchants, immigrants or captives (Mumford 2001b:337).

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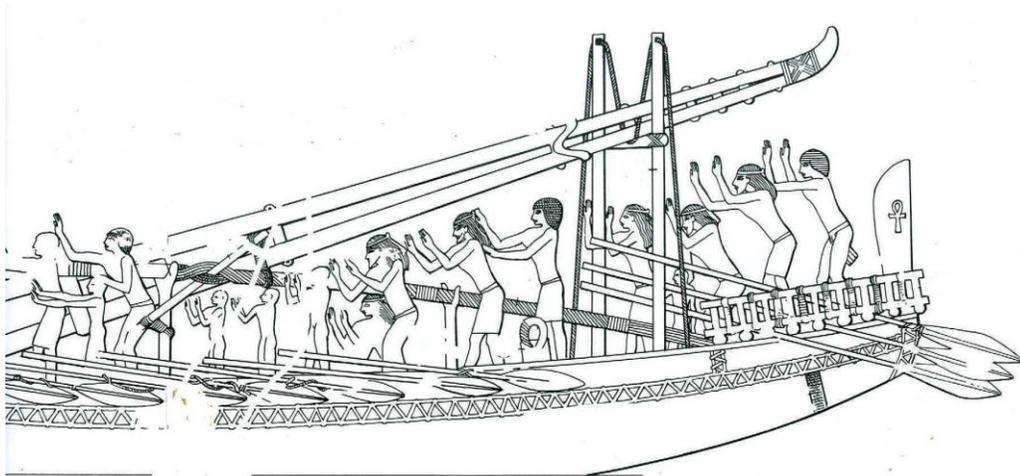
Figure 22 Asiatics arriving in Egypt - from the tomb of Kenamun

(Landström 1970:63-65)

Such evidence corroborates the ongoing contact of the Egyptians with foreigners from this time. The Egyptian image of the Asiatics may conjure up a picture of Syro-Palestine as undeveloped and unimportant. However, in the early Bronze Age (Dynasties 1-6) Palestine's population has been estimated at some 150 000 with 900 settlements identified. Many of the settlements were small perhaps no greater than 16 hectares, compared to the 400 hectares of Uruk in Mesopotamia or Memphis in Egypt with a vast area of five square kilometres. Nevertheless the region enjoyed considerable prosperity (Redford 1992:29-30).

Fragments of annals and motifs from Syro-Palestine found in Egypt from the 1st and 2nd Dynasty as well as Egyptian pottery found throughout the Negev and Palestine provide further evidence of involvement between Egypt and Syro-Palestine at this early period (Bietak 2010:417). In his article concerning early seafaring and maritime activity in the southern Levant, Marcus (2002:413-417) posits that the long distance interaction between cultures of the eastern Mediterranean littoral and the Ancient Near East was an important facet in the rise of complex societies. Further that by the third millennium Egyptian trade with the northern Levant especially Byblos included bulk raw materials, organic products and finished goods. Thus it is now necessary to speculate on the rationale for such contact, surely human nature indicates that the required arduous journey would need major incentives. Here one must suggest a serious caveat, the presence of foreign artefacts does not necessarily indicate major

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movement of people, and there are many reasons why such things could be widely dispersed. It is known that a major attraction for Egypt was the Turquoise and copper deposits of western Sinai, where records show that Egypt expended enormous energy on mining and transporting these precious commodities (Mumford 2001a:288).

Figure 23a Wadi Maghara relief – fighting foreigners
(Raffaele2012: http://xoomer.virgilio.it/francescoraf/hesyra/maghara.jpg)
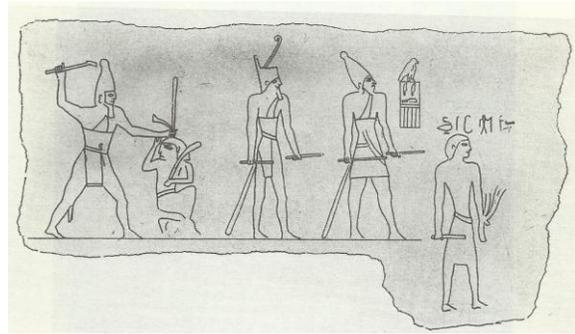
Figure 23b Wadi Maghara relief – line drawing
(Giveon 1978: Pl. 18b)

Rock-cut reliefs and inscriptions found at Wadi Maghara ('the terraces of turquoise') in south western Sinai, illustrate the Egyptians fighting off the foreigners to acquire such a treasure. Evidence further north is scarcer and largely archaeological but does nevertheless give a clear indication of an Egyptian presence in the area. During the 3rd millennium Byblos (modern day Gebal) also features largely in terms of Egypt's contact with Syro-Palestine, certainly to a large extent due to the Egyptians respect for Byblian ship building. This explains why one of the oldest Egyptian words for an ocean going boat was a *kepeny* −'Byblos ship' (Bietak 2010:419). It would seem that the reason for the close relationship was not as a result of armed conflict but rather due to self interest and mutual respect. Such was this feeling that the Egyptians named their goddess Hathor as 'mistress of Byblos' (Mumford 2001b:337).

Egypt entered the Old Kingdom with the birth of the Pyramid Age, apart from the technical development of such edifices it is apparent that with this came intense organisation of manpower which implies a growing bureaucracy and state centralisation. The massive requirement of skills and labour necessitated enormous manpower, thus an increasing number of foreigners streamed into Egypt from the end of the 3rd Dynasty, largely as cheap labour.

Images of the 9 Bows

Figure 24 Sphinx of Thutmose III

(Louvre E 10892)
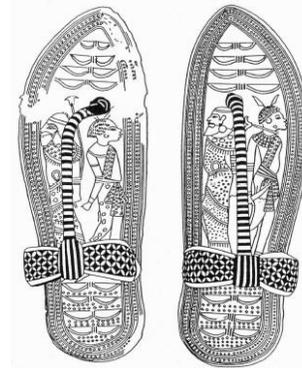
Figure 25 Trampling the Enemies - on sandals

(Schroer & Staubli 1998:208 Abb. 91)

These alien peoples were collectively given the sobriquet 'Nine Bows' (*pḏt-pḏwt*) the totality of foreign lands, all of Egypt's enemies, where 'bows' refers to enemies and nine the tripling of three refers to the 'plurality of pluralities' (Graham 2001:165). Generally written with nine vertical lines, the bow was regarded in Egypt as a quintessential foreign weapon was a symbol of power, but when broken was a symbol of defeat (O'Connor 2003:155-156). This trampling of the enemies was further illustrated by the Nine Bows shown on the pharaoh's footstool. It seems that this symbolism was not unique to Egypt, as the following biblical passage illustrates:

> 'The Lord says to my Lord:
>
> Sit at my right hand
>
> Until I make your enemies
>
> A footstool for your feet.'
>
> (NIV: Ps. 110:1)

Such people entered Egypt through various channels. However, captives from foreign expeditions provided a large proportion. Additionally it is likely that often little persuasion was required and perhaps this would account for voluntary immigration, since Egypt throughout its history attracted foreigners due to its abundance of foodstuffs.

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The first example of the seated bearded figure 𓀭 as a divine classifier comes from the beginning of the 5th Dynasty, in Sahure's inscriptions at Beni Hasan. Here it was used as a general classifier for foreign peoples, to which several attributes, such as hair bands or feathers could be added. This can also be seen on the Palermo stone (Fig. 26) (Shalomi-Hen 2006:94).

Figure 26 Palermo stone – partial

(http://eshaart.com/Ossama-Alsaadawi/Alsaadawi%20-%20Ima/013%20Text-Pictures/palermo.jpg)

Bietak (2010:419) suggests that the oldest determinative for Osiris, depicts an Asiatic and therefore aspects of this deity may have originated from an Asiatic vegetation god. 'In spite of a relative paucity of material, it can be said beyond a shadow of a doubt that Egypt during the Old Kingdom engaged in expeditionary activities in the lands of her northern neighbours with a view to extracting goods and manpower' (Redford 1986:133). Further the presence of the god Sopdu 'Lord of Foreign lands' is attested in the 5th Dynasty (ca. 2480 BCE) on the well known relief in the tomb of king Sahure at Beni Hasan described in section 3.1.10 and on Fig. 16.

When in the 6th Dynasty, Pepi II became Pharaoh all was well in the Old Kingdom and the Egyptians travelled freely to mines and quarries, whilst caravan trains from the south brought exotic products from Africa. Pepi's pyramid and temple grew a pace as did private mastabas in Giza and Saqqara. In provincial areas rock cut tombs displayed all the elaborate artwork and

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reliefs as had been the norm, thus Egypt progressed rapidly as it had become accustomed to under his predecessors. All of these signs demonstrated the stability and security to which the Old Kingdom was accustomed.

But by the end of Pepi's reign the situation was very different as Egypt moved into political anarchy foretelling the start of the First Intermediate Period (Dynasties 7-10). Now travelling to mines and quarries had ceased, caravan trains were being attacked and the country's administration was faltering. This unstable time lasted for some two hundred years during which a number of ephemeral kings endeavoured to rule Egypt. This woeful state of affairs is best encapsulated in important literary sources described in the following section.

4.2.1   Middle Bronze Age II - Egyptian literature (ca. 2000 – 1750 BCE)

Egypt lost cohesion and for periods saw rule divided between Memphis and Thebes. The Egyptian view of the eastern frontier and the Delta is reflected in three significant sources; the *Admonitions of Ipuwer* – Papyrus Leiden 344 (the dating of which has been and continues to be contentious), the *Instruction for Merikare* – Papyrus Leningrad 1116A and the *Prophecy of Neferti* – Papyrus Leningrad 1116B. These sources reflect and expound on the weakness of the Egyptian government and show disdain and even hatred for the foreigners at large a trait that is continued through into the New Kingdom. Thus in the Amarna period the *Great Hymn to the Aten* (sun disc) clearly differentiates between Egyptians and foreigners (Haring 2005:165):

'Their tongues differ in speech,
Their characters likewise;
Their skins are distinct,
For you distinguished the people.'
(Lichtheim 2006:98)

 The texts further attest to the likely infiltration of Asiatic populations into Egypt and the colonisation of the eastern delta (Bietak 2010:420). Additionally the *Story of Sinuhe* and the *Execration Texts* shed more light on the relationship between Egypt and her neighbours.

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The *Admonitions of Ipuwer* falls into the category of lament literature, and comprises a long poetic monologue by the sage Ipuwer. Following Gardiner's translation (1969) he proposed that this was from the 12th Dynasty as a lament to the troubles of the First Intermediate Period, which was the general consensus of scholarship. Spiegel (1950:7-59) makes the case for dating at the very beginning of the First Intermediate Period or the end of the Old Kingdom for the original writing of the lament, although van Seters (1966:103-108) attempts to show that this work should be dated to the Hyksos period.

The Admonitions apparently describe the troubled times of the First Intermediate Period. It is true that the only extant copy (Papyrus Leiden 344) is from the 19th Dynasty, being damaged and with many lacunae, but this is likely to be a reproduction from an earlier manuscript. Finally, Lichtheim, after discussing the provenance of this work, concludes with the following statement:

> 'In sum, the *Admonitions of Ipuwer* has not only no bearing whatever on the long past First Intermediate Period, it also does not derive from any other historical situation. It is the last, fullest, most exaggerated and hence least successful, composition on the theme "order versus chaos".'
>
> <div align="right">(Lichtheim 1973:150)</div>

The following examples from Lichtheim (1973:150-153) serve to illustrate the nature of the Admonitions

> 'Foreigners have become people everywhere.' (150)

> 'Lo, the face is pale, the bowmen ready,
> Crime is everywhere; there is no man of yesterday.' (151)

> 'Lo, the desert claims the land,
> The nomes are destroyed,
> Foreign bowmen have come into Egypt.' (152)

'None indeed sail north to Byblos today, what shall we do for

Pine trees for our mummies? Free men are buried with their produce,

Nobles are embalmed with their oil as far as Crete.' (152)

'Lo, the whole Delta cannot be seen,…

Foreigners are skilled in the works of the Delta.' (153)

Clearly Ipuwer bemoans the state of Egypt and the presence of Asiatics and Foreigners at large. It must be mentioned, however, that not all the problems stem from foreigners (van Seters 1966:120) as a passage halfway through indicates:

'See now the land is deprived of kingship

By a few people who ignore custom.

See now, men rebel against the serpent,

…. See, the secrets of the land, its limits are unknown,

If the residence is stripped, it will collapse in a moment.'

(Lichtheim 1973:156)

The *Instruction addressed to king Merikare* takes the form of instructions by an old king given to his son and successor Merikare. The author is generally seen as the ninth or tenth Dynasty king Akhtoi *(Khety)* (Lichtheim 1973:97). This work is classified as wisdom literature and due to the royal status of both father and son it is not only seen as a homily on how to get on in the world, but also encompasses statecraft. This latter feature is particularly relevant given the situation with the Asiatics at the time. The instruction has been considered the ultimate description of the transhumant pastoralist of Western Asia (Redford 1992:68).

The following examples from Lichtheim (1973:103-104) serve to illustrate the nature of the instruction:

'The East abounds in bowmen….

The land they have ravaged has been made into nomes,

All kinds of large towns [are in it].'…. (103)

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'But this should be said to the bowmen:

Lo, the miserable Asiatic,

He is wretched because of the place he's in:

Short of water, bare of wood,

Its paths are many and painful because of mountains.

He does not dwell in one place,

Food propels his legs,

He fights since the time of Horus,

Not conquering nor being conquered,

He does not announce the day of combat,

Like a thief who darts about a group.' (103-104).

'But as I live and shall be what I am,

When the bowmen were a sealed wall,

I breached [their strongholds],

I made Lower Egypt attack them,

I captured their inhabitants,

I seized their cattle,

Until the Asiatics abhorred Egypt.

Do not concern yourself with him,

The Asiatic is a crocodile on its shore,

It snatches from a lonely road,

It cannot seize from a populous town.' (104).

Van Seters (1966:116) sums up the situation expounded in both Merikare and Sinuhe most succinctly: 'Yet it is clear that the writers of *Merikare* and the *Story of Sinuhe* considered the Asiatics, ʿ*Aamu*, entirely distinct from the civilised Egyptians in appearance and behaviour.'

The *Story of Sinuhe* has been seen as the most accomplished piece of Middle Kingdom prose literature. Sinuhe, a middle ranking Egyptian official in the service of the queen, fled Egypt at the time of the assassination of Amenemhat I. Believing himself to be proscribed in the civil war, he felt was bound to ensue, Sinuhe effectively went into exile. Entering the Levant via Byblos, Sinuhe found a new home with the son of the ruler of Retenu - Nenshi. Making a new

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life for himself he married, had children and became a mighty leader. As time progressed Sinuhe became homesick for Egypt, letters were sent to the current pharaoh (Senwosret I) who willingly invited Sinuhe to come home to Egypt, where he was welcomed with open arms. The veracity of this story has been questioned, but it certainly provides propaganda for Egypt as well as demonstrating the presence of Egyptians in Asia. There are two clear reasons that Egyptians were found in Asia at this time. The first is due to exile as in the case of Sinuhe, thus it is apparent that Syro-Palestine was not under Egyptian control at the time. The second, perhaps more telling reason, was diplomacy, royal envoys or diplomatic missions being sent abroad (van Seters 1966:75-76). Naturally this diplomacy was not altruistic since Egypt's primary interest was in raw materials and trade through Syrian ports, importing luxury goods from the Aegean and the East. Notwithstanding the life of Sinuhe as an exiled Egyptian, the essence here is the difference and opposition between Egyptians and Asiatics:

> 'I am indeed like a stray bull in a strange land ….
> No Asiatic makes friends with a Delta man.
> And what would make papyrus cleave to the mountain?'
>
> (Lichtheim 1973:227).

The *Prophecies of Neferti* predict a coming time of trouble for Egypt. Written by Neferti who was a wise man 'native of the nome of On' (Heliopolitan) (Lichtheim 1973:140). The sage Neferti was summoned to the court of the 4th Dynasty king Snefru to entertain the king with his insight and to predict the future (Lichtheim 1973:140-142):

> 'As he deplored what had happened in the land, evoked the state of the East, with
> Asiatics roaming in their strength, frightening those about to harvest and seizing
> cattle from the plough….' (140)

> 'All happiness has vanished,
> The land is bowed down in distress,
> Owing to those feeders,
> Asiatics who roam the land.
> Foes have risen in the East,
> Asiatics have come down to Egypt.' (141).

'Desert flocks will drink at the river of Egypt,

Take their ease on the shores for lack of one to fear.' (141).

'I show you the land in turmoil,

What should not be has come to pass.' (142).

Neferti thus goes to great length to predict the calamitous state of the country due to the presence of these 'Asiatics.' However, at the end of his prophecy he talks about 'a king of the South, Ameny, the justified, by name.' (Lichtheim 1973:143-144), who will come and restore the land:

'Asiatics will fall to the sword,

Libyans will fall to his flame,

Rebels to his wrath, traitors to his might…' (143).

'Than order will return to its seat,

While chaos is driven away.' (143-144).

Lichtheim states that salvation is ensured by king 'Ameny,' (apparently the short form of Amenemhat) from the 12th Dynasty. This therefore indicates that the provenance of the work is also 12th Dynasty and rather than a prophecy it is 'a historical romance in pseudo-prophetic form' (Lichtheim 1973:139).

Perhaps some of the most important sources concerning Egypt's relationship with Asia in the late Middle Kingdom are the *Execration Texts* also known as Proscription Texts from ca.1850-1750 BCE. These are magical texts (Ritner 2008:136-142) intended to neutralise, by curses, any acts of rebellion or warfare that might be carried out by anyone on earth. Representative figurines in terra-cotta, stone, clay or wood inscribed with names, alternatively inscriptions on bowls or tablets of stone or clay were prepared.

Figure 27 Execration figurine

The inscriptions listed enemies most often of the Pharaoh, and of the state or aggressive foreign neighbours. The objects were now ceremonially broken doubtless with the required curse or incantation. The purpose being to annihilate things or persons threatening the Pharaoh and Egypt. The two major groups of texts that have been published are known as the 'Berlin group' by Sethe in 1926 largely featuring inscribed bowls, and the 'Brussels group' by Posener in 1940 of inscribed figurines. More recently a third group were published from the Nubian fort of Mirgissa featuring figurines and pottery by Koenig (1990).

A typical text found on execration sherds and figurines is found on the papyrus Bremner-Rhind:

'You will depict every enemy of Ra and every
Enemy of Pharaoh, dead or alive, and every
Proscribed deed he might dream of, the names of
Their father, their mother, and their children –
Every one of them – being written with fresh ink
On a sheet of unused papyrus – and their (own)
Names being written on their chest, they
Themselves having been made of wax and bound
With bonds of black thread; they will be spat on,
They will be trodden with the left foot, they will be
Struck with a knife and a lance, and they will be
thrown into the fire in a blacksmith's furnace.'

(Dunand and Zivie-Coche 2005:165)

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Following much debate around the information provided by these artefacts, particularly with respect to the personal and place names, they show at the very least the Egyptian's familiarity with the peoples and places in Western Asia. Additionally some inferences can be drawn as to the development of commerce along the transit corridors.

4.3 Middle Bronze Age IIB (ca. 1750 – 1650 BCE)

When Amenemhat I founded the 12th Dynasty of Egypt he took over from the final king of the 11th Dynasty, Mentuhotep IV, ushering in the new dynasty as well as the 2nd millennium. Amenemhat ruled for 30 years, the last 10 of which were with his son Senwosret I as coregent. Evidence for interaction in Asia for this period is very scarce; traditionally it has been believed that the 12th Dynasty largely ceased interaction with western Asia. However, more recent and ongoing evidence suggest an ongoing dislike even hatred of the Asiatics. For example, Montemhet, the general to Senwosret I, is 'he whom the king recommends before his nobles to put down the enemies of Asia, the rebels of the northern lands' (Dunham 1960:59, Pl. 90, Fig. 4.2).

As the 12th Dynasty progressed it became obvious that these despised Asiatics were to undergo punishment and exploitation by Egypt. An important inscription from Saqqara published by Farag (1980:75-82) showing what the Egyptians sought in Asia and how they intended to achieve this aim. Recorded here are details of vast quantities of commodities they captured as well as large numbers of prisoners of war together with instructions to 'hack up' *Iwꜣs* (Alse) in Asia (Redford 1992:79). The number of prisoners is recorded as 1554 Asiatics; once again Egypt appears as a powerful nation. Notwithstanding this, Egypt still maintained a fortified eastern frontier against these Asians. It would seem that whilst Egyptians were prepared to pillage the countries north of Sinai, there is no evidence of any intention to gain permanent control. Many private inscriptions support this assertion, as in the inscription from Sinai in the Egyptian Museum entitled 'a treasurer.'

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'treasurers and god's chancellors …. (Pl. 51 No. 140)

commanding multitudes in an alien land … attaining the limits of foreign lands on

foot, treading difficult valleys … (Pl. 18 No. 54)

in order to fetch precious gems for His majesty.' (Pl. 85 No. 405)

(Peet & Černý 1952-1958. Cairo: CG 20278)

Not all forays were militaristic, at times the Egyptians acted prudently and cultivated friends; in the following statement we perhaps can see a hint of the transference of Egyptian ideology to foreign parts:

'… he who accompanies the sovereign's monuments to far-off lands.'

(Peet & Černý 1952-1958. Cairo: CG 20086)

The great empire of Ur in southern Babylonia collapsed ca. 2050-1950 BCE. This had major influence across Western Asia, now we see a group of warlike states flexing their muscles. These peoples spoke a western Semitic language usually termed 'Amorite' and by the middle of the 19th century BCE were starting to predominate in Syria. That they were warlike people is amply demonstrated by their need to provide fortifications for their towns, as can be shown from numerous archaeological sources. The art of warfare and siege had by now developed new tactics and it has been suggested that the introduction of horse and chariot from the north had expedited an increase in fortifications. This, however, seems most unlikely, and an alternative suggestion is the advent of the siege engine developed in Mesopotamia and perfected by the Hurrians, additional evidence indicates the use of battering rams and siege towers (Yadin 1955:30-32). Circumstances had thus caused Syro-Palestine to take a more warlike and defensive position against the Amorite incursion and thus also against Egypt. An exception to this was Byblos, who prior to this situation had been on friendly terms with Egypt, and now for a while fell into Amorite hands. However, by the 12th Dynasty reign of Amenemhat III Byblos was once again 'Egyptianized,' this is evidenced in their nine rock-cut tombs clearly showing the Egyptian influence by the Egyptian gods and hieroglyphic epithets. Significantly in one of the later tombs was written the words 'foreign rulers' ($ḥḳ3$-$ḫ3swt$) (Redford 1992:95-97).

4.4   The Hyksos – Middle Bronze Age IIC (ca. 1650 – 1550 BCE)

The preceding two sections (4.2-4.3) presented a survey of the major interactions and movements of peoples in the Ancient Near East from prehistoric times upto the first quarter of the second millennium (Egyptian Middle Kingdom period). What followed was the hiatus of the Second Intermediate Period, this was a time of the rise and fall of warring Amorite states throughout the Levant: Khana in the middle Euphrates, Yamkhad in Syria around Aleppo, Qatanum in the middle Orontes area and Hazor in Galilee (Mumford 2001b:339). Towards the end of the Second Intermediate Period a strange and mysterious group the 'Hyksos' suddenly appeared in the Egyptian's world and according to the Turin Canon ruled for a mere 108 years (Bietak 2001:136) and just as suddenly disappeared.

With the discovery of the Hittite capital at Boghazköy (Hattusa) in Turkey, this led some scholars to assume that these were the Hyksos (Duncan 1931:69-72). However, the Egyptians were very familiar with the Hittites and had transcribed their name as *H̱t₃,* also there was no evidence that in the 17th century these people forayed outside of there home territory bounded by the Halys river. In addition Albright (1957:30-31) discovered one *Za-a-lu-ti* a chief of the *'Ummān Manda'* a term sometimes used for semi nomadic peoples of northern Mesopotamia, whom he compared to the first Hyksos king Salitis. Helck (1971:102ff) argues strongly for a Hurrian identification, but considerations of the onomastic evidence shows no sign of Hurrian names (van Seters 1966:183). Both archaeological and linguistic evidence from excavations at the known Hyksos sites as well as contemporary Egyptian texts reveal a number of personal names, clearly of western Semitic origin, but no evidence of the Hurrians has been found. Redford (1992:100) suggests that 'Hyksos' was merely a means of expressing 'rulers of foreign lands' and is thus referring to a regime and not a specific people.

In the Hyksos period there would appear to be a considerable favouring of the mountain deity 'Baʿal-Zaphon' and this would suggest their origins are areas of the Levant. Excavations at Tell el-Dabʿa and the eastern Delta have unearthed local Tell el-Yahudiyya ware and other cultural features also suggesting that the inhabitants came from the northern Levant (Bietak 2010:422). Although, contrary to many opinions, Tell el-Yahudiyya ware was widely

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dispersed across the Ancient Near East at this time, from Kerma in the south to Syria in the north, and not specific to the Hyksos (Säve-Söderbergh 1951:57). We are hereby reminded that Egypt was in close cooperation with Byblos at this time.

This particular pottery was in fact widespread even into Nubia and the Sudan, perhaps indicating the vast range of commercial and political influence of the Hyksos, who seem to have had especially close relations with Egypt's southern neighbours. Säve-Söderbergh (1951:57) is not convinced that there is a specific connection between Tell el-Yahudiyya ware and the Hyksos, and considers that this type of pottery was common before and after the Hyksos period.

Figure 28 Tell el-Yahudiyya juglet

(British Museum ME 1980-12-14:10881)

The presence of Tell el-Yahudiyya ware and other goods across Syro-Palestine and Egypt testifies to intense trade all over this enormous area (Säve-Söderbergh 1951:54) and this trade was bound to modify the character of the local population. Redford (1992:101) thus posits that given the western Semitic language as well as the developing archaeological discoveries, it must be concluded that the origins of the Hyksos were from a broad area ranging from the Lebanon Mountains to the Judean Highlands.

4.4.1   Hyksos: settlement or invasion.

Turning to the vexed question of how the Hyksos came to extend their control over Egypt, we have one of the earliest proposals from the Egyptian historian Manetho who insisted that this was nothing short of an invasion, thus colouring the view and garnering the support of many scholars over the years. According to Manetho and following the Jewish historian Flavius Josephus the Hyksos 'invasion' took place during the reign of the ephemeral king Tutimaeus:

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'Tutimaeus. In his reign, for what cause I know not, a blast of God smote us; and unexpectedly, from regions of the East, invaders of obscure race marched in confidence of victory against our land. By main force they easily overpowered the rulers of the land, they then burned our cities ruthlessly, razed to the ground the temples of the gods, and treated all the natives with a cruel hostility, massacring some and leading into slavery the wives and children of others. Finally, they appointed as king one of their number whose name was Salitis. He had his seat at Memphis, levying tribute from Upper and Lower Egypt, and always leaving garrisons behind in the most advantageous positions. Above all, he fortified the district to the east, foreseeing that the Assyrians, as they grew stronger, would one day covet and attack his kingdom.'

'In the Saite [Sethroite] nome he found a city very favourably situated on the east of the Bubastite branch of the Nile, and called Avaris after an ancient religious tradition. This place he rebuilt and fortified with massive walls, planting there a garrison of as many as 240 000 heavy-armed men to guard his frontier. Here he would come in summertime, partly to serve out rations and pay his troops, partly to train them carefully in manoeuvres and so strike terror into foreign tribes. …. Their race as a whole was called Hyksos that is "king shepherds".'

<div style="text-align: right;">(Manetho, Aegyptiaca, frag. 42 1.75-79.2. In: Waddell 1964:79ff)</div>

With respect to the translation of the word Hyksos as 'shepherd kings' (also by the Jewish historian Flavius Josephus – above source for Manetho): This should not be confused with the Egyptian *ḥḳꜣw-ḫꜣswt* 'rulers of foreign countries' even though Hyksos is written with the shepherd's crook ( ).

The question of an invasion by the Hyksos as presented by Manetho has been seriously questioned, although supported by many scholars (Mumford 2001b:339). Manetho's sources from the 4th century BCE were very probably coloured by the later successive invasions of Egypt by Assyrians (7th century BCE), Babylonians (6th century BCE) and the Persians (6th and 4th centuries BCE). Thus the idea of an invasion, from this mysterious group of people was seen as systemic and a precursor of the massive invasions which followed (Redford

<div style="text-align: center;">89</div>

1992:101). Although there are a great number of tombs from the Hyksos period in Egypt there is nowhere a clear indication of an invasion of a foreign people from the north (Säve–Söderbergh 1951:56-57).

This major influx from the Levant should rather, perhaps, be seen as a general and gradual infiltration across the country, into Egypt's temple economy and the royal and private households particularly near the royal residences (*Itjtawy*, el-Lisht) or at Illahun (Bietak 2001:138). To this we must add the considerable evidence for the presence of peoples from Syro-Palestine in Egypt during the 12th and 13th Dynasties. This is exemplified by a Brooklyn Museum Papyrus (35.1446), which describes one Senebtisi a 13th Dynasty Theban Noblewoman's endeavour to gain legal ownership of 95 household servants. The names of 45 of these servants clearly show their Asiatic origins indicating a sizable Asiatic population in Egypt, albeit of largely servile status (Hayes 1955: 87). (For further details of immigration of slaves/servants cf. section 4.7.2.)

In regard to the overall weakening of central control in Egypt during the 12th and 13th Dynasties it is probable that the defences to the east were somewhat neglected. Thereby allowing groups of transhumants easy access in order to settle which would have increased their numbers significantly. With the proximity to Syro-Palestine the eastern Delta would have seen the greatest number. In many cases these Asiatics may have been brought back as prisoners of war or else simply entered the country as economic migrants (Gordon 2001:544). This would perhaps have allowed the Asiatic population to increase beyond that of the native Egyptian and one could thus envisage a peaceful transition of power.

During the 12th and 13th Dynasties the large settlement of Tell el-Dabᶜa (Avaris) in the north eastern Delta was thus inhabited by soldiers, shipbuilders, craftsmen and traders from Syro-Palestine, under the control of 'Overseers of Foreign Countries.' This became the centre for controlling mining expeditions to Sinai and trade with the Levant, Cyprus and even the Aegean. These controllers, the 'Overseers of Retenu' were peoples speaking West Semitic languages, who were in a powerful position for making of policy (Bietak 2001:138).

The 13th Dynasty consisted of a succession of usurpers with very short reigns. According to Bietak (2001:138) one such ruler was Nehesy 'the Nubian' who resided in Avaris and possibly created an Egyptian interpretation of the Syrian storm god Hadad (or Baʿal-Zaphon). This he equated with the Egyptian storm god Seth who became 'Seth, lord of Avaris' or Seth, lord of *Rʒ-ʒḫt* ('door of the fertile land'). Nehesy derived his power from the large population of Near Easterners who had settled in the area prior to his reign. A number of the kings' names of the 14th Dynasty are non Egyptian several being West Semitic. Only one kingdom was documented, centred on Avaris, although there may well have been several small kingdoms in the north-eastern Delta. In all probability this one kingdom became the nucleus for the kingdom of the Hyksos, corroborated by the terminology for the 14th Dynasty kings the 'rulers of the foreign countries' (Bietak 2001:138).

Thus it can be seen that the period from the Middle Kingdom to the 15th Dynasty was a complex and unclear time. Perhaps it began when the numerous small kingdoms of the north eastern Delta coalesced into a more cohesive unit. Alternatively the first Hyksos king Salitis took over Memphis the traditional capital, as well as the Middle Kingdom royal residence of *Itjtawy* (Lisht) to enable him to become Pharaoh. In any event the result was that the late 13th Dynasty rulers either withdrew to Upper Egypt or abdicated to a new local dynasty, this being parallel to the dissolution of the 14th Dynasty in the Delta (Bietak 2001:138).

Whatever happened during the troubled 13th and 14th Dynasties, perhaps the most telling argument for the Hyksos behaviour, albeit somewhat coloured by the Egyptian penchant for hyperbole, came from statements in the early New Kingdom. Kamose the last king of the 17th Dynasty, who assisted in the wars of liberation of Egypt, stated 'Egypt which the Asiatics have destroyed' (Helck 1975:84). Also, within half a century Hatshepsut remarked on the 'nomad groups' from the Hyksos who 'destroyed what had been made' (Gardiner 1946:43-56). Weinstein in his investigation of Egypt's relations with Palestine in the Middle Kingdom corroborates the concept of the Hyksos pillaging Egyptian monuments:

'However large numbers of … Middle Kingdom objects found in later contexts… suggesting that they were brought into Palestine in the Hyksos period…. An explanation for the occurrence of these Middle Kingdom objects in Middle Bronze Age II B-C Palestine is that they were part of the loot from the plundering of Middle Kingdom cemeteries in Egypt.'

(Weinstein 1975:9-10)

It has been argued that this was not the expected practice of a race acculturated to Egypt by long settlement within the Egyptian borders. Nevertheless throughout their 108 years in power in Egypt the Hyksos were seen as Asiatics and their kings as 'foreign rulers' or 'princes of Retenu.'

A further aspect which should be considered is that the Egyptians had become used to infiltration of foreign peoples. Largely transhumant pastoralists these were few in number and posed no threat to towns or Egypt at large. So why then was there a large Levantine population in major sites such as Tell el-Dabᶜa? Surely this cannot be explained by a gradual and sporadic infiltration, but rather a mass immigration of large urban communities. Whilst there are many schools of thought around the overpowering presence of the Hyksos in Egypt, suffice it to say that for the purpose of this study the 15th Dynasty Hyksos rule is commonly seen as a significant factor in the relationship of the two gods Seth and Baᶜal.

'Although Canaanite deities such as Baᶜal, ᶜAnat, Astarte-Qudshu, Horon, and Resheph dominate the Hyksos pantheon, some of these Canaanite deities appear in their equivalent Egyptian forms: Seth represents Baᶜal, and Hathor, "Mistress of the Two Trees," represents ᶜAnat.'

(Mumford 2001b:339)

That there was extensive maritime contact between the Hyksos and Syro-Palestine is confirmed later by the second stele of Kamose, where he confirms that, in the harbour of Avaris he destroyed or confiscated vast quantities of goods and the ships in which they were carried:

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'I haven't left a plank to the hundreds of ships of fresh cedar which were filled with gold, lapis, silver, turquoise, bronze axes without number, over and above the moringa-oil, incense, fat, honey, willow, box-wood, sticks and all their fine woods – all products of Retenu.'

(Second stele of Kamose: trans. Habachi 1972:37)

Hyksos rule was based on a strong warrior class, indicated by the burials with weapons, during their rule Avaris grew to two or three times the norm for Syrian royal towns of the time. There must have been a considerable increase in population of long acclimatised immigrants now Egyptianized (Bietak 2010:428). However, this image often portrayed of Hyksos as violent oppressors has been all too easily accepted in modern times, the placing of weapons in burials together with fortified settlements does not validate the historicity of the later accounts of Josephus et al. (van de Mieroop 2011:147). It would seem likely that the Hyksos were no more aggressive than the norm of the day and merely took advantage of a given situation.

Notwithstanding the generally bad press the arrival of the Asiatics brought many benefits to Egypt. The Asiatics at the time seem to have been more advanced in the technology field such as a fast wheel for pottery production, more advanced bronze-working and weaving techniques. Their armoury was better in terms of composite bows, special battle axes and possibly full body armour. Their introduction of the horse and chariot to warfare has been mooted, but remains a major point of contention among scholars. Even in the arts the Asiatics introduced new musical instruments. Clearly they were not barbarians since they brought new ideas and energy into Egypt's ancient system. The Hyksos did not hide their foreignness nor were they ashamed of it (van de Mieroop 2011:131).

4.4.2   The expulsion of the Hyksos (ca. 1560 – 1531 BCE)

Around 1580 BCE the Hyksos rule reached its apogee and in many ways mimicked the Egyptian ways. However, their very 'foreignness' was to be their downfall. Whilst in Thebes a new family replaced the weak and discredited 16th Dynasty early in the 17th century BCE. Further it has been suggested that the founder of the 17th Dynasty – Ta'o – was a vassal of the Hyksos king Apep. This since his praenomen was *Sqn-n-r$^\mathrm{c}$* (Seqenenre) modelled on that of

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Apep ꜥ-qnn-rꜥ (Redford 1992:125). However, there was clearly animosity between Avaris and Thebes and soon rebellion was fomented by the Thebans. Seqenenre (father of Kamose) received a threat from Apep the Hyksos ruler in Avaris; he then summoned his chief (civilian) officials and also 'every high ranking soldiers of his.' This engendered a juxtaposition of civilian and military leadership of the Theban state' (Spalinger 2005:102). In this story centred on Seqenenre the northern enemy, the Hyksos, are considered to be cowardly foreigners, Asiatics. Thus the key element in this contretemps is the non-Egyptian status of the Hyksos resulting in nationalistic and patriotic fervour (Spalinger 2005:2).
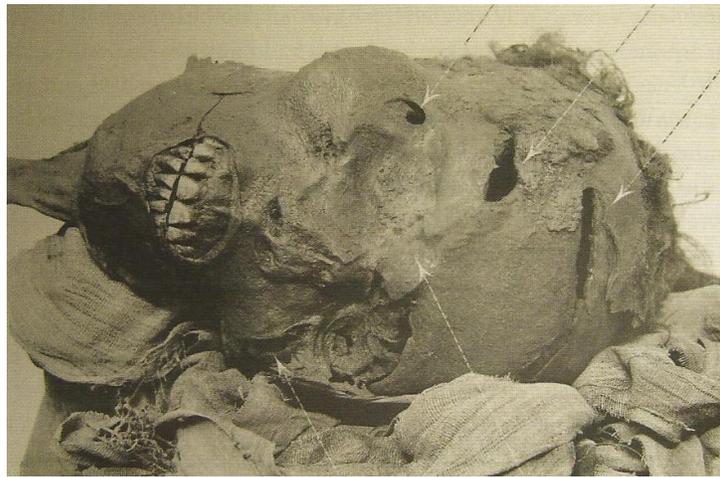
Figure 29 Mummified head of Seqenenre Ta'o II
(Ikram 2010:96)

That this resulted in bloody conflict is evident from the mummy of Seqenenre, showing massive head wounds, examination of the wounds indicates these were caused by weapon types well known to the Asiatics (Asiatic battle axes) (Bietak & Strouhal 1974:29-52).

Notwithstanding this early setback the new dynasty in Thebes thrived and its final king Kamose pursued the war against the Hyksos, details of which were inscribed on two stelae erected at the temple of Amen at Thebes. The second stele being recovered but unfortunately the first is only an (accurate) copy. The stelae have been the focus of considerable study (Gunn & Gardiner 1918:36-56; Habachi 1956:195-202) which will not be detailed here. Suffice it to say that the outcome of Kamose's war was a considerable weakening of the Hyksos, who were now virtually contained within the walls of Avaris.

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Following the untimely death of Kamose, his brother Ahmose took up the gauntlet capturing a number of towns including Memphis, then bypassing Avaris and capturing the frontier fortress of *Tjaru* (Tell el-Hebua) in Sinai (Peet 1923:129 n. 2), thus cutting the connection between Avaris and Syro-Palestine, finally sacking Avaris (Bietak 2010:432). Positive evidence of Hyksos occupation and defeat at Tell el-Habua was discovered in March 2013 by a team of Egyptian archaeologists (Ahram Online 16-03-2013). The wounds found on the skeletons at this site 'indicate that the battle between the Hyksos and the military troops led by…king Ahmose I… were violent and aggressive' (statement by Egyptian Minister of State for Antiquities Mohamed Ibrahim in the above article). The fate of the last Hyksos king Khamudy and the remnants of his people is only speculation, but the most likely scenario is that they fled across the Sinai and settled in Tell el-ʿAjjûl (mound of the calf) south of Gaza probably Sharuhen (Kempinski 1974:150). Several sites show that there must have had an intact Hyksos domain to the northeast of the Delta in southern Palestine (Bietak 2001:141). Ahmose undertook three campaigns against Sharuhen which he finally captured and destroyed (Mumford 2001b:340). The major source for the wars following the death of Kamose is an autobiography of Ahmose son of Abana inscribed on tomb walls at El-Kab south of Thebes. He was a common soldier following his father's footsteps on an Egyptian ship, where he impressed King Ahmose and was thus sent to join the battles against the Hyksos, firstly at Avaris and later at Sharuhen in Palestine. The relevant part of the inscription has been translated by Lichtheim as follows:

> 'I followed the sovereign on foot when he rode in his chariot. When the town of Avaris was besieged, I fought bravely on foot in his majesty's presence…. Then there was fighting in Egypt to the south of this town, and I carried off a man as a living captive…. Then Avaris was despoiled, and I brought spoil from there: one man, three women; total four persons. His majesty gave them to me as slaves. Then Sharuhen was besieged for three years. His majesty despoiled it and I brought from it: two women and a hand.'
>
> (Lichtheim 2006:12-13)

Figure 30 Tomb of Ahmose, son of Abana

(http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Necheb_Felsengrab_Ahmose_04.jpg)

A possible connection with the Biblical Exodus story and the expulsion of the Hyksos has given rise to much debate and speculation: 'So they put slave masters over them to oppress them with forced labour, and they built Pithom and Ramesses (Avaris) as store cities for Pharaoh' Exodus 1:11 (NIV). 'The Israelites journeyed from Ramesses to Succoth' Exodus 12:37 (NIV). Since this debate is not germane to the present work perhaps the words of Gardiner (1933:128) encapsulates his opinion: 'I still believe the expulsion of the Hyksos to be the great historical event which gave rise to the story of oppression and flight.'

4.5 Late Bronze Age IA - Hittites and Hurrians (ca. 1550 – 1500 BCE)

The 50 years following the demise of the Hyksos in Egypt saw considerable change in western Asia. Perhaps one of the major influences was the rise of two non-Semitic speaking groups, the first; the Hittites were ensconced in central Anatolia and were of Indo-European origin by language. At this time they began to cast covetous eyes on the region of Syro-Palestine, leading to an attack on Alalakh, led by their king Hattusilis I, which they destroyed. Later moving on, now under a new leader Mursilis I, they finally reached and destroyed Aleppo. The second group were the enigmatic Hurrians who originated from north of the Euphrates and together with a contingent of Indo-European people amalgamated to form the kingdom of Mitanni (ca. 1600 – 1550 BCE). This rapidly became the chief Hurrian state, speaking a little known and now almost lost language (Astour 2001:422). They soon spread widely across the city states of the Levant (Bietak 2010:433). Thereby transformed them into one of the four great powers of the Ancient Near East and in fact seem to have comprised some 30% of the entire population of Alalakh, and thus a political force to be reckoned with (Astour 2001:422).

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Thus two powerful forces developed the Hittites and Mitannians both of whom coveted the same territory of the Levant and beyond, inevitably this led to conflict (ca. 1540 – 1530 BCE). A precursor of which had occurred back in the time of Hattusilis. Certainly this combined Mitannian group made their presence felt in the area, unfortunately there is a paucity of information concerning the Hittite activity in this period. At this time Egypt did not play a major role in Syro-Palestine. Towards the end of the 16th century the new nation state of Mitanni dominated the area, and by the early part of the 15th century Mitannian names proliferated in the city of Qadesh on the Orontes. By the end of the 16th century the Hittites were suffering from political weakness and assassinations, finally retiring from the area leaving the field open for Mitanni, who were seen as the major export of Hurrian culture (Astour 2001:423-424). This period culminated in the battle of Megiddo (present day Tell el-Mutesellim in the Jezreel valley) Thutmose III's major objective in his first Near Eastern campaign in the early 15th century (ca. 1482 BCE) (Weinstein 2001c:368).

4.6   Late Bronze Age – Iron Age II – The Egyptian New Kingdom (ca. 1550 – 1069 BCE)

> 'In 1504 BCE, right about the same time the Dark Age was ending in Mesopotamia,… a king came to power in Egypt who was to launch his kingdom into the international world of the Near East. His name was Thutmose I, and his aims were neither diplomatic nor peaceable; he was interested in war.'
>
> (Podany 2010:131)

As shown in the previous section by the middle of the second millennium the animosity between the now powerful states of Mitanni and that of the Hittites seemed to be presaging war. Egypt at the time was relatively inactive in Syro-Palestine, but nonetheless remained a powerful force. Due to the determined rule of Amenhotep II, Egypt was seen by Mitanni as a serious threat. Thus Mitanni was faced by a possible two pronged attack from Egyptians and Hittites. There was no way that Mitanni could come to terms with the Hittites so it was decided to arrange a non-aggression pact with Egypt to allay fears of their possible attack. So although Amenhotep II was a warrior king, in his reign Egypt was brought into a system of alliances that had helped to create stability in Syro-Palestine and Mesopotamia (Podany 2010:163). Thereafter a Mitannian emissary travelled to Egypt to charm the Pharaoh,

culminating in an arranged marriage between his son Thutmose IV and a Mitannian princess (ca. 1415 BCE) (Mumford 2001b:340). From this *entente cordiale* arose some 60 years during which Egypt ceased military activities in Syro-Palestine, and three generations of Egyptian kings married Mitannian princesses (Thutmose IV, Amenhotep III, and Amenhotep IV) (Astour 2001:423). The text of the treaty is unfortunately lost, but the major area for concern would undoubtedly have been the boundaries. These borders have been deduced from other records and were destined to become the traditional frontiers for some 200 years. Broadly Mitanni was to the north and east generally following the natural geographical as well as cultural divisions, largely determined by the course of the Orontes River, whilst the territories to the west of the Orontes stretching to the Mediterranean coast belonged to Egypt (Redford 1992:166).

The coastal areas south of the Orontes mouth as well as Cis-Jordan south of the Orontes sources were known at this time as 'Canaan,' how and why the name came about is speculation and the use of this name and the area thus defined has been the cause of much debate and dissension. 'Canaan' is frequently used to encompass the Eastern Mediterranean lands to the west of the Jordan River, Phoenicia and part of southern Syria during the entire Bronze Age. The name first appeared in an autobiographical text of Idrimi a ruler of the north Syrian kingdom of Alalakh. The oldest Egyptian mention is in the annals recording Amenhotep II's campaign to Retenu (ca. 1454-1419 BCE) (Weinstein 2001a:227-229). Ugarit on the coast was the most northerly of Egypt's vassal states and the influence of Egypt was apparent in many respects. This included the use of hieroglyphs for names and Egyptian style jewellery, in general a favoured city. This marked Egyptian influence and favour was also present in other coastal towns such as Byblos, Beirut, Sidon and Tyre.

Further areas under Egyptian control were Palestine and the route through Transjordan. Egypt, especially in these areas, introduced a policy of massive deportation of the indigenous population. This process peaked under Amenhotep II, where an estimated 85 000 people of all ages and genders were sent to Egypt. Thus largely depopulating the entire area, this policy set out to prevent Asiatics from using the area as a stepping stone or base to launch attacks on Egypt. Thus for some 40 years during the subsequent reign of Amenhotep III peace prevailed

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and trade flourished, probably because Amenhotep III never campaigned in the Near East, and his reign was characterised by intense diplomacy with all the major players including several diplomatic marriages (Bietak 2010:436).

Notwithstanding the amicable situation between Egypt and Mitanni, a new element arose which presaged a long war for Egypt. The Eleutheros valley (Nahr el-Kabir) at the north of the Lebanon Mountains gave access from the Mediterranean coast to the Orontes. This now became a border zone, nominally belonging to Egypt but without a vassal ruler (Redford 1992:170). During the last quarter of the 15th century the area became known as *Amurru* (western Syria). In the reign of Amenhotep III, *Amurru* was infiltrated by groups of nomadic warriors *(ʿApiru)*. These were West-Semitic speaking groups, who threatened stability and the status quo (Mumford 2001b:341). Led by sheikh Abdi-Ashirta, recognised as a prince by the Egyptians, and who was entrusted to protect the region specifically Sumur and Ullaza. However, the *ʿApiru* roamed the Levant, pillaging the towns and villages (Bietak 2010:437). Following his mysterious death, the son Aziru took over and the mayhem continued. However, despite localised banditry the area of Syro-Palestine was largely unaffected.

At the end of the 15th century BCE, the Hittites under Hattusilis II, were now focusing on Syro-Palestine specifically Aleppo, thus precipitating a confrontation with Mitanni (Mumford 2001b:341). Now the Hittite king Suppiluliumas I approached Egypt for support and to foster their amity. This was a clever move to both prevent Egypt assisting Mitanni and also to alienate Egypt from Mitanni (Redford 1992:173). With Akhenaten (Amenhotep IV) on the Egyptian throne, together with his antipathy towards Mitanni, he seems to have allowed Khatti free reign to attack Mitanni. In all this military action Suppululiumas was careful to avoid treading on Egyptian toes and not to attack Egyptian vassal states. Thus the Hittites acquired Mittani's possessions in northern Syria including the famous city of Qadesh, making the first common border between themselves and Egypt (Mumford 2001b:341). It is germane to note that more than in the earlier part of the 18th Dynasty, the Amarna period attracted numerous immigrants from the Near East to Egypt, as envoys, merchants, sailors, soldiers, different craftsmen and professionals. Additionally foreign technologies appeared, as well as influences

from the Levant which were found in diplomacy, literature, music and naturally customs and behaviours (Bietak 2010:437).

The ruler of Ugarit (Niqmaddu II) who had long been a friend and vassal of Egypt was under pressure to join a revolt by the other Syrian states against the Hittites. Given his close association with Egypt, it is difficult to understand why he did the most unexpected, instead of Egypt he appealed to Khatti for help. Seizing the opportunity the Hittite king sent troops to drive out the rebels from Ugaritian lands thus Ugarit seceded from Egypt (Bietak 2010:438). After this the lands of *Amurru* gradually left the Egyptian empire. Akhenaten failed to regain Qadesh before being succeeded briefly by Smenkhkare and then Tutankhamun, the latter also failing to retake Qadesh. Tutankhamun died after some nine years in office whereupon his widow tried to arrange a marriage to a Hittite prince. However, this came to nothing when the prospective bridegroom was murdered by his Egyptian escort en route, thus ending the 18th dynasty's royal line (Mumford 2001b:341).

4.6.1   The Late Bronze Age – The Egyptian – Hittite war (ca. 1294 – 1258 BCE)

Following the Hittite incursions, the frontiers of the Egyptian empire had shrunk to the south of the Eleutheros Valley. However, although the Hittites recognised this new boundary, it appears that the Egyptians did not, considering it a violation of their territory. This state of affairs thus caused a sporadic war for more than 100 years. The once formidable 18th Dynasty gradually came to an end under the ineffectual rule of three successive generals, Ay, Horemheb and finally Paramesses (later Ramesses I) (Redford 1992:179). First under Tutankhamun and then Ay, Horemheb as supreme general and later as regent was responsible for defences and he refortified the stronghold at Tell el-Dabᶜa. When he became king he built the temple of Baᶜal/Seth at Avaris as part of the plan to restore the temples destroyed during the Amarna Period (Bietak 2010:438).

Paramesses came to the throne as Ramesses I, heralding the start of the 19th Dynasty which seems to have originated in the Delta at Avaris, this brought about the installation of the god Seth of Avaris in his Asiatic guise as dynastic god of the 19th Dynasty (Bietak 2010:438).

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Probably old and ailing at his accession he ignored the customary procedure and appointed his own son Seti I as his successor. Right from the start of his reign Seti I began an aggressive foreign policy carrying out a series of military actions, many of which are recorded on the walls of the Karnak temple. He engaged in warfare across the Near East first by controlling the new wave of Shôsu-Bedouin in northern Sinai and the southern Levant. From his third regnal year Seti set about re-establishing Egypt's old possessions in Syro-Palestine conquering Amurru and Qadesh, where he left a victory stele (Bietak 2010:438). During the 19th Dynasty there were a number of attempts to regain control of the northern parts of Syro-Palestine including attempts by Seti I. However, both Hittite and Egyptian artefacts have been discovered at Ugarit demonstrating that this port city continued as an entrepôt even after the Hittites had taken over control from Egypt (Cline 2001:112). The successor of Seti I was his son Ramesses II who had been well groomed for the martial role of Pharaoh, whilst Muwatallis II who took up the Hittite reigns was also of a militaristic nature. Notwithstanding the situation in Syro-Palestine, Ramesses spent the first two years in Nubia. However in his third regnal year Ramesses received word that *Amurru* had seceded from Muwatallis and wished to become a vassal of Egypt, he thus set off to his northern empire.

Figure 31 Tell Nebi Mend (Qadesh)
(http://www.dur.ac.uk/images/archaeology/researchprojects/Whincop_Tell.jpg 2012)

This flag waving exercise was enough to stir up the Hittites and eventually led to the famous Battle of Qadesh (Tell Nebi Mend) (ca. 1274 BCE) a Hittite town on the Orontes River (Redford 1992:183-185; Bietak 2010:439-442). Details of the battle are well recorded in

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picture and words. Suffice it to say here that this major encounter wherein Egypt was forced to retreat led to an uneasy truce. The impression given was that Egypt could be beaten and thus Syro-Palestine turned to open revolt, effectively removing Egyptian authority to just north of Sinai which itself was threatened.

With the potential threat from the north, the completion of the new residence – Pi-Ramesses – (house of Ramesses) – was expedited. This must have been the low point of Ramesses II's reign having lost most of the Asiatic possessions. The nature of the man became evident when three years later he bounced back, launching a massive offensive into Palestine overrunning many coastal and inland towns. The assault moved relentlessly northwards through the Eleutheros Valley. Finally the fighting was terminated when an Egyptian/Hittite peace treaty was concluded (ca.1258 BCE), mooted as the world's first recorded peace treaty this brought about some 80 years of peace and prosperity (Redford 1992:188-190; Cline 2001:113).

4.6.2   The Egyptian New Kingdom Empire (ca. 1550 – 1153 BCE)

The wars from the early 18th Dynasty expanded the Egyptian horizon from the somewhat narrow confines of the Nile valley. For the first time Egypt ruled Nubian territory to the south in the upper Nile regions and more importantly in the north across Western Asia. The southern lands supplied gold and manpower, whereas the strategic location of those to the north facilitated the movement of goods and people via the two major trade routes. The coastal route – *Via Maris* the 'Way of the Sea' and the other named the *King's Highway* through Transjordan (Redford 1992:192-193). Whilst Nubia was undeveloped and required Egypt to set up a complete administration system, the city states to the north had relatively well developed infrastructures which could continue to be used. Thus the Levantine littoral had an established culture and political system; Syro-Palestine society in general comprised numerous city states controlling their own independent territory of farmlands and towns. Here boundaries were changed by influences such as marriages, feuds and purchases. Basically the societies comprised a ruler, nobility, artisans and farm workers. In addition there were groups of 'dust makers' (ᶜApiru) the anti-social and transient groups of nomadic warriors (Mumford 2001b:341).

The continuous movement of peoples across Syro-Palestine gave rise to a somewhat heterogeneous mixture of inhabitants. Egyptian reliefs and seals show the various types of apparel and adornment that typifies the different groupings. Similarities and variations of costumes, jewellery and accoutrements evolved with time, as well as the influence of adjacent and invading cultures. Thus gave a visible sign of the cross pollination of cultures due to the variety of interactions whether through invasion, war or peaceful trade.

Figure 32 Late Bronze Age costumes

(Redford 1992:197)

1. Canaanite 'wrap around' with winter cloak and skull cap (Hazor)
2. North Syrian galabiyeh and skull cap (Theban tombs)
3. Canaanite galabiyeh and wrap and fillet (Theban tombs)
4. Typical Canaanite costume, 12th century BCE (tomb of Ramesses II)
5. Canaanite woman in flounced robe (Theban tombs)
6. Philistine warrior in horse hair (?) helmet kilt and armour (Medinet Habu)
7. Shôsu-Bedouin warriors in turbans and kilts (Beit el-Wali)

As the Pharaoh assumed the role of king over his various conquests in Syro-Palestine, each dependent foreign prince, headman or 'mayor' (ḥȝty-ʿ), was mandated to take an oath in Pharaoh's name, thereby obliged to send whatever sons or relatives that might be required to Egypt. Part nursery, part fraternity, the *kap* functioned to cement friendships between noble Egyptians and foreigners. Thereby (largely) the sons, from an early age, became exposed and indoctrinated with all things Egyptian including military matters, so much so that they became foreigners in their own land. Although some would take a career in Egypt in the military, palace or administration, others would return to their own land to rule, but with emotional and

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political ties to Egypt (Gordon 2001:546). Another area where it is easily understood how Egyptian norms and mores spread across the Ancient Near East.

With all these city states under Egypt's wing, it was necessary to despatch able officials to monitor the behaviour of the Asiatics. When the ʿApiru caused disruptions in Syro-Palestine Akhenaten was obliged to send a military governor to Jerusalem to secure the region. Mostly such officials were taken from the lower ranks of the military (e.g. standard-bearers) and sent as commissioners of Pharaoh (Mumford 2001b:341). Often they would move from place to place as the need arose through changing circumstances, sometimes restricted to areas of familiarity. A commissioner or governor had wide powers such as power to arrest, requisitioning of taxes and hearing cases at law. Later in the 19th and 20th Dynasty the role became primarily that of messenger for the Pharaoh, carrying messages to and from the king. From the post-Amarna period we see the title of 'overseer of foreign lands' which by the 19th Dynasty seems to have become 'governor' (Redford 1992:201-202).

Thus it is clear that the numerous city states would have each required considerable administrative staff to manage their affairs in accordance with Egyptian requirements. Whilst such administrators would not all be Egyptian, they would surely have comprised a sizable group. However, in the Ramesside period it was common for high officials to be of Near Eastern origin (Bietak 2010:442). Detailed evidence of house plans has shown layouts very different from those of the indigenous residents and in fact these plans emulate those of contemporary upper/middle class Egypt. This thereby gives a further indication of the spread of Egyptian influence in Syro-Palestine.

Following the peace treaty between Ramesses II and Hattusilis III and its final confirmation when Ramesses married the oldest daughter of the Hittite king matters progressed reasonably well until the end of the Hittite empire. Merneptah succeeded Ramesses II and even helped the Hittites who at that time were suffering a severe famine (Bietak 2010:439).

With the demise of the Hittites the entire Near East was in a state of flux due to the mass migration of different peoples and communities. Displaced people took to the sea in search of

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a better life, now pirates and mercenaries roamed abroad causing warfare and destruction across the Levant. Simultaneously the Libyan Meshwesh and Libu entered Egypt, joining the now rampant 'Sea Peoples'. Thus the era of Egypt's empire came to a close. A bronze statue base of Ramesses VI is the last major New Kingdom artefact found in Palestine and is generally seen as providing a *terminus post quem* for the Egyptian empire (Weinstein 2001b:368-369).

4.7 Movement motivation

4.7.1 Warfare – incursion, invasion, intimidation

The incursions of armies generally constitutes the largest mass movements of people, both whilst invading and then again whilst returning with the spoils of war including large numbers of captives. Confrontation was a feature in the Ancient Near East from the earliest times, exemplified by the smiting motif on the Narmer Palette from the 31st century BCE (Ikram 2010:260-261, Fig. 125). During the long history of Egypt's Pharaonic period a number of major incursions occurred including the Hyksos, Sea Peoples, Nubians, Assyrians and later the Persians, Greeks and Romans. In reply the Egyptians in their turn ventured south into Nubia (Kush), north west into Libya and more especially northwards into Syro-Palestine. Although military action was ongoing, the majority took place from the 17th century BCE. This was because the sea and desert frontiers of Egypt provided a formidable barrier for the earlier, less organised and smaller insurgent groups of the Old and Middle Kingdoms. However, the northern invaders from the Hyksos to those of later periods had fewer difficulties in reaching their goal.

The first serious incursions into Egypt appear to have occurred during the First Intermediate Period, although there is a dearth of historical evidence. Here we are dependent largely on three independent sources being the Admonitions of Ipuwer, Instructions for Merikare and the Prophecy of Neferti, bemoaning or predicting the troubles of the First Intermediate Period (cf. 4.2.1). It is clear from these sources, not withstanding the probable hyperbole, that considerable numbers of Asiatics were present in Egypt at the time and were hated by the

Egyptians (Bietak 2010:420). Whether this was truly an incursion in a military sense or merely a general infiltration is not clear. Apparently the situation was of concern to the Egyptians as they saw fit to increase the fortifications in the eastern Delta.

The period of approximately 400 years after the end of the First Intermediate Period is the most enigmatic in the realm of foreign relations, since there is a great scarcity of historical information. Notwithstanding this there is little doubt that there was considerable interaction between Egypt and Syro-Palestine at the time, including some military forays. Egypt saw itself as all powerful and the 12th and 13th Dynasty Pharaohs saw the Levant as theirs to exploit. Whilst the materials and produce of the area were there for the taking, there seems to have been no drive towards permanent occupation. Following the collapse of the great Ur Empire in southern Mesopotamia (ca. 2050-1950 BCE), a group of warlike states arose in Syro-Palestine, speaking a Western Semitic language known as 'Amorite' (Redford 1992:93). By ca. 1950 BCE in Syro-Palestine these Amorite states were becoming powerful, notably Yamkhad who ruled from Aleppo a strategic location on major trade routes. Thus although the confrontations of the Middle Kingdom did not reach the heights of later periods, there were numbers of skirmishes and incursions.

On the outside wall of a pylon of the mortuary temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu, depicted below the king and god, is a series of bound human figures shown emerging from ovals each one inscribed with the name of a fortified town (Leahy 2001:548). The appearance of each figure is such as to indicate their origins – skin colouring, coiffure and beard as well as dress style. Such symbolism continues the tradition of the *Execration Texts*, being designed to vilify enemies and demonstrate the Pharaoh's superiority (cf. 4.2.1). Further the high visibility is intended to show the king's subjects how he protects them and the country at large. It must be said that failures are rarely shown or else minimised, even the narrow escape at the battle of Qadesh is depicted as a resounding success at the Ramesseum, Abydos and Abu Simbel! A somewhat different perspective is shown in certain of the Amarna letters, which coming from foreign powers gives a perspective closer to the political and diplomatic realities of foreign relations, where beneath the veneer of bonhomie the cut and thrust of the relationships can be sensed. (cf. 4.7.5) (Leahy 2001:549).
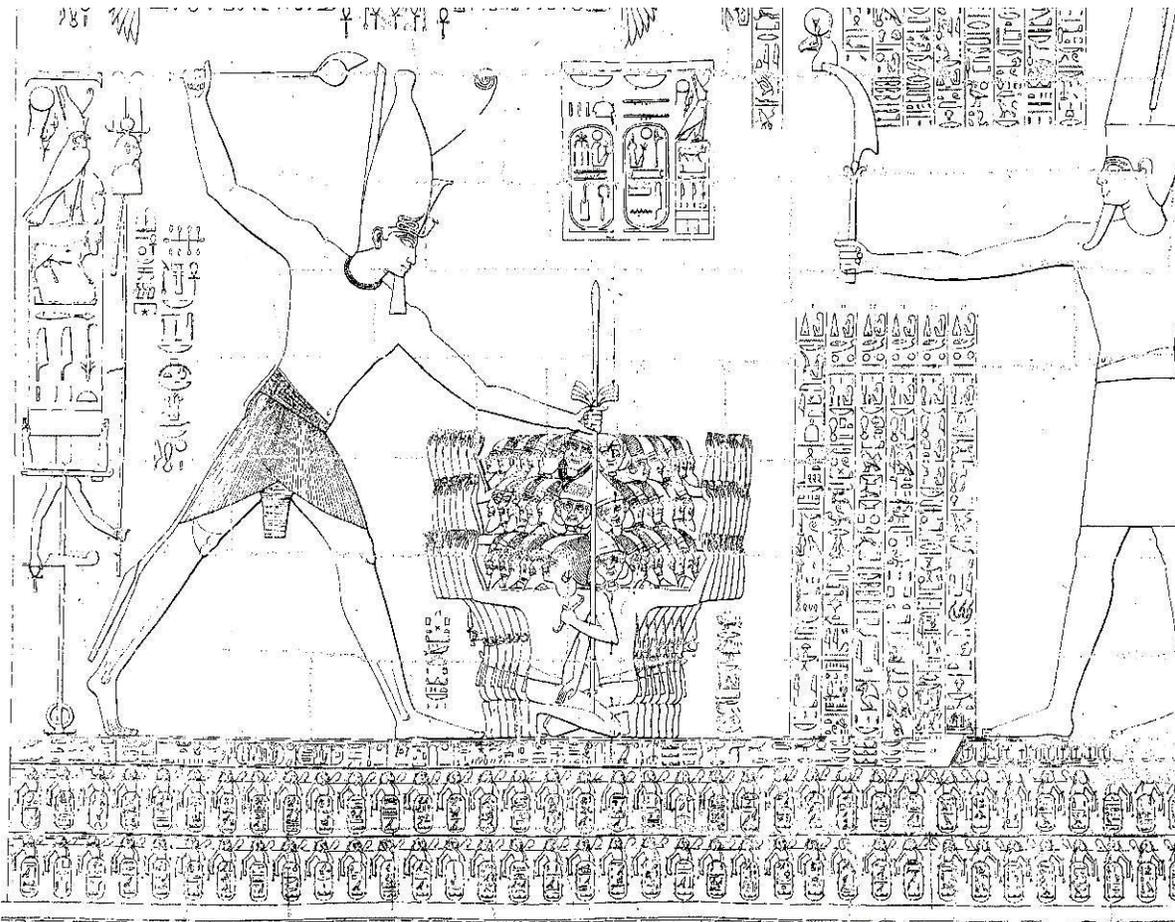
Figure 33 Ramesses III smiting the 'Chiefs of all countries'

(Breasted 1932: Vol. 2: Pl. 101)

From the beginning of the 18th Dynasty the relationship between Egypt and the Near East was dominated by military action, wherein the Pharaohs tried to gain control over Syro-Palestine. Since this region was divided into small independently ruled city-states, there was no way an individual city-state could resist the might of Egypt. But, to the north two great empires, Mitannian and Hittite jealously viewed Syro-Palestine and all it had to offer, and effectively entered the fray (cf. 4.5 & 4.6). This all culminated in the war between Egypt and Khatti and the subsequent famous peace treaty of Ramesses II and Hattusilis III. With the relative peace that ensued, and control over the disputed areas of Syro-Palestine agreed, opportunity for peaceful interaction increased.

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4.7.2   Prisoners/slaves – raid , war

'In human society, everyone who has a master or a lord is the servant or slave of that master or lord. Few are without a lord (human or divine), so everybody is basically someone's servant or slave.'

<div align="right">(Allam 2001:293)</div>

When considering the ancient world few indeed were without a lord, even kings and priests could be seen as god's slave (*hm-ntr*). In the context of the movement of people between countries, the oldest and major source of slaves was from prisoners captured during raids or in war. In the Old Kingdom many foreigners entered Egypt as prisoners of war, from the 4th Dynasty king Sneferu there were military expeditions to Nubia to take captives to work in Egypt.

Figure 34 Amenhotep II -Victorious Pharaoh with prisoners

<div align="center">(Keel 1977: Abb. 138)</div>

By the end of the Old Kingdom slavery was in operation and by the Middle Kingdom the largest numbers of slaves were foreigners. From the New Kingdom foreign slave markets as well as military expeditions provided the bulk of slaves, of course foreigners also entered Egypt for economic reasons. (Gordon 2001:544). Such prisoners would normally become booty or a resource for the captor or his king, and mostly were taken home with the victor. Most information in respect of prisoners and slaves comes from Egyptian sources, but it is reasonable to assume that similar conditions prevailed elsewhere.

Figure 35 Prisoners roped together

(Breasted 1932: Pl. 100)

The fate of prisoners taken in battle would of course depend on the whim of their captor, often the degree of success would be measured by the number of hands or ears cut off and presented to the king. Undoubtedly many warriors met their end this way being summarily despatched, more particularly if seriously (or maybe not so seriously) injured.

If there was an urgent or major need for manpower, and it was reasonable to take the captives home in terms of food and distance, the prisoners would have their hands bound and often be roped together in columns by the neck for the journey.
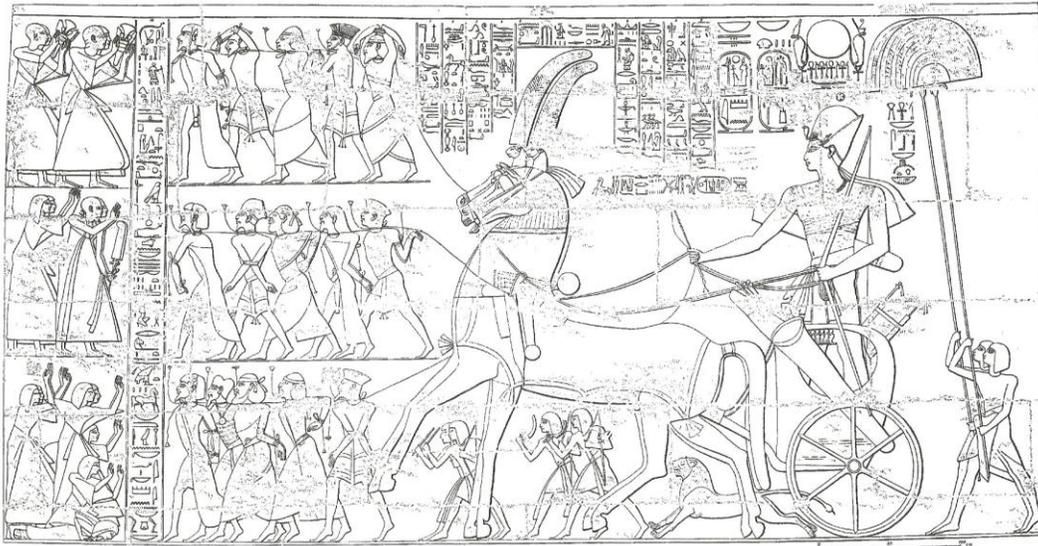
Figure 36 Medinet Habu relief –Ramesses III with prisoners

(Breasted 1932 Volume II : Pl. 98)

Generally in Antiquity colour and race was not an issue (Cornelius 2010:334), however, the Egyptians treated foreigners like animals. Some texts go as far as to refer to foreigners as animals (Loprieno 1988:26ff). Prisoners were treated harshly, they would be required to perform hard manual labour of some form on arrival, and so of necessity they would be kept at

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least in a condition to do such work. Where there was a need for major national construction work (temples and palaces etc.) slaves would be settled in groups, together with local citizens who were serving corvée labour, in labour camps. Slaves were most likely rewarded only with food and drink. Some prisoners and slaves were forced into hard labour in the mines of the Eastern Desert of Egypt and Nubia, and probably fed below subsistence levels of bread and water. Mines were notorious for their hard conditions and were often staffed by the ostracized of Egyptian society (Cooney 2010:173).

In the Brooklyn Papyrus (Brooklyn 35.1446) from the Middle Kingdom, servants (slaves) are enumerated, it can be seen that 'Near Easterners' were mixed with Egyptian servants and that Asiatics were numerically superior (Allam 2001:294). This papyrus is seen as one of the most informative sources for the presence and situation of Asiatics in Egypt during the middle Kingdom, illustrating aspects of social, economic, legal and political life in Egypt at this time (Horn 1957:207). The papyrus was translated by Hayes (1955:36-42) who examines many aspects of the prisoner/slave situation and in particular identifies that the word *ḥnrt* generally translated as 'prison' most likely refers to 'labour camp' which contained criminals and peasants pressed into corvée labour. The word *ḥnrt* is thus defined as 'combined barracks and administration centre for housing, disciplining and directing efforts of those unfortunates condemned temporarily or permanently to a life of compulsory labour on behalf of the state'(Hayes 1955:37-38). The fact that Asiatics worked alongside Egyptian servants was identified by Hayes as follows:

Role	Egyptian	Role	Asiatic
House man	3	House man	2
Field hands	5	Brewer	1
Sandal maker	1	Cooks	2
Hairdresser	1	Tutor	1
Gardener	2	Clothing manufacturer	18
Reciter	1	Magazine employees	4
Textile worker	2	Labourer	1
Table 4 Occupations of Asian and Egyptian servants – Middle Kingdom			
			(Hayes 1955:108)

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The list shows both males and females and that there were nearly twice as many Asiatics as indigenous Egyptians and that the Asiatics were generally in higher level roles, often being distinguished by their clothing. Allam (2001:294) posits that the reason the Asiatics were more highly regarded than Egyptians stems from them being originally prisoners of war and thus from a higher stratum of society than the locals who could be from persons who had committed unlawful acts. That is, the evidence indicates that most of the Egyptian slaves came from the peasant class whereas the Asiatics were either professionals or craftsmen acquired through slave trading (Horn 1957:210).

One might be inclined to think that persons taken into servitude would be there for life, together with their family. However, slaves had some rights, even being able to negotiate certain contracts and own property. There are even some examples of marriages between slave and freeman, although in such cases the slave had to be manumitted in public before the union (Allam 2001:296).

Clearly for the majority of slaves life was hard and unremitting, but for a fortunate few who managed to move to more exalted positions equalling and even surpassing their Egyptian counterparts. Apart from a few lucky ones, the lot of a slave was one of lifelong hard work with minimal food and appalling conditions. Those lucky enough to become house servants fared rather better than those in state bondage. Regardless of their situation the fact remains that considerable numbers of people moved between countries as a result of capture and in so doing brought vestiges of their culture and religion with them.

4.7.3   Trade and commerce

The life blood of any society is the flow of goods and raw materials between population groups both within and without their own environs or country. This statement clearly also includes people (manpower) and infers voluntary as opposed to forced entry, this voluntary aspect is considered under immigration (4.7.4).

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Figure 37 'Money' based on metals

(British Museum ref 1974, 0223.1)

Although coinage did not exist in Egypt before ca. 500 BCE, there was a system of values based on weights of gold, silver and copper. A unit of weight called a *deben* (approximately 50 grams) could be used although often no metal changed hands, instead it was used to value goods for exchange. The figure shows ingots and rings found at el-Amarna used as 'money.'

Local trading, mostly in town markets, took the form of barter, and is well illustrated in various tombs notably those of Niankhkhnum and Khnumhotep at Saqqara where the sellers are shown seated displaying their wares to the customers. Here local fresh produce mostly bread and beer, fish, vegetables and some meat is on offer together with various homemade artefacts and furniture. The natural extension to this local trading was for itinerant merchants to travel from town to town thereby widening the customer base. 'Prices' of commodities or more accurately the 'exchange rate' varied with supply and demand. An exchange rate was applied, based originally on cereal farming, which determined the quantity of goods supplied, since as previously mentioned no money as such existed until the Late Period. Additionally there was an absolute standard (*sꜥt*) used in multiples to 'price' given items.

Figure 38 Market scenes from the tomb of Niankhkhnum and Khnumhotep, 5th Dynasty, Saqqara.

(Haring 2009:7)

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At some point this supply economy was such that it became necessary for the administration to appoint a supervisor who would control the type, volume and quality of the goods as well as affording some form of protection to ensure the customers were not cheated (Altenmüller 2001:446-447).
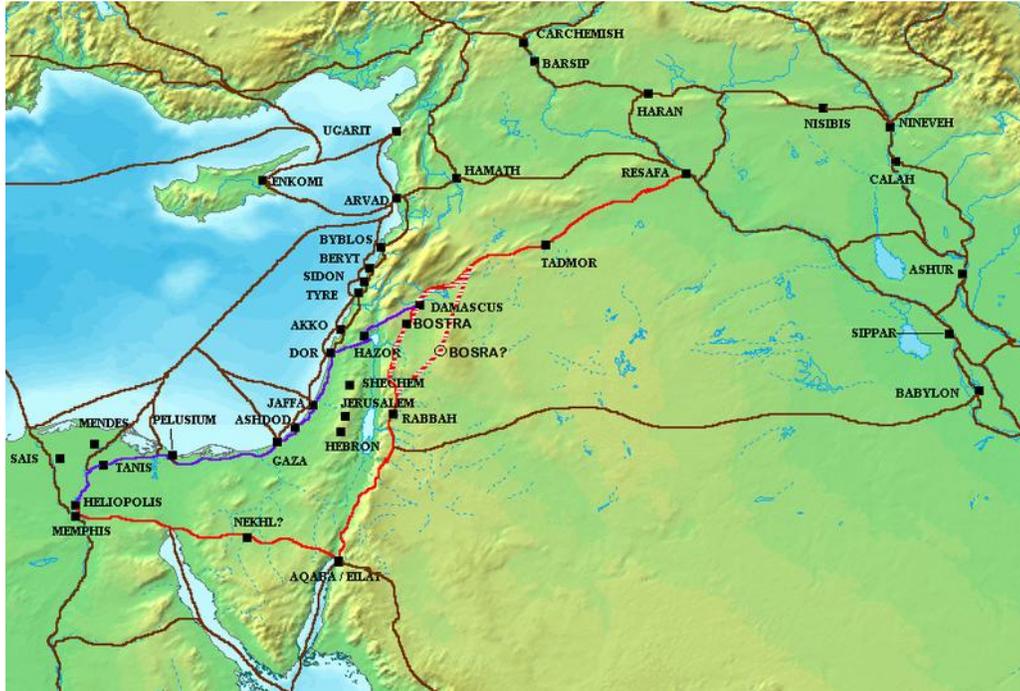
Map 3 Principle trading routes across the Levant
http://davidderrick.files.wordpress.com/2008/10/ancient_levant_routes.png

Markets were located close to major routes, crossroads or towns and alongside rivers to facilitate access for the maximum numbers of people. A spin off to these market places was the possibility of exchange of news where current affairs and gossip could be discussed over refreshments. In major centres next to rivers, such as Thebes, access was possible for trading ships this allowed distant and international trading. Here Theban trading with Asian markets is attested (Altenmüller 2001:446-447).

In the Ramesside period the artisan's village of Deir el-Medina became a flourishing centre for trade, since the artisans produced a plethora of goods for household and funerary purposes. Such items were exchanged with goods for the artisan's own use.

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Interregional trade was commonplace, whereby a surplus of perhaps cereal could be transported to an area where there was a shortage and bartered for other goods. In Egypt the Nile became the main artery for the movement of all such goods and produce. Papyrus Turin 2008 and 2016 (Janssen 1961) is a logbook showing the record of a freighter plying the Nile, the manifest records a cargo oil, wine, cereal, salt and fish as well as papyrus products and various types of cloth.
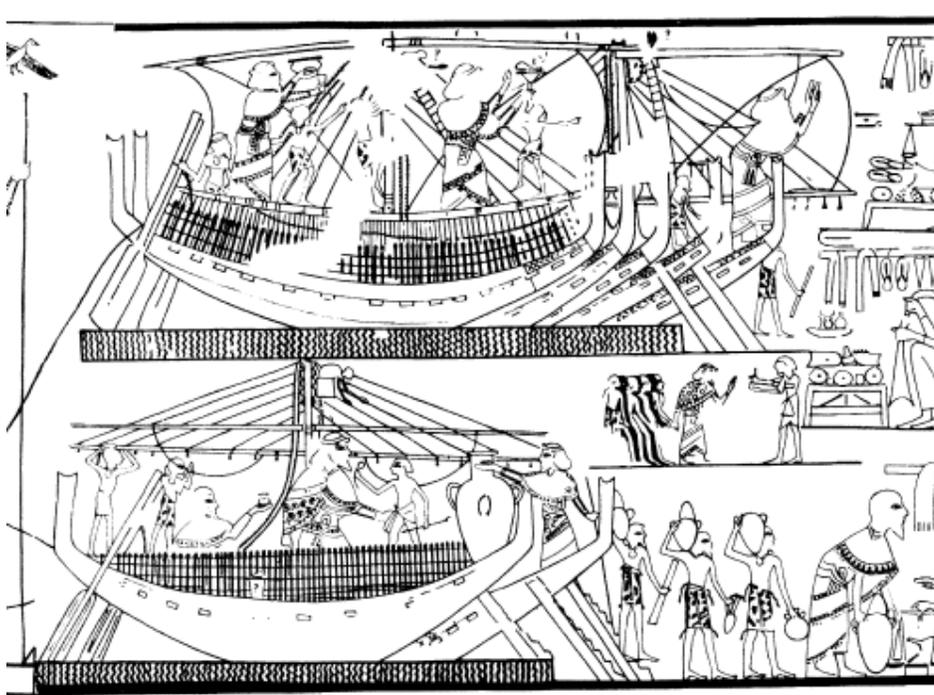
Figure 39 Syrian merchant ships at a Theban market, 18th Dynasty, Theban tomb of Kenamun

(Davies & Faulkner. 1947: Pl. VIII.)

Trade outside of Egypt is not well attested, although many Middle Kingdom statues were found in Syro-Palestine indicating at the very least some interaction between peoples. Hatshepsut's expedition sailing to the land of Punt, as well as Sennefer's journey to Byblos provides evidence of international contact (Altenmüller 2001:449). These two journeys are typical, whereby Egyptians travelling to access specific items or material that they could not source locally. It is unclear how the supplier is recompensed, perhaps by exchange, gifts or main force. The story of Wenamun (Egberts 2001:495-496), who was a trading agent for the Theban temple of Amun, commences when Wenamun is sent off to Byblos to buy timber.

Whilst stopping on the way at Dor (Tell Dor in Israel) all his valuables were stolen, thus on reaching Byblos he was unable to pay for the timber. Although Byblos was nominally an Egyptian vassal state, the ruler Zakarbaal refused to supply the timber even in obeisance to the Pharaoh. Although this story is thought to be fictional it does indicate the vicissitudes faced by merchants abroad. The report of Wenamun recorded on papyrus Moscow 120 has been translated by Lichtheim, the gist of the translation follows:

'I went down upon the great sea of Syria…. I arrived at Dor…. Then a man of my ship fled after stealing one vessel of gold worth 5 *deben*, four jars of silver worth 20 *deben* and a bag with 11 *deben* of silver….I stayed nine days moored in his harbour. Then I went to him and said: "Look, you have not found my money. [Let me depart]". They departed and I celebrated [in] a tent on the shore of the sea in the harbour of Byblos.' (224-225)

'I said to him [the Prince of Byblos]: "I have come in quest of timber for the great noble barque of Amen-Re, king of gods".'

[The Prince of Byblos says] "I am not your servant, nor am I the servant of him who sent you!" (226)

'For Amun makes thunder in the sky ever since he placed Seth beside him.' (227)

[Wenamun says} "Have your scribe brought to me that I may send him to Smendes… and they will send all that is needed"….His messenger who had gone to Egypt and returned to me in Syria… Smendes...having sent four jars and one *kakmen* − vessel of gold.' (227)

'The prince [of Byblos] rejoiced…."Look, the last of your timber has arrived and is ready". I went off to the shore of the sea, to where the logs were lying. And I saw eleven ships… belonging to the Tjeker (Sea Peoples) [Who were] saying "Arrest him! Let no ship of his leave for the land of Egypt".' (228)

'He [the Prince] said to them: "I cannot arrest the envoy of Amun in my country." He had me board and sent me off from the harbour of the sea.' (229)

(Lichtheim 2006: Vol. 2:224-229)

This extract illustrates the 'payment' for goods as well as the vicissitudes of life faced by the traders. Goods imported into Egypt from Syro-Palestine, Nubia, Cyprus and Punt are better recorded. These largely comprise raw materials and products not available locally as well as

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luxury goods. Apparently the trading merchants came mostly from Syria as is detailed by Helck (1971:428-430), who provides Syrian names of many such merchants.

Trade routes across the Ancient Near East had been well established for many years, along the Mediterranean coast as well as inland for example via Megiddo and Hazor. Lapis Lazuli was mined in Badakhshan (in modern Afghanistan) from ca. 4000 BCE and thereafter found across Mesopotamia reaching Egypt by ca. 2900 BCE (Feldman 2001:387). Obsidian from the Arabian Peninsula and East Africa appeared in Egypt ca. 2600 BCE. Egypt was rather more remote from these Syro-Palestinian routes, and thus had to link with them (Altenmüller 2001:449). To access Palestine the Egyptians could travel via the coastal route the *Via Maris* (Ways of Horus) or by way of the *King's Highway* through Transjordan, whereas Nubia was reached from Asyut in Middle Egypt via the oases of Kharga and Dungul to Tomas. The red sea route from Coptos lead across the Eastern Desert and reached the sea at the end of Wadi Gawasis, thus allowing access to the raw materials and products from Sinai and Punt, the latter being reached southwards along the Red Sea coast. Almost certainly the most significant and most used route was by sea from Memphis on the Nile via the Pelusiac branch of the Nile to the major ports along the eastern shores of the Mediterranean Sea.

The second millennium was a period of intensive international interactions and during the first half exchange was largely for trade purposes and between adjacent regions. To the Egyptians Syria in general was 'Retenu' peopled by Asiatics (Near Easterners), residents of Syro-Palestine excluding Mesopotamia. In the 13th Dynasty texts (e.g. Brooklyn papyrus 35.1446), these Asiatics were hired by the Egyptians as servants, many had Western Semitic names indicating that they were from Levantine origins (Feldman 2001:387), as is shown. The middle period of the second millennium saw the collapse of the Egyptian Middle Kingdom and the rise and fall of the foreign Hyksos, covered elsewhere in this work. After Kamose went to war against the Hyksos his chancellor Nehy composed a royal account on two stelae that were set up at Karnak. The second of these clearly illustrates the trade goods passing through Avaris (cf. 4.4.1).

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The latter half of the second millennium was a period of widespread and intense contact and conflict, specifically over the contested areas of Syro-Palestine, due to the location at the crossroads of the Ancient Near East. Warfare, trade, diplomatic intercourse and inter-dynastic marriages sustained an era of unprecedented internationalism among Egypt, Mesopotamia, Syro-Palestine Cyprus, Anatolia and the Aegean (Feldman 2001:387), all well documented in texts and with various artefacts. The diplomatic frenzy that characterises this period is most clearly shown in the Amarna letters (cf. section 4.7.5).

4.7.4   Immigration – economic, famine, exile

The scenario of prisoners being transported into another country was examined previously (4.7.2), now it is necessary to consider voluntary relocation or immigration. There are a number of reasons for such a move including economic, political, health and famine.

> 'People who move from familiar surroundings to a foreign place do not come alone, even if they do not migrate as a group; they come with their language, their customs, their religion – briefly: their culture. Though there may be much that they will have to sacrifice in order to integrate into their new society, there are certain things that they will not easily abandon. Religion is often one of them.'
>
> (van der Toorn 1995:365)

From prehistoric times there have been interactions between Egypt and Syro-Palestine via the land bridge of the northern Sinai as well as through the Mediterranean Sea. Both regions were always subject to the presence of foreigners, particularly Syro-Palestine that was situated at the crossroads of Egypt, Mesopotamia, Anatolia and the Aegean. The Egyptians naturally thought of their country as the centre of the world, but recognised the surrounding peoples of Nubia, Libya as well as the 'Near Easterners' (Asiatics) as the other peoples of the world. From as early as the 6th Dynasty there were numbers of both Libyans and Nubians in the Egyptian army, accompanied by foreign interpreters to assist in both military as well as trade expeditions (Gordon 2001:545).

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The Egyptians were always suspicious of foreigners seeing Egypt as the land of harmony and order *(maʿat)* and the foreign lands under their divine ruler Seth the god of disorder *(isfet)*, and thus distinct in appearance and behaviour.

Map 4 Main ethnic groups

(Smith 2010:219)

There is a much richer corpus available with respect to immigration into Egypt, and perhaps this can be seen as indicative of immigration across the Ancient Near East in the period *per se*. Trade with the Levant was a major rationale for immigration into Egypt and the Levant, but the better living conditions generally found in Egypt would have been an additional incentive, when compared to the harsher conditions in the more arid areas (Bietak 2010:417).

'Emigration and immigration have been, as a matter of consequence, important factors in the history of Near Eastern religions.'

(van der Toorn 1995:365)

With this statement we have a hint of the way in which certain cult and beliefs were propagated. Faced with the unknown, people tend to cling to their traditions especially their traditional gods, in order to maintain their identity in foreign surroundings.

'They bring their gods along, their religion is part of their heritage, it marks their identity, and losing it would be losing a piece of themselves.'

(van der Toorn 1995:365)

It might appear that immigrants had great difficulties overcoming the culture shock of their move. It is perhaps pertinent to consider what the drivers were to encourage emigration in the

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first place. Leaving aside the possible reasons why a person should change countries for reasons outside their own control: we can best encapsulate the move as 'to better themselves'. Throughout history upto the present day people and their families pack their bags and move voluntarily to all parts of the world, such was the case in ancient times. Perhaps the two most fundamental reasons are for economic or security purposes. Secondarily we might include lifestyle which covers climate, environment and living conditions.
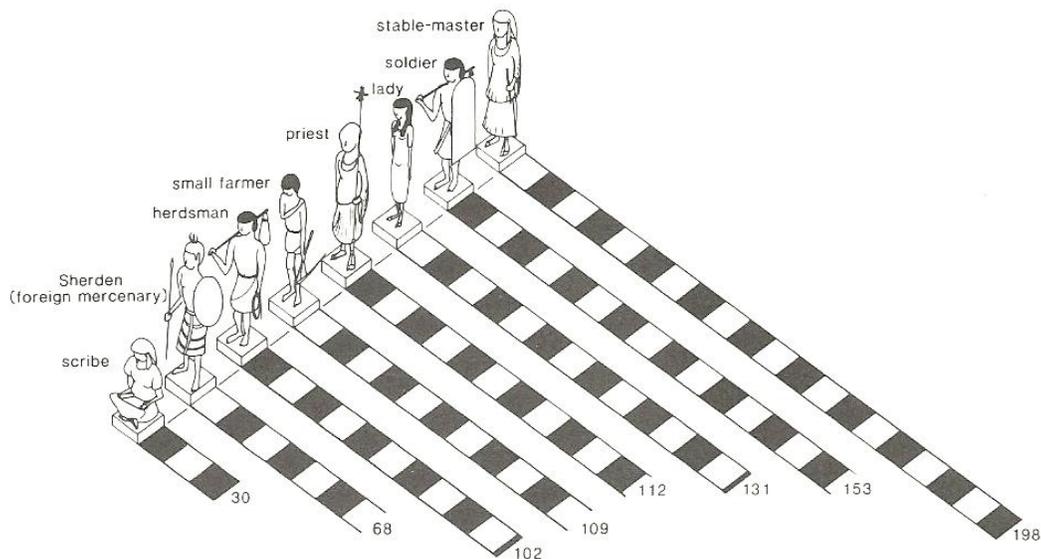
Figure 40 Social profile − Categories of people renting land in Middle Egypt in the 20th Dynasty

(Kemp 1989:311 Fig. 103)

The Wilbour papyrus provides a profile of the categories of persons renting land from temples in Middle Egypt during the 20th Dynasty, where each square represents 10 persons. This serves to illustrate the wide variety including foreigners who could be resident during the new Kingdom. Considering the basic economic rationales for emigration in the Ancient Near East, there would have been a range, from potential starvation (famine) at home, through the gamut of shortages to a pure desire for the finer things of life. Security means *in extremis* a threat to life and limb through political unrest or warfare, compared with a perceived more peaceful environment elsewhere. More modest threats were ever present from potential revolutionary situations to persecution of minorities or races/tribes in a despotic regime. All such causes

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might lead to an individual or group deciding to undertake the major and hazardous step of relocating elsewhere.

> 'When people move from one place to another they often bring their religion with them, and thus contribute to the diffusion of the cult of their ancestral gods.'
>
> (van der Toorn 1995:369)

Van der Toorn (1995:369-370) further quotes two examples of this 'diffusion' of cults from the Old Babylonian Period (ca. 2000-1500 BCE) summarised here. An Old Babylonian archive refers to 37 gardeners from Uruk who moved with a small group including priests and scholars to Kish near ancient Babylon, Uruk being some 200 km away. The move was driven by a raid and subsequent conquering of Uruk by the Elamite ruler Kutir-Nahhunte I. That this enriched the religious life is shown not only by the use of theophoric names, but more especially by the legends on cylinder seals of Marduk-mushallim and his son Nanna-mansum. The legends proclaimed the owners as servants of the god Latarak, a minor deity from Uruk. The second example of collective exile and thus transfer of deities is documented from the city of Ur. Among the staff at the temple of Ekishnugal at Ur are priests with titles known from the city of Eridu, these carry intricate Sumerian names and thus reflect the high esteem in which the Eridu temples were held, as well as the devotion to the gods of Eridu.

4.7.5   Diplomacy – envoys, administrators

For at least four millennia, Mesopotamia and Egypt were the most complex and highly developed societies in the Ancient Near East. For virtually all of the pharaonic period Egypt remained homogeneous with the short exceptions of the Intermediate Periods. Mesopotamia on the other hand, located as it was between Asia, Africa and Europe, comprised a varied cultural mixture (Feldman 2001:384). The contact point for these two civilisations was the Syro-Palestinian region.

Whilst what may be loosely known as contact, certainly some form of regional and even international diplomacy was carried out from earliest times. However, the second millennium

BCE saw diplomacy reach an unprecedentedly high level such that it has been called the 'era of internationalism,' wherein intensified commercial, political and social contacts among the various states of the Ancient Near East characterised the period (Knapp 1988:135). The second millennium conveniently divides into the first and second half with a period of uncertainty in the middle typified by the Egyptian Intermediate period:

MB IIA	2000-1750 BCE	Egyptian Middle Kingdom – 12th Dynasty
MB IIB	1750-1550 BCE	Levantine city states – 13th -15th Dynasty
LB I	1550-1400 BCE	Egyptian New Kingdom (to Amenhotep II)
LB IIA	1400-1300 BCE	N.K. later 18th Dynasty (from Thutmose IV)
LB IIB	1300-1150 BCE	N.K. 19th-20th Dynasty – Ramessides
IA I	1150-1050 BCE	De-urbanisation – Settlement
IA IIB	1050-1000 BCE	Growth of settlements – Regional centres

Table 5 Overview of the second millennium BCE periods

(Abstracted from Keel & Uehlinger 1998:410)

The first half of the second millennium saw Babylonia under Hammurabi (ca. 1792-1750 BCE) expanding north westwards and finally capturing Mari. Whilst the city state of Assur established trading colonies in Cappadocia and for a short period ruled parts of northern Syria. At the same time Egypt increased its presence and influence along the Eastern Mediterranean coast in places such as Byblos and Ebla (Feldman 2001:387). The primary reason for contact was for trade, largely conducted between neighbouring regions. Doubtless trade was often a euphemism for 'raid' since this was not necessarily a peaceful encounter!

Cylinder seals from Syro-Palestine at this time have a mixture of Mesopotamian and Egyptian images, demonstrating the intimate nature of these cultures. Of particular note is the appearance of the Egyptian winged disc in Syria and its usage in both Hittite and Mitannian art and then in Assyrian art (Cornelius forthcoming) where it often represents their state god Ashur (Feldman 2001:387). From the many examples of the winged disc across the Ancient Near East can be seen the 8th century BCE image on the chariot draft pole of Tiglath Pileser III from Nimrud (Fig. 41) (Ornan 2005: Fig. 3), which was found on a wall relief depicting his capture of Ašuratu. A more pertinent example is the famous 'El' stele from the house of a

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sculptor on the acropolis at Ugarit (Cornelius & Niehr 2004: Abb. 68). The seated bearded figure wears the *atef* crown and large horns, his feet rest on a stool and he reaches out in a gesture of blessing. The standing figure to the left wears a crown and uraeus and is thereby identified as a king. For many years and still today the seated figure has been identified as El although it has been suggested it might be Baʿal. The point here is that above the figures we can again see the winged disc in this case from Ugarit (Fig. 42).

Figure 41 Tiglath Pileser III with Winged disc on draft pole.

(British Museum WA 1189081 in: Ornan 2005: Fig. 3)

Figure 42 'El' stele from Ugarit

(Cornelius & Niehr 2004: Abb. 68)

The middle of the second millennium was a time of population movement and general interactions across the region. Whilst the specific sequence of events has given rise to much debate, it is clear that a group or collection of peoples, now called the 'Hyksos,' most probably from northern Syro-Palestine, appeared on the scene. This group took up residence in the north eastern Delta region with their capital of Avaris (Tell el–Dabʿa). The implications of the Hyksos in Egypt on the psyche and religion of the Egyptian people as well as the relationship of deities across the Ancient Near East are discussed elsewhere in this study (cf. chap. 6). However, it must again be said that for the first time Egypt was to be ruled by non-Egyptians, so it can only be imagined how profound an effect this must have had.

The relatively short tenure of the Hyksos in Egypt and the military confrontations leading to their expulsion left little time for diplomacy. Following the demise of the Hyksos we enter the Late Bronze Age (ca. 1600-1100 BCE), now widespread contact across the Ancient Near East led to intensified conflict and diplomatic contact together with some inter-dynastic marriages

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(Feldman 2001:387). The period fortunately produced a plentiful supply of documentation and artefacts many of which still exist today enabling us to corroborate the situation at that time. The avaricious nature of man suggests that he would covet materials and goods from elsewhere thus becoming a major focus for merchants travelling between regions to acquire desirable items. Thus merchants moved between royal courts to conduct mutually beneficial trade agreements. Diplomatic messengers frequently accompanied such merchants where political alliances were arranged including marriages between dynasties. Naturally such messengers bore gifts of considerable value, the most extensive descriptions of luxury objects in terms of quantity are given in four tablets from the Amarna archive EA13, EA14, EA 22 and EA 25 (Feldman 2006:105). EA 13 and EA14 detail respectively gifts sent to Babylon on the occasion of Akhenaten's marriage to a Babylonian princess and the list of dowry gifts sent with the princess to her marriage. Similarly the tablets EA22 and EA 25 list the wedding gifts from Tushratta the king of Mitanni to Amenhotep III.

When Akhenaten the so called 'Heretic King' ruled in Egypt, from his newly built capital of el-Amarna in Middle Egypt, there was intense correspondence between his court and those of foreign rulers and his vassal states. The so called 'Amarna letters' a corpus of some 350 clay tablets were found in the ruins of the chancery at Amarna by peasants in 1887 (Moran 2001:65). This correspondence was largely in Akkadian cuneiform the *lingua franca* of international trade and diplomacy and exhibited the metaphoric references between all kings as 'brothers,' idealising the theme of love and friendship. The reality of course being argument, misunderstandings and disappointment all clearly stated (Moran 2001:66). The example given here (EA161) is a letter from Aziru leader of the Amurru, stating his case to the Pharaoh.
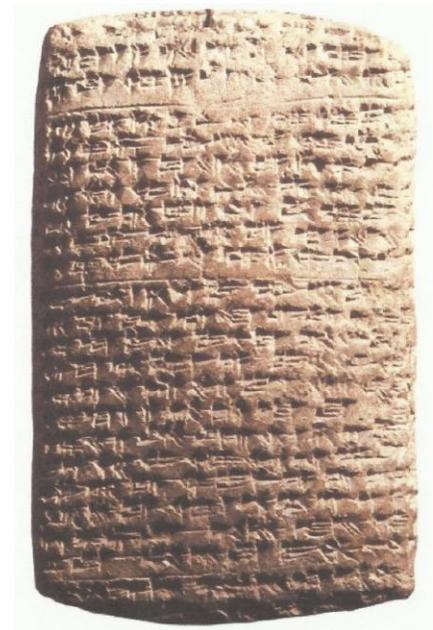
Figure 43 Amarna letter EA 161

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Amarna_Akkadian_letter.png

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The book edited by Cohen and Westbrook (2000) examines the Amarna letters in some detail. The vast majority of correspondence is from Egypt's vassal states to the pharaoh and shed light on the Egyptian administration (Moran 2001:66-67). The letters give a picture of the relationships between Egypt and the other great powers as well as between Egypt and her vassal states. A further use can be seen as the provision of intelligence with respect to activities of other states:

> 'The king, my lord, wrote me on a tablet, "Write whatever you hear to the king." Zimredda of Sidon, the rebel against the king, and the men of Arwada have exchanged oaths among themselves, and they have assembled their ships, chariots, and infantry, to capture Tyre. They captured Sumur through the instructions of Zimredda, who brings the word of the king to Aziru.'
>
> (EA 149:54-73. Cohen 2000:94)

Apparently an understanding was reached between Tushratta of Mittani and Amenhotep III with respect to a gift of gold. Following the death of the Pharaoh his successor Akhenaten failed to honour this promise, following unsuccessful attempts to further solicit the promised gift the following letter was sent by Tushratta:

> 'But my brother has not sent the solid (gold) statues that your father was going to send. You have sent plated ones of wood. Nor have you sent me the goods that your father was going to send me, but you have reduced (them) greatly. Yet there is nothing I know of in which I have failed my brother. Any day that I hear the greetings of my brother, that day I make a festive occasion.'
>
> (EA 27:32-36. Artzi 2000:210)

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4.8   Summary and conclusions

There were many ways in which foreign contact occurred between the various countries of the Ancient Near East; in this chapter an overview has been presented. Wherever contact was made new blood and fresh ideas could influence the cultures of the countries affected, this influence being especially strong in the religious domain. Although much of the contact was through foreign incursions, it is apposite to understand that a society was as much if not more affected by the non-hostile presence of foreigners. Here we might group such non-hostile contacts as traders, mercenaries, envoys and immigrants, all of whom could have been present for extended periods if not permanently. Any non-indigenous person would inevitably bring their own culture, thus causing an interaction which would doubtless influence both of the cultures in question. This would be a two way street and degrees of 'acculturation' and 'diffusion' would occur in both the foreign as well as the local population, the scope and spread of which would depend on many factors. Clearly the effect would have been greatest at the highest levels of society.

Chapter 5.   Iconographical and textual evidence (Corpus)

5.1   Introduction

> 'Iconography is not an eyewitness, nor a window into the past, but remains visible testimony in its own right.'
>
> (Uehlinger 2007:335 n. 28)

This corpus does not purport to be either a primary or a comprehensive study; rather it is a selection of the commonly accepted iconographical state of research. Here the identifications are frequently difficult and should be seen as 'possible' or 'most likely.' The corpus presented aims to illustrate the extant iconography of both Baᶜal and Seth as well as the hybrid god Baᶜal-Seth. In addition some images are appended to indicate the influence of Egypt on Syro-Palestine. Finally some relevant Egyptian inscriptions show the proliferation of especially Baᶜal in Egypt during the Ramesside period.

The iconographical items presented are grouped according to their most likely identification with the textual evidence being separate:

Grouping is as follows:

S: Seth
B: Baᶜal
BS: Baᶜal-Seth
P: Other

Each group is ordered according to medium, firstly stelae and bas-reliefs followed by seals (glyptic) both scarabs/scaraboids and then cylinder seals, finally a few bronze statuettes and pottery items. Information such as the provenance, inventory and date is given under each specific item. Sources and some recent publications are included for each item. The examples have been selected to illustrate the attributes of the subject gods as well as to demonstrate the influence of Egypt across the Ancient Near East.

T: Textual

Notwithstanding the emphasis on iconographical representation in this study, it is still germane to consider the textual evidence to gain further understanding of the relationship between Seth and Baʿal. References have been found on votive and commemorative stelae, relief inscriptions at temples as well as letters, laudatory texts and historical or economic records on papyri. This textual information complements the iconographical evidence for this study. The texts presented provide a selection of some of the most well known especially from the New Kingdom prolific records during the reigns of Ramesses II and Ramesses III. Much of the evidence is found in situ and frequently repeated at a number of ancient sites across Egypt.

Table 6   Iconographical and Textual Corpus Index

Ref	Inventory no. Identification	Item	Provenance	Location
S1	Pap. Her-Ouben	vignette	Unspecified	Egyptian Museum - Cairo
S2	E26017	stele	Qantir (?)	Louvre Museum
S3	E7036B	scarab	Trade purchase	Brussels Museum
S4	IAA 35.1745	scarab	Tell el-Farah(S)	Rockefeller, Jerusalem
S5	Sk. E2/I/d5	scarab	Deir el-Balah	Israel Museum
S6	IAA 73-113	scarab	Akko –surface find	Rockefeller, Jerusalem
S7	L789	scarab	Tell el-Farah(S)	British Museum
S8	Unknown	scarab	Jerusalem -Gihon spring	Unspecified
S9	5079	scarab	Trade purchase	Leipzig Museum
S10	Unknown	c seal	Tell el-Zafi - Aschdod	Schefela Museum
S11	AO22361	c seal	Sidon?	Louvre Museum
S12	AEIN 726	bʾze fig.	Nr. Saqqara	Ny. Carlsberg Glyptotek
B1	AO15775	stele	Ugarit	Louvre Museum
B2	AO13176	stele	Ugarit	Louvre Museum
B3	A 384	stele	Qadesh – Tell Nebi-Mend	Aleppo Museum
B4	D 6357	stele	Ugarit	Damascus Museum
B5	FZN87/0890-0891	stele	Qantir	Unspecified
B6	BM 130652	c seal	Tell Atchana - Alalakh	British Museum
B7	D 3565	c seal	Ugarit	Damascus Museum
B8	35.4442	c seal	Beitin - Bethel	Rockefeller, Jerusalem
B9	RS 7.181	c seal	Ugarit	Damascus Museum
B10	D 3016	c seal	Ugarit	Damascus Museum
B11	AO19408	c seal	Ugarit	Louvre Museum
B12	D 2910	c seal	Ugarit	Damascus Museum
B13	2995 site F1	c seal	Avaris - Tell el-Dabʿa	Unspecified
B14	H 1906	bʾze fig.	Purchased 1989	Haifa university
B15	AO11598	bʾze fig.	Ugarit - Minet el-Beida	Louvre Museum
B16	Unknown	rhyton	Kition -Larnaka	Cyprus Museum
BS1	JE 60539	stele	San el-Hagar - Tanis	Egyptian Museum - Cairo
BS2	B 8440	stele	Thebes west	Egyptian Museum - Berlin
BS3	JE 88879	stele	Qantir	Egyptian Museum - Cairo
BS4	E 714	stele	Serabit el-Khadim - Sinai	Ashmolean Museum Oxford
BS5	AEIN 726	stele	Purchased Egypt	Ny. Carlsberg Glyptotek
BS6	7265	relief	Tanis/Alexandria?	Egyptian Museum - Berlin
BS7	IAA 00-2165	graffito	Tell el-Duweir - Lachish	Rockefeller, Jerusalem
BS8	Tomb 118 No. 272	scarab	Deir el-Balah	Jerusalem Museum
BS9	23.F54b	scarab	Unknown	St Florian Stift Austria
BS10	BM L.604	scarab	Tell el-Farah(S)	British Museum
BS11	ÄS 2412	scarab	Unknown	Egyptian Museum - München
BS12	MAK/AS 2414	scarab	Unknown	Cracow Museum
BS13	27316	scarab	City of David	Unspecified
BS14	34.3090	scarab	Tell el-Duweir – Lachish	Rockefeller, Jerusalem
BS15	EVI 24/29	scarab	Tell el-Farah(S)	I A London
BS16	Unknown	scarab	Purchased	Cassirer Private collection
BS17	RIH 87/14	scarab	Ugarit - Minet el-Beida	Unspecified
BS18	No. 4	scarab	Deir ʿAlla - Succoth	Unspecified
BS19	36.1572	scarab	Tell el-Duweir - Lachish	Rockefeller, Jerusalem
BS20	CAA 2.182	scarab	Purchased	Kestner Museum - Hannover
BS21	AMP 33254	scarab	Unknown	Egyptian Museum - Berlin
BS22	MNK IV-Zl-2796	scaraboid	Unknown	Cracow Museum
BS23	SK 71	scarab	Purchased Jerusalem	Bib Inst Fribourg
BS24	EVII 80/26	scarab	Tell el-Farah(S)	I A London
BS25	Unknown	scarab	Trade purchase	Unknown
BS26	No. 30	scarab	Tell es-Saʾidiya	Saraya Museum
BS27	1889.284	conoid	Unknown	Ashmolean Museum Oxford
BS28	35.4011	c seal	Tell el-ʿAjjul	Rockefeller, Jerusalem
BS29	E 6190	plaque	Purchased Zagazig	Brussels Museum

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Ref	Inventory no. Identification	Item	Provenance	Location
P1	Baluʕa stele	stele	Herat al- Baluʕa	Amman Museum Jordan
P2	IAA S-982	stele	Beth Shean	Israel Museum
P3	AO505	stele	Rujm El-ʕAbd - Shihan	Louvre Museum
T1	Qadesh - poem	relief	Karnak, Luxor	In situ
T2	Qadesh - poem	relief	Abydos, Karnak, Luxor	In situ
T3	Qadesh - poem	relief	Karnak, Luxor, Ramesseum	In situ
T4	Qadesh - poem	relief	Luxor	In situ
T5	Qadesh - bulletin	relief	Abu Simbel, Luxor, Ramesseum	In situ
T6	Qadesh - battle	relief	Abu Simbel, Ramesseum	In situ
T7	1st Libyan war	relief	Medinet Habu	In situ
T8	1st Libyan war	relief	Medinet Habu	In situ
T9	Ram II - Lions	relief	Medinet Habu	In situ
T10	Sea peoples	relief	Medinet Habu	In situ
T11	Sea peoples	relief	Medinet Habu	In situ
T12	Sea peoples	relief	Medinet Habu	In situ
T13	Sea peoples	relief	Medinet Habu	In situ
T14	2nd Libyan war	relief	Medinet Habu	In situ
T15	2nd Libyan war	relief	Medinet Habu	In situ
T16	2nd Libyan war	relief	Medinet Habu	In situ
T17	2nd Libyan war	relief	Medinet Habu	In situ
T18	Victory over Libyans	relief	Medinet Habu	In situ
T19	Attack –Hittite towns	relief	Medinet Habu	In situ
T20	Storm fortress Amurru	relief	Medinet Habu	In situ
T21	Baʕal in Memphis	papyrus	Memphis	Unspecified
T22	EA10184	papyrus	Purchased	British Museum
T23	I343 +I345	papyrus	Memphis	Unspecified
T24	EA 147	tablet	Ugarit	Unspecified

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5.2   Seth

S1 *Her-Ouben* Papyrus

Inventory:	*Funerary papyrus of Her-Ouben*. Egyptian Museum Cairo
Provenance:	Unspecified.
Object:	Vignette.
Material:	Papyrus.
Dimensions:	Unspecified.
Date:	21st Dynasty.
Published:	Nagel 1929:35, Fig. 1; Keel 1997: Fig. 55; te Velde 1967:99-108 Pl. VII.

Description: On the right (not shown) the deceased singer of Amen-Ra the king of gods, called Her-Ouben is in adoration. The depiction shows the solar barque towed by four jackals and four uraei with hands and arms. The jackals are in an upper register, walking in the sky. The barque also in the sky rides on the coils of the serpent Apep who rears up facing the prow of the barque. Seth standing in the prow thrusts a long spear into the serpent's mouth. In the centre of the barque the Sun God sits on his throne. The intention is to demonstrate Seth's role as defender and protector of Ra.

A number of texts add commentary to the images: For example at the Ramesseum we find the following

inscription amongst the litany to Ra: [hieroglyphs] 'Seth lord of life, on the prow of the barque of Ra.'

A further example reads: [hieroglyphs] 'Seth in the barque.' Is the name of a son of Ramesses II.

Identification: This is clearly Seth in his normal anthropomorphic form.

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S2 *E 26017 Astarte* stele

Inventory: *E 26017* Louvre Museum
Provenance: Qantir?
Object: Stele, lower part missing
Material: Limestone
Dimensions: 48.5 (l) x 52.5 (w) x 8.5 (t) cm.
Date: 1279-1213 BCE (Ramses II).
Published: Goldwasser 1995:49-50, Fig. 3: Leitz 2002: ꜥ*strt* [9]; Cornelius 2008a Pl. 3.6;Tazawa 2009:86 Doc.9 Pl. XIV.

Description: Astarte stele. In the lunette is the god Seth depicted as what is generally seen as a sphinx (possibly a lion) with the head of the Seth-animal looking to the right surrounded by four lines of inscription. Below are two figures facing each other, the one on the left offers lotus flowers in his left hand and incense in the right. He can be identified as Ramesses II from the cartouches in front of him. The second figure to whom the offering is made is the goddess Astarte also identified by the inscriptions in front of her. She wears an atef crown

and holds a sceptre in the right hand possible the *w3s*-sceptre (⌐) although the top is badly damaged. Her left arm hangs down holding what appears to be the ꜥ*nh* symbol. An offering table piled high with various offerings stands between the two figures.

Identification: The sphinx is Seth because of the head and as indicated in the text. The other figures are identified as Ramesses II and Astarte by their inscriptions.

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S3 *E 7036b* Scarab
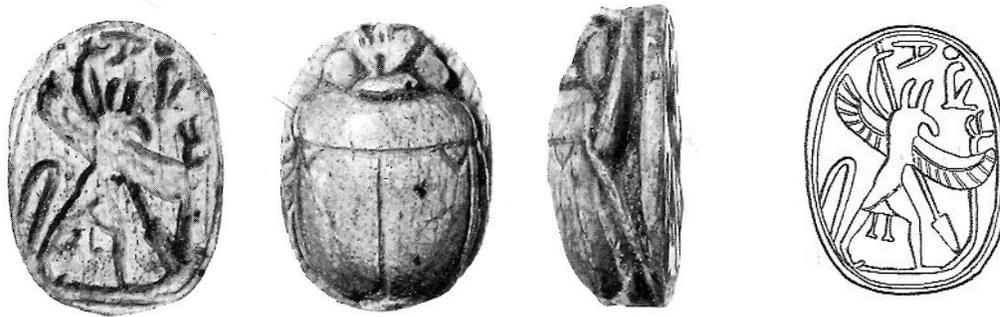
Inventory:	*E 7036b Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire: Brüssel.*
Provenance:	Unknown, trade purchase.
Object:	Scarab.
Material:	Burnt steatite shows remains of blue green glaze.
Dimensions:	2.04 (l) x 1.52 (w) x 0.88 (t) cm.
Date:	1292-1070 BCE.
Published:	Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990:309-311, Fig. 84; Keel 2009a: 91 Abb. 8; Schroer 2011:332 No. 898.

Description: In an unusual way the winged figure appears with separate arms, and is clearly in Sethian form with his head and ears. He wears a short kilt with two tassels between the legs. Whilst grasping the horned serpent (Apep/Leviathan?) with the left hand (wing?) he treads on the serpent's body which lies along the ground and coils behind the figure. His left hand is raised holding a long spear which is being thrust into the serpent's body.

Identification: The depiction is primarily of an Egyptian god fighting the serpent. The inscriptions above the figure are *mrj rᶜ* 'beloved of Ra'. However the tassels on the skirt provide an Asiatic input. The figure has often been identified as Baᶜal-Seth (Keel 2009a), but given the Sethian appearance, attributes and inscription perhaps it is Seth.

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S4 *IAA 35.1745* Scarab

Inventory:	*IAA 35.1745* Rockefeller Museum: Jerusalem.
Provenance:	Tell –el Farᶜah south.
Object:	Scarab.
Material:	White Steatite.
Dimensions:	1.75 (l) x 1.3 (w) x 0.7 (t) cm.
Date:	19th-20th Dynasty.
Published:	Keel 2009a:97 Abb. 21; Keel 2010b:350-351 No. 759.

Description: The figure facing right stands on a base line which forms part of the border line and also forms the letters *nb*. The anthropomorphic God has a Sethian head and ears. The arm to the left hangs down whilst that to the right is extended down and then upwards to form a uraeus facing right and rearing in front of the figures face. Above the figure is a sun disc and in front of the uraeus is a schematic reed leaf. The inscription thus reads *nb t3<wj>* 'Lord of the Two Countries.'

Identification: The Sethian features identify this god as Seth.

S5 *Sk. E2/I/d5* Scarab

Inventory: *Sk, E2/I/d5,* Israel Museum: Jerusalem.
Provenance: Deir el-Balah.
Object: Scarab, base partly broken away.
Material: Carnelian.
Dimensions: 1.55 (l) x 1.1 (w) x 0.7 (t) cm.
Date: 19th Dynasty (1292-1190 BCE).
Published: Keel 2009a:96 Abb. 18; Keel 2010a:406-407 No. 13.

Description: The Set-animal is shown facing right and squatting on his hind legs on two base lines. There are two inscribed epithets on the depiction: '*ꜥꜣ-pḥ(tj) mrj Jmn*' 'Seth inviolable in strength' and 'beloved of Ra.'

Identification: Keel (2009a) sees the squatting Seth-animal as Seti I . There are no Asiatic attributes in evidence so this is clearly Egyptian and represents either the god Seth or indeed purely the king Seti I.

S6 *IAA 73-113* Scarab

Inventory*:*   *IAA 73-133 chemals Akko collection*: Jerusalem.
Provenance: Akko (Acco), surface find on Tell.
Object: Scarab, planar engraving with hatching.
Material: Steatite.
Dimensions: 1.5 (l) x 1.0 (w) x 0.6 (t) cm.
Date: 19th-20th Dynasty.
Published: Keel 2007: Akko No. 25; Keel 2009a:98 Abb. 22.

Description: The images are surrounded by a border, and consist of two figures facing right. The right hand figure is an anthropomorphic hawk headed god with a sun disc over the head; his arms are hanging down. This is probably Ra-Horakhty. The figure to the left is also an anthropomorphic god with an animal head and two long ears or Horns (?) carelessly positioned on the nose, this is most likely Seth. The figures both wear long striped dresses and are holding hands.

Identification: The left hand figure can be identified as Seth.

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S7 *L789* Scarab

Inventory: L. 789. *Sk, F7, vIIv/e12.129* collection, British Museum Department of Western Asiatic Antiquities
Provenance: Tell el-Farˤah south.
Object: Scarab.
Material: Steatite.
Dimensions: 1.5 (l) x 1.1 (w) x 0.6 (t) cm.
Date: 19th-20th Dynasty.
Published: Keel 2010b:108-109 No. 188.

Description: The scarab is depicted horizontally. A figure in the centre faces right, it has a Sethian head with pointed snout and long ears, the arms hang down. The figure is flanked by two uraei facing inwards. Both uraei and the figure are shown with squared hatching.

Identification: The attributes of the head and ears suggest that this is Seth.

S8 *Jerusalem* Scarab

Inventory: Unknown
Provenance: Near Gihon spring Jerusalem.
Object: Scarab.
Material: Steatite?
Dimensions: 2.0 (l) x 1.52(w) cm. (est.)?
Date: 1292-1070 BCE.
Published: Keel 2007:206 Abb. 126; Keel 2009a:99 Abb. 26; Keel 2009b:223 Abb. 5. Keel 2011:52 Abb. 26 (GIM 126)

Description: A winged figure is shown clearly in Sethian form with his head and ears. He wears a short kilt or perhaps the three strokes below the knee indicate a long dress. In front of the figure is a stylised uraeus, whilst behind him are two upright symbols one with three short strokes at the top it is unclear what these represent. In front of the figure's face is a sun disc and behind his head is a further elongated disc.

Identification: Probably a Ramesside scarab, the depiction is primarily of an Egyptian god. The inscriptions above the figure may be 'beloved of Ra'. The figure has often been identified as Seth (Keel 2009b), given the Sethian appearance and attributes this is the most likely. Recently Keel (2011) appears to favour Baˤal-Seth.

S9 *5079 Leipzig* Scarab

Inventory:	*5079 Ägyptisches Museum der Universität, Leipzig.*
Provenance:	Unknown, trade purchase.
Object:	Scarab.
Material:	Steatite?
Dimensions:	2.0 (l) x 1.5 (w) cm (est.)
Date:	1292-1070 BCE.
Published:	Keel 2007:209. Abb. 129; Keel 2009a:91. Abb. 12; Keel 2009b:223, Abb. 6.

Description: A winged figure is shown clearly in Sethian form with his head and ears. He wears a short kilt with three tassels between the legs and two 'flying' tassels to one side. A long streamer hangs down from the back of the head. Whilst grasping the horned serpent with the left hand he treads on the serpent's body which lies along the ground. His right hand is raised holding a long spear which is being thrust into the serpent's body. Above his head is the inscription *mrj rꜥ* 'beloved of Ra.'

Identification: The depiction is primarily of an Egyptian god fighting the serpent. However the tassels on the skirt and streamer provide an Asiatic input. The figure has often been identified as Baꜥal-Seth (Keel 2009a), but given the Sethian appearance, attributes and inscription perhaps it is Seth.

S10 *Tell el-Zafi* Cylinder seal
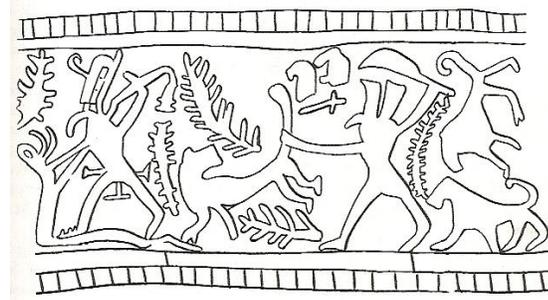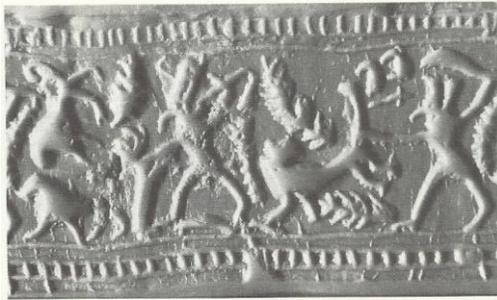
| Inventory:	*Kefar Menahem,* Schefela Museum.
Provenance:	Tell el-Zafi (20km from Aschdod).
Object:	Cylinder seal.
Material:	Burnt steatite.
Dimensions:	2.5 (h) x 0.5 (ø).
Date:	ca. 13th century BCE.
Published:	Giveon 1978:97-98 Fig. 49; Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990:310-311, Fig. 82; Cornelius 1994: 222, Fig. 49a; Keel/Uehlinger 1998:78-79, Fig. 89; Keel 2009a:101 Abb. 36; Schroer 2011:330 No. 896.

Description: The two figures depicted show typical Sethian features of large truncated ears and pointed snout. The figure on the right is surrounded by three lions; with one hand it grasps the one lion by the tail, whilst it is turning back to him, in the other hand the figure brandishes a curved sword. Above the figure is the inscription ꜥꜣ pḥtj 'great in power,' confirming Seth's rule over the lions. The figure on the left wears a double crown with a protuberance in front which could be a uraeus; the figure brandishes a weapon (flail?) above its head to slay the creature. This creature at first glance could be a horned snake facing left, two arms (or legs) appear between the assailants, it is unclear if these belong to the creature or the attacking figure maybe even extensions of the weapon since the figure also has two 'arms' to the rear. The figure has a short garment with *Asiatic tassels* at the lower seam between the legs and to each side.

Identification: Although the figures clearly have Sethian attributes (snout and ears), the Asiatic dress is more appropriate to Baꜥal. The identification is difficult and disputed. Giveon (1978) and later Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger (1990) and Cornelius (1994) favoured Seth but Keel/Uehlinger (1998) seem to prefer Baꜥal-Seth. See also Schroer (2011) Figs. 897 & 898 where Seth is the most probable identification.

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S11 *AO 22361* Cylinder seal
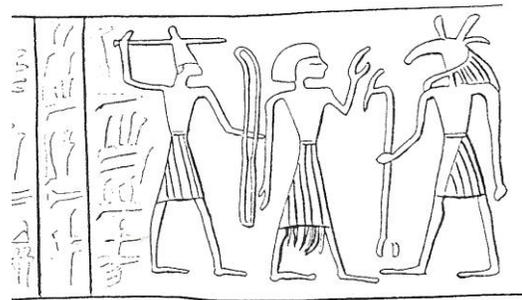
Inventory: *AO 22361* Louvre Museum (ex-collection de Clercq).
Provenance: Sidon?
Object: Cylinder seal impression.
Material: Blue cobalt glass imitation of lapis lazuli.
Dimensions: 2.6 (l) x 1.3 (w) cm.
Date: ca. 1350-1200 BCE.
Published: Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990:302-303 Fig. 66; Cornelius 1994:92 RM2 Pl.27.

Description: A human figure stands between two striding gods with short pleated kilts. The left hand is raised in praise (?). It faces a god with an animal head having a pointed snout and large truncated ears, the right hand holds a *wȝs* -sceptre ( ) and the left hand hangs down. On the left is a figure in a white crown facing right, in the left hand is a shield and the right is raised brandishing a weapon. On either side are inscriptions in Middle Babylonian cuneiform.

Identification: The figure on the left is identified as Resheph from the characteristic pose and shield. The god on the right clearly has the appearance of Seth.

138

S12 *AEIN 614* statue

Inventory:	*AEIN614* Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek.
Provenance:	Nr. Saqqara
Object:	Statue
Material:	Copper alloy
Dimensions:	67.7 (h) cm.
Date:	19-20th Dynasty.
Published:	Te Velde 1967 Pl. I; Schorsch & Wypyski 2009:178-179

Description: This statue was discovered in the late 19th century C.E. together with other statuary of much later date. The statue is made in human form but with an animal head, standing in a menacing pose. The head exhibits the characteristic Seth-animal snout, however the upright ears are missing and rams horns have been added. A double crown perches somewhat precariously on the head. Te Velde suggests that the alteration was carried out deliberately to change the image to that of the ram headed divine potter Khnum (1967:146 n. 2). On the other hand Schorsch & Wypyski believe the new persona was Atum (2009:177), which was confirmed by Vandier (1969:188-197). Both suggestions, however, concur that the transformation was a necessary disguise as a result of the changing political situation and gradual displacement of Seth from the Third Intermediate Period onwards. The study by Schorsch & Wypyski clearly shows that such a modification took place in antiquity.

Identification: The consensus of opinion favours Seth for the original statue.

5.3   Baʿal

B1 *AO 15775* Stele
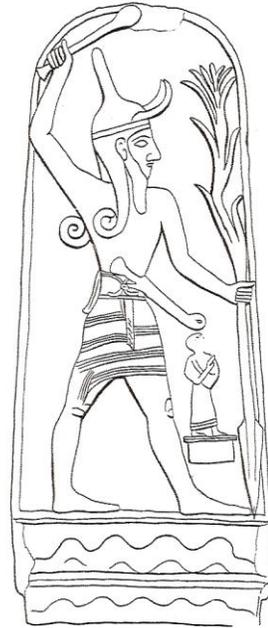
Inventory: *AO 15775* Louvre Museum
Provenance: Ugarit (Ras Shamra), west of the Baʿal Temple on the Acropolis.
Object: Stele, rounded top, excellent condition but damaged at the top.
Material: White limestone.
Dimensions: 142 (h) x 50 (w) x 28 (t) cm.
Date: ca. 1700-1400 BCE.
Published: Schaeffer-Forrer 1983:122-123, Pl. XVI; Cornelius 1994:135 BR1, Pl. 32; Cornelius in: Watson/Wyatt 1999:589-590 Fig. 11; Cornelius/Niehr 2004:46 Abb. 71; Yon 2006:134-135 Fig. 18; Schroer 2008:248 Fig. 483.

Description: Commonly known as 'Baʿal au foudre,' a barefoot figure strides right, standing on a double base line above wavy lines, identifiable as either sea or more likely mountains as the weather god is shown on mountains elsewhere (e.g. Dijkstra 1991). The figure has a long Asiatic beard onto his chest and wears a short tight fitting kilt decorated with horizontal bands and a small tassel on the left. A broad belt and thin cord fastens the kilt. A large curved dagger or sword hangs from the belt in its sheath. On his head is a helmet with a long point and a pair of bull horns, two long locks hang down to the chest. In his raised right hand is a club or mace (unclear) and in the left hand he holds a spear whose point rests on the ground. The top end of the spear spreads out like a plant; this is frequently referred to as a 'thunderbolt'. A miniature figure facing away from the god 'floats' below the dagger in front of the deity whilst standing on a pedestal, he raises his hands in praise.

Identification: The horns identify the figure as a god. Comparable inscribed figures are identified as a weather god, thus this figure should be identified as such.   The 'plant' spear is a unique attribute that enables identification as the weather god Baʿal.

140

B2 *AO 13176* **Stele**
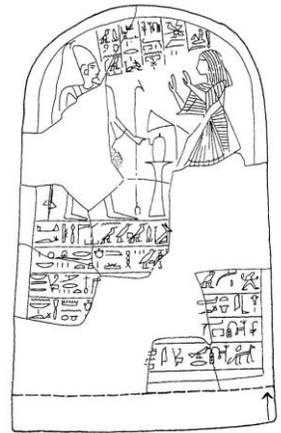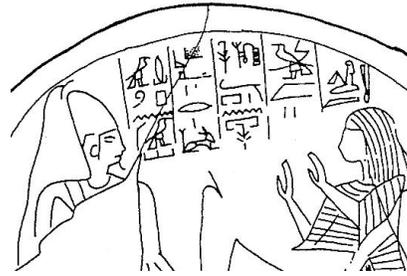
Inventory: *AO 13176* Louvre Museum
Provenance: Ugarit (Ras Shamra) Temple of Baʿal.
Object: Stele with rounded top, badly broken, reconstructed and some parts lost.
Material: Red sandstone.
Dimensions: 42 (h) x 25 (w) cm.
Date: ca. 1300 BCE.
Published: Yon 1991:328 Fig. 8(a); Cornelius 1994:151 BR11, Pl. 39; Cornelius/Niehr 2004:46 Abb. 72; Yon 2006:134-135 Fig. 17; Tazawa 2009:16 Doc. 8.; Müller 2011:88-90 Abb. 3.

Description: The figure on the left is striding barefoot on a base line above a long inscription. Much of his body from shoulder to ankle has been lost; however, it is possible to see an Egyptian beard and a conical crown with a long streamer hanging down the back ending in a flower. A band at his shoulder suggests that he had cross bands over the chest doubtless holding up the kilt. In the left hand he holds the *wꜣs*-sceptre (⍋) and in all probability (from other similar images) he would have held the *ʿnḫ*-symbol (☥) in the right hand. A lotus flower and a cultic stand with water jar are placed between the figures. The figure to the right is dressed in Egyptian style and is in a position of adoration. Between the two figures are five lines of inscription and below the figures are six fragmentary lines of inscription. Although the stele follows Egyptian iconographical principle and is dedicated by an Egyptian it is generally held that it was in fact locally produced.

Identification: The second upper line has Baʿal and the Seth-animal, whilst the three lines to the right read; 'the royal scribe, overseer of the treasury, Mami the justified.' The god is clearly identified by the glyphs as *bʿr ḏꜣpwnꜣ* − Baʿal-Zaphon (Saphon). It has been suggested that one could read the phonograms b-a-r = Baʿal and followed by the Seth-animal as determinative the inscription could be taken as Baʿal-Seth.

141

B3 *384* **Stele**
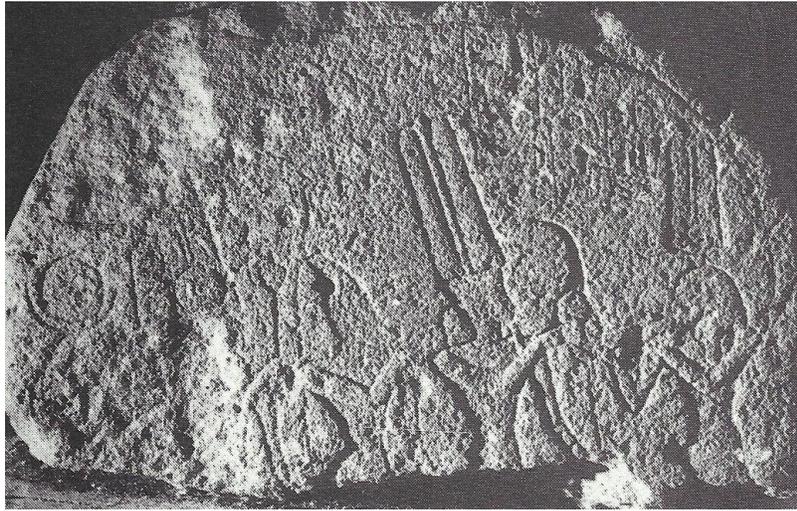
Inventory: *384* Aleppo National Museum.
Provenance: Qadesh (Tell Nebi Mend).
Object: Fragment of rounded top stele.
Material: Black Basalt.
Dimensions: 45 (h) x 70 (w) cm.
Date: 1294-1279 BCE – Seti I.
Published: Cornelius 1994:153 BR12, Pl. 40; Tazawa 2009:13 Doc.1, Pl. I.

Description: Seti I stele. This is part of a commemorative stele of Seti I for the victory of Egypt at Qadesh. Seti I on the right identified by his royal cartouche receives the *ḫpš*-sword (⌒) from Amen-Ra who wears the feather crown. The figure behind Amun-Ra wears a conical crown, similar to the Egyptian white crown, with a streamer hanging down. His beard is unclear but perhaps an Asiatic type, his right is held forward holding (perhaps) some form of sceptre. The two deities behind this figure are unclear, the cow horns and solar disc indicate that the figure on the extreme left is Hathor and next to her is Montu (indicated by the inscription).

Identification: The figure behind Amun-Ra has Asiatic attributes, unfortunately the inscription is illegible. He could be Baʿal or Resheph, it has been argued (Stadelmann 1967:43) that since Resheph was replaced by Baʿal-Seth as the royal god in the Ramesside period this figure could be Baʿal.

142

B4 *6357* Stele

Inventory:	*6357.* National Museum Damascus
Provenance:	Ugarit (Ras Shamra).
Object:	Stele in anchor form, rounded top. The stele would not stand and would need to be supported or recessed into a wall.
Material:	Stone.
Dimensions:	20.6 (h) x 12.3 (w) x 5.7 (t) cm.
Date:	ca. 1500-1100 BCE.
Published:	Seeden 1980: Pl. 136.4; Yon 1991:311-312 No. 15 Fig. 21; Cornelius 1994:138 BR2 Pl. 33.

Description: Unusually the barefoot figure is striding to the left, wearing an Egyptian white crown and an Asiatic beard. Around the neck is a collar, and he is dressed in a short banded kilt with tassel hanging down between the legs. The left hand is raised and perhaps holding some object, the right hand holds a spear, resting on the ground blade upwards (cf. B11). The workmanship is poor, for example the bottom of the spear protrudes below the base line, although Yon (1991) speculates that this might be symbolic of being rooted in the soil. Perhaps this could be a prototype of the famous 'Baʿal au foudre' stele (B1).

Identification: The figure is possibly Baʿal, since no similar figure with raised hand and spear is known for Resheph who in any case normally carries a shield. Lipiński (1996) believes that there are insufficient attributes to make a positive identification. Cornelius (1994) identifies the figure as Baʿal since no Resheph with raised hand and only a spear is known. Yon (1991) has no hesitation in naming the figure as Baʿal.

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B5 *FZN 87/0890-0891* **Stele**
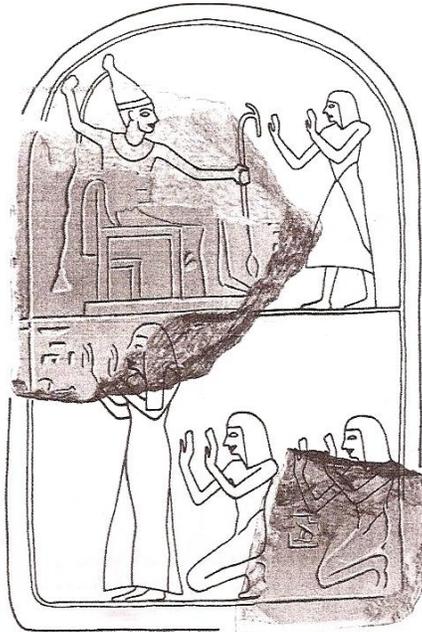
Inventory:	*FZN 87/0890-0891*
Provenance:	Qantir.
Object:	2 fragments of stele (reconstructed).
Material:	Limestone?
Dimensions:	0890 – 81.1 (h) x 7.8 (w) x 3.7 (t) cm.
	0891 – 13 (h) x 12.9 (w) x 4.7 (t) cm.
Date:	19th Dynasty.
Published:	Pusch/Eggebrecht 2006:249-256 Abb. 16.

Description: The two fragments were presented by Pusch/Eggebrecht (2006) in this reconstruction of the stele. There are two registers; the upper shows a seated figure facing right possibly holding a *wȝs*-sceptre (⌐), in the left hand whilst the right is raised in the 'menacing' position. The figure wears a conical hat with a long streamer from the top running down the back ending in a flower. Facing him is a second figure with arms raised in adoration. The lower register has three figures, the one on the left is standing with arms raised in adoration towards an inscription, the other two kneeling figures also face left with arms raised in adoration and between them is an inscription. The inscription in front of the lower standing figure is *nb.t pr šm[ȝjj.t n // ///]* – 'The mistress of the house, the singer of (god) // named ///].'

Identification: From the attributes shown in the reconstruction the menacing pose, crown and streamer, the seated figure is most probably Baʿal (Pusch/Eggebrecht 2006).

144

B6 *BM 130652* Cylinder seal

Inventory: *BM 130652*. British Museum London.
Provenance: Tell Atchana (Alalakh).
Object: Cylinder seal.
Material: Chlorite.
Dimensions: 2.35 (h) x 1.25 (ø).
Date: ca. 1500-1365 BCE.
Published: Collon 1982:75 No. 48; Cornelius 1994:171 BM3, Pl. 45.

Description: On the left a figure sits on a stool holding a large object (goblet?), separating him from the two other figures is a tree. The figure to the right strides to the left with the left arm raised in menacing pose, his right arm holds forward a weapon of unusual shape, perhaps some kind of plant, this has been described as a 'combined mace and lighting symbol or god sign' (Collon 1982). On his head he wears a crown with horns and a lock hanging down. Between the two facing gods at knee height is a disc.

Identification: The menacing god on the right is identified as Baʿal, by the menacing pose, lock and plant weapon.

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B7 *3565* Cylinder Seal
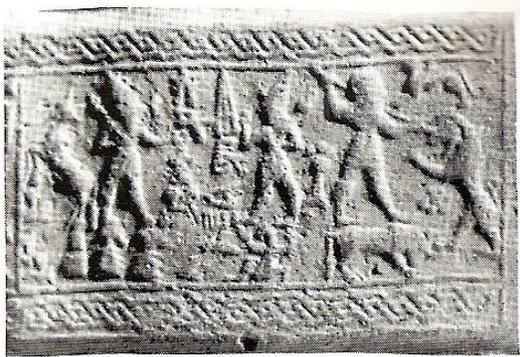
Inventory: *3565*. National Museum Damascus.
Provenance: Ugarit.
Object: Cylinder seal impression.
Material: Clay.
Dimensions: 4.7 (l) x 2.6 (h) cm.
Date: 1275-1250 BCE.
Published: Cornelius 1994:218-219 BM85 Pl.51; Lipiński 1996:259; Cornelius/Niehr 2004:56 Abb. 96a, b

Description: The top and bottom of the impression has a guilloche pattern. To the left (out of picture) is a cuneiform inscription. At the left are an animal and a horned figure standing on mountains, the figure carries a mace. Between the two facing figures are Luwian (Anatolian) hieroglyphs. A similar second figure in the centre faces the first whilst standing on a supporter, to the right of it is a third figure facing right and standing on a bull. This figure thrust down at a rampant lion with a spear. Above is a griffon and there is a rosette under the lion.

Identification: The figures on the left can be identified as Anatolian weather gods (e.g. Tešub). In the opinion of Lipiński (1996:259) the figure on the bull can be also identified as Tešub. Cornelius (1994) believes the figure attacking the lion must be identified as Baʿal since he is standing on a bull and was found in Ugarit.

B8 *35.4442 Rockefeller* **Cylinder seal**
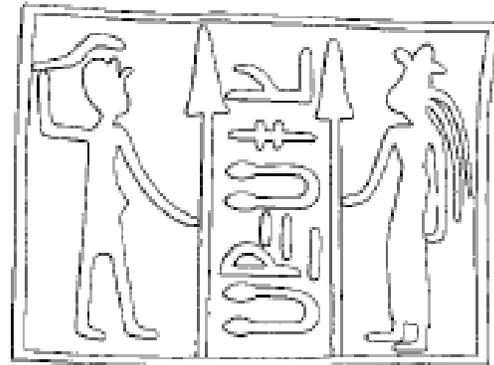
Inventory: *Rockefeller 35.4442.* Rockefeller Archaeological Museum: Jerusalem.

Provenance: Beitin (Bethel).

Object: Cylinder seal, vertical lines at sides.

Material: Faience.

Dimensions: 2.6 (h) x 1.1 (ø) cm.

Date: ca. 1300 BCE.

Published: Cornelius 1994:173 BM7 Pl. 45, 2004: Pl. 1.10; Tazawa 2009:88 Doc. 15 Pl. XV; Schroer 2011:322-323 No. 885.

Description: Two figures face each other separated by an inscription; both hold spears on the ground in front of them with the blades upwards. The left hand figure wears a short kilt and an Egyptian Blue *ḫprš* -Crown with two protruding horns (Uraeus?), raised above his head in the right hand is an *ḫpš*-sword (⌣). The figure to the right is in a long skirt wearing the *ȝtf*-crown (𓋚) with two long streamers.

Identification: The figure on the right is a goddess and sometimes identified as Astarte by the inscription, long dress and the *atef* crown with long ribbons. Cornelius (personal communication may 2013) has - 'with the text in the middle − recently I see three gods, one only epigraphic.' The figure on the left in the menacing position could be Resheph, but he is not shown with a raised hand and a spear in front, although this may be a craftsman's attempt to balance the spear of the goddess. There has been much debate over the figure on the left since no clear or positive attributes can be identified. The headdress decoration has been seen as either horns or a uraeus. Tazawa (2009) favours the figure as a king, commenting on the short kilt, Blue Crown and Uraeus. However, Cornelius (1994) suggests that this is Baʕal in a warrior-like pose. Recently Schroer (2011) has three gods with Baʕal-Seth on the left, Anat to the right while the centre inscription is translated as Astarte.

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B9 *R.S. 7.181* **Cylinder seal**

Inventory: *R.S. 7.181 Damascus Museum.*
Provenance: Ugarit, On the Acropolis near the temple of Baʿal.
Object: Cylinder seal.
Material: Haematite, brownish colouration.
Dimensions: 2.2 (h) x 1.0 (ø) cm.
Date: 18ᵗʰ – 17ᵗʰ centuries BCE.
Published: Schaeffer-Forrer 1983:25; Amiet 1992:34, 37 Fig. 45.

Description: The seal shows two distinct scenes, on the left, the god Baʿal, dressed and armed as shown on the large stone stele from Ugarit, with plant spear, mace, streamer and hair lock. He is facing a standing figure of the same size, wearing a smaller helmet with a neck guard that ends in a loop. His torso is bare and he is probably wearing a loin cloth (unclear). The figure has his hands tied behind the back, the ends of the cord can be seen protruding on either side, and thus this is doubtless a defeated captive. The fact that he is the same size as the god and standing indicates that he is of high rank. So the seal alludes to the defeat and submission of a high chief and enemy of Ugarit. The large *ʿnḫ*-symbol (⸸) suggests that the defeated chief will benefit from the grace of the god. The second scene is irrelevant to this study.

Identification: The god is identified as Baʿal from his attributes.

B10 *3016 Damascus* **Cylinder seal**

Inventory: *3016* Damascus Museum R.S. 28.025.
Provenance: Ugarit, Palace area.
Object: Cylinder seal.
Material: Haematite, excellent condition
Dimensions: 2.2 (h) x 1.0 (ø) cm.
Date: ca. 1900-1750 BCE.
Published: Schaeffer-Forrer 1983:54: Amiet 1992:27, 30 Fig. 39

Description: Three figures are shown; the central figure wears a helmet with sharply raised edges (horns?) and a long streamer, a long beard falls to his bare torso. He wears a short kilt with a dagger. In the raised left arm is a weapon (mace?) and his right hand he holds forward a battleaxe and a second curved weapon. The figure facing him (which Schaeffer-Forrer identifies as a goddess) wears a high horned crown and curled hair and is dressed in a fur trimmed cape, offering a drink in the right hand. Between these two figures is a fanciful plant with a flower and four roots, perhaps suggesting a king? The third figure on the right is a worshipper in a posture of adoration. Behind the central figure is a large ornamented ʿnḫ-symbol (⌀). A crescent moon with a sun disc is shown in front of the central figures face.

Identification: The god is identified as Baʿal from his attributes.

B11 *AO 19408* **Cylinder seal**

Inventory:	AO 19408 Louvre Museum
Provenance:	RS 9.273 Ugarit, lower city west.
Object:	Cylinder seal, softly embossed with thin lines, unusually, the figure is perpendicular to the cylinder axis.
Material:	Black Steatite.
Dimensions:	1.71 (h) x 1.0 (ø) cm.
Date:	ca. 1600-1350 BCE.
Published:	Amiet 1992:73, 81 Fig. 158; Cornelius 1994:172 BM5 Pl.45; Cornelius & Niehr 2004:47 Abb. 75

Description: A barefooted god striding to the left is shown wearing a short kilt and conical headdress, with a pair of wings and son disc behind his head, it seems as though there is a long hair lock curling down below the raised arm. The striding god brandishes a mace in the raised hand whilst the other hand holds a long spear, point down, with the top terminating in a flower. Behind the god is a row of flowers with two or three petals.

Identification: The smiting pose together with the plant spear, mace and lock suggest that this is Baʿal.

150

B12 *2910* Cylinder seal

Inventory: *2910* Damascus Museum. RS 25.175
Provenance: Ugarit, south west Tell.
Object: Cylinder seal, poorly engraved, unusually, the figure is perpendicular to the cylinder axis.
Material: Black Steatite.
Dimensions: 2.0 (h) x 1.0 (ø) cm.
Date: ca. 1900-1750 BCE.
Published: Amiet 1992:73, 81 Fig.162

Description: A god is shown wearing a short kilt and small conical headdress, he brandishes a mace in his raised hand, in the other hand he holds a long spear vertically. He appears to be protecting a small figure standing in front of him and facing away from him. The god is similar to the figure represented on the large stone stele usually identified with Baꜥal (above B1). Behind the god is a long mace standing vertically.

Identification: The pose and the similarity to the Baꜥal stele suggests this may be Baꜥal

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B13 *Tell el-Dabᶜa.* **Cylinder seal**
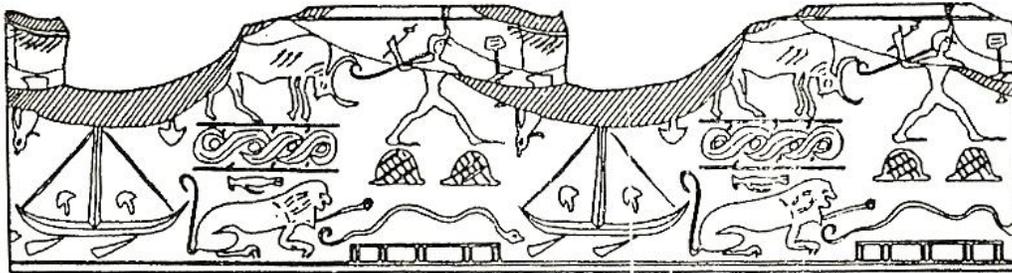
Inventory:	Unknown.
Provenance:	Tell el-Dabᶜa (register No. 2995 site F1).
Object:	Cylinder seal impression.
Material:	Haematite.
Date:	13th Dynasty.
Dimensions:	1.85 (l) x 1.1 (h) cm.
Published:	Porada 1984:485, Pl. 65, Fig. 1; Bietak 1990:15 Abb. 5; Cornelius & Niehr 2004:47 Abb. 73; Schroer 2008:246 Fig. 481.

Description: A god with a long curl projecting backwards strides to the right across two mountains, shown with crisscross markings. The figure carries a duckbill axe and a mace in his hands in a threatening manner. In front of the god is a large goat falling downwards headfirst, above the goat can be seen a spread wing of a sun disc or bird (the broken portion of the seal obviates clear identification). Below the goat is a ship with just the heads of two rowing sailors. Behind the figure is a bull, head down, in an attacking stance. The bull stands on a guilloche below which is a lion with one front paw raised at a serpent that has its head down and moves away from the lion. Over the lion's back is the figure of a bird (perhaps the mythical *ḥol*-bird of Baᶜal-Zaphon). (Saphon meaning 'north' in both Phoenician and Hebrew). Porada (1984) suggests that '[this] seal is carved in a style dependant on, but not belonging to, known Syrian cylinder seals and that it may be a product of a local seal cutter.'

Identification: The proximity of the weather god to the ship suggests that he is the protector of seafarers and the falling goat in front of him may represent a defeated enemy power. The bull is emblematic of a weather god. It is thus most likely that this is a representation of Baᶜal-Zaphon of Avaris.

B14 *H-1906* Bronze figurine

Inventory*:*   *H-1906* Haifa University
Provenance: Purchased 1989.
Object: Statuette.
Material: Bronze.
Dimensions: 10.4 (h) cm.
Date: 2nd Millennium BCE.
Published: Cornelius 1994:232 BB1 Pl. 52.

Description: A figure fitted with mounting tangs under the feet, raises the right hand in a menacing pose, the left hand is in front, and there are no weapons. The figure has a long beard hanging down to the chest and wears a short plaited kilt. A dagger is shown at the belt. On the head is a conical crown with horns folded back onto the crown, there appears to be a chin strap fastening the crown.

Identification: The horns, beard and dagger reminiscent of B1, seem to indicate that this is Baʿal, although Resheph is a possibility.

B15 *AO 11598* Bronze figurine

Inventory*:*   *AO 11598.* Louvre Museum
Provenance: Minet el-Beida
Object: Statuette.
Material: Bronze with some remnants of gold leaf
Dimensions: 18 (h) x 3 (w) cm.
Date: 14th – 13th Century BCE.
Published: Negbi 1976:29-32 No. 1318; Schroer 2011:344-345 No. 913. Cornelius & Niehr 2004: Abb.77

Description: A figure raises the right hand in a menacing pose, the left hand is in front, and there are no weapons. The figure wears a short plaited kilt. On the head is a conical white crown.

Identification: This menacing god has been identified as possibly Baʿal. Conceivably the figure could also be Resheph, but since the high conical crown is the only evidence, further divine attributes and weapons being absent positive identification is not possible. The appearance is, however, like that of an Egyptian king smiting his enemies and called the 'smiting god' (Collon 1972).

153

B16 *Nicosia.* **Rhyton**

Inventory:	*Nicosia*, Cyprus Museum.
Provenance:	Kition (Larnaka).
Object:	Rhyton.
Material:	Pottery, with thick blue enamel (now turned grey).
Dimensions:	27 (h) cm.
Date:	1400-1230 BCE.
Published:	Orthmann 1975:526 Pl. LIX; Schroer 2011:330 No. 894.

Description: The conical rhyton is decorated in three registers, the upper register shows running bulls, whilst the lower one has a decorative pattern. On the middle register can be seen two figures hunting bulls, one figure has the right hand raised brandishing a large bladed knife or dagger, whilst his left hand grasps the hind leg of a bull. The figure wears a loin cloth around the waist and on his head is a conical hat with two streamers each ending in lobe (or perhaps a flower?); strange pointed objects protrude upwards from the top of his feet? The second figure is standing holding a rope which is around the neck of a bull trying to control the bull.

Identification: It would appear that the same figure is intended on either side of the rhyton, showing a different phase of the bull hunt. Orthmann (1975) states that the style is typical of Aegean art and Schroer (2011) under her section 'Baʿal-Seth' thinks the figure is 'quite possibly' Baʿal.

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5.4   Baʿal-Seth

BS1 *JE 60539* Stele
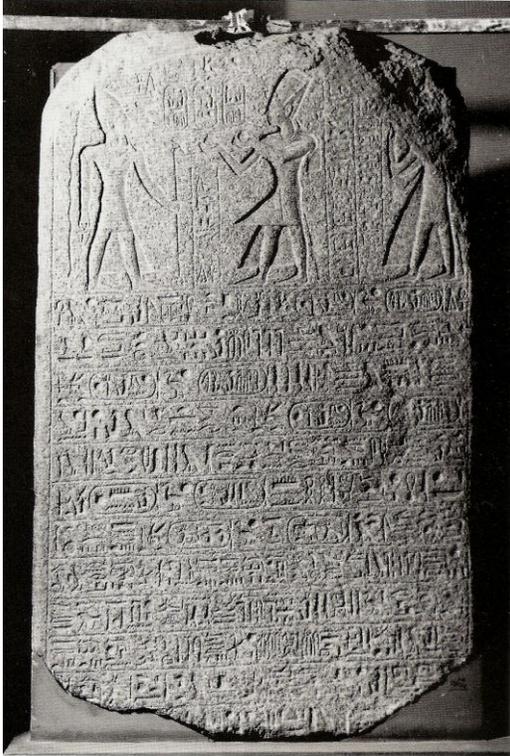
Inventory: *JE 60539* Egyptian Museum Cairo.
Provenance: Tanis (San el-Hagar), temple.
Object: Stele with rounded top, top third relief and remainder incised inscription.
Material: Red granite.
Dimensions: 220 (h) cm.
Date: 1279-1213 BCE (Ramses II).
Published: Cornelius 1994:147 BR5, Pl. 35; Tazawa 2009:14 Doc 2, Pl. I; Schroer 2011:342, No. 910

Description: Three figures are depicted, the figure on the left is dressed in Asiatic style and strides to the right, he wears a conical crown similar to the Egyptian white crown with a disc and two horns and a long streamer hanging down the back and ending in a flower. A broad collar surrounds his neck and both upper arms and wrists carry bangles. The figure has an Egyptian beard and is dressed in a knee length kilt fastened by two bands across the chest; there are tassels at the waist and at the bottom of the kilt. The left hand holds a *wȝs*-sceptre ( ) and in the right is an *ʿnḫ*-symbol ( ). The central figure is the king (Ramses II) dressed in Egyptian clothing with a bull's tail and wearing the blue crown; he is offering wine in two *nw*-jars ( ). The figure on the right is dressed in the same fashion as the king with hands rose in praise. Between the figures are several inscriptions.

Identification: The figure on the left is identified as Seth by the inscription, although it is depicted as a foreign Asiatic god with a human head as well as a mixture of Egyptian and Asiatic attributes. Therefore the figure is not Seth, but rather Baʿal or probably the Baʿal-Seth hybrid.

BS2 *8440* **Stele**

stẖ nb ḫpšt

'Seth lord of power'

Inventory: *8440.* Ägyptisches Museen Berlin.
Provenance: Thebes West.
Object: Stele, rounded top, slight damage at the edges.
Material: Limestone.
Dimensions: 44 (h) cm.
Date: 1300-1200 BCE
Published: Cornelius 1994:150 BR9, Pl. 37; Tazawa 2009:17 Doc 10, Pl. II; Schroer 2011:342, No. 911.

Description: Stele of Thothnefer. Two registers with four figures in each. Top register shows Amun-Ra seated with Mut behind him and then a miniature Amun, on the far right is a worshipper with hands raised in praise. The lower register has Ptah on the right, followed by a miniature Sobek and then Khnum with a bovine head. The barefoot figure on the far left striding right holds a *wꜣs*-sceptre (⌐) in the left hand and an *ʿnḫ*-symbol (☥) in the right hand. The deity wears an Egyptian beard and on his head is the white crown with two horns and a long streamer hangs down the back from the top of the crown, ending in a flower. He wears an Egyptian kilt to the knee with a belt and tassels at the waist and at the bottom seam; a broad collar adorns his neck.

Identification: The inscription above the Asiatic god identifies him as Seth. However, the crown, streamer, horns and tassels show that it is probably not Seth or indeed Baʿal but rather the hybrid Baʿal-Seth.

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BS3 *JE 88879* **Stele**

Inventory   *JE 88879.* Egyptian Museum Cairo.
Provenance: Qantir, (2km N of Tell el-Dab'a).
Object: Stele, rounded top, outlined scene in
             sunken relief, damaged on sides.
Material: Sandstone
Dimensions: 90(h) x 40(w) x 13 ((t) cm.
Date: 1184-1153 BCE – Ramesses III.
Published: Cornelius 1994:145 BR3, Pl. 3.
             Tazawa 2009:15 Doc. 6, Pl. I.
             Schroer 2011:344, No. 912.

Description: Stele of Usermarenakht. Ramesses III (identified by the two cartouches) is shown smiting two enemies in a warding off position. He brandishes the *ḥpš*-sword (⌣) in his left hand, while gripping the cowering enemies by the hair with the right hand. The king wears the blue *ḥprš*-crown ( ) with streamers. Above the king is a winged sun disc with uraei. The beardless and barefooted figure to the left is facing right and is possibly wearing a white crown with a long streamer to the back ending in a flower (the headdress is badly defaced). The short kilt is decorated and has two tassels between the legs and three to the side. The figure holds a *w3s*-sceptre ( ) in the left hand and carries an *ḥpš*-sword in the right hand towards the king. Below the relief in the centre register is a long inscription, whilst the bottom of the stele is uninscribed.

Identification: The figure on the left can be identified as a god since only Egyptian gods present the symbolic sword. The Asiatic streamer and tassels suggest Ba'al or Resheph. Most probably Ba'al since in the Ramesside period he was considered a royal god and Ramesses III frequently mentions Ba'al in many inscriptions. Although this god has been previously identified as Seth, this should be seen as Seth in the guise of his identical Asiatic god Ba'al or perhaps Ba'al-Seth.

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BS4 *E 714* **Stele**
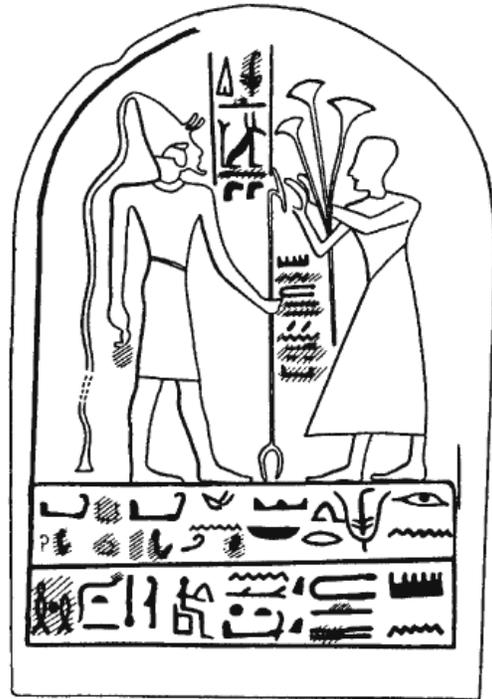
Inventory:	*E 714.* Ashmolean Museum Oxford.
Provenance:	Serabit el-Khadim (Sinai).
Object:	Stele with rounded top, outlined, broken across mid section.
Material:	Limestone.
Dimensions:	38 (h) x 26 (w) x 6-7 (t) cm.
Date:	ca. 1300-1200 BCE
Published:	Cornelius 1994:154 BR13, Pl. 40; Tazawa 2009:18 Doc. 11, Pl. II; Schroer 2011:340 No. 909.

Description: Stele of Mentutauinakht. A person is offering a bouquet of lotus flowers to a figure. This bearded figure on the left faces right; on his head is a white crown with bull horns and a long streamer hanging down the back. He holds a *wꜣs*-sceptre (⸢⸣) in the left hand and probably an *ꜥnḫ*-symbol (⸢⸣) (unclear) in the right hand. The figure is dressed in a knee length kilt with a belt. There are inscriptions between the figures and a longer inscription below.

Identification: Between the figures the inscription has; 'an offering which the king gives to Seth (great) in power.' The lower inscription reads; 'made by the royal messenger to all lands, the deputy of the commander of the army (?), Mentutauinakht.' Although the figure is shown by the inscription as Seth, the Asiatic attributes suggest that is most likely to be Baꜥal-Seth.

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BS5 *AEIN 726* fragment of Stele

Inventory: *AEIN 726.* Ny Carlsberg Glyptotheque Copenhagen.
Provenance: Purchased in Egypt in 1894.
Object: Damaged upper right fragment of rounded top stele.
Material: Limestone.
Dimensions: 22 (h) x 19 (w) cm.
Date: 1300-1200 BCE.
Published: te Velde 1967: Pl. VIII(1); Cornelius 1994:163 BR 19, Pl. 44; Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990: 314-315, Fig. 89; Tazawa 2009:18 Doc.12, Pl. III; Schroer 2011:336 No. 902.

Description: A winged barefoot figure stands on the prow of a boat (a bird can be seen next to his left hand indicating that the boat is a barque - cf. Seth slaying Apep S1). The figure thrusts down with a long spear, it wears a *nms*-headdress with the head and horns of a bull protruding. The figure wears a striped knee length kilt with a belt and tassels between the legs and to the sides.

Identification: The inscription above the figure identifies him as ʿSeth, the bull of Ombos. There are, however, some Asiatic attributes, kilt and tassels, this figure is probably therefore Baʿal-Seth, where the head of the bull is like Baʿal, but the wings are like Seth.

BS6 *7265* Relief
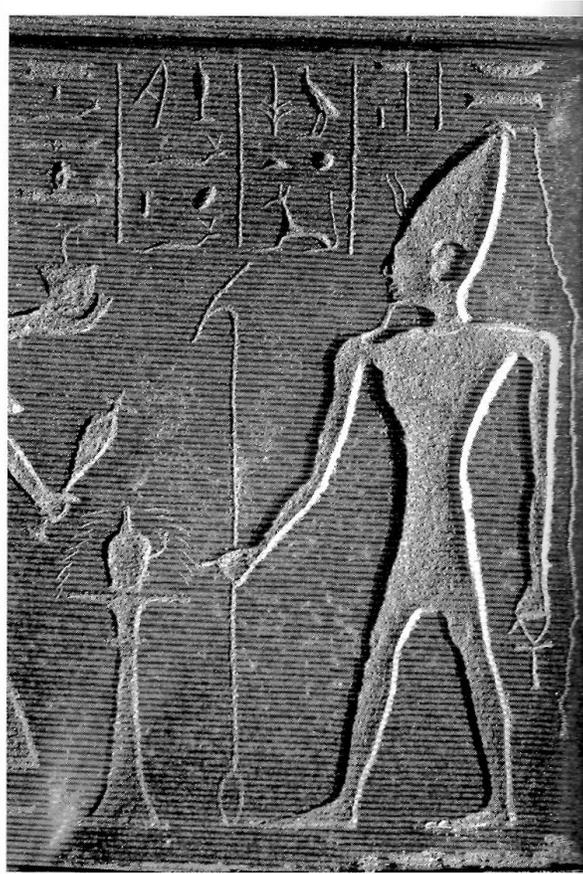
Inventory:	*Berlin 7265.* Ägyptisches Museum Berlin.
Provenance:	Unknown (Tanis/Alexandria?).
Object:	Relief from side of throne of colossal MK statue of Senusret I –reworked for Merneptah.
Material:	Black granite.
Dimensions:	98 (h) cm.
Date:	ca. 2040-1640 BCE. Reworked for Merneptah 1224-1214 BCE.
Published:	Cornelius 1994:151 BR10, Pl. 38; Tazawa 2009:18, Doc. 13. Note: te Velde 1967 incorrectly quotes Berlin 8440 on Pl. XII.

Description: Merneptah brings an offering (only his hands are shown) to a barefoot figure striding to the left. The figure wears a white crown with gabled horns and a long streamer hanging down the back, he wears an Egyptian beard and carries an ʿnḫ-symbol (☥) in his left hand and holds a *wꜣs*-sceptre (𓌀) in the right hand.

Identification: The inscription (*stḫ nṯr ʿꜣ nb pt* – 'Seth, the great god, lord of the sky') above the figure identifies him as Seth. However, the Asiatic elements, horns and streamer suggest that he be identified as Baʿal-Seth.

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BS7 *IAA 00-2165* **Graffito**
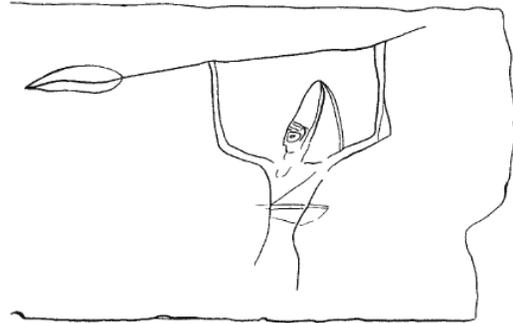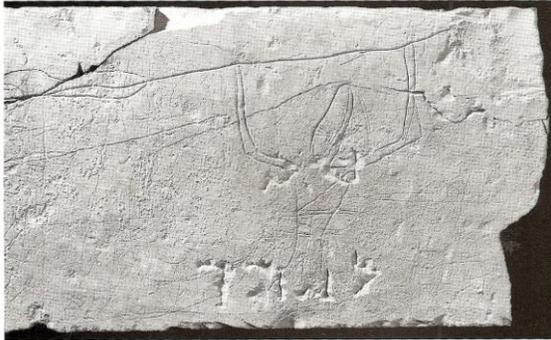
Inventory:	*IAA 00-2165.* Israel Antiquities Authority: Jerusalem.
Provenance:	Tell el-Duweir - Lachish.
Object:	Graffito with Modern Hebrew figures in LBA temple.
Material:	Limestone.
Dimensions:	78 (l) x 32 (h) x 18 (t) cm.
Date:	14th - 13th Centuries BCE.
Published:	Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990:318-321, Fig. 96; Cornelius 1994:162 BR18, Pl. 43; Keel/Uehlinger 1998:76-77, Fig. 86; Schroer 2011:334, No. 900.

Description: A figure facing left is pictured down to the waist; he wears a conical crown with a streamer hanging down. He has a belt around the waist and a cross band over the chest, a shape that could be a quiver is at the waist. Both arms are raised above the head brandishing a long spear with a large blade, a representation of universal power.

Identification: This pose is typical of a serpent slayer. It is unlikely to be Resheph as he is never shown with such a long spear above his head. The figure could be Baʿal (Cornelius 1994), however, both Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger (1990) and Schroer (2011) prefer Baʿal-Seth.

BS8 *Balah* **Scarab**

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Inventory: *Balah*. Institute of Archaeology: University of Jerusalem.
Provenance: Deir el-Balah, tomb 118 reg. No. 272.
Object: Scarab, incised base, drilled from side of the head, ring missing.
Material: Carnelian in gold mount.
Dimensions: 1.5 (l) x 1.15 (w) x 0.85 (t) cm.
Date: 1300-1200 BCE.
Published: Cornelius 1994:183 BM19, Pl. 47; Tazawa 2009:22 Doc. 30 Pl. III; Schroer 2011:338 No. 905.

Description: A figure in a short kilt faces right on a base line. It wears a high horned headdress with a long streamer at the back. The figure holds a *wȝs*-sceptre ( ) in the left hand.

Identification: Cornelius (1994) suggests this is Baʿal (c.f. B2, BS1), Tazawa (2009) agrees with this, however, Schroer (2011) prefers Baʿal-Seth.

BS9 *St Florian 23.F54b* **Scarab**

Inventory: *23.F54b*. St Florian Stift: Austria.
Provenance: Unknown.
Object: Scarab.
Material: Steatite.
Dimensions: 1.55 (l) x 0.64 (w) cm.
Date: ca. 1450-1200 BCE.
Published: Cornelius 1994:184 BM22 Pl. 47.

Description: Two figures stand on a base line facing each other. The figure on the left has animal's ears and perhaps a pointed snout, the arms hand down by the sides. It is dressed in a long garment. The beaded figure on the right wears a horned crown with a streamer at the back, the arms hand down by the sides.

Identification: Given the attributes of the head of the figure on the left, this can be identified as Seth, whilst that on the right is perhaps Baʿal. Uniquely on scarabs this shows both gods, however the two gods are shown together on some cylinder seals.

BS10 *BM L.604* Scarab
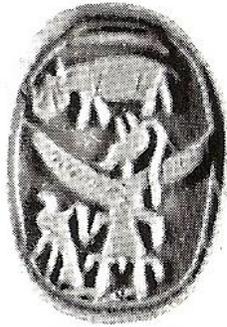
Inventory: *BM L.604* British Museum London.
Provenance: Tell el-Farᶜah, south tomb 960.
Object: Scarab.
Material: Steatite.
Dimensions: 1.5(l) x (1.1 (w) x (0.7 (t) cm.
Date: ca. 1300-1100 BCE.
Published: Giveon 1978:83 Fig. 40; Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990:134, Fig. 22; Cornelius 1994:191 BM43, Pl. 48; Tazawa 2009:24 Doc. 44, Pl. III; Schroer 2011:338 No. 904.

Description: A bearded and winged figure faces left wearing a headdress with two horns and a long streamer down the back. He is dressed in a striped kilt with two tassels at the waist and three around the hem, two at the sides and one between the legs. Above the figure is a hippopotamus (cf. te Velde 1967. 59 for reasoning) and in front of the figure stands a falcon (Horus?) holding a flail.

Identification: The hippopotamus is an animal closely linked with Seth, thus it is likely that both Seth and Horus are shown on this scarab (Tazawa 2009. Doc. 44). However, an early identification in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger (1990) suggests Resheph or Seth; subsequently Cornelius (1994) favoured Baᶜal-Seth which is also the current opinion of Schroer (2011).

BS11 *ÄS 2412* **Scarab**
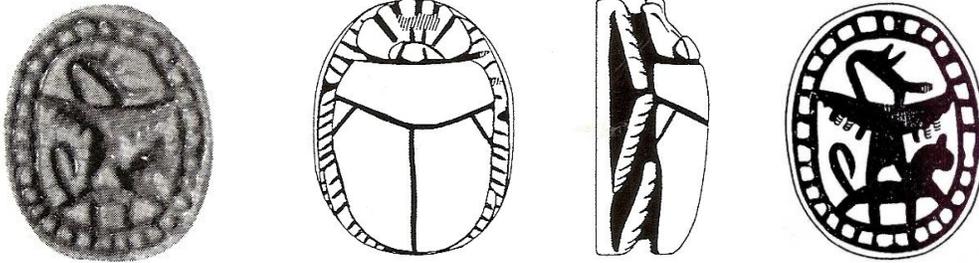
Inventory:	*ÄS 2412*. Staatliche Saamlung Ägyptischer Kunst: München
Provenance:	Unknown.
Object:	Scarab, base with grooved border.
Materials:	Glazed steatite.
Dimensions:	1.73 (l) x 1.33 (w) x 0.75 (t) cm.
Date:	ca. 1200-1100 BCE.
Published:	Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990:306-308 Fig. 79, Pl. XVII: 3; Cornelius 1994:199 BM50 Pl. 49; Keel 2007:208-209 Fig. 128; Tazawa 2009:25 Doc. 51.

Description: A bearded figure with two raised wings stands on a lion, facing right. It wears a conical headdress with two protruding horns and a streamer down the back.

Identification: The figure can be identified as the winged Baʿal-Seth due to the iconographical features.

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BS12 *MAK/AS 2414* Scarab

Inventory: *MAK/AS 2414*. Archaeological Museum Cracow.
Provenance: Unknown.
Object: Scarab, base in deep relief, some minor damage.
Material: Glazed steatite.
Dimensions: 1.3 (l) x 1 (w) x 0.62 (t) cm.
Date: 1300 BCE.
Published: Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990:306-307 Fig. 78; Dabrowski 1992:38-39 Fig. 2g; Cornelius 1994:199 BM51 Pl. 49.

Description: A bearded figure with two raised wings stands on the back of a lion both facing right. The headdress is unclear but appears conical perhaps also horned; a streamer hangs down the back from the crown.

Identification: The animal has been posited as a horse but the tail is hardly of equine appearance so more likely this is a lion. The figure is identified as Baᶜal-Seth from the wings and lion shown.

BS13 *27316 Jerusalem* Scarab

Inventory: *City of David excavations. Regn. No. 27316*
Provenance: City of David - Jerusalem
Object: Scarab
Material: Unknown
Dimensions: Unknown
Date: 10th – 11th century BCE
Published: Keel 2011:51-52 Fig. 27

Description: A winged figure facing right stands on a lion that is walking to the right. The figure has a human head and wears a tall conical crown with horns. A long streamer hangs down the back from the top of the crown.

Identification: The figure can be identified as the winged Baᶜal-Seth from the iconographical features and the lion.

BS14 *34.3090* **Scarab**
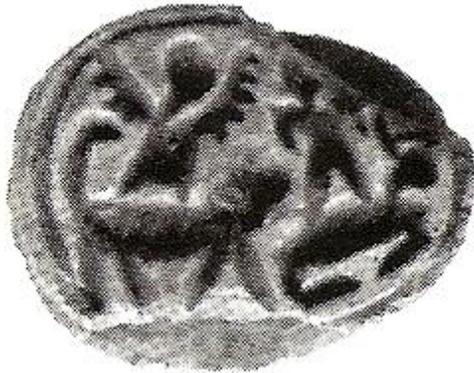
Inventory: *34.3090.* Rockefeller Archaeological Museum: Jerusalem.
Provenance: Tell el-Duweir (Lachish).
Object: Scarab, broken and deeply incised.
Material: Light yellow steatite.
Dimensions: 1.4 (l) x 1.04 (w) x 0.68 (t) cm.
Date: 1300-1100 BCE.
Published: Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990:196-197 Fig. 29; Dabrowski 1991:22-23 Fig. 1g; Cornelius 1994: 201-202 BM58 Pl. 49; Strawn 2009:57,59 Fig. 8.

Description: Two figures are each standing on an animal. The figure on the left stands with deployed wings and the animal is clearly a lion. The second figure with arms hanging down stands on a recumbent horned animal which some scholars identify as a gazelle.

Identification: Since the two figures are standing on animals they can be identified as gods. The figure on the horned animal is most probably Resheph since he is sometimes shown together with Baʿal-Seth, that on the lion is the winged Baʿal-Seth since he is frequently seen standing on a lion.

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BS15 *EVI 24/29 Tell el-Far⁽ah* Scarab

Inventory:	*E. VI 24/29.* Institute of Archaeology: London.
Provenance:	Tell el-Far⁽ah south, Tomb 902. (24km s. Gaza).
Object:	.Scarab, damaged above, sunken relief.
Material:	White burnt steatite showing remains of green glaze.
Dimensions:	2.27 (l) x 1.56 (w) x 0.95 (t) cm.
Date:	1500-1150 BCE.
Published:	Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990:310-313, Fig. 85; Cornelius 1994:214 BM76 Pl. 50; Keel 2009a:90 Abb. 2; Keel 2009b:223 Abb. 8; Schroer 2011:334 No. 899.

Description: A bearded figure strides to the right, complete with raised Egyptian style wings and an Egyptian white crown (⚐) made of reeds, with a uraeus in the front. There is a long streamer hanging from the crown down the back and ending in a flower. The figure is dressed in a short banded kilt to the knee that has three tassels between the legs. It holds a long spear in the right hand wing and stabs the horned serpent. Above the head is a sun disc.

Identification: The figure is identified as the winged Ba⁽al-Seth the serpent killer. This is due to a combination of the serpent (Apep) – an Egyptian symbol of the danger in the dark of the night and (Leviathan) the Asiatic symbol of the stormy sea, thus an overall picture of danger at large.

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BS16 *Cassirer* **Scarab**

Inventory: *Cassirer* Private collection: E. Cassirer.
Provenance: Purchased.
Object: Scarab, base with border, slightly chipped.
Material: Steatite with dark green glaze.
Dimensions: 2.5 (l) cm.
Date: 1500-1300 BCE 18th Dynasty.
Published: Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990:312-314. Fig. 86; Cornelius 1994:215 BM78, Pl. 50; Keel 2009a: 90 Abb. 14; Tazawa 2009:21 Doc.23.

Description: A bearded and winged figure faces to the right wearing a white crown with, what is clearly, a *Seth-animal* in the front rather than the more usual uraei or horns. There is a long streamer hanging down the back ending in a flower. The figure wears a short kilt with two tassels between the legs. Behind the raised right wing is a long spear aimed at a serpent, the top of the spear has two tassels. The left wing seems to grasp the rearing serpent. Above is a sun disc.

Identification: The figure is identified as the winged Baʿal-Seth the serpent slayer.

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BS17 *RIH 87/14* **Scarab**

Inventory:	*RIH 87/14*
Provenance:	Ras Ibn Hani (Minet el-Beida at Ugarit).
Object:	Scarab
Material:	Rock crystal.
Dimensions:	1.63 (l) x 1.2 (w) x 0.8 (t) cm.
Date:	1500-1200 BCE.
Published:	Bounni/Lagarce, E. /Lagarce, J. 1998:61, 151 Fig. 91, No. 6; Keel 2009a:91 Abb. 5; Cornelius/Niehr 2004:47, 48 Abb. 76

Description: A figure strides to the right wearing a short kilt, the elongated and stylised head appears to be fitted with a long pointed helmet (crown) and with a protuberance above the head, which may indicate horns? The right arm extends up backwards to grasp a long spear that is thrust down into the large serpent, whose body the figure grasps in his left hand. Immediately behind the back of the figure are stylised wings. Above the figure lying obliquely is a large mouth shape resembling the hieroglyph 'r' perhaps an elongated sun disc?

Identification: The figure exhibits the image of a Sethian type serpent killer offering protection as well as the Asiatic symbol of the stormy sea, thus a chaos and a storm god. Bounni/Lagarce/Lagarce suggested Baʿal, more recently Cornelius/Niehr have Baʿal-Seth as does Keel.

BS18 *Tell Deir ʿAlla No. 4* Scarab

Inventory:	*Tell Deir ʿAlla No. 4*
Provenance:	Tell Deir ʿAlla (Succoth?)
Object:	Scarab fragment
Material:	Steatite
Dimensions:	1.65 (h) x 0.75 (w) x 0.35 (t) cm.
Date:	1300-1100 BCE
Published:	Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990:314, 316-317 Fig. 92, Pl. XVII, 5; Cornelius 1994:222 Fig. 53: Keel 2009a:91 Abb.4; Keel 2011:54 Fig. 30.3.

Description: The remaining portion of this scarab depicts the wriggling body of a horned serpent; however, the notched band outline is similar to that on BS19. The configuration of the serpent is different from that shown on many scarabs (S2/BS15-17/BS20-21) where the body is mostly straight rather than the wave form in this example. The two horns are of similar form to those seen on S2/S9/BS15.

Although the god's body is missing, evidence of a foot can be seen over the tail of the serpent, as can a hand and arm apparently gripping the serpent's neck. Perhaps the two marks above the arm would have been the forehead and horn of the god. Finally above the head of the serpent is a sun disc.

Identification: Identification is problematic given the missing god; however by comparison with similar serpent slaying depictions perhaps it can be seen as Baʿal-Seth.

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BS19 *36.1572* **Scarab**
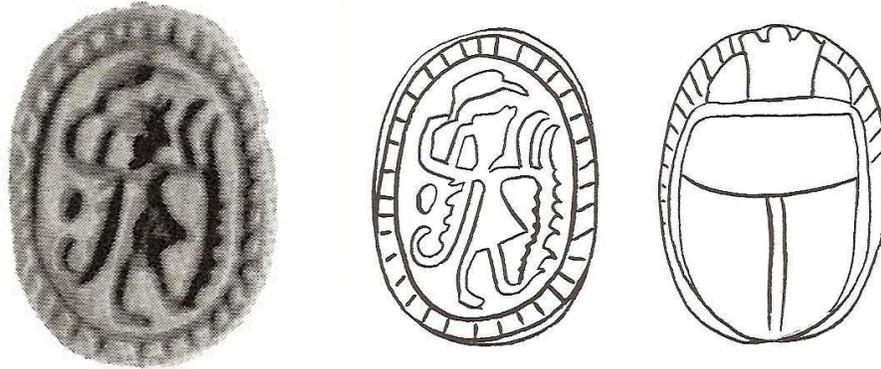
Inventory: *36.1572*. Rockefeller Archaeological Museum: Jerusalem.
Provenance: Tell el-Duweir (Lachish).
Object: Scarab, base with grooved border.
Material: Steatite.
Dimensions: 1.37 (l) x 0.9 (w) x 0.6 (t) cm.
Date: 1300-900 BCE.
Published: Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990:314, 317 Fig. 91; Cornelius 1994:214 BM77 Pl.50;
                    Keel/Uehlinger 1998:76-77 Fig. 87a; Keel 2009a:90 Abb. 3.

Description: A figure strides to the right wearing a horned headdress and long streamer hanging down. He is dressed in a knee length kilt and brandishes an *ḫpš*–sword in his raised right hand; in his left hand he grasps a horned serpent. Behind the figure is a sun disc.

Identification: The figure has been identified as Baʿal the serpent slayer (Cornelius 1994) however; Keel (2009a) continues to express his opinion that this is Baʿal-Seth.

BS20 *CAA2.182* **Scarab**

Inventory:	*CAA 2.182 Kestner Museum Hannover*.
Provenance:	Purchased.
Object:	Scarab.
Material:	Carnelian.
Dimensions:	1.9 (l) x 1.45 (w) x 0.95 (t) cm.
Date:	1292-1186 BCE. 19th Dynasty.
Published:	Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990:313-314 Fig. 88; Cornelius 1994:215-216 BM79 Pl. 50; Keel 2009a: 91 Abb. 11: Tazawa 2009:21 Doc. 24; Schroer 2011:336 No. 901.

Description: A bearded figure strides to the right, wearing the white crown with two protruding horns. A long steamer hangs down the back. The figure has a knee length kilt with two tassels between the legs, in his raised right hand is a spear pointing down at a rearing serpent, which he grasps in the left hand, one foot stands on the serpent. At the top are the hieroglyphs $mrj\text{-}r^{\varsigma}$– 'beloved of Ra.' To the right stands a goddess holding a staff, on her head are cow horns and a sun disc.

Identification: The goddess is apparently supporting the god in his battle against Apep and has been identified as Isis (Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990; Cornelius 1994), however in the recent analysis Tazawa (2009) prefers Hathor, Schroer (2011) thinks the goddess is probably Hathor but perhaps Isis. The figure attacking the serpent has been identified as Baʿal the serpent slayer (Cornelius 1994) but now Tazawa (2009) and Schroer (2011) have Baʿal-Seth.

BS21 *ÄMP 33254* **Scarab**

Inventory:	*ÄMP 33254* (was SM 858/73) Ägyptisches Museum, Staatliche Museen Berlin.
Provenance:	Unknown.
Object:	Scarab, damaged on the back.
Material:	Steatite.
Dimensions:	1.8 (l) x 13 (w) cm.
Date:	1500-1300 BCE – 18th Dynasty.
Published:	Cornelius 1994:216 BM81, Pl. 50; Pusch/Eggebrecht 2006:256-258 Abb. 8-9; Keel 2009a:90-95 Abb. 7; Tazawa 2009:20 Doc. 22.

Description: A bearded and winged figure faces right, wearing a white crown with high protruding horns and a long streamer hanging down the back ending in a flower. The figure also has arms, the right arm is raised and 'interrupts' the streamer (probably a manufacturing error). The left arm grasps what looks like a serpent. The short kilt has two prominent tassels, one to each side. The figure stands on a double base line.

Identification: The figure can be identified as the winged Baʿal-Seth the serpent slayer.

BS22 *MNK IV-Zl-2796* Scaraboid
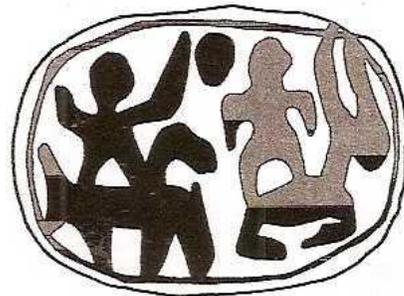
Inventory:	*MNK IV-Zl-2796*. National Museum Cracow.
Provenance:	Unknown.
Object:	Caprid scaraboid.
Material:	Brown slate with traces of green glaze.
Dimensions:	2.13 (l) x 1.62 (w) x 0.68 (t) cm.
Date:	1300-1100 BCE.
Published:	Dabrowski 1992:38-39 Fig. 2i; Cornelius 1994:202 BM61 Pl. 49; Keel 2009a:101 Abb. 34.

Description: Two figures are each standing on an animal. The motif of deities standing on animals was popular in Ancient Near Eastern iconography and the lion was one such animal (Cornelius 1994:195). Here the figure on the left with an indistinct head stands with upraised wings and the animal is clearly a lion. The second figure with arms hanging down stands on a recumbent horned animal which some scholars identify as a gazelle, but this is refuted by Cornelius (1994) on the basis of the shape of the horns. Between the two figures is a sun disc.

Identification: Since the two figures are standing on animals they can be identified as gods. The figure on the horned animal is most probably Resheph and that on the lion is Baꜥal-Seth since he is seen standing on a lion (cf. BS11-BS14, BS27) for more examples see Cornelius (1994: BM45-68) and Keel (2009a: Abb.32-35). According to Egyptian iconographical standards, Seth is never depicted standing on a lion whereas in contrast particularly Syrian storm gods are regularly seen on lions (Eggler 2007:3/8).

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BS23 *SK71* Scarab
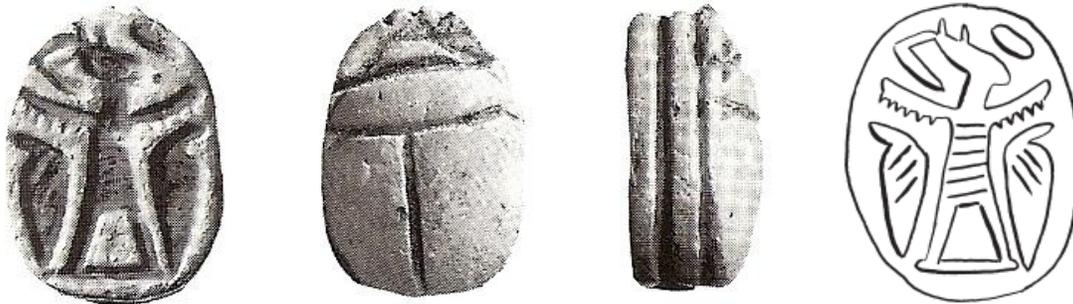
Inventory:	*Fribourg SK 71*. Biblisches Institut: Fribourg.
Provenance:	Unknown, Purchased in Jerusalem.
Object:	Scarab, bored.
Material:	Steatite.
Dimensions:	1.3 (l) x 0.95 (w) x 0.6 (t) cm.
Date:	ca. 1300-1000 BCE.
Published:	Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990:305-306 Fig. 71 Pl. XVII: 1; Cornelius 1994:187 BM34 Pl. 48; Keel 2009a:99 Abb. 28; Tazawa 2009:20

Description: A figure with raised wings faces right; it wears a horned headdress with a streamer hanging to the back. The figure is flanked by two uraei facing outwards as if in protection. Above the head can be seen a sun disc and the figure stands on a base line.

Identification: The figure has attributes of Baʿal; the human head, headdress with bull horns and streamer. However, since wings are unknown for him in iconography, it is more likely that this depiction is of the Egyptian-Asian hybrid Baʿal-Seth.

BS24 *EVII 80/26* Scarab
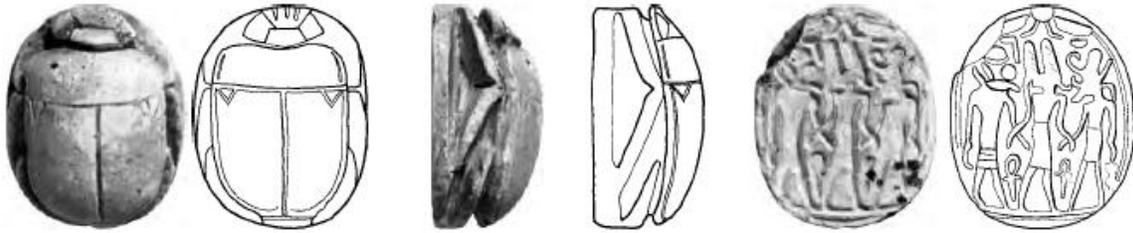
Inventory: *EVII 80/26* Institute of Archaeology: London.
Provenance: Tell el-Farᶜah south. (No. 155).
Object: Scarab, top left corner missing.
Material: Steatite.
Dimensions: 1.76 (l) x 1.43 (w) x 0.87 (t) cm.
Date: 19th – 20th Dynasty.
Published: Keel 2009a:96 Abb. 16; Keel 2010b:96-97 No. 158.

Description: Three figures stand on a base line that could be seen as forming an *nb* (lord) sign with the bottom edge of the scarab. The centre figure of the triad is Amen-Ra wearing a high double feather crown. The figure on the right wears a double crown with a uraeus mounted low down on it and a beard; there is a similarity to the Egyptian-Asian figure on the Baluᶜa stele (P1). The god on the left has a Sethian head with two long ears. Above each head of the flanking figures is a sun disc, additionally with an angle shape above the left side figure. All three figures wear long skirts and the outer arms hang down whereas those of Amen-Ra cross over the inner arms of the other two figures Below both pairs of crossed arms are large ᶜ*nḫ*-symbols (☥). Above the gods is a winged sun disc with hanging uraei.

Identification: This depiction shows Amen-Ra and accompanying him are two gods most probably representing Seth to the left and perhaps Baᶜal to the right.

BS25 *Baʿal-Seth* **Scarab**

Inventory:	*Baʿal-Seth* Scarab
Provenance:	Unknown, trade purchase.
Object:	Scarab
Material:	Carnelian
Dimensions:	2.0 (l) x 1.5 (w) cm. (est.)?
Date:	1292-1070 BCE. 19-20th Dynasty
Published:	Keel 2007:209-210 Abb. 131. Keel 2009a:96 Abb.17.

Description: Two figures are shown facing each other with a pole (spear?) between them. They are standing on the top of two registers and there is a symbol above their heads. The head of the figure on the left could be Sethian but more likely Amen since the 'ears' are not truncated and what appears to be a snout could also be the Egyptian beard. The figure on the right has Asiatic attributes the high conical crown with a long streamer hanging from the top.

Identification: Keel (2007) identifies the figure as Baʿal-Seth before Amen who looks to the right. The Asiatic attributes pointing to the right hand figure as Baʿal-Seth.

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BS26 *No. 30 Tell es-Sa'idiya* **Scarab**
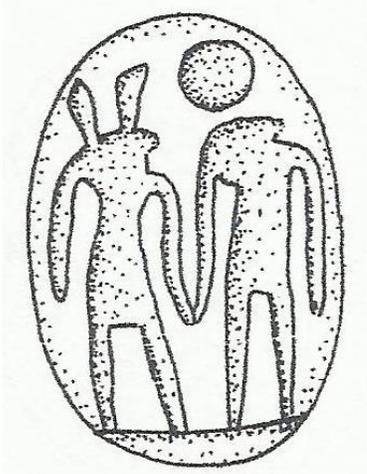
Inventory:	*No. 30* Dar es-Saraya Museum
Provenance:	Tell es-Sa'idiya –Jordan valley
Object:	Scarab
Material:	White composite with light blue glaze
Dimensions:	0.22 (h) x 0.155 (w) x 0.08 (t) cm
Date:	1200-1000 BCE
Published:	Keel 2009a:98 Abb. 23; Schroer 2011:340-341 No. 908; Keel 2011:54 Fig. 29.2

Description: Two figures stand side by side apparently holding hands, a large sun disc hovers above the right hand figure. The left hand figure has large truncated ears and that on the right a falcon shaped head facing to the right. The figures and sun disc as well as the periphery of the scarab have a mottled effect on the depiction. The figure to the left has Sethian ears. The holding of hands suggests that they are shown as brothers.

Identification: The sun disc and falcon head suggests that the right hand figure represents the Egyptian god Horus. Despite the Egyptian connotations and perhaps due to the find site Keel (2009a, 2011) suggests the figure on the left is Baʿal-Seth.

BS27 *1889.284* **Conoid**

Inventory:	*1889.284* (facet c). Ashmolean Museum: Oxford.
Provenance:	Unknown, purchased near Jaffa (Chester).
Object:	Conoid, flat sided, bored at top.
Material:	Glazed Steatite, yellow brown.
Dimensions:	2.1 (l) cm.
Date:	ca. 1300 BCE.
Published:	Cornelius 1994:200 BM56 Pl.49; Keel 2009a:100 Abb. 32.

Description: A figure with raised wings (bearded?) stands on a striding lion both facing to the right. The figure wears a horned headdress with a streamer hanging down the back. The lion stands on a base line; in front of the figure is a sun disc. Above is a decoration and both the figure and lion are enclosed by a frame.

Identification: The attributes of wings, horned helmet with streamer suggest that this is Baʿal-Seth; in addition the pose on a lion is typical of this god.

BS28 *35.4011* Cylinder seal
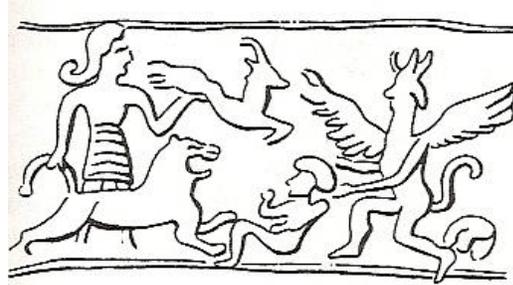
Inventory:	*35.4011*. Rockefeller Archaeological Museum: Jerusalem.
Provenance:	Tell el-ʿAjjul (probably Sharuhen, 6Km SW Gaza).
Object:	Cylinder seal.
Material:	Haematite.
Dimensions:	1.8 (h) x 0.8 (ø) cm.
Date:	15th – 13th centuries BCE.
Published:	Cornelius 1994:190 BM42, Pl.48; Keel/Uehlinger 1998:78-79, Fig. 90a; Schroer 2011:330 No. 895.

Description: A standing figure faces to the right, dressed in a short banded kilt and wearing a long hair lock at the back of his head. The figure holds the tail of a rampant lion in his right hand, whilst his left hand is supporting a gazelle. A prostrate man is in front of the lion which has open jaws and gives the appearance of protecting the man against the curious figure that is reaching out towards the man. This strange creature has wings, horns, a beak and a tail but the body, arms and legs of a human – a *Mischwesen* or hybrid as Cornelius (1994) has it. Schroer (2011) identifies the god as Baʿal-Seth, appearing here as a saviour god.

Identification: Cornelius (1994) although uncertain, identifies the figure as Baʿal because of his hair lock. The lion is an attribute of Baʿal, who is shown here as protector of animals and men against demons. Keel/Uehlinger (1998) and lately Schroer (2011) favour rather Baʿal-Seth.

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BS29 *E6190* **Plaque (verso)**

Inventory: *E6190.* Koninklijke Musea voor Kunst en Geschiedenis, Brüssel.
Provenance: Purchased in Zagazig Egypt in 1889.
Object: Plaque with border, top broken probably rounded.
Material: Faience.
Dimensions: 6.8 (h) x 5.5 (w) x 0.97 (t) cm.
Date: 1279- 1213 BCE Ramesses II.
Published: Leibovitch 1944a:106, Fig. 15; Capart 1946:29-31, Fig. 2; te Velde 1967:115-116 Pl. IX; Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990:312-313, Fig. 87; Dabrowski 1992:36-38, Fig. 2c; Cornelius 1994:217-218, BM82, Pl. 50; Tazawa 2009:20 Doc. 20.

Description: A bearded and winged figure strides to the right, it wears an Egyptian white crown ( ) made of reeds. There is an unclear symbol attached to the front of the crown, this has frequently been seen as a gazelle's head, Cornelius (1994) suggests that it is neither a gazelle nor a uraeus but perhaps the head of the Seth-animal as on BS16? A long streamer attached to the top of the crown hangs down the back. The figure wears a short *šndjt* kilt ( ), with bands across the chest. Around the neck is a broad collar and both arms and both wrists are adorned with bangles. The left hand grabs a serpent, whilst in the right holds a spear which is being thrust into the serpent.

Identification: The figure can be identified as the winged Baʕal-Seth the serpent slayer given the Asiatic appearance, wings and serpent slaying.

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5.5   Other evidence

P1 *Baluᶜa* Moabite stele

Inventory:	*Baluᶜa* stele: Archaeological Museum, Amman Jordan
Provenance:	Khirbat al- (Surface find) NE of Karak plateau
Object:	Stele
Material:	Basalt
Dimensions:	100 (h) x 650 (w) cm? (by scaling – unspecified)
Date:	1500-1000 BCE?
Published:	Ward & Martin 1964:5-29; Pritchard 1969b:488; Higginbotham 2000:237-240; Routledge & Routledge 2009:79-81; Schroer 2011:322-323 No. 886

Description: The stele consists of a relief panel surmounted (somewhat un-Egyptian) by some registers of hieroglyphs, which are virtually undecipherable. Many attempts have been made to decipher the inscription without any positive result. The relief depicts three figures; to the left is a male facing right with a short Egyptian beard? He wears the Egyptian double crown with a band near the top and a protuberance perhaps intended to be a

uraeus. He wears a short kilt and grasps a *wȝs*-sceptre (⸜) in his left hand, it is not clear what the raised right hand is doing. He presents this to the central figure that is facing him wearing a long festal robe as seen in the Amarna period, and a foreign looking headdress. The figure has both hands raised in adoration. The right hand figure also facing left wears a long sheath dress that is a rather poor imitation of Egyptian styling. On the head is

an Osiride crown such as is often seen on Palestinian goddesses? In her right hand she holds an ᶜ*nḫ*-symbol (☥). Two other symbols can be seen, a crescent above the left shoulder of the central figure and an orb and crescent above the right shoulder.

Identification: Although not directly connected to the Baᶜal Seth debate it does serve to illustrate the far flung presence of Egyptian iconography. This stele has been subject to considerable debate and controversy. The traditional interpretation suggests that it is an investiture scene where the central figure is being invested with the symbols of power and authority by the god on the left while a goddess assists. The iconography is clearly Egyptian and kingship the theme even though the central figure is represented as an Asiatic. Routledge and Routledge (2009:89) have concluded that such 'Egyptianized' iconography was distributed as a visual declaration of authority in the Late Bronze Age Levant.

P2 *IAA S-982* Mekal Stele
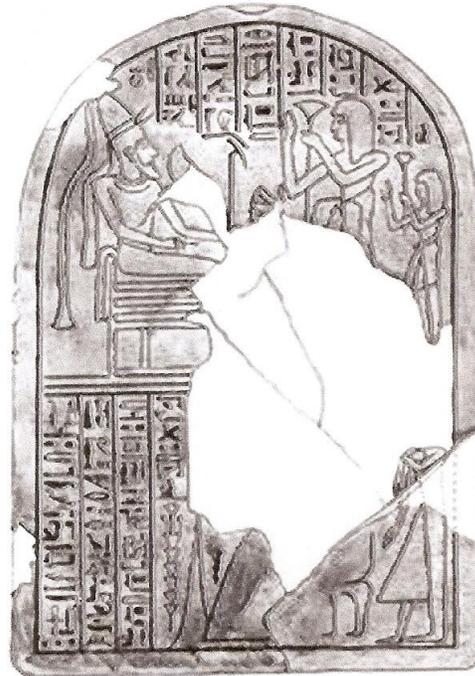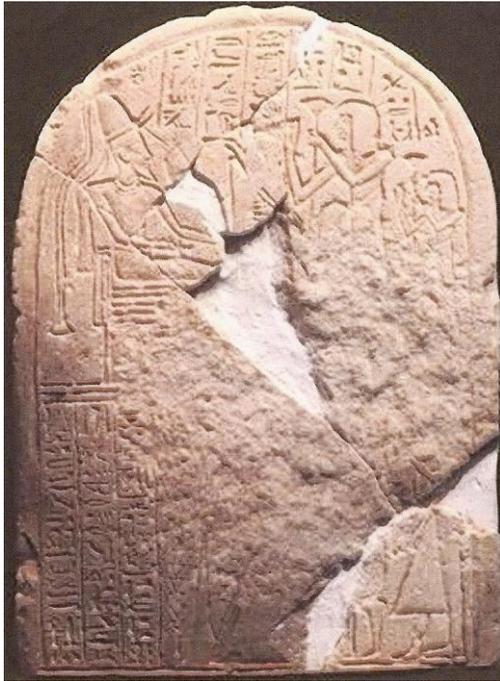
Inventory:	*IAA S-982 Mekal* stele: Israel antiquities Authority
Provenance:	Beth Shean
Object:	Stele
Material:	Limestone
Dimensions:	27.8 (h) x 19.8 (w) cm.
Date:	13th Century BCE.
Published:	Rowe 1930:9-14 Pl. 33; Thompson 1970:50-77 Pl. V; Cornelius 1994:159 Fig. 1; Eggler 2006: 1-3.

Description: Although the stele is badly damaged with sections missing, the inscription is largely intact. A seated figure on the left faces right dressed in Syro-Palestinian style with the typical beard as well as conical helmet with horns and a long streamer down the back ending in a flower. He wears a long robe with a collar. However, in his left hand he holds the Egyptian *wȝs*-sceptre in the left hand and an *ʿnḫ*-symbol in the right. Facing him on the right are two figures with Egyptian hairstyle, their hands are raised in adoration and each carries a single lotus blossom in their left hand. In the right hand side of the lower register part two figures can be seen facing left towards the inscription, the left hand one could be kneeling.

Identification: Although not directly connected to the Baʿal Seth debate it further serves to illustrate the far flung presence of Egyptian iconography. From the inscription the seated figure is identified as the god Mekal receiving lotus flowers from the builder Amen-em-Opet and his son Paraemheb. Mekal's dual role is indicated by the *ʿnḫ*-symbol of life and the *wȝs*-sceptre of death.

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P3 *AO5055* Shihan Stele

Inventory: *A05055:* Louvre Museum
Provenance: Rujm El-ʿAbd, near Shihan.
Object: Stele fragment
Material: Basalt – blackish green
Dimensions: 1030(h) x 580(w) cm.
Date: Late Bronze Age to Early Iron Age (ca. 1200 – 800 BCE)
Published: Tufnell 1953:161-166; Pritchard 1969b:177; Warmenbol 1983:63-75; Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990:320-321 Fig. 97; Cornelius 1994: 166-167 Fig. 39a; Gaβ 2009:259-261 Abb. 24.

Description: This remaining portion of the stele is badly chipped all round, the single beardless figure is in high relief. The body is squat and very muscular with a tense and alert attitude; both legs are missing from below the knees. The right arm is raised holding the top of the downward pointing spear, whilst the left holds it near the large leaf shaped blade. The body faces front whilst the head is in profile, this pose seems to be in Egyptian tradition as is the loin cloth. There is an 'egg' shaped animal behind the figure possibly a lion or a bird of prey. The headgear ends in a long falling streamer which curls at the bottom end.

Identification: There has been much debate and controversy over the date, identification and provenance of this object (which was a surface find on the eastern shore of the Red Sea near Shihan). It has been suggested that this is a victory stele of a prince or king, on the other hand it could be a warrior god related to the storm god, where the spear equates to a lightning bolt as in the famous Baʿal stele. The long tresses are comparable to the Hittite examples imitated in the Levant which suggests the 9th to 10th century BCE, however the hair with its long sinuous tress and the spear indicate Syro-Palestinian gods of the Late Bronze Age. It is sometimes accepted that this figure represents a god perhaps Baʿal. Keel (1990:320-321 Fig. 97) equates the figure with Seth fighting Apep, also Cornelius (1994:166-167 Fig. 39a) comments that this could perhaps be a depiction of the serpent – slaying Baʿal-Seth thereby further demonstrating how far flung this motif became.

Table 7a – Overview of iconographical evidence

Category	Seth	Baʿal	Baʿal-Seth	Total
Stele	1	5	5	11
Relief			2	2
Cylinder seal	2	8	1	11
Scarab	7		19	26
Conoid/Plaque			2	2
Figurine	1	2		3
Rhyton		1		1
Papyrus	1			1
Total items	12	16	29	57
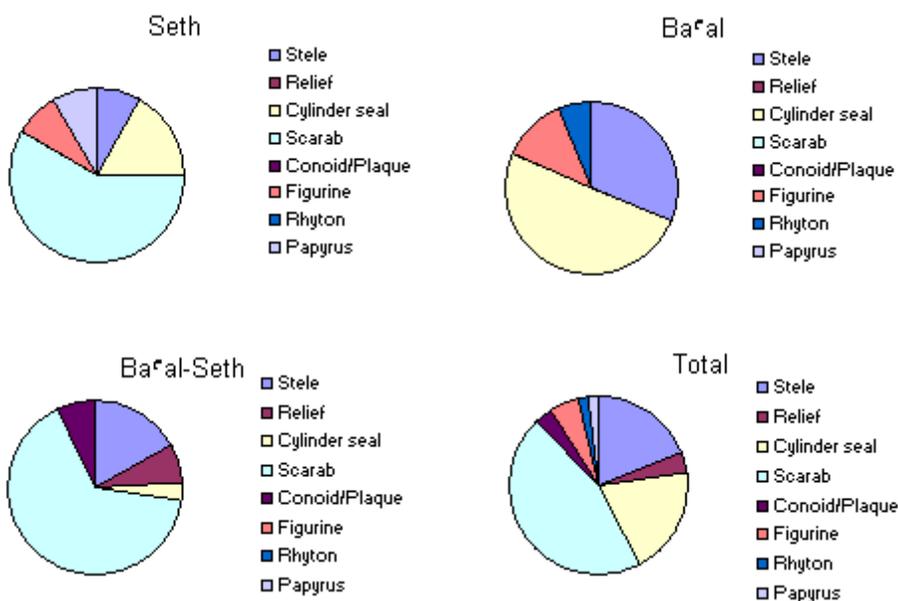
Table 7b – Items with inscriptions (segregation by author identification not inscription)

Items with inscriptions	Seth	Baʿal	Baʿal-Seth	Total
Stele	1	3		4
Relief		2		2
Cylinder seal			1	1
Scarab		1	3	4
Papyrus			1	1
Total with Inscriptions	1	6	5	12

Note: Tables 7a and 7b are deductive summaries from the corpus identifications.

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Table 8a   Overview of iconographical attributes

Item	Stance				Weapon				Inscription
	menacing S/Slayer	standing striding	sitting	on animal mountain	sword	plant spear lightning bolt	mace club	other	
S1	S/Slayer	standing				spear			yes
S2			sitting						yes
S3	S/Slayer	standing				spear			yes
S4		standing							yes
S5			sitting	seth					yes
S6		standing							
S7		standing							
S8		standing							
S9	S/Slayer	standing				spear			yes
S10	S/L Slayer	standing			sword/flail				yes
S11		striding							yes
S12	menacing	striding							
B1	menacing	striding		mountain		lightning bolt	mace	dagger	
B2		striding							yes
B3									yes
B4	menacing	striding				spear - p s	mace?		
B5	menacing		sitting						yes
B6	menacing	striding				plant spear?			
B7	menacing	standing		bull		spear			
B8	menacing	standing			*hps*	spear			
B9	menacing	standing				plant spear	mace		
B10	menacing	standing			sword		mace?	b axe dag	
B11	menacing	striding				plant spear	mace		
B12	menacing	standing				spear	mace		
B13	menacing	striding		mountain			mace	duck b axe	
B14	menacing	standing						dagger	
B15	menacing	striding							
B16	menacing	striding							
BS1		striding							yes
BS2		striding							yes
BS3		standing			*hps*				yes
BS4		standing							yes
BS5	S/Slayer	standing				spear			yes
BS6		striding							yes
BS7	S/Slayer					spear			
BS8		standing							
BS9	2 Gods B + S	standing							
BS10		standing		+ hippo					
BS11		standing		lion					
BS12		standing		lion					
BS13		standing		lion					
BS14	S/Slayer	standing		lion					
BS15	S/Slayer	standing				spear			
BS16	S/Slayer	standing				spear			
BS17	S/Slayer	standing				spear			yes
BS18	S/Slayer								
BS19	S/Slayer	standing			*hps*				
BS20	S/Slayer	standing				spear			yes
BS21	S/Slayer	standing							
BS22		standing		lion					
BS23		standing							
BS24	2 Gods B + S	standing							
BS25	2 Gods B + S	standing							
BS26		standing							
BS27		standing		lion					
BS28		standing		+lion					
BS29		striding							yes
BS30		striding				spear			yes

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Table 8b Overview of iconographical attributes

Item	wings	head	beard (E or A)	lock	kilt/skirt (loin cloth)	tassels	bands (belts)	ornament	crown	horns (gazelle/Uraeus)	streamer
S1		sethian			kilt						
S2		sethian			kilt				2 crown		
S3	wings	sethian			kilt	tassels					
S4		sethian			kilt?			uraeus?			
S5		sethian									
S6		sethian			long dress		striped			ears/horns?	
S7		sethian						2 Uraei			
S8	wings	sethian			long dress		striped	uraeus			
S9		sethian			Srt dress	tassels	striped			ears/horns?	streamer
S10		sethian						uraeus?	2 crown	uraeus?	
S11		sethian			kilt		pleated	*wȝs*			
S12		Sethian?			kilt				2 crown	Ram horns	
B1			asiatic	lock	kilt		bands		conical	horns	
B2			egyptian					*wȝs ꜥnh*	conical		streamer
B3			asiatic?					sceptre?	white		streamer
B4			asiatic		kilt	tassels	bands	collar	white		
B5											streamer
B6				lock				*wȝs*	crown	horns	
B7					kilt						
B8					kilt				*ḫprš*	horns/uraeus?	
B9			?	lock	kilt				helmet	horns	streamer
B10			asiatic		kilt				helmet	horns?	streamer
B11				lock	kilt		bands		winged?		streamer
B12					kilt				conical		
B13				lock?							streamer?
B14			asiatic		kilt				conical	horns	
B15					kilt				white		
B16					loin cloth				conical		streamers
BS1			egyptian		kilt	tassels	bands	*wȝs ꜥnh*	white	horns	streamer
BS2			egyptian		kilt	tassels			white	horns	streamer
BS3					kilt	tassels		*wȝs*	white?		streamer
BS4			egyptian		kilt			*wȝs ꜥnh*	white	horns	streamer
BS5	wings	bull			kilt	tassels	bands		*nms*	horns	
BS6			egyptian					*wȝs ꜥnh*	white	horns	streamer
BS7							bands		conical		streamer
BS8					kilt			*wȝs*	conical	horns	streamer
BS9	2 gods	sethian			long dress				conical		
BS10	wings		egyptian		long dress	tassels	striped		conical	horns	streamer
BS11	wings		egyptian						conical	horns	streamer
BS12	wings		egyptian		kilt				conical	horns	streamer
BS13	wings		egyptian						conical	horns	streamer
BS14	wings				kilt?						
BS15	wings		egyptian		kilt	tassels			conical	horns	streamer
BS16	wings		egyptian?		kilt	tassels			white	Seth	streamer
BS17	wings	sethian							white	horns	streamer
BS18									white	horns	streamer
BS19					kilt				?	horns	streamer
BS20		sethian	egyptian?		kilt	tassels				horns	streamer
BS21	wings	sethian	egyptian		kilt	tassels				horns	streamer
BS22											
BS23	wings			lock	kilt		striped	+ uraeus	conical	horns	streamer
BS24	2 gods	sethian			Lg dress			*ꜥnkh*	conical	horns	streamer
BS25	2 gods								conical	horns	streamer
BS26											
BS27	wings				kilt		striped			horns	streamer
BS28				lock	kilt		striped				
BS29					kilt		bands		white	Seth?	streamer

Table 9   Frequency of occurrence - major iconographical attributes

		Seth		Baʿal		Baʿal-Seth	
Group size		12		16		29	
Attribute	Specific attribute	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Stance	Menacing	2	17	14	88		
	Standing	6	50			12	41
	S/Slayer	4	33			10	34
	On animal			1	6	7	24
	On mountain			2	12		
Weapon	Sword	1	8	2	12	2	7
	Spear	3	25	9	56	7	24
	Mace			8	50		
	Other			5	34		
Features	Wings	2	17			13	45
	Sethian head	11	100			6	21
	Egyptian beard			1	6	12	41
	Asiatic beard			5	31		
	Hair lock			6	38	2	7
Dress	Long dress	2	17			3	10
	Kilt	5	42	12	75	18	62
	Tassels	2	17	1	6	9	31
	Band/belt	3	25	3	19	9	31
	Ornament	4	33	5	31	8	28
Headdress	Conical crown			4	25	11	38
	White crown			4	25	9	31
	Pointed crown	1	8	1	6		
	Other headdress	1	8	5	31	2	7
	Horns			6	38	20	69
	Uraeus	1?	8	1?	6		
	Streamer	1	8	8	50	23	79
Inscription		7	58	3	19	10	34

Note: Table 9 results are deduced from the corpus identifications.

Map 6 Corpus Syro-Palestinian locations
(Adapted from Tubb 1998:7)

Map 5 Corpus locations across the Ancient Near East
(Adapted from Wilkinson 2010b:200)

5.6   Textual evidence

T1 Relief inscription ('poem' of the battle of Qadesh)

Inventory: In situ.
Provenance: Karnak, Luxor.
Material: Sandstone:
Date: 1279-1213 BCE. Ramesses II.
Published: Gardiner 1960:9 L75-79; Tazawa 2009:28 Doc. 64.

Description: At the commencement of the battle of Qadesh, one of the Egyptian troops of the division of Ra of Ramesses II. is attacked by the Hittites, to the south of Qadesh. The Egyptians were unaware and thus unprepared for the approaching enemy, the division of Ra collapses. This news is brought to Ramesses II.

Identification: '…but His Majesty stood firm to the north of the town of Qadesh on the western side of the Orontes. Then they came to tell it to His Majesty. Then His Majesty appeared in glory like his father Mont, he assumed the accoutrements of battle, and girded himself with his corselet, he was like *Ba͑al* in his hour, the great horse which bore His majesty being 'Victory-in-Thebes' of the great stable of Usima͑rē͑-setpenrē͑, beloved of Amen.' This statement thus recognises Ba͑al.

T2 Relief inscription ('poem' of the battle of Qadesh)

Inventory: In situ.
Provenance: Abydos, Karnak, Luxor.
Material: Limestone and Sandstone.
Date: 1279-1213 BCE. Ramesses II.
Published: Gardiner 1960:10 L.142-161; Tazawa 2009:28 Doc. 65.

Description: Battle scene between Ramesses II and the Hittites.

Identification: But the wretched Chief of Khatti stood in the midst of his infantry and his chariotry looking at the fighting of His Majesty alone by himself, not having with him his infantry nor his chariotry; but he stood turning back, shrinking and afraid. Then he caused many chiefs to come, each one of them with his chariots, and they were equipped with their weapons of warfare, the Chief of Arzawa, him of the [land of] Masa, the Chief of Arwen (?), him of Luka, him of Dardany, the Chief of Carchemish, the Chief of Ḳarḳsha, him of Khaleb, the brothers of him of Khatti, collected in one place; their total was 1000 chariots come straight on into the fire. I betook myself against them, being like Mont, I caused them to taste my hand in the completion of a moment, slaughtering among them, they being slain in their places, one among them calling to his fellow saying: 'He is no man who is in our midst, but *Sutekh* great of strength, *Ba͑al* in person. Not things done by a man are those which he does, they are those of one unique who defeats hundreds of thousands, no infantry being with him and no chariotry.

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T3 Relief inscription ('poem' of the battle of Qadesh)

Inventory:	In situ.
Provenance:	Karnak, Luxor, Ramesseum.
Material:	Sandstone:
Date:	1279-1213 BCE. Ramesses II.
Published:	Gardiner 1960:12 L214-224; Tazawa 2009:29 Doc. 66.

Description: This relief shows the Egyptian troops surrounded by the Hittites. The king is encouraging and motivating his troops.

Identification: Then said His Majesty to his shield-bearer: 'Stand firm, steady thy heart, my shield-bearer. I will enter in among them like the pounce of a falcon, killing, slaughtering, and casting to the ground. What careth thy heart for these effeminate ones at millions of whom I take no pleasure?' Thereupon His majesty started forth quickly and entered at a gallop into the midst of the battle for the sixth time of entering in amongst them. I was after them like *Ba˓al* at the moment of his power, killing them and I did not relax.

T4 Relief inscription ('poem' of the battle of Qadesh)

Inventory:	In situ.
Provenance:	Luxor.
Material:	Sandstone.
Date:	1279-1213 BCE. Ramesses II.
Published:	Gardiner 1960:13 L295-297; Tazawa 2009:29 Doc. 67.

Description: A message from the Hittite king after his defeat by the Egyptian king.

Identification: Thereupon the wretched Chief of Khatti sent and did homage to my name like that of Ra, saying 'Thou art *Sutekh, Ba˓al* in person. The dread of thee is a brand in the land of Khatti.'

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T5 Relief inscription ('Bulletin' of the battle of Qadesh)

Inventory: In situ.
Provenance: Abu Simbel, Luxor, Ramesseum.
Material: Sandstone:
Date: 1279-1213 BCE. Ramesses II.
Published: Gardiner 1960:30 L80-90; Tazawa 2009:29 Doc. 68.

Description: Hittite spies report that the Egyptian army has lost one of its four divisions, and that their retreat is cut off by the Hittite army and its allies. Ramesses II then decides to stand up against the Hittites by himself.

Identification: Then the infantry and chariotry of His Majesty were discomfited before them whilst going northward to where His Majesty was. Then the host of the Khatti enemy hemmed in the followers of His Majesty who were by his side. Then His majesty caught sight of them, and thereupon he arose quickly and was enraged against them like his father Mont. And he assumed the accoutrements of battle and girded himself with his corslet; he was like *Sutekh* at the moment of his power. Then he mounted upon 'Victory-in-Thebes', his horse, and he started forth quickly alone by himself.

T6 Relief inscription (Battle of Qadesh)

Inventory: In situ.
Provenance: Abu Simbel, Ramesseum.
Material: Sandstone.
Date: 1279-1213 BCE. Ramesses II.
Published: Gardiner 1960:41 R42; Tazawa 2009:30 Doc. 69.

Description: Text describing a battle scene during the battle of Qadesh.

Identification: The great wretched fallen one of Khatti standing in the midst of his infantry and his chariotry, his face turned back, shrinking, and his heart discomfited. He never came out to fight through fear of His Majesty, when he had seen His Majesty prevailing against those of Khatti together with the chiefs of every foreign land who had come with him, His Majesty overthrowing them in a moment, His Majesty being as a divine falcon. He gave praise to the goodly god saying 'He is like *Set* the great of strength in his hour, *Baʿal* in person.'

T7 Relief inscription (First Libyan war)

Inventory: In situ.
Provenance: Medinet Habu.
Material: Sandstone:
Date: 1184-1153 BCE. Ramesses III.
Published: Edgerton & Wilson 1936:9 pl.17; Tazawa 2009:30 Doc. 72.

Description: The relief shows the start of the campaign against the Libyans; two chariots, the first carrying the standard of Amen, Ramesses III stands on the second chariot. The king is accompanied by Egyptian troops and also foreign troops who are shown at the left of the lower register. There are texts in front of both chariots and above the lower register.

Identification: *Before the king:* The good god, mighty king, rich in strength like Montu, one beloved like Min, strong of arm like the son of Nut, great of terror, possessed of awe, whose battle cry has encompassed the countries; a lion raging when he sees his assailant. His arrow does not miss in a million. A mighty warrior in his own form, he looks upon hundred-thousands as one. He appears upon the battlefield like *Baʿal*, and the heat of him has burned up the Nine Bows.
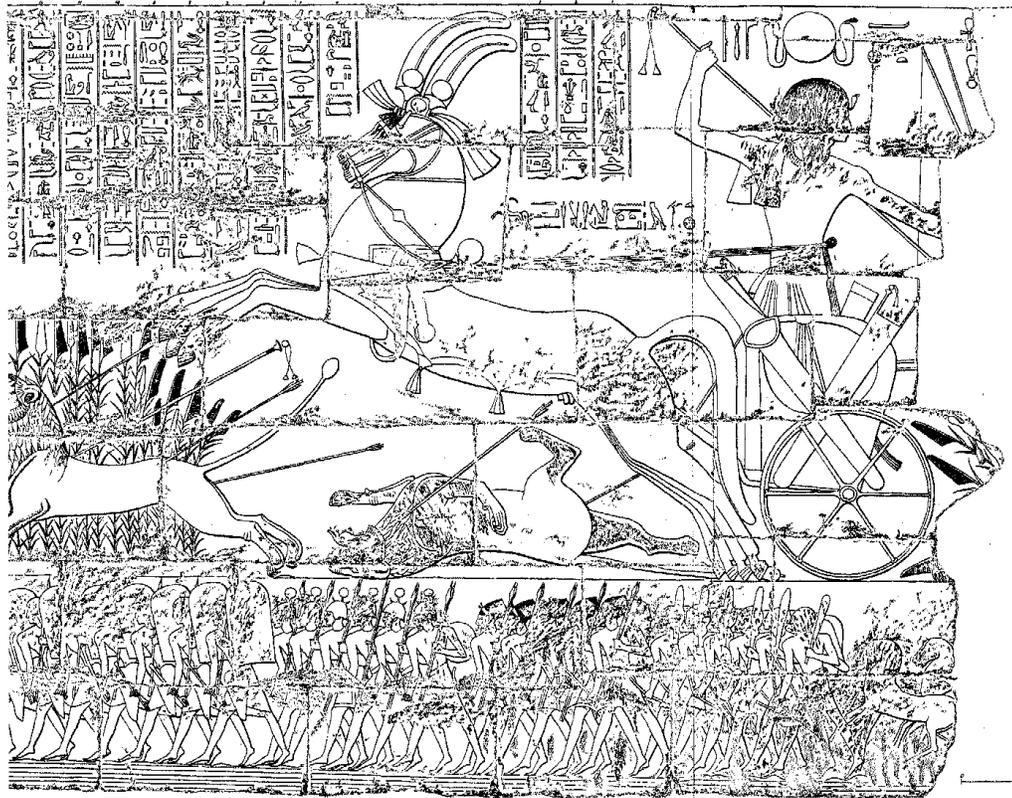
T8 Relief inscription (First Libyan war)

Inventory: In situ.
Provenance: Medinet Habu.
Material: Sandstone.
Date: 1184-1153 BCE. Ramesses III.
Published: Edgerton/Wilson 1936:31 Pl.27-28; Tazawa 2009:30 Doc. 73.

Description: The wall is covered with a long inscription of 75 lines. A reference to Baʿal is found in lines 54-59 with respect to the capitulation and subsequent captivity of the Northerners following the Northern War (lines 51-59), normally dated to regnal year 8.

Identification: They [cried out], saying: 'there is a charging lion, wild, mighty, seizing with his claw: the sole lord who has come into being in Egypt, without [his equal], a warrior straight of arrow, who never misses, [/////] the ends of the ocean.' They tremble with one accord (saying): 'Whither shall we go?' They beg peace, coming humbly for fear of him, knowing that their strength is not and that their bodies are weak, for the awe of His Majesty is before them every day. He is like a bull standing on the field of battle, his eye on his horns, prepared and ready to attack his assailant with his head; a mighty warrior [/////] battle cry, the runner, lord of strength, plundering every land, so that they come in (humble) salutation for terror of him; a young child, valiant like *Baʿal* in [in his time]; the king who carries plans to completion, the lord of counsels. What he has done does not fail but happens immediately; King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Usermaatre-Meryamen; Son of Ra; Ramesses III.

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T9 Relief inscription (Ramesses III hunts lions)

Inventory: In situ.
Provenance: Medinet Habu.
Material: Sandstone:
Date: 1184-1153 BCE. Ramesses III.
Published: Edgerton & Wilson 1936:39 Pl.35; Tazawa 2009:31 Doc. 74.

Description: Ramesses III, wearing a lappet wig with uraeus, is shown standing in his chariot hunting lions. Soldiers march along the bottom register and a lion has fallen under the king's chariot. The scene behind the king is damaged. Texts can be seen in front of the horses and between the horses and the king.

Identification: *Above and before the chariot:*   The strength of His Majesty is like a flame in their limbs, so that their hearts have burned up because of his heat. A mighty ruler; there is not one like unto him, for his strong arm has protected Egypt. *Montu* in his [protection], repelling his enemies and averting all evil (from) before [him]. The soldiers are glad; the officials rejoice, the guardsmen exult to the sky, for [their] lord is mighty like *Montu*, and his battle cry and his fame are like [those of] *Ba𝑐al.*

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T10 Relief inscription (Campaign against the Sea Peoples)

Inventory: In situ.
Provenance: Medinet Habu.
Material: Sandstone:
Date: 1184-1153 BCE. Ramesses III.
Published: Edgerton & Wilson 1936:41 Pl.37-39; Tazawa 2009:31 Doc. 75.

Description: Five ships of the Sea Peoples are shown being defeated by the four Egyptian ships. On the coast, Ramesses III, wearing a blue crown, together with his archers send volleys of arrows against the enemy. The king stands in front of his chariot and over his head he is protected by the goddess Nekhbet. An attendant holds a *šwt*-fan over the king. There are two lower registers showing lines of captives being marched to the left. In front of and behind the king are lines of inscriptions.

Identification: *Before the king:*   The good god, *Montu* in Egypt, great of strength like *Baʿal* in the foreign countries, strong of arm, undaunted of heart, haughty, skilled in his strength, a great wall for sheltering Egypt, so that there may come no land to injure it; King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two lands: Usermaatre-Meryamen, Ramses III.

T11 Relief inscription (Campaign against the Sea Peoples)

Inventory: In situ.
Provenance: Medinet Habu.
Material: Sandstone.
Date: 1184-1153 BCE. Ramesses III.
Published: Edgerton & Wilson 1936:45 Pl.43; Tazawa 2009:31 Doc. 76.

Description: The scene shows Ramesses III dedicating captive Libyans and Sea Peoples to the Theban triad. The king stands on the right with his captives held by leashes behind him. In front of him are the Theban triad under a canopy. Amen is seated holding a *wꜣs*-sceptre (⌐) in the left hand, and an *ʿnḫ*-symbol (☥) in the right hand, Mut and Khons stand behind him. Below this scene are the topographical lists. Texts are inscribed above the gods, in front of the king and above the captives. Below the king's feet and to the right of the scene are further texts.

Identification: *Above the sea peoples:*   Words spoken by the great fallen ones of Thekker, who are in the grasp of His Majesty, in praise of this good god, the Lord of the Two Lands: Usermaatre-Meryamen: 'great is thy strength, O mighty king, great Son of Egypt! Greater is thy sword than a mountain of metal, while the awe of thee is like (that of) *Baʿal*. Give to us the breath, that we may breathe it, the life, that which is in thy grasp forever!'

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T12 Relief inscription (Campaign against the Sea Peoples)

Inventory: In situ.
Provenance: Medinet Habu.
Material: Sandstone:
Date: 1184-1153 BCE. Ramesses III.
Published: Edgerton & Wilson 1936:48 Pl.44; Tazawa 2009:32 Doc. 77.

Description: In this scene Ramesses III holds three rows of captive sea Peoples and is presenting them to Amen and Mut. The king is wearing the Atef-crown complete with rams' horns from which uraei are hanging and a sun disc, above him is the protection of the goddess Nekhbet. Amen holds a *wȝs*-sceptre (⸗) in his left hand and in his right hand an *ḥpš*-sword that he presents to the king. There are two lines of text below the scene; additionally texts can be seen above and between the gods. Further texts are inscribed in front of the king and above and between the rows of captives.

Identification: Above the top register of captives: Words spoken by the leaders of every country who are in the grasp of His Majesty: 'Great is thy strength, O mighty king, great Sun of Egypt! Greater is [thy] sword than a mountain of metal, while the awe of thee is like (that of) *Baꜥal*. Give to us thy breath that we might breathe it, and life, that which is in thy hands!'

T13 Relief inscription (Campaign against the Sea Peoples)

Inventory: In situ.
Provenance: Medinet Habu.
Material: Sandstone.
Date: 1184-1153 BCE. Ramesses III.
Published: Edgerton & Wilson 1936:50 Pl.46; Tazawa 2009:32 Doc. 78.

Description: This is a lengthy inscription of 38 columns, concerning the Northern War of Ramesses III in regnal year 8.

Identification: Ramesses III; charging into the thick of the fray like one joyous. He looks upon millions of them as a (mere) trickle! The terror of him is great, as a flame as far as the ends of the earth; causing the Asiatics to turn back (by) fighting on the battlefield. As for the rebels who know not Egypt forever, they hear of his strength, coming with praise, trembling in their limbs at the (mere) mention of him, saluting with their hearts for terror of him. They speak of [his] appearance; they say to their people: 'His form and his body are exactly equal to (those of) *Baꜥal*.' Powerful in a throng, without his equal, he smites millions, alone by himself.

T14 Relief inscription (Second Libyan war)

Inventory: In situ.
Provenance: Medinet Habu.
Material: Sandstone:
Date: 1184-1153 BCE. Ramesses III.
Published: Edgerton & Wilson 1936:59 Pl.62; Tazawa 2009:32 Doc. 79.

Description: In this scene Ramesses III in his chariot, accompanied by Egyptian and foreign troops as well as Egyptian courtiers sets out on a march to possibly begin his second campaign against the Libyans. The purpose is uncertain from the general inscriptions. In front and behind the king attendants hold *šw*-fans. Above the king is a sun disc flanked by two Uraei. There are texts before the king above the horses as well as to the right and at the bottom of the scene.

Identification: *Before the king:*   The king beautiful at horsemanship like Montu, whenever he appears like Ra for Egypt; the strong one, possessor of a strong arm, repulsing the Nine Bows, for awe, dread, and fear are united in his body. When he is seen storming like unto *Baʿal*, the lands burn up in their land for terror of him.

T15 Relief inscription (Second Libyan war)

Inventory: In situ.
Provenance: Medinet Habu.
Material: Sandstone.
Date: 1184-1153 BCE. Ramesses III.
Published: Edgerton & Wilson 1936:60 Pl.68; Tazawa 2009:33 Doc. 80.

Description: The scene shows Ramesses III dismounted from his chariot and tying up two Libyan captives, he wears a lappet wig and a loincloth. The vulture goddess Nekhbet is over the king offering protection. Below this scene, Egyptian infantry are marching preceded by archers firing volleys of arrows into the fleeing enemy. Texts are inscribed in front of the king, above the Libyans, the charioteers and the chariot, and behind Nekhbet.

Identification: *Before the king:*   The good god, [great of] victory, lord of strength, carrying off every land, encircling all the lands of the Meshwash to seek the transgressor of his frontier, entering into a throng and slaying hundred-thousands. There is none who can stand before him, for he is *Baʿal* at the time of his raging, like a falcon among little birds and small fowl; powerful at horsemanship, taking captives on his two feet; King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Usermaatre-Meryamen; Son of Ra: Ramesses III.

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T16 Relief inscription (Second Libyan war)

Inventory:	In situ.
Provenance:	Medinet Habu.
Material:	Sandstone:
Date:	1184-1153 BCE. Ramesses III.
Published:	Edgerton & Wilson 1936:72 Pl.79; Tazawa 2009:33 Doc. 81.

Description: This relief is purely conventional glorifying epithets with general reference to the second Libyan war in regnal year 11 of the reign of Ramses III, and was perhaps merely used as a space-filler?

Identification: Live the good god, the son of Amen, the hero valiant like *Montu* residing in Thebes, the great ruler of boasting in his name, beautiful of horsemanship, potent in the fray, horned in a multitude, mighty when charging among them like one rejoicing of heat; the terrible one, conquering his enemies, charging and seizing upon his assailant, fierce of face against the assailant of his frontier; rich in fame in the land of Meshwash, great of terror, lord of awe; making desolate the name of the Asiatic lands, giving out his heat in a flame against their bodies, like Sekhmet when she rages, in order to extend the frontiers of Egypt by the great victories of his arm ; despising a million, holding two million in contempt, firm of heart, charging into hundred-thousands; the strong young bull in the fray like *Baʿal* when he storms; the valiant warrior, achieving with his hands;

T17 Relief inscription (Second Libyan war)

Inventory:	In situ.
Provenance:	Medinet Habu.
Material:	Sandstone.
Date:	1184-1153 BCE. Ramesses III.
Published:	Edgerton & Wilson 1936:91 Pl.85-86; Tazawa 2009:33 Doc. 84.

Description: The relief shows a scene above the main text. The scene shows Amen holding out an *ḫpš*-sword to the king who is binding two types of Libyan in the right hand, the left hand is displayed in a brandishing position. The king wears the *šwty*-crown over the ram horns flanked by two uraei. Below the scene are firstly topographical lists. Below this is the main text, further inscriptions are shown in front of Amen and the king.

Identification: *Main text:* They laid death upon themselves (by coming) against Egypt, coming on their own legs to the [///], which is in the heat of odours and under a mighty flame. The heart of His Majesty stormed like *Baʿal* in the heavens. Every part of him was prepared with valour and strength, and a good plan set him to the capturing of a multitude.

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T18 Relief inscription (Ramesses III celebrating victory over the Libyans)

Inventory: In situ.
Provenance: Medinet Habu
Material: Sandstone
Date: 1184-1153 BCE. Ramesses III.
Published: Edgerton & Wilson 1936:14 Pl. 23; Stadelmann 1967:40; Tazawa 2009:37 Doc 101.

Description: Ramesses III, seated informally in his chariot, watches the counting of three piles of hands and one of phalli in order to determine the number of defeated enemies. In four registers officials lead Libyan captives into the presence of the king.

Identification: Horizontally immediately above the span: [The great chief span of his majes]ty, Baarherkhepeshef ('*Ba⁽al* is upon his sword') of the great stable of Usermare-meriamon (Ramesses III), of the court.

T19 Relief inscription (Attack two Hittite towns – Arzawa and Tunip)

Inventory: In situ.
Provenance: Medinet Habu.
Material: Sandstone:
Date: 1184-1153 BCE. Ramesses III.
Published: Edgerton & Wilson 1936:94 Pl.87; Tazawa 2009:34 Doc. 85.

Description: This scene is one of the so called 'genre' scenes copied from the Ramesseum. Ramesses II. attacks two Hittite fortresses. The king has loosed arrows which have thrown the defending Hittites into utter confusion. Egyptian soldiers have already entered the upper fortress, and its doorway is thrown down. A Hittite holds a brazier aloft as a symbol of submission.

Identification: *Before the king:* The good god, rich in awe, strong, raging in the fray, great of victory in all foreign countries; his battle cry is like (that of) *Ba⁽al* in the heavens. A thousand men cannot stand fast before him; hundred-thousands quail at the sight of him, for he is like Montu when he has taken the bow.
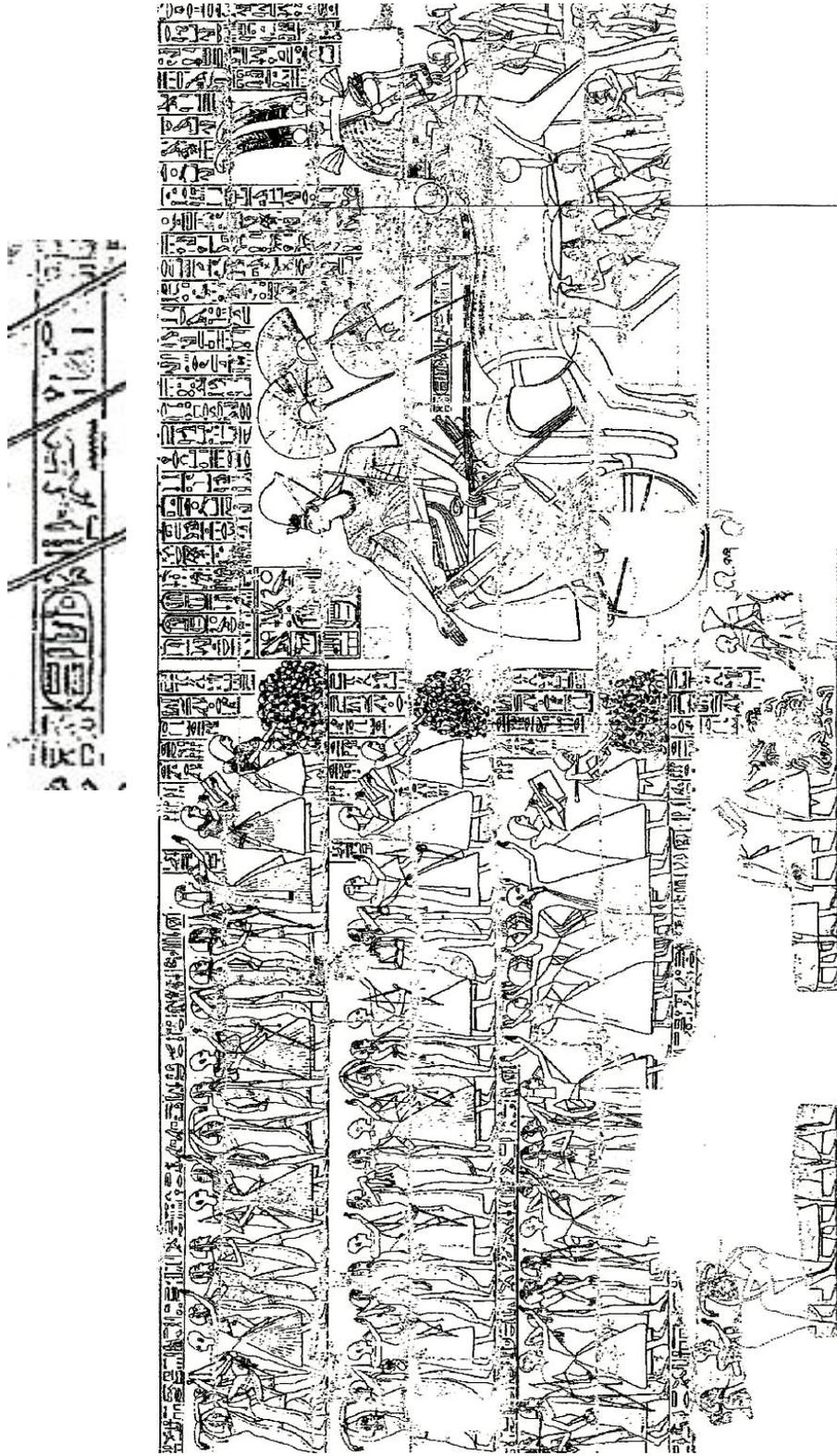
T18 Relief inscription (Rameses III celebrating his victory over the Libyans)

T20 Relief inscription (Storming the fortress in Amurru)

Inventory: In situ.
Provenance: Medinet Habu.
Material: Sandstone.
Date: 1184-1153 BCE. Ramesses III.
Published: Edgerton & Wilson 1936:100 Pl.94; Tazawa 2009:34 Doc. 86.

Description: Ramesses III. Has descended from his chariot and is attacking the fortress on foot. The king wears a long garment and wears an Egyptian blue crown, above him is the vulture goddess Nekhbet in protection. The king is assisted by Egyptian and foreign troops. The Syrians lower their lances, and one of them holds out a brazier in token of surrender. The texts are shown in the upper part of the scene.

Identification: *Above the king:* His battle cry is like (that of) *Baʿal* upon the mountain tops; the young ferocious bull, sharp of horns, heroic, charging upon the field of valour; the *maher,* lord of beauty, enfolded between Horus and *Set.*

T21 Record of the Baʿal cult in the Memphis area (pPetersburg 1116A)

Inventory: Pap. Hermitage 1116A
Provenance: Memphis.
Material: Papyrus.
Dimensions: 17.7 (h) cm.
Date: Co-regency of Thutmose III and Amenhotep II (mid. 18th Dynasty)
Published: Stadelmann 1967:32-33; Tazawa 2009:34 Doc. 89.

Description: The oldest proof of worship of Baʿal in New Kingdom Egypt is found in the middle of the 18th Dynasty, notably in close association with Seth. Perhaps it was not the first actual Baʿal cult in Egypt, but the first mention of the cult places of Baʿal-Seth that already existed at the time of the Hyksos (Stadelmann 1967:32). Since then, in the eastern Delta, and especially in Avaris the foreign god Baʿal became synonymous with Seth. On the reverse side of the papyrus (1116A) is a record of the distribution of rations or tribute/offerings to persons or organisations. Line 42 confirms the religious conduct of Baʿal in Peru-nefer.

Identification: Line 42*:* 'The offerings to the god *Baʿal* in Peru-nefer. ….' Where Baʿal is written with the recumbent Seth-animal . This is not a contradiction, but is used as a determinative for both Seth and Baʿal or perhaps *Baʿal-Seth?*

T22 Letter describing the wonders of Memphis (p. Sallier IV verso I,3-I,6)

Inventory:	*BM EA 10184* British Museum, London
Provenance:	Purchased from M. Sallier.
Material:	Papyrus.
Dimensions:	760 (l) x 19.5(h) cm.
Date:	Middle of the reign Ramesses II.
Published:	Caminos 1954:333; Stadelmann 1967:36; Tazawa 2009:35 Doc. 94.

Description: This letter from Setyka the chantress of Hathor starts with a eulogy on deities in the areas of Pi-Ptah and Memphis addressed to Sekhemtnefert the chantress of Amun:

'…to Amun-Ra, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, the great ram of Peru-nefer, to Amun of the temple of gods; to the Ennead that is in Pi-Ptah; to Baalat, Qadesh, and to Anyt; [to] *Baʿal-Zaphon*; to Sopd; to Semet.' (Note: Here also is reference to Soped – the lord of the East).

Identification: The letter shows that one of the gods worshipped in Memphis was Baʿal.

T23 Magical spell (pLeiden I343 + I345, recto IV9 – VI – 2 and verso VII 5 – VIII 12)

Inventory:	Leiden I 343 + I 345
Provenance:	Memphis
Material:	Papyrus
Dimensions:	495 – 500 (l) cm
Date:	19th – 20th Dynasty
Published:	Massart 1954; Leitz 2002:II *Bʿr* [3]; Tazawa 2009:36 Doc. 99

Description: The papyrus divides into two parts; spells against evil spirits and those against diseases. Seth, Baʿal and Resheph together with other Egyptian deities are shown in order to defeat the evil spirits or diseases (*smn* and *ʿḫw*). This defeat will be indicated by a magician.

Identification: recto: 'The raging of *Seth* is against the [*ʿḫ*]*w;* the fury of *Seth* is against you; the raging of the storm which thirsty after water of the sky is against you…..Then the […] shall make [his] approach. *Baʿal* strikes against you with the *ʿš*-wood which is in his hand. … So indeed you shall also be, O *smn*; the gods give effect against you to the plan of the god's making together with the water and the many poisons of *Seth*…' verso: 'The raging of *Seth* is against t[he *ʿḫw*] ; the fury of Baʿal is against you; …. *Baʿal* [stri]kes against you with the *ʿš*-wood which is in his hand.'

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T24 Letter from Abimilki of Tyre with regard to Akhenaten

Inventory:	*EA 147*
Provenance:	Ugarit
Material:	Clay tablet
Dimensions:	760 (l) x 19.5(h) cm. (est.)
Date:	18th Dynasty
Published:	Moran 2000:233; Schneider 2010b:409

Description: This letter from Abimilki of Tyre with regard to Akhenaten:

'My lord is the Sun who comes forth over all lands day by day, according to the way of the sun, his gracious father, who gives life by his sweet breath and returns with his north wind; who establishes the entire land in peace, by the power of his arm: *ḫʿpši;* who gives forth his cry in the sky like *Baʿal*, and all the land is frightened at his cry.

Identification: This letter from the time of Akhenaten set well on the path to becoming the patron of Egyptian kingship under Horemheb and the early 19th Dynasty. Already in the Amarna letters that the king is likened to both Baʿal and Ra.

Table 10   Overview of textual evidence

Item	Provenance	Date	Type	Major Gods named			Other Deities	
				Baᶜal	Seth	Montu	Theban Triad	Ra
T1	Karnak, Luxor	Ramesses II	relief	X		X		
T2	Abydos, Karnak, Luxor	Ramesses II	relief	X	X			
T3	Karnak, Luxor, Ramesseum	Ramesses II	relief	X				
T4	Luxor	Ramesses II	relief	X	X			X
T5	Abu Simbel, Luxor, Ramesseum	Ramesses II	relief		X	X		
T6	Abu Simbel, Ramesseum	Ramesses II	relief	X	X			
T7	Medinet Habu	Ramesses III	relief	X				
T8	Medinet Habu	Ramesses III	relief	X				
T9	Medinet Habu	Ramesses III	relief	X		X		
T10	Medinet Habu	Ramesses III	relief	X		X		
T11	Medinet Habu	Ramesses III	relief	X			X	
T12	Medinet Habu	Ramesses III	relief	X			X	
T13	Medinet Habu	Ramesses III	relief	X				
T14	Medinet Habu	Ramesses III	relief	X		X		X
T15	Medinet Habu	Ramesses III	relief	X				X
T16	Medinet Habu	Ramesses III	relief	X		X		
T17	Medinet Habu	Ramesses III	relief	X				
T18	Medinet Habu	Ramesses III	relief	X				
T19	Medinet Habu	Ramesses III	relief	X		X		
T20	Medinet Habu	Ramesses III	relief	X	X			
T21	Memphis	Tut. III /Am. II	papyrus	X	X			
T22	Unknown	Ramesses II	papyrus	X				
T23	Memphis	19-20 Dyn.	papyrus	X	X			
T24	Unknown	18 Dyn.	tablet	X				X

5.7   Discussion and synthesis of material evidence

> 'Foreign deities can be recognized by attributes, which serve less to mark their foreignness than their function and character.'
>
> (Zivie-Coche 2011:6)

Notwithstanding the fact that this is not an iconographical (a full catalogue of all visual material pertaining to Baʿal and Seth) or textual study *per se,* a cross section of available material evidence (both iconographical and textual) is presented. Whilst this is certainly not exhaustive, it serves to provide representative examples showing the relationship between deities in Egypt and her neighbours in Syro-Palestine. The time frame of this study (ca.1500 – 1000 BCE) covers the period when perhaps the apogee of interaction occurred between the peoples of the area delineated. Thus the majority of examples in the corpus fall within this time frame. Wherever possible the provenances as well as the dates within which the items were made have been given. The iconographical and textual evidence presented follows the comprehensive study of Resheph and Baʿal by Cornelius (1994) and his thorough and detailed analysis will not be repeated here, but with the addition of later evidence that has since been discovered. Included are references from Tazawa's book (2009) which provides useful information on the presence and rationale for Syro-Palestinian deities in Egypt. This work is complementary to this current study which considers more specifically the relationship of Egyptian deities in Syro-Palestine.

The Egyptians produced artistic representations of their deities' *sine qua non,* whereas when foreign deities were adopted into Egypt their iconography was neither well established nor often represented in their country of origin. This necessitated the development of a visual image; naturally this followed the Egyptian model with its stringent rules of representation (Zivie-Coche 2011:6). In the Late Bronze Age, New Kingdom Egypt abounded in the display of accurately recorded physical features, headdresses and garments, hair styles and culture specific equipment (Schneider 2010a:154), all of which are reflected in their iconography.

The situation with respect to bronze figurines requires some clarification; the corpus includes three such 'smiting gods' (S12, B14 & B15). The first of these (S12) is unusually large at some 67 cm. tall and something of a conundrum. The strange appearance has been recently clarified following gamma radiography and elemental analysis by Schorsch & Wypyski (2009). It would seem that the original sethian ears were replaced by ram's horns following Seth's fall from grace or 'denigration'. As an aside here it is worth mentioning that Cruz-Uribe (2009:201-210) argues for the word denigration rather than 'proscription' of Seth, following his popularity in the Ramesside period. This is a more forgiving description compared with the customary 'proscription' or 'demonization' used (cf. te Velde 1967:141).

Figure 44 Seated god

(Ornan 2011:254 Fig. 1a)

The other two bronzes B14 and B15, also in the menacing position are typical of the so called 'smiting god' due to the aggressive stance. Cornelius (1994:232) identifies the first (B14) as Baʿal from the horns, beard and dagger. The second (B15) is a very well published figure also identified as probably Baʿal although Resheph can not be discounted (Schroer 2011:344 Fig. 913). In a recent publication by Ornan entitled 'Let Baʿal be enthroned' (2011:253ff.) she describes a bronze seated figure some 30cm. high from Hazor, suggesting it is Baʿal (Fig. 44). This does not seem a typical posture for Baʿal, in any event the figure has little relevance to this study where the focus is on aggressive images and serpent slayers.

A number of scholars have published on metal figures from both Egypt and Syro-Palestine including Roeder (1956), Negbi (1976), Collon (1972) and Seeden (1980) and their work will not be repeated here. Cornelius (1994:125-129) provides a summary of previous work and concludes that generally identification has been a major problem and ranges from too optimistic by identifying the figures or too negative by failing to provide an identification. Although this overview was specifically looking at Baʿal and Resheph it would equally apply to Seth.

As a rule of thumb the size of a given relief or stele gives an indication of its standing. There are two basic categories, official − connected with the ruler or state religion, or private − connected with a private individual or cult (Cornelius 1994:238, 240). Naturally the bigger the item the more likely it is official or state inspired, whilst smaller items could be installed in a niche in the house of a private individual albeit one of some standing in the community. Inscriptions with, or incorporated on, an artefact can provide clarity on the figures, actions and purpose of the object be it commemorative (event or person) or cultic.

Turning to the figures shown, their posture, dress, adornment and weapons along with any other unusual accessories, plants, equipment or buildings all contribute towards a clearer understanding of the maker's intentions. 'Foreign deities can be recognised by attributes, which serve less to mark their foreignness than their function and character' (Zivie-Coche 2011:6). A cautionary note is necessary here – since the two subject gods (Seth and Baʿal) share many features and symbols, they must be identified with care. Thus it is essential to look closely at the attributes of the image to ascertain who is shown. Often due to the condition of the artefact or more commonly the reproduction (photographic image et al. where the original is inaccessible) no positive identification is possible. In the corpus of this study identification of a specific item follows the consensus of opinion from a number of prominent scholars in the field. This is assisted by inscriptions where present as well as comparative analysis. Apart from the image, the find spot is an important indicator of any figure depicted, for example if found in a temple or sanctuary is this figure perhaps a god?

Since identification of a single item can frequently be debatable or inconclusive it is necessary to gather a sufficient corpus to provide a more conclusive analysis of each particular grouping. To facilitate the analysis of the iconographical evidence a series of analytical tabulations are presented as follows:

Tables: 7a & 7b Overview of iconographical evidence.
Tables: 8a & 8b Overview of iconographical attributes.
Table: 9 Frequency of occurrence – major iconographical attributes.

The tabulations above enable comparisons of the subject gods and have been used to consider similarities and differences of their relationship from the iconographical aspect. Table 7a is a breakdown of the various media from which the identified items were made or inscribed upon. The tabulation gives the number of each type of medium and for each of the gods, Seth, Baꜥal and Baꜥal-Seth together with the totals. A visual presentation in the form of pie charts further illustrates the composition of the items. Also included is a table (7b) listing those items that include inscriptions.

As was indicated previously one can begin to identify the purpose of a given stele or relief from its physical size. All of the ten stelae (5 for Seth and 5 for Baꜥal-Seth) would be considered large and therefore would equate to the category of 'official,' that is being connected with the ruler or state religion. This is perhaps a clear sign of the acceptance of these deities at the highest level. Looking in more detail, the occurrence of a plethora of scarabs, especially of Seth and Baꜥal-Seth, together with their proliferation in Syro-Palestine speaks of an integration of this deity on a grand scale in the area.

Tabulations 8a and 8b consider each corpus item in terms of the most common, and thus perhaps the best, identifiers of each god. Table 8a gives an immediate impression of the standing/striding stance of nearly all the items, Seth and Baꜥal-Seth are largely standing whereas Baꜥal has a more even split of standing versus striding. With only two exceptions Baꜥal is presented in a menacing pose suggestive of a warrior god. However, the other two are non-threatening or acting in a more protective role as a serpent slayer, as famously shown on the funerary papyrus of *Her-Ouben* (corpus S1) where Seth stands on the prow of the solar barque warding off Apep. Seven examples show Baꜥal-Seth standing on a lion and there is one showing Baꜥal in this instance standing on a bull.

The analysis given in table 9 enumerates the frequency of occurrence for each of the attributes in the representations of the subject gods. The numbers confirm the menacing and thus aggressive role of Baꜥal as well as the protective role of the other two deities. The warrior aspect of Baꜥal is further enhanced by the proliferation of weapons wherein a number of examples carry more than one weapon.

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A major determinant for identifying the god is the presence or absence of wings, Seth and Baʿal-Seth are often shown with wings, whereas Baʿal is 'never winged' (Cornelius 1994:161). Of all the major attributes of the gods, wings are the most definitive but also the most problematic. This corpus was chosen in an endeavour to present as representative a cross section as possible whilst only being a sample of the multitude of available images. Nevertheless, the sample serves to show no wings for Baʿal, whilst some third of the Seth images have wings and 41% of Baʿal-Seth are winged. There is much debate and dissension over the presence of wings on any image of Baʿal. Cornelius (1994:166) opines that 'wings are not a Canaanite attribute of Baʿal, nor are the typical of Egyptian gods.' In an earlier iconographical study (Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990:320) one finds a possible Canaanite textual reference to wings in the title of KTU 1.46:6 − *bʿl knp* or Baʿal of Kanapu:

[i]*lš . bʿlš . aṯrt . š . ym š . b͟ʿl͟ k͟n͟p g*

[of Ilib a sheep – E]l a sheep – Baʿal a sheep – Atirat a sheep – Yam a sheep – the winged Baʿal a sheep(?) −

(Dijkstra 1984:71-72)

At first glance this is apparently a geographical place name as Pardee (1999:318) suspects. However, it is also possible that it is a Northwest Semitic word for wing (cf. Hebrew *kānāp*). Cornelius (1994:166) concludes that this Ugaritic reference is most likely to be similar to the allusion of Baʿal of Zaphon (Baʿal of mount Zaphon) that is to say a place name or indeed the common usage in Syro-Palestine of *bʿl ugrt* 'Baʿal of Ugarit.' Finally a stele fragment (corpus BS5) of unknown provenance depicts a bull headed figure complete with magnificent wings apparently standing on the prow of a boat (the typical bird on the prow suggest a solar barque). The inscription identifies him as 'Seth the bull of Ombos,' however, he wears typical Asiatic apparel and attributes, and this thereby suggests Baʿal-Seth.

A further complication in this whole puzzle albeit later in Phoenician iconography Baʿal is in fact depicted with wings (Cornelius 1994:166, Fig. 38; cf. Fig. 45). According to Cornelius (1994:165) Baʿal is never shown with a bull's head in (old) Canaanite iconography, however, this is possibly not true in later Phoenician depictions (e.g. Fig. 46).

Figure 45 Phoenician Baʕal - 4 wings

(Cornelius 1994 Fig. 38)

Figure 46 Bull headed Baʕal

(Cornelius 1994 Fig. 36b)

As one might expect Seth is customarily shown with the typical head of the Seth-animal as are almost a quarter of the images of Baʕal-Seth, naturally no instances are shown for Baʕal. Twelve of the Baʕal-Seth images sport the Egyptian beard, and a third of the Baʕal figures have an Asiatic beard. The characteristic Asiatic hair lock is not seen on Seth but is frequently present on Baʕal and to a limited extent on Baʕal-Seth.

Perhaps the two areas of attribute that give the most cause for discussion are dress and headwear. From the somewhat complicated listing for these two areas in table 9 it is necessary to tease out some rationales. Firstly the kilt, this is the most common lower body covering across all our gods with very few long dresses and some of these are a bit suspect due to the lack of clarity of the image. Tassels are mostly found on Baʕal-Seth, whilst cross bands and belts are fairly evenly distributed as are various other forms of ornamentation.

Looking at headwear Baʕal mostly has a crown although the form is rather varied; on balance the Egyptian white crown seems most common. On the Sethian cylinder seal (S10) one of the two Seth figures wears what looks like a double crown with a protuberance in the front (uraeus?). The rather large and randomly placed horns/ears on Seth images S6 and S9 demonstrate the artistic licence or poor craftsmanship of the artist, which is often found particularly on the smaller and perhaps carelessly produced items. Strangely S9 also sports a streamer hanging from the back of the head. Six of the images of Baʕal have horns and eight have long streamers hanging from the top of the headgear. Horns and streamers are also common on Baʕal-Seth images, 69% having horns and 79% streamers.

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Table 11 specifies the find sites (where known) of the examples given in the corpus. It is normal to find a specific deity in their own country and more specifically at the locale of the major worship site or place of origin, it is less usual to find them elsewhere. It is this 'movement' and worship outside of their own bailiwick which is of utmost significance in this study. It can be seen from maps 5 & 6 that many of the items presented were found in the area of Syro-Palestine. It must be said that this is not definitive as to their actual place of manufacture or display since many factors may have come into play to cause a specific item to be moved to a new site. This, however, does provide a clear indication that there were many artefacts portraying the subject gods in the Levant during the Late Bronze Age.

Category	Sample size	Egypt	Syro-Palestine	Unspecified
Seth (S1-S11)	11	1	7	3
Baꜥal (B1-B16)	16	2	12	2
Baꜥal-Seth (BS1-BS29)	29	5	12	12
Other (P1-P3)	3		3	
Textual (T1-T24)	24	22		2
Table 11 Corpus find sites				

The first six textual evidence items (T1-T6) come from the reign of Ramesses II where one can see Baꜥal mentioned in all but T5 wherein both Sutekh and Montu appear. As has been shown Sutekh is synonymous with Seth and he is mentioned in both T2 and T4, whilst T6 has Set (Seth). The tenor of these texts indicates that the deities mentioned are warrior gods, instrumental in the successful prosecution of each specific battle. A rather more comprehensive group comes from the reign of Ramesses III (T7-T20) further enforcing the idea that Baꜥal is first and foremost a warrior god. Interestingly on eight of this group there also appears the name of the Egyptian god of war Montu, probably a belt and braces attempt to demonstrate strength and victory. From the plethora of references to Levantine deities in Egyptian texts, it would seem that the Egyptian pharaohs willingly accepted Baꜥal, equating him with their Seth. Since this situation occurred at a time in the New Kingdom when Egypt was very actively campaigning into Syro-Palestine, it seems reasonable to infer that the pharaohs were keen to enlist the help of deities indigenous to the Levant. Presumably the belief being that local gods were the most efficacious in ensuring victory in their homeland.

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A rather mundane record concerned with the distribution of rations or tribute (T21), from the mid 18th Dynasty (P. Petersburg 1116A), is perhaps the earliest reference to Baʿal in New Kingdom Egypt, where we can see him represented by the recumbent Seth-animal (Stadelmann 1967:32-33). T22 is an extract from P. Sallier IV verso I,3-I,6 where the worship of Baʿal in Memphis is attested in a letter from the Ramesside period containing a eulogy to Memphis and its deities Baʿlat, Qudšu and 'Die Barke des Baʿl-Sāpān' (Stadelmann 1967:36). The magical spells against disease and evil spirits (P. Leiden I343 + I345) invokes both Baʿal and Seth with other deities to overcome these threats (Tazawa 2009:36). The final item presented (T24) is from the plethora of Amarna letters, numbered EA147. This letter from Abimilki the king of Tyre in reference to Akhenaten likens him to both Ra and Baʿal (Schneider 2010b:409).

The rather advanced iconography in Egypt was not emulated across the rest of the Ancient Near East, where depictions were much less common. Of the relatively few preserved examples on documents, stelae and reliefs many show the strong influence of Egyptian style, a further indication of interaction between Egypt and her neighbours. Additional information in regard to Seth and Baʿal can be sought in Cornelius (1994) and Tazawa (2009), whilst Schroer (2011) together with Keel (2009b, 2010a, 2010b) and Keel, Shuval & Uehlinger (1990) all provide much information particularly on seals. From the selected corpus of Baʿal images it can be seen that the following show no clear Egyptian influence: B1, 6-7, 9-10, 13, of these B1 and B7 seem to rather demonstrate Hittite influence.

The attributes of foreign deities could thus be used to identify them in the same way that one could identify an Egyptian deity, wherein they are not necessarily identifiable as foreign. The creation of such foreign deities in Egypt was a strong influence on the iconography of the Near East at the time (second millennium BCE). Iconographical motifs found at Ugarit, as far as Cyprus and later in the Levant demonstrate the impact of Egyptian culture in these regions (Zivie-Coche 2011:7).

Chapter 6.   Hyksos religion

6.1   Introduction

> 'The Canaanites who fled from *Joshua*, retired in great numbers into *Egypt*, and there conquered *Timaus* ... King of the Lower *Egypt,* and reigned there under their Kings *Salitis, Boeon, Apachnas, Apophis, Janais, Assis* etc. until the days of *Eli* and *Samuel.* They fed off flesh, and sacrificed men after the manner of the *Phoenicians,* and were called Shepherds by the *Egyptians,* who lived only on the fruits of the earth and abominated flesh-eaters.'
>
> (Sir Issac Newton 1728. The Chronology of Ancient Kingdoms. In van de Mieroop 2011:126)

The rather extreme view of the Hyksos by Sir Issac Newton held sway until very recently and only moderated over the last few decades (van de Mieroop 2011:126). The movement of peoples across the Ancient Near East discussed in chapter 4 shows clearly that foreign and predominantly Levantine (Asiatic) elements were present in the Eastern Delta long before the Hyksos rule. Doubtless these foreigners practiced their native religions particularly in the early years of their sojourn in the area.

 At this point it is germane to distinguish between Asiatics at large and the Hyksos in particular. Hyksos refers specifically to the 𓎛𓎛𓎛 *ḥḳ3 ḫ3swt* or 'foreign princes' who ruled Egypt during the 15th Dynasty, whereas Asiatics *Aamu* (*ᵓ3mw*) 'speakers of foreign tongue' refers to the cultural group of Levantines now known to have established themselves in increasing numbers in the Delta as the Middle Kingdom came to an end (Chimko 2003:42 n3.). All the rulers of the 15th Dynasty were remembered in history as Hyksos but it would seem that only the first four actually used this title (Ryholt 1997:125). As Redford (1992:100) puts it Hyksos refers more to the regime and not the people. This distinction is important since a considerable number of foreigners had been present for many years living peacefully in the Delta together with the indigenous population. The Hyksos were the first non-Egyptian people to rule in Egypt, this was surely an enormous shock to the Egyptian psyche and would not have been easy for the native Egyptians to swallow. It is all the more surprising considering

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the very short period of their rule. The most authoritative chronology, the Royal Canon of Turin, puts the longevity of the 15th Dynasty rule at a mere 108 years (Ryholt 1997:118-119).

6.2   Extant religion in the Delta

There has been much ongoing debate with respect to the origin, timing and rationale for the presence of Seth in the North-eastern Delta at the very frontier of the Asiatic lands. It has frequently been shown that the cult of Seth was to be found on the borders of the desert especially at the starting point of caravan routes and on the west bank of the Nile near the Libyan Desert. Seth is naturally also found at his home town of Ombos (*Nwbt*) 'gold town,' a frontier town adjacent to the gold mines of the eastern desert. The polytheistic nature of Egyptian religion was ordered locally which meant that the gods' order was determined according to locality (te Velde 1967:116). Thus although Seth was the 'Lord of Foreign Lands' he invaded from an adjacent nome, not from Asia. It is thus reasonable to suppose that since Seth was worshipped at the frontiers, this would hold true for the Asian border.

> 'During the 12th Dynasty Tell el-Dabʿa was a planned Egyptian settlement, which expanded later in the dynasty with the arrival of the Western Asiatics, largely from the north Levantine coast and perhaps Sinai, probably soldiers, sailors and craftsmen working for the Pharaoh.'
>
> (Bietak 2008:110)

During the Middle Kingdom, King Amenemhat I founded a town on the Pelusiac branch of the Nile Delta, in a strategic position, thereby allowing access to the sea as well as land routes to Asia and the Sinai. This settlement *Hut-waret (ḥw.t wrt)* in Egyptian, 'the (royal) estate of the district' or 'House on the dunes' (Kees 1961:197) was translated into Greek as Avaris (van de Mieroop 2011:128) which name is now commonly used for the town. The 12th Dynasty Avaris was a properly laid out and planned settlement in a gridiron manner, which expanded and became more Asiatic during the 13th Dynasty. Now the mixture of Asiatic and Egyptian influences showed, temples appeared based on the Near Eastern 'broad room' or 'bent axis' design, wherein the Syrian storm god and patron of seafarers Baʿal Zaphon/Hadad and other

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gods of the Syro-Palestinian pantheon were worshipped (Bietak 2008:110). Particularly notable were the burial practices with Egyptian style mortuary chapels, however, the dead were buried in a very un-Egyptian manner within the houses or in cemeteries and not mummified (Bietak 2008:110). Furthermore donkeys and attendants were found buried in pits next to the warrior tombs to assist the deceased in the afterlife, a Near Eastern custom.
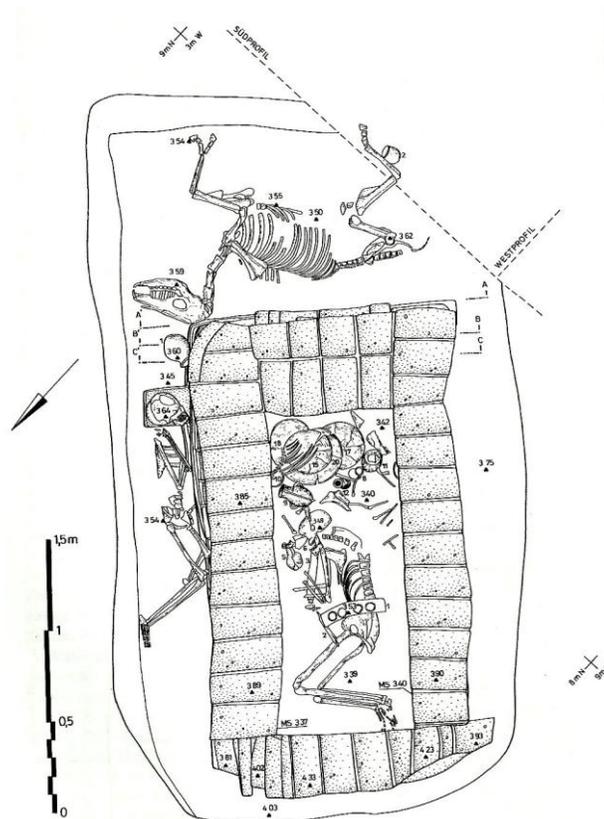

Figure 47 Warrior tomb with donkey from Tell el-Dabᶜa

(Bietak 2010:430)

During excavations evidence was found of funeral feasts, the remains being interred in pits and included the detritus of the meal such as bones along with ritually broken plates, goblets and ritual vessels. Perhaps unexpectedly amongst these broken items were some identified from the Nubian Kerma culture some 2000 kilometres to the south, perhaps made by resident Nubians and made locally (Bietak 2008:110). Egyptian scarab seals as well as Asiatic cylinder seals were used at this time, although both were apparently of Egyptian manufacture (van de Mieroop 2011:129).

'The history of this settlement … called…Avaris…characterizes the political and cultural developments of the delta and the rest of Egypt in the next 450 years.'

(van de Mieroop 2011:128)

Figure 48 Seal of the Prince of Retjenu

(Bietak 2010:426 Fig. 29.5c)

Figure 49 Stele of the official Mentuhotep

(van de Mieroop 2011:130)

A blend of Levantine Bronze Age and Egyptian culture became apparent showing for example Near Eastern temples but with Egyptian mortuary chapels. The stele of the official Mentuhotep (Fig. 49) shows the propensity of Asiatics to absorb Egyptian traditions whilst honouring their own. Behind the small mummified figure between the man's legs can be seen a column of hieroglyphs which translate as: 'The Syrian woman Sat-Hathor,' thus identifying that this official had a deceased Syrian wife who had been given an Egyptian name. This merging of Near East with Egyptian culture van de Mieroop (2011:129) terms 'hybridity.' The question of religious exchange between Egypt and Syro-Palestine is discussed by Daphna Ben-Tor (2007:185-192) where the cultural relationship on the basis of scarabs is explored.

The first indication of Seth worship, in the north eastern Delta, is given on the obelisk of *Nḥsy* (Nehesy), generally agreed to be the first king of the 14th Dynasty. This mentions Seth as Lord of the *r-ȝḥwt* although this has not been located. Montet (1941:50) refers to it as – *'l'entrée des terrains cultivés.'* As has been shown, Seth was already worshipped long before the 15th Dynasty so his cult was not established by the Hyksos rulers, they simply continued to worship Seth as 'Lord of Avaris' after having decided to reside in Avaris. Strangely Seth is

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never found worshipped by the Hyksos anywhere else in Egypt. Thus it might be concluded that his prominence in Avaris was merely because he happened to be the deity of the city the Hyksos decided to live in and thereby became the deity of the 15th Dynasty rulers (Ryholt 1997:150).

> 'Man weiß jedoch, daß der Sethkult in Avaris bereits ca. 70 Jahre vor den Hyksos etabliert worden.'
>
> (Bietak 1990:14)

To examine this statement further it is necessary to consider the famous 19th Dynasty 400 year stele set up by Ramesses II some time after his 34th year (ca. 1270 or 1257 BCE) at Avaris (Redford 1992:117) (corpus BS1), generally associated with the rise of the Hyksos in the Delta (van Seters 1966:97). This stele was originally found by Mariette in 1863, who left it at the find site, later Montet rediscovered it in 1932. The stele commemorates the 'reign' of Seth in the guise of Baʿal, Redford (1992:118) believes that the 400 years represents the period from the inception of Hyksos rule in Avaris and is 'ascribed to the Seth-Baʿal deity whose association lived on in Egypt.' The stele shows a god identified as Seth by the inscription, however, he is not shown in the traditional Seth iconography (corpus S1, S3), but depicted in foreign dress as an Asiatic with a mixture of Egyptian and Asiatic attributes. This picture of the god is perhaps the most telling image which has led to scholars referring to all such images as Baʿal-Seth or Seth-Baʿal:

> 'Die älteste Darstellung des Seth-Baʿal in Agypten ist die auf der Berühmten Vierhundertjahrstele aus Tanis, die aus der Zeit Ramesses II. Stammt.'
>
> (Stadelmann 1967:41)

> 'In der 400-Jahr-Stele wird der Ursprung der 19. Dynastie auf Seth, bzw. Baʿal -Seth zurückgeführt.'
>
> (Keel 2009a:89)

Sethe (1930:85-89) associated the 400 year stele with the founding of Avaris in the Delta by the Hyksos. However, this connection with the Hyksos was later questioned (Helck 1971:102;

von Beckerath 1951:40f), most likely due to the uncertainty of the chronology. Working back from the 18th Dynasty, and accepting the 15th Dynasty Hyksos rule of 108 years from the Turin Canon, van Seters (1966:160-161) calculates that the Hyksos ruled from 1675-1567 BCE (often approximated to 1650-1550 BCE). However, using the 400 year stele as a basis and accepting as proposed by van Seters (1966:152-161) that there was some level of Hyksos rule in Lower Egypt prior to the 15th Dynasty, the beginning of this rule could be ca. 1725-1710 BCE. Thus by the middle of the 18th Century BCE the once foreign element formed a part of the settled population, wielding political power. This together with the parlous situation of the Egyptian state probably gave rise to the Hyksos period.

6.3 Evidence of Hyksos religion

Figure 50 Hittite seal –Muwatallis and the storm god Tešhub
(Kitchen 1982:81 Fig. 26A)

Unfortunately evidence of religious practices from the actual Hyksos period is scarce, being largely representations of deities on scarabs, but they are not identified by inscription and their iconography is often doubtful. There are also a few inscriptions with the names of deities. The Hittite seal of Muwatallis shown here (Fig. 50) is of later date but serves to illustrate that the worship of a storm god was common. The Hittite Tešhub being equated to both Baꜥal and Seth.

This paucity of information and doubtful iconography presents difficulty in identification. Thus considerations of the subject are necessarily somewhat hypothetical (van Seters 1966:171). An offering table from the reign of Apep, considered to be from a temple to Seth at Avaris, was inscribed with the following:

'… he made it as a monument for his father Seth, Lord of Avaris.'

(Labib 1936:29f. Pl.5)

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Further evidence comes from the 19th Dynasty Papyrus Sallier I (ca.1274 BCE) concerning the quarrel of Apep (Apophis) and Seqenenre:

> 'Then King Apophis, L.P.H. made him Seth as Lord, and he would not serve any god who was in the land except Seth. And he built a temple of good and eternal work beside the house of King Apophis, L.P.H. and he appeared every day to have sacrifices made … daily to Seth. And the officials of the king, L.P.H. carried wreaths just exactly as is done (in) the temple of Ra Har-akhti.'
>
> (Pritchard 1969a:231)

Thus worship of Seth was well known in the Ramesside period, and it is likely that this was a continuity from the Hyksos period. Perhaps Seth worship was not exclusive as the papyrus suggests, since it also refers to Ra Har-akhti the chief deity of Heliopolis (van Seters 1966:172).

> 'One of the most salient features of the depiction of foreigners in Egyptian art is the invariable subordination of the alien to the ideologically superior native Egyptian.'
>
> (Chimko 2003:15)

Chimko (2003:15) further expands on his statement above by remarking on the Egyptian artistic practice of beastialisation, feminisation and spatial placement of foreigners at the lowest levels of stelae, monuments, temples and other structures. In this way the Egyptians endeavoured to show their god given superiority over foreign lands. This was later shown as a purely symbolic idealisation. Imagine the shock to the Egyptians when the Hyksos gained power in the 17th century BCE, this of course being emulated later by the Persians, Nubians, Greeks and Romans. Perhaps the 'reviled' foreigners were not so deeply hated as the symbolism would suggest (Chimko 2003:15-16)? Nevertheless as the first foreigners to take over, the Hyksos were the probably the most hated of any period.

Foreign rule usually occurred at times when native Egyptian rule was under stress, with a weak government and religious infrastructure as well as administration in some disarray. This tended to lead to a diminishing of artistic and religious production and hence fewer and more

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fragmentary remains than in other more settled periods (Chimko 2003:16). In fact even the number and names of the kings of the period is still a matter of debate, as discussed by Ryholt (1997:118-122)

Number	Nomen	Prenomen	Turin king list
1	Šamuqēnu	None	Lost
2	ʿAper-ʿAnati	None	Lost
3	Sakir-Har	None	Lost
4	Khayan	Sewoserenre	10/26; [name lost]
5	Apophis	Awoserre, Aquenenre Nebkhepeshre	10/27; [name lost]
6	Khamudi	Hotepibre	10/28 ha-mu-di
Table 12 Chronological list of 15th Dynasty kings (Ryholt 1997:125)			

Excavations in the 13th Dynasty palace at Tell el-Dabʿa unearthed a haematite cylinder seal impression (corpus B13) which depicted a north Syrian weather god Hadad/Baʿal Zaphon as patron of sailors (Bietak 1990:15). The motifs on this seal are most un-Egyptian, however, Porada (1984:485-488) identifies the cutting technique as Egyptian, thus suggesting this foreign seal was made by Egyptian craftsmen. Here Bietak, (1990:9-16) from this single limited piece of evidence, argued that Seth was a Canaanite weather god who had a cult seat in the Delta which already existed back in the time of Nehesy's father. As the authority of the 13th Dynasty declined so Avaris gained in political importance and became the capital of the 14th Dynasty (Bietak 2010:426), and one of the Dynasty's first kings Nehesy left a few monuments in the eastern Nile Delta. Bietak now suggests that Baʿal-Seth recently established as the local god of the Asiatic enclave, became the Hyksos dynastic god (Bietak 2010:426).

It is true that the vast majority of evidence for Levantine religion dates to the Late Bronze Age after the fall of the Hyksos dynasty, but although questionable it is generally concluded that this was reflected across the 17th to 14th centuries BCE (Redford 1992:116-117).

6.4   Tenets of Hyksos religion

'The Asiatic kings who founded the 15th Dynasty showed their alien

origin to no greater degree than in the gods they worshipped.'

(Redford 1992:116)

Te Velde (1967:121) confirms that unfortunately the religion of the Hyksos is only inferred from indirect Egyptian sources in Ramesside times. However, Asiatic kings who formed the 'Hyksos' Dynasty in Egypt were demonstrably of foreign origin, particularly in the deities that they worshipped. Although the Hyksos kings allowed their throne names to incorporate the sun god Ra, they remained faithful to their native cults. The Hyksos names retained vestiges of their origin; prominently Anat from the Ugaritic texts – the sister of Baʿal (van Seters 1966:175-178). In addition the mountain deity (*hr*), who was connected to mount Sapon (Zaphon), represented Baʿal (Kapelrud 1952:57-58).

'On the basis of iconography and mythology, it seems reasonable to conclude

that, in the time of the Ramessides, Seth was identified primarily with Baʿal of

Syro-Palestine and secondarily with the storm gods of the Hittites and Hurrians.'

(van Seters 1966:176)

Most probably the statement above may be extrapolated back to the Hyksos period. This is because there is every reason to believe that the worship of Seth at Avaris continued unbroken from the Hyksos period. The 400 year stele might confirm that Seth was present at least to the beginning of the Hyksos period, and very likely prior to this. Perhaps the most telling rationale is that although the 'Hyksos' were expelled; this refers only to the warring faction or soldiers. Doubtless large numbers of the foreign population remained and carried out their devotions to Seth as before (van Seters 1966:176). There are a number of Asiatic deities included among the gods of Egypt in the mid 18th Dynasty inscriptions (Helck 1971:482-514), this domestication suggests that their cults had been entrenched for some time.

It has been argued that the large number of captured Asiatic prisoners, who were taken to the Eastern Delta during the New Kingdom, were responsible for the Semitic character of the

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religion. This seems most unlikely, firstly since many such prisoners would have been sent as temple workers to various sites in Egypt, and secondly prisoners would have had very limited time and means to establish an alternative religion in the area. In addition any royalty or high ranking captives were kept hostage and brought up in Egyptian customs and religious practices, some were even returned to their homeland to propagate Egyptian ways. Finally for these arguments not to be correct it would be necessary to question why, given the large numbers of Hurrian captives, there was not a cult of their god Tešhub in the area. Tešhub was the traditional storm god of the Hurrians. Since storms were fierce in the area storm gods prevailed over the pantheons of all Syro-Palestinian peoples, being seen as the most powerful of the gods where survival depended on rain (Podany 2010:155).

In comparison the Semitic counterpart Baʿal had at least two temples in Egypt besides being worshipped as Seth (Helck 1971:482). The leading Syrian Storm God, Baʿal, entered the official Egyptian cult in the 19th Dynasty (van de Mieroop 2011:146). Lichtheim in her explanation concerning the Battle of Qadesh (2006:57), referred to the four Egyptian divisions, Amun, Ra, Ptah and Seth in which Seth is equated with Baʿal. Thus the pharaohs accepted Baʿal, perhaps best illustrated from the corpus inscriptions commemorating the Battle of Qadesh (corpus T2, T4 and T6).

Royal residences were built by the Hyksos in the north eastern frontiers, at Avaris inscriptions on stone have been found referring to Seth as 'Lord of the entry of the cultivated land.' Later in the Ramesside period the Egyptians settled in the area. In the New Kingdom the contact with foreign cultures became more intensive, thus the divine foreigner was clearly accepted, indeed it was a time when the hold on traditional religious and cultural norms became precious. Now various foreign gods were introduced into Egypt by name and were no longer on the periphery but inundated Egypt (te Velde 1967:118).

The Hyksos rationale for worship of the Egyptian Seth as the principle deity and the 'Lord of Avaris' is due to their identification of this god with their own principal Asiatic deity. This is supported by analogy with the Egyptian goddess Hathor, who in the foreign areas of Byblos and Sinai became equated with the local Asiatic deity. There is insufficient evidence to be

sure, but it appears likely that the equating of Egyptian deities with those of Asia was in progress from at least the Hyksos period. It is possible that the Hyksos brought into Egypt a pantheon such as can be seen from the Ugaritic texts (van Seters 1966:180). So if an Asiatic deity was to be equated with the Egyptian god Seth who was it to be. Given the paucity of evidence from the Hyksos period itself it is necessary to step forward into the New Kingdom.
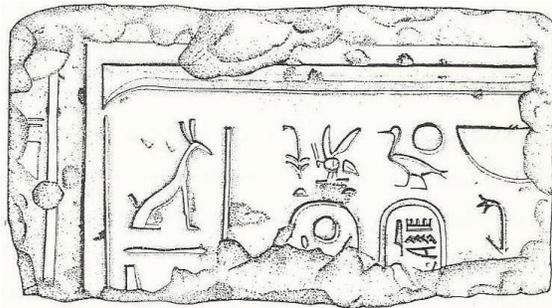
Firstly, the traditional Seth-animal appears in many of the inscriptions from the 18th Dynasty. An example is the lintel from the reign of the last king of the Dynasty Horemheb showing the Seth-animal. Interestingly its find site of Avaris confirms the presence of the New Kingdom rulers in the city.

Figure 51 Lintel of Horemheb to the god Seth

(Bietak 1996:77 Fig. 61)

The iconography of Seth in human form is most famously known from the 400 year stele of Ramesses II mentioned previously in section 6.2, and corpus reference BS1 where a description of the attributes is presented. Although this example is perhaps the most well known there are many other examples of this type of representation of the god both in Egypt and in Syro-Palestine, all are seen as the product of Egyptian craftsmen (van Seters 1966:173-174).

> 'Even in iconography the Ramesside representations of Seth-Baʿal are practically indistinguishable, except in artistic technique, from those of the Canaanite Baʿal which have been found in considerable numbers during recent excavations in Palestine and Syria.'
>
> (Albright 1957:224)

Perhaps the rather dated statement above was seriously overstating the case due to the lack of positively identified representations of Baʿal by Canaanites for this period. A stele from Ras Shamra (corpus B1) is identified as Baʿal-Zaphon but, the name is written with a Seth-animal

as determinative. This iconographical identification is confirmed later on the bilingual peace treaty of Ramesses II and the Hittite ruler Hattusilis where the Egyptian text uses Seth in place of the ideogram for the Storm god in the Hittite text (van Seters 1966:175). If Seth was assimilated to Baᶜal then possibly the Hyksos religion was Semitic. In the Ramesside period there are texts showing that Ra was compared to El and he is described as having the Semitic goddesses Anat and Astarte as his daughters. Ra is further described as an old god losing control as ruler of gods and men (van Seters 1966:178). These comparisons equate well to the nature of El in the Ugaritic texts.

The goddess Anat is attested in the 13th Dynasty in the list of Asiatic slaves in the Brooklyn Papyrus 35.1446 (Hayes 1955:92-99). According to van Seters (1966:178) scarabs of the Hyksos period seem to portray Anat as a nude deity with cow ears, horns and Hathor curls, thus equating her to Hathor.

A Hyksos scarab from the start of the New Kingdom seems rather to represent the fertility goddess Hathor. However, the tree flanked by two birds on her head is not typical of Hathor but rather of a Syrian goddess, although the birds of the goddesses Ishtar/Astarte are the dove (Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990:187-188). This is further confirmed in the mythological text of the contest of Horus and Seth (Lichtheim 2006:216). Here Hathor uncovers her private parts before Ra, an action van Seters compares with the more threatening persuasion of Anat in Syro-Palestine (1966:178).
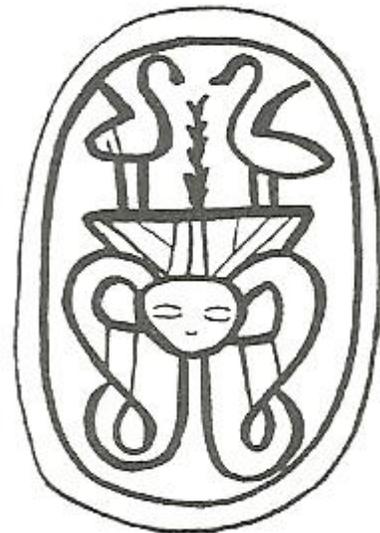

Figure 52 Hathor?

(Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990:189 Fig. 21)

Also in the Destruction of Mankind (Lichtheim 2006:198-199) Hathor as Sekhmet practices a great slaughter as did Anat in the Baᶜal cycle. This is clearly shown in the following two quotations:

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'Let your eye go and smite them for you, those schemers of evil!

No eye is more able to smite them for you. May it go down as Hathor…?

Welcome in peace, Hathor, Eye who did what I came for!

Thus the Powerful one (Sakhmet) came into being.'

(Lichtheim 2006:198-199)

'Thereupon ꜥAnatu's begins to smite (her adversaries) in the valley,

to attack (them) between the two cities.

She smites the people (dwelling) on the seashore,

Wreaks destruction on the humans (dwelling) to the east….

She attaches heads around her neck,

Ties hands to her waist.

Up to her knees she wades in the blood of soldiers.'

(Pardee 1997:250)

Anat was also known as the 'milch cow' of Seth (Helck 1971:490). Monuments found at Tanis further attest to Anat's role in Egypt (Montet 1930:1-28; Cornelius 2008b:69). The goddess Astarte who is closely linked to Anat, and features in the text 'Astarte and the Sea' is also attested in Egypt by the middle of the18th Dynasty (van Seters 1966:179).

Two Semitic gods were also prominent in Egypt, Hauron linked to Horus also being represented by a falcon head image in the New Kingdom. Resheph was known in Egypt from the time of Amenhotep II or possibly earlier (Helck 1971:485). Exceptionally, Shuval (Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990:94) stated 'both the names of Baꜥal and Resheph are written with the determinative of the Seth-animal,' further he goes on to say 'it is difficult to specify the names of Canaanite gods represented by Seth in the Late Bronze Age by the iconography. One can, generally speaking, make a case for either Baꜥal or Resheph.' Notwithstanding Shuval's statements, Resheph has not been found positively equated to any Egyptian god, and is never written with the Seth determinative.

Given the poor condition of many iconographical representations, as well as some degree of artistic licence, it is frequently very difficult to make a positive identification between the

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gods. In the iconographical images both Baꜥal and Resheph are seen in the smiting pose, however, the most definitive distinguishing feature is the shield carried by Resheph but never by Baꜥal. Other notable differences are typically the gazelle horns on Resheph, a single long streamer from the top of the crown ending in a flower for Baꜥal as opposed to shorter twin streamers on Resheph, shape and size of the beard and facial features can also assist in identification as can the dress and weaponry. A comprehensive discussion on the difference between the iconography of Resheph and Baꜥal is given in Cornelius (1994: esp. chap. 4).

In the world of polytheistic religions prevalent across the Ancient Near East it is most unlikely that the Hyksos only worshipped Seth. Although the Hyksos nominally occupied Avaris for only some 108 years, their cults and mythology became firmly entrenched, such that the 18th Dynasty of the New Kingdom were unable to eliminate them or even distinguish them as foreign (van Seters 1966:180). The scarabs of the period show numerous deities with both Asiatic and Egyptian attributes (corpus BS19, BS20). Although it is often difficult to make positive identification this mixture of attributes makes it clear that there must have been an acceptance and affinity between deities with similar roles. Thus the plethora of scarabs would indicate that there was a pantheon wherein certain Egyptian and Asiatic deities became equated. For the purposes of this study the most significant of these is Seth with Baꜥal, where there was certainly integration at the time.

6.5   Hyksos religious legacy

Interestingly, from the middle of the 18th Dynasty, thus shortly after the fall of the Hyksos, the Speos Artimedos inscriptions of Hatshepsut (Fig 53) attribute this event to the fact that 'they ruled without acknowledging Ra' (Ryholt 1997:125). Notwithstanding the Hatshepsut declaration, Ryholt's king list shows that for at least three kings the sun god is in fact used in their prenomen. Although Hatshepsut boasts that she was a great temple builder or restorer it seems unlikely that the Hyksos destroyed Egyptian temples, it is more probable that they used monuments and stones from previous buildings for their own building work (van Seters 1966:173).

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Speos Artemidos translation

(Lines 36-39)

36. …. I never slumbered as one forgetful, but
have made strong what was de

37. cayed. I have raised up what was dismembered, from
the first time when the Asiatics

38. were in Avaris of the North Land, (with) roving
hordes in the midst of them overthrowing what had been
made; they
ruled without Ra , and he acted not by divine command
(?) down to my

39. august self, I being firm established on the thrones of
Ra.

Figure 53 Columns 34-42 of Speos Artemidos inscription
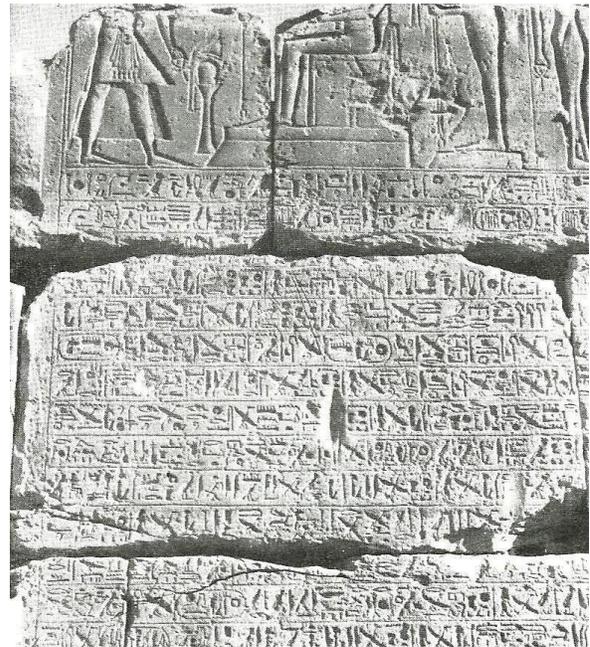
(Gardiner 1946: Pl. VI)

Later in the Ramesside period with the Egyptians settled in the Eastern Delta the contact with foreign cultures became more intensive, thus the divine foreigner was clearly accepted, indeed it was a time when the hold on traditional religious and cultural norms became precious. Now various foreign gods were introduced into Egypt by name and were no longer on the periphery but inundated Egypt (te Velde 1967:118-119).

What initially caused the demise of the Hyksos was probably the disruption of trade, followed by their defeat at the hands of the Theban kings Kamose and then Ahmose. In any event Avaris was not destroyed in all the turmoil but rather abandoned, all except the temple of Seth/Baʿal Zaphon the chief god of Avaris which showed continued activity right through to the 18th Dynasty (Bietak 2010:431-432). Following the expulsion of the Hyksos the Egyptians of the early 18th Dynasty would have deliberately avoided identifying Baʿal with Seth, doubtless because of their humiliation at the hands of the Hyksos, later Ramesside kings however, had no problem accepting Baʿal.

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In the later peace treaty between Ramesses II and the Hittite king Hattusilis III the Egyptian version calls upon 'a thousand gods of the male gods and of the female gods, of those of the land of *Kheta* (Khatti), together with a thousand gods of the male gods and of the female gods of those of the land of Egypt' to be witnesses to the treaty. In contradistinction from treaties of more recent times it should be noted that the wording albeit in both cuneiform (Hittite version) and hieroglyphic (Egyptian version), was not identical (Langdon & Gardiner 1920:199).
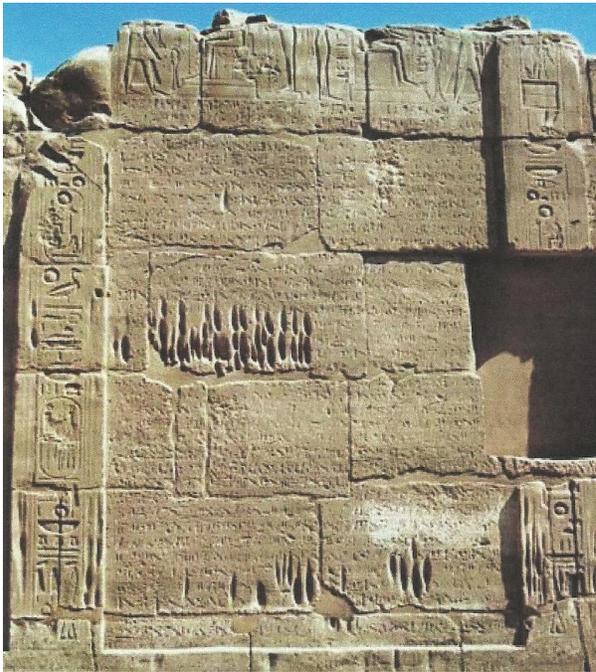

| Inscription at Karnak | Enlarged view of top part |

Figure 54 Peace treaty – Egyptian version

(Kitchen 1982:76 Fig. 24)

Since Akkadian was the diplomatic language in use at the time this was probably the original format, later edited by the Egyptians to give Egypt a more prominent role in granting peace (Pritchard 1969a:199). Several deities are specifically mentioned that were previously totally unknown in Egypt for example Sutekh (Seth) of the town Zippalanda, Sutekh of the town of Arinna (te Velde 1967:119). In the Hittite version the only gods mentioned are Šamaš and Tešhub and the Egyptian gods are Prēꜥ and Setēkh (Langdon & Gardiner 1920:187). Thus it would seem that the Hittite storm god Tešhub was clearly equated with the Egyptian god Seth.

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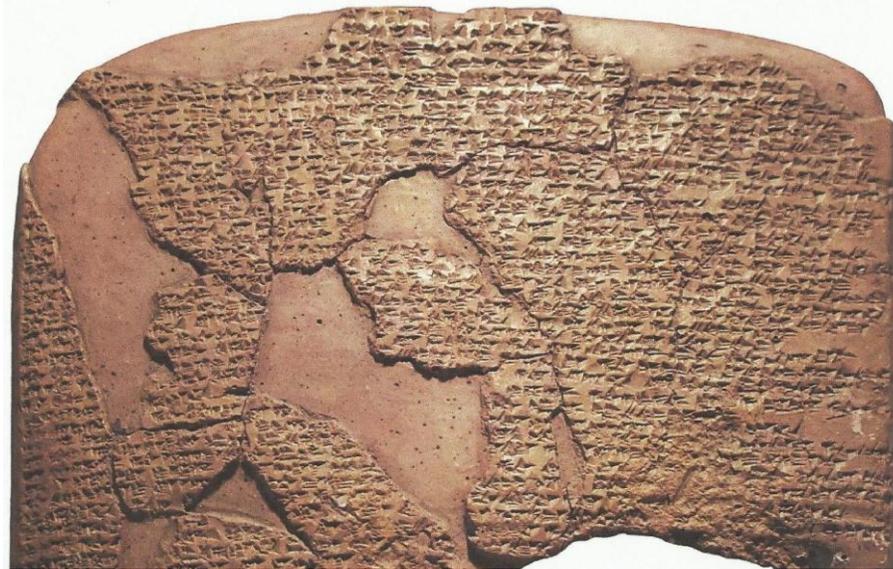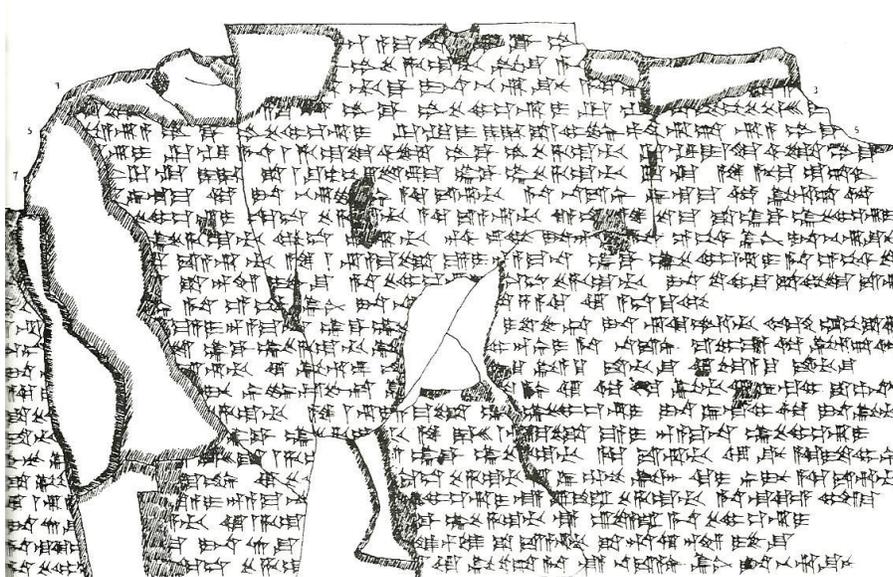
(Kitchen 1982:77 Fig.25)

Figure 55 Peace treaty – Hittite version

There is some debate around the different spellings of Seth and even if they refer to the same god. Lichtheim (2006:57) with reference to the Qadesh battle of Ramesses II refers to the four divisions of the Egyptian army as, 'Amun, Ra (Pre with the definite article), Ptah and Seth (=Sutekh).' It would seem that the various spellings (Sētekh, Sutech, Set and Seth) are all merely variants in spelling or translation.

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Hyksos rule was based on a strong warrior class, indicated by the burials with weapons, during their rule Avaris grew to two or three times the norm for Syrian royal towns of the time, there must have been a considerable increase in population of long acclimatised immigrants now Egyptianized (Bietak 2010:428). However, this image often portrayed of Hyksos as violent oppressors has been all too easily accepted in modern times, the placing of weapons in burials together with fortified settlements does not validate the historicity of the later accounts of Josephus et al. (van de Mieroop 2011:147). It would seem likely that the Hyksos were no more aggressive than the norm of the day and merely took advantage of a given situation.

6.6   Summary and conclusions

The limited sources pertaining to Hyksos religion: theophoric elements, scarabs showing deities, a few inscriptions and cult objects, make a somewhat tenuous basis for the formulation of Hyksos religious beliefs and practices. It is clear that there was a steady infiltration of Asiatics into the Eastern Delta long before the advent of Hyksos rule, which steadily increased as the Middle Kingdom came to an end. The original Egyptian town of *Hut-waret* would have worshipped Seth from its inception early in the 12ᵗʰ Dynasty. Excavations at Tell el-Dabʿa have uncovered some evidence of the Levantine presence and lifestyle amalgamated in a way with that of the indigenous Egyptian.

The controversial 400 year stele (corpus BS1) of Ramesses II has an image of a god with strange and unusual attributes. Whether this stele commemorates the beginning of the Hyksos rule in Egypt, or another prior event is the subject of great scholarly debate. Whatever the case, certainly there was a significant Syro-Palestinian presence in the Eastern Delta coincident with the 15ᵗʰ Dynasty Hyksos rule. At the close of the 12ᵗʰ Dynasty the Egyptian government was weak with religious infrastructure and administration in disarray, thus ripe for take over. Together with the ever growing strength of the Asiatics in the Nile Delta, this presented an ideal opportunity for the Hyksos to exploit and assume power. This they did, basing themselves initially at Avaris and largely limited to Lower Egypt, whilst indigenous Egyptian rule continued at Thebes. As the Hyksos grew stronger and spread there wings Thebes probably became a Hyksos vassal state until the Egyptians rebelled and claimed the

country back under Kamose and then Ahmose. The 400 year stele shows a new model of god, being somehow a mixture of the Egyptian Seth with the Syro-Palestinian god Baʿal. This Baʿal-Seth configuration, is explored more fully elsewhere in this work. Whilst many Asiatic and other foreign gods were known in Egypt, many comparable to their Egyptian counterpart (e.g. Hathor and Qedeshet), only Baʿal-Seth was transmogrified into a *single unique entity*.

Chapter 7.   Religious exchange: from Avaris to Jerusalem

7.1   Introduction

In chapter two a number of differing contemporary theories were presented, each providing an explanation for the inter-cultural movement of deities across the Ancient Near East. These diverse, but perhaps in some cases complementary, ideas were to present an answer to the conundrum voiced by Stadelmann: Who and by whom were the Syro-Palestinian deities brought into Egypt and what importance did they attain there? (Stadelmann 1967: VIII). His somewhat Egyptocentric work is perhaps due to the unavailability of information from outside of Egypt at the time. Religious exchange was of course a two way street and the ever growing corpus of evidence from outside of Egypt continues to increase the knowledge base across the Ancient Near East.

In the Bible it is said that the ancient people of Israel followed 'foreign gods' such as Baʿal and Astarte, the ancient deities of the Canaanites (Cornelius 1994:1):

> 'Then the Israelites did evil in the eyes of the Lord and served the Baʿals. They forsook the Lord, the God of their fathers, who had brought them out of Egypt. They followed and worshipped various gods of the peoples around them. They provoked the Lord to anger because they forsook him and served Baʿal and the Ashtoreths.'
>
> (NIV: Judges 2:11-13)

The passage above epitomises the situation across Syro-Palestine and Egypt during the Late Bronze Age where the movement of people and international contact at large was rife. Chapter 4 of this study (esp. 4.6) describes at some length various rationales for this movement and interaction of people. Clearly such intensive contact led to the exposure to new and different ideas, not least of which would have been religious ideas. Deities were exchanged and new religious traditions were introduced into the indigenous genre both at home and abroad. Foreign deities spread far and wide throughout the Late Bronze Age and into the early Iron Age I (Cornelius 1994:2).

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In the Late Bronze Age the strong association between the city states of Syro-Palestine and Egypt enabled religious exchange to flourish. In particular the frequent and prolonged Egyptian military incursions across the Levant exposed the local people to Egyptian deities which they were able to adopt. Conversely the Egyptian personnel, both military and diplomatic could embrace the foreign deities they encountered and in time take them to Egypt on their return. The following passage from Ezekiel illustrates the likelihood of the Israelites being of mixed ancestry:

> '... and say: This is what the Sovereign Lord says to Jerusalem: Your ancestry and birth were in the land of the Canaanites; your father was an Amorite and your mother a Hittite.'
>
> (NIV: Ezek. 16:3)

This intermixing or blending of cultures was typical across the Levant during the second half of the 2nd Millennium BCE. As far back as the Middle Bronze Age such contact encompassed peaceful commerce as well as violent battles with either extreme providing opportunity for the exchange of ideas. Merchants functioned not only as commercial agents, but also as purveyors of culture and communicators of customs. In addition the transmitting of ideas and concepts is shown by the influence of foreign ideas in religion and ideology (Cornelius 1988:22-23).

There are many examples showing that foreign ideas, traditions and deities entered the consciousness of the native populations. For instance a copy of the myth of 'Adapa and the South Wind' from Mesopotamia was discovered amongst the Amarna letters at el-Amarna (EA356) (Izre'el 1997:43-50). During the Late Bronze Age religious exchange between Egypt and Syro-Palestine proliferated and foreign deities spread widely across the area (Stadelmann 1967; Helck 1971).

7.2   State versus popular/personal religion

Religions in the Ancient Near East are puzzling to modern day observers, who today find meaning outside of religion which is considered tangential and incidental to life. In contrast almost without exception the ancient peoples saw it completely differently. Today's western worshippers are by and large monotheistic in contrast to the polytheistic practices of old. In a similar vein today's governments are mostly seen as secular and their rulers secular, although current events in the Middle East perhaps give a lie to this comment! Whereas, in the period of this study the government was considered sacred and the rulers divine, thus the religions of the Ancient Near East suffused and shaped their cultures. Despite the polarisation of thought across this vast period of time, the quest for life's meaning remains constant, through all periods of human history man has been driven to find meaning to life (Shafer 1991:3).

Pinch in her book (1993:325), entitled 'Votive offerings to Hathor,' provides a breakdown for religion as follows:-

Personal piety –   Individual rather than corporate piety, but centred on one or more of the state cults.

Folk religion –   Religious or magical beliefs and practices of the populace, independent of the state cults and centred on the home or family.

Popular religion –   The religious beliefs and practices, whether corporate or individual, of ordinary people in daily life.

Shafer (1991:3) poses a pertinent question: 'Did images and symbols express the world view of the elite alone, or did they also convey concepts held by peasants?' An answer to this question suggests that interaction and overlap is to be found between 'state' and 'popular' religion where the two possibilities for Egyptian religion are defined by Sadek (1988:2) as:-

State – Cults throughout the Delta and the Nile Valley practised in the name of the king with full time ministrants and priests in temples, where the rites are performed in private without public participation.

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Popular – The beliefs and practices of the people themselves outside of the state run official temple cults. But not the religion of the 'poor' exclusively, included here are all the main classes and groups beyond established priesthoods, worship at home, in minor shrines, cult places and at the fringes of official temples. Thus this covers the entire gamut of the population outside of the official state and royal circles. It should be mentioned that the term 'poor' is somewhat misleading coming in the old days from Deir el-Medina whose artisans were not really poor! Cf. Sadek 1988:2.

Unfortunately for the second half of the 2nd Millennium under consideration the sources during the Ramesside dynastic period are largely from the state, although some more personal information comes from the village of the artisans. Notwithstanding the relative paucity of information on 'popular' religion, with the lion's share of evidence coming from the religious practices and beliefs of the priest and intellectual elite, it is still apparent that the practices of the common people also had a role to play.

> 'From the study of deities and personal piety we find that almost all the state gods entered the field of popular religion with theological adaptations specific to each deity.'

<div align="right">(Sadek 1988:85)</div>

7.3   Egyptian religious world view

> 'Opening up the world eventually led to changes in religious beliefs.'
>> (Zivie-Coche 2011:5)

The indications are that Seth was seen by the Egyptians to represent the chief god of worship outside of their countries boundaries. Specifically he represented Ash of the Libyans, Tešhub of the Hittites and Baʿal of the Western Semites, where their names were determined in hieroglyphic writing with the Seth-animal, whereas identification of Seth with typical Egyptian gods is rare (te Velde 1986:69). 'As a god associated with foreign countries, he has consorts coming from the Semitic pantheon – Astarte and Anat' (Hart 2005:194). As Egyptian presence across the Ancient Near East grew, due to trade and warfare, their contact with

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foreign cultures especially that of the Western Semites increased and thus gradually Seth became more acceptable.

Unlike other deities the god Seth Always remained something of an enigma to the ancient Egyptians, right from his 1st Dynasty appearance, illustrated on the Scorpion mace head (ca. 3000 BCE). In 1968 te Velde wrote an article labelling Seth as a trickster, where he identified five elements that were common features of tricksters in other cultures: disorderly, uncivilised, murderer, homosexual and monster slayer (1968:37-39). A view corroborated by Hornung who remarked 'in all of his roles in battles, constant confrontations and confusions and his questioning of the established order he is engaged as some sort of trickster' (1996:213). Probably the most famous role for Seth is in *the Contendings of Horus and Seth* which epitomise the move from old order to new order. Lichtheim has 'the struggles between Seth and Osiris and Seth and Horus, were the prototypes of strife in the world' (1973:48). This myth demonstrates the victory of order over disorder. Now Horus is awarded Egypt and Seth is made ruler over the desert and foreign lands but also given the role of warding off the serpent Apep (Assmann 2003:44). In both the *Pyramid Texts* and their successors the *Coffin Texts* Seth has a prominent role appearing in 133 of 750 'utterances' and 131 of the 1185 translated *Coffin texts*. In the *Pyramid texts* he is portrayed in a negative light three times more often than positive and in the *Coffin texts* negative twice as often as positive, a rather negative press (Turner 2013:17, 23 & App. 1-2.). Notwithstanding this negativity, some kings of the 12th Dynasty, Amenemhat, Senusret I and III depicted themselves with Seth on reliefs showing cult worship during their reigns (Turner 2013:23).

In Egypt Seth, the god of confusion was the foreign god, the lord of foreign countries - thereby suggesting his association and identification with the god of the Western Semites Baʿal (Allon 2007). Seth was originally worshipped in Ombos being seen as the chief god of the eastern desert (Turner 2013:5). Seth owes his later promotion to his association with Baʿal and the general Canaanophilic inclinations of the Ramesside dynasty (Assmann 2008:39). Bourriau (2000: 190) suggests that 'Seth's cult may have evolved from the blending of a pre-existing cult at Heliopolis with a cult of the North Syrian weather god Baʿal-Zaphon, which was introduced by the Asiatics.' During the 19th and 20th Dynasties of the Ramesside pharaohs

Seth's torch burnt brightly as the royal ancestor and even the Pharaohs took their name from him (Seti, Sethnakhte). Later in history, after the collapse of the New Kingdom, and as contact with the Semitic world lessened, interest in this foreigner diminished. In late times the Egyptians were plagued by the problem that their chosen country (*t3 mri*) could be occupied and plundered by foreigners. Their dread and discontent were unloaded not upon the whole pantheon, but upon the traditional god of foreigners, Seth (te Velde 1967:143). Now as the various foreign invaders, the Kushites, Assyrians and Persians, plundered and occupied Egypt, hatred developed. With his close ties to Baʿal from Ramesside times Seth's cult was victimised, and finally demonised. (te Velde 1967:109).

> 'The turning point from veneration to demonization of Seth in the Nile Valley must be dated shortly after 700 BCE, in the time of the pious Kushite pharaohs of the 25th Dynasty.'
>
> (te Velde 2001:270)

The persecution of Seth during the Saite and later times, when his image appears to have been systematically erased from the monuments was probably the result of a religious revival, when all the old prejudices and hostilities were aroused by a wave of acute nationalism (Gunn & Gardiner 1918:45). However, Seth lived on as the enemy of the gods until the Egyptian religion perished. In the Late period the Libyan god Ash and the Western Semitic god Baʿal were both identified with the hieroglyph of the Seth-animal (Erman & Grapow 1926-1955:114).

A representation of the world appears on the lid of the sarcophagus of Wereshnefer from Saqqara (Cornelius 2010:323). This 'map' of the world shows heaven and earth in three dimensions on a flat surface. The sky goddess Nut arches overall, supported by her father Shu. The earth god Geb supports the circular earth from below. The concentric rings of the earth have the ocean as the outer ring and the inner carries the symbols of the 40 nomes of the people (*pʿt*) of Egypt, who were also said to be the only 'humans' (*rmṯ*). The ovals with figures in the lower space between the two rings are foreign countries (Cornelius 2010:323-324). Of note is that on this Egyptian map of the world the 'others' (*rḫyt*) have been assigned a place outside the circle of Egyptian nomes (Clère 1958:44).
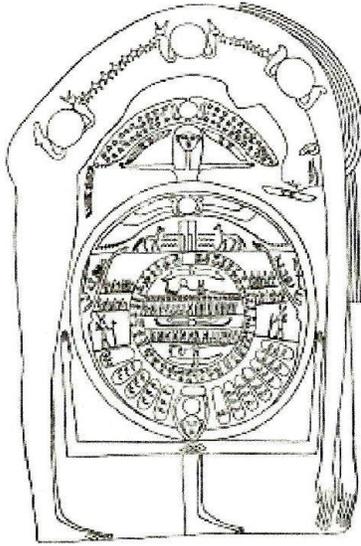
Figure 56 The Egyptian world
(Cornelius 2010: Fig 2 cf. Keel 1977:Abb. 33)

During the New Kingdom period contact with foreign cultures intensified and a divine foreigner became more acceptable. Various foreign gods were introduced to the Egyptians by name, and even venerated. Following the Hyksos period foreign influence was rife and Egyptians were bombarded by such influences. However the primary interest here is Baʿal of the western Semites and his relationship with Seth. Perhaps the most well known example of this interaction of these two gods is shown on the Mami Stele from Ugarit (corpus B2), dedicated to the local god Baʿal-Zaphon. On this Stele we see the god's name determined with the Seth-animal.

The story that emerged from this period is summed up well by te Velde (1967:119): 'One gains the impression that the whole confusing labyrinth of foreign gods might be brought into relation with Seth.'

7.4   Foreigners and foreign deities in Egypt

During the Middle Bronze Age interaction between Egypt and the Levant was mainly with those peoples who had settled more or less permanently in Egypt. This seems to have largely been a one way street since there was little incentive for the Egyptians to relocate except when required to for commercial or military reasons. To the ordinary citizens of Syro-Palestine Egypt was seen to offer a much better lifestyle. These newcomers settled largely in the eastern delta being fertile and the most accessible. The most well known group of 'settlers' were the Hyksos, who during the Second Intermediate Period became Egypt's first ever foreign rulers (cf. chap. 6).

In chapter 6 the Hyksos presence and religious propensities were discussed in some detail and will not be repeated here. Suffice it to say that since 1966 ongoing excavations have been

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carried out at Avaris (modern Tell el-Dabʿa) under the auspices of the Austrian Archaeological Institute and led by Manfred Bietak. Clear evidence from this work has demonstrated the powerful influence of Near Eastern cultures on religious practices especially in the funerary domain (Bietak 1996: esp. 36-49). However, no evidence has been found to show that cults of either Baʿal or Anat existed at Avaris (Zivie-Coche 2011:3). Whereas the precious few epigraphic documents mention Seth but never Baʿal, and Anat only appears fleetingly as part of a theophoric name (Schneider 1998:133). It may thus be reasonably concluded that Seth was the principle deity, perhaps the only one worshipped by the Hyksos. It might be fair to ask the question if this was so and what caused them to abandon their native deities. This is, however, outside the scope of this work. A necessary rider here is to ask whether the Hyksos actually meant Baʿal when they wrote Seth in hieroglyphs. Which consideration goes to the heart of this work, is Seth-Baʿal or vice versa.

With the demise of the Hyksos, and thus the advent of the 18th Dynasty, Egypt became much more open to Syro-Palestine, initially from Egypt's military conquest and annexure of the Levantine city-states. Later alliances were made with Mitanni and the Hittites. Thus movement of people (cf. chap. 4) facilitated the two way exchange of deities and the erection of cult places in each others territory. Stadelmann (1967:146-150) suggested that the new cults which were practiced at several locations in Egypt were initiatives of prisoners of war, who, whilst working on the estates of king or temple, continued with their own cults. However, recently Zivie-Coche (2011:2-4) refutes this suggestion and presents plentiful iconographical and documentary evidence to support this rejection, since this suggests that foreign gods were present and welcomed at the highest levels of Egyptian society.

In the New Kingdom, the first mention in Egypt of Resheph, Hauron and Astarte occur in royal documents dating from the fourth regnal year of the 18th Dynasty Pharaoh Amenhotep II. (1425-1399 BCE). In her book Tazawa (2009:13-101) provides the evidence of such deities in Egypt individually viz., Baʿal, Resheph, Astarte and Seth associated with Astarte. In the corpus (chap. 5) specific examples were selected from this work e.g. Seth (86 Doc. 9 = S2), Baʿal (34 Doc.89 = *T21*), Resheph (36 Doc. 99 = *T23*), Astarte (88 Doc. 15 = *B8*).

A rock cut stele from Tura dated from the time of Amenhotep II, known as the Victory Stele of Memphis (Fig. 57), shows a pantheon of Egyptian deities. Here in the lower register, fourth deity from the left can be seen the goddess Astarte of Peru-nefer (Cornelius 2008b: Pl. 3.4; Zivie-Coche 2011:3 Fig. 1). The famous limestone quarries of Tura lie some 13km south of modern day Cairo.
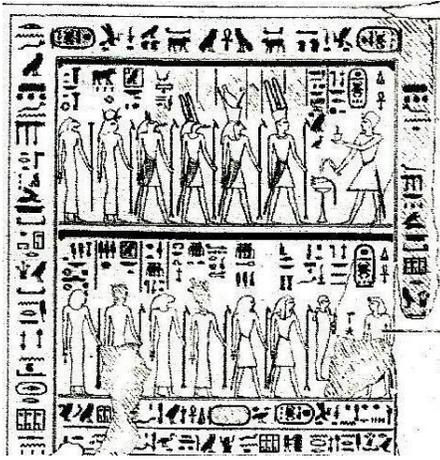

Figure 57 Victory Stele of Memphis
(Zivie-Coche 2011:3)

Figure 58 Foundation Plaques
(Tazawa 2009:68-69 Docs. 23-24 Pl. X)

The foundation plaques (Fig. 58) are two of a group of 12 bought by the Brooklyn Museum. The pictured two are part of the six so called 'Hauron bricks' whose inscription references both Hauron and the Egyptian version Horemakhet. Although the provenance is disputed it is generally held to be in the Giza – sphinx area. These plaques are seen as definitely royal, whereas Resheph was more popular with the common people (Münnich 2009:55-61).

During the 18th Dynasty the pharaohs regarded Resheph as helpful during fights against their enemies (Münnich 2009:55), but Baˁal did not seem popular at this time (cf. Sadek 1988:152ff). Resheph was introduced into Egypt by the aggressive pharaoh Amenhotep II particularly as a royal warrior god, but his role as a royal god was superseded by Baˁal in the Ramesside period. (Cornelius 2008a:1). Resheph remained popular with the ordinary people as can be seen from the stelae from Deir el-Medina (e.g. Fig. 59), where although clinging to the traditional warrior-like representation, there was no connection with war (Münnich 2009:55).

Figure 59 Resheph Stele EGA 3002

(Münnich 2009:68 Fig. 7)

This more peaceful aspect of Resheph can be seen in the stelae inscriptions, such as the stele EGA 3002 in the Fitzwilliam Museum, where the inscription reads:

'Giving praise to Resheph the great god, that he may give life, prosperity and health (on behalf of the *kꜢ* of the ser)vant in the place of truth, Pashed and his son.'

(Cornelius 1994:46)

Resheph thus ceased to play a major royal role in the Ramesside period but continued to be popular with the ordinary people.

With his displacement in favour of Baʿal as the royal warrior god Resheph is now seen as a god dedicated to the royal cause and playing no part in warfare. With Baʿal firmly positioned as the Egyptian warrior god, Resheph had no role for the ordinary people and became purely a royal god.

The Baʿal examples together with the corpus of evidence (chap. 5) provide plentiful iconographical evidence of his presence in Egypt B1-B16 together with the inscriptional examples on reliefs T1-T20 and textual T21-T24. It is interesting to note that three examples T21-T23 all centre on Memphis and make frequent references to Peru-nefer. This port area was the end point of the flow of goods from the Middle East and the starting point for military expeditions to the Levant. The exact location of Peru-nefer was for a long time placed near Memphis, now this is disputed (Collombert & Coulon 2000:218) and many scholars favour Pi-Ramesses. In 2005 Bietak also proposed that the location of the ancient naval base of Peru-nefer was at Avaris in the area of modern Tell el-Dabʿa (2005:13-17). Further surveys and excavations have now confirmed that Avaris of the Hyksos and Piramesse of the Ramessides were in fact located at Tell el-Dabʿa/Qantir (Bietak 2009:15-17). The presence and acceptance of numerous mainly Levantine deities into the Egyptian pantheon suggests that the Egyptian establishment was all too willing to put new cults in place (Zivie-Coche 2011:3), amply demonstrated by the foreign deities alongside traditional Egyptian ones on royal monuments.

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Traditional societies were generally ethnocentric and saw themselves as the centre and origin of the world; it was previously shown that Egyptians saw themselves as 'humans' (*rmṯ*). The foreigner is the 'Other' (*rḫyt*) a person who speaks a strange language and is a source of danger and disorder (Zivie-Coche 2011:4). Egyptian iconography demonstrates this antipathy by the frequent representation of the Pharaoh holding foreign enemies by the hair, preparing to carry out their beheading. 'Also, the bound prisoner thema did represent a foreigner but also and Egyptian or dangerous divinity' (Posener 1958:256). The cosmic order *(maʿat)* must be upheld by the king and his subjects; the threat is from both an earthly enemy as well as a divine enemy such as Apep (corpus S1).

Notwithstanding the ideology, practical reality dictated that peoples across the Ancient Near East must interact with foreigners for trade and commerce as well as militarily. This necessitated learning of foreign languages or the use of translators for trade purposes, here again one sees the potential for interchange of religious beliefs. Hymns, such as the Great Hymn to the Aten, evoke the demiurge as creator of all peoples of the world, differentiated by their skin colour and language since the creation (Zivie-Coche 2011:5):

> 'Their tongues differ in speech,
> Their characters likewise;
> Their skins are distinct
> For you distinguished the peoples.'
> (Lichtheim 2006:98)

The 5th hour of the well known Book of Gates depicted in New Kingdom royal tombs, illustrates the four races recognised in ancient Egypt − Egyptian *(Reth),* Asian *(Aaʿmu),* Nubian *(Nehesu)* and Libyan *(Themehu).* This puts all ethnic groups on the same level and confirms that the Egyptians were not hostile to them, all being created by the same sun god (Koenig 2007:224). In this cosmographic book it is thus clear that all these races were seen to participate in the afterlife (the *duat*).
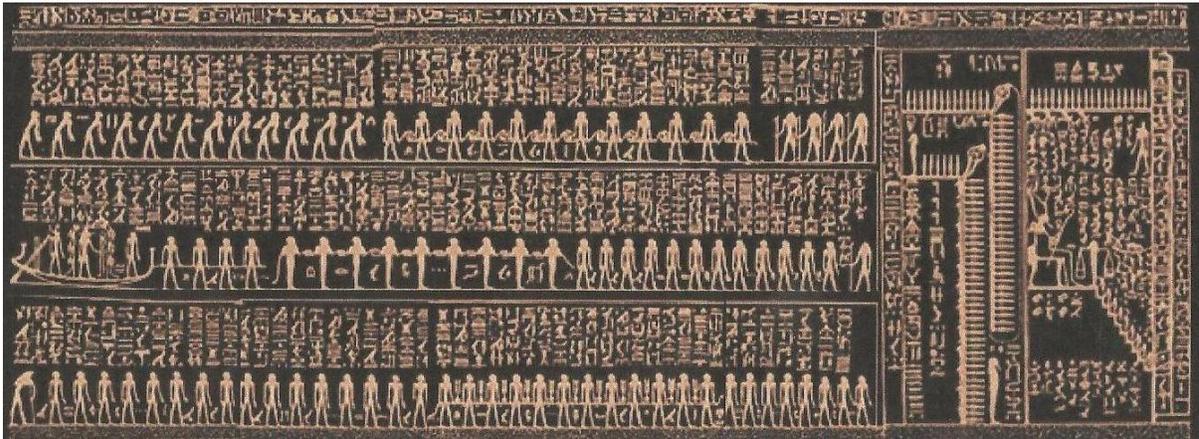
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Figure 60a 5th hour of the Book of Gates

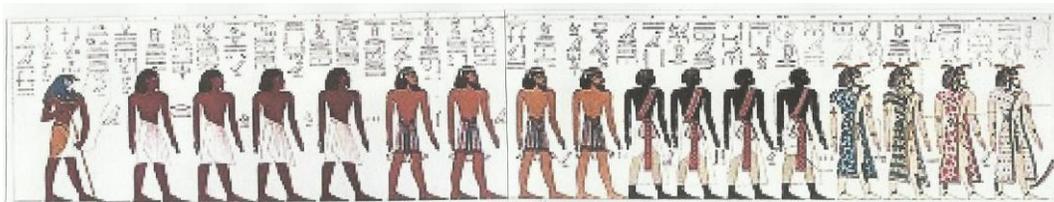(**http://ww.ancientegyptonline.co.uk/book-of-gates.html**)

Figure 60b 5th hour of the Book of Gates – lower register from the left

(Artistic rendering – http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Book_of_Gates)

One might ask how it was possible for foreign gods to be accepted into the Egyptian pantheon. Polytheism accepts every other deity, every new deity, as such, based as it is on the principle of plurality of divine beings (Zivie-Coche 2011:5). Deities from border areas had long been part of the Egyptian pantheon, however, as contact with foreign cultures increased other deities, primarily of Near Eastern origin, were introduced largely under their own names. These deities were adopted into the Egyptian pantheon, in particular were Resheph, Hauron, Baʿal, Astarte, Anat and Qadesh (Zivie-Coche 2011:2).

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In some cases these newcomers had a close affinity with extant Egyptian deities e.g. Hauron = Harmachis (Zivie-Coche 2011:5). A sphinx statuette has Hauron from Lebanon (Leibovitch 1944b:171) and a private stele of Astarte (AEIN 134) comes from *Kharou* (Ranke 1932:412-418). Of specific interest to this study is of course the affinity that is apparent between the Egyptian god Seth and the Semitic god Baˁal.
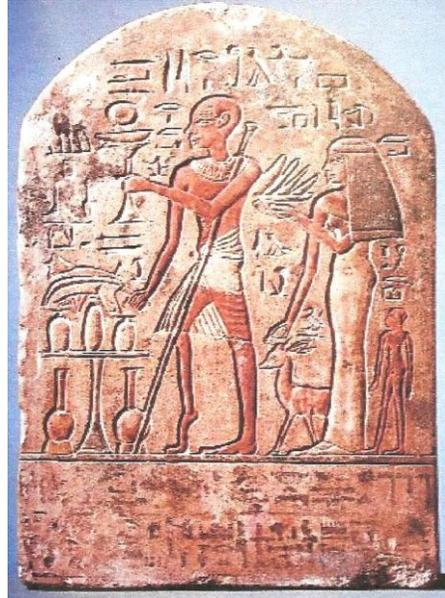
Figure 61 Astarte Stele AEIN 134

(Jørgensen 1998:119 No. 39)

In the article by Collombert and Coulon (2000) the question of 'the gods against the sea' was investigated, as written in the Astarte papyrus (Amherst IX). Although very fragmented the translators were able to explore and expound upon many aspects of this important artefact. During his reign Thutmose III made numerous expeditions into the Levant, although unattested it is probable that such interaction advanced the introduction of Syro-Palestinian deities into Egypt. In the translation below Fig. 62 from the fragmentary Astarte papyrus, one can see parallels to the Ugaritic story of Baˁal against the sea god Yam, the annexation of Baˁal and the acceptance of Asiatic deities into Egyptian cult and mythology (Ritner 1993:35).
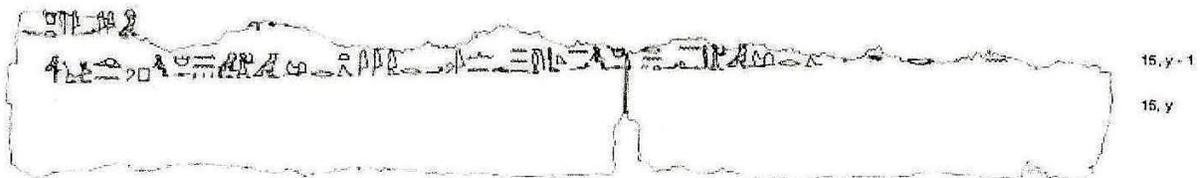
Figure 62 Astarte Papyrus (Amherst IX) line 15

(Collombert & Coulon 2000:239 Pl. XIII)

[the sky. (?)] […] to fight with him to the effect that […] he sat down calmly. He will not come to fight with us. Then Seth sat down. (Translation Ritner 1993:36)

Collombert and Coulon (2000:217) further suggest that palaeographic and linguistic indicators together with the historical data indicate that the dating of this papyrus is in the time of Amenhotep II. At this time it would seem that the Baʿal cult probably entered the Egyptian pantheon, and the temple of Astarte was inaugurated in Peru-nefer. The theme perfectly demonstrates that this pharaoh's policies promoted Asian religion and that during his reign Egypt embraced cults of Hauron, Resheph, Baʿal and Astarte. As has already been pointed out the cult of Hauron was closely related to the Great Sphinx at Giza. In addition, Resheph, Baʿal and Astarte were known to be warrior gods a character in perfect tune with the demonstrably aggressive nature of Amenhotep II (Collombert & Coulon 2000:217).

From Schroer's comprehensive volumes (IPIAO 2 & 3) both image and discussion adds much to the debate around the two gods. Firstly the weather god Baʿal is described as having Canaanite predecessors (cf. Schroer 2008 Figs. 480-482 cf. Fig. 63) whilst having attributes of Seth.
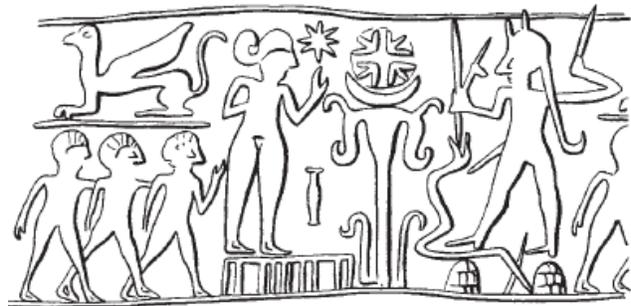

Figure 63 Old Syrian weather god
(Schroer 2008:246 Fig. 480)

Further, that in the 18th Dynasty and more so in the 19th, Baʿal and Seth images became more alike leading to an appreciation of Seth (Schroer 2011:52 Figs. 897, 899-900; cf. Figs.13 & corpus S3, BS15 & BS16). It is most remarkable to consider the images of serpent killers S3 and BS15, here they present an almost identical attitude, holding and spearing the serpent in the same manner and both have deployed wings. However, image S3 clearly exhibits a sethian head whilst BS15 has the helmet and streamers. This fusion of the Canaanite storm god with Seth seems to represent a potent example of the warlike Baʿal-Seth (Schroer 2011:71). It would appear that Baʿal-Seth was an important figure of personal piety, and was worshiped by officials and in the Ramesside period by royalty. Whether this striking reference to a non-Egyptian god arose from an historical relationship or the Delta origins of the 19th Dynasty Pharaohs remains to be proven (Schroer 2011:52).

Having shown that Asian deities were prevalent in Egypt from the middle of the 18th Dynasty, it is now pertinent to consider the Asiatic subject god Baʿal whom we have already seen is often written with the Seth-animal as determinative 🐾, also used as an ideogram for writing the name Seth. This was only possible because the Egyptians saw traits of their god Seth in Baʿal, who in the Ras Shamra texts is the god of thunder − Hadad, the god of the mountain tops (Zandee 1963:148). Herein is perhaps the nub of the matter to be addressed, is it pure semantics that equates the two gods Baʿal and Seth. Certainly the Egyptians saw a close association between the two deities. In the iconography of the Ramesside Period there are images showing a clear amalgam of Egyptian and Asiatic attributes and clothing (chap. 5) (Cornelius 1994: Pls. 34-40). From an Egyptian standpoint one can discern two aspects: An Egyptian Seth-Baʿal made eastern to convey Egyptian power across the border, and a Baʿal-Seth an eastern deity installed initially at Memphis (?) and later elsewhere in Egypt (Zivie-Coche 2011:5).

7.5 Egyptians and their deities in Syro-Palestine

It is clear from the examples given, that deities from the Ancient Near East were introduced into Egypt through official channels and accepted into the Egyptian pantheon from the middle of the 18th Dynasty. Once these deities were accepted and suitable imagery prepared to satisfy the Egyptian conventions, such imagery exerted a strong influence on the iconography of the Levant. Motifs have been found as far away as Cyprus but more specifically at Ugarit and then across the Levant, thus demonstrating the impact of Egyptian culture across the region (Zivie-Coche 2011:7). Thus there can be no question regarding the strong Egyptian presence in Syro-Palestine during the New Kingdom, particularly in the 18th and 19th Dynasties which is reinforced as more and more evidence comes to light following excavations in the area.

A 1996 article published by Barkay revisits the artefacts recovered way back in the late 19th Century CE during excavations by Dominican fathers. This took place at the site of the 5th Century CE Byzantine church merely a kilometre north of the Late Bronze Age city of Jerusalem and now partly occupied by the École Biblique. Amongst numerous objects

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discovered in the original excavation were a stele fragment (Fig. 64), two alabaster vessels, and an offering table.

Original [reversed]

transcription by Père V. Scheil

1892. Varia, II, RB1:116-117

Figure 64 Stele fragment from Jerusalem

(van der Veen 2013:47 & Barkay 1996:27-28)

Most pertinent is the stele fragment which in 1892 had been incorrectly identified as to provenance and is now considered to be from this Jerusalem site. The inscription was originally interpreted as; '[a stele to the god Seth who gave] strength and long life of [Osiris the] foremost of the westerners… to the deceased…' The identification with Seth was possibly made because the original excavators maintained that a typical 'ear of Seth' could be seen below the central column of hieroglyphs. It thus seems reasonable to conclude that this along with the complementary artefacts serves to confirm the presence of an 'isolated' Egyptian temple just outside of Jerusalem. Barkay (1996:41) suggests a dating in the 19th Dynasty due to the increased interest in the central hill country of Canaan at that time. In 1998 Wimmer (1998:87-123) also explores the presence of Egyptian Temples in an article titled '(No) More Temples in Canaan and Sinai'.

Further information about the Egyptian temple was given in Barkay's 2000 article entitled 'What's an Egyptian Temple Doing in Jerusalem?' Here Barkay revisits his earlier (1996) article and expands on the evidence previously presented. He states that the Biblical implications around Jerusalem have, over the past 150 years, made Jerusalem the most excavated city in the world (Barkay 2000:1). Barkay now interprets the 13 hieroglyphic signs only as 'the foremost of the westerners,' referring to Osiris the god of the dead, he also

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mentions a similar reference to Osiris on an inscribed stele of Nubian sandstone from Hazor (1996:28). Further reference to the Hazor stele fragment is given in Yadin (1961: Pl. 316:1).
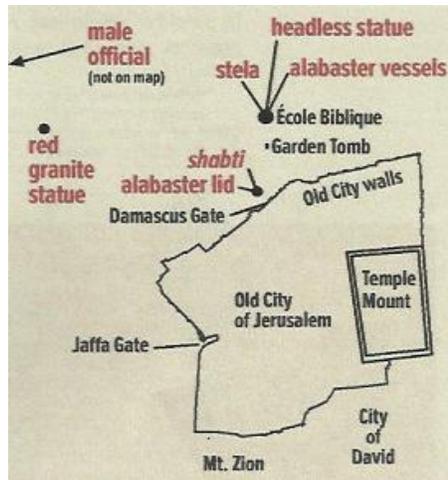

Figure 65 Jerusalem find sites

(van der Veen 2013:44)

Figure 66 Sekhmet statuette

(van der Veen 2013:46)

This latest information confirms an Egyptian presence in the Late Bronze Age as described in Barkay's earlier article and further increases the probability of an Egyptian temple in the new Kingdom period. The actual stele fragment is currently located in the École Biblique collection at the most likely site of the original temple, a copy of the photograph from van der Veen (2013:47) is shown above (Fig. 64). In 1975 an archaeologist Dr. Jacqueline Balensi whilst walking in the gardens of the École Biblique, stumbled upon a headless Egyptian serpentine statuette of a seated Egyptian female deity that van der Veen (2013:45) considers to be Sekhmet (Fig. 66). It should be noted that previously Barkay (2000) claimed it was a male possibly Amon or Ptah, either way it is certainly Egyptian. From all the evidence Barkay concludes that there was probably an Egyptian temple at this site in the Late Bronze Age, located just outside of Jerusalem on the main road leading to Shechem. However, it must also be mentioned that Keel (2007:128f, Fig. 88) still questions the presence of such a temple. However, the point is that there was certainly an Egyptian presence even if there was no temple.

There is further evidence of the presence of new Kingdom Egyptian deities across the Levant, Wimmer (2002:8-9) lists some 21 Egyptian royal stelae alone, the most prolific being in the

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reigns of Seti I and Ramesses II. Wimmer mentions a further inscription (stele?) found near Damascus around 2008 recording the name of Seti the Egyptian Governor of Upe under Ramesses II. The following table shows only the stelae featuring Seth from Wimmer's list:

Pharaoh	Location	Date	Description	Deities	Discovery Collection
Seti I (Corpus B3)	Tell Nebi Mond Qadesh	-	Upper part scene	Amun, **Seth,** Month, Hathor	1921 Aleppo
Ramesses II	Beth Shean	Year 18	Complete	Amun-Ra, (Horus, Nut, Ra, **Seth**, Nubti,Amun, Month)	1923 Philadelphia
Ramesses II	al-Kiswa (Near.Damascus)	Year 56	Upper part missing	Atum or El, (Ptah, Seth, Ra- Horakhty, Atum)	1994 Damascus
Table 13 19th Dynasty Royal stelae in the Levant					
(Wimmer 2002:8-9)					

Although Wimmer (2002) identifies Seth-Baʿal as depicted or mentioned on the al-Kiswa stele there seems to be little evidence to confirm this since no figures are clearly visible (Fig. 67a). Yoyotte identifies the figures on this stele as two figures walking to the left towards a third coming towards them, the upper bodies and arms are missing, however the clothing of the central figure suggest it is the pharaoh (1999:45). Further there are two cartouches between the figures from which Yoyotte identifies Ramesses II, perhaps facing a divinity. The king's identity is confirmed from the inscription below the figures (Fig. 67b).


Figure 67a al-Kiswa stele

(Taraqji 1999:42)

Figure 67b al-Kiswa stele inscription

(Kitchen 1999:138)

Regnal Year 56, 4ᵗʰ month of Summer, Day <1>, under the Majesty of:

Horus-Falcon, Strong Bull, [beloved of] Maat,

Lord of Jubilees like his father Ptah-<Tato>nen.

Nebty-Ruler, Protector of Egypt, curbing the foreign countries,

A Re whom the gods fashioned, furnishing the Two Lands.

Golden Horus, Rich in Years, great in victories.

King of S & N Egypt, Lord of Both Lands, **Usimare Setepenre**;

Son of Re, Lord of Crowns, **Ramesses II Miamun**, God, Ruler of On, given life forever & ever like Re.

The good god, Son of Seth, [divine?] seed [of] Re-Horakhty;

Whom Atum raised up to be(come) Lord of every land,

Like his father Seth, the great in valour, beloved of Re.

Translation of al-Kiswa inscription

(Kitchen 1999:137)

Wimmer (2002) further describes a stele (block?) discovered in 1999 found built into the wall of the *Maqām aš-šayḫ Ḥalil* mosque in the northern Jordanian town of at-Turra about 5km south east of Tell esh-Shihab. Although the stele is built into the wall and lying on its side the hieroglyphs are clear, two Egyptian gods are named - Nepri the cereal god and Geb the earth god. Of particular note is that this seems to be the first Egyptian stele discovered in Jordan and has been attributed to the regnal year 8 of Ramesses II. This artefact was a major discovery, being the first Egyptian monument from the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan (Wimmer 2002:7).
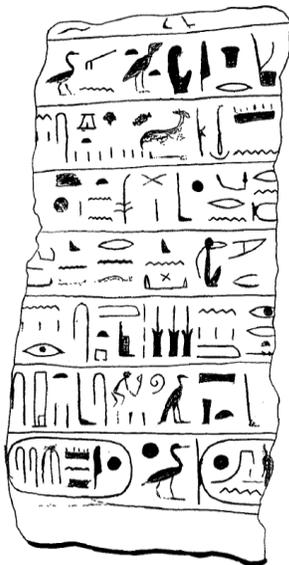
Translation

[...] --?-- [...]

[... of] Nepri, begotten by Geb, [...]

[...] who [es]tablishes the heirs on their thrones [...]

[... of] name, sacred of titulary, King of Egypt, [...]

[...] the beloved [...], brave of name, the bravest of war[riors, ...]

[...] to make them as columns at their place, to make [...]

[...] the rebels, th[eir] fortification [...]

[... (Wsr-]M3ꜥ.t-[Rꜥ] stp-n-Rꜥ)/, the son of Ra: (Rꜥ-mss mrj-Jmn)/ [...]

Figure 68 at-Turra stele from Jordan, fragmentary hieroglyphs and translation

(Wimmer 2002:3, 14 Fig. 1)

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The lost 'Job-stele' from the time of Ramesses II was from Sheikh-Saʿd (Karnaim) in Transjordan, discovered in 1891. In 2002 Wimmer presented a paper in which he listed a number of royal stelae that have been found in the Levant including this stele (Fig. 69).

Although in very bad condition the stele has a figure to the left wearing a rather un-Egyptian crown. There has been some debate regarding the translation of the inscription with Stadelmann (1967:46) suggesting 'Aliyan Baʿal Zaphon.' More recently the more acceptable version is 'Ilu creator of Zaphon' or 'Ilu establishes Zaphon' (Cornelius 1994:145). This shows that El is represented and not Baʿal, this identification is also given in Wimmer (2002:9).

Figure 69 Job stele

(Cornelius 1994: Fig. 34)
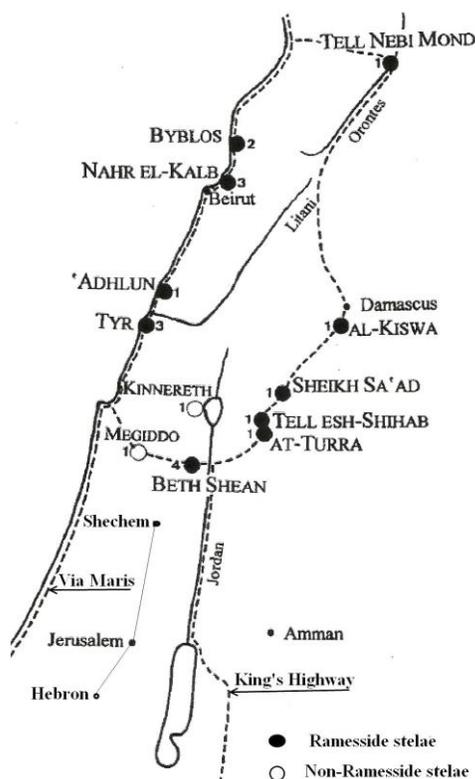
Map 7 Egyptian stelae in the Levant

(Adapted from Wimmer 2002:7)

Wimmer (2002:17, Fig. 4) shows the location of royal stelae found in the Levant (Map 7), this includes the new find from Jordan. The map shows both Ramesside and non-Ramesside stelae locations, as well as the two major Levantine north-south trade routes. The *Via Maris* runs along the Mediterranean coast whilst the *King's Highway* along the Jordan Valley to the east of the river. Looking at this map it seems at first glance that Jerusalem not being on either route is thereby isolated. This begs the question why build an Egyptian temple there? However, as illustrated on the map, Jerusalem lies between Hebron and Shechem thus could control north-south movement along the central highlands.

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More relevantly there was an east-west route between the two major trade routes using the Ajalon pass or others and passing Jerusalem, perhaps this was adequate reason for the importance of Jerusalem to the Egyptians (van der Veen 2013:45).

An article by van der Veen (2013:42-48) provides illustrations of the objects recovered from the suggested Jerusalem 'Egyptian' temple previously described by Barkay (1996, 2000) including the stele fragment. He further explains his reasoning for the temple's presence, clearly at this time Jerusalem and surrounding areas of the hill country were run as vassal states under the pharaoh. Several cuneiform tablets found amongst those at el-Amarna were written by Abdi-Heba the puppet-king of Jerusalem under the pharaohs Amenhotep III and Akhenaten. The letters complain that the Egyptian king has failed to send soldiers to help defend Egypt's Canaanite possession.

El-Amarna letter EA287 has been translated as follows, where Urusalim =Jerusalem:

'Verily, the king has set his name upon the land of Urusalim for ever. Therefore he cannot abandon the lands of Urusalim. To the scribe of the king, my lord, say. "Thus saith Abdi-Heba, thy servant: At the two feet I fall down; thy servant I am."'

http://www.specialtyinterests.net/eae.html

Figure 70 el-Amarna letter EA287

(van der Veen 2013:44)

A further more recent discovery is that of a scarab (Fig. 71) dated to the 13th Century BCE reported in 2012 in the ISRAELHAYOM Newsletter (18-04-2012). The scarab was found in the City of David National Park. Made of soft grey stone it has the name 'Amon-Ra' as well as the image of a duck seen as one of the sun god's symbols.

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Figure 71 Scarab- Jerusalem

(http://www.israelhayom.com/site/newsletter_article.php?
id=3847)

From the items given in the corpus together with the specific artefacts now added it is apparent that there was enormous Egyptian influence across the Levant during the New Kingdom period. One might well question, given the history of belligerence between Egypt and her neighbours during the new Kingdom period, why were foreign deities adopted and enabled to play a role in the religious life of Egypt and vice-versa?

The traumatic period of Hyksos rule followed by their expulsion demonstrated Egypt's supremacy at large. In this process Egypt appropriated some of the practices and innovations to which they were exposed. There would doubtless have been certain deities who were seen as exerting a new and beneficial power. A particular need would have been for deities whose function revolved around hitherto unknown ideas and technologies brought into the country by the invaders or other visitors. A specific example might be the introduction of horse and chariot against which Egypt now required divine assistance.

Figure 72 Sphinx fragment –Hazor

(http://phys.org/news/2013-07-archaeological-tel-
hazor-sphinx-fragment.html)

In July 2013 Jack Sasson reported on a fragment of a sphinx being found during excavations in Hazor, bearing an inscription and the name of the 5th Dynasty Egyptian Pharaoh Menkaure. Since no records of contact between Syro-Palestine and Egypt have been found for this period it is highly unlikely that it was brought to Hazor in the 3rd Millennium BCE.

Possibly the statue could have been taken there in the time of the Hyksos (ca. 1650-1550 BCE.). Alternatively and perhaps more likely it was brought to Hazor during the New Kingdom when Egypt ruled large parts of Syro-Palestine.

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7.6   Summary and conclusions

'The principle of polytheism allowed for integrating new deities without challenging its conception of the divine, but instead enriching and diversifying it.'

<div align="right">(Zivie-Coche 2011:8)</div>

No foreign gods were integrated into the state religion of Egypt during the Old and Middle kingdoms with the one exception of Dedun, the Nubian god that some pharaohs and officials had met as a result of the stretching of Egypt's southern boundary as well as trade with Nubia. Dedun was known by the Egyptians as 'the incense bringer' (Sadek 1988:152).

From the Second Intermediate Period onwards many Syro-Palestinian deities were worshipped in Egypt for the following four reasons according to Sadek (1988:152-153):-

- They were brought in by the Hyksos, probably because they were easily equated with extant gods, e.g. Seth standing for Baʿal and Hathor for Astarte.
- Traders and officials returning from Syro-Palestine introduced certain gods by extolling their virtues and explaining how propitious they had been during their travels.
- Perhaps the most fundamental reason was the successful military campaigning by Egypt after which Egypt ruled the Levant. This resulted in both captives and migrants from diverse areas entering Egypt either by force or by choice. Asiatic merchants, mercenaries and craftsmen were actively encouraged to emigrate thereby bringing their religion with them. Clearly such a movement provide numerous opportunities for religious exchange.
- New Kingdom pharaohs allowed foreign deities to be included in their pantheon and in turn the kings were represented in Egyptian temples in the Asiatic provinces adoring the native deities. This scenario was rife during the reigns of Amenhotep II, Thutmose IV, Amenhotep III, Ramesses II and Ramesses III.

It would appear that the turning point in Egyptian history with regard to the acceptance of foreign deities came with the trauma of Hyksos rule. Prior to this the Egyptians seem to have been convinced of their superiority and looked upon all foreigners as well as their deities as the 'Other' and quite unacceptable. The wars to terminate Hyksos rule and thus liberate the Egyptian people were most influential for the nascent New Kingdom and left a lasting impression on Egypt (Assmann 2003:198).

The relationship between Egypt and her foreign neighbours was no longer simply culture versus savagery, but recognising the foreign peoples, it was now Egypt versus Asia. The myth of Horus against Seth could now be reinterpreted in the light of historical experiences of the wars. Seth was transformed into the god of the Hyksos – thus an Asian. Thereby his new role as representative of the Asian gods guaranteed that alien things could be translated into domestic terms. Sadek (1988:154ff) who talks to popular religion and its acceptance of foreign deities omits Baʿal perhaps because he was not really 'popular' like Resheph. Foreigners are not now seen as belonging to chaos but are now instances of 'otherness' and could be treated as (potential) adversaries or partners (Assmann 2003:199-200).

In Egypt, foreign deities were now either worshipped in their own right or put into direct relationship with existing Egyptian deities. The natural example here is the equation of the Hyksos' Baʿal with the Egyptian Seth, but this is not exclusive. It is unfortunate that information from the Levant is so limited, however, in this era Baʿal was by far the biggest player in the search for the relationship of the two gods.

> 'In place of Egypt's earlier almost total lack of dealings with the complex and tension-ridden political structure of the Near East, we now see the emergent awareness of an overarching political universe full of relations and conflicts from which Egypt could no longer hold itself apart.'
>
> (Assmann 2003:200)

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Chapter 8.   Examination and synthesis of the evidence

8.1 Introduction

The intention of this study is to investigate the relationship of the two gods Seth and Baꜥal, each of whom originated from very different areas both geographically and probably ideologically far apart in the Ancient Near East. To explore and discuss the rationale for this phenomenon requires a multi-faceted approach.

For years scholars around the world have in many diverse ways addressed the presence of foreign deities across the Ancient Near East and in so doing have produced numerous theories or explanations for what might well seem a rather strange occurrence. In chapter 2 many of the most prominent theories were discussed in some detail. It must be said at the outset that due to the plethora of evidence emanating from Egypt, and the relative paucity from elsewhere, many of such explanations tend to be somewhat egyptocentric. The answer, if there is such a thing, predicates on the veracity of any specific theory, wherein each theory may complement another but not in itself provide a single answer to the question. The rationale for Syro-Palestinian deities in Egypt or vice-versa can only be more thoroughly understood after a comparison of their respective functions and attributes in their own native area.

Before delving into the interrelationship question it was necessary to examine both Seth and Baꜥal in their own right and within their own native environment. Thus chapter 3 is dedicated to a more detailed background and religio-historical examination. This chapter covers the details of each god's identity, behaviour and appearance to facilitate a comparison between them.

Surely if the two gods were only ever known and worshipped in their own bailiwick there would never have been the opportunity for any sort of relationship. But it is demonstrably true that there was a great deal of movement of peoples across the Ancient Near East, and further that such movement peaked in the Late Bronze Age. This then provides the answer to the conundrum as to how they became recognised in each others home territory. Chapter 4

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details a number of rationales for the inter-country or inter-regional movement of peoples and thus provides avenues for the presence of deities outside of their native domains.

Evidence for the presence and possible worship of any divine figure can be sought in both iconographical and textual material. Chapter 5 is devoted to the provision of a cross section of both of these media, and gives relevant examples for the gods Seth and Baʿal as well as the hybrid form of Baʿal-Seth. The grouping of the iconographical examples is ordered by medium used, whereas the identification endeavours to follow, as far as possible, that of the consensus of modern scholarship. The textual evidence is taken directly from primary written artefacts (papyri etc.) or from monumental inscriptions. Three examples of deities outside of the Levantine area further demonstrate the presence of gods outside of their homelands.

Despite the emphasis on the Late Bronze Age upto this point, it is necessary to digress outside of this period and hone in on a time in the Second Intermediate Period of Egypt (chap. 6). This was the time of the Hyksos, who were the first foreigners to rule Egypt. As such this was a very traumatic period for the nation who upto then considered that they were invulnerable. It thus became a turning point in Egyptian history and by many is seen as the reason for the introduction of Baʿal into the Egyptian pantheon.

The foregoing work has looked at the presence of foreign deities across the Ancient Near East. Chapter 7 goes further, although the various foreign deities may have been present, what relationship did the indigenous population have with them and how did they relate to the local divinities. This now becomes the crux of the matter, the question of religious exchange. To exchange, replace or amalgamate deities in some way requires motivation, after all there were extant divinities that upto then had satisfied the local need. Here the whole question is how and why such gods and goddesses were accepted and allowed to be worshipped and in addition what relationship was formed between them and the native deities.

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8.2   The theories

In chapter 2 a number of theoretical approaches to the vexed question of how the deities in a given country or even perhaps region came to be acceptable and worshipped in 'foreign' parts. A synopsis of the major salient facts is given here (Table 14).

NAME Key word	PROPONENTS	SYNONYM(S)	SYNOPSIS
SYNCRETISM	Colpe (Hornung , Keel)	Harmonization Unification	Attempt to reconcile and unify differing schools of thought.
DUALISM	Werblowsky Servajean	Polarity Dyadic	Reality is the outcome of two ultimate principles that can not be reduced to one. Good versus bad. Light versus darkness.
APPROPRIATION	Schneider	Assign, Copy Take over	To take (without) authority (all) aspects of another culture.
(intercultural) LIGATURES	Keel Schneider	Ties, Links Common ground	Ties or bonds that unite cultures.
TRANSLATING (gods)	Assmann	Interpret, Transfer Read across	To read across (aspects of) a culture in ones own environment and on ones own terms.
INTERNATIONALISM	Wight Lichtheim	Mutuality Interdependence	Advocacy of a 'community of interest' among different groups and cultures.
TRANSLATIVE ADAPTATION	Maegawa Tazawa	Adjust, Fit Conform	Adapt, adjust and fit aspects of a foreign culture to ones own.
ACCULTURATION	Schneider Assmann	Get used to Acclimatise	To become familiar with and accept (aspects of) another culture.
MIGRATING (gods)	Zivie-Coche Burkert	Emigrate, Move Take wing, Fly	Movement of (deities), especially at boundaries, from one place (culture) to another.
CREOLIZATION	Webster	Meld, Blend Merge	From Romanization, initially linguistic pidginization of a language, later spontaneous desire to accommodate another culture, (especially religion).
ELITE EMULATION	Higginbotham	Nobility Imitate, Copy	The influence of a great culture on vassal states. For example Britain copied the Romans after invasion.
Table 14 religious exchange − synopsis of theories			

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Whilst the comparison of words and their synonyms may appear somewhat pedantic, it serves to identify similarities and differences between the various approaches. Although this may not represent a totally comprehensive survey, it is considered that it captures the major proposals and ideas by most of the scholars conversant with the idea of transference of deities between countries of the Ancient Near East.

Firstly considering dualism, the best exemplar being the ancient Zoroastrian religion where the basic tenet is the cosmic struggle between good and evil. In so far that the religion of Egypt had an equivalent or very similar belief encapsulated by the words *maʿat* and *isfet,* order and disorder, this concept relates more to the belief system than to religious exchange. The second approach to be considered is Internationalism which relates on a grand scale to cooperation across international boundaries. Neither of these two theories seems to offer an inclusive rationale for the mixing of the two gods.

When considering the nine remaining theories that were identified, it is apparent that there is a degree of commonality and overlap between several. This is not to say that there is duplication but that specific theories can be encapsulated by a common principle. In order to better illustrate this concept the theories have been grouped under key words that best describe the principle used. The resultant situation is shown here as table 15, clearly there is overlap in some areas but the intention here is to enable one to grasp the concepts and thus assist in the explanation for religious exchange.

Consideration of the theories shown in table 15 gives rise to the possibility of some amalgamation; in fact it seems apposite to combine certain theories. Following due consideration of the similarities, the number has been reduced to the six broad categories shown in the table. It can, of course, be argued that there remain differences. However, the idea here is to encapsulate the major ideas put forward in chapter 2 in a way that tries to pull them together to form an overview of the whole process.
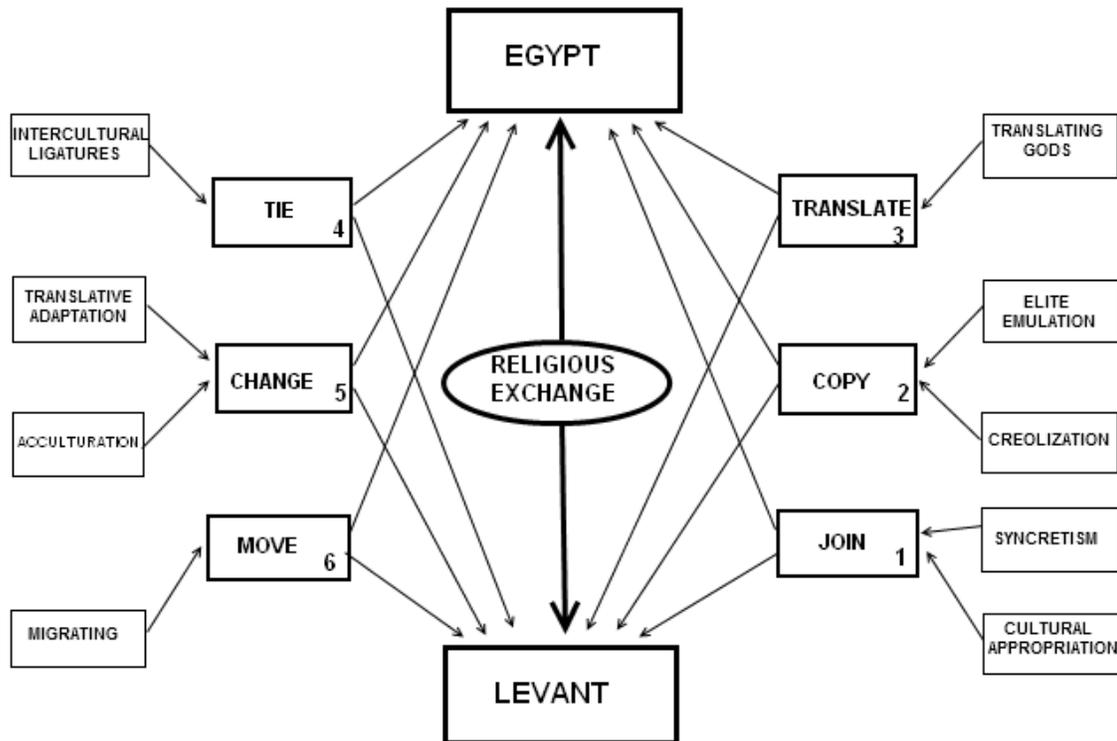
Table 15 relationship of theoretical approaches

Starting with the bottom right hand principle (1 – join); this suggests an amalgamation of ideas wherein two (or more) religions or ideas come together in some manner and coalesce into one. This would require some commonality in aspects from each of the native areas to cause a syncretism of such aspects. Additionally would be some appropriation of ideas or practices from one culture to the other on the basis that this would cause some improvement to the recipient culture.

Turning to the next principle (2 – copy); elite emulation as the name suggests is the copying of a higher or more developed civilisation on the basis that such behaviour will ensure improved results. The term Creolization developed in the Caribbean being a juxtaposition of Afro-American with Afro-Caribbean peoples in the New World. Creolization is comparable to Romanisation in Roman Britain where local hierarchy emulated the Roman occupiers, perhaps for what it offered them but more likely to curry favour with their overlords.

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The third principle (3 – translate); in the religious context means reading across the foreign deities with one's own or translating gods. This has been summarised by Smith (2008: VIII) as 'how deities of various cultures were identified or recognised by name across cultural boundaries.' Here one considers the matching of deities in terms of their attributes and functions. Where these features are significantly comparable (translatable) the deity may be considered the same but under a different name.

Moving to the next principle (4 – tie); here a significant connection exists between cultures. Rarely is there no possibility of some form of interaction with external cultures be it ever so slight. In the Late Bronze Age it has been demonstrated that there was in fact enormous movement and interaction across the Ancient Near East. Such influence would naturally be a two way process whose effect could range from minimal to a life changing degree.

Translative adaptation and acculturation (5 – change); have been put together on the basis that their broad principles of change coincide. A number of alternative synonyms for the term acculturation have been proposed − assimilation, accommodation, absorption, adaptation, integration and amalgamation. This may be semantics, however, the principle is clear simplistically, change on the part of one or both parties in order to accept the differences of though or religious ideology.

Finally and perhaps what is a rather all embracing and general principle (6 – move); the possibility of a deity simply crossing into a new country and being accepted there. The most obvious and frequent example can be seen around the border areas allowing a deity to 'drift' across into the neighbouring country. The prime example of course comes from the Egyptian god Seth who was always the god of foreign countries, thus had moved from Egypt. Such movement infers mobility of peoples such as has been illustrated through chapter 4. The dominated civilisation moving towards the dominating for personal enrichment or commerce, whilst movement in the opposite direction due mostly to invasion or trade.

8.3   Religio−Historical context

8.3.1   Seth

In chapter 3 the Egyptian god Seth and the Syro-Palestinian god Baʿal were investigated in some detail in order to describe the physical attributes in terms of dress, pose, equipment and companions. In addition and of special significance is the demeanour or character portrayed. This is not only in the visual sense but also in the context, whereby the nature of the god can be seen either explicitly or implicitly.

Right from the beginning the Egyptian Ennead shows the birth of Seth disturbing the natural progression of creation and thus engendering confusion, disorder, unpredictability and violence (cf. 3.1.3). Seth was quite an enigma being both immature and yet endowed with the epithet 'great of strength.' The well known myth of Horus and Seth *the Contendings of Horus and Seth* (te Velde 1967:32) testifies to Seth's nature. Horus and Seth represented cosmos and chaos respectively, thus exhibiting a duality (cf. 2.2.2). This was further apparent since Seth was designated the lord of foreign peoples and the desert, opposite to Horus as the lord of the Black Land. In the New Kingdom Seth is still the lord of the desert but now working with Horus. As his position strengthened into the 19th Dynasty an association was made with Baʿal, which liaison was first recorded during the 18th Dynasty reign of Amenhotep II. His new esteem brought him to the fore and his name was adopted as a personal name by a number of pharaohs.

Having dwelt on the negative image of Seth, it is necessary to illustrate the primary example that gave rise to the title of 'the god of Confusion.' This ambivalent nature is shown in his positive role on the prow of the solar barque repelling the serpent Apep and thereby protecting Ra (corpus S1). The dichotomy of Seth's roles has been much debated but clearly demonstrates the aggressive and warrior aspects of his character. This is compared to the previously mentioned traits of chaos and disorder. There is, however, a third dimension, the role he played as a foreign god and the ruler of foreign countries, an aspect of primary interest in this study.

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Seth's connection with foreign lands goes back to early Egyptian history where his connection with Peribsen of the 2nd Dynasty and the epithet 'conqueror of Asia' − *ini Štt* (te Velde 1967:110) (cf. 3.1.10). Demons of the desert and unknown foreign countries always struck fear into Egyptian hearts, seeing them as dangerous, vile and wretched. With Seth as the god of the desert and border areas it is easy to understand how he became associated with the north eastern border. Excavations have shown that when the Hyksos arrived Seth's cult was already well established in the area.

8.3.2   Baꜥal

Baꜥal the Syro-Palestinian storm god is particularly well known from the evidence of the Ugaritic texts from Ras Shamra, but was also well known and widespread across western Asia being equated with the storm god Adad (Hadad). This determination both connects Seth with Baꜥal but at the same time confuses the identification of the two. Baꜥal is attested back to the mid 3rd Millennium BCE (cf. 3.2.2) at Abu Salabikh (Biggs 1974) where, following the Amorite invasion of Sumer (ca. 2000 BCE) the Syro-Palestinian peoples settled down along the Mediterranean. The terrestrial home of Baꜥal was on mount Zaphon, this is shown on some iconographical representations (B1 and B13) where he marches over mountains (cf. Dijkstra 1991: Pl. 1-3).

Like Seth, Baꜥal features in a number of myths, perhaps the most well known being the Baꜥal cycle comprising six tablets from Ugarit. Although there has been much debate as to order and quantity of tablets relating to the myth, however the six referred to here are generally accepted. The Baꜥal cycle portrays a number of realities such as the battle against the cosmic enemy Yamm (the sea); this parallels that of Seth in the Astarte papyrus (Fig. 62). It seems to be an open question as to the name appended and Wyatt's pantheon list (Table 3) shows some of the variants, is it a matter of each place adopting the god or was there some variation to satisfy local needs or beliefs.

There was clearly a long history of contact with Baꜥal in Egypt considering the use of the Seth determinative, naturally the intense level of association between Egypt and Syro-Palestine in

the Late Bronze Age intensified this relationship (cf. 3.2.6). Baʿal appears in royal contexts from the 19th Dynasty perhaps since his martial demeanour accorded well with the war like reigns of Seti I and Ramesses II.

The association of Baʿal with Seth does not appear in 18th Dynasty Egypt although other foreign gods do appear, it has been suggested that the connection between these two gods was too powerful a reminder of the debacle of the Hyksos rule and religion. During his reign the 19th Dynasty king Ramesses II erected the well known 400 year Stele (BS1). This is a time when Egypt ruled a vast area of Syro-Palestine. Using Asiatic names, customs and literary style made Seth look more Asiatic and perhaps ensured his acceptability to the residents of the area.

8.4   Movement of people

Neither peoples nor their deities can possibly become known, much less accepted, across their borders or between regions without contact between any two parties. This tenet applies even in today's' high tech world and global village, although it must be said that things were very different in days of yore. In the second half of the 2nd Millennium BCE contact necessitated movement by one or both parties before any form of exchange or relationship could occur. This fundamental requirement, and thus the rationale for movement, has been considered in some detail in chapter 4, in terms of both the period in which the interaction took place as well as the specific activities that gave rise to contact.

Clearly there has to be motivation for any person or group of people to move from one place to another let alone cross borders. Such motivations can be many and various and dependant on the existent circumstances both home and elsewhere. A complication is that the motivators would vary according to time, place and situation. In order to consider the matter further it has been necessary to review the extant conditions chronologically, starting prior to the era of the study, to encompass certain major pertinent turning points in the history of the Ancient Near East.

In addition to the considerations engendered by a specific time, it is necessary to review the motivators for movement, since a cause is required to produce this effect. Here motivation is not definitive nor is it necessarily from a single cause, it is frequently a two way affair – the escape from an untenable existence or the lure of a much better one. The other significant reason to travel was to acquire, by fair means or foul, goods and materials that were either not found locally or not in sufficient quantities. Thus the major and most significant causes of movement of Egyptians into Syro-Palestine and vice versa have been investigated with reference to time and space.

After the 18th Dynasty Egypt's horizon had increased to cover Nubia in the south and northwards across Syro-Palestine, this effectively gave her control of the trade routes across the region. With this relatively stable situation came a continuous flow of people who formed a heterogeneous mixture across the entire area. Illustrations found on reliefs, inscriptions, and paintings and in texts show visible signs of cross pollination of cultures. Nevertheless it is true that Egypt provided a powerful indoctrination to all newcomers especially to vassal princes seconded to the Egyptian court, even people in their own homeland were require to follow the Egyptian ways. Naturally where Egypt was in power her ideas were enforced by seconded Egyptian officials and military personnel. Additionally local people would be employed to ensure the rules were followed. All of this control demonstrates how Egyptian norms and mores were spread across the Ancient Near East.

Thus there were many ways in which foreign contact occurred across the Ancient Near East. Although the predominant contact was of a military nature, the fact remains that any contact necessarily resulted in the exchange of ideas and practices, not least of which was undoubtedly religious ideas. Naturally many factors influenced the acceptance never mind adoption and perhaps often rejection of such ideas. But surely with the many opportunities for interaction there must have been a tremendous flow across boundaries and in this some level of acceptance and adoption would have taken place.

8.5   The material evidence

The corpus of evidence detailed in this study has been selected from the vast pool available. It must be emphasised that the only reason for the lion's share coming from Egypt is by no means any personal bias, but merely due to the relative paucity of information from Levantine sources. It is nevertheless considered that an adequate quantity of evidence from outside of Egypt is included to demonstrate the status of the two gods and the widespread nature of their influence across the Ancient Near East. It should be noted that although the bulk of the material evidence is concentrated within the corpus, there are many allusions to other sources and artefacts throughout this work. The whole purpose here is to illustrate, by physical evidence, the presence and thus worship of deities, more specifically Seth, outside of their native homes during the second half of the second millennium BCE, and to further explore his relationship with Baʿal.

The corpus of iconographical images provides evidence of both Baʿal and Seth together with many examples of the hybrid Baʿal-Seth. The three 'other' well known stelae, the Baluʿa, Mekal and Shihan (P1-P3) further illustrate the influence of New Kingdom Egypt across the Ancient Near East. It is a truism that the identity of items is rarely finite and modern scholarship is rife with debate and criticism of any conclusion drawn. Such dissension is particularly prominent and vocal in the case of Baʿal and Seth, specifically when their appearance and attributes overlap and a hybrid called variously Baʿal-Seth or Seth-Baʿal appears. Perhaps the following quotation provides the essence of the two gods. In his review of Cornelius's 1994 book Pardee (1999:318) suggests that it is counterproductive to say that a deity identified by inscription as Seth but with Canaanite features is in fact Baʿal or even Baʿal-Seth. He goes on to remark that perhaps it would be better to 'develop the theme of assimilation of the two gods in Egyptian culture of the period.' Further that perhaps the original artist was merely saying that 'Seth was terribly like Baʿal!'

Notwithstanding the veracity of any particular deity's identification in the corpus, identities have been assigned according to the general consensus of current scholarship. Much as the

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identity may be contentious, in this study it is not really germane where one is more concerned with the relationship of two specific gods from two diverse cultures.

That there is a degree of interchangeability is starkly shown by Smith (2008:37-38) with respect to substitution between our Western Semitic god and the Egyptian one. Here in grand celebration of the victory (?) by Ramesses II at the battle of Qadesh a poem was composed and inscribed widely. In the first example on the temple wall at Luxor Ramesses brags –'I was like Seth in his time (of might),' a second inscription, this time at Abydos, the deity referred to is Montu and finally on a papyrus Baʕal is the third warrior deity indicated. Textual evidence comes predominantly from Egypt on papyri, inscriptions and also from the cache of cuneiform clay tablets many containing correspondence between Egypt's vassal kings and the Pharaoh, found at Akhetaten ('Amarna-letters'). From Ugarit there is a huge volume of clay tablets also in cuneiform (but in several languages) covering a vast range of activities from correspondence to economic, cultic and legal affairs, in many of which Baʕal appears.

8.6   The Hyksos factor

The life changing period of the Hyksos rule was examined in section 4.4, perhaps more than at any other period in pharaonic history this made a fundamental impact on Egyptian society. Upto this point the Egyptians considered themselves completely invulnerable to external forces, thus their world must have suddenly been shattered with the advent of foreign rulers.

It is known that Seth was found on the borders of the desert, even his home town, Ombos, was such a frontier town, he was also the 'Lord of foreign Lands.' The habitation named Avaris was on the Pelusiac branch of the Nile. This location satisfied all the requirements of a burgeoning frontier town with plentiful water, fertile lands and accessibility by water to local and foreign parts, thus an ideal entrepôt for trade. This was already a planned Egyptian settlement during the 12th Dynasty according to Bietak (2001: Vol. 1:351), supposedly founded by Amenemhat I. As Egypt entered the Second Intermediate Period more and more people particularly Asiatics came to the area and especially to Avaris adding to the considerable number already residing there.

Key to the evidence with regard to the chronology of the Seth cult at Avaris is to be found in the 400 year commemorative Stele (corpus BS1). This stele shows a god on the left dressed in Asiatic style but also with Egyptian attributes, he faces the pharaoh Ramesses II in the 34th regnal year of whose reign it must have been produced (ca. 1270 – 1257 BCE). If this indeed commemorates an event 400 years before, this would equate to a period coincident with the inception of the Hyksos rule. Although disputed, both van Seters (1966:97) and Redford (1992:117-118) believe that the 400 years cover this period, and celebrates the 'reign' of Seth who is pictured on the vignette in the guise of Baʿal. This stele has the iconic image that has given rise to the invention in modern times to the term Baʿal-Seth (sometimes Seth-Baʿal), wherein lies the heart of this study, the relationship of these two gods.

What then was the Hyksos religion? Evidence is scarce consisting of a few scarabs showing deities but without inscription, together with some textual references to Seth – 'Lord of Avaris.' Later papyri such as Sallier I (Tazawa 2009:154) refer to this period and again mention 'Seth as Lord.' Probably one of the most significant finds was the haematite cylinder seal at Avaris, shown as an impression in the corpus (B13). The seal features a North Syrian weather god identified as Baʿal-Zaphon (Bietak 1990:15), strangely the motifs are not Egyptian, but it is suggested that the manufacture was Egyptian (Porada 1984:487).

Seth as a storm god is something of an anathema since Egyptian weather is generally massively calm, thus he would be more at home amongst the desert and mountains where storms rage. Probably Seth as a storm god, god of foreign countries would have been equated with the Semitic storm god Baʿal. Zandee (1963) explored Seth's character by reviewing a number of texts including the *Pyramid Texts, Coffin Texts* and the *Book of the Dead* and from this considers his identity with that of the western Semitic Baʿal the thunder god. Papyrus Leiden I343, I345 also mentions both Seth and Baʿal in parallel (Zandee 1963:149; Tazawa 2009:36 Docs. 98, 99).

Unfortunately much of the knowledge concerning the Hyksos is from indirect Egyptian sources in the Ramesside period (te Velde 1967:121). The Asiatic Hyksos kings were clearly of foreign origin and remained faithful to their foreign cults. Additionally it is apparent that

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Seth of Avaris was worshipped without a break from the Hyksos period and maybe even earlier through to the Ramessides.

In the Ramesside period more Egyptians settled in the Delta area as Piramesse became Egypt's capital city, and contact with foreigners increased. Now various foreign gods were introduced into Egypt and were no longer on the periphery (te Velde 1967:118). During their tenure the Hyksos had readily accepted Seth equating him to their Baʿal. Later following the Battle of Qadesh between Egypt and Khatti and the subsequent truce a bilingual peace treaty between the two sides was signed. The treaty between Ramesses II and Hattusilis although bilingual was not a mere translation but after initial preparation in Akkadian cuneiform by the Hittites was prepared in Egyptian hieroglyphics and in the process managed to suggest that the Egyptians played a more dominant role. Notwithstanding these machinations 'Seth' appears in the Egyptian text in place of the ideogram for storm god in the Hittite text (van Seters 1966:175). The study by Zandee (1963) mentioned previously has many references which characterise Seth as a storm god with many attributes similar to Baʿal.

In a world of polytheistic religions the Hyksos were unlikely to have worshipped only one god, scarabs from the period show numerous deities although it is often not easy to obtain a positive identification. However, it seems that there was a plethora of deities which suggests a pantheon where some Egyptian and some Asiatic deities were equated, doubtless on the basis of their perceived function. As has been shown, and of fundamental relevance to this study, Seth was equated with Baʿal.

The fall out following the end of the Hyksos rule was still echoing loudly well into the 18th Dynasty as can be seen from the rhetoric of Hatshepsut on the façade of the temple at Speos Artimedos. Here she lamented the 'destruction' of the Asiatics and claimed responsibility for repairing 'all that was destroyed' by the Asiatics from Avaris (Gardiner 1946: Pl. VI). Perhaps this was the usual boastful self adulation typical of all pharaohs but the comments reflect succinctly on the general and long lasting effect of, and hatred for, these first foreigners to rule Egypt.

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Following the expulsion of the Hyksos, Avaris was abandoned rather than destroyed with the exception of the temple of Seth/ Baʿal-Zaphon the chief god of Avaris which seems to have been in use right upto the 18ᵗʰ Dynasty (Bietak 2010:431-432). Extensive excavations at modern day Tell el-Dabʿa have uncovered some evidence of the Hyksos presence, lifestyle and religion all in some way amalgamated and working together with the indigenous Egyptian life. Given the dearth of material evidence, and thus the need to undertake a degree of speculation from other periods, together with what actual evidence has been found, the picture that emerges, fragmentary though it may be, is a fair assessment of the situation pending further discoveries.

8.7 Religious exchange

> 'Because it is polytheistic [Egyptian] religion accepts every other deity, every new deity, as such, based as it is on the principal of plurality of divine beings, forms and names.'
>
> (Zivie-Coche 2011:5)

The question of who and by whom Syro-Palestinian deities were brought into Egypt has been investigated by numerous authoritative scholars. Even before the 1967 seminal work of Stadelmann, experts had been discussing the matter based largely on excavation reports. When Stadelmann entered the fray he concentrated on six specific Syro-Palestinian gods: viz. Baʿal, Resheph, Hauron, Anat, Astarte and Qadesh. Classifying the six as royal or popular narrowed the list to four royal deities Baʿal, Resheph, Anat and Astarte, all of whom were known as warriors concerned with the victories of Egyptian kings (Tazawa 2009:3).

The second of the notable contributions in this field was by Helck (1971) who made a valuable contribution albeit concerned with Egyptian – Asiatic relationships at large rather than religion per se. As one might expect in similar vein he honed in on the same six deities that Stadelmann had considered previously. An interesting and cogent explanation for the need for Syro-Palestinian deities in Egypt was presented: The Egyptians may have required such deities to fit cultural phenomena that had been unknown and thus unfamiliar to them and

thus wanted to 'adopt' these foreign deities to cope with this new presence, an example might be horses and chariots previously unknown in Egypt (Helck 1971:472).

Cornelius published a comprehensive monograph in 1994 focusing on the iconography of Resheph and Baʕal, a huge volume of stelae, reliefs, scarabs and seals and other items of relevance. In this work the focus was on iconographical representations, the philological evidence was considered in less detail. This massive data base includes comprehensive information on each item from provenance to listing of known publishers; most include a photograph or drawing. The work includes an identification of any figures shown and any debate or dissension known. Further a great deal of effort has been made to discriminate between the gods and to consider the idea of the combination of Baʕal with Seth, albeit purely from an iconographical perspective.

In 2009 Tazawa published a study entitled 'Syro-Palestinian deities in New Kingdom Egypt' where she considered both the iconographical and philological evidence in order to assess the rationale for their presence in Egypt at this period in time. There are a number of other significant contributions to the base topic of this study – the relationship between Seth and Baʕal; these are included in the references. Clearly to achieve the most accurate assessment of the relationship between any deities, both at home and abroad, one must consider all available evidence both iconographical and philological.

During the Late Bronze Age the active involvement of Egypt across Syro-Palestine both in military expeditions as well as commercial affairs inevitably exposed both parties to each others religious beliefs and practices. Exposure is one thing but to actually adopt an alien deity would necessitate strong motivation, it is perhaps this motivation that holds the key to the relationships formed between deities of the Levant and Egypt. At this time of polytheistic thought, coupled with intense interaction, it is easy to understand how a new deity and the support it offered would be seen as very attractive. The rationale for contact was studied in some depth in chapter 4, and there it became apparent that beyond contact a more permanent exchange in many aspects of life was not only possible but in fact took place.

The preponderance of world religions now is monotheistic and largely divorced from the government of countries, so the omnipotent polytheistic beliefs in ancient times are anathema today, and too many quite incomprehensible. The major difference is the current day secularisation of governments and rulers whereas in the ancient world the governments were sacred and rulers divine. Many scholars have addressed the religious practices of the elite versus the ordinary people, often classified as state and personal religion. The base tenets being driven by the countries leadership compared with the private practices of the ordinary citizen. The question arises – were the population at large 'on board' with that which was decreed or was it enforced. Notwithstanding these differences, perhaps it is fair to say that on the whole it was the state or royal deities and their ideology that were taken abroad and sometimes adopted there.

The Egyptians equated Seth with the foreign gods Ash (Libyans), Tešhub (Hittites) and Baʿal (Western Semites) but rarely with Egypt's own gods. Seth was always the odd man out of the Egyptian pantheon due to his overriding negative connotations. From way back in the early pharaonic periods, first the *Pyramid texts,* and later the *Coffin Texts* featured Seth extensively and analysis shows this was largely in a negative light. There may have been a softening of this attitude in the 12$^{\text{th}}$ Dynasty since soon pharaohs had Seth depicted with them on reliefs. Once the trauma and horror of the Hyksos period had passed, the Ramesside kings were more accepting of Seth who by this time had become associated with Baʿal, which accords with the greater acceptance of this divine foreigner in the New Kingdom. The Mami stele typifies this

accord with the name Baʿal (*bʿr*) determined with the Seth-animal .

Prior to the Middle Bronze Age interaction between the peoples of Egypt and those of the Levant was restricted to immigrants who by fair means or foul settled in Egypt, there is little evidence to date concerning movement in the opposite direction. The Hyksos period exerted a huge influence on the psyche of the Egyptians and the religious practices in Avaris, particularly in the funerary domain. However, no evidence has been found of a cult of Baʿal by name. Here there could be a problem of identification due to the use of the Seth-animal to represent Baʿal as can be found on a number of the corpus entries.

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Moving into the New Kingdom 18th Dynasty, Egypt roamed widely across Syro-Palestine and military action was followed by alliances first with the Mitannians and then the Hittites, thereby facilitating contact and exposure to each others religious norms and mores. There has been considerable debate concerning the establishment of foreign cults in Egypt. Some years ago Stadelmann (1967: 146-150) advanced the notion that such foreign cults were a product of prisoners of war practicing their home religion. More recently Zivie-Coche (2011:2-4) disagrees and presents plentiful evidence to demonstrated that Levantine deities were integrated into the Egyptian pantheon (cf. 7.4). Further the corpus of this study (chap. 5) details definitive examples of Seth and Baʿal as well as this strange mixture often called Baʿal-Seth, or perhaps Seth-Baʿal to the Egyptians!

One might form the idea that Egypt alone adopted foreign deities but this tautology comes merely from the predominant sources available in comparison with those from elsewhere. However, there is much to demonstrate that there was indeed a two way flow of both religious ideology as well as deities. The ongoing movement of Egyptian personnel both military and civilian encouraged and perhaps necessitated the export of Egyptian cults and deities. At first one could suspect that this was largely to service the religious needs of the Egyptians away from home. Later, most likely to satisfy and pacify their Egyptian overlords, the indigenous population would have, at least on a token basis, practiced the new religion of their masters. It is also quite possible that they did not have a choice and that the newly arrived practices were enforced upon them. Certainly there is physical evidence across the Levant to indicate that Egyptian religion was common across the region.

A prime example for the presence of Egyptian religion comes from Jerusalem where possibly evidence of a Late Bronze Age temple has been discovered (cf. 7.5). A number of artefacts were found on this site including the fragment of a stele on which hieroglyphs spell out 'the foremost of the westerners' and perhaps an ear of Seth can be seen. This fragment together with a number of other objects found led to the conclusion that there probably was an Egyptian temple on the site in the New Kingdom period (Barkay 1996:41). Across the Levant 21 examples just of Egyptian royal stelae have been recorded. Three of these stelae from

Qadesh, Beth Shean and al-Kiswa, refer to the Egyptian god Seth by the inscription (e.g. Fig. 67b) (Wimmer 2002:8-9). The location of the various find sites is evidence of how far spread the Egyptian influence was, stretching across the entire Levant including Jordan.

During the 18th Dynasty especially in the Amarna period correspondence between Egypt and her vassal states was plentiful as indicated by the huge cache of clay tablets found at el-Amarna, usually called the Amarna letters. The letters number well over three hundred and come from all parts of the empire and provide much information about the lives and times of the people, and illustrate the enormous influence Egypt had over Syro-Palestine at this time.

It is highly likely that the Hyksos presence in the Delta and their acceptance and 'blending' of their own religious practices with those of Egypt was a forerunner of the increasing relationships between deities across Syro-Palestine. Following the exit of the Hyksos and the intense Egyptian military expeditions into Syro-Palestine, Egyptian cult centres worshipping their traditional deities were established wherever the army ventured. As the peoples of the vassal states became used to this foreign presence, they would have experienced the Egyptian religious practices. Now whether by choice or proscription the local people may well have adopted the Egyptian ways at least to some degree. At the same time the Egyptians may have seen some benefit material or temporal to accommodate the extant religion of the indigenous people. There was apparently some liberalisation as to what and who were worshipped at this time. The Egyptians by this time had modified their once rabid dislike of foreigners and accepted them as an example of 'otherness' and in this perhaps became partners or adversaries (Assmann 2003:199-200).

8.8 Summary and conclusions

This chapter serves to synthesise and review the evidence presented in the foregoing chapters. That there were foreign deities found in both Egypt and Syro-Palestine during the second half of the 2nd millennium BCE has been amply demonstrated. The rationale for such 'border' crossing has been studied by numerous scholars and a variety of explanations have been put forward (cf. chap. 2). The specifics of these significant theories are given in table 14, further each theory has been summarised, compared and then analysed on the relationship chart table 15. At this point it should be emphasised that the majority of the arguments seem to be based very largely on textual and theoretical premises. In this study a cross section of iconographical evidence (chap. 5) has been provided for a more comprehensive and balanced perspective.

The historical and religious background of each of the two subject gods forms the basis of chapter 3, to enable a comparison of similarities and perhaps differences. To facilitate understanding of why deities would cross borders and even integrate with extant deities, it is necessary to consider the movement of people. Clearly without human transmission no deity would even be known let alone be adopted in foreign parts. Thus chapter 4 goes to some length to illustrate the ways and means and causative reasons why people move from one country (or place) to another, which reasons are not so far removed from today's world (again - consider Syria).

When searching for a specific time in history, which could be significant in the coming together of Seth and Baʿal, it is necessary to stray from the declared dates for this study and step back to the torrid time of the Hyksos (chap. 6). Probably the most earth shattering experience for any nation and long standing culture would be the usurpation of control by a foreign power. Thus in the short (108 year) rule of the Hyksos one can see just such an occurrence, this almost unimaginable event must have shaken the Egyptian populace to the core. Although in the locale of Avaris and the Delta surrounds it could be said that perhaps this was not such a big change for the ordinary people who had become accustomed to a multi-cultural environment. Current schools of thought favour a gradual and relatively

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peaceful transfer of power, however, in far away Thebes the view would have been very different as future events show when the Thebans rise up to expel the Hyksos.

When considering the material evidence for the *mélange* of iconographical representations and selection of textual material (cf. chap. 5) it is first pertinent to note that the sources from Syro-Palestine are rather meagre giving rise to a disproportionate bias towards Egyptian sources. Great effort has been made to locate Egyptian artefacts discovered in Syro-Palestine to demonstrate the considerable presence of Seth. Additionally examples of both gods showing their similarities and differences have been selected. To further show the far flung influence of Egypt across the Ancient Near East three 'Other' stelae (or fragments thereof) have been selected (corpus P1-3).

Much debate has been generated and continues regarding the identification of specific items, thus a sufficient number has been selected to confirm that there was clearly many that exhibit attributes of both Seth and Baʿal to a greater or lesser extent. Although one might argue the identification of a specific piece, the quantity of 'hybrid' representations leaves no doubt that a considerable degree of mixing had occurred. The selection of tables appended to chapter 5 (tables 7a-b, 8a-b & 9) are provided to demonstrate how and in what way a specific image reflected each deity. Since an important aspect of this study is to show the large scale presence of Seth in Syro-Palestine, the location maps (maps 5-6) both illustrate the provenance of each item (where known) and in particular show where an item bearing a Sethian image was found.

 The textual examples, largely from Egyptian sources, show definitively that the god Baʿal was well known and respected for his martial nature. Together with Seth he was called upon to support and ensure success in battle, specifically in the Ramesside period. Section 5.7 considers the evidence presented in some detail, also discussing and introducing other evidence not included in the corpus. It is immediately clear that identification of iconographical images is not an exact science. Perforce one often has to work with badly damaged or fragmentary items as well as poor reproductions (photographs or line drawings). Thus it may necessitate comparative identification or assumptions based on the evidence available.

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It would seem that the Hyksos period is of specific relevance to this study, wherein the mingling of Egyptian and Syro-Palestine cultures increased (cf. chap. 6). Although the presence of the Hyksos in the eastern Delta is no longer seen as the invasion previously suggested, nevertheless their assumption of rule over Egypt was a momentous hammer blow to the Egyptian psyche. The Hyksos accepted Seth as the principal deity since they could see a connection to their own principal Asiatic deity Baꜥal. Some schools of thought suggest that the Hyksos introduced a pantheon such as one sees in the Ugaritic texts (Table 3; cf. Wyatt 2002:361-362), however, this debate is outside the scope of this study.

The cult of Seth had been present in Egypt since pre-dynastic times especially in the border areas, and the eastern Delta was just such an area, furthermore it was the principle access route into Syro-Palestine. The Middle Kingdom pharaoh Amenemhat II founded a new town at *Hut-waret* which was rendered later in Greek as Avaris. Bietak, who has excavated extensively in the area, confirms the presence of a planned settlement from the 12th Dynasty. Later in the dynasty it grew with the arrival of western Asiatics (Bietak 2008:110). Avaris now became one of the most multi-cultural communities wherein the extant cult of Seth was joined by Levantine Bronze Age culture, merging Near-Eastern and Egyptian cultures (van de Mieroop 2011:124). Seth was worshipped in the Delta area long before the arrival of the Hyksos who thus did not establish his cult, further it seems that the Hyksos did not worship Seth elsewhere in Egypt. Apparently Seth was merely adopted by the Hyksos since he was extant and established there when they arrived (Ryholt 1997:150).

The 400 year stele of Ramesses II from the 19th Dynasty (cf. BS1) shows a god identified by the inscription as Seth facing whom is Ramesses II followed by a figure in a pose of adoration (van Seters 1966:97-98). According to Redford (1992:117-118) the stele commemorates the four hundredth year of the 'reign' of the god Seth who is pictured in the guise of Baꜥal. Now if one considers the very un-Egyptian appearance of Seth on this stele, his foreign attire, high conical hat with gazelle horns in front and long streamer hanging down the back from the top of the hat together with his ornaments, cross bands and kilt with tassels this can be seen as a stereotype for many other examples found both in Egypt and Syro-Palestine. An important

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point to note here is that all such depictions are made by Egyptian craftsmen. In his book on *The Hyksos* van Seters declares that these figures represent not only Seth but also Baʿal (1966:174; cf. Cornelius 1994:143). In hieroglyphic texts the Hyksos maintained the use of 'Seth,' when in their native parlance Baʿal would undoubtedly have appeared (Redford 1992:118) (cf. 6.2). Thus Redford is suggesting that Baʿal and Seth are synonymous merely represented differently!

The cylinder seal found at Tell el-Dabʿa (corpus B13) shows a menacing god striding over mountains, this Bietak identifies as Baʿal-Zaphon (1990:15 Abb. 5), whilst Porada identifies this seal as a Syrian weather god but of Egyptian manufacture (1984:485-488). From evidence of a few monuments left in the eastern Delta by the 14th Dynasty king Nehesy, the local cult of Seth-Baʿal recently established in the Asiatic enclave, became the Dynastic god (Bietak 2010:426).

Most of the textual evidence on Syro-Palestinian religion is from the Late Bronze Age. However, it is generally assumed that the status quo was maintained from the 17th until the 14th centuries BCE. The female deity Anat, known from the Ugaritic archives as the bloodthirsty consort of Baʿal (Cornelius 2008b:92), appears on Hyksos scarabs equated to Hathor as 'mistress of the two trees' (Redford 1992:117; cf. 6.4 Fig. 52). A male deity is referred to as 'the mountain (deity)' which compares to the connection of the god Baʿal in the Late Bronze Age with mountains (Redford 1992:117).

In the Ramesside period Hyksos religion was not referred to directly (cf. 6.4), however, the Hyksos names retained some references to their origins. Both iconography and mythology suggest that at this time Seth was identified primarily with Baʿal and secondarily with the storm god Tešhub of the Hittites and Hurrians (van Seters 1966: 175-178). Asiatic deities are well represented among the gods of Egypt in mid 8th Dynasty inscriptions suggesting a long standing entrenchment. Perhaps the Asiatic prisoners taken to Egypt in the New Kingdom provided the foreign input to the Egyptian religion, but this is not likely since Hurrian prisoners did not influence the religion despite their large numbers. In the Egyptian inscriptions largely from Ramesside battles many references equating Baʿal and Seth can be

found (cf. corpus T2, T4, T6) additionally other examples from the corpus are redolent with the name of Baʿal.

Evidence of Seth can be found on many 18th Dynasty inscriptions such as the lintel of Horemheb from Avaris confirming that New Kingdom rulers were resident in this city (cf. 6.4 Fig. 51). The Ras Shamra stele more commonly called the Mami stele (corpus B2) has been identified as depicting Baʿal-Zaphon with the name written using the Seth-animal as determinative. This is further affirmed on the famous peace treaty between the Hittites and the Egyptians. The Hittite text uses the ideogram for 'storm god' whereas in the Egyptian version this is replaced by 'Seth' (van Seters 1966:175). As van Seters has it – 'The important point to observe is that the Egyptians represent not only Seth but also Baʿal by this iconography' (1966:174). Although not germane to this study, but as a further indication of intermingling of deities, Anat was known as the 'milch cow of Seth' (van Seters 1966:175) and Hauron was linked to Horus (by assonance of their names) (van Seters 1966:179). On the other hand Resheph was well known in Egypt but not linked to any Egyptian god nor written with the Seth determinative (van Seters 1966:179).

The polytheistic nature of society across the Ancient Near East suggests that the Hyksos probably worshipped a number of deities other than Seth. Scarabs of the period show deities with both Egyptian and Asiatic attributes (e.g. BS19, BS20) thus there must have been an acceptance of deities having similar roles. Later in the Ramesside period foreign deities were introduced into Egypt by name, no longer on the periphery but inundating Egypt (cf. 6.5).

The heart of this study revolves around religious exchange (cf. chap. 7) that is in the exchange of Egyptian New Kingdom deities into and within Syro-Palestine. Hereby the basic questions are, were there Egyptian deities in Syro-Palestine at this time and were they integrated into the Syro-Palestinian religious orbit. There is evidence of some Egyptian deities in Syro-Palestine from very early stages of Egypt's contact with the Levant (Tazawa 2009:122), as for example Hathor which is possibly shown on corpus B3 (Tazawa 2009:13 Doc. 1). This Egyptian goddess of love was known as the 'Lady of Byblos' In addition at this time the Byblians worshipped their local mother-like goddess Asherah/Qadesh (Tazawa 2009:122). As an

alternative is it possible that Egyptian deities were enforced upon the indigenous Syro-Palestinian people by the dominating Egyptian power, even though there seems no evidence for this.

The earlier study by Tazawa (2009) considered the presence of Syro-Palestinian deities in New Kingdom Egypt from both iconographical and philological perspectives, a *modus operandi* that is adopted in this study. The present study sets out to investigate how and why Seth was combined with Baʿal and present in Syro-Palestine. It has therefore been shown how, especially in the Late Bronze Age, movement of people greatly increased and why this took place. Further that the thrust of such movement was driven by the militaristic nature of the Ramesside pharaohs, with their ongoing incursion across the Levant.

As one would naturally expect, when people move they take their religion with them, whether a person moves alone or in a group and regardless of the nature of the movement or the length of stay. The very nature of society at this time, wherein the deities were all important to their physical safety and well being, provided a driving need to worship their own deities. However, if they became settled and made a home and were routinely exposed to extant local deities and practices it is possible that the similarities with their own native deities would be recognised and accepted over time or generations. The foregoing comments more properly apply at the personal level where individuals or small groups settle in a foreign land.

On the other side of the coin at the state level, what happens following an incursion by massive foreign forces. Here one considers the Egyptians in full force entering a town or city resplendent with the panoply of war and carrying their specific religious icons and practices. Surely the insurgent forces would enforce their religious practices upon the locals who would be powerless to prevent this. At the same time one could envisage the Egyptians looking at the extant religious practices in this new place and wondering if it had anything to offer them.

Considering religion at the state level, Amenhotep II during his reign promoted Asiatic cults in Egypt, perhaps because his martial nature equated well with the likes of the warrior god Baʿal and the goddess Astarte both of whom are known to have had cult centres at Peru-nefer.

Thus the adoption of Asiatic deities became prominent in the 18th Dynasty in Egypt. Conversely the adoption of Egyptian deities in Syro-Palestine was possible. Here the relative dearth of information compared to that of Egypt tends to present a skewed picture in this regard.

However, there is much to indicate that there was a two way flow of ideology and deities during the Late Bronze Age. Initially as hoards of Egyptian military personnel trooped across the Levant at large they would take their deities and religious practices with them to service the needs of their own army and entourage. Later, and perhaps to pacify their Egyptian overlords the local people would have at least played lip service to the religion of their masters, even if only on a token basis. It is of course perfectly possible that practice of Egyptian religion was enforced, although such evidence currently eludes one.

There is strong evidence across the Levant to show that practice of Egyptian religion took place, particularly during the 18th and 19th Dynasties (cf. 7.5). An example of this evidence is the existence of a temple at Jerusalem identified by the fragment of an Egyptian stele, a statuette and other artefacts from the site. Additionally many stelae have been recovered from across Syro-Palestine, some 21 royal stelae alone have been listed by Wimmer (2002:8-9) who also reports on other Egyptian material finds some from as far from Egypt as Jordan again demonstrating the far flung influence of Egypt at this time.

An interesting and perhaps pertinent aspect of Wimmer's stelae list is demonstrated pictorially on Map 6, where almost all the stelae shown were built on major transit routes, specifically the *King's Highway* and the *Via Maris* and at places believed to have been fortified military bases or important caravanserai's. These locations are where one might expect concentrations of Egyptian personnel. That the native peoples were largely vassals of the pharaohs is illustrated by the letter found at el-Amarna EA287 (Fig. 70) from Abdi-Heba the puppet-king of Jerusalem under the pharaohs Amenhotep III and Akhenaten who was complaining at the lack of Egyptian help in defending an Egyptian possession.

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The thorny question of the combination of Seth with Baʿal can be seen as a moot point, since this is altogether a modern construct. If one says that they both offer the same benefit does it matter what name is given. True they are represented differently in iconography but are they only a quirk of artistic licence and local iconographical practices. Pardee (1999:318) asks the question, why do we need a Baʿal-Seth? One should rather consider the assimilation of two cultures in the Late Bronze Age. To paraphrase Pardee: Perhaps the artist/scribe wished to say the Egyptian Seth is terribly like Canaanite Baʿal. Possibly one can encapsulate the earlier indication for the interaction of peoples, and thus the transfer of their deities by the following quotation:

> 'The excavation of Avaris uncovered "a model frontier city where a complex cultural interface of Egyptian and Palestinian traditions, created and enacted by a mixed border population, became visible."'

(Schneider 2010a:159)

An unanswered question, and at this stage, perhaps indeterminate, is whether the hybrid iconographical iconem exhibiting both Egyptian and Syro-Palestinian attributes and clothing should be termed Baʿal-Seth or Seth- Baʿal. A number of ideas have been illustrated in this work (e.g. pp. 68, 217, 239, 246, 273). In the lexicon 'Iconography of Deities and Demons' (IDD) Eggler in his section for Baʿal (4.1) advocates Seth-Baʿal so also does te Velde (1967: 124-5). Redford (1992:118) relates the origin of the 400 year stele to the start of Hyksos rule

and calls the deity Seth-Baʿal. In this regard Zivie-Coche (2011:5) hedges the bets as follow: 'An Egyptian Seth-Baʿal made eastern to convey Egyptian power across the border, and Baʿal-Seth an eastern deity … installed in Egypt.' Eggler (1998:276-278 Figs. 554-555) picks up on the identification of the winged Seth with the griffin from early times thereby suggesting that the winged Seth is the origin of the hybrid representation (Fig. 73 and corpus BS15). The last word comes from Pardee (1999:318) 'perhaps the original artist was merely saying that "Seth was terribly like Baʿal"'!

Figure 73 Winged Seth
(Leibovitch 1944:108 Pl. XIII)

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Chapter 9.   Final conclusions

A culture can be seen as a system of characteristics that encompass all facets of life in a specific population group including food, clothing, language, civil and political infrastructure and religious observance (cf. Rossman & Rubel 2010). Cultures can be homogeneous, created within their own environment, mostly immune to external influences or size. Thus cultures and especially that of ancient Egypt are often portrayed as if they appeared out of the blue complete with all their characteristics and without any external influences. Unfortunately such a culture is very unusual except where the population group is remote and isolated, for example on a remote island or deep in the impenetrable jungle.

It has been shown that the countries of the Ancient Near East in no way conform to the concept of the 'desert island' – remote and untouched by the civilised world. Indeed the Late Bronze Age period records a time of intense movement and interaction between many diverse peoples. At this time everything from warfare and invasion to trade and commerce was in progress, even migration 'for a better life' took place on a grand scale. Thus it becomes apparent that no state or population group would have been immune from external influence. This was of course not restricted to the large scale inter state interaction, but happened within a given state where rival factions fought for supremacy.

With respect to the various theories in chapter 2 and further analysed in section 8.2 a number of scholars have offered their specific idea to explain the phenomenon; it does not seem likely that there is a single answer. Having discounted two, it seems to the author that 'religious exchange' incorporates an amalgam of the remaining theories. The more embracing concepts identified by numbers 1 to 6 on table 15 religions show the joining and copying of a different belief system to various degrees. In essence religious exchange is achieved by appropriation of another system and acculturating within the extant practices.

With the given scenario of movement and interaction of people it would have been virtually impossible for any community to remain untouched by some form of external influence, not least in the religious sphere. The polytheistic world in which these ancients lived knew many

deities most of whom were born out of fear or respect for natural phenomena. Such phenomena were basically common across the world as they knew it, albeit with local variations, largely of human relationships but also climate and topography. It should not then be a surprise to see that many divinities from diverse cultures were spawned from the same natural concepts and as such exhibited similar if not the same attributes and more importantly the same beneficent effects.

In 1994:93 Singer wrote the following: 'Basic knowledge of pantheons was not just an intellectual asset of Hittite theologians, but rather an essential requirement for the Hittite "Foreign Office."' The need for a high level of intercultural religious awareness in the Ancient Near East is further shown in Smith's 2008 study. When one considers the degree of contact and movement of peoples, especially during the Late Bronze Age period, it becomes apparent that scribes and religious experts would have needed at least a basic understanding and perhaps a degree of acceptance of foreign pantheons. Kemp referring to foreign soldiers living 'wholly at home in the peaceful landscape of Egypt' at this time, says: 'We can perhaps see the overt beginnings of a process by which the Egyptian identity was deconstructed, and Egypt eventually became part of the trans-regional cultural systems' (Kemp 2006:33).

In the consideration of the two subject gods Baʿal and Seth, it has been shown that Seth of the Egyptians, known from Pre-Dynastic times, has been aptly called 'the god of confusion,' a sort of Jekyll and Hyde individual, today perhaps we might consider him to be suffering from bi-polar disorder! At a period he brought about disorder unpredictability and violence culminating in the murder of Osiris. However, the ambivalent nature of Seth is shown on the well known representation of him standing on the prow of the solar barque of Ra repelling the evil serpent Apep (Fig. 12), but only after he was defeated by Horus (*The Contendings of Horus and Seth*) and put in his place. This theme is represented on many seals, where the figure stands on the ground against a serpent, examples of which appear in the corpus (e.g. S3, S9). The confusion here comes from the fact that many similar seal impressions are identified as Baʿal-Seth (e.g. BS 15, 16, 17, 20) but often with a degree of uncertainty.

The god Baʿal was known in the middle of the third millennium BCE from Nippur in Sumer, however, he is most well known from the Ugaritic texts. Baʿal worship was common across Syro-Palestine from the Middle Bronze Age. Baʿal has power over the weather and is thus seen as a storm god; in addition as a warrior he offers protection (esp. to the king). In many of his iconographical depictions he is seen in a menacing role thus offering protection.

To summarise the situation with respect to *how and why Seth was combined with Baʿal and present in Syro-Palestine*: It has been shown that the presence of the Hyksos in the Delta led to a certain 'blending' and acceptance of their religious practices with those of Egypt in that area. It has further been shown from both an iconographical as well as a textual perspective that Seth was intimately equated with Baʿal in the Ramesside period. With the intense military activity across the Levant, Egyptian cult centres would have been established wherever the army sojourned during its travels. This led to the local people becoming used to the Egyptian religious practices, which by choice and/or at times proscription they may have adopted. To a degree this may have been a two way process with both parties believing that some material or temporal benefit was to be had from the adoption of each others religion. Here one remembers the frequent reference to Baʿal in commemorative inscriptions on temple walls extolling the help in battle of, and gratitude to, this foreign god.

This work has specifically investigated the relationship between the Egyptian god Seth and the Syro-Palestinian god Baʿal, and has demonstrated that the societies in the Ancient Near East were affected and changed by *interaction* with their neighbours. Although the concern here was the relationship between two gods, it is clear that this is really about how human beings react to change. Even modern sociology recognises that people are naturally averse and resistant to change, witnessed by the modern day plethora of change management training courses. How much greater would this have been in the times of the ancients where life was so much more at risk and uncertain. The fear and piety inherent at this time, together with the polytheistic religious propensity, would have made support from additional and perhaps more powerful deities most welcome.

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